

Feminist Visions of Peace, Justice and Transformation

Autumn 2012



Women Delivering Peace & Security

Welcome to the Autumn edition of the Hanna's House Ezine. This season we are focusing on "**Women Delivering Peace & Security**" our forthcoming conference in Croke Park on Monday 5th November which will be formally opened by President of Ireland, Michael D. Higgins. The conference aims to bring together decision-makers and influencers from across Ireland, north-south/east-west, to discuss the implementation of UNSCR 1325, the groundbreaking United Nations Security Council resolution that calls on member states to include women in all formal decision-making and peace-building processes.

To book your place at the conference go to: www.eventelephant.com/HannasHouseConference

There are only 50 tickets left at the unwaged rate of €10 so please book ASAP to secure this rate.

Features in this edition

National Action Plans (NAPs) reflect a governments' commitment to implementing UNSCR 1325 and **Dr Aisling Swaine** of the Transitional Justice Institute at the University of Ulster (TJI, UU) and consultant on the Irish NAP discusses how governments can create the most effective NAPs.

Professor Bill Rolston of the TJI, UU, considers how UNSCR 1325 highlights gender stereotyped processes such as the Disarmament, Demilitarisation and Reintegration (DDR) of combatants after a war, which has historically excluded women and not taken their specific experiences and needs into account. UNSCR 1325 creates a new international framework whereby through its implementation women who are ex-combatants will by necessity be included in post-conflict DDR processes.

Background information on the speakers at the conference: **Professor Christine Chinkin** of the London School of Economics, **Sean Barrett TD** of the North South Inter-Parliamentary Association, **Fiona Buckley** of the 50:50 Group, **DCC Judith Gillespie** of the PSNI, **Claire Hackett** of Healing Through Remembering, **Professor Monica McWilliams**, TJI at the University of Ulster.



Hanna's House and allies met with MLAs from the All Party Group on UNSCR 1325 in Stormont, 18th September, 2012. Back row: Phil Killeen, Orla Conway, Dr Mairead Collins, Dr Myrtle Hill, Dara Larkin, Mandi Donohoe, Dr Marisa McGlinchy. Middle row: Irene Miskimmon, Dr Joanna McMinn, Ann Hope, Eleanor Jordan, Dr Catherine O'Rourke, Claire Hackett, Emma Patterson. Front row: Dolores Kelly, MLA, Paula Bradley, MLA, David McClarty, MLA, Shirley Graham, Anna Lo, MLA, Rosie McCorley, MLA.

Hanna's House Position on UNSCR 1325

Hanna's House believes that if UNSCR 1325 had been in existence at the time of the Belfast/Good Friday Agreement (1998) it would have been woven into the agreement and would be reflected in its institutions (such as the NI Assembly, the Judiciary, the Policing Services NI, the North South Ministerial Council, and the British-Irish Parliamentary Assembly). Therefore, we are recommending that UNSCR 1325 becomes part of the fabric of the Belfast/Good Friday Agreement and its institutions. Women make up 50% of the population of Ireland and should therefore be included equally in decision-making processes that affect their lives, and the wider community. Without being present in these institutions women's experiences, knowledge and ideas cannot adequately influence the agenda or its outcome. As part of the process to effect change Hanna's House have met with policymakers and politicians, north and south to discuss these ideas and to invite them to our conference on 5th November to meet with members of their communities to listen to their needs and hopes for the future and to develop a mandate on how to create a more equal, just and inclusive society.

The creation of a National Action Plan (NAP) on UNSCR 1325 indicate a governments' commitment to implementing the resolution at home and abroad. The British NAP does not acknowledge the conflict on these islands as it excludes women in Northern Ireland from its NAP and while the Irish NAP does acknowledge the conflict it makes only minimal reference to the needs of women living in the border counties and the north of Ireland. Hanna's House are calling on both governments along with the NI Assembly to consider the development of co-operative or shared action plans that work in tandem to reflect the needs of women in each of these jurisdictions. Thereby, reflecting the "three strand" approach of the Belfast/Good Friday Agreement, north-south, east-west. **Shirley Graham, Hanna's House Co-ordinator.**

How can National Action Plans be used most effectively?

