

Liechtenstein Institute at Princeton

Women as Peace Builders

On the Ground and at the Table

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Liechtenstein Institute on Self-Determination

Woodrow Wilson School
of Public and International Affairs

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INTRODUCTION

Adopted by the UN Security Council on October 31, 2000, resolution 1325 on women, peace, and security was a far-reaching call for women's active and complete participation in the maintenance and promotion of peace and security, urging and enumerating operational mandates meant to increase the participation of women and inclusion of gender perspectives into all peace and security efforts. The resolution further recognized the particular vulnerabilities of women and girls to gender-based violence – especially rape and other forms of sexual abuse – in zones of armed conflict. The resolution was a landmark in this explicit acknowledgement of the negative impacts of conflict on women. The resolution also recognized women as more than victims by emphasizing and calling upon the international community to embrace, facilitate, and affirm the key role of women in peace negotiations, peace building and peace keeping, and post-conflict reconstruction.

Marking the 10th anniversary of resolution 1325 on women, peace, and security, 91 speakers participated in a day-long debate at the UN Security Council in late October 2010. In advance of the UN Security Council event, in September 2010 the Liechtenstein Institute on Self-Determination at Princeton University's Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs convened the second panel discussion of its broader program on women in international relations (LISDWomen), a program which focuses on women and gender issues in negotiation and reconciliation, international human rights, and institution building, and women as economic actors in the global system.¹ The September panel brought together academics and practitioners to discuss and debate the role of women “on the ground” and “at the table” in peace building, peace making, mediation, and negotiation.

Recently televised images of individual women and groups such as Mothers Against War demonstrating throughout the world – often under extremely adverse conditions – for the cessation of bloodshed in crises and conflict areas are but one example of the important role that women at the grassroots play as peace builders. They mobilize society, decision makers, and opinion builders alike to end hostilities and encourage peace and stability. Indeed, throughout history, women have served as mediators and even peacemakers in the male-dominated realm of conflict and war. Throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries women's increasing access to education, information, and participation in democratic processes in many parts of the world served to foster an increased participation of women in the formal work of peace and stability from the community level to the state and international levels. Female participation

1. Special thanks to Jessica Sheehan, Special Assistant to the LISD Director, for her work organizing this event.

in shaping the global order is today an accepted fact.²

At the September 2010 LISD panel, participants discussed how resolution 1325 established a framework for action with some tangible results but in the decade since its adoption, implementation has been slow, appointments of women to high-level peace-keeping and mediation positions have been few, and women remain victims of rape and gender-based violence in conflict zones, brought to the fore by the sexual violence and mass rapes reported in the Democratic Republic of Congo and Guinea during the late summer of 2010. As succinctly stated by Aurelia Frick, Minister of Foreign Affairs for the Principality of Liechtenstein, in her keynote address, there is today “a mix of frustration and hope for the future.”

Ursula Plassnik, former Foreign Minister of Austria and Special Envoy for International Women’s Issues at the Austrian Federal Ministry for European and International Affairs, began the panel with a discussion of resolution 1325 from her “at the table” perspective as a woman diplomat. She noted that since the adoption of resolution 1325, the international community has learned the two lessons of “no women, no peace,” and “all peace is local,” but that a key challenge in moving forward is effectively connecting “the table” – where top-level decision-making occurs – to “the ground” – where results have to be achieved. Outlining a “triple A” strategy of improving awareness, monitoring accountability, and introducing rapid-impact accelerators, Plassnik underscored the necessity of addressing and changing the reality that “women are the world’s only majority that is systematically treated as a minority.”

Alison Boden, Dean of Religious Life and the Chapel at Princeton University, followed on with a discussion of the role and implications of resolution 1325 for women of faith. As religious actors and members of faith communities, Boden observed, women are critical as “proactive peace making participants,” and “are phenomenal on-the-ground resources for communities’ attitudes, plans, and experiences.” Through several specific examples, Boden asserted that even in societies in which women’s status may not be high and participation in the political process marginal, grassroots activism by women of faith plays a key peace-building function while providing experience, leadership opportunities, and “a pipeline” for more formal participation and leadership in peace making.

Amaney Jamal, Associate Professor of Politics at Princeton University, discussed the status of women in the Arab Middle East. Asking the broad question “what are the conditions that then create or allow or encourage leaders in these states to take more positive stances on women,” Jamal gave an overview of intriguing findings on the roles that political participation, economic activity, democratization, and interna-

2. For an extended discussion on this point, see Wolfgang Danspeckgruber, “Reflections on Women Leaders in International Relations,” *Women Leaders in International Relations and World Peace* (Princeton, NJ: Liechtenstein Institute on Self-Determination, Summer 2010, Issue Report Series), 3-6.

tional interventions play in answering this question and coming to a more nuanced understanding of the status of women as a function of international politics and international relations.

Ciara Knudsen, Senior Advisor on the US State Department's Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review, discussed from her policy practitioner's perspective what it means to be an effective peace builder and the challenges and promises of being a woman in the peace building environment. She talked about peace builders as "people who need to go out into the world and help nations in conflict to build a different kind of future," and noted that women bring to the table a perspective as "planners, problem solvers, and advocates" that contributes to a "much more comprehensive, integrated vision." She also outlined areas where both approaches to peace building and problem solving need to be improved.

Nannerl Keohane, the Laurance S. Rockefeller Distinguished Visiting Professor of Public Affairs and the University Center for Human Values at Princeton University, rounded out the panel with a discussion of the historical role that women have played in war and peace. Keohane noted that with few exceptions women in the past were "mostly peripheral to the main action," and women most frequently came into the picture "primarily as objects rather than subjects" – as symbols representing peace, patriotism, victory, and as objects of protection, prey, and victim. She concluded her presentation with a more positive assessment of women's roles in war and peace today, noting that from taking part in peace activities at the local level to being leaders of nations, women shape the international agenda and directly contribute "time, energy, materials, design skills, [and] collaboration" necessary to participate in the "construction effort" that is peace building.

Beth English
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International Relations

Wolfgang Danspeckgruber
Director, LISD

KEYNOTE ADDRESS

Aurelia Frick

Excellencies, distinguished panelists, ladies, and gentlemen, let me thank you for this opportunity to speak to you on a topic that is particularly dear to me. This is in fact my first visit to Princeton and to the Liechtenstein Institute on Self-Determination, which has played such a valuable role over the last decade. I cannot think of a better moment for this first visit than the launch of the LISD project on women in international relations. My own experience as a “woman in international relations” has not been very long – I assumed office in March 2009 – but it has been very intense, and it has been incredibly enriching and insightful. I am therefore very happy to share some of my personal thoughts with you.

For many years, Liechtenstein could not exactly be called a front-runner in the area of gender equality. Quite to the contrary, it was one of the last countries in Europe to introduce women’s right to vote and be elected to political office, in 1984 – only 26 years ago! But much has happened since then. Today, 6 out of 25 parliamentarians, and 2 out of 5 cabinet members are women. Our legislation on gender equality and non-discrimination is fully in line with European and international standards. We are proud of these achievements. At the same time, equality under the law is not the same as equality in practice. As in any other society, the standards of equality that we have agreed to have not yet been fully realized. I am personally committed to advancing women’s issues at home. I hope and like to think that my serving in a ministerial position will also encourage other women to strive for leadership positions. And at the same time, I want to try to make a small contribution in the international arena – making the best use of my position as one of only 20 women who currently serve as foreign ministers.

The topic of the panel discussion today is “women as peace builders.” This sits very well with the overall purpose of my visit to the United States, which is the participation in this year’s UN General Assembly. You may know that the issue of women figures very prominently on the agenda of the UN this year. And I am sure that Ursula Plassnik, one of the most eminent champions of women’s causes for whom I have enormous personal admiration and respect, will talk to you in more detail about the “women, peace, and security” agenda of the United Nations. Earlier this morning, I attended a ministerial meeting of a group of states that is dedicated to the promotion of that agenda – the Friends of 1325, named after the Security Council resolution which laid the foundation for the women, peace, and security agenda in 2000.

Back then, the resolution was hailed as a breakthrough. The Security Council recognized the relevance of women’s perspectives for its work on international peace and security and established a solid framework for action. Today, there is a mix of frustration and hope for the future. How can we “celebrate” this anniversary, when women in

the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) are subject to systematic sexual violence, with hundreds of documented rapes within a few days? When in Guinea, women are raped in broad daylight and in public places, as an obvious attempt to intimidate the civilian population? When civilians constitute an ever growing percentage of the victims of armed conflict, in blatant disregard for the Geneva Conventions subscribed to by all nations of the world? But also, how can we be in a celebratory mood when there are only three women leading UN peace-keeping missions? When women barely ever participate in peace processes? And when no single woman has ever been appointed as a chief mediator in UN-sponsored peace talks?

Once again, it seems that we have not kept a big promise. Nevertheless, I was also heartened this morning by the tremendous determination to make things work better in the future. And indeed, there is momentum. This is a good time to advance. We have, finally, decided to end the fragmentation within the UN system on women's issues and have brought all existing mandates together in one office – named UN Women. And quite atypically for a UN position, this office will be headed by a politician of the highest caliber, the former Chilean President Michelle Bachelet. Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon – who attended the breakfast meeting this morning – has thus added another element to his overall very respectable record in the area of women's rights.

Ladies and gentlemen, when we think about women in conflict, we first tend to think about them as victims. It is true, they have to shoulder the brunt of the consequences of an armed conflict in many ways. They are often victims of war crimes, in particular of sexual violence. Sexual violence is increasingly used as a method of warfare to achieve military ends. This is a sad reality that we need to address. But we also must tackle another issue: the exclusion of women from political processes, in particular from formal peace processes. Only by promoting women's roles as agents for peace can we end their plights as victims of war. Women play important roles in conflicts. They build networks that can encourage social and political groups to take preventative measures before conflicts break out. After conflicts, women often play a key role in rehabilitation and reintegration efforts. Women therefore are agents for peace – but they are often pushed aside when peace processes reach more formal stages. Under these circumstances, what could send a more powerful signal than having a woman lead an international peace effort? In this area, I and many others believe that the UN has to do better. We must find women who are able to carry out complex mediation functions. We must appoint them to such leadership positions. This is one of the easiest ways for the UN to both lead by example and have a catalytic effect. This is not the task of the Secretary-General alone. States are also called upon to nominate suitable candidates. We can and I hope we will do better in the future. In order to do this, we must question our mindset. We automatically tend to think that women need to be given the positions that deal with the advancement of women and their rights – but is that a good approach? Would it not help to have men more actively involved in these efforts? Does that not also mean that we exclude, by extension, women from other leadership positions? Why have two out of four UN High Commissioners for Human

Rights been women, and the departments for political affairs and for peace keeping have never been headed by a women since established decades ago?

