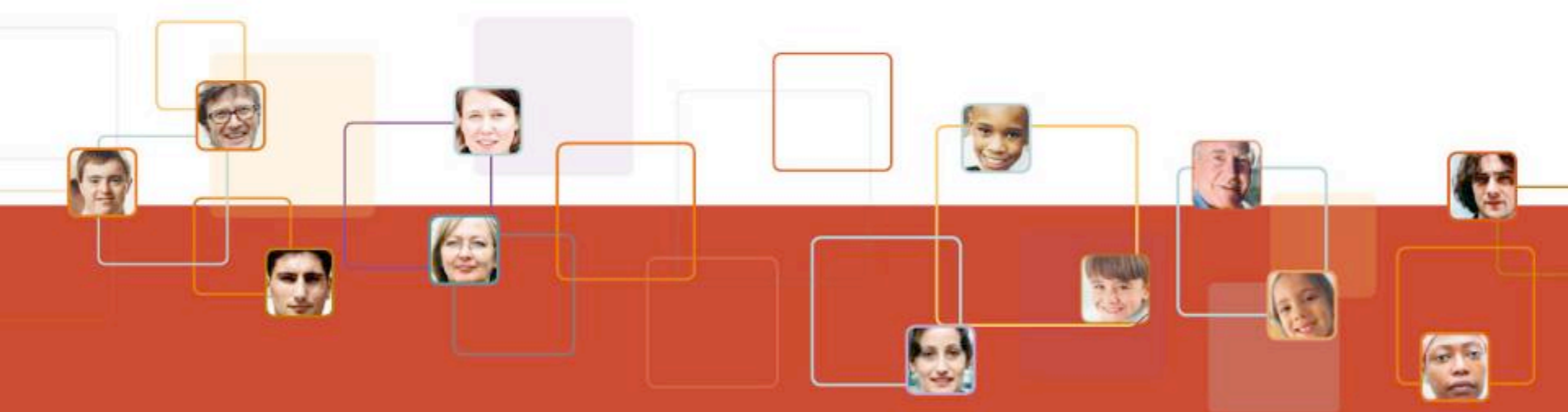


# **Women's Participation in Peace-Making and Security**

## **Monica McWilliams**

### **Forward Global Women: Minnesota**

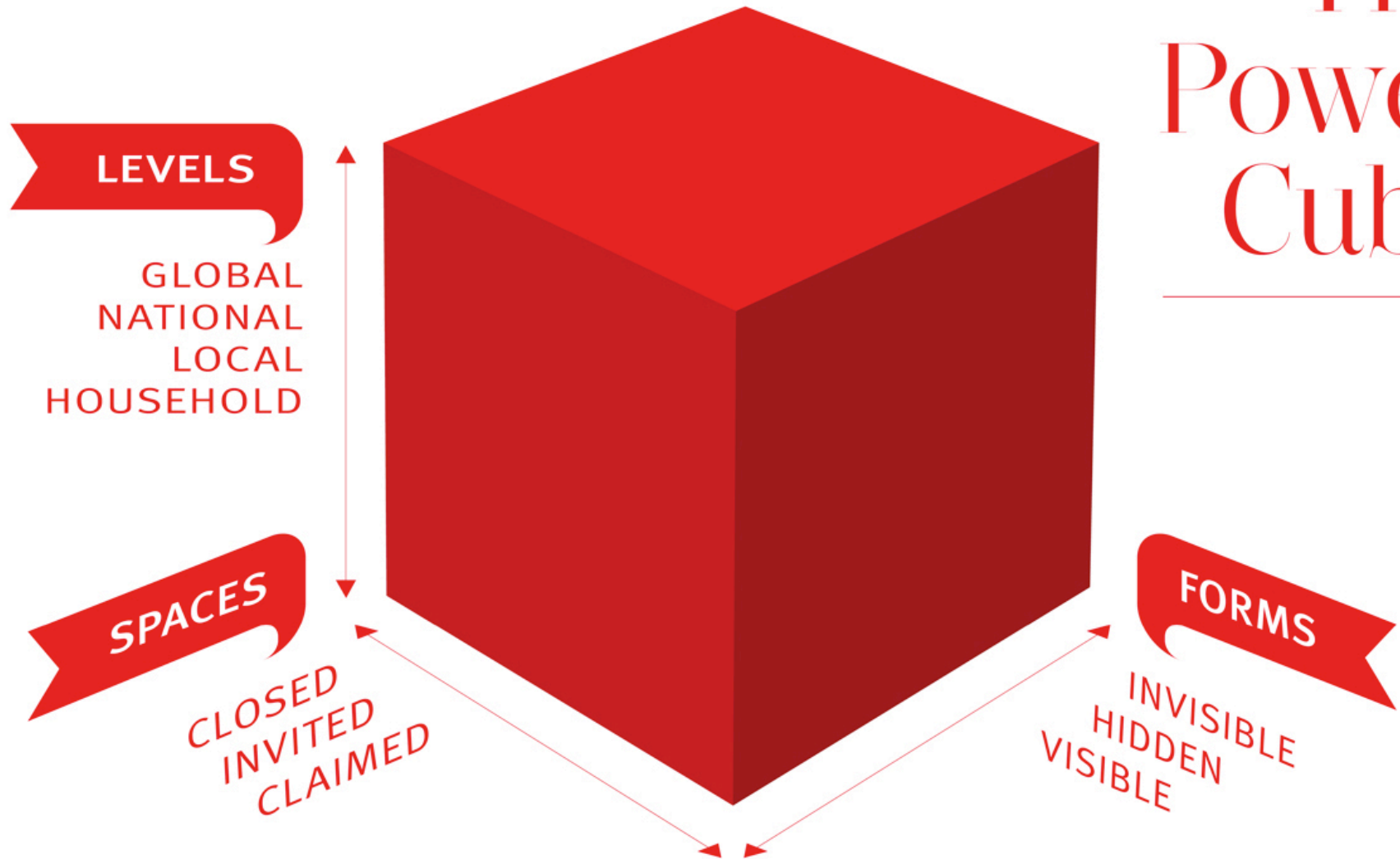
### **August 19<sup>th</sup> 2013**



# Gender Issues in a Peace Process

- Mainstreaming a gender perspective at various stages of a peace process
- Gender-specific dimensions of conflict
- Differentiated experience of conflict on men and women
- Women roles in peacemaking and peace building
- Inclusion of women's interests in peace agreements
- Guaranteeing equality and human rights for women post conflict

# The Power Cube



# WOMEN, PEACE AND SECURITY AGENDA

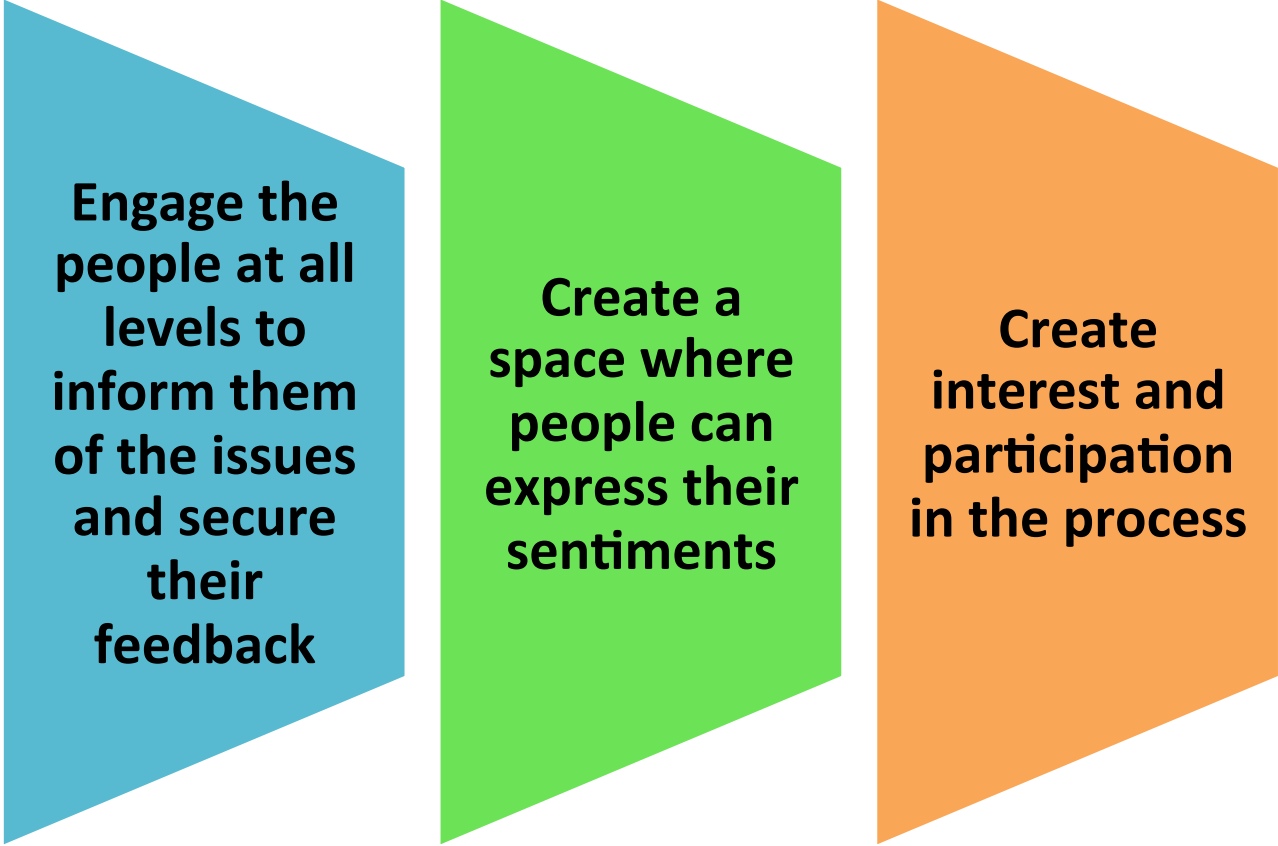
Since 1992 Women have represented fewer than 8% of negotiators to major peace talks.