Hanna's House invited Dr Aisling Swaine of the Transitional Justice Institute, University of Ulster and consultant on the Irish NAP to discuss best practice in the creation of NAPs and asked her: '**How can action plans be used most effectively?**'

Dr Aisling Swaine: The sense of progress achieved through the landmark passing of Resolution 1325 by the UN Security Council in 2000 (UNSCR 1325) was soon countered by deficient progress in its implementation. In 2004, the UN Secretary General proposed that Member States develop National Action Plans (NAPs) as a way to remedy these gaps. NAPs have now become the principle means through which many UN Member States are demonstrating their commitment to implementing UNSCR 1325 (and in some cases UNSCR 1820). NAPs have been developed by 37 of 193 UN Member State governments. NAPs can accelerate and institutionalise approaches to UNSCR 1325; they can help bring together and coordinate disparate actions on UNSCR 1325 across different departments and importantly can help to galvanise a national focus on issues of women, peace and security.



Both the substance of NAPs and the processes put in place to implement them vary considerably and have an impact on the efficacy of the plan. From a substantive perspective, NAPs are most effective when they advance a comprehensive interpretation of the women, peace and security agenda. The majority of existing NAPs have been developed by 'global north' donor governments, are situated in ministries of foreign affairs and respond to foreign policy concerns. In many of these NAPs, such as those by Canada and the UK, national level implementation is often limited to the international peacekeeping aspects of policing and military bodies. The Australian, Italian and Irish NAPs do, to some degree, address some domestic implementation concerns. The Australian NAP makes links between its foreign policy work on women, peace and security and its domestic commitments to advancing gender equality. While domestic accountability is limited in these NAPs, they do at least provide some examples of how NAPs can advance a concurrent approach to both domestic and foreign policy implementation.

Above: Dr Aisling Swaine (far right) at the Hanna's House briefing to TDs and Senators on UNSCR 1325 and its all-Ireland implementation, in Buswell's Hotel, 30 November 2011 with from left to right: Shirley Graham and Emma Rogan of Hanna's House, and Dr Melanie Hoewer of UCD .

A number of NAPs, such as Croatia, Nepal, Serbia and Uganda, reference linkages between the NAP and national commitments to the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). This has the potential to strengthen the weight and status of the NAP. If the CEDAW Committee passes a General Recommendation on the conventions' applicability to conflict and post-conflict states which it is expected to do, then there will be even further opportunity for NAPs to become stronger in their focus and reach.

NAPs are often very broad and vague to capture the diversity of work of the multiple ministries involved. This poses challenges in ensuring the NAPs are not too generic but make practical advances. The Dutch NAP notes that its Ministry of Defence developed its own internal action plan and the US Department of State also recently issued an action plan to implement the US NAP. Without wishing to recommend that further layers of bureaucracy are added to NAP processes, there is some merit to individual departments developing their own set of benchmarks to ensure that aspects of the NAP they are responsible for are fully implemented.

An effective NAP must also go beyond capturing actions that a state is already undertaking and instead advance current actions through increased results-focused commitments and funding. The Dutch NAP notes the added value of its action plan. This is key – the development of a NAP should not be a perfunctory exercise, rather the NAP itself should add value and enhance current implementation.

The practicalities of implementation are also important if a NAP is to be successful. The Dutch, Cote D'Ivoire, Rwandan and Sierra Leone NAPs set out the resources that will be attributed to the NAPs implementation. Without specific resources, NAPs may succeed in little more than drawing together and presenting a framework of national aims and intentions, but these require committed human and financial resources to be effectively implemented. The potential efficacy of a NAP is also enhanced through the inclusion of monitoring frameworks and oversight bodies. A committee to oversee implementation is included in the Italian NAP; a civil society observatory and a shadow reporting process is included under the Liberian NAP and the Serbian NAP includes members of parliament in its 'supervisory body'.

The Swiss reviewed implementation of their 2007 plan which identified gaps in implementation. The learning gleaned from the first round of implementation and the results of the review are noted in and used as a basis for the most recent revised 2010 NAP. Learning from implementation is imperative.

NAPs on UNSCR 1325 can be most effective when they reform and revitalise current approaches to gender equality and women's empowerment and focus on results rather than simply listing actions. What is most important to remember is that a NAP is not the 'end' in itself – it is women's empowerment, inclusion and leadership across all phases of conflict prevention, management and resolution that matters. It is the empowerment aspect of UNSCR 1325 that must underpin the substantive content of NAPS so that they critically address and implement a comprehensive interpretation of the aspirations of UNSCR 1325.

Aisling Swaine, TJI, University of Ulster.