The flipside to the participation of women is their protection. It is of course not only women who are victims of war crimes or crimes against humanity. There is a disturbing trend that makes civilians the main victims and often the targets of armed conflict. Children – both girls and boys – are victimized in brutal ways, including as child soldiers, and sexual violence is increasingly perpetrated against men as well. But clearly, women and girls are the principal victims of armed conflicts.

The last decade has brought progress in the fight against these crimes at least in the normative area. International law has taken huge steps. The Rwanda Tribunal recognized, for the first time, that sexual violence can amount to genocide. The Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court also gave sexual violence a very prominent place. The UN Security Council put the protection of civilians high on its agenda and created the position of Special Representative against Sexual Violence. But we are facing very serious obstacles in the application of the norms that we have agreed to on paper. The International Criminal Court has jurisdiction in countries that have ratified the Rome Statute, such as for example the DRC. In all the other places, only the Security Council can create jurisdiction, as it has famously done in the case of Darfur. But referring a case to the ICC is not sufficient. The Security Council must also enforce cooperation with the Court's investigations and insist on the arrest of persons against whom indictments have been issued. Again, this has not happened so far.

In spite of all the shortcomings, there is reason to be optimistic: the Security Council has established a solid basis for concrete action in all these areas – from the fight against sexual violence to the active participation of women in peace building. Civil society is bringing much energy and determination to the table. States are increasingly aware that the time for action is now. And the commitment of the Secretary-General to this cause gives me hope that we can make an important step to advance this agenda when the Security Council discusses it at the end of October.

Like 177 other states, Liechtenstein is not currently a member of the Security Council. But we believe that the issue of women, peace, and security affects all of us. Liechtenstein has therefore been actively engaged for years in promoting the appointment of women to leadership positions and assisting the Security Council in implementing the high standards to which it agreed ten years ago.

We all have a collective obligation to protect women from the atrocious consequences of armed conflict that they suffer. And we also have a collective interest in making our work on peace and security more effective by making full use of the contributions that women can make. I hope that we will be able to combine these two agendas for joint and concrete action.

UPGRADING RESOLUTION 1325 WITH A TRIPLE A STRATEGY

Ursula Plassnik

It has to be repeated despite its utter and shameful banality: women are the world's only majority that is systematically treated as a minority, and often even behaves like a minority. Little wonder this is also reflected in peace building and reconstruction as in political participation. However, rapid change is possible. Just think of Switzerland, where full universal suffrage was only introduced forty years ago and where women today hold the majority of government posts. During the first decade, UN Security Council resolution 1325 work has been mainly about the "3 P's": protection, prevention, and participation. Doubtlessly, progress was made. The international community has learned to develop a more inclusive concept of peace based on human security. We have learned two simple lessons – "no women, no peace" and "all peace is local." It is highly un-smart to exclude the voices of 50%+ of the population when you negotiate peace and try to reestablish order in a post-conflict society. Excluding the local female experience, perspective, and capacity means turning a blind eye to half the society we want to rebuild. In October 2010, resolution 1325 will be excessively quoted and praised. However, rather than false celebration leaving the bitter taste of promises un-kept, we need to pragmatically advance the cause of women in peace building through new commitments. The challenge now is to connect the top level decision making to the local level where real people live and results have to be achieved. The "table" needs to be linked to the "ground." Why not try a "triple A" strategy to upgrade 1325? This means acting on improving awareness, monitoring accountability, and introducing rapid-impact accelerators.

ACTION ON AWARENESS

Too many peace-building partners have not yet fully seized the value-added of women in peace building. We have to continually argue that the inclusion of women on all levels of peace-building activities is not only a democratic must but also a technique for achieving better performance and results. As stated by Betty Bigombe of Uganda, "When negotiating peace, men tend to focus on what they went to war for, while women tend to concentrate on the practical needs of their communities." In short, men negotiate the terms of war – women negotiate the terms of peace. Women can act as agents of change and powerful modernizers in their communities on several levels:

- As value transmitters – through educating the children (both boys and girls) they transmit role models, and eventually program their children to become soldiers or doctors or artists;
- As living antidotes to extremism – they are always the first victims of extremism (girls schools are the first to be closed down or attacked by the Taliban);
- As advocates of the excluded – around the world, women share the experience of exclusion and humiliation and are sensitive to other "second-rate citizens;"

- As economically efficient resource managers – risk-averse, sustainability oriented, careful investors, high return on investment, higher re-investment rate, “no booze, no brothels;”
- As solidarity boosters and networkers – as an African proverb says, “Help a man and you help one person, help a woman and you help a whole village;”
- As motors of reconciliation – having not been involved in combat, women can more easily reach out across ethnic, religious, cultural, and political divides.

Arguments about the value-added of including women at the international and local level in peace building have to be brought directly to the attention of decision makers and opinion leaders, the 15 ambassadors sitting in the UN Security Council and defining mandates of UN missions, the 27 ambassadors sitting in the EU Political and Security Committee, foreign ministers visiting crisis zones or adopting policies on how to spend peace-building money, UN officials and NGO leaders designing crisis management and post-conflict strategies, parliamentarians adopting national budgets for development cooperation, media, and academia.

ACTION ON ACCOUNTABILITY

The biggest frustration of women with resolution 1325’s implementation is the fact that nothing happens when 1325 is not implemented by states or other international actors. On the normative side, things have considerably improved with resolutions 1325, 1820, 1888, 1889, and 1894. But implementation deficits largely go unmentioned and often even unremarked. In the international community, we do have useful examples of “soft accountability,” for example in the protection of children. Currently, we are working in the UN on establishing “indicators” to measure in practical ways how countries comply with their obligations under 1325. Thus, both the UN Secretary-General in his regular reports and countries will have a basis for comparison and critical review. This in turn will improve awareness and mobilize new partners for implementation.

In addition, impunity has to end with regard to sexual violence as a tactic of war. The DRC and Guinea are sad examples. This is not collateral damage but war crimes and crimes against humanity. The international community has to stop looking the other way and the Security Council has to bring such crimes before the International Criminal Court. Only when today’s perpetrators are brought to justice will the perpetrators of tomorrow receive a clear message of dissuasion and will the women affected start believing that the world cares about them.

ACTION ON ACCELERATORS

Our newly acquired knowledge about progress and implementation deficits on 1325

must now be transformed into tangible progress on the ground for development and reconstruction in post-conflict societies.

First, we have to open up space for women – including on the local level – to voice their concerns and needs. Flexibility on how to arrive at this according to local habits and traditions is needed (in certain parts of Afghanistan, the only place where women can meet “freely” reportedly is the graveyard). Let us be practical: women need someone to listen to them and transmit their inputs into the larger peace-building framework. Each UN, EU, or AU mission should have not only a gender adviser but also an ombudswoman as local contact point for local women. Women need transport and accommodation and a safe place to exchange information among each other.

Next, women have to be invited to the table. For that to be meaningful, they have to receive quick training to successfully present their agenda to the peace-building teams. Enabling women to take a stand and speak up is crucial. They then have to see that their recommendations are acted upon.

Participation needs resources. Women’s needs are not automatically taken into account. They thus need gender budgeting in national budgets. In post-conflict societies, it will be up to donors private and public to earmark a relevant share – the UN now talks about 15% of donor trust fund money – for the needs of women. This must to be controlled independently. Investing in women is good investment: less corruption, more risk adversity, more solidarity.

Mandates of all international peace missions (UN, EU, AU) have to incorporate the female dimension, including sexual violence. We need tailor-made, conflict-specific mandates, not one size fits all. This requires regular information on the situation of women in each conflict. Data has to be collected and analyzed. We have to address decision makers on the working level, as it is they who draft these mandates.

National Action Plans (NAPs) on the implementation of 1325 can be a powerful motor in conflict/crisis regions, forcing national governments to face up to their responsibilities. Only 22 countries now have such plans. This will be one of the implementation indicators for 1325 accountability.

No government leader wants to be shamed and blamed in public. Official visits on the political level (foreign ministers, prime ministers, UN top brass) give ample opportunity to raise women’s questions just like human rights questions. This will help pave the road to a mentality of accountability.

Women have to move out of the women’s corner. They need allies. Male champions of including women in peace building should be publicly acclaimed. International military and police – unless tainted during conflict – have important contributions to make as they know the needs of the local populations. We have to listen to them

and respond to their inputs. The media can make a crucial difference through sharing information on women's needs.

A global human rights campaign specifically for women would accelerate large-scale awareness about the legal foundation of the status of women. While many successful campaigns protecting human and animal rights have been led, we still lack a modern twenty-first century human rights campaign for the majority of the world's population.

Female Development Goals (FDGs) should be created and implemented. The current process of examining progress and gaps in implementing the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) could easily focus on women, also in the 1325 context. I submitted this proposal to Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon in Alpbach in early September. The basic idea is to draw lessons from both the deficits in MDGs, which most affect women, and in 1325. Can we define concrete goals for women for the next decade on security, health, education, resources, and participation? This might turn out to be an effective turbo for advancing MDGs altogether.

WOMEN AND PEACE BUILDING

Alison Boden

My great thanks to my friend and colleague Professor Danspeckgruber for the invitation to continue in dialogue with this distinguished panel. I've spoken before on the particular promise that women of faith bring to the work of peace building and the creation of sustainable security within societies. I highlighted the ways that women use their roles within their families and religious communities to purchase for themselves the space to do peace making, to act audaciously and sometimes with some risk because their gender and their religious commitment provide them moral unimpeachability. They use their often – not always, but often – disempowered location to expand their own agency, turning the criteria of their subordination into an opportunity to engage in peace building beyond censure or reproach. As we now observe the 10th anniversary of resolution 1325 I'll shape my contributions to today's panel around the role and implications of the resolution for women of faith in the turbulent decade just passed, and the promise of their participation in years to come.