Only 3% have been signatories

What difference has UN 1325 made?



# Why women need to be at the table



**Engage the  
people at all  
levels to  
inform them  
of the issues  
and secure  
their  
feedback**

**Create a  
space where  
people can  
express their  
sentiments**

**Create  
interest and  
participation  
in the process**

# WOMEN WERE ALWAYS NEGOTIATING



Behind the scene – focusing on wider interests

# BUT OUTSIDERS ARE NOT WELCOME



**Charges rejected:**  
Ian Paisley Junior



**Unionists accused:**  
Monica McWilliams

## Women 'treated with derision'

By Mark Simpson

THE Women's Coalition today complained of repeated jibes from unionist politicians and called on them to call a 'ceasefire'.

Monica McWilliams said she and her colleagues at the Stormont talks are being treated with derision, and they want unionist attitudes to change by the time negotiations resume next month.

Ms McWilliams — one of two negotiators representing the coalition at the talks and the Forum — claims members have been subjected to derogatory and demeaning remarks.

"Silly women" was a frequent put-down aimed at them, she said.

Ms McWilliams said: "The antagonism has come from the DUP, the UK Unionists and to a lesser extent the Ulster Unionist Party.

"I hope that the five weeks of time-out at the talks will give them an opportunity to come back in a less crabbed and more tolerant mood.

"Clearly we are driving home useful political points otherwise one would think that they would not find it necessary to respond in such a personal fashion."

But DUP delegate Ian Paisley Jr today rejected the charges and his message to the women was: "If you can't stand the heat in politics, you should not be in the kitchen."

He added: "I must say it is a bit trivial and tedious of the

Women's Coalition to be running around making a fuss about this.

"As far as I am aware, the Women's Coalition give as good as they get. I seem to remember a member of the coalition berating and heckling Dr Paisley in front of the national media this week.

"Most of the time, our party does not take the Women's Coalition under our notice. We have more important things to do."

Jeff Dudgeon, a member of the UK Unionist team at Stormont, said: "Their complaints only illustrate their political inexperience.

"It is no surprise that they are finding opposition from the pro-Union parties because they have clearly failed to understand any

of the concerns of those parties."

The Women's Coalition, which was formed in April, contains both nationalists and unionists.

Ms McWilliams said: "We have women of both traditions but we are actively working out of these traditions, to move onto something new that we are going to have to arrive at in Northern Ireland.

"It's very good for women to be in the talks observing the style of politics as well as making attempts to change it.

"We, as much as anyone else, are effective negotiators."

The coalition believes its contribution at the Stormont negotiating table has been productive, and it has no intention of merely shrinking into the background.

*Belfast Tele. Aug. 2nd 96.*

## DE-CONSTRUCTIING THE USUSAL PROCESS

- Civic society may be entering murky waters
- Overt hostility is often used to intimidate
- Formal processes are not designed for women coming in from the 'outside'
- Support needed from outside the room



# Bosnia: No women at the Dayton talks



# NO MAS GUERRA, NO MAS VIOLENCIA



Civil Dialogue in Bogota 2011 In Preparation for the talks between FARC and the Colombian government



# Women suffer the brunt of war in Eastern Provinces of the DR Congo





- The Transition Commission in the Philippines





# THE MIDDLE EAST



Negotiators for peace: (l-r) Monica McWilliams, Aloni Shulamit, Hanan Ashrawi and panel moderator Alison Smith.

# Why Women?

**Representation** – women being fully present

**Deliberation** – involving those affected in reflective outcomes

**Inclusion** - addressing specific needs

**Expertise** – skills and capacity

**Role models** – women in serious positions

# The GeoPolitics of Conflict



# Partition of Ireland





## VIOLATIONS ATTRACT WORLD ATTENTION 1969-1998



A Para grabs a youth by the hair as he arrests him in Derry on Bloody Sunday. Photograph: Fred Hoare/Belfast Telegraph

# PEACE IS A PROCESS AND NOT AN EVENT

- Conflict Management - Ceasefire & Negotiations
- Conflict Resolution – Agreement/ Implementation
- Conflict Transformation - Reconciliation

- **Philipino and Mindano side sign their Agreement**
- **15 October 2012**
- **Concluded in 32<sup>nd</sup> Exploratory Talks (from 1997)**
- **Finalized on 13<sup>th</sup> meeting**





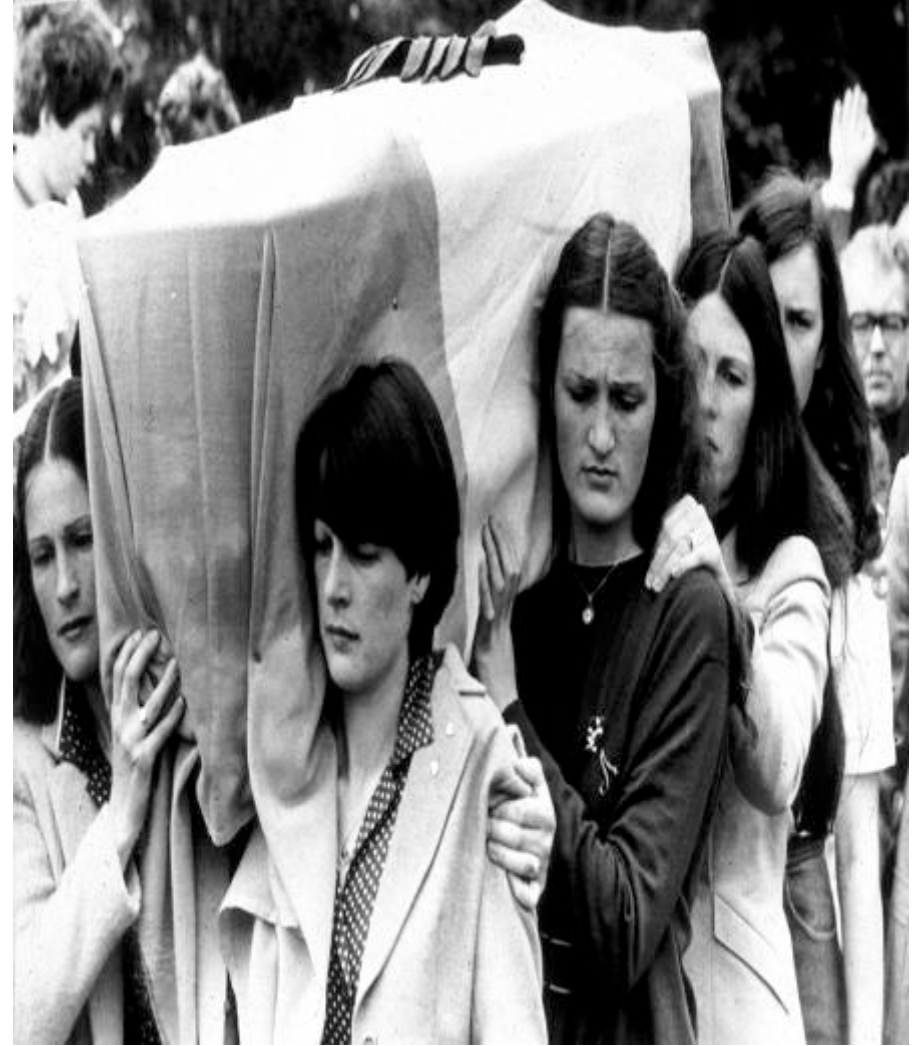


WE SEEK  
NOTHING BUT  
THE ELEMENTARY  
RIGHT IMPLANTED  
IN EVERY MAN:  
THE RIGHT  
IF YOU ARE ATTACKED,  
TO DEFEND YOURSELF.