UNSCR 1325 & Ex-Combatants by Professor Bill Rolston

Many peace agreements throughout the world in recent years have involved programmes of DDR – Disarmament, Demilitarisation and Reintegration. These programmes, usually introduced by organisations such as the United Nations or OSCE, spell out the mechanisms for the handing over of irregular weapons and the demobilisation of irregular combatants; they also often engage with the need to cut back on official state weaponry and military personnel.

DDR programmes tend to follow relatively predictable lines – for example, financial rewards for handing in illegal weapons, small development grants to demobilised combatants to allow them to make a start in farming or set up a small business. This top-down approach has its advantages where there is local reluctance to tackle these issues. But, without the intimate knowledge of the local situation, the outside agency can design a programme that doesn't work effectively. For example, in Liberia the price paid for handing in an illegal weapon was higher than the price of such a weapon on the black market. As a result there was an endless supply of weapons surrendered, most of which came from people who had never been combatants. In Cambodia the small grants given to allow ex-combatants to start a new life were four times the average annual wage; as a result, severe price inflation ensued. And in other places grants to small farmers were often quickly whittled away on alcohol and gambling. That said, there are some examples where DDR has worked well. In Eritrea, the insurgents had created a vibrant alternative society in their liberated zones.



They had the insight, commitment and organisational skills necessary to organise a fair system of reintegrating themselves and their comrades into civilian society. Mozambique also provides evidence that when politically aware former combatants are able to take control of their own demobilisation, they can do so effectively and fairly.

Much of this seems a world away from the Irish case. From 1994 on there was no programme of DDR sponsored by an external body. Although the issue of prisoner release was high on the agenda of peace talks, there was only partial discussion of the wider issue of DDR. That said, prisoner release in the Irish context matched the best of DDR practice internationally. Thanks to EU peace money and the imagination of the Community Foundation for Northern Ireland, programmes were funded where ex-prisoners had a major part to play in their own reintegration. Meanwhile the state took good care of many of its own through generous pay outs, for example to redundant police personnel.

One other element needs to be filtered into the picture both in Ireland and internationally, the issue of gender. Once it is, the account of DDR is filled out and indeed transformed.

DDR, like the war which precedes it, is inevitably gendered. For example, when small grants are given to ex-combatants to become small farmers and that experiment fails, the people who often suffer most are women. They are the ones who have to continue feeding families after the grant has been squandered or otherwise failed to deliver. And yet, paradoxically, in many cases, they were the ones who were the small farmers when the combatants were away; arguably they had a better chance of successfully exploiting such a grant than returned ex-combatants. The conclusion is clear; the money was given to the wrong people. Similarly, when money for weapons leads to price inflation, those who bear the heaviest consequences are women struggling to put food on the table for their families. And yet, DDR programmes and their designers focus on the combatants and devise mechanisms to deal directly with them, failing to see the gender consequences of their actions.

In addition, women themselves have often been combatants. In this case, gender distorts the post-conflict situation again. Male combatants may return as heroes, and so, initially may female combatants. But there is evidence that young, fit, female ex-combatants are in effect judged to be 'damaged goods'. This was the case in Eritrea, for example, where young women in the liberation forces discovered a level of equality with men that they could never have experienced in civilian life. But when the war was over, they found that their former comrades preferred traditional non-emancipated women as wives, not former comrades. The 'success story' of Eritrean DDR is less positive through the gender lens.

Putting gender into the discussion of DDR in relation to Ireland raises a number of crucial issues.

1. There is increasing evidence of mental health and alcohol problems for some ex-prisoners and ex-combatants, as well as for former members of the police and regular army, traumatised by what they had experienced. As most of these combatants were men, it is women who bear the brunt of dealing with the fallout from trauma in partners, fathers, sons, brothers.
2. Likewise many ex-combatants can point to physical health difficulties as a result of their experiences – gun or bomb injuries, injuries inflicted during imprisonment, etc. Sometimes the effects of such experiences take many years to affect the individual, but again, it is women who have often the main responsibility for caring for victims.
3. Ex-combatants frequently face financial difficulties. Irregular ex-combatants in particular may have no skills or redundant skills, and no pension to fall back on. The task of holding the family together and putting food on the table can often fall disproportionately on female partners of these ex-combatants.
4. Female ex-combatants, especially those who have spent a long time in prison, can point to specific issues in relation to children. Their children may have been taken from them or otherwise become estranged during their absence. Given that many were young women when first imprisoned, the issue of childbearing may have only arisen in the post-prison era. If at that point they face difficulties in conceiving, they cannot – as former political prisoners released on licence – choose the option of adopting children.