The tragedy of September 11 came one year after resolution 1325, and for those of us whose focus includes religion it certainly changed the landscape, bringing religion in from the margins, but sadly for many equating religion with extremism. In North America and Europe this has contributed, I think, to the groundswell of publications that insist that religion is not just silly but dangerous. Others have been convinced since 9/11 – and Madrid's 3/11 and London's 7/7 – that religious perspectives simply must be brought to the table, that religious leadership has tremendous authority within communities and societies, establishing positive norms of behavior there. You can guess which camp I belong to! I remain very grateful to the Liechtenstein Institute for developing its Program on Religion, Diplomacy, and International Relations (PORDIR), and for supporting the idea that religious issues are frequently a critical, and not necessarily negative, component of diplomacy and international affairs.

While resolution 1325 doesn't address religious contributions to women's participation in peace building, the efforts of women of faith are tremendously more relevant and necessary now. As crimes against women during and after conflict only seem to worsen, positive religious actors, both women and men, are more critical as proactive peace-making participants. I sense an increased understanding, internationally, of the important role of religiously motivated peace making. You may think me naïve, and I do acknowledge that I make that comment from the center of the religious peace-making movement, but I'll share some examples in a couple of minutes about why I think this is true.

The priorities of resolution 1325 are timelier now than they were ten years ago, sadly. I'm just back from Honduras, where my students and I learned of the particular ill effects on Honduran women (and other historically marginalized sub-communities –

the poor, the gay, etc.) regarding the human rights abuses that have followed last year's military coup. Women are being particularly targeted in a nationwide crackdown on those who advocate for a national constitutional assembly.³ Every week I receive some kind of electronic publication about the inordinate toll of conflict falling on women (and children) – this week the subject has been rape and sexual violence as weapons of war in the eastern part of the Democratic Republic of Congo, going to the heart of resolutions 1820 and 1888.

There certainly has been some progress towards the goals of resolution 1325 in relation to women's participation for peace and sustainability. For instance, we have seen increased attention paid to women's contributions to early warning information collection and response mechanisms. Women are phenomenal on-the-ground resources for communities' attitudes, plans, and experiences, and they are being taken more seriously as such.⁴ In terms of religious women's peace making there has been a growing understanding that although women's status may not be high, either in society or in representation at high-level negotiations, women in the most humble situations are making invaluable contributions. The organization Inter-Faith Action for Peace in Africa (IFAPA) has renewed their emphasis on the grassroots work of women of faith. They note that women have long gained conflict resolution skills in their families and communities, that they often provide the moral education of children and may educate for peace – that they build peace through “social capital transmission of values.” The organization states, “African countries can no longer afford to exclude women in peace processes.”⁵

It is heartening to see growing emphasis on what is called “a gendered perspective” in peace building. This is happening at the UN, first at the 1985 Third World Conference on Women in Nairobi, and more recently, at the time of resolution 1325, in the Namibia Plan of Action on Mainstreaming a Gender Perspective in Multidimensional Peace Support Operations (2000). The idea is gaining ground in academic circles as well, with the help of scholars who insist that women bring emphases on healing, cooperation, and reconciliation to conflict and post-conflict situations.⁶

A gendered perspective is good, of course, but so is a “religioneed” one, too. It would also reinforce concepts of reconciliation and cooperation, and also restitution, forgiveness, absolute human equality, and the limitless, sacred value of every person, truthfulness, ethical integrity, not just charity but generosity, an insistence upon justice not

3. For more information on human rights abuses in post-coup Honduras (including sections regarding women's rights), see <http://cidh.org/countryrep/Honduras09eng/Chap.5.a.htm#G> and <http://scm.oas.org/pdfs/2010/AGSC00258E-2A.pdf#preliminary>.

4. For more details, see <http://www.peacewomen.org>.

5. See <http://ifapa-africa.org/?p=308>.

6. See, for example, Susan McKay and Dyan Mazurana, “Gendering Peacebuilding” in Daniel J. Christie, Richard V. Wagner, and Deborah DuNann Winter, eds., *Peace, Conflict, and Violence: Peace Psychology for the 21st Century* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: I.A. Books, 2001).

only for oneself but for all people, all actors. Rape and sexual violence are contrary to every religion's moral code. Perhaps a religious argument could be the one argument that a potential perpetrator could hear and respect in deciding never to violate another person. A religioned perspective also could help prevent acts or words that are religiously insulting – ending, through simple education, words and deeds that make a sustainable peace less likely during and after conflict, both among those who shape policy and those on the ground who implement it. Pointing to a main tenet of resolution 1325, more female military and security personnel could be helpful in those times and places where religious perspectives require strict separation of the sexes, or when women feel they can not testify about or report atrocities they've experienced to a male interlocutor.

An example of positive and crucial peace work done by religious actors is Iraq, centered on the growing understanding in the US of the role of religion in the sectarian violence there and a consequent growing understanding that religious actors would be crucial partners in the effort to achieve peace. In 2007 the coalition intentionally began to engage with religious and tribal elements of the insurgency. They partnered with a trusted British NGO called the Foundation for Relief and Reconciliation in the Middle East (FRRME), an effort that resulted in the formation of the Iraqi Inter-Religious Congress (IIRC), a consortium of Sunni, Shiite, and Christian leaders. The first Congress was held in Baghdad on June 11, 2007 and resulted in the signing of the Iraqi Inter-Religious Accords, the first religious document to recognize the government of Iraq, to publicly name and renounce Al-Qaeda, and to call the use of unauthorized weapons a criminal act. Perhaps most importantly, the document provided the legitimacy with which religious leaders across the country could found their support for democratic principles and denounce violence and terrorism. The very day the Congress closed, on June 13, came the second bombing of the Al Asakariya mosque in Samarra, one of the holiest shrines for Shiites. Its first bombing in 2006 set off a wave of sectarian violence, and across the country people braced themselves for more. The clergy delegates to the Congress decided to immediately release the text of the accords to the media, and to speak together, across sectarian lines, on the absolute necessity of non-violence. They did so, together, into every microphone they could find. They pointed their words to the general population, but also to fellow clergy, empowering them to denounce violence as well. In fact, religious leaders around the country did call for peace, and although there were sporadic outbreaks of violence, reprisal attacks were a phenomenal 80% lower than after the previous year's bombing. With the passing of time, the IIRC has continued to gain members, including from the more radicalized ends of the religious spectrum.⁷

A fine example of peace making by religious women comes from Liberia's second civil

7. "Iraq: Buttressing Peace with the Iraqi Inter-Religious Council," Case Study Series, Berkley Center for Religion, Peace, and World Affairs, Georgetown University. http://berkleycenter.georgetown.edu/subtopics/religion_and_conflict_case_studies?subtopic=246.

war. The successive wars there had taken a particular toll on women and girls. They were raped or forced into continuing sexual slavery by combatants. Christian and Muslim women came together as WIPNET, the Women in Peace-building Network. They spent a year praying, chanting, dancing, and singing in a field next to a popular market in Monrovia until Charles Taylor agreed to meet with them – they made a holy nuisance of themselves. Over time, people began to take them more seriously and join their various protests and actions, including male clergy. WIPNET pressed hard at the peace talks in Accra to include gender specific policies and the participation of women in government, and after the peace agreement was signed they continued to mobilize for disarmament, reconciliation, reintegration, democracy promotion, and dialogue. One scholarly case study on the group concludes that they have “undoubtedly contributed to the sustained peace in Liberia.”⁸ I wonder, too, about their real contribution to the election of Ellen Johnson Sirleaf.

Amongst a number of religious actors inspiring reconciliation in Colombia is the group MENCOLDES, the Colombian Mennonite Foundation for Development. Their women’s organization has done important work to nurture dialogue and partnerships for a lasting peace in their country, and especially to work for empowerment and repatriation among internally displaced people (IDP), of whom a majority are women and children.⁹

Some women – certainly not all, but some – have more access to “the table,” to more formal and high-level participation via their religious communities than their political ones. Some religious communities and traditions do allow women’s leadership, either in religious practice or denominational administration. It is also through faith based organizations (FBOs) that they develop their expertise on everything from sexual violence to negotiating, coalition building and war crimes, reconciliation and food security, and whatever particular issue may be the topic at “the table.” I participated last June at a consultation of the UN Population Fund (UNFPA), an organization that seeks to increase its ability to partner with FBOs in order to be more effective. Currently, 80% of all health care delivery in Africa is by FBOs. Many of them provide magnificent leadership opportunities to women, and leadership training and expertise for the formal work of peace building. I have great hope that these organizations, whatever their emphasis (including peace building) will grow in every region as pipelines for women towards more formal participation and leadership.

We’ve made some real progress since resolution 1325 was first articulated; we’ve got miles to go. I think that women of faith are well-located and essential allies in getting us there.

8. “Ending Liberia’s Second Civil War: Religious Women as Peacemakers,” Case Study Series, Berkley Center for Religion, Peace, and World Affairs, Georgetown University. <http://www.berkleycenter.georgetown.edu>.

9. <http://www.mcc.org/columbia>.

THE STATUS OF WOMEN IN THE ARAB MIDDLE EAST

Amaney Jamal

Esteemed guests, distinguished panelists, it is a great honor and privilege to be here among my colleagues and to share in the 10th anniversary of the Liechtenstein Institute on Self-Determination (LISD). I am going to do something different from what I did last year, which is to take this opportunity to present some ongoing work on the status of women in the Middle East and basically look at the status of women as a function of international politics and international relations. What do I mean by that? I hope these concepts will become clearer as I begin my presentation.

Indeed, if we look at the status of women in the Middle East and North Africa, what we systematically find is that women in these regions share the smallest percentage of positions in government. Even women in sub-Saharan Africa, a region that is not as socio-economically advanced as the Arab Middle East, hold a higher percentage of government positions through today. These trends exist across time from 1999 to 2010, so we have been tracking some data from 1999 on these measures. So at least on that figure, things do not look very well.