# CALLING A DRAW TO HOSTILITIES



# Making the transition from this?

Murdered  
Disappeared  
Bombed

Scarred  
Physically  
Mentally

Displaced  
Exiled  
Homeless

Imprisonment  
Internment  
Detention

Segregation  
Division  
Separation

# HAVE TO ASK NEW QUESTIONS

CITIZENS ALLEGIANCES

CITIZENS ENTITLEMENTS = POWER OVER  
OWN AFFAIRS

CITIZENS CONSENT = HOW PEOPLE WANT TO  
BE GOVERNED



# RECOGNISING THE MUTUALLY HURTING STALEMATE



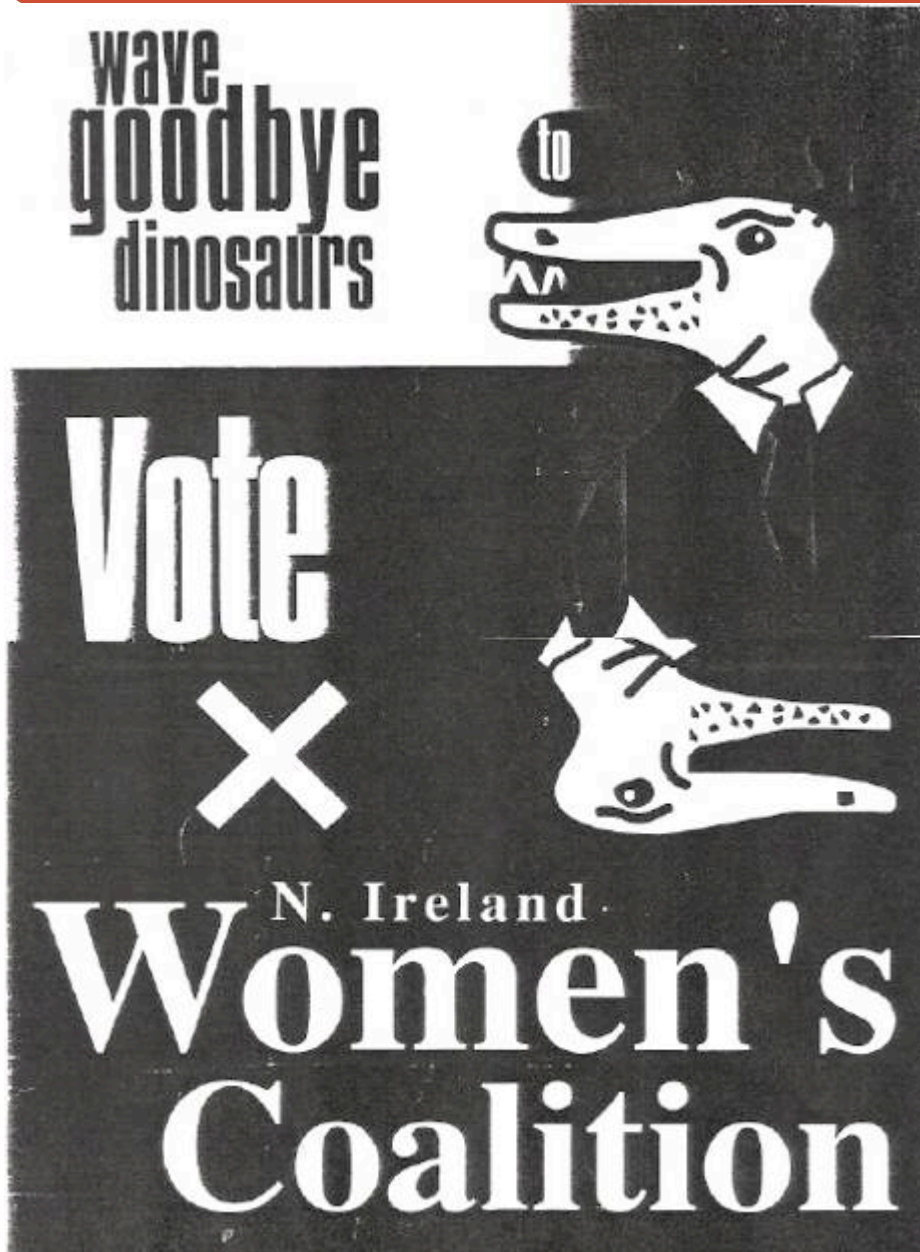
**1997 - CEASEFIRE REINSTATED**



## PRE-EXISTING NETWORKS PUT 70 WOMEN ON THE BALLOT SHEET



## WHERE DID THESE WOMEN COME FROM?



### **Political resentment to the Women's Coalition vanguard action**

*'women should leave politics and leadership alone...'  
male leader of the largest political party*

*'they (the Women's Coalition) must be a cult so they will grow into each other and disappear'...  
male leader of a main political party in Northern Ireland*



# WOMEN MARCHING FOR CIVIL RIGHTS FOR A LONG TIME



Women take the lead, but  
too often written out of  
history



And still marching to bring home equality







W



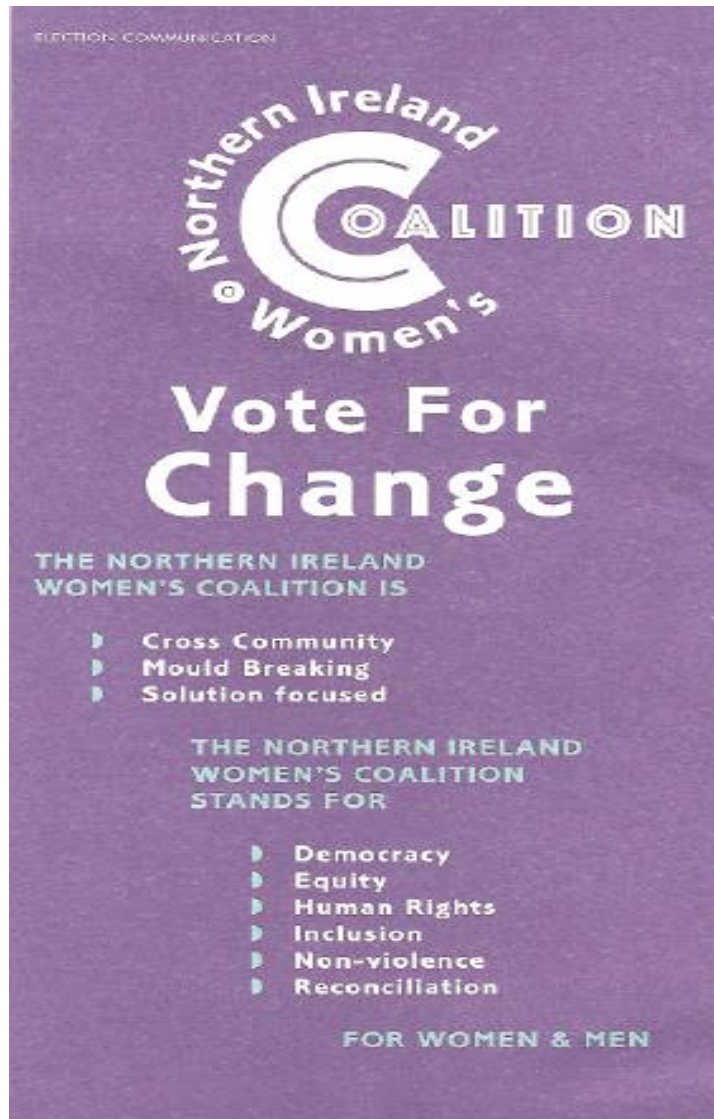
MEN

AGAINST

OPPRESSION



# ELECTED TO THE PEACE TALKS IN SIX WEEKS



## AND EVEN IN JAPANESE!

# Transversal Politics

Building a broad base without compromising core principles –

- each participant brings with her the **rooting** in her own membership and identity
- but at the same time tries to shift in order to put herself in a situation of **exchange** with those who have different membership and identity



# Recognising the legitimacy of others



Where exclusion breeds insecurity

Build a sufficiency of consensus



*To Monica McWilliams*





# WHO GETS TO THE TABLE?

## PRESIDENT OBAMA

Peace accords are too often negotiated between

- Armed combatants who originally fought the war or
- Groups whose experiences are not easily transferred

When women are included as meaningful participants:

- Enlarge the scope of agreements
- Include the broader set of critical societal priorities
- Insert needs required for lasting peace.

# First Women Special Envoy Appointed

Special Envoy, Mary Robinson, was appointed by the UN Security Council to Central Africa in 2013.

Highlighted that in 20 years of “killings, rape, destruction, and displacement, women have suffered most.”





# Women as agents of change

“Women’s voices should not only be heard because they are the victims of the war. Their active participation in peace efforts is essential because they are the most effective peace builders. I believe they are the region’s best hope for building lasting peace.”

