Women, War and Peace:

The Independent Experts' Assessment on the Impact of Armed Conflict on Women and Women's Role in Peace-building

by Elisabeth Rehn and Ellen Johnson Sirleaf

UNIFEM is the women's fund at the United Nations. It provides financial and technical assistance to innovative programmes and strategies that promote women's human rights, political participation and economic security. UNIFEM works in partnership with UN organizations, governments and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and networks to promote gender equality. It links women's issues and concerns to national, regional and global agendas, by fostering collaboration and providing technical expertise on gender mainstreaming and women's empowerment strategies.

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United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) 304 East 45th Street, 15th Floor New York, NY 10017 USA

Tel: (212) 906-6400 Fax: (212) 906-6705 E-mail: <u>unifem@undp.org</u>

Website: www.unifem.undp.org

Editor: Gloria Jacobs

Photo Editors: Susan Ackerman and Amy Feinberg

Production: Tina Johnson

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Protection and Assistance

Foreword

As Executive Director of UNIFEM I have witnessed the impact of conflict on women in many countries. In the "Valley of Widows" in Colombia, I met women who had lost their husbands and their land – everyone and everything important to them had been destroyed by civil war and drug lords. I have been to Bosnia where women described abduction, rape camps and forced impregnation, and to Rwanda where women had been gang raped and purposely infected with HIV/AIDS. Stories like these were repeated again and again, in different languages, in different surroundings: East Timor, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Guatemala. Only the horror and the pain were the same. Clearly the nature of war has changed. It is being fought in homes and communities – and on women's bodies in a battle for resources and in the name of religion and ethnicity. Violence against women is used to break and humiliate women, men, families, communities, no matter which side they are on. Women have become the worst victims of war – and the biggest stakeholders of peace.

I was prepared to find bitterness and hatred among the women who had experienced such horrific violence and loss, and pervasive trauma, but in many places I found strength. I met women who had transcended their sorrow and discovered in themselves the courage and will to rebuild their lives and communities. Many believed the only way to stop the cycle of violence was to make security and justice key issues on the agenda for a new, more equitable society. A few years ago in South Africa I lit UNIFEM's peace torch with African women; it was sent to other conflict areas and then to Beijing to open the Fourth World Conference on Women in 1995. The women wanted peace, but they also wanted to be shapers of the peace process in their countries, to use their own suffering and transform it into a force that would build a more secure future for humanity.

That is the deeper story I want the world to know: that despite what they have experienced, many of the women I met have been able to rise to the challenge of building a sustainable peace, recognizing that the security and satisfaction of one side can never be based on the frustration or humiliation of the other. They were women like those in East Timor who created collectives to provide each other with emotional support as well as employment schemes to keep their families and villages going. They have instituted literacy classes – at the end of the war, 90 per cent of rural women were illiterate – and demanded a role in political elections. In Sudan women from the North and the South took the initiative to come together across ethnic and religious divides to talk about building peace. In Ghana women refugees from Liberia learned construction skills through a UNIFEM-supported programme and built a safer camp for themselves and their families. In Afghanistan women met in secret to organize while the Taliban was in power. They developed maps of streets and neighbourhoods where underground homeschools for girls or medical help or jobs could be found, and shared them at weddings and birthdays.

We cannot expect women to do all this alone. Their efforts must be recognized, valued and supported. To build peace and contribute to the rebuilding of their countries, women need resources, skills, authority. Despite the work they have done on the ground, they are not at the peace table when warring factions sit down to negotiate. No one is held accountable for the enormous crimes committed against women.

Although women are feeding their families and have taken in orphans, there are countries where they cannot inherit property or own land to farm. Their needs and their work are not systematically supported in the programmes developed by international agencies. Their rights are not enshrined in constitutions or protected by legislation. All this must change.

Women's peace-building and reconstruction efforts must be supported, not only because it is the right thing to do, but also because most nations consumed by conflict need the strength of their women. The women are the ones who held their families and communities together during the worst of the fighting, even while on the run from armies. They keep a measure of stability during times of chaos and during displacement. Now, as peace accords are negotiated and countries are rebuilt, those contributions must be recognized.

I appointed Elisabeth Rehn and Ellen Johnson Sirleaf to conduct an independent assessment of women, war and peace so that people throughout the world will know and understand not only what women have suffered but what they have contributed. Many who read this report will already know what has happened to women in Bosnia, East Timor or Afghanistan, but I believe we have not recognized how pervasive violence against women is during conflict and how great the need for protection and assistance. We know a little about women building peace, but we have not yet recognized women as a force for reconstruction. New responses are vital if we want this century to banish the worst brutalities of the previous one. We must invest in the progress of women from war-affected countries.

