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Advancement of Women
in the Public Sphere



Implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 in Israel

Implementing and Monitoring National Action Plans: Strategies of Women's Organizations

Pnina Steinberg





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המרכז לקידום נשים בזירה הציבורית



Implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 in Israel

Implementing and Monitoring National Action Plans: Strategies of Women's Organizations

A Comparative Study

Senior Researcher: **Dr. Pnina Steinberg**

Research Assistants: **Abigail A. Givol** and **Lior Kadish**

Academic Committee: **Prof. Naomi Chazan, Prof. Hanna Herzog,**

Ronna Brayer-Garb, Hadass Ben Eliyahu

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Translation: **Esther Hecht**

Editing: **Deborah Schwartz**

Production: **Yona Ratzon**

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In memory of Yehudit Sher
An outstanding researcher and a beloved friend

The Center for the Advancement of Women in the Public Sphere (WIPS) was established at the Van Leer Jerusalem Institute in 2009 with the support of the Dafna Fund. **WIPS** is committed to gender mainstreaming as an overall strategy for promoting the democratic and civil status of women in diverse social groups. Through its focus on transforming the issue of gender inequality into a general social worldview that relates to both women and men and to all social structures, the **WIPS** center aims to make gender equality an inseparable part of the thought and action of legislators and decision makers in various areas

WIPS conducts research, promotes strategic thinking, and initiates projects and programs in areas relevant to implementing gender mainstreaming and gender equality in Israel. The founders of **WIPS** seek to make it a framework that brings together women's organizations, feminist activists, researchers, legislators, and decision makers, so that their dialogue and sharing of ideas will serve as a source of knowledge, guidance, and experience for anyone interested in promoting gender equality and gender mainstreaming in Israel. The center also promotes strategies to coordinate the efforts and impact of social action designed to promote the status of women and gender equality by connecting grassroots women's organizations, policy makers, legislators, and those acting for broad social change.

WIPS management: Prof. Naomi Chazan, Prof. Hanna Herzog, Hadass Ben Eliyahu,
Ronna Brayer-Garb

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Introduction

In the Wake of Resolution 1325: Israeli Women Lead the Way to Peace and Security

The United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 is a landmark decision, made in 2000, that for the first time calls for equal representation of women in key decision-making bodies, their participation in processes of conflict resolution and peace arrangements, protection of women and girls from violence, and the prevention of violence in general and gender violence against women in particular.¹ Since then, the UN Security Council has passed a series of additional resolutions² meant to enhance four universal values related to women: protection in areas of conflict, participation in key decision-making bodies, suitable and diverse representation, and full participation in formulating and implementing peace agreements—all this with an emphasis on the unique status of women and recognition of the link between the continuation of military conflicts and gender inequality in society (Raday 2004; Aharoni 2014b).

Starting in 2000, and more intensely since 2010, Resolution 1325 has been adopted in various countries and has become the main platform for the promotion of women's equality and the broadening of the concept of security. By September 2014, forty-six countries had approved a national action program, and nine of them had even approved a second, improved version, following an examination of the results of the implementation of the first action plan. In addition, seven regional action plans were approved (of the European Union, the African Union, the Lakes Region—Central Africa, South Africa, NATO [the North Atlantic Treaty Alliance and the Euro-

1 See "Landmark Resolution on Women, Peace, and Security," OSAGI, accessed October 28, 2014, www.un.org/womenwatch/osagi/wps.

2 Resolutions 1820 (2008), 1888 (2009), 1960 (2010), and 2106 (2013). These resolutions, together with Resolution 1325 (2000), have more general ramifications regarding the inclusion of women in processes of conflict prevention and in settling and rehabilitating them after a conflict, as well as recognizing the link between the continuation of military conflicts and gender inequality in society. In terms of law, these resolutions symbolize a change in the way women are perceived by international law. Until the 1990s women were perceived as mothers of children and as victims entitled only to protection. The demand for suitable representation of women in international law and in conflict resolution portrays them as agents of action who can make a significant contribution toward shaping global policy (Aharoni 2014b).

Atlantic Council], the Pacific Ocean countries, and the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe [OSCE]). The countries that approved a national action plan are shown in Fig. 1.

Before starting to formulate and promote a comprehensive action plan in Israel, it is important to study the international context of the various action plans and understand the processes that took place in other countries that preceded Israel in adopting and implementing national action plans based on Resolution 1325. This study provides a global context for the Israeli endeavor and examines, as a source of knowledge relevant to the Israeli context, what has been done in other countries.

Fig. 1: Countries that have approved action plans for implementing UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (as of September 2014)



Sources and links to the action plans of the various countries appear at <http://peacewomen.org/naps> (accessed September 10, 2014).

Israel was the first country among the members of the United Nations to incorporate the resolution into a law, and it enacted legislation requiring the proper representation of women in public bodies.³ Nevertheless, the need remained to write and implement a comprehensive action plan. To that end, dozens of women's organizations, human-rights organizations, and feminist activists joined together, led by the organizations **Itach-Maaki** מעק – Women Lawyers for Social Justice;⁴ **WIPS** – the Center for the Advancement of Women in the Public Sphere, at the Van Leer Jerusalem Institute;⁵ and **Agenda** – Israeli Center for Strategic Communications.⁶ Ten roundtable discussions took place between January 2012 and October 2013, and these discussions led to a draft of a comprehensive action plan that covered many topics,⁷ including representation of a variety of women and gendered positions in key decision-making bodies, a feminist examination of the concept of security,⁸ and protection of women, from all social groups, against all forms of violence.⁹ The draft of the action plan was completed in October 2013 and presented to the government as a tool for implementing Resolution 1325.

3 Clause 6C1(B) of the Women's Equal Rights Law, 1951.

4 See the organization's website: www.itach.org.il (accessed September 10, 2014).

5 See <http://www.vanleer.org.il/en/wips> (accessed November 25, 2014).

6 Agenda has since merged with other organizations and is now called Anu. See www.anu.org.il/about_ org (accessed September 10, 2014).

7 For the full document, see www.1325israel.co.il/new/1325/sites/default/files/hebrewfullplan.pdf (accessed September 10, 2014).

8 Although the academic and global discussion on the broadening of the concept of security is far-reaching and has gone on for several decades, in Israel the concept is still interpreted in the public sphere in its military and national senses (Ben-Eliezer 1994, 1998; Dayef, Abramovitch, and Eyal 2007).

9 For the full list of topics and for summaries of the discussions, see: www.1325israel.co.il/new/1325/content/%D7%AA%D7%94%D7%9C%D7%99%D7%9A-%D7%99%D7%A6%D7%99%D7%A8%D7%AA-%D7%AA%D7%9B%D7%A0%D7%99%D7%AA-%D7%94%D7%A4%D7%A2%D7%95%D7%9C%D7%94-%D7%A1%D7%99%D7%9B%D7%95%D7%9E%D7%99-%D7%9E%D7%A4%D7%92%D7%A9%D7%99%D7%9D (accessed September 10, 2014).

Chapter One

What Does This Comparative Study Compare?

This comparative study is one of a series of studies conducted in support of the drafting of a comprehensive action plan.¹⁰ Its aim is to learn from the processes of development, implementation, and monitoring of the action plans of countries that have adopted UN Security Council Resolution 1325. The main question this study addresses is how to bring about the adoption and implementation of a plan in Israel, and how to recruit all the relevant actors in a comprehensive process of change.

The draft of the action plan, written by women's organizations in Israel and completed in October 2013, is indeed comprehensive, but clearly it is not an end in itself. The task was to choose action strategies based on the assumption that the participation of civil society organizations and women's organizations in disseminating and enforcing an international policy (such as Resolution 1325) is crucial for its success.¹¹ Moreover, it is understood that the preliminary processes for disseminating a local action plan provide an opportunity for creating a discourse between governmental and nongovernmental organizations regarding the relations between gender, security, and peace. Such a discourse may expose conflicts between competing ideological, political, and strategic views of foreign policy, security issues, and feminism. These disputes define and reflect the interpretive space of Resolution 1325. To a great extent, these processes and the nature of the relation between civil society and state institutions shape the differences between various local interpretations of Resolution 1325 (Aharoni 2014b).

¹⁰ This study is part of the comprehensive effort to support the work of the women's organizations that participated in the project by providing relevant knowledge from within Israel and abroad. The study of Dr. Sarai Aharoni (2014) supports their work by conceptualizing and analyzing the relations between UN Security Council Resolution 1325 and the Israeli context from the perspective of international relations and gender. Dr. Pnina Steinberg's study (2014) documents and presents the state of women's representation in key decision-making foci dealing with security in Israel in 2013–2014.

¹¹ Women's organizations around the world are aware of this. See, for example, the site of PeaceWomen—Women for Peace, Peace for Women, www.peacewomen.org/naps/theme/civil-society-actors (accessed May 25, 2013).