(July 25<sup>th</sup> 2013: United Nations Security Council)

## FACILITATORS, MEDIATORS, NEGOTIATORS

Senator Mitchell, the Chairperson and International Mediator at the talks,

... the two women who made it to the table had a tough time at first. They were treated quite rudely by some of the male politicians ... through their own **perseverance and talent**, by the end of the process they were **valued contributors**'.

# COMPROMISE – A STRENGTH NOT A WEAKNESS

## Women must stay strong

THE Northern Ireland Women's Coalition is entitled to be exasperated over the treatment it has received from unionist politicians in recent weeks.

Monica McWilliams, one of the negotiators representing the coalition at both the Forum and the Inter-party talks, yesterday expressed her irritation about the string of insults which has been directed at her group.

She said, when the talks resumed in September, she hoped the unionist delegates would return to a 'less crabbed and more tolerant' mood.

Her words deserve to be taken very seriously by male members of the Ulster Unionists, the UK Unionists and the DUP.

Their behaviour towards female politicians at Stormont and the Interpoint building has been quite appalling.

At least three specific examples can be provided of the sexist attitudes to be found at both venues.

The most outrageous came when Ms McWilliams attempted to raise a perfectly legitimate point during a recent debate at the Forum.

She was repeatedly told to 'sit down and shut up', while a voice from the unionist seats referred to her loudly and unmistakably as a 'stupid woman'.

The crude attempt to shout down Ms McWilliams was followed by an equally offensive outburst at Stormont from the Ulster Unionist deputy leader John Taylor.

He launched an attack on the Irish Justice Minister Nora Owen, and set out to give the impression that he could not remember her name.

Mr Taylor talked about 'this woman from Dublin... Mary Owen or whatever her name is', as though she was an obscure councillor rather than one of the most important figures in the Dublin government.

Ian Paisley adopted much the same attitude during an exchange outside Stormont with another leading member of the Women's Coalition, Bernagh Hinds.

Addressing the cameras, as Ms Hinds entered the building, Mr Paisley said: 'I don't know who she is, who is she anyway?'

Ms Hinds, to her credit, lost no time in pointing out that she had been regularly taking part in talks with Mr Paisley, and he could have been in no doubt about her identity.

It is inconceivable that male politicians from any party would have been treated in this patronising way by unionist representatives.

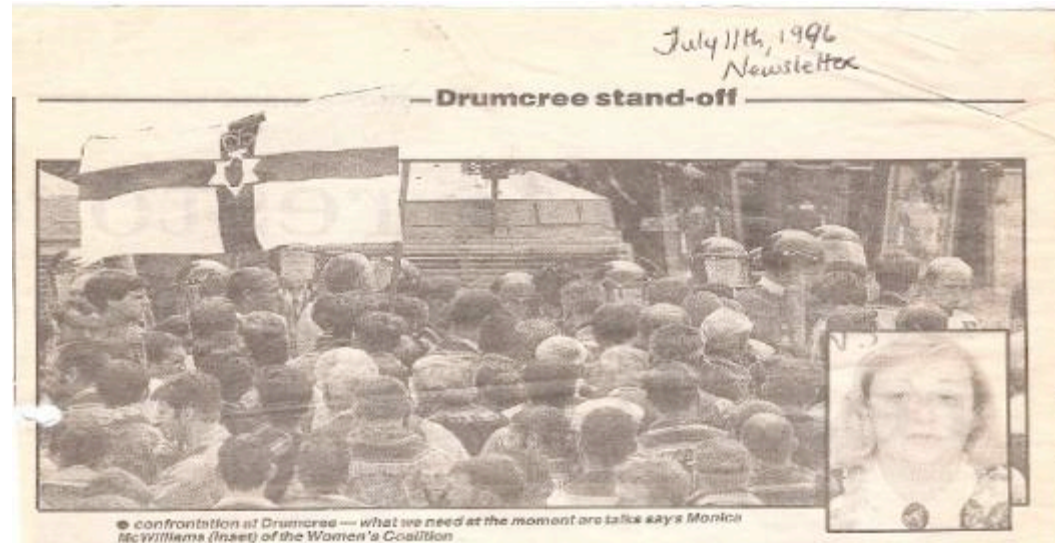
Female members of the main unionist parties now have a duty to make their feelings known about the antics of their male colleagues.

As for the Women's Coalition, it should make every effort to avoid being provoked by the likes of Mr Taylor and Mr Paisley.

If the group was having no impact, it would simply have been ignored by the unionist parties.

By quietly and firmly stating its case, despite all the bully-boy tactics, it has attracted considerable public sympathy.

1 JULY NEWS AUGUST 3, 1996



## 'Compromise is not a dirty word'

THERE were hundreds of men at Drumcree yesterday, locked in conflict.

And two women in Belfast, looking for peace.

The Ulster People's College, a leafy haven in the south of the city, is an institution aimed at bringing both communities together.

And yesterday Monica McWilliams and May Blood of the Northern Ireland Women's Coalition met there in the middle of a week which has driven the two communities apart yet again.

Ms Blood, a community worker in the Shankill, told the Press conference she had never seen people so terrified, even in an area which was used to fear.

"You can almost touch the fear, it is in the air, and it feels as if the whole country has become a bedrock of rumour. I met a woman in a pub because the post office closed this morning, and she thought the whole country was shutting down. But the post office closes every Wednesday afternoon."

"Most people feel that Drumcree is the culmination of a series of misconceptions in nation-

alism, but they certainly don't support the sort of violence that's been caused by people who are out of control."

"Turning people out of their homes and businesses is not the answer, and a stand-off is not the answer."

"This is not the last stand of Ulster, and there is a solution to it, which has to be found for the sake of both the Protestant and Catholic people in Northern Ireland, and that solution will only be found by talking. The longer we go on without talking and trying to find a solution, the harder it will be to go back."

"I mean, the problem is straightforward. The Orangemen at Drumcree want to march down the road, and the people who live there don't want them to. It's up to the two sides involved to sit down and find a solution."

"Last year there was a compromise arrived at, but unfortunately the Orangemen chose to make a victory out of that, so naturally the local people felt aggrieved by that triumphalism."

And Ms McWilliams said: "We understand the frustration of the loyalist people, but at the local level and every other level, what we

need at the moment are talks to try and find some sort of accommodation."

"There are women involved at Drumcree at the moment, both on the Orange side and on the Garveyite side, so it could be a good thing if some way was found for them to get together."

"There's been a lot of macho posturing by political leaders at the moment, but we've actually found at the Stormont talks that negotiations by the Women's Coalition have been accepted because we're not seen as a threat in the way that one side or the other are."

"What we've also got to do is separate what is happening at Drumcree from the talks at Stormont, which people seem unable to do."

"What happened at Drumcree is a policing decision, but loyalists are seeing it as part of a process of talks which are somehow engaged in turning them over to the Republic, which simply cannot be the case. It's even got to the stage where some people think the decision not to allow the march at Drumcree was taken at the Stormont talks."

"Most important of all, we've got to get rid of the We Win — You Lose attitude in Northern Ireland politics. Compromise is not a dirty word."

By GEOFF HILL



## WHEN NOTHING IS AGREED UNTIL EVERYTHING IS AGREED

- Create confidence building steps
- Seat parties alphabetically
- Keep the dialogue going
- Breaking down tension/dispel rumours
- Engage those who are sceptical
- Keep back channels open
- Encourage parties to stay on board

# 1994 CEASEFIRES :1998 PEACETALKS

**Telegraph**

**COUNTDOWN TO CEASEFIRE** Special section inside

After 3,168 deaths and 25 years of terror, the IRA says...