When we look at the percentage of women in parliament, again, things do not look very rosy for women in the Middle East and North Africa. When we look at the literacy gap, we also see that in the Arab world – excluding Turkey, Iran, and Israel – the gap between women and men are almost the highest, although there have been improvements. In 2000–2005, that gap was coming down, though it was still very high, especially given the developmental path and the Arab world's socio-economic status. It is very perplexing, if anything.

Looking at the economic activity ratio between men and women, what you see systematically is that women in the Arab world are not doing well in terms of having access to jobs and keeping those jobs. When those jobs are available, they are going to men. That is very disappointing, especially when you look at sub-Saharan Africa. Not to target sub-Saharan Africa, but considering where the Arab world is economically, one would expect that these numbers should look much better.

So, what explains the poor gender performance of Middle Eastern Muslim states? I am focusing on the Arab world so that we do not conflate results by looking at too many countries. When you look at the literature, we know that religion matters. People talk about Islam being a major impediment to the advancement of women. We look at the individual levels of religiosity as a factor. We look at the lack of macro levels of secularism as a factor. We look at Islam as a culture, as a civilization, so these are all part of the “Islam variable.”

When we say “Islam,” we are not really clear on what we mean. Is it religion? Is it prac-

tice? Is it culture? Is it civilization? Is it the way that it is institutionalized in certain states? Is it the personal status regime? So, “Islam” is a very large variable that covers various different factors, so we are trying to unpack these categories right now. Is it nothing to do with Islam, but with this tradition of patriarchy that the Muslim East shares and enjoys? In other words, even if we control for Islam or for religious practice, will the independent effects of patriarchy, those norms that privilege men over women, still make a difference and hence allow these gender gaps to persist even if these societies continue to develop? Even if Islam becomes “more tolerant” of women? These are important empirical questions.

Others might argue that it has nothing to do with values and norms, but with the economic foundations of these countries. A lot of these Muslim states rely on oil as their economic engine. Oil does not lend itself to opening up the economic environment for people to come in and work. In other words, the states in these countries manage this industry and they distribute rents. If we all live in an oil state and we get rents, then what is the incentive for us to work? This has differential effects for women than men. Women in oil states get handsome packages to stay home and take care of their children. We often talk about Saudi Arabia. Women in Saudi Arabia today hold about 70% of the wealth in the country, but they have not accessed economic markets, so what is happening in these oil countries has really convoluted our understanding of the way economic development should map onto gender empowerment in many ways.

Furthermore, we have a lack of democratization in a lot of these states. These are not states where women can go to the streets and make demands. So, basically, their ability to access political channels to make demands or to leverage policies that favor them is also limited. Furthermore, modernization, urbanization, education, industrialization – all of these developmental trajectories that are deemed important at least for women in the Western experience in terms of how women acquired their rights – these processes have been stifled in the Muslim world for a variety of reasons. This is just a really quick overview and I know that I have not done justice to any of these strands, but I just wanted to give a sense of where we are. If we look at levels of democracy, what we see though is that even if levels of democracy have not really improved in the Arab Middle East, the status of women has gradually improved. It is not drastic. It is not miraculous. It is not overly impressive, but with authoritarianism, we have seen an improvement in some of the rights. The question becomes: why have we seen improvements if the lack of democracy has persisted?

My assumption is that in some countries, we have had leaders more committed than others toward issues related to women. In other words, when Mohammed VI in Morocco stood behind a reform package in 2004, he pushed that package through parliament. He almost coerced members of the religious establishment to accept it and in 2010, Morocco has one of the most liberal reform packages in the Arab world. Conversely, we have seen leaders block female demands for reform even when there was

active women's demand and civil society participation.

So, I guess the question is, at least from a policy-making perspective or even a theoretical one, what are the conditions that then create or allow or encourage leaders in these states to take more positive stances on women? That is important, especially when we think about the factors that we often attribute as extremely important and this somewhat relates to what Dr. Plassnik said when she said that most of these accounts are about us having to empower women. First of all, we neglect the role of men in these accounts, but we also neglect the role of governments and structures. So, while we promote women's rights by supporting civil society, supporting women's groups, making sure that they can meet and effectively make demands on the state, we also need to pay attention to the fact that even if they wanted to make demands, sometimes the ceiling in some countries is lower than in others. So, there needs to be pressure on regimes. We also ignore the politics behind the legal institutions that continue to subordinate women. We also pay little attention to international forces, both positive and also negative, that shape the way countries adopt policies toward women.

If the idea is that more aid should create more democracy and more democracy should create better conditions for women, this has not been substantiated in empirical studies looking at aid, democracy, and development. Furthermore, there is this idea that as the world converges on globalization, globalization will create more democracy, democracy is linked to development and reforms for women. Again, that has not been substantiated. There is this notion that if these countries could become involved in the free market world, then they will converge with democracy. Again, all of these things have not been substantiated empirically. Moving onto these international political economy explanations of democratization, even if a country is involved in free trade, even if it is trying to globalize, even if the society is trying to democratize, these themes ignore security issues in the global scene.

Moving forward, this is a new project. People find it a bit provocative. My intention is not to be provocative, my intention is to explain. So, what we find in the Middle East is that international intervention matters for the status of women, but it matters negatively. How? When you have US troops being deployed in countries – for example, Iraq and Afghanistan – it creates nationalist backlash, such as “Yankee, Go Home” and “Jihad, Yes We Can.” People go to the streets. People are upset that all of a sudden, their countries are being occupied by foreign powers, like the United States. When you have a nationalist backlash in those countries, what does it do immediately? It creates an increase for the appreciation of Islamic movements. So since the Islamists are then successful, the states then concede to Islamist demands on issues pertaining to women. So Islamists do not get involved with issues pertaining to foreign policy. For example, when the US deployed troops in Jordan right before the war in Iraq, women had made so much progress in trying to get the government to commit to a series of laws that would have favored them. When US troops were deployed, the Islamists gained a lot of momentum and the government was supporting the women's move-

ments on their reforms, but when the nationalist backlash increased, what happened immediately was that the government said to the Islamists: do not get involved with the issue with US troops, but we will not protest if you block reforms in parliament on women. We will give you something in exchange for your sights.

Hence, unpopular foreign policy interventions, especially those involving troop deployments, have adversely affected women's rights in the Muslim world. What we systematically find is that in the countries that have suffered from high US troop deployments, they have consistently lower levels of women's political rights in Muslim countries. We have seen this in the Arab states, the Muslim states, and even to some extent in Latin America. This is a predicted level of women's political rights as a function of US troops per population. As the percentage of US troops in the population increases, the predicted levels of women's rights decrease. We control for a multiple set of variables. I can quickly show you that even in Jordan, women were doing well, then you had the influx of US troops, the minute you have the troops deployed along a time continuum, the status of women falls again. We show this in multiple ways that there is this negative effect on women's rights. Here are the cases that we focus on in our paper. I cannot say much about it now. Basically, we look at Jordan and Tunisia as the cases. These are very similar cases with very different records on women. Both are Muslim countries, both had the Islamic opposition movement, both countries have faced more external problems with US troops than others, and hence the situation of women in Jordan is worse.

PEACE BUILDING ON THE GROUND

Ciara Knudsen

I am here to present the “on the ground” perspective on this panel with these incredible women. Thank you so much for your presentations. I am here as an “LISD groupie,” not as a US bureaucrat, so please take that into consideration. I will try not to be too bureaucratic in my discussion.

I think the comments regarding “on the ground and at the table” are really important. At present, one of the challenges that I have working in Washington is to take that field perspective and bring it to the policy-making table and the US government. Our job at the Diplomacy and Development Review is to find how can we, the US government, become more successful at peace-building, stabilization, and counter-insurgency activities in order to achieve much better results on the ground. The United Nations is currently conducting a performance review of resolution 1325 and I can say that from my personal experience, we have not gotten as far as we need to go.

One of my objectives here is to talk about the ways in which we need to make peace building more effective from a practitioner’s perspective. I think we really struggled to implement the ideas from resolution 1325. I am going to talk a little about what it means to be an effective peace builder from my limited experience and what it means to be a woman peace builder in this environment. I think the key to effective peace building has two parts: one is doing the right things, and the second part is doing those things right. Usually, we get either one or the other right, but very rarely do we get them both. We can be very good at implementing a program that we put out on the ground and we get great results, but in the end, we lose more. The other piece is that we have this great peace agreement and it has a lot of great components, but yet, the implementation fails for a number of different reasons.

When I think about peace builders and the ways in which we need to enhance this capability, I think of them as people who need to go out into the world and help nations in conflict to build a different kind of future. I consider women as planners, problem solvers, and advocates. I am going to talk a little bit about what I mean by that.

From a planning perspective, when you think about doing the right things, there are three or four areas where we fall short. A gendered perspective is thus really helpful. The first area where we fall short is in comprehensive political solutions. I know that sounds like jargon, but the point is that when we look at ending violence, we usually take a short-term perspective. It is necessary because you are trying to get that immediate objective, but we are often missing components. Women bring to the table information that pertains to knowing how to talk about progress, the roads that you need and the access that you need. Those are the pieces that are often missed. We also miss how we deal with the losers. We are really good at figuring out what the win-

ners get to do, but we are very bad at figuring out what the losers do, and oftentimes, women pay the price for that. So, that is one area where we need a lot of work and a much more comprehensive, integrated vision of how that works.

The second component regards our definition of security. I know there has been an enormous amount of work at the UN and throughout the international community on human security. Last year, I was sitting in a room in Afghanistan at ISAF, listening to the debate over the definition of population human security, with political leaders and multiple nations represented there. From that conversation, I can tell you that we are not quite where we need to be on the issue of human security. We lack not only the conceptual understanding of human security, but also the necessary tools. Even if we wanted to take a different approach to protecting civilians and to engaging communities around security, our tools remain very traditional. That is an area of additional worry, so we need to have a better sense of women and human security at large.