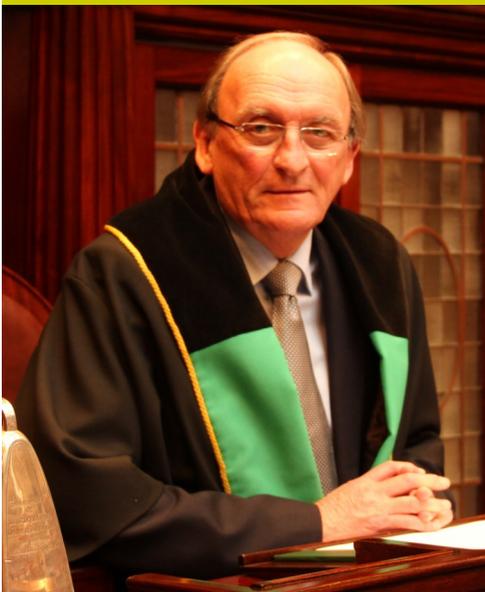
Seeing DDR through the gender lens in relation to Ireland can lead to a fruitful discussion with clear conclusions about needs and possible policy responses. But if the issue of DDR in general has been under-considered, then that of gender and DDR is even more so. Eighteen years after the republican and loyalist ceasefires, this is in many ways a debate still waiting to happen. **Bill Rolston, TJI, University of Ulster.**

Speakers at the 'Women Delivering Peace & Security' Conference in Croke Park, 5th November



Keynote Speaker:

Professor Christine Chinkin will be the keynote speaker at the Hanna's House Conference on 5th November. She is Professor of International Law at the London School of Economics and Political Science and a William W. Cook Global Law Professor at the University of Michigan. She has been active in work with human rights and women's organisations and has been a consultant with UNDP, UNIFEM (on Women's Participation in Peace Negotiations), the UN Office of the High Commissioner on Human Rights (on trafficking, and women's economic and social rights in post-conflict), International Women's Rights Action Watch, Asia Pacific (on Engendering Constitutional Reform). She was Scientific Expert to the Council of Europe Committee for the drafting of the 2011 Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence against Women and Domestic Violence and is currently a Member of the Kosovo Human Rights Advisory Panel.



Sean Barrett TD was recently appointed the co-chair of the newly formed North South Inter-Parliamentary Association the role of which he will be discussing at the conference. He is also the Ceann Comhairle in the Dáil. The first business of a new Dáil after a General Election is to elect from its Members the Ceann Comhairle (Speaker / Chairperson) who presides impartially and with authority over the business and proceedings of the House. The Standing Orders (Rules) of Dáil Éireann prescribe the powers and duties of the Ceann Comhairle in relation to Parliamentary business e.g. the proper conduct of debate, Parliamentary Questions, amendments to Bills and motions, disorderly conduct. The Ceann Comhairle represents Dáil Éireann at international meetings of parliamentarians (Inter Parliamentary Union), Conferences of Speakers of Parliament, the Council of Europe, the European Parliament, and is the official host to visiting parliamentary delegations. In the absence or temporary incapacity of the President of Ireland, the Ceann Comhairle is a member of the Commission which exercises and performs the powers and functions conferred on the President.



Fiona Buckley is a founding member of the 5050 Group, a single issue national advocacy group dedicated to achieving equal representation in Irish politics. She is also a lecturer in the Department of Government, University College Cork where she specialises in gender politics, the politics of the Republic of Ireland and the scholarship of teaching and learning. She is currently a part-time PhD student in Queen's University Belfast. Her thesis - ***Views from above the glass ceiling: women elites, gender power and political office*** - aims to understand the experiences of women ministers, in particular their pathways to, attitudes towards, and exercise of power within, political decision-making roles that are predominantly held by men. She is currently co-editing a special issue of Irish Political Studies with Prof. Yvonne Galligan which will examine women's representation in Irish politics.