## IT'S OVER



**Enniskillen**      **Abercorn**      **Shankill**

**Provos call a halt to their campaign**

Truce to start at midnight

**SALE 50% OFF**

**HURRY! ALL STOCK MUST GO**

**EMPIRE**

**WEATHER**

**LOOKING FOR CURTAIN FABRIC?**

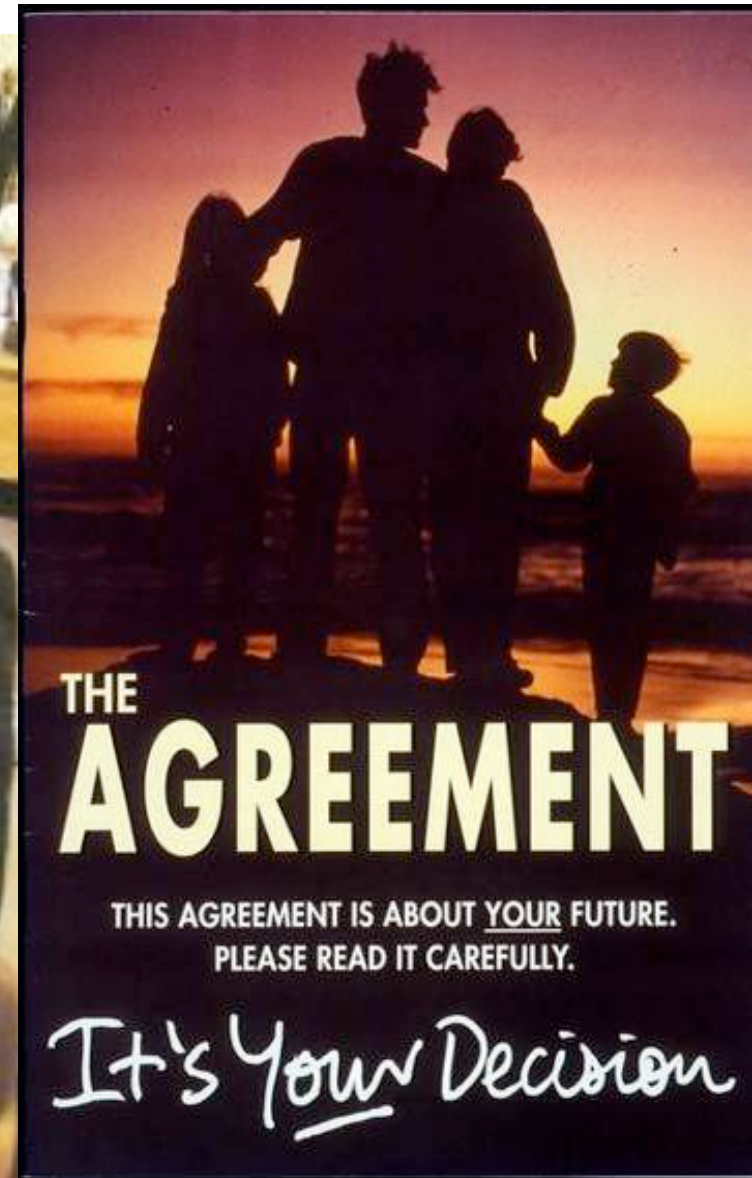
**TOP QUALITY CURTAIN & UPHOLSTERY FABRICS IN ALL**

**The COTTON PRINT Factory Shop**

**CHANCE PLS: Letters PLS: Comments PLS: TV and Radio PLS**



And the hand of history fell!

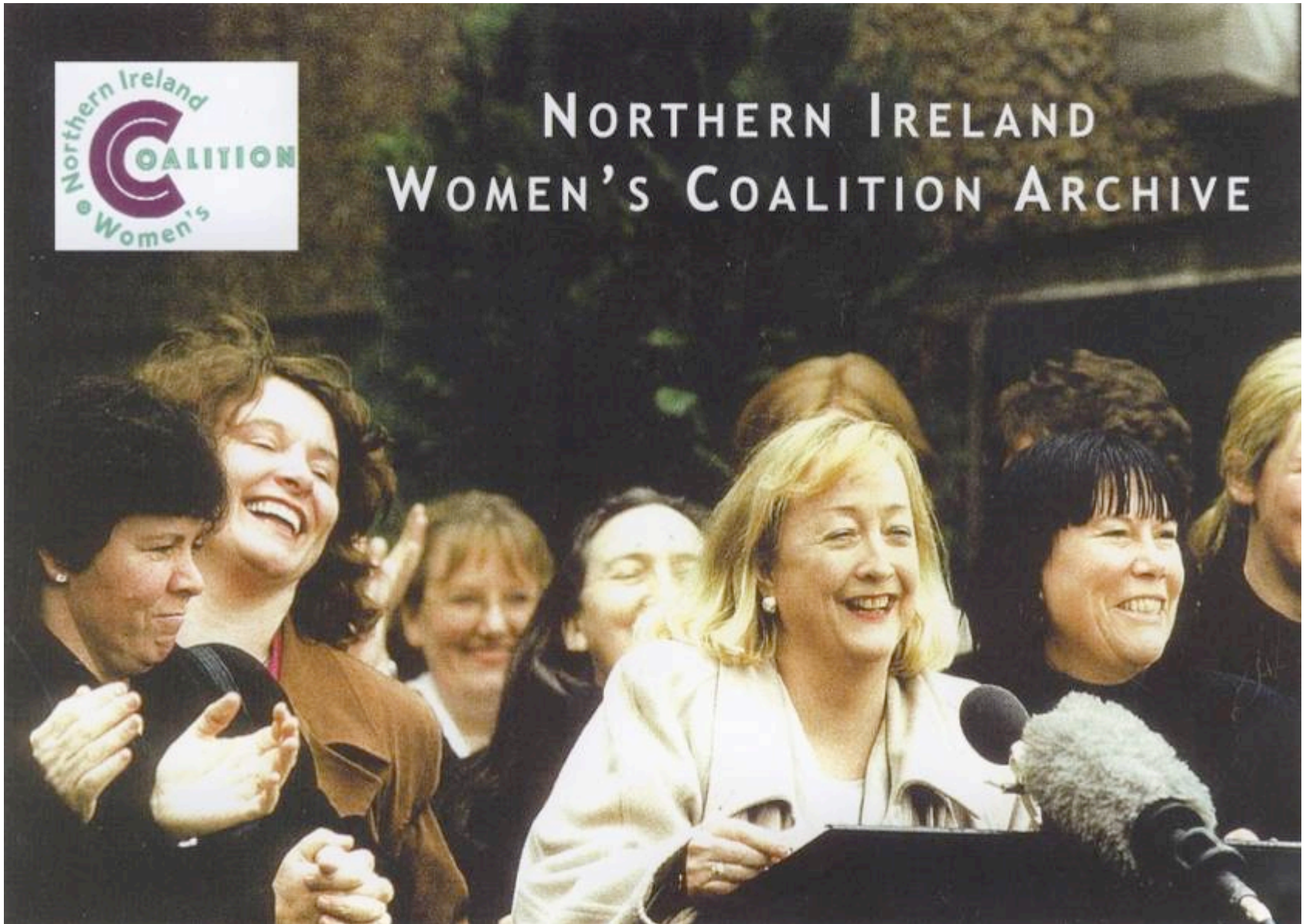




## CAPTURING THE MOMENT



## NORTHERN IRELAND WOMEN'S COALITION ARCHIVE



# MAKING A FRESH START

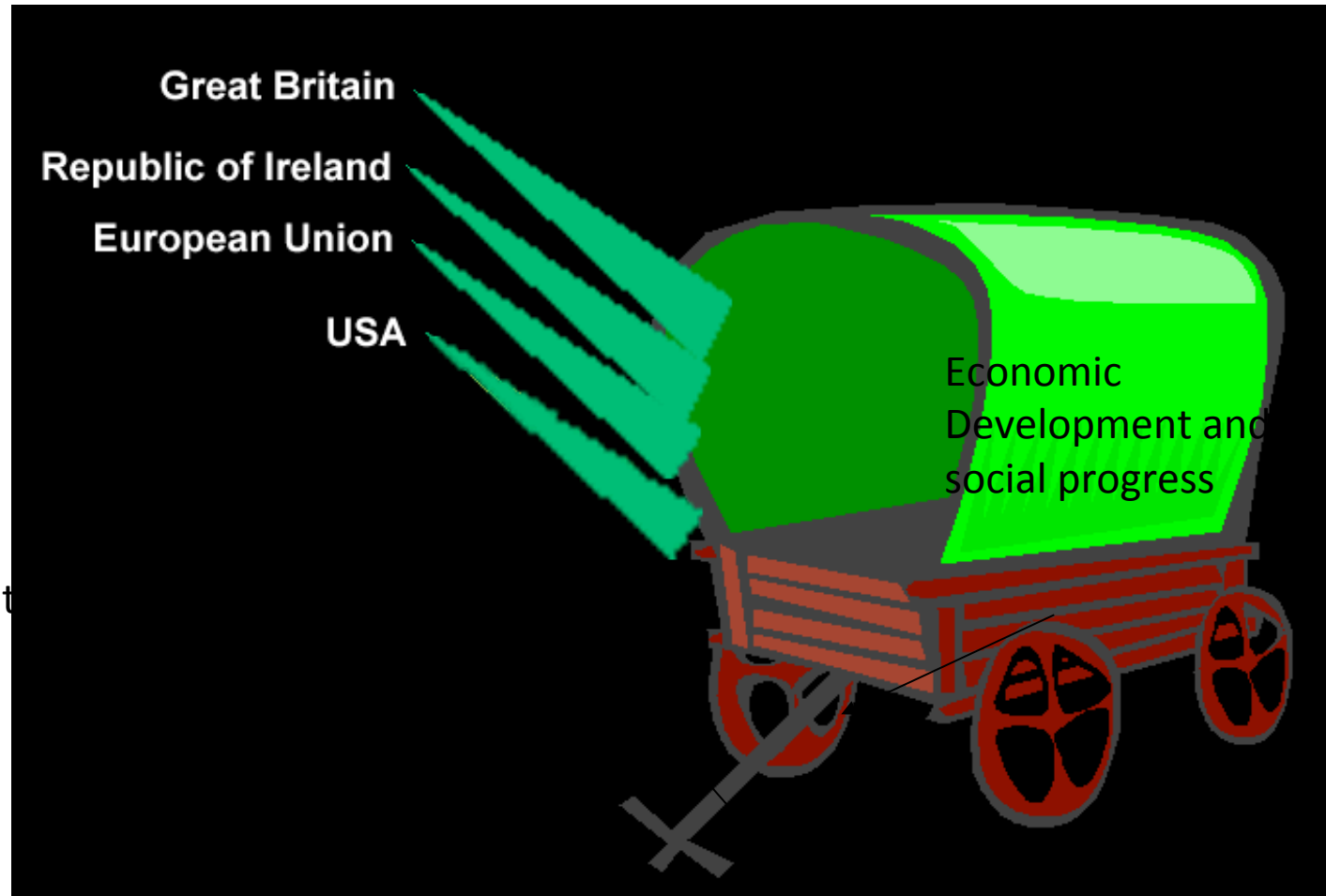
‘We can best honour those who have died and been injured

