# ASEAN INSTITUTE FOR PEACE AND RECONCILIATION (AIPR)

# WORKSHOP ON STRENGTHENING WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN PEACE PROCESSES AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION

18-19 MARCH 2015 CEBU CITY, THE PHILIPPINES









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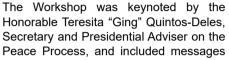
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# FOREWORD

The Philippines is privileged to have hosted the ASEAN Institute for Peace and Reconciliation (AIPR) Workshop on Strengthening the Role of Women in Peace Processes and Conflict Resolution, which was held at the beautiful province of Cebu, the Philippines on 18-19 March 2015.



from H.E. Evan Garcia, Undersecretary for Policy of the Department of Foreign Affairs (DFA), Ambassador Dato Hasnudin Hamzah, Chair of the AIPR Governing Council, as well as the Ambassadors of Japan and Norway to ASEAN, H.E. Koichi Aiboshi and H.E. Stig Traavik.

The Workshop investigated the issue of women's roles in peace processes and reconciliation initiatives from various points of view, including those of a negotiator, facilitator, peace envoy, peace researcher, peace activist, and capacity builder. Specifically, the Workshop aimed to: 1) locate the situation of the different ASEAN Member States along the peace-armed conflict continuum and surface the level of women's participation in the processes being undertaken by Member States to end violent conflicts internally and/or in the region; 2) raise attention on and appreciation of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) Resolution 1325 and the National Action Plan (NAP) as an instrument for developing and consolidating Women, Peace and Security (WPS) imperatives for UN member states; 3) provide a venue to explore and learn from some existing good practices in promoting and enhancing women's participation in peace processes worldwide; and 4) provide a platform for the development of appropriate and timely agenda and the appropriate networks for pursuing such agenda on national and regional levels.

The conduct of this Workshop accomplished Action Line B.2.2.vi of the ASEAN Political and Security (APSC) Blueprint which calls for the undertaking of studies to promote gender mainstreaming in peacebuilding, peace processes and conflict resolution. It is also an active response to Action Line B.3.2.vi, which calls on ASEAN to develop cooperation programmes with relevant external parties and

financial institutions to promote Human Resources Development and capacity building in post-conflict reconstruction and peacebuilding. It also focused on ASEAN Member States' efforts at implementing UNSCR 1325, which reaffirms the important role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts, peace negotiations, peacebuilding, peacekeeping, humanitarian response and in post-conflict reconstruction and stresses the importance of their equal participation and full involvement in all efforts for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security.

The forum was divided into five sessions. Session I provided an overview of women's participation in peace processes among ASEAN Member States, and was moderated by DFA Assistant Secretary Luis T. Cruz of the Office of ASEAN Affairs. The speakers for this session were Ms. Shadia Marhaban, International Mediator, Capacity Builder and Activist from Aceh, Indonesia, Dr. Naw Rebecca Htin, Associate Program Director for the Peace Dialogue Program and Peace Building Operations Coordination Program of the Myanmar Peace Center, and Dr. Sombatpoonsiri Janjira, Co-Secretary-General/Lecturer for the Asia Pacific Peace Research Association of Thammasat University, Kingdom of Thailand.

Session II looked at the UNSC Resolution 1325 as an instrument for developing and consolidating WPS imperatives for UN Member States, and was moderated by the Permanent Representative of Singapore to ASEAN, Ambassador Tan Hung Seng. The speakers for this session were Ms. Janet Wong, Country Representative of UN Women in Timor-Leste, and Ms. Sakuntala Kadirgamar-Rajasingham, a Mediation Expert on Gender and Social Inclusion for UN Women.

Session III focused on developing national and regional agendas to promote women's participation in peace processes, and was moderated by the Acting Coordinator for the ASEAN National Secretariat of Indonesia, H.E. I Gede Ngurah Swajaya. Speakers for this session were Undersecretary Maria Cleofe Gettie C. Sandoval of the Office of the Presidential Adviser on the Peace Process, and Dr. Socorro Reyes, Senior Governance Adviser of the Center for Legislative Development International.

The fourth and fifth sessions, which I moderated, discussed Best Practices on Women, Peace and Security, and ended with a summary and listing of recommendations from the workshop. Speakers for the fourth session were Prof. Miriam Coronel Ferrer, Panel Chairperson for the GPH Panel for Peace Negotiations with the Moro Islamic Liberation Front, Dr. Emma Leslie, Executive Director of the Center for Peace and Conflict Studies, and Ms. Elisabeth Slåttum, Norwegian Special Envoy to the Philippine Peace Process with the National Democratic Front.