This study reviews the strategies that women's organizations in various countries have for implementing a comprehensive action plan based on Resolution 1325. The study describes a variety of strategies and models, analyzes the factors leading to their success or failure, and draws operational conclusions. However, one must be careful in drawing conclusions based only on observation of other countries, because of the differences between them. Not only are the conflicts there entirely different, the groups of women within them and their needs for protection differ, as do the cultural, institutional, constitutional, and organizational contexts of each country. Nevertheless, a review of the repertoire of strategies that have served those who spearheaded them may help in our Israeli and Middle Eastern context-with, of course, adaptations and good sense.

This report describes the civil activity taking place in five countries: Colombia, the Philippines, Finland, Serbia, and Liberia. Because not all of the characteristics of any one country match those of Israel, we chose five countries with several comparable dimensions: geographical distribution, developmental level (developing or developed), and the closeness in time to a conflict or the current involvement in an active conflict. Because we sought to examine primarily the relations between civil society and the state in the process of adopting an action plan, we selected countries that have an action plan for implementing Resolution 1325 (Colombia has no comprehensive plan but does have 18 local and sectoral plans).

The review presented here is based on academic studies, reports by civil society organizations (both local and global), and interviews with some of the activists in global organizations who shared their insights with us. We focused on efforts to translate Resolution 1325 and its accompanying resolutions (1820, 1888, 1889, 1960) into local contexts, emphasizing the role of civil society organizations, their associations among themselves and with their governments and with international organizations. We sought to learn from them the challenges facing civil society organizations in their own countries, which modes of action they adopted, and which turned out to be effective at the implementation stage. The conflicts in which each country is involved, the local background for the organizational activity of women, and their actions are described briefly, with reference made to additional sources. The review's aim is to identify the main successful modes and strategies for achieving goals. The successful strategies of the civil society organizations of each country are described in a table in the summary that shows them in relation to the various partners of the women's organizations.

Strategies of women's organizations

In Israel, women's organizations have been active in preventing military conflicts and in promoting peace for many decades. Sarai Aharoni maps four main strategies of women's organizations in Israel in relation to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict that are implemented in varying configurations at different times and whose aim is to construct, redefine, or strengthen existing identities, interests, and political institutions (Aharoni 2014a, 10):

1. **Protest and resistance:** spontaneous action of women that is a response to the escalation of violence and that moves them to organize and act in the public sphere in creative ways (for example, the Four Mothers Movement). Israel today has several long-standing protests, such as Women in Black and the Women's Coalition for Peace, that are identified not only with protest but also with the concept of resistance.
2. **Political dialogue:** activity that crosses national boundary lines; dialogue between organizations on both sides of the conflict. Dialogue is more common in periods when violence has subsided, postconflict periods, and in a climate of progress. Thus, for example, in the 1990s, during the time of the Oslo Accords, dialogue was a key mode of action. The Bat Shalom movement in those years created cooperation between Palestinian women's organizations in East Jerusalem and Palestinian and Jewish women in West Jerusalem.
3. **Constitutional reform:** lobbying activity—founding a lobby, influencing legislation, attempting to influence in a more focused and direct way (through the High Court of Justice and legislative amendments), and attempting to create a policy tool that will impose the integration of women, monitor the granting of budgets to women, or require taking women's perspective into account regarding issues of foreign policy and security. This is primarily a professional strategy that involves negotiation with the state. It is now used widely because more women are in positions of influence.
4. **Public campaigns for consciousness raising and establishing legitimacy:** spearheading public action that links the concepts of peace and security with broad democracy-related concepts. Thus, for example, in the 1990s a great deal of work was done on the connection between democracy, gender equality, and peace. Even campaigns related to preventing sexual harassment link the issue of security with a feeling of personal security. The campaigns that sought to establish legitimacy require professional tools that are sometimes acquired through cooperation between the participating organizations or through learning from international civil society organizations.

The existing literature reveals a link between sociopolitical situations and successful strategies of women's organizations seeking to bring about cultural change on the basis of global ideas or with the inspiration of ideas from outside their culture.¹² The change occurs gradually and involves resistance and protest, local initiatives of framing, adaptation to the local context, adoption, intensification, and universalization. The cultural conditions that make it possible to transform the idea taken from the outside and adapt it to the local culture until it is adopted differ at every stage:

- **Resistance and protest:** In the first stage some of the aspects of the local normative order are still powerful and legitimate, whereas others are already shakier and are gradually losing

¹² Amitav Acharya examined the processes of change in the perception of security in Southeast Asia and derived from them the stages that appear below (Acharya 2004, 251).

their legitimacy. In such a situation it is possible to plant new ideas. Opposition to them is anticipated and highlights the threat to the existing system that they pose at this stage.

- **Local framing:** In the second stage trustworthy local agents take on the task of disseminating the new norms. They do it by borrowing and framing external norms in ways that emphasize their value for the local community. Therefore, trustworthy people are needed in the local arena as supporters from the "inside" who are not perceived as lackeys of outside forces.
- **Adoption through adaptation:** In the third stage, there is a degree of overlap between the new ideas coming from the outside and the local hierarchy of norms. Thus it is possible to present the new order as borrowing complementary elements from outside, and not as replacing or eliminating the old order altogether. The norms brought in from outside are constructed as being suited to local beliefs and practices undergoing change.
- **Amplification:** In this stage the borrowing and adaptation of the previous stage propose outside recognition of some of the elements of the existing culture through links with the new ideas. New tools and practices develop on which the local influence remains clear and visible.

Strategies for implementing Resolution 1325: A global perspective

In a Skype conversation on February 27, 2014 with Ms. Mavic Cabrera Balleza, an international coordinator of GNWP (Global Network of Women Peacebuilders) and the organization's director of planning,¹³ she laid out her views regarding the implementation of UN Resolution 1325. Cabrera Balleza, who has an MA in communications and women's studies, has been involved in the processes of building and implementing a national action plan in many countries, including Afghanistan, Burundi, Colombia, Japan, Liberia, Nepal, the Philippines, Sierra Leone, South Sudan, and Uganda. In the conversation she shared her insights regarding women's organizations' strategies of action in implementing UN Resolution 1325. One of the most important measures of success, she said, is the degree of cooperation between civil society organizations and the state at every stage of implementing Resolution 1325: composing an action plan, implementing the plan, and monitoring it. Cabrera Balleza stresses the fact that one of the key roles of women's organizations is expressing the voices and various needs of women in the contexts of peace and security, whether through representation of women in committees or in community consultations with women. The process she recommends is the joint composition of an action plan by the government and women's organizations, in consultation with women from various social groups. Successful consultation includes providing information, holding discussions, and collecting topics

¹³ See the description of the role of GNWP and its great involvement in national and international actions to implement UN Resolution 1325 on the organization's website: www.gnwp.org/team/internationalcoordinatingteam (accessed August 6, 2014).

and areas that women define as relevant to their security. If they do indeed compose an action plan together and decide on a division of labor, a timetable, sources of funding, and a monitoring process, there is a chance that the plan devised will be realistic, relevant, and implementable. Such a process may take a long time—two or three years—but the result is an agreed-upon action plan that meets the varied needs of many women. The very existence of an action plan does not say anything about the connection between the plan and the needs and does not guarantee it will be implemented. Some countries have approved action plans quickly in order to receive international legitimacy or for other reasons, but have done so without the participation of civil society; in other countries civil society organizations, based on consultations among them, have composed a draft that was then changed drastically by the government, and consequently she sees no value in such plans.

Cabrera Balleza ranks the countries in accordance with the level of involvement of civil society organizations in the composition and implementation of the action plan, from best to worst:

- **Nepal:** According to Cabrera Balleza, Nepal is the country that handled the process best: the initiative began with civil society organizations; the action plan was written by the government with broad consultation with the inhabitants and with civil society organizations that were asked what they would like to include in the plan; the results were combined in a plan draft, and before it was sent to the cabinet for approval, it was sent for approval to all the groups that had been consulted. The entire process, from the beginning of consultations to approval, took about three years.
- **Holland:** The process in Holland included consultations between the state and some twenty-five civil society organizations, all of which signed a national action plan. Because in most of the countries the signers are government ministers, and in Africa the signers are those in charge of gender ministries, Cabrera Balleza believes that the process in Holland indicates that the status of civil society organizations there is better.
- **Japan:** Cabrera Balleza ranks Japan relatively low because civil society organizations were not consulted at all; the draft of the action plan was written by government ministers; and now the civil society organizations are pressing to have the plan presented publicly before it is approved.
- **Uganda and Spain:** These two countries, according to Cabrera Balleza, represent the worst process: the Ministry of Gender wrote and approved the national action plan in a single day, without a draft, without a thorough process, and without consultations with civil society organizations or the inhabitants.

In the conversation, Cabrera Balleza offered another piece of advice for tightening the connection between civil society organizations and the government, saying that it is important to identify the "champions" in the top echelon of government, cabinet members, or parliament members, and ask them directly: Are you willing to organize a parliament or cabinet meeting on this issue? The

champions are those who will be willing to undertake the promotion of the idea of a national action plan, and the actions required for its implementation, and to do this again and again in every platform in which they are involved, until it is adopted and implemented. The task of the organizations is, at every opportunity, to ask politicians they meet whether they are willing to put this issue at the top of their agenda and initiate committee meetings and press conferences on the topic.