through a fresh start,  
in which we firmly dedicate ourselves

to the achievement of reconciliation,  
tolerance, and mutual trust and

to the protection and vindication  
of the human rights of all’

# DIMENSIONS OF PEACE

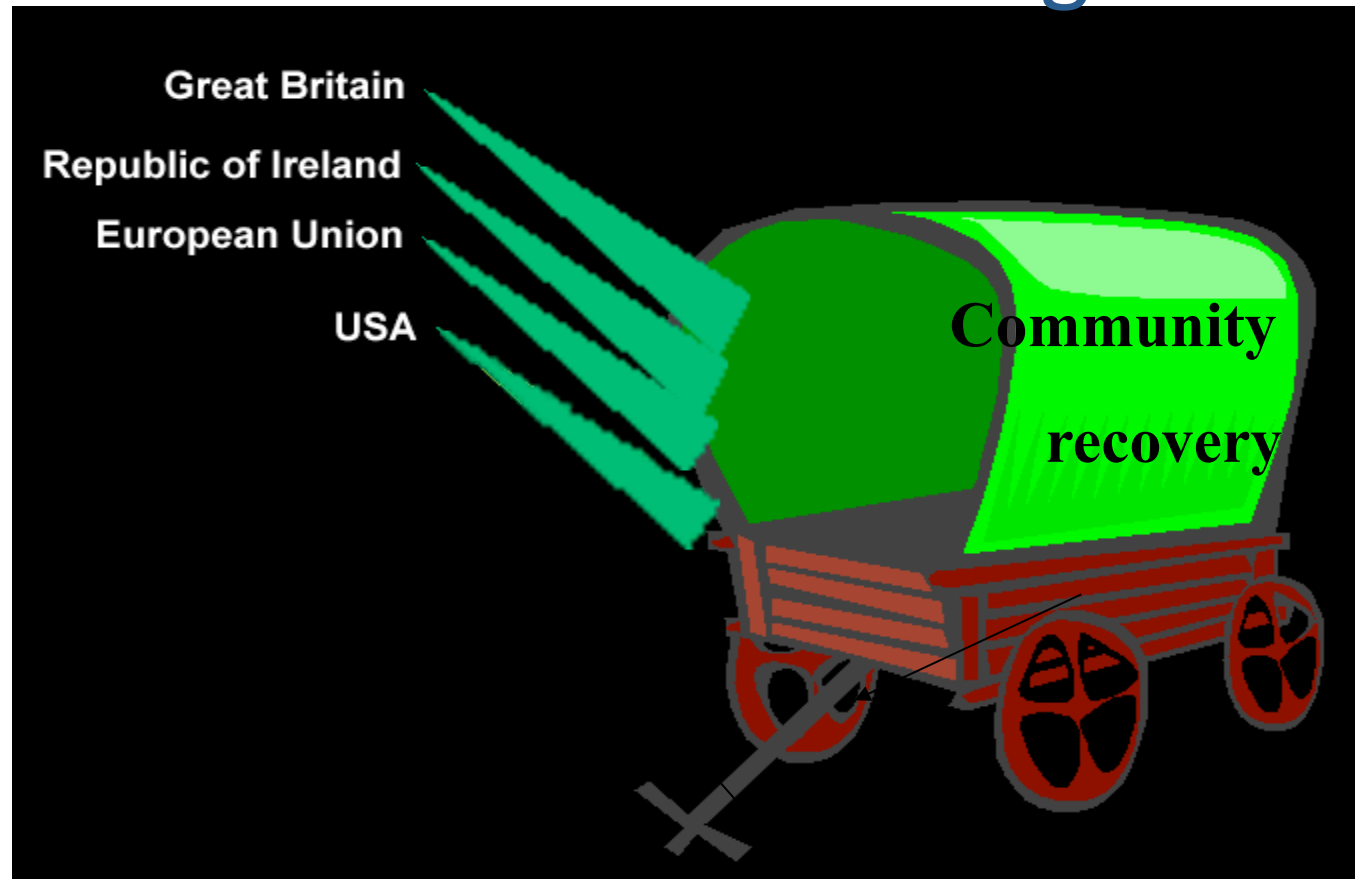


Policing and Justice Reforms: Normalisation  
and demilitarisation

Reconciliation and reparation:  
building new relationships



# What women also need on this wagon



**Inclusion of  
more women in  
decision  
making and  
legislative  
enforcement**

**Impact of demobilisation  
on women**

**Reparation to victims – of  
gender based violence.**

## Different women have different interests

- Accidental activists – focusing on poverty and discrimination
- Peace activists – including women in DDR/security reform
- Women's rights activists – gender specific harms
- Party political activism – empowering women for political life
- Human Rights activism – democratisation must be meaningful

# INSERTING WOMEN'S INTERESTS

- CONSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS  
(Political Recognition of British and Irish Identity;  
Civic Forum and Electoral Reform )
- JUSTICE AND SECURITY (Independent Policing and  
Criminal Justice Reform; Prisoner Releases)
- ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CONCERNS (with Equality  
and Human Rights Commissions and a Bill of Rights)
- RECONCILIATION (Victims, Integrated Education,  
Mixed Housing, Children and Young People)



# TRANSITIONAL JUSTICE EXPECTATIONS

Demobilisation/decommissioning

Demilitarisation – redundancy of soldiers/combatants

Reparation

Redress for victims

Reconciliation

Truth recovery and justice

Reintegration

Release of prisoners

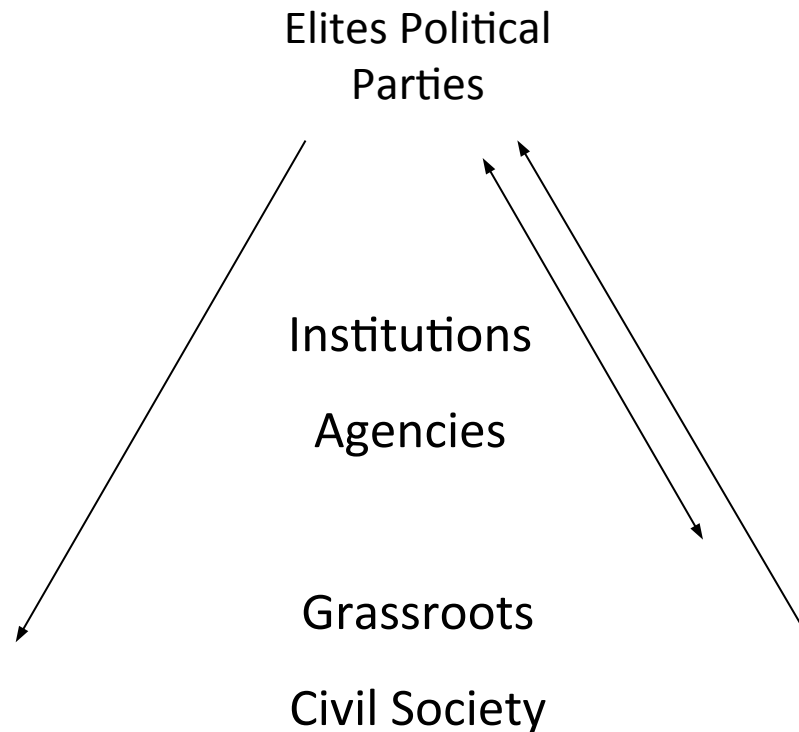
Institutional reform – policing and criminal justice