The Workshop resulted in many valuable recommendations, which the AIPR Governing Council vowed to pursue in their future meetings. Notable among these recommendations are the creation of an ASEAN network of women involved in peace and reconciliation processes, a call for AIPR to continue providing a platform to discuss issues on women as well as an expression of support by the Meeting for the Bangsamoro Peace Process in the Philippines.

The Organizers and the AIPR thank the Governments of Norway and Japan for their valuable assistance in making such a milestone undertaking happen. Finally, we wish to express our deep gratitude to the members of the AIPR Governing Council, under the chairmanship of Malaysia, Ambassadors and distinguished officials and peace policymakers from ASEAN Governments, speakers and resource persons, participants from all ASEAN Member States, experts, thinktanks, and lovers of peace who made the conduct of this important workshop a memorable, substantive and productive endeavor.

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**ELIZABETH P. BUENSUCESO** 

Ambassador/Permanent Representative of the Philippines to ASEAN Member of the AIPR Governing Council

Organizer of the Workshop on Strengthening Women's Participation in Peace Processes and Conflict Resolution

# MESSAGE

Congratulations to the Governing Council of the ASEAN Institute for Peace and Reconciliation (AIPR) for their initiative to conduct the Workshop on Strengthening Women's Participation in Peace Processes and Conflict Resolution in Cebu. Established in 2011, AIPR has already undertaken three major activities in fulfillment of its mandate to become the ASEAN lead institution for research activities on peace, conflict management and conflict resolution. I am pleased to note that these activities support the objectives of the ASEAN Political-Security



Community Blueprint. The Philippines is proud to have hosted two of these initiatives, including the *Symposium on Peace and Reconciliation Initiatives and Processes* held in Manila in April 2014.

The important role of women in peace and reconciliation efforts is one of the key issues championed by the Philippines in ASEAN. Under the leadership of President Benigno S. Aquino III, the Philippines has demonstrated this commitment by appointing not only a woman Presidential Advisor on the Peace Process in the person of Secretary Teresina Deles, but also the first woman ever to head the peace negotiations of a government, Prof. Miriam Coronel-Ferrer, Chief Negotiator in the peace talks with the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF)

More and more Filipino women are currently serving in policy and operations positions in various peace and reconciliation programs, whether in the public or private sectors. The Philippine government strongly encourages this growing trend, affirming the fundamental belief in the innate capability of women to advocate for the peaceful settlement of conflicts, to continue to push for the peace agenda and to shape the narratives of peace in the region.

I laud the accomplishments of this Workshop and support the commitment of AIPR as a platform in enhancing women's capabilities as peace mediators and the call to establish an ASEAN Network of Women on Peace and Security.

The AIPR will undoubtedly contribute to ushering in a renewed culture of peace in ASEAN, promoting respect for diversity and tolerance in the region.

Mabuhay!

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ALBERT F. DEL ROSARIO Secretary of Foreign Affairs

# MESSAGE

For the past forty-eight years, ASEAN has significantly contributed to the maintenance and promotion of peace and security in the region. Through the ASEAN Institute for Peace and Reconciliation (AIPR), ASEAN seeks to strengthen research activities on peace, conflict management and conflict resolution as one of the measures under the ASEAN Political-Security Community (APSC) Blueprint.



Organized by the AIPR and the Government of the Philippines, the AIPR

Workshop on Strengthening Women's Participation in Peace Processes and Conflict Resolutioncontinues to carry out AIPR's mandate to look into major peace and reconciliation issues pertaining to the region. Recognizing the impacts of armed conflicts to women and children and taking into consideration the significant roles played by women in their families and communities, there is a need to involve women's perspectives in peace and reconciliation efforts.

This Workshop publication captures the discussions of ASEAN Member States and key regional partners who are exploring ways to promote women's role in the process as part of their regional and international commitments. I am confident that the experiences and views shared at the Workshop will continue to enrich ASEAN's knowledge and discourse on peace and reconciliation, thereby contributing to our goal of ensuring lasting and sustainable peace in the region as we embark on a new phase of consolidating the people-oriented, people-centred ASEAN Community to be launched by the end of 2015.