Chapter Two

Five Countries: A Review of Different Modes of Action of Civil Society Organizations

In each country, civil society organizations that aim to bring about social change must contend with many agents and partners who are a part of both the existing situation and the desired situation. Women's organizations that promote a comprehensive action plan for implementing Resolution 1325 find themselves contending with the following: other civil society organizations operating in the same area and in related areas in their country; comparable civil society organizations operating outside the country; parallel organizations operating outside the boundaries of the conflict (organizations from two countries that are engaged in a conflict, such as the Balkan countries, or groups within a country that is undergoing an internal conflict, such as Colombia); global civil society organizations; the country's entire population; armed groups or security forces; government bodies and key official state organizations; research and policy institutes; local government bodies (municipalities and local authorities); and official global bodies (such as the United Nations). The work process is not standardized and does not necessarily develop in a parallel manner. For the most part it is possible to promote different aims with partners at various levels of awareness or agreement, and therefore the strategies are outlined below along the axis of participating partners who have been described here, and along the axis of strategies described in the previous section: protest and resistance, political dialogue, constitutional reform, mobilization of legitimacy, and acquisition of tools.

1. Colombia

Most of the information on the situation in Colombia is based on reports written by the Global Network of Women for Peacebuilders (GNWP) between 2011 and 2012. Data gathering and the writing of these reports are the fruit of the collaborative efforts of the Working Group for the Promotion and Advancement of UN Resolution 1325 in Colombia. The group consists of many civil society organizations participating in monitoring the implementation of the UN resolution.

As of 2014 Colombia does not have a national action plan for the implementation of Resolution 1325 and the related resolutions, but it has eighteen local and sectorial action plans.¹⁴

The conflict in Colombia

The conflict in Colombia, a civil war that has dragged on for more than four decades, is one of the longest in the world today. The conflict stems from political exclusion and social and economic inequality. Over the past twenty years, the number of armed groups has increased, and the conflict has become violent. Almost all the violent groups are involved in illegal drug trade, and they spread terror in a variety of violent ways, both physical and psychological: rape and sexual violence; bodily injury; forced displacement; the kidnapping of activists, labor leaders, police officers, and politicians who support democracy; use of land mines; and the kidnapping of children and youngsters with the aim of turning them into combatants, messengers, informers, assistants in the drug-processing industry, or drug couriers. The groups most endangered in Colombia are women, children, indigenous people, Afro-Colombian communities, social leaders, and human rights activists (GNWP 2011, 290-91; Lievano 2012, 4).

Gender interests and civil society in Colombia

Colombian women are the main victims of the civil war, but they have also played a significant role in the efforts to end it. Activism by women's organizations in Colombia began in the 1940s with humanitarian welfare work. Women's involvement in the peace process increased at the beginning of the 1990s and led to the creation of a complex network of activists who promoted peace talks. When those talks failed, the women continued to press the parties to return to the negotiating table (Levinas 2012, 4).

In 1997 Colombian women led a mass campaign in which they collected ten million signatures for peace, life, and freedom. As a result of the campaign, the government enacted the National Peace Council Law (1998) and, together with civil society organizations, established a peace council to advise the government. However, although women's organizations pressed for participation in the council, their efforts met with only partial success, and of the council's one hundred members, only one member had a clear mandate to protect women's rights.

In 1999, even before UN Resolution 1325, women's groups and civil society organizations challenged the country's official leaders, calling upon them to address gender issues, and they spearheaded local resistance efforts. They forged informal agreements with armed groups and established "peace areas" to protect their communities—communities that declared neutrality and their noninvolvement in the armed conflict (Rojas 2004).

14 From a Skype conversation with Mavic Cabrera Balleza, the head of the international program of the Global Network of Women Peacebuilders (GNWP), on February 27, 2014. See also the GNWP report (Chowdhury 2013, 14–17).

The inhabitants of the "peace communities" demand that the combatants remain outside the community's boundaries and honor the inhabitants' right not to be dragged into the cycle of violence (Conaway and Sen 2005, 32). The women's organizations negotiated directly with the armed groups to achieve humanitarian agreements such as removal of roadblocks on key highways, permission to maintain commerce, and arrangement of lands for the displaced (Conway and Sen 2005, 22-32). This activity of the women made many of them targets for assassination by the armed groups. This is tragic evidence of the importance of their work and its influence (Conway and Sen 2005, 34).

In 2011 Amnesty International published a report titled "This Is What We Demand: Justice!" which focused on the absence of prosecution of violent groups by the authorities, thus giving them de facto immunity. The report drew many responses and focused the public discourse on the issue of violence against women. The vice president and the defense and justice ministers declared their commitment to protecting women against violence. The new president, Juan Manuel Santos, expressed his commitment to honor human rights and to end the conflict. He is promoting a law for compensation of the victims that includes a clause pertaining to compensation for women and children who suffered sexual abuse. In 2012 Colombia enacted a law that changed the definition of sex crimes and domestic violence to crimes that are of interest to the public. This definition makes it possible for the state to investigate cases even if the victims have not lodged a complaint.¹⁵

Implementation of UN Resolution 1325

As noted above, Colombia does not have a national action plan for the implementation of UN Resolution 1325, but women's organizations there are active in attempts to influence the implementation of the resolution, draw attention to the role of local women in preventing conflicts, promote justice for women victims, and integrate a gendered perspective in national plans (GNWP 2011, 7). Thus far the Colombian civil society organizations, together with local authorities and indigenous leaders, have developed eighteen local and sectoral plans (Chowdhury 2013, 14).

The efforts of the Colombian women's organizations have led to legislation such as:

- **The Law and Peace Act** (2005) – a framework for the disbanding of outlawed armed groups. This law recognizes the importance of protecting the rights of victims. However, since its enactment there has been only slight progress in this area.
- **The Legally Binding Order for Implementing Plans for the Compensation of Victims of the Conflict** (2008) – a response to criticism of the plan for its excessive administrative demands in proving sexual violence, a complex and frustrating process that kept many victims from seeking compensation.

¹⁵ See www.amnesty.org.il/?CategoryID=408&ArticleID=1333 (accessed November 13, 2013).

- **The Victims Act** (2011) – a law for compensation of victims of violence that was signed by the president in June 2011, under pressure from human rights organizations within and outside the country as well as from Colombia's Constitutional Court. The law declared the beginning of the "transitional justice" process,¹⁶ the establishment of "truth commissions",¹⁷ and access to justice and compensation, including the return of displaced persons to their lands. Whereas most of the laws for compensation of victims are enacted at the end of conflicts as part of the transitional justice, in Colombia the law was enacted while the battles continued, as part of the efforts to end them.

As part of the cooperation with the Global Network of Women Peacebuilders, two working groups met, in September 2012 and September 2013, for local implementation of UN Resolutions 1325 and 1820. The purpose of the meetings was to create local and sectoral action plans.¹⁸

Successful strategies of women's organizations in Colombia

- **Dialogue**, direct and cross-border, with armed groups involved in the multiparty conflict
- **Lobbying** of decision makers
- **Campaigns**, public and educational, to mobilize public opinion
- **Mobilization of legitimacy** from official bodies through cooperation with global women's organizations
- **Acquisition of knowledge** and tools for outlining local action plans
- **Localization and adaptation** of imported action plans through cooperation between women's organizations and local government bodies

16 "Transitional justice" refers to the entirety of the legal and social mechanisms by means of which countries (and societies) cope with injustices perpetrated in their past, as part of a violent conflict or an oppressive regime, in a way that corrects the injustice while also promoting peace and democracy. That is, it pertains to the perception of the term "justice" during a period of political transition to peace and democracy. The questions dealt with by "transitional justice" relate to how a society chooses to cope with its past and how this coping shapes its future. The mechanisms of transitional justice sometimes include trying perpetrators (even selectively) of war crimes, peace and reconciliation committees, compensation and rehabilitation mechanisms, institutional reforms, constitutional reforms, and memorial efforts. See the website of Alma— Association for the Promotion of International Humanitarian Law, www.alma-ihl.org.il/ihlexicon/transitional-justice (accessed June 8, 2014).

17 Truth commissions are a mechanism for documenting war crimes. They were meant to enable the victims to understand the reasons for the crimes that led to their suffering, give public recognition to their suffering, nullify the false accusations of which they were accused in the course of the perpetration of the crimes, enable the families to locate the traces of their dear ones who were killed or who disappeared during the conflict, and enable the entire society to understand the circumstances and the causes that led to the violence. See the Amnesty International website: www.amnesty.org/en/international-justice/issues/truth-commissions (accessed June 8, 2014).

18 See www.gnwp.org/wp-content/uploads/2010/02/Colombia-Localization-Program-on-UNSCR-1325-and-1820.pdf (accessed June 8, 2014).