The third area in peace building that needs great improvement is a bit fuzzier. It is around this concept of social fabric. When conflict occurs, a nation's social fabric is ripped apart. Peace building is fundamentally about rebuilding, but we usually pay attention to the political rebuilding, or the economic or infrastructure work, or the security institutions. However, we do not pay attention to how societies knit back together. That is an area that is incredibly important and not one that we have prioritized as much as is necessary. So, these are the three areas that I would put out there that we consider, as planners, in the peace-building mission.

Moreover, I think this includes a better understanding of trade-offs. This is where people get really nervous when talking about women's rights and atrocities, particularly in Afghanistan, but also in the other countries where I have worked. There are tremendous trade-offs, particularly related to the social fabric because you can only push the social fabric so hard. I will give you a quote from a friend I worked with in the Khost Province of Afghanistan. She said, "Look, we have to be careful about this. Everyone comes to you gung ho saying: 'We want to rewrite the political dynamic here and we want women to do this and do that.' You have to really understand that in Khost, there are two times that a woman leaves her house in her lifetime: once when she is married and the other when she dies." When you think of that reality in this area of Afghanistan, your ability to affect some of these standard relationships and participation elements of resolution 1325 is limited. So, we need to improve our understanding of how to participate in such an environment in order to be effective.

Now, I want to switch to the problem solving side. This is where we tend to tell a really good story about our program and how it works, however, we are missing a couple key components. For instance, we have a hard time putting theory into reality. You get a really good peace agreement, a nice new shiny constitution, a development strategy, and your ten-year goals – and it all looks really shiny and new. Suddenly, we are off to the races, here we go. Then, implementation flounders. This happens when we have a

machine of NGOs and rounds of international organizations and military organizations with their doctrine books and everyone is on their way and the machine starts to take over. You have this shiny new package of what this country needs to look like and then you hit reality.

I will give you an example. I was helping to set up the Ministry of Social Services in Afghanistan and on the first day of school when we were working towards independence, we had about 5,000 mothers at our door. I can tell you it is not a good thing to have 5,000 mothers at your door, especially if they are angry and it is the first day of school. So, my staff looked at me and said, “Oh my God, what are we going to do? There is going to be a riot, there is going to be violence, what are we going to do?” I looked to them and I said, “Look, the reason why the mothers are here is because they do not have money for school fees. The constitution says school is free for kids under 6th grade. Why are there school fees? Why is this even an issue?” Everyone looked at me and said, “I do not know, this is a huge problem.” We then made them go out and actually sit down with each woman and write down their names on pieces of paper. Then, we marched all 5,000 of them over to the Ministry of Education to explain to the Ministry of Education that they should not be paying school fees. Now, it was one of these moments, for me at least, that really personified that you can say what you want in a nice constitution, but until it is implemented at every step of the way, it does not hold.

The second case is that oftentimes when the machine takes over, we lose track of the human experience and what is really going on under the surface relating to the human experience. What is interesting to me here is that particularly for those of us who are young and excited and really into the concepts of education and whatnot, when you run smack into an elder from a village up in the mountains and they are like, “I’m sorry, what? How is this going to work?” you want to sell the concept instead of making that human connection.

The best human connection I have ever seen involved a top gun pilot with the US military – not particularly known for his people skills – who was a PRT commander in Nuristan Province. He went up into a village in the mountains where the villagers were not permitting the construction of a school. There were young villagers attacking the contractors who were trying to work. The pilot went in and instead of saying, “We are trying to do this for education, I have my money here,” he instead said, “Look, I am a father of five children and you are a father. Let’s talk about what it means to be fathers with problematic children. We know what this means and you have some young men who are having some difficulties. How do we solve this problem?” It was fascinating for me to watch this sort of release among this group that had come ready to fight about this issue. It was reaching into the human experience and letting the other pieces fall aside.

My last point is that we really need to listen better. The challenge for international

folks working in this field is that often we do not speak the language well enough to understand what is going on in certain circles. As a woman, you may become additionally intrigued with that dialogue because you are a woman, but sometimes that is not the case. I will give you an example. We were running with a great program or team where we had a great civil education program, which aimed to get people out to vote. Millions of dollars had been invested, the program was doing really well all over the country, and everyone was really excited. We went up to the mountains to have this whole discussion and at the end this little man in the back raised his hand and said, "Thank you. Thank you for this great information, but when in the presentation are you going to tell me who to vote for?" So we went, "Oh, ok. We are missing something here because clearly the program is not making it click."

The last part I want to talk about is just a little bit about what it means to be a woman in this environment. I have had the opportunity to work in Afghanistan, Cambodia, Haiti, Liberia, and other countries. Each country is different from the perspective of an international woman coming in to conduct peace building. I think there are three warnings I would put out there, especially from the Western tradition. One is we underestimate honor and prestige and what it means to many of the cultures we are working in. For Americans and others in the Western tradition, that is not something we consider in the same way and so that can be a difficult thing to get through and to get your head around.

The second is the challenges pertaining to hierarchy and elders. While at Princeton we are taught to respect our elders, we are also taught to be completely uppity and exert our opinion in a very well-thought and evidenced point of view. So, this is a challenge when you go out there and all of a sudden you become invisible in an environment of both males and elders. So that is another challenge. I think religion is also an area where we underestimate how important it is as a factor in people's lives.

There are a couple of benefits to being a woman peace builder in the field. It is very funny working with the military. You get a lot of perceptions that it will be very difficult working as a woman with the military. In fact, it is the exact opposite. We actually learned from my office in the State Department that if you want your mission to succeed, you send your best women forward. That is now our new policy, which is great.

It was very funny when I started in Afghanistan, a friend of mine who was a colonel said to me, "I know you have stuff to say, but they are not going to take you seriously. You need to go out there with a wedding ring and then you need to be quiet and you need to listen for a while and then, only in time, you can talk to senior military officials." I took him very seriously for about five minutes and actually went out and bought a wedding ring, which was very helpful, but then I got out there and it was interesting. I found that the military community is incredibly open to civilian interjections that are wise and also to female perspectives. I think the US and international community have come a long way on that, to the point where many of my colleagues

who were female could brief generals on a regular basis with no problems.

I think the biggest thing that we bring as women peace builders in this tradition is a sense of possibility. I would not underestimate this under any circumstances. I used to say in this team where I spent three years trying to build this ministry, if I just stood behind the staff at any one given time, I kept telling them, “Yes, you can do it. Yes, it is possible. Keep thinking about it.” That would have been enough. That is where the advocacy comes in because we have the privilege of being able to come into these circumstances and be advocates for change. It has to be change that is based on listening, based on evidence, based on an integrated approach. We are fundamentally able to advocate and stand behind others who advocate as well.

WOMEN AS PEACE BUILDERS

Nannerl Keohane

We often hear that women are more naturally inclined to peace, and men to war – that women shy away from conflict whereas men sometimes relish it. In our panel last spring, we focused on women leaders, and in that context it became clear that such generalizations cannot be sustained. Some women leaders across history have initiated wars with vigor and shown no more interest in making peace than most male leaders in comparable situations.

But today we focus more broadly, on women as peace builders both on the ground and at the negotiating table. In this context, there is indeed evidence that some women across the ages have attempted to bring peace to their warring communities. They have done this as wives, mothers, sisters, and daughters and acted in large part to defend their men-folk from death and debilitation. But it would be hard to prove that we are naturally or genetically of a more peaceful disposition just because we are women. Women have also cheered on their husbands and sons as they marched off to war, because they shared a belief in the cause and rejoiced in such manly valor.

The first major point I want to make, however, is that whether women wanted peace or war was, in the past, mostly peripheral to the main action. With a few exceptions like Elizabeth I of England, men made the decisions, fought the wars and negotiated the peace. Where women came into the picture was most frequently as objects, rather than subjects. I will identify four ways in which women have been objects in situations of conflict, to show how powerless women usually were in such settings, even if they ardently desired for peace. Then I will, with relief, turn briefly to our own times to celebrate the fact that women can be subjects – active participants – instead of merely objects, where peace and war are concerned.

My list of four ways in which women have been objects in wartime proceeds, like the circles of Dante's *Inferno*, from a relatively benign sort of objectivity to the depths of hell. In the first place, women have been symbols – statues, figures in paintings – selected to reflect events in an allegorical and idealized fashion. Painters and sculptors routinely choose beautiful young women, often topless, to represent peace, holding doves or olive branches. Women may also represent patriotism and warlike impulses, as in the classic figure of Liberty leading the people in the painting by Delacroix or the familiar sculptures of women representing victory or crowning a victorious soldier with a laurel wreath. This status as symbol may not seem very hellish, but the point is, the women weren't really there: they were purely objects for men to manipulate, rather like using "she" to refer to a battleship or a nation-state, nothing to do with flesh and blood women.

Next in order is women as objects of protection. Men often speak of fighting battles

to protect their vulnerable womenfolk. To be sure, that's much better than being unprotected. But it's not the same as going out and fighting, or preventing the conflict in the first place.

Third in the set of Dantesque circles, and clearly further down the hellish hole, are women as prey, women desired for their fertility by men who don't have enough of them to make the children they want and need. The Sabine women were only one example of objects of this sort. Men in tribes or clans have routinely gone to war with neighboring groups to capture women, although this is less common today than it was in the past.

The final sort of objectivity, the lowest circle of hell, is women as victims, and the range here is depressingly large. Women may be used as pawns, they may become the spoils of war, be mutilated, wounded, killed, and mainly, raped. Rape as a deliberate tactic in war has become sadly more common in our own times, as Dr. Frick pointed out. As we know from the Congo and other instances, rape is no longer just a side-product of conquest, or a perverse incentive that could be held out to the warriors if they are victorious, but a clear strategy to humiliate and violate the enemy.

In all four ways, from symbol to rape victim, women have been objects in conflict rather than having any opportunity to make peace, even when they longed to do so.