Top to bottom: Prof. Christine Chinkin, Sean Barrett, TD, and Fiona Buckley

Speakers at the 'Women Delivering Peace & Security' Conference in Croke Park, 5th November



DCC Judith Gillespie has been the Deputy Chief Constable of the Police Service of Northern Ireland since June 2009. She joined the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) in 1982 and became the first ever female Chief Officer (Assistant Chief Constable) in the history of Northern Ireland policing in May 2004. A native of North Belfast, Judith's experience of growing up in one of the most Troubles affected areas of Northern Ireland placed in her a desire to want to help people and from an early age she set her sights on becoming a police officer. She is passionate about making sure that policing makes a real and meaningful difference in those areas that matter most, helping vulnerable victims, and ensuring others realise their full potential. In that regard in 2007/08 she spent time on attachment to the Police Staff College in Bramshill, Hampshire as a Syndicate Director on the Strategic Command Course, helping to support, develop and train future police leaders in the UK police service. In her role as Deputy Chief Constable she has responsibility amongst many other things for the PSNI's Diversity Strategy and Gender Action Plan. Judith received an OBE in the Birthday Honours List, June 2009 and an Honorary Doctorate for public service from Queen's University in July 2012.



Claire Hackett is the manager of the Falls Community Council's oral history archive Dúchas and is currently working with communities across Belfast to record personal experiences of the conflict. She is a Board member of Hanna's House and is also on the Board of Healing Through Remembering, a broad based organisation focusing on dealing with the past relating to the conflict. She has previously led policy development for the Belfast Conflict Resolution Consortium, an organisation working for the development of interface communities. She has been an activist in the women's movement for over thirty years.

As Board Director of Hanna's House, Claire says: "my hope is that the conference will bring a new focus to the gendered experience of the conflict and explore the potential of UN Resolution 1325 to address the impact of the conflict on women".

Professor Monica McWilliams is Professor of Women's Studies in the School of Social Policy and an Associate Researcher in the Transitional Justice Institute, University of Ulster. She co-founded the Northern Ireland Women's Coalition, a cross community political party, and was part of the multi-party peace negotiations leading to the 1998 Belfast/Good Friday Agreement. Monica was subsequently elected to the Northern Ireland Legislative Assembly (MLA) and chaired the sub-committee on human rights as part of the implementation of the Agreement. Monica was the Chief Commissioner of the Northern Ireland Human Rights Commission, from 2005 to 2011, and as part of her work she drafted the advice on a Bill of Rights which was presented to the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland in 2008. Since then she has undertaken a range of international projects in conflict situations including training with women on the Afghan High Peace Council. Monica has published widely on violence against women, conflict resolution and human security. She was recently appointed as one of the oversight commissioners for prison reform in Northern Ireland.

Overleaf: Professor Monica McWilliams [centre] with members of the Women's Coalition.

Speakers at the 'Women Delivering Peace & Security' Conference in Croke Park, 5th November



Women's Coalition, Stormont 10/4/1998
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Hanna's House Board Directors share their hopes for the conference

"My hope is that this conference will inspire and encourage the recognition and promotion of women's peace building work at local and national level throughout Ireland" **Dr Margaret Ward**, Chair of Hanna's House.

"My hope is that this conference will further strengthen the capacity of women, across the island of Ireland, to have their interests reflected in further policy developments, particularly in relation to peace building and conflict transformation" **Ann Hope**.

"My hope for the conference is that those who attend realise their own personal power and influence in moving forward UNSCR 1325 at both local and national levels" **Linda Kelly**.

"I very much hope it will be the beginning of a wider conversation on addressing women's inclusion in the peace building process, in the spirit of the Belfast/Good Friday Agreement, north south and east west" **Dr Joanna McMinn**.

"I hope that this conference will show how international law can make a difference on the ground to the lives of women, both in terms of requiring governments to listen to women, and in terms of providing a common tool for collaborative feminist advocacy across the island of Ireland" **Dr Catherine O'Rourke**.

"This is an historic event with the potential to transform lives in these two jurisdictions and beyond. By being at the conference, I'll be part of the greater drive for world-wide respect and recognition of women as strong actors, capable of positively transforming their own life and the lives of others. I look forward to being in the presence of all those individuals, women and men, who are using 1325 as a transformative tool to ensure women are to the fore in decision-making and they take their rightful place in leadership" **Emma Rogan**.

To book your place at the "**Women Delivering Peace & Security**" conference in the Cusack Suite, Croke Park Conference Centre, Dublin on Monday 5th November go to: www.eventelephant.com/HannasHouseConference. For more information contact: conference@hannashouse.net & www.hannashouse.net & www.facebook.com/hannashouse