Table 1. Successful strategies of women's organizations in Colombia, by type of strategy and partners

Colombia		Partners				
		Global civil society	Total population	Armed groups	Government	Local government (municipalities/local authorities)
Strategies	Protest and resistance					
	Political dialogue			Dialogue and creation of "peace areas"		
	Constitutional reform				Lobbying	Localization
	Mobilization of legitimation	Cooperation and internal influence	Public campaign			
	Acquisition of tools	Localization				

2. The Philippines

The conflict in the Philippines

Since the 1960s the Philippine Islands have been racked by violent conflicts. In 2011 the government began contacts for peace with five main armed groups, but thus far only one of these processes has led to a peace agreement, which was signed with the Cordillera People's Liberation Army (CPLA) on July 4, 2011. In 2010 the government of the Philippines adopted a national action plan for implementing UN Resolution 1325.

Achievements of women's organizations before the national action plan was created

In 2011 the weekly magazine *Newsweek* ranked the Philippines seventeenth out of 165 in the list of countries in the world that are good to women. One of the reasons was the detailed policy in this area and the many laws protecting women and their rights, for example: the Anti-Sexual Harassment Act (1995); the Anti-Rape Law (1997); the Rape Victim Assistance and Protection Act (1998); the Anti-Trafficking in Persons Act (2003); the Anti-Violence against Women and Their Children Act (2004); and the Women's Bill of Rights that was dubbed the "Women's Magna Carta"¹⁹

¹⁹ The Magna Carta, the bill of rights that King John of England granted his feudal barons on June 5, 1215, is one of the first documents that included a commitment by a ruler to his subjects to protect certain rights.

signed in September 2009, which incorporates a variety of women's rights that the government has pledged to protect. Moreover, the government of the Philippines adopted several national action plans for protecting the rights of women—for example, the Philippine Plan for Gender-Responsive Development is a national plan for achieving gender equality in the long term (1995-2025), which continues to be implemented. In this plan, the period between 2012 and 2016 was defined as being devoted to the empowerment of women for equality, on the basis of the plan prepared in 2011.

The national action plan for implementing UN Resolutions 1325 and 1820

The Republic of the Philippines was the first Asian country to adopt a national action plan. Dr. Jasmin Nario-Galace,²⁰ one of the initiators and leaders of the implementation processes of UN Resolutions 1325 and 1820, describes the action plan as a joint community effort that began with a meeting of five women in a cafeteria: an international activist from GNWP, two academic representatives, and two representatives of women's organizations. All the women had good relations and this was true also of their relations with the Ministry of Peace. Together with the ministry they established the Preparatory Committee (PrepCom), which included representatives of government, civil society organizations, academia, and research institutes²¹ that together outlined a cooperative process at the end of which a national action plan would be adopted. The Philippine National Action Plan, written in 2009 by the government and women's organizations, was adopted in 2010 and is scheduled to be updated in 2016. Prior to its creation, a series of six regional consultations were held, each one involving three days of preparation and discussions to which forty to fifty interested parties were invited. The invitees included indigenous groups; Muslim, Christian, and indigenous women; members of local government; representatives of the armed forces; representatives of civil society organizations; academics; and tribal religious figures. The consultations gave rise to the "vision of peace" that guided the writing of the action plan by the Preparatory Committee, and the draft was sent to all the participants for comment. The committee corrected the draft and sent it out again for approval. The plan was presented to the government together with research data that supported the implementation of the UN resolution and was approved in two validation workshops. Dr. Nario-Galace believes that information and reliable data have great power and were what helped persuade the government to adopt the plan.²²

20 Dr. Jasmin Nario-Galace is a lecturer at the College of International, Humanitarian and Development Studies and is the codirector of the Center for Peace Education at Miriam College in Manila. This material is based on a Skype interview with her on February 20, 2014.

21 The list of participants can be found in an appendix to the Philippine Action Plan, on pages 169–170: www.Weact1325.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/05/nap-layout-18nov2011-FINAL.pdf (accessed June 8, 2014).

22 For the formal description of the process, see *ibid.*, 24–25.

The plan that was adopted focuses on increasing the involvement of women in peace-building processes and in intensifying the efforts to protect women and girls in times of armed conflict. The regulation of small firearms became a key part of the plan. The very writing of the plan was the result of lobbying efforts by the civil society. Each of these goals was defined as a "specific action point," so that the action plan defines specific goals with measurable criteria, which are defined temporally and by the division of responsibility (among the ministries and government agencies and the civil society organizations that participated in the initiative). In addition to the central plan, local plans are also being written and implemented in the Philippines with the support of GNWP (Chowdhury 2013, 22-26).

Implementation of the action plan in the Philippines

The Office of the Presidential Adviser on the Peace Process spearheaded the national action plan of the Philippines and its implementation, consulting with civil society organizations at every stage. Although these organizations have no official role in the implementation, monitoring, or evaluation of the action plan, they have been participants in the entire process, from the moment the decision was made to create an action plan to its execution. The National Steering Committee on Women, Peace, and Security does not include representatives of civil society,²³ but it is obligated to partnership with such organizations in implementing, monitoring, and evaluating the plan, by virtue of an official government order (Order 885, of 2010). The Office of the Presidential Adviser for the Peace Process finances the activities of selected peace organizations and women's organizations, including organizations of indigenous women (Dharmapuri 2011, 7). Also, ways to collect data that would provide a basis for comparison and for dissemination of information were discussed in joint meetings of the steering committee and the women's organizations. The Philippines is the first country to take government funds from budgets earmarked for promoting gender equality and allocate them to the writing of a national action plan (Dharmapuri 2011, 7).

The most significant involvement of civil society in developing and implementing the national action plan in the Philippines resulted from the founding of a group of women who were involved and active in teaching 1325 (Women Engaged in Action on 1325, We Act 1325). This working group was mobilized to help the government implement and monitor the decision. It was made up of a network of thirty-three women's organizations, headed by a human rights organization and the Center for Peace Education.

In 2011 the group joined the Global Network of Women Peacebuilders and produced an independent monitoring report that emphasizes the failed coordination, lack of resources, and absence of transparency in the implementation.

In 2011, the working group joined the AFP Peacekeeping Operations Center. Together they provide training for Philippine security forces, as well as for international forces that arrive to

²³ See www.peacewomen.org/naps/theme/civil-society-actors (accessed May 25, 2013).

keep the peace in the Philippines, on matters that involve gender sensitivity, human rights, and international humanitarian laws.

Achievements of the action plan:

- **An increase in the participation of women in government:** Women's lobbying both outside the government and within it led to an increase in the percentage of women in senior positions and in key decision-making roles. Thus, for example, whereas in 2010 women comprised 29.2% of the cabinet and government ministries, in 2011 this number was 31.7%; women also head three of the nineteen government ministries; women head the Commission on Higher Education, the Council for Human Rights, the State Comptroller's Office, and the Office of the Presidential Adviser on the Peace Process. Also, women's participation in foreign affairs and in official international positions rose from 33% to 34.8%.
- **An increase in women's participation in peace negotiation teams:** In 2000 only one woman was part of a team that negotiated with Muslim groups, and in 2011 two women participated. That same year, for the first time, two women were appointed to one of the advisory bodies on peace processes, which until then did not include women, and in 2014, there were four women appointees.
- **An increase in consultation with women in the communities:** A group of women was founded for the express purpose of closely monitoring the behavior of the armed groups that had signed an agreement obligating them to respect human rights and international humanitarian law. Civil society organizations, and especially members of We Act 1325, employ women advisers whose role is to transmit information gathered in the communities to members of the negotiating teams and to recommend suitable language for formulating the peace agreements.
- **Reform in the security sector:** In the wake of civil society efforts, an internal security and peace plan was created in the Philippines, formulated in a process of multisectoral consultation. This plan reflects a paradigmatic change in the armed forces' conception of security. Many women hold positions related to the change in this paradigm.
- **Representation of women in local government bodies:** Following the GNWP's workshop in 2012 on the localization of UN Resolution 1325, far-reaching changes were made. For the first time, women were appointed to the Bodong-the peace council in the province of Kalinga that has been active for a century and has twenty-four members who are funded by the tribal elders. Until then, only men were members of the council. Following that success, government representatives in Real, in Quezon province, passed a resolution guaranteeing women 50% representation in every local government body. Moreover, the local government began formulating and executing local and community action plans for implementing Resolutions 1325 and 1820. Such action plans are now being developed in other provinces.²⁴

²⁴ See <http://www.gnwp.org/about> (accessed November 24, 2014).