Let's turn to the positive side of the ledger, discussing women as actors and subjects, reversing the hellish regression of objectivity we have just discussed with a sense of progress, with a broader scope for effective action at each stage. In this context we can think first of the women throughout history who have worked for peace in their communities – women who have pled with their men-folk not to go to battle, or talked with other women around the cooking fire about how to prevent conflict; women who have advised their partners persuasively in their pillow talk about the advantages of peace; wise women and healers, facilitating negotiations among people who are angry with one another and threatening to fight. Ursula Plassik pointed out that “peace is local,” and such actions are good illustrations of that remark.

Today women who want to promote peace and justice rather than conflict and expropriation are found in many parts of the world, acting much more visibly and vigorously than they could have in the past. For example, women in micro-economic settings are creating little industries that strengthen the economies of their community and thereby remove one familiar reason for making war, impoverishment. These are the kinds of activities Alison Boden described in her overview of women of faith.

The next step beyond this status of women on the ground, actively involved in working for peace in their communities, is women with responsibilities for leadership that allow them to move their communities towards peace. I think of the women who worked for peace in the early years of the last century through organizations such as

the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom or support for the League of Nations, some of whom were recognized for their activities by being awarded honors including the Nobel Peace Prize – Jane Addams or Emily Greene Balch. And women who worked to build the UN and clarify human rights, including pre-eminently, Eleanor Roosevelt. Such leaders are models for us all.

Next we have women as leaders in nation-states, women who have used their political power to bring peace in their own countries. This includes women like Michelle Bachelet of Chile and Ellen Johnson Sirleaf of Liberia who succeeded (after they personally suffered from the rule of) more autocratic males who brought civil war to their societies.

And finally, women as actors on the international stage, women like those with us today who have worked as foreign ministers, secretaries of state, diplomats, UN officials, directly to bring about peace in the world. These women – and their essential staff members, whose activities were well-described by Ciara Knudsen – are clearly “at the table.” By working with other women and men of good will, they devote their efforts to preventing war or ending it, and tackle the sources of conflict and misunderstanding at the roots. We are in your debt.

And at a place like the Woodrow Wilson School, we educate your successors every year, women who study for the BA or the MPA, the MPP or the PhD, then go to work in the State Department or a ministry in their own countries, or in the field. Many of these women are also here with us today. We encourage you younger women to pursue your passion for diplomacy – and perhaps develop one, if you don't already have it – against discouragement because you are a woman, and doubt about your own capacities. Make sure that you in turn find your place at the table and help in the never ending struggle to build peace. Step up to the work: work in the background, if you are more comfortable that way, or at the forefront, if that's your place – just be sure to be engaged.

One last point: I would observe that this phrase “building peace” which names our panel is an apt description of what this is all about – not “bringing” peace, or “making” peace, but building peace. This is an apt phrase because bringing about peace is indeed a construction effort, it takes time, energy, materials, design skills, collaboration among workers. It is not the effort of a single day or week, nor a single individual. It doesn't come about just through dreaming about it. It takes work. We can all benefit hugely from the presence of more women (and equally committed men) on this team of builders. Your involvement in the effort will surely make it more likely that we reach the goal.

APPENDIX I

UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 1325 ON WOMEN, PEACE, AND SECURITY

Adopted by the Security Council at its 4,213th meeting, on 31 October 2000.

The Security Council,

Recalling its resolutions 1261 (1999) of 25 August 1999, 1265 (1999) of 17 September 1999, 1296 (2000) of 19 April 2000 and 1314 (2000) of 11 August 2000, as well as relevant statements of its President, and *recalling also* the statement of its President to the press on the occasion of the United Nations Day for Women's Rights and International Peace (International Women's Day) of 8 March 2000 (SC/6816),

Recalling also the commitments of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (A/52/231) as well as those contained in the outcome document of the twenty-third Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly entitled "Women 2000: Gender Equality, Development and Peace for the Twenty-First Century" (A/S-23/10/Rev.1), in particular those concerning women and armed conflict,

Bearing in mind the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the primary responsibility of the Security Council under the Charter for the maintenance of international peace and security,

Expressing concern that civilians, particularly women and children, account for the vast majority of those adversely affected by armed conflict, including as refugees and internally displaced persons, and increasingly are targeted by combatants and armed elements, and *recognizing* the consequent impact this has on durable peace and reconciliation,

Reaffirming the important role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts and in peace-building, and *stressing* the importance of their equal participation and full involvement in all efforts for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security, and the need to increase their role in decision-making with regard to conflict prevention and resolution,

Reaffirming also the need to implement fully international humanitarian and human rights law that protects the rights of women and girls during and after conflicts,

Emphasizing the need for all parties to ensure that mine clearance and mine awareness programmes take into account the special needs of women and girls,

Recognizing the urgent need to mainstream a gender perspective into peacekeeping operations, and in this regard *noting* the Windhoek Declaration and the Namibia Plan of Action on Mainstreaming a Gender Perspective in Multidimensional Peace Support Operations (S/2000/693),

Recognizing also the importance of the recommendation contained in the statement of its President to the press of 8 March 2000 for specialized training for all peacekeeping personnel on the protection, special needs and human rights of women and children in conflict situations,

Recognizing that an understanding of the impact of armed conflict on women and girls, effective institutional arrangements to guarantee their protection and full participation in the peace process can significantly contribute to the maintenance and promotion of international peace and security,

Noting the need to consolidate data on the impact of armed conflict on women and girls,

1. *Urges* Member States to ensure increased representation of women at all decision-making levels in national, regional and international institutions and mechanisms for the prevention, management, and resolution of conflict;
2. *Encourages* the Secretary-General to implement his strategic plan of action (A/49/587) calling for an increase in the participation of women at decision-making levels in conflict resolution and peace processes;
3. *Urges* the Secretary-General to appoint more women as special representatives and envoys to pursue good offices on his behalf, and in this regard *calls on* Member States to provide candidates to the Secretary-General, for inclusion in a regularly updated centralized roster;
4. *Further urges* the Secretary-General to seek to expand the role and contribution of women in United Nations field-based operations, and especially among military observers, civilian police, human rights and humanitarian personnel;
5. *Expresses* its willingness to incorporate a gender perspective into peacekeeping operations, and *urges* the Secretary-General to ensure that, where appropriate, field operations include a gender component;
6. *Requests* the Secretary-General to provide to Member States training guidelines and materials on the protection, rights and the particular needs of women, as well as on the importance of involving women in all peacekeeping and peace-building measures, *invites* Member States to incorporate these

elements as well as HIV/AIDS awareness training into their national training programmes for military and civilian police personnel in preparation for deployment, and *further requests* the Secretary-General to ensure that civilian personnel of peacekeeping operations receive similar training;

7. *Urges* Member States to increase their voluntary financial, technical and logistical support for gender-sensitive training efforts, including those undertaken by relevant funds and programmes, inter alia, the United Nations Fund for Women and United Nations Children's Fund, and by the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and other relevant bodies;
8. *Calls on* all actors involved, when negotiating and implementing peace agreements, to adopt a gender perspective, including, inter alia:
 - (a) The special needs of women and girls during repatriation and resettlement and for rehabilitation, reintegration and post-conflict reconstruction;
 - (b) Measures that support local women's peace initiatives and indigenous processes for conflict resolution, and that involve women in all of the implementation mechanisms of the peace agreements;
 - (c) Measures that ensure the protection of and respect for human rights of women and girls, particularly as they relate to the constitution, the electoral system, the police and the judiciary;
9. *Calls upon* all parties to armed conflict to respect fully international law applicable to the rights and protection of women and girls, especially as civilians, in particular the obligations applicable to them under the Geneva Conventions of 1949 and the Additional Protocols thereto of 1977, the Refugee Convention of 1951 and the Protocol thereto of 1967, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women of 1979 and the Optional Protocol thereto of 1999 and the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child of 1989 and the two Optional Protocols thereto of 25 May 2000, and to bear in mind the relevant provisions of the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court;
10. *Calls on* all parties to armed conflict to take special measures to protect women and girls from gender-based violence, particularly rape and other forms of sexual abuse, and all other forms of violence in situations of armed conflict;
11. *Emphasizes* the responsibility of all States to put an end to impunity and to prosecute those responsible for genocide, crimes against humanity, and war crimes including those relating to sexual and other violence against women and girls, and in this regard *stresses* the need to exclude these crimes, where feasible from amnesty provisions;

12. *Calls upon* all parties to armed conflict to respect the civilian and humanitarian character of refugee camps and settlements, and to take into account the particular needs of women and girls, including in their design, and recalls its resolutions 1208 (1998) of 19 November 1998 and 1296 (2000) of 19 April 2000;
13. *Encourages* all those involved in the planning for disarmament, demobilization and reintegration to consider the different needs of female and male combatants and to take into account the needs of their dependants;
14. *Reaffirms* its readiness, whenever measures are adopted under Article 41 of the Charter of the United Nations, to give consideration to their potential impact on the civilian population, bearing in mind the special needs of women and girls, in order to consider appropriate humanitarian exemptions;
15. *Expresses* its willingness to ensure that Security Council missions take into account gender considerations and the rights of women, including through consultation with local and international women's groups;
16. *Invites* the Secretary-General to carry out a study on the impact of armed conflict on women and girls, the role of women in peace-building and the gender dimensions of peace processes and conflict resolution, and *further invites* him to submit a report to the Security Council on the results of this study and to make this available to all Member States of the United Nations;
17. *Requests* the Secretary-General, where appropriate, to include in his reporting to the Security Council progress on gender mainstreaming throughout peace-keeping missions and all other aspects relating to women and girls;
18. *Decides* to remain actively seized of the matter.

APPENDIX II

SELECTED STATEMENTS MADE AT THE OPEN DEBATE ON WOMEN, PEACE, AND SECURITY ON THE 10TH ANNIVERSARY OF RESOLUTION 1325

October 26, 2010

Hillary Rodham Clinton
US Secretary of State

Thank you very much, First Deputy Prime Minister, and I want to thank you and the Government of Uganda in its role as Council President for convening this important meeting on the occasion of the 10th anniversary. This gives member states, as well as NGOs, an invaluable opportunity to reflect on what we have achieved over the past decade, but more importantly, to look very honestly at what remains to be done to fulfill the promise we made to women a decade ago. We promised that women would be treated as agents of peace and reconciliation, not just as victims of war and violence. I would like to thank Secretary-General Ban for his leadership. He has defined a vision for women's empowerment and protection that is guiding this organization, and he is helping to build the institutions that can advance our collective mission.