LE LUONG MINH Secretary-General of ASEAN

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# WELCOME REMARKS

#### HON. EVAN P. GARCIA

Undersecretary for Policy Department of Foreign Affairs And SOM Leader Republic of the Philippines

Excellencies, Ambassadors, Distinguished Members of the Governing Board of the ASEAN Institute for Peace and Reconciliation,

Honorable Hilario Davide, Jr., and Agnes Almendras Magpale, Governor and Vice Governor, respectively, of Cebu province,

Ambassador of Japan to ASEAN Koichi Aiboshi,

Ambassador of Norway to Indonesia and ASEAN Stig Ingemar Traavik,

Honorable Mayors of Mactan, Cebu City, and Mandaue,

Speakers, Experts, Think Tanks, Representatives from ASEAN Member States,

#### Good morning.

Welcome to this important meeting being held here in Cebu, which we call the Queen City of the South and was once upon a time, long ago, the first capital of the country. Before the Spanish colonizers landed on these shores in 1521, Cebu had a fully developed, independent society with extensive trade relations with its neighbors in the region. By convening you here, we, in a way, echo the brilliant heritage of this beautiful city.

Let me cite an important note that we can reflect on as we begin this workshop. In pre-colonial societies of the Filipino nation, women held power and authority with men. They assumed leadership, they inherited property, they were educated, and they fought alongside men in times of war. The history of the Filipino nation tells us that we have had strong and capable women as indeed had the societies of our other brothers and sisters in ASEAN.

In Southeast Asia, we have stories of women whose courage during critical moments of history, continues to be a source of awe and inspiration. We have the Trung sisters in Vietnam. We have Si Suriyothai in Thailand. We have Gabriela Silang in the Philippines, and so on. On this note, colleagues, friends, Your Excellencies, let me note that gender roles have evolved through the centuries, influenced by historical and socio-economic currents across Southeast Asia and the world. Recent economic development and progress in ASEAN have unleashed opportunities for the growth of our communities and for the full realization of the human potential of our half-billion strong population, our women among them.

The workshop today takes particular focus on the effective participation of women in peace building and conflict resolution. These issue areas are acknowledged to be realms where our women's natural attributes truly make a difference. Whether in our families, in our communities or in our professional settings, we constantly witness our women rising to the occasion as peacemakers, advocates, and enablers. Notwithstanding this, our women are facing the challenges of establishing and strengthening platforms for women to play a much bigger role as agents of peace and transformation of conditions of conflict and crisis. Archimedes, a philosopher and mathematician of ancient Greece famously said, "Give me a place to stand and I shall rule the world." As it marches towards becoming a full-fledged integrated community, ASEAN recognizes that it must give women this place to stand on, so they can participate fully in this grand plan and in making possible, positive, synergistic meaningful change. After all, ASEAN's pursuit of our collective vision for peaceful. prosperous and people-oriented community is carried equally on the shoulders of the men and women of Southeast Asia.

This workshop particularly pursues actions line of the Blueprint of the ASEAN Political/Security Community (APSC), which calls for studies to promote gender mainstreaming and peacebuilding, peace process, and conflict resolution. This actively complements an action line seeking cooperation programmes with relevant external parties and financial institutions to promote human resources development and capacity building in post-conflict reconstruction and peacebuilding. The third related action line seeks the expanded role and contribution of women in field-based humanitarian operations.

The list of speakers of this workshop is quite impressive and the topics are stimulating. You will be discussing experiences, best practices and capacity-building techniques with ASEAN experts, as well as with experts from outside of the region who have immersed themselves in ASEAN peace efforts. You will be deliberating on many interesting cases, which include the Philippine peace process with the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF), the Timor Leste experience, the Aceh model and other cases, which demonstrate that our women had effectively played their role in peacebuilding. You will be sharing and learning from each others' approaches and practices while exploring mechanisms and instruments for conflict prevention.

The session on UN Security Council Resolution 1325 is an important component of this workshop. As you know the resolution reaffirms the important role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts, peace negotiations, peace building, peacekeeping, humanitarian response, and post-conflict reconstruction. The resolution also stresses the importance of the equal participation and full involvement of women in maintaining peace and security. My hope is that after this workshop, member states will see the need for a platform where women can discuss issues relating to peace and which we might call the ASEAN Women for Peace Forum.

The workshop - your workshop - provides a stage for interaction for the members of the newly created ASEAN Institute for Peace and Reconciliation