Successful strategies of women's organizations in the Philippines

- **Union of the women's organizations** in a central body to work vis-à-vis the government
- **Mobilization of legitimacy** and acquisition of tools from international civil society organizations (GNWP)
- **Cooperation** between women in the various organizations and in the government
- **Consultation**, both regionally and locally, with interested parties and writing of an action plan in a cooperative process
- **Lobbying and cooperation** with the government and official bodies
- **Adaptation of action plans** for local use (localization)
- **Dissemination of information** to the public and to the security forces (training in gender sensitivity and women's rights)

Table 2. Successful strategies of women's organizations in the Philippines, by type of strategy and partners

The Philippines		Partners					
		Civil society in the country	Global civil society	Total population	Armed groups/ security forces	Government	Local government (municipalities/ local authorities)
Strategies	Protest and resistance						
	Political dialogue	Building a central body				Cooperation with women politicians, lobbying	
	Constitutional reform						Localization
	Mobilization of legitimation		GNWP	Consultation and joint writing; dissemination of knowledge	Dissemination of information and consciousness-raising workshops		
	Acquisition of tools						

3. Finland

Finland is not involved in a conflict now and is not threatened by an armed conflict, but it is involved in diplomatic roles, bilateral interventions, and multilateral organizations (the European Union, the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe [OSCE], and the United Nations). In 2006 Finland established the 1325 Network, a network of civil society organizations that aimed to promote the implementation of UN Resolution 1325 and to adopt a national action plan. The network included human rights organizations, gender equality organizations, and independent members from the academic world.²⁵ Two years later, in 2008, the Finnish government adopted a four-year national action plan (2008-2011) after a year of joint work between the government, women's organizations, and research institutes. An improved five-year (2012-2016) action plan was adopted in 2012.²⁶ The plan was developed by a steering committee headed by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and included the ministries of education, culture, defense, interior, justice, and welfare and health, as well as the Center for Crisis Management and representatives of organizations that were members of Network 1325. Broader circles of civil society were invited to present drafts of action plans that the steering committee had developed and to add data.²⁷ The Advisory Committee on Human Rights is to report annually to the Finnish parliament on the implementation of UN Resolution 1325 (Dharmapuri 2011, 6).

The 2009 report of PeaceWomen, the organization that monitors decisions of the UN Security Council that relate to women and security, included a table comparing various national action plans.²⁸ According to this table, the first plan written in Finland with the participation of women's organizations and research institutes did not include measures for monitoring and evaluation. At the same time, a tracking group was established comprising government representatives (the Ministry of Defense), civil society organizations, and the research community. In spring 2011 Network 1325 published an independent report on the first action plan.²⁹ This report was the basis for improvements in the second plan (2012).

As noted above, Finland is currently involved in international conflicts and therefore its national action plan refers to the international level. It seeks to disseminate the implementation of UN Resolution 1325 through diplomatic interventions, crisis management, development of

25 The organizations that are members of Network 1325: Amnesty International's Finnish Section; KATU; Civil Society Conflict Prevention Network; The Family Federation; The Feminist Association Union; NYTKIS; The Coalition on Finnish Women's Associations; National Council of Women in Finland; UN Association of Finland; Crisis Management Initiative; YWCA, Young Women's Christian Association; Women Journalists in Finland; and the Finnish Section of Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. <http://www.1325.fi/en/> (accessed Dec. 3, 2014).

26 See www.peacewomen.org/naps/country/EUROPE/finland (accessed May 25, 2013).

27 See www.peacewomen.org/naps/theme/civil-society-actors (accessed May 25, 2013).

28 See www.peacewomen.org/assets/file/NationalActionPlans/un_comparativechart1325naps_2009.pdf (accessed October 22, 2013).

29 See www.peacewomen.org/naps/country/europe/finland (retrieved May 25, 2013).

cooperation, and provision of technical aid for action at the national, bilateral, and international levels. At the internal national level, the national action plan aims to increase the participation of women in the areas of peace and security. It also devotes a great deal of space to actions that should be promoted to address the lack of security that women feel within Finland, primarily with regard to domestic violence and trafficking. Finland is unique among the countries that are not currently involved in a conflict in that, under the rubric of internal security, its national action plan includes measures and actions for increasing gender equality.

Network 1325 has not succeeded in obtaining a promise of funding for the national action plan, but it has succeeded in including important elements in that plan:

- Instruction on gender issues for Finnish citizens who are sent to crisis management training
- Funding for evidence-based research on topics related to women, peace, and security
- Support of women's organizations in conflict-ridden areas

The Finnish Network 1325 has an important role in implementing UN resolutions, funding and disseminating research and publications, and providing instruction and seminars on gender, peace, and security. In 2010, the network conducted an evaluation of Finland's first national action plan. It emphasized the successes (primarily the efforts to support the creation of a national action plan in other countries and the dissemination of gendered thinking in crisis management programs), but it also pointed out areas in need of development – such as the lack of earmarked funding for implementation of the national action plan, despite the demand of ministers for adequate funding and the absence of measures for monitoring and evaluation. One of the action strategies of Network 1325 is to turn directly to government ministries to receive information about funding (Dharmapuri 2011, 6).

Successful strategies of Finland's women's organizations:

- **Construction of a coalition** of women's organizations
- **Establishment of extensive cooperation** between the government, women's organizations, and research institutes
- **Dissemination of knowledge** to influence the government, the security forces (workshops), and public opinion

Table 3. Successful strategies of women's organizations in Finland, by type of strategy and partners

Finland		Partners				
		Civil society in the country	Total population	Armed groups/ security forces	Government	Research institutes
Strategies	Protest and resistance					
	Political dialogue	Coalition of women's organizations			Collaborations	
	Constitutional reform					
	Mobilization of legitimacy		Dissemination of knowledge	Dissemination of knowledge	Dissemination of knowledge	

4. Serbia³⁰

Background and description of the conflict

Between 1991 and 1999 the Balkan countries engaged in brutal wars that included ethnic cleansing, massive harm to civilians, the use of government force against civilians, and violence against women, which included rape as a tool of war. The brutality of the conflicts in the Balkans was an important catalyst for the passage of UN Resolution 1325. Women's rights organizations and activists from the Balkan countries joined together in opposition to the war. As early as the 1980s, this collaboration started blossoming, primarily in Belgrade, where women's organizations joined together on issues of human rights, democratization, women's rights, and opposition to the war (Bieber 2003, 82-83). However, despite the symbolic importance of this activity in fracturing the intellectual and popular support for the increasingly extreme nationalist policies, it did not spread beyond Belgrade and a few other urban areas, and it did not succeed in challenging the central government. Later, Balkan women's organizations took on key positions in global activity, calling on other countries to respond to the wars in their countries, and thus promoted UN Security Council Resolution 1325. Nevertheless, the formal regime and the international organizations that came to the region to organize life after the war did not include the women's organizations in creating the transitional arrangements, even in writing a national action plan for implementing Resolution 1325. The women's organizations found alternative ways, enlisted the rhetoric of Resolution 1325, and created coalitions and pressures that could not be ignored easily.

³⁰ This review focuses on Serbia but also relates to Kosovo, which is in the process of seceding from Serbia. The review relates to other Balkan countries in light of the regional collaborations in the activity of women's organizations there.

The war period (until the 1999 agreement)

The women in Serbia were opposed to the militaristic and patriarchal practices of the Milošević regime. The organization Women in Black against War was founded by pacifist women who, dressed in black, held weekly silent protest vigils in Belgrade, Serbia's capital, with the aim of sending the public a message of opposition to the Serbian regime, its involvement in the wars in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, and every form of militarism and violence against women (Mladjenovic 1999, 84). The Women in Black group even subverted the nationalist agenda by tightening the relations between women on both sides of the border and turning the civil society organizations into places where women of every ethnic background could find consolation, honor, and solidarity (Mladjenovic 1999, 86).

In the 1990s in Kosovo, which seceded from Serbia but has not yet been recognized as a state by the United Nations, women organized a civil network of resistance to the Serbian government. The efforts of these women's organizations focused on three main areas: inclusion of women in decision-making processes, human and regional security, and transitional justice (Irvine 2013).

After the 1996 elections in Bosnia-Herzegovina, in which only 2.4% of those elected were women, the women's organizations demanded gender quotas in the legislative bodies (Mladjenovic 1999, 25). This demand was rejected by the chairman of the Election Law Formulation Committee, Francis Froman-Maurice, a Frenchman, although in his country such a law was adopted around that time. The high commissioner too opposed it and dismissed the gender equation by saying it was "the country's responsibility" (Mladjenovic 1999, 25). The United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) was in charge of government institutions when Resolution 1325 was passed, but even this UN body did not promote gender equality and ignored the women's voices and the topics the women sought to promote. At the end of the war, the women's organizations were involved in reconstruction, but they were not recognized or supported by the official institutions because their initiatives were not carried out in conjunction with UNMIK. In fact the more the UN administration became established in Kosovo, the more the women felt their power waning (Kosova Women's Network 2009, 46), even though the fall of the Milošević regime in October 2000 was attributed to processes that were driven and supported by civil society organizations (Bieber 2003, 82).

The national action plan for implementing Resolution 1325

After 1999, Kosovo and Bosnia-Herzegovina were under the direct control of the United Nations. Women activists and women's organizations started taking part in the restoration of the society and the economy. Thus women's organizations were well placed for the implementation of UN Resolution 1325 and for enlisting it to leverage their participation and raise their status at the end of the conflict. They expected support from the UN for their resistance efforts against the local (Milošević) government and their activity to promote gender equality (Irvine 2013, 24), but very quickly they understood that the UN institutions would not enforce gender equality in

their appointments. Women still did not have access to the institutions of the decision makers, which were controlled by the UN and other international groups. In response, out of growing frustration and increasing local hostility toward the international administration, and with the passage of Resolution 1325 by the UN Security Council, the women's organizations used the resolution to pressure key people in the international sphere to implement the UN resolutions in their institutions and in their work (Irvine 2013, 25).