And we are very fortunate to have with us today the UN Under Secretary-General Michelle Bachelet, the first head of UN Women. I am delighted by her appointment and very grateful for her commitment and the excellent presentation that she has already delivered. I also want to recognize Special Representative of the Secretary-General Wallstrom, who is working very hard and needs the support of all of us to implement resolution 1888 concerning sexual and gender violence. These women are both dedicated advocates for women's rights and participation. And I also want to thank Under Secretary-General Le Roy, whose Department of Peacekeeping Operations has taken groundbreaking steps to implement resolution 1325. Thank you for increasing protection measures for vulnerable women and children and for integrating gender advisors into all missions.

And finally, I would like to honor our colleagues in civil society, many of whom are on the frontlines – literally on the battle lines – in the fight for gender equality in conflict zones around the world. Thanks in particular to Bineta Diop and Mary Robinson, co-chairs of the UN Civil Society Advisory Group for Women, Peace, and Security, who have been tireless advocates for peace and for women's inclusion.

So here we are at the 10th anniversary of the UN Security Council resolution 1325, and we're here to reaffirm the goals set forth in this historic resolution, but more than

that, to put forth specific actions, as my colleague, the foreign minister of Austria, just did in such a commendable set of proposals. The only way to achieve our goals – to reduce the number of conflicts around the world, to eliminate rape as a weapon of war, to combat the culture of impunity for sexual violence, to build sustainable peace – is to draw on the full contributions of both women and men in every aspect of peace making, peace keeping, and peace building.

Now, women’s participation in these activities is not a “nice thing to do.” It’s not as though we are doing a favor for ourselves and them by including women in the work of peace. This is a necessary global security imperative. Including women in the work of peace advances our national security interests, promotes political stability, economic growth, and respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. Just as in the economic sphere, we cannot exclude the talents of half the population, neither when it comes to matters of life and death can we afford to ignore, marginalize, and dismiss the very direct contributions that women can and have made.

President Obama’s National Security Strategy recognizes that “countries are more peaceful and prosperous when women are accorded full and equal rights and opportunity. When those rights and opportunities are denied, countries lag behind.” Well, it is also true when it comes to issues of human security – accountability for sexual violence, trafficking of women and girls, and all of the other characteristics of stable, thriving societies that provide maternal and child healthcare, education, and so much else.

Now, in defense, diplomacy, and development, which we consider the three pillars of our foreign policy, we are putting women front and center, not merely as beneficiaries of our efforts but as agents of peace, reconciliation, economic growth, and stability.

In Afghanistan, for example, our diplomatic efforts have been rooted in the notion that respect for the rights of women, as protected in the Afghan constitution, is an essential element of democracy and stability. The United States has backed women’s inclusion at all levels, including in the recently formed High Peace Council, because we believe the potential for sustainable peace will be subverted if women are silenced or marginalized.

Our military has also begun to play an active role. In Namibia, for example, the US military helped train nearly 600 peacekeepers on women’s issues who were then deployed to Chad. This type of military-to-military engagement helps ensure that soldiers understand their obligation to protect women and girls in conflict areas and receive the training to know how to do that.

From Nepal to Guatemala to Uganda, our development agency, USAID, is promoting women’s roles in politics, supporting their participation in local peace committees, and helping develop plans to implement 1325. In fact, in the future, every USAID

project to prevent or manage conflict will study its effect on women and will include them in the planning and implementation.

But the United States and none of the member states can do this work alone. We need the international community. We certainly need organizations like the International Committee of the Red Cross, which trains women to treat landmine victims in Afghanistan, and the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, which works with men and boys to promote support for women's rights, and the UN itself, which is building up new capacities to combat sexual violence. These and other partners are absolutely essential to fulfilling the promise of 1325.

There is no starker reminder of the work still ahead of us than the horrific mass rapes in Democratic Republic of Congo last summer. Those rapes and our failure as an international community to bring that conflict to an end and to protect women and children in the process stands as a tragic rebuke to our efforts thus far. And we all must do more and we must think creatively. And yes, we may have to challenge some conventional wisdom about how best to end the impunity of those who not only conduct these horrible violations of human rights, but those who permit them to do so.

While visiting Goma last year, I pledged \$17 million to help prevent and respond to sexual and gender-based violence. This money is now flowing to provide medical and legal services for survivors. In addition, the US military's Africa Command has trained a battalion of Congolese soldiers to work to prevent sexual violence, help victims, and prosecute perpetrators. We know that that is still not happening, and we know that, unfortunately, there is not yet the will, either in DRC itself or in the UN or in the international community, to help bring about an end to impunity.

Looking ahead, I am pleased to announce two important steps the US is taking to advance the goals of resolution 1325. First, the United States will commit nearly \$44 million to a set of initiatives designed to empower women. The largest portion, about 17 million, will support civil society groups that focus on women in Afghanistan. The women in Afghanistan are rightly worried that in the very legitimate search for peace their rights will be sacrificed. And I have personally stated, and I state again here in the Security Council, none of us can permit that to happen. No peace that sacrifices women's rights is a peace we can afford to support.

Fourteen million dollars will also go to non-governmental organizations working to make clean water more available in conflict zones, because in these areas, when women and girls go looking for water they are at higher risk of being attacked. Similarly, I had the honor of announcing the Global Alliance for Clean Cookstoves last month – another initiative that by our support can protect women who will not have to go out seeking firewood or other forms of fuel if we can revolutionize the way they're able to cook food for their families.

Another 1.7 million will help fund UN activities, including Special Representative Wallstrom's office, and 11 million will help expand literacy, job training, and maternal health services for refugee women and girls.

In addition to this new funding, our second step will be to develop our own National Action Plan to accelerate the implementation of resolution 1325 across our government and with our partners in civil society. And to measure progress on our plan, we will adopt the indicators laid out in the Secretary-General's report. We will measure whether women are effectively represented in the full range of peace-building and reconstruction efforts; whether they are protected against sexual violence; and whether they are the focus of conflict prevention, relief, and reconciliation efforts. Measuring our progress will help ourselves to be held accountable and identify those areas where we need to do more.

Now, the National Action Plan and the new funding I've announced are two important steps, and we will pursue them with total commitment. But as several have already said: action plans and funding are only steps toward a larger goal.

The presidential statement that we hope will be adopted calls for another stock-taking in five years. But we better have more to report and we better have accomplished more between now and then, otherwise, there will be those who will lose faith in our international capacity to respond to such an overwhelming need – because, ultimately, we measure our progress by the improvements in the daily lives of people around the world. That must be our cause and empowering women to contribute all their talents to this cause is our calling.

And I thank the member states and the NGOs and others represented here for joining us in this mission.

Thank you, Mr. President.

[Michael Spindelegger](#)
[Austrian Federal Minister for Foreign Affairs](#)

Mr. President, I would like to thank you for the initiative to convene this high-level open debate on women and peace and security, marking the 10th anniversary of the adoption of resolution 1325 (2000). Your presence here shows the support of Uganda to the issue. Let me further congratulate you for the efforts that resulted in the Presidential Statement before the Council today. I would also like to thank the Secretary-General for joining us from far away, which is testimony to his personal commitment to this subject. It is a particular pleasure to welcome Under Secretary-General Ms. Michelle Bachelet in the chamber. I would like to congratulate her on her appoint-

ment and assure her of Austria's full support. We are convinced that UN Women will play a central role in further advancing this agenda. We are equally grateful for the valuable input of Ms. Thelma Awori representing the Civil Society Advisory Group on Women, Peace, and Security. Civil society has always been a driving force behind this issue and we are looking forward to further advancing this agenda in close partnership. When adopting this landmark resolution ten years ago, the Security Council recognized that equal participation, representation, and full involvement of women in all aspects of peace building and security, the protection of women as a group with specific needs and concerns, as well as the prevention of sexual and other violence are not only a security issue but also vital for sustainable peace and stability. With the adoption of the resolutions on "sexual violence" and "women and girls in post conflict situations" the Council now disposes of a strong and well-developed normative framework.

Over the past decade, progress on the implementation has been slow and uneven. The resolution's real impact remains to be felt on the ground in many areas. All too often women do not make it to the tables where decisions are taken in peace processes or post-conflict reconstruction that have a direct impact on their lives. There are no issues that are not also women's issues. Every month hundreds of women and children fall victims to sexual violence under the eyes of their governments and the international community. Women and girls with disabilities remain even more vulnerable. Ten years on, our focus must therefore lie on how we can ensure better and more coherent implementation of the objectives enshrined in these resolutions and make a real difference for women in conflict and post-conflict situations.

The Council has at its disposal a whole range of tools for the implementation of resolution 1325. These include measures such as mandates of peace-keeping and other relevant missions, briefings and reports, commissions of inquiry, as well as targeted measures and sanctions. We have to be ready to use these tools and to translate words into practice in a consistent manner. We have to ensure that those that disregard the Council's decisions are being held accountable.

The Arria Meeting of the Security Council on 19 October co-chaired by Austria, Mexico, and the United Kingdom has made it clear that we need more information on progress and on what measures have been successful. The comprehensive set of indicators on 1325 which received the Council's support today, will finally close this important gap and provide us with qualitative and quantitative data on important areas such as the prevalence of sexual violence or the number of women participating in peace processes. This information will allow us to better guide and target our actions in the future. We hope that the indicators will now become operational as a matter of urgency. We do believe that all Member States should use the indicators relevant for their country's situation, including in their National Action Plans in order to receive a truly global picture of the implementation of resolution 1325.

As a next step we request the Secretary-General to include the information gathered on the basis of the indicators in his country-specific and relevant thematic reports in a systematic and comprehensive manner. Without accurate and timely information, it is difficult for the Council to take appropriate action in areas that need our urgent attention, such as the prevention of sexual violence. We hope the Council will in the future also receive briefings on situations where data gathered through the indicators suggest an outbreak of violence against women or a further deterioration of a situation. Early warning and prevention is still by far the best protection.