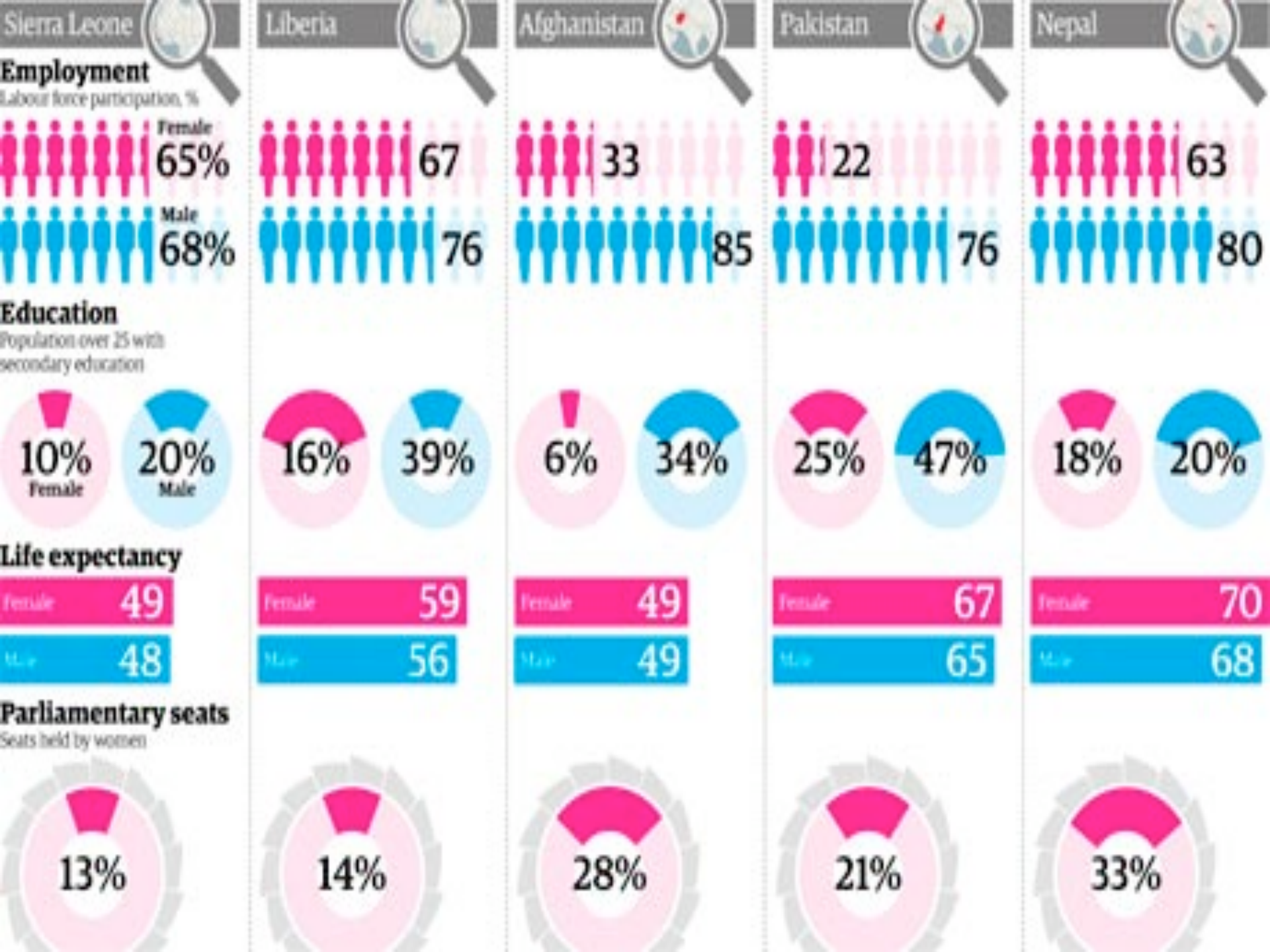
New governance arrangements – power sharing



# POWER SHARING FOR WOMEN

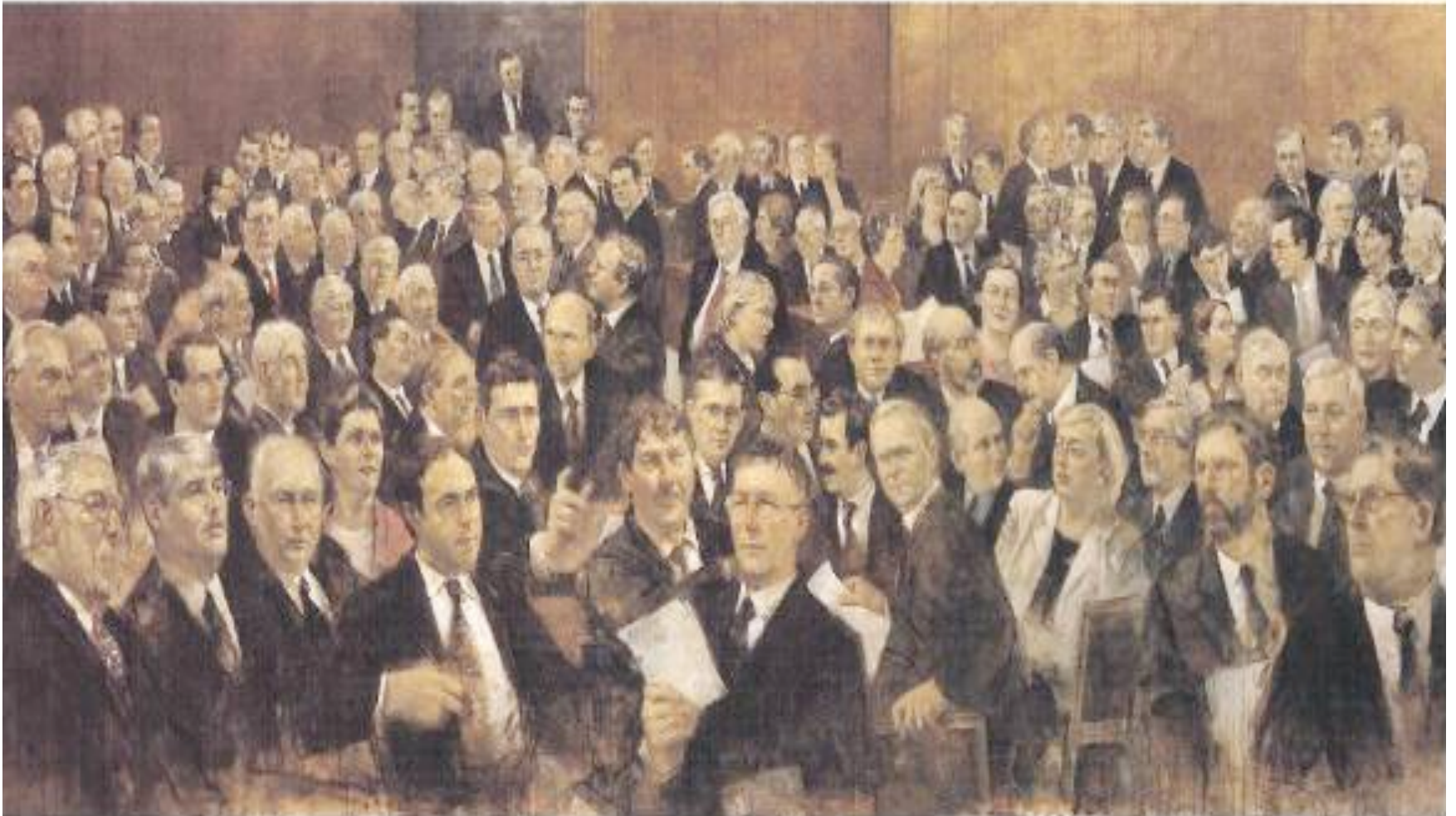
Sharing out power or sharing in power







# THE DEMOCRATIC DEFICIT – WHERE'S WALLY?





# Quotas introduced for women in Afghanistan



But not for the women on the High Peace Council

# Changing the Context

Unequal power relations (supported by behavioural, social and sometimes legal norms) translate into different access to things such as health care, education, income and political voice.

Transition from conflict to peace creates the opportunity to change the pre-existing context – through **changes to structures and mindsets**



# GUARANTEES

**change the  
face of politics**

**THE NORTHERN IRELAND  
WOMEN'S COALITION  
KEY PRIORITIES 2003**

**VOTE 1 N.I. WOMEN'S COALITION**

New Relationship has to be fair and just

What do constitutions  
do **for** women and  
what do they do **to**  
women?









# Societal Reconstruction

- Address violations
- No impunity approach to VAW
- Justice through redressing behaviour
- Commitment to no reoccurrence
- Entitlements to rights and resources

# NEED TO CHANGE THE FACE OF POLITICS



# WHAT IS STILL AT DISPUTE?

## Democratic rights

- Public authorities must take effective measures to facilitate the full and equal participation of **women in political and public life**, including, where appropriate, the use of temporary special measures.
- The membership of public bodies must, as far as practicable, be **representative of society** in Northern Ireland.