In July 2010 Serbia adopted UN Resolution 1325, thus becoming the second West Balkan country to adopt it, after Bosnia-Herzegovina. The process of developing a national action plan lasted about a year and a half and was funded by the Belgrade Fund for Political Excellence, in conjunction with the Ministry of Defense. Together they first developed a document of principles for an outline of the plan (May 2009); the plan itself, which was based on these principles, was developed over five months (June to November 2010) by the Ministry of Defense (Odanović and Bjeloš 2012, 10). The plan outlines principles for implementing new bodies and mechanisms for achieving gender equality, but it does not address how existing organizations and mechanisms (local, national, and regional) should achieve such equality and contribute to the achievement of the national action plan's goals. New institutions came into being about ten months after the publication of the plan, but no funds were allocated for the realization of their goals (Odanović and Bjeloš 2012, 10). The civil society organizations objected to the process of development from which they were excluded, and to the absence of transparency in the implementation stages (Odanović and Bjeloš 2012, 13).

Women's organizations in Serbia and in other Balkan countries (Bosnia-Herzegovina and Kosovo) used Resolution 1325 to influence the inclusion of women in decision-making processes and to increase regional security and transitional justice. Their primary strategy was to mobilize women in their country to pressure international bodies to uphold their principles and meet their obligations to women. This strategy came to be known as the "double boomerang effect" (Irvine, 2013): pressuring key individuals in the international sphere so that they in turn would pressure the national governments to enforce human rights (Keck and Sikkink 1998). From the 1990s, women's organizations in the Balkan countries began creating such a "boomerang effect" to implement UN Resolution 1325. They also worked in the opposite direction, from the ground up, driving local support and regional networks to force the UN and other key actors in the international sphere to change the structures and internal practices, as they were obligated to do by their resolutions on gender equality, and to put pressure on their governments to enforce that equality. Because at that time Serbia and Kosovo were managed by UN institutions, gender equality in the institutions was likely to bring about greater participation of local women in management of the end-of-crisis process, conflict prevention, and transitional justice. They had to fight for their place in tours and meetings of a UN Security Council delegation with local actors on the basis of Resolution 1325, and in the end the pressure bore fruit and they were included in the tours that were meant for the policy makers. In 2001 the delegation met with the women at the end of their official itinerary, and in 2002, after a determined struggle, the women's organizations were already part of the official policy-making group (Kosova Women's Network, 42).

Years of frustrating attempts to implement UN Resolution 1325 led the women's organizations in the Balkan region to establish two umbrella organizations that would work in conjunction: the Regional Women's Lobby for Peace, Security, and Justice in Southeast Europe (RWL)-a lobby founded in 2005 and made up of leaders from the western Balkans, which acted primarily in formal politics-and the Women's Coalition for Peace (WPC), established in 2006, a grassroots group that brought together more than one hundred women's organizations linked to Women in Black. The joint activity of the women's organizations was grounded in Resolution 1325 and led to achievements in Bosnia-Herzegovina: women's representation became established; women elected to government institutions acted successfully to establish gender mechanisms at every level of government, including a law for gender equality (2003); an agency for the promotion of gender equality was established (2004); and a law against domestic violence was enacted (2005) (Irvine 2013, 27). Even in Kosovo, Resolution 1325 was used in a successful discursive strategy of putting pressure on the local elite, who aspired to obtain international recognition for Kosovo's independence.³¹ In the wake of these efforts, gender equality laws were enacted and representation quotas for women were adopted in the election laws in 2008.

As noted above, the women's organizations also used the opposite discourse, which accords with the principle of the double boomerang: as the local population's hostility toward the government and frustration with it increased, the women's organizations tried to persuade the representatives of international institutions that if they implemented the principles of action that they had decided on, such as Resolution 1325, they would enjoy more trust, more legitimation, and more cooperation from the local population (Irvine 2013, 27). The women's organizations in Kosovo adopted a more assertive approach on this issue and organized public demonstrations to pressure the UN's administration to act in accordance with Resolution 1325.

They were partially successful. The women's organizations had a measure of success regarding human rights and women's participation. But they encountered great difficulties and a lack of understanding regarding UN Resolution 1325 when they sought to make their voices heard and to participate in the discussions over the international status of Kosovo and in discussions on the classic issues of security, war and peace, trafficking of women, and punishment for sexual violence. Sometimes they were silenced by force by the authorities and were prohibited from addressing political and security matters if they wanted to speak in such forums as the International Conference of Women and Government in Eastern Europe. In such cases, following pressure by women's organizations and the suspension of cooperation with UN institutions by global women's organizations, they received an official public apology (Irvine 2013, 29-30).

³¹ See, for example, the argument of the regional lobby, RWL, for support of gender equality in order to obtain international status: "a democratic parity of women with men in Kosovo's assembly would send an unmistakable message about Kosovo's readiness for a fresh start." "Women and the 2007 Elections in Kosovo," Regional Women's Lobby for Peace, Security, and Justice, (accessed October 2, 2013), www.rwlsee.org/images/stories/pressrelease/7112007.pdf.

Resolution 1325 gave the women's organizations in the Balkans a useful, if limited, tool for promoting the inclusion of women in key decision-making bodies, even on very sensitive topics related to international status, transitional justice, and truth commissions. The resolution also made it possible to reframe the activity of the women's organizations and to create a shared regional, cross-border language (Irvine 2013, 34), primarily in relation to sexual violence against women. Here too the women used a boomerang strategy: they exerted international pressure through legal mechanisms to bring governments and individuals to justice (Irvine 2013, 31). However, despite the support the women's organizations received for their demands to participate in decisions regarding transitional justice, they did not always receive the support of the UN or of other international organizations. International organizations came into the region with their own plans and ideas that did not include existing efforts and local interests. Moreover, the women's organizations experienced the activity of international organizations as an ultimatum for reconciliation, without civil society organizations having been consulted, and this caused great frustration (Fetahu 2007, 26). In 2006, the women's organizations held the first meeting of the Regional Commission for Truth-Seeking and Truth-Telling about War Crimes and Other Serious Violations of Human Rights in the former Yugoslavia (RECOM), as a means of exerting pressure for the establishment of an official truth commission, based on UN Resolution 1325, to strengthen their demands. Their activity focused on collecting testimonies of victims and clarifying facts related to the war victims. This initiative, although it aroused skepticism among key figures in the national and international spheres, amassed power and received legitimation from the European Union and the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY), and even from various holders of official positions in the region (Irvine 2013, 32).

The women's organizations succeeded partially in changing the structural sources of inequality (including a change in the models of militarism and in the neoliberal models of economic development after the conflict).

In October 2010 Serbian Women in Black published a report in which they sought to draw international attention to the lack of implementation of UN Resolution 1325 and to the nontransparent and undemocratic process of preparing a national action plan (Benthall 2010). According to them, a decade after the resolution was adopted by Serbia (on October 31, 2000) the Serbian government had still not begun to implement it. That same year a draft of a national action plan—written by the Ministry of Defense and with the exclusion of nongovernmental organizations—was presented for government approval. The plan ignored the experience of the organizations involved in peace activism and dictated the roles of women in resolving the conflict, in postconflict situations and in peace-keeping actions. After the plan was composed, a very brief period was allowed for public reaction (from the end of February to March 15, 2010), which made it very difficult for the women's organizations that had been very active regarding these issues long before the drafting of the action plan.

In the following years, according to the Belgrade Center for Security Policy's report, the government made many efforts to implement the national action plan, but it continued to exclude the civil

society organizations from the process, even though they were its pioneers.³² The BCSP initiated a series of dialogue and study meetings between women's organizations and government representatives who were responsible for implementing the national action plan, and it continued to track the implementation. Recently, the BCSP published a new report on its website covering a conference it had just held on independent monitoring of the action plan. According to the report there has been progress in the implementation of UN Resolution 1325, but there is still much room for improvement. The main work required, according to the center, is the creation of transparency in the implementation of the plan, achieving its goals, and improving the relations between the state and civil society actors.³³

Successful strategies of women's organizations in Serbia and the Balkan countries

- **Protest activities** to influence public opinion
- **Creation of a coalition** of women's organizations
- **Cross-border cooperation** with women's organizations
- **Cooperation** with global women's organizations
- **Discursive use of Resolution 1325** to frame the existing activity of the women's organizations, emphasizing what had been accepted as international norms
- **Exertion of pressure** by means of the double boomerang and grassroots pressure on UN organizations to implement Resolution 1325, include more women in their institutions, and pressure on the local governments to include women; also pressure on the government to implement the resolution so as to achieve greater international legitimation
- **Dialogue** between the women's organizations and state representatives responsible for implementing Resolution 1325
- **Cooperation** with research and policy institutions

³² www.bezbednost.org/BCSP/5048/Civil-society-helps-implementation-of-the-NAP.shtml (accessed October 22, 2013).

³³ www.bezbednost.org/BCSP-News/5291/The-implementation-of-the-National-Action-Plan-on.shtml (accessed October 22, 2013).