This assessment could only take place because of the support of several people: Louise Fréchette, Deputy Secretary-General of the United Nations; Mark Malloch Brown, Administrator of the UN Development Programme (UNDP); Jean-Marie Guéhenno, Under-Secretary-General, Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO); Kieran Prendergast, Under-Secretary-General of the Department of Political Affairs (DPA); Kenzo Oshima, Emergency Relief Coordinator of the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA); Thoraya Ahmed Obaid, Executive Director of the UN Population Fund (UNFPA); and Carolyn McAskie, Deputy Emergency Relief Coordinator of OCHA. Throughout this project the UN system cooperated as one to support the visits of the independent experts and to ensure that the voices of women would be heard. I firmly believe that the authoritative analysis presented here will help create the political will to move forward, to promote the skills, strengths and leadership of women as they work for peace.

Noeleen Heyzer Executive Director UNIFEM

Preface

We were not strangers to war when UNIFEM asked us to carry out this independent assessment on the impact of armed conflict on women and women's role in peace-building. Elisabeth remembers the sound of World War II planes overhead. She witnessed the long rows of corpses and body parts as the mass graves of Srebrenica were exhumed. Ellen was one of only four government ministers who escaped assassination after the Liberian coup of 1980. As former Defence and Finance Ministers, and as Presidential candidates, we understand the world of politics, and we have a keen sense for ripe political moments. This is such a moment. This is an opportunity to improve protection for women in armed conflict and to strengthen women's contribution to peace processes and to rebuilding their communities.

Over the course of one year, during 2001 and 2002, we travelled to many of the world's conflicts. Focusing on the impact of armed conflict on women and women's role in peace building, we visited 14 areas affected by conflict: Bosnia and Herzegovina; Cambodia; Colombia; the Democratic Republic of the Congo; East Timor; the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia; the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, including Kosovo; Guinea; Israel; Liberia; the occupied Palestinian territories; Rwanda; Sierra Leone and Somalia. In all of these areas, we saw how the militarization of society breeds new levels of violence and how impunity for these crimes becomes endemic. We saw a continuum of violence that shatters women's lives before, during and after conflict.

In retrospect, we realize how little prepared we were for the enormity of it all: the staggering numbers of women in war who survived the brutality of rape, sexual exploitation, mutilation, torture and displacement. The unconscionable acts of depravity. And the wholesale exclusion of women from peace processes.

We prepared for each visit by researching the background of the conflict and developing a set of questions to guide interactions, although we often found that a less rigid approach elicited better answers to our questions and provided more information. We have decided not to reveal the identities of those we met in order to protect them from reprisals. Due to fear of this kind we did not film or record our meetings with women's organizations and individuals, but instead took extensive notes. Our meetings were informal and off the record in an effort to make women as comfortable as possible discussing what were extremely distressing events and issues.

We collected first-hand data and testimonies by meeting with women victims and survivors of conflict, including refugee and internally displaced women; activists; women leaders and women's groups; international and national non-governmental organizations (NGOs); the media; religious organizations; eminent leaders from civil society; and women and girls directly involved in armed conflicts and peace processes. We met women in their offices and homes, at health clinics, in refugee camps, on the street, in bars and restaurants. We also met with representatives of United Nations agencies, both at headquarters and in the field, as well as with host governments, opposition groups and peacekeeping and humanitarian personnel to find out what they are doing for women and how they were approaching gender issues.

In addition to field-based interviews and information collection, we relied on research and analysis from human rights groups and civil society, independent reports and UN documents. These provided useful analyses and raised policy issues that

underscored what women themselves identified as priorities. While our goal was to focus on the testimonies of women we met during our visits, we wanted to demonstrate that their experiences are not country-specific, but global. Many of the trends we saw are universal phenomena, which is why we included a number of examples from places we could not visit.

In our report, we introduce you to many of the women we met: Chantal from a UNHCR transit camp in Goma, Democratic Republic of the Congo; Lam, a 15-year-old Vietnamese girl in a woman's shelter in Phnom Penh, Cambodia; and a prize-winning journalist from Colombia who fled her country after receiving death threats. We share their stories to show the reality of war for women and to give a human face to the struggle for security. We have concluded that the standards of protection for women affected by conflict are glaring in their inadequacy, as is the international response. Only by ending impunity for crimes against women in war can nations be rebuilt. Gender equality in this context means enabling women as full citizens, as voters, as candidates, as decision-makers. It means supporting women's centrality to reconstruction – to reforming the constitution, the electoral system, and the policies and resources that support development. Without women's representation – without half the population – no country can truly claim to be engaged in democratic development and participatory governance.

This glimpse of bitter reality is shadowed by the deadly nexus of HIV/AIDS and armed conflict for women. It is fueled by the economies of war, relief and reconstruction. Women do not receive what they need in emergencies, for development, peace-building, or reconstruction. Their entreaties for education and health care go largely unanswered. In short, women and their organizations need more resources. At all levels – from the grass roots to the international – women's organizations continue to be insufficiently recognized and supported.

But our report also shows many ways in which women in conflict situations are being supported. A large number of United Nations agencies and many international and local non-governmental organizations are protecting women and supporting their role in peace-building. We maintain, however, that this excellent work needs to be amplified exponentially.

We are proud to pay tribute, in this report, to the courageous peacekeepers and humanitarian workers on the front lines and to showcase new models of protection for women in a peacekeeping environment. We are encouraged that civilian police are working to protect women from domestic violence and, in some cases, to prevent it. We

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