# Human Rights are not a pick and mix



**WHOSE RIGHTS?**

# BROTHERS IN ARMS GET THE ATTENTION



## REPRESENTATIVENESS AND ACCOUNTABILITY

How will the institutional culture be reoriented?

How will masculinities be reconstructed?

Will the transition be meaningful for women?



# CONNECTING THE ORDINARY AND EXTRAORDINARY





# Women in Gulu, Uganda Need Reparations Too



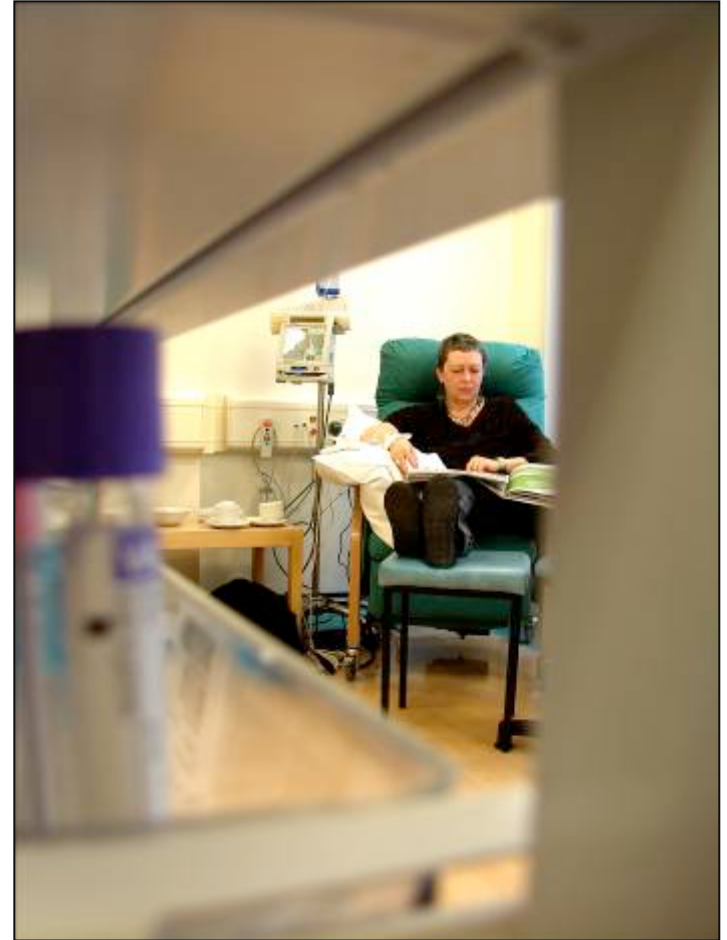
# Gender Specific Harms: DRC

- With more than **5.4 million** dead since the outbreak of war in 1998 and **6.4 million** people currently in need of emergency aid and
- An average of **four Congolese women are** raped **every five minutes.**
- **15,000 conflict-related cases of** rape **were** confirmed by the United Nations for the DRC in 2010.
- In July 2013 a mass rape **of 200 women** occurred in Eastern Congo.



## Women's interests must be included

- Women and girls have the right to access gender-sensitive and appropriate healthcare services and information
- Social and economic rights are as important as political and civil rights



# Enforcement through judiciable rights



A Bill of Rights can entrench commitments by making these (human) rights judiciable.



# THE PAST IS MY PRESENT



EACH OF THE 3161 RED PIECES  
REPRESENTS SOMEONE KILLED  
IN THE TROUBLES



# VICTIMS ARE NOT OBJECTS BUT AGENTS OF CHANGE



# DECOMMISSIONING MINDSETS

# Gun free zone



Campaign for a Gun-free Northern Ireland

Published by the  
Peace People

## WOMEN! DO YOU WANT PEACE?

Do you want to see an end to the senseless violence and killings?

Do you want your husbands and children to live in a Fear-Free Future?

Do you want to work for peace, not fight for it?

This country desperately needs a coming together of people who will exchange words, not bullets.

We plead with you to come together NOW to show your rejection of violence.

Join all those women who hunger for peace, at the City Hall, on Saturday, 13th January, at 3 p.m.  
Don't be complacent. You are needed...

## PLEASE, PLEASE COME!!

"If ever the world sees a time when women shall come together purely and simply for the benefit and good of mankind, it will be a power such as the world has never known."—Matthew Arnold

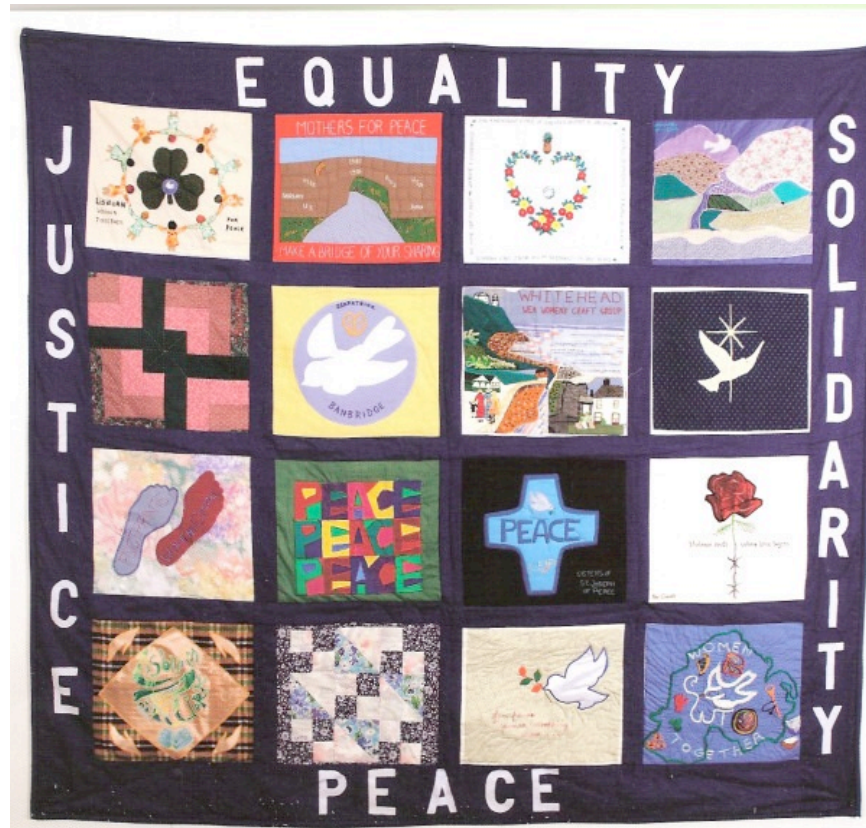


# Women from Central Africa agreed the Kinshasa





# A Positive Peace



# THIRD PARTY INVOLVEMENT

ENSURING THAT WOMEN BE  
APPOINTED TO OVERSIGHT  
BODIES: POSITIVE ACTION  
NEEDED



# GENDER PROOF THE SUBSTANCE

Ensuring that

- commitments on women's equality have timetables, targets and resources
- Gender specific issues addressed by human rights
- Electoral reforms and affirmative action



# Address Three Challenges

1. Process: ensuring women are included and viewed as serious negotiators
2. Substance: ensuring women's interests form part of the negotiations
3. Implementation: ensuring that rights for women are entrenched

## GENDER JUSTICE

- Mainstreaming a gender analysis at an early stage lead to a more comprehensive understanding of the realities of conflict and the meaning of security
- The grass roots and not just the elites have to be involved in decision-making
- It must be democratic, inclusive and just
- Women are good negotiators, accomplished at reconciling antagonistic differences and need to have their rights respected

## KEY LESSONS FOR A PEACE PROCESS

- Women in civic society are important stakeholders
- They are the Early Warning Systems in a conflict zone
- Women must be seen and heard in a peace process
- Capacity building programmes need to be funded at all levels
- Affirmative action is necessary so that women can come forward to take up 'serious' positions.



# THE PRESENCE OF WOMEN MAKES A DIFFERENCE

- Women played and continue to play a pivotal role in building peace and are essential contributors (Irish Government, 2003)
- Visible visionary women needed
- Social justice and inclusive structures will be the contributory factors to peace.

# FACILITATORS, MEDIATORS, NEGOTIATORS

Senator Mitchell, the Chairperson and International Mediator at the talks, acknowledged:

‘the emergence of women as a political force was a significant factor in achieving the Agreement.’

‘... the two women who made it to the table had a tough time at first. They were treated quite rudely by some of the male politicians ... through their own **perseverance and talent**, by the end of the process they were **valued contributors**’.

# CHAMPIONS NEEDED TO ENTRENCH AGREEMENT

















# Peace building: vision and action

A peace agreement is not just a matter of discussion, it

- is a new way of living,
- of putting food on the table,
- of feeling safe,
- of rebuilding damaged relationships and
- of protecting and vindicating the human rights of all.