Table 4. Successful strategies of women's organizations in Serbia, by type of strategy and partners

Serbia		Partners						
		Civil society in the country	Civil society across the borders	Global civil society	Total population	Government	Research and policy institutes	Official global bodies
Strategies	Protest and resistance					Protest vigils		
	Political dialogue	Coalition of women's organizations	Cooperation			Dialogue and pressure to implement UN Resolution 1325 in order to achieve international legitimacy		
	Constitutional reform							
	Mobilization of legitimacy			"Double boomerang"—pressure to implement UN Resolution 1325	By means of demonstrations		Cooperation—mediation between women's organizations and state representatives	"Double boomerang"—pressure on the UN to implement Resolution 1325

5. Liberia

Background and description of the conflict

A civil war between Christians and Muslims raged for fourteen years (1989-2003) in Liberia. The long war years in this East African country were catastrophic for women and children, who suffered some of the worst atrocities and cruelty ever seen on the African continent. More than 60% of the women reported they had been raped, many of them were used as sex slaves, and some were forced to have sexual relations with children, with their own children, and with their brothers.

Liberia is still dealing with the ramifications of the war, which have affected every aspect of life, and many of the tensions that led to the conflict have still not been resolved. Evidence of that can be seen in Liberia's ranking as 182 out of 187 in the Human Development Index, below the regional average in Africa.³⁴ Women had an important role in ending the war in Liberia and in the signing of a peace agreement in 2003. Christian and Muslim women issued a joint call to end the war's atrocities. At the end of the war they demanded that at least 30% of the members of parliament be women. Without the women's support, Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, known as "Ma Ellen," could not have won the presidential election in 2005. Immediately after her election, she vigorously promoted anti-rape legislation and pressed for the implementation of a national action plan based on UN Resolution 1325. President Sirleaf appointed more women to government positions than at any time in Liberia's history: in 2012, 31% of the ministers were women (compared with 25% in 2011

³⁴ *Women Count, Security Council Resolution 1325: Civil Society Monitoring Report 2012, Liberia.* http://www.gnwp.org/sites/default/files/resource-field_media/Liberia_0.pdf (accessed Dec. 3, 2014).

and 22% in 2006). Of the deputy ministers, 29% were women, and 25% of the ministers' assistants were women.³⁵

Nevertheless, sexual violence against women and children is widespread in Liberia to this day, and it is one of the key issues with which the Liberian national action plan must contend in implementing UN Resolution 1325. One of the main ways to deal with sexual violence is by means of police forces: a UN women's police force from India is responsible for security in the capital, Monrovia, and for enlisting local police officers.³⁶ In 2005, women constituted only 1% of the police force, but in 2010 women constituted 20% of the total force and 10% of the operational force. This is still a low percentage, but it is much better than the situation five years before.

After the war the Liberian police established a new unit, the Bureau for the Protection of Women and Children, which is the address for complaints of women and children.³⁷ This unit operated in all of Liberia's fifteen counties. In addition, the women's organizations influenced the way in which police officers enforced the rape law and succeeded in substantially increasing the number of rape cases that reached the courts. Since the end of the war, in 2003, the women's organizations have worked to build institutions to deal with rape, either independently or, mainly, in conjunction with the government and international organizations. They have established lobbies to change the sentencing code for rape, written policy papers against gender-based violence, and allocated resources for educating the law's enforcers and the general public. These efforts have had both a direct and an indirect effect on the enforcement of the rape law.

Christiana Tah, Liberia's justice minister, was appointed by President Sirleaf in 2009 and acts in accordance with her declared vision of "justice, peace, and security for all."³⁸ Under her leadership, and in conjunction with the Bureau for the Protection of Women and Children, the situation has improved greatly in the capital and in other urban centers, but in the mountainous regions, which are distant and poor, it is still difficult for women and children to find channels for seeking justice. There, men still have absolute control of the judicial system, and women and children are prohibited from lodging complaints about spouses, fathers, or other men who harm them.

The achievement of having many women in government, at the head of various organizations and in high positions in the police force, is ascribed to the success of Sirleaf and the national action plan. The decision to create a national action plan was adopted unanimously in 2000. In advance of the writing of the plan, in 2007 a process of consultation began that included the relevant bodies in the United States, an international conference of women was held that included dialogue between all the interested parties, and there were an additional four months of evaluation (in 2008) by advisers who listened to many interested parties, including

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 5.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 3.

³⁷ www.visionews.net/liberia-leading-the-way-on-1325-but-still-some-way-to-go/ (accessed December 6, 2013).

³⁸ See the website of the Liberian Ministry of Justice: www.moj.gov.lr (accessed June 8, 2014).

women's organizations and civil society organizations.³⁹ Following the plan's approval by the dialogue participants, it was presented to leading forums of decision makers. The work process included discussions and a workshop on developing indicators, with twelve representatives of government ministries, government agencies, the reconciliation commission, the National Steering Committee for Monitoring and Supervising the Implementation of UN Resolution 1325, civil society, community organizations, and others. The discussions and workshop were organized by the Ministry of Gender and Development and were supported by the United Nations Fund for Women.⁴⁰

In 2009 Liberia launched its national action plan, thus becoming the first country to implement UN Resolution 1325 at the end of a conflict (Caesar et al. 2010, 8), and the second African country (after the Ivory Coast). The national action plan includes measures for monitoring and evaluation to adopt a NAP and is carried out and monitored by the government, but no single ministry is defined as being responsible. The plan was seen as a "living document" (2009-2013), and periodic reports are presented to the president. The monitoring of the plan is in the hands of the National Steering Committee (advisers from all government ministries), which has a committee for monitoring and evaluation, including civil society observers.⁴¹

Implementing the action plan and officially monitoring it is the responsibility of the Liberian government. Annual reports are presented by the Ministry of Gender and Development to the president and cabinet, and at the end of four years of implementing the plan, the government will present a report to the UN Security Council and to the special adviser on gender issues in the UN secretary-general's office.⁴² The action plan lays the responsibility for implementing parts of it on the UN member countries, civil society, international bodies, donor countries, and the private sector. Since 2011 the Civil Society Monitoring Observatory (CSMO)- a forum of seventeen observers (most of them women from rights organizations)-has been monitoring the implementation of the national action plan.⁴³ CSMO plans to present a shadow report, parallel to the report that the government will present to the UN, at the end of the first four years of implementation of the national action plan.

A study conducted in 2010, by Initiative for Peacebuilding and the international watchdog organization International Alert, documents and examines achievements and insights gained from the implementation of the national action plan in Liberia through three topics:

39 www.peacewomen.org/assets/file/NationalActionPlans/un_comparativechart1325naps_2009.pdf (mentioned also in the section on Finland, accessed October 22, 2013).

40 Liberia National Action Plan (LNAP), 8. http://www.peacewomen.org/assets/file/NationalActionPlans/liberia_nationalactionplanmarch2009.pdf (accessed Dec. 3, 2014).

41 Ibid.

42 Ibid., 9.

43 *Women Count, Security Council Resolution 1325: Civil Society Monitoring Report 2012, Liberia*, 11.

- The degree of coordination, cooperation, and networking between the women's organizations
- Activities and strategies of the women's organizations
- The influence of women's organizations

This study's main findings show many achievements in the area of gender equality, the dissemination of gender thinking, and judicial and economic justice for women. All these are the outcome of the joint efforts of the government, the legislative branch, and women's organizations (Caesar et al. 2010, 10). Nevertheless, there is confusion among activist women regarding the division of labor between the government and civil society in implementing Resolution 1325, and especially in implementing the national action plan. This confusion derives from a paradox that is not unique to the Liberian context: civil society has an important role in implementing activities supported by the government as part of the national action plan, but civil society organizations are responsible for monitoring government activity and for influencing the government to accept the priorities of the women's organizations. One of the universal challenges of women's organizations is navigating between the government's potential refusal to fund their activities and concurrent, independent monitoring of the influence of the government's approach to implementing Resolution 1325. After all, implementing a national action plan is not a technocratic practice but is rather inherently political, involving negotiations over priorities and arousing constant tension between the government and civil society organizations (Caesar et al. 2010, 10). Existing tensions in Liberia indicate that the state is in the process of building connections and work processes that include the civil society. The task of the government, of civil society organizations, and of the key figures in the international sphere is to find an opportunity to strengthen and develop a productive division of labor between the government and the civil society organizations, without compromising the independent role of the women's organizations. Such opportunities can be created in dialogues between the government and the organizations to examine a better way to progress in implementing the national action plan.

As part of the study (Caesar et al. 2010, 11), women activists were asked to recount stories of success in implementing the plan. The areas they noted were:

- Progress toward achieving gender equality and women's rights
- The network created between women's organizations and the alliances formed between them, enabling them to join forces and increase their influence in achieving women's rights

One of the important findings of this study was that women's organizations sometimes use innovative methods and activities whose contribution is not recognized immediately by the government or by international organizations. Most of the grassroots work is based on the needs of women as they are expressed by the women themselves, and even if the advantages of field work are not visible immediately, such work proves itself to be suitable for the women who need

it. One of the best examples of this is the access of the secretariat of women's organizations in Liberia to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC). The secretariat led community dialogues in fifteen provinces with the aim of raising awareness and encouraging women's participation in community processes of transitional justice. In these dialogues, the TRC report was analyzed, and women were given the opportunity to make their voices heard and to draw attention to their perspective.