“Women, peace, and security” needs to be on the agenda of the Council every time the Council considers a country situation or relevant thematic issues. The establishment of an informal expert group would have further enabled the Council to evaluate information on the situation of women and girls in conflict situations around the globe. We hope that the Council will revert to this question in the near future, once the indicators are fully operational. The Security Council has to show active leadership and shoulder its responsibility for the implementation of its resolution 1325.

The high-level event on resolution 1325 organized by Canada in the margins of the general debate already provided us with an opportunity to make concrete and measurable commitments to implement resolution 1325. On this occasion I have already announced a few Austrian contributions. Today, I would like to add further contributions.

At the national level:

- The development and implementation of National Action Plans is crucial to improve the implementation of resolution 1325. Austria was one of the first countries to develop a National Action Plan for resolution 1325. We will take the 10th anniversary of resolution 1325 as an opportunity to revise our National Action Plan. Work will start beginning of 2011 in close cooperation with civil society and other line ministries.
- Austria is committed to a continuous enhancement of its rule of law standards. The Rome Statute is the first international treaty to classify crimes against women, like rape or other forms of sexual violence, as crimes against humanity, war crimes, or genocide. Austria is currently in the process of incorporating the crimes of the ICC statute into its criminal code.
- Austria commits to contextualize education and pre-deployment training of its armed forces personnel in order to address specific operational realities in regions of deployment, including the impact of conflict on gender relations and the role and participation of women (on the basis of relevant UN guidelines);

At the international level:

Supporting the UN in the implementation of 1325:

- The newly-established entity “UN Women” has a central role in coordinating the UN’s activities in implementing resolution 1325. Austria is committed to support UN Women and its efforts in making the newly developed indicators operational. In this context, Austria will provide UN Women with voluntary financial contributions.

Supporting the implementation of 1325 through the Austrian multilateral development cooperation:

- Through the Austrian Development Agency, Austria supports and implements projects tailored towards the implementation of 1325, in particular in relation to violence against women, DDR, cooperation with civil society for conflict prevention and peace keeping. We will continue with these efforts. The Austrian multilateral development cooperation will keep a strong focus on women and children in crisis and post-conflict situations.
- With its expertise in the development of a National Action Plan on 1325, Austria stands ready to work together in the context of a “twinning project” with partner countries to support the establishment of National Action Plans on 1325.

Supporting the implementation of 1325 through Austria’s engagements in the area of peace keeping:

- Austria commits to deploy gender experts (e.g. Military Gender Advisor) to military components of peace operations if designated and posted by the international community.
- Furthermore, Austria undertakes to ensuring the availability of immediate-response personnel (Gender Field Advisor, Gender Focal Points) within national contingents to address women and girls’ urgent needs, with particular respect to health, security, and justice.
- Austria will continue to further strengthen its training activities on 1325, in particular in pre-deployment trainings for peace and humanitarian operations that are being provided for civilian and military experts from around the world by the Austrian Study Center for Peace and Conflict Resolution (ASPR), and increase its training efforts in the Austrian Diplomatic Academy in 2011.
- Including through its Special Envoy for International Women’s Issues, Ambassador Dr. Ursula Plassnik, Austria will continue to promote the implementation of resolution 1325 including in the UN, the EU, the Council of Europe, and the OSCE. Austria is committed to dialogue initiatives promoting in particular gender equality and strengthening women in public life and dialogue activities. For example, Austria has established an international network on “promoting female leadership in intercultural and interreligious

dialogue” first meeting in June 2010. Certainly, I also commit to raise awareness in my bilateral contacts for resolution 1325, where appropriate.

Let me finally reiterate my hope that the commitments to action will not be a one-time effort limited to the ten-year anniversary. We are ready to follow-up on our commitments and to review progress in the implementation annually at the open debates on women, peace, and security.

ABOUT THE PANELISTS

ALISON BODEN is Dean of Religious Life and the Chapel at Princeton University, a position she has held since August 2007. Previously, she served for twelve years at the University of Chicago as Dean of Rockefeller Memorial Chapel and Senior Lecturer in the Divinity School, and as co-chair of the Board of the University's Human Rights Program. She also served as University Chaplain at Bucknell University (1992-1995) and as the Protestant Chaplain at Union College (1991-1992). She has received degrees from Vassar College (AB), Union Theological Seminary (MDiv), and the University of Bradford (PhD). Boden is the author of numerous articles and chapters on religion and social justice in addition to a book, *Women's Rights and Religious Practice* (Palgrave, 2007). At Princeton and Chicago her course offerings have included such topics as religion and human rights, the rights of women, the history and phenomenology of prayer, and religion and violence. She has served in an advisory capacity to a variety of non-governmental organizations. Boden is an ordained minister in the United Church of Christ.

AURELIA FRICK is Minister of Foreign Affairs, Justice, and Cultural Affairs for the Principality of Liechtenstein, a position she has held since March 2009. Prior to this appointment, she served as the Director of Legal and Compliance as well as Company Secretary at K2 HCS in London and was an Associate at Dr. Bjorn Johansson Associates AG in Zurich. She was also the owner of Fidaura Trust Reg., and a part-time lecturer at the Hochschule Liechtenstein. Frick studied law at the University of Fribourg in Switzerland and passed the bar examination of the Canton of Zurich, Switzerland. She earned her Doctorate in Law from the University of Basel, Switzerland.

AMANAY JAMAL is Associate Professor of Politics at Princeton University. Her current research focuses on democratization and the politics of civic engagement in the Arab world. She extends her research to the study of Muslim and Arab Americans, examining the pathways that structure their patterns of civic engagement in the US. Jamal has written four books. The first book, *Barriers to Democracy*, which won the Best Book Award in Comparative Democratization at the American Political Science Association (2008), explores the role of civic associations in promoting democratic effects in the Arab world. Her second book, an edited volume with Nadine Naber (University of Michigan) looks at the patterns and influences of Arab American racialization processes. She is writing a third book on patterns of citizenship in the Arab world, tentatively entitled, *Of Empires and Citizens: Authoritarian Durability in the Arab World* (under contract with Princeton University Press). Jamal is further a co-author of the book, *Citizenship and Crisis: Arab Detroit after 9-11*. Jamal is currently working on two new projects. The first focuses on the politics underlying gender rights in the Arab world. Her second project examines the role of international hierarchy on political development trajectories in the Muslim world. Jamal is a principal investigator of the "Arab Barometer Project;" co-PI of the "Detroit Arab American Study;" a sister survey to the

Detroit Area Study; and Senior Advisor on the Pew Research Center Projects focusing on Islam in America, 2006 and Global Islam, 2010. In 2005, Jamal was named a Carnegie Scholar.

NANNERL KEOHANE is the Laurance S. Rockefeller Distinguished Visiting Professor of Public Affairs and the University Center for Human Values at Princeton University. She writes and teaches in political philosophy, leadership, and feminist theory. She has served as President of Wellesley College (1981-1993) and Duke University (1993-2004). She is the author of *Thinking about Leadership* (2010), *Higher Ground: Ethics and Leadership in the Modern University* (2006), and *Philosophy and the State in France* (1980); and co-edited *Feminist Theory: A Critique of Ideology* (1982). She has been vice-president of the American Political Science Association, and on the editorial boards of *The American Political Science Review*, *Ethics*, *Political Theory*, and *Signs*. Keohane has taught at Swarthmore College, the University of Pennsylvania, and Stanford University, as well as Wellesley and Duke. She won the Gores Award for Excellence in Teaching and chaired the Faculty Senate at Stanford, and has three times been a fellow at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, of whose board she is now vice-chair. She has served on the boards of IBM, State Street Boston, the Brookings Institution, and the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation. Keohane is also a member of the Harvard Corporation, and chairs the Board of the Doris Duke Charitable Foundation. Her current research interests concern leadership and inequality, including gender issues.

CIARA KNUDSEN is Senior Advisor on the US Department of State's Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review (QDDR). She is a former Presidential Management Fellow and holds an MPA ('06) from the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs at Princeton University.

URSULA PLASSNIK is a lawyer and career diplomat who is actively engaged in promoting the international causes of women and who pays particular attention to questions relating to the dialogue of cultures and religions. Since December 2008 she has been a member of the Austrian Parliament, and has served as Special Envoy for International Women's Issues at the Austrian Federal Ministry for European and International Affairs. From 2004-2008 she was Austria's Foreign Minister, and in March 2007 was reappointed Federal Minister for European and International Affairs. From 1997-2004, Plassnik was Chief of Staff for Wolfgang Schüssel, former Federal Chancellor of Austria. She served in the Directorate for Economic Policy and EU Coordination at the Austrian Foreign Ministry from 1994-2000, and eventually served as Head of the Directorate for the General Affairs Council and the European Council. From 1990-1993, Plassnik worked in the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) Secretariat Office of the Secretary General to promote cooperation between the EFTA and the European Parliament. Since beginning her career with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1981, Plassnik held several postings abroad, including as Ambassador to Switzerland and to Spain, and served as Austrian Representative to the Council of Europe

from 1987-1990. She received her law degree from the University of Vienna in 1978, and earned a post-graduate diploma from the College d'Europe in Bruges, Belgium.



LIECHTENSTEIN INSTITUTE
ON SELF-DETERMINATION
AT PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

The Liechtenstein Institute on Self-Determination at Princeton University (LISD) supports teaching, research, and publication about issues related to and emerging from self-determination, especially pertaining to the state, self-governance, sovereignty, security, and boundaries with particular consideration of socio-cultural, ethnic, and religious issues involving state and non-state actors. The Institute was founded in 2000 through the generosity of H.S.H. Prince Hans-Adam II of Liechtenstein, and is directed by Wolfgang Danspeckgruber.

LISD seeks to enhance global peace and stability by bringing together academic experts, practitioners, representatives of the public and private sectors, and decision makers to explore key events and conflicts from multiple perspectives in order to find new solutions to current and traditional problems. In addition to conferences convened as part of specific LISD projects, the Institute regularly sponsors public lectures and special meetings that bring a diverse group of experts and policy makers from around the world to Princeton University to share their work with students and members of the wider University and local communities.

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