The direct involvement of community-based women's organizations in Liberia bridges the gap between policy and practice. Thus, they use and sometimes even multiply the limited resources available to them and their influence on women in distress. At the same time, internal criticism is voiced regarding the slow pace of progress, the relatively small circles of community influence, and the activity that responds to specific local needs and priorities. The activist women feel that there is a need for a more strategic approach in order to maintain the achievements and to increase the influence of the women's organizations on the institutional level. Women's organizations in Liberia can get many women to take part in a joint protest based on shared interests; this is an important source of power for them. But of course it also contains a weakness: these are ad hoc associations that do not last long, and they are not accompanied by evaluation or deep processes (Caesar et al. 2010, 11-12). The lack of funding is a great obstacle to the activity of women's organizations in Liberia, and consequently the organizations compete with each other for limited resources. Another obstacle is the tendency of donors to fund quick, short-term projects.

The women in the organizations see a need for consistent monitoring and evaluation, at the civil society level and at the governmental level. The absence of comprehensive evaluation is viewed as the result of the lack of skills and resources. This prevents active learning and renewed definitions of strategic approaches.

Many women activists in Liberia do not understand Resolution 1325 and the other UN documents. They do not feel that they own the resolutions and do not understand the actions of the government on these issues and on the national action plan (Caesar et al. 2010, 13). The study revealed that understanding and a feeling of ownership of Resolution 1325 depend on how they were presented and framed in relation to two distinct target audiences: individuals and communities, on the one hand, and policy-makers and decision makers, on the other.

Contributions and achievements of the national action plan in Liberia

- **Women made a decisive contribution** toward maintaining peace and stability before, during, and after the 2011 elections to the presidency and parliament. Members of Liberia Women Peace Leaders and Activists established the Women's Situation Room—a combined lobbying process whereby they addressed all key figures and relevant parties among the political parties, state agencies, civil society, the media, students, and young people and

urged them to hold a democratic and nonviolent election, in keeping with resolutions 1325 and 1820.⁴⁴

- **Laws were passed** that gave women who were wed in traditional marriages equal status to those married in accordance with the law. Until then women wed in traditional marriages had few rights and lost their right to own land.⁴⁵
- **Although there are as yet no policy or laws relating explicitly to sexual exploitation or abuse** in schools, nor is there a system for punishing such acts, in recent years two laws have been enacted that protect women from sexual violence, and a penal law dealing with rape has also been enacted.⁴⁶
- **Between 2000 and 2009 the administration of President Sirleaf succeeded** in increasing the percentage of girls in elementary school from 72% to 90%, and in high school from 71% to 75%.⁴⁷
- **In mountain communities**, schools for adults, aimed mainly at women, are being established as the result of cooperation between the state and civil society organizations.⁴⁸
- **There is development in the training of women** and the creation of economic opportunities for them in small businesses and designated markets. Some 1,250 girls and young women at risk were trained intensively in new skills so they could become employable or develop a business.⁴⁹
- **Gendered thinking in the security sector** is being disseminated: in 2009 a national gender policy was developed by the Ministry of Gender for use by the national police and the special units for dealing with women and children.⁵⁰
- **Steps are being taken to disseminate gendered thinking** in all public institutions. (Drafts of rules for dealing with sexual harassment, of plans for women's representation and advancement, and of other plans for dealing with gender inequality have been submitted to the legislators.)⁵¹

44 Women Count, Security Council Resolution 1325: Civil Society Monitoring Report 2012, Liberia, 6.

45 Ibid., 5.

46 Ibid., 13.

47 Ibid., 3.

48 Rebecca Stubblefield, *Implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 in Liberia*, Gunda-Werner-Institut, 3, (accessed November 24, 2014),

<http://www.gwi-boell.de/en/2010/09/30/implementation-un-security-council-resolution-1325-liberia>.

49 Ibid., 4.

50 Ibid., 2.

51 Ibid.

- Special courts have been established, in which five women judges preside, for hearing cases of rape.⁵²

Strategies

- **Building** a coalition of women's organizations
- **Cross-border dialogue** and coalition between Christian and Muslim women
- **Dialogue and cooperation** between the government, the legislative branch, and women's organizations
- **Community dialogues** for women's participation in processes of transitional justice and construction of the Women's Situation Room in the elections
- **Provision of information** and training: community dialogues, education and training for women, workshops for law enforcers and the public
- **Lobbying** to correct the penal code regarding gender-based violence

Table 5. Successful strategies of women's organizations in Liberia, by type of strategy and partners

Liberia		Partners				
		Civil society in the country	Civil society across the borders	Total population	Armed groups/ security forces	Government and official state organizations
Strategies	Political dialogue	Coalition	Dialogue and coalition			Dialogue and cooperation
	Constitutional reform					Lobbying to amend the penal code regarding gender-based violence
	Mobilization of legitimation			Dissemination of information and training	Dissemination of information and training	

⁵² Ibid., 3.

Chapter Three

Successful Strategies and Processes for Implementing UN Resolution 1325

Successful strategies in the countries compared include protest and resistance, political dialogue, constitutional reform, mobilization of legitimacy, and acquisition of tools, in conjunction with various partners: civil society (within the country, across the borders of conflict, and globally), the country's general population, armed groups and security forces, the government and key official organizations, research and policy institutes, local government, and official global bodies. All the main actions are presented in Table 6, which shows that the key strategies are political dialogue and mobilization of legitimacy. Dialogue, when it is successful, turns into cooperation, whether for building a coalition of parallel organizations or between women's organizations and armed groups or the state. The mobilization of legitimacy is sometimes hard to distinguish from the social change itself, which often involves disseminating knowledge in workshops and training security forces or government officials who are in charge of implementing UN resolutions.

Table 6. Successful strategies of women's organizations in the countries compared, by type of strategy and partners

Strategies		Partners												
		Civil society in the country	Cross-border civil society	Global civil society	The general population	Armed groups/ security forces	Government and official state organizations	Research and policy institutes	Local government/ (municipalities and local authorities)	Global official bodies				
Protest and resistance														
Political dialogue		Construction of a central body to conduct negotiations with the government, a coalition of women's organizations	Cooperation, dialogue, and construction of a coalition	Cooperation in internal influence, using the "double boomerang" method; applying pressure to the UN to implement Resolution 1325	Community dialogues		Cooperation, dialogue, pressure, and implementation of 1325 to achieve international legitimization	Tripartite cooperation with women's organizations and the government; mediators between the women's organizations and the state						
Constitutional reform														
Mobilization of legitimization					Public campaign; consultation and shared writing, dissemination of knowledge, training, demonstrations									Pressure on the UN to implement Resolution 1325
Tools				writing and implementation of 1325; coalition										

Summary of strategies

Chapter four

Summary and Recommendations

As this research report is being presented, a coalition of women's organizations in Israel is promoting the implementation of UN Resolution 1325. To that end, a proposal for a comprehensive action plan has been written, and many actions of lobbying and dialogue have been undertaken with official state bodies and both men and women politicians who support the coalition's actions. **On December 14, 2014** these efforts received a significant boost from the governmental announcement on the establishment of an inter ministerial team for the formation and consolidation of a national action plan for the implementation of UNSCR 1325.

For the past two years the coalition has led many actions of dissemination of knowledge and publicity, such as the launching of the comprehensive action plan and the "Safety Pin" campaign, the maintenance of a website and a Facebook page, and dissemination of information through additional channels. Among the members of the coalition are many women with experience in all the relevant strategies, who have professional connections with all the relevant partners. Following the governmental announcement, now is the time to help the government to form a national action plan with an obligating schedule and a supporting budget. Therefore, the main recommendation of this document is twofold: a continued focus on decision makers and a broadening of actions aimed at mobilizing legitimation, such as dissemination of knowledge and activation of the boomerang effect to increase the pressure on decision makers. At the same time, we recommend making an effort to preserve the coalition of organizations.

1. Focus on decision makers

- Focusing efforts on mobilization of key individuals who are likely to help in promoting the action plan
- Use of connections with global civil society organizations for putting pressure on official state bodies
- Framing the implementation of the resolution as being in keeping with other goals of the State of Israel (such as international legitimation)

2. Broadening the actions of mobilization of legitimacy

- Clarifying the logical connection between representation of women in various social places and the broadening of the concept of security (members of the coalition must be well versed in the discourse linking these components and its sociological logic)
- Disseminating information and creating a lively and continuous discourse pertaining to UN Resolution 1325, women's representation, diversity, and security in its broader sense
- Constant creation of reliable and relevant information (such as gendered breakdown of the percentage of women in key security decision-making positions, clarification of the connection between the classic definition of security and its broad definition, and illustrating how women in various locations change the security discourse)
- Emphasis on dialogue and cooperation between women in various social locations within the coalition of organizations

3. Maintaining and broadening the 1325 network

- Maintaining contact with the network of women and organizations that participated in writing the plan so as to preserve the strength and solidarity that were amassed during the two years of writing
- Persistence in the effort to broaden the 1325 network by turning to women in various locations and in additional organizations
- Connecting to global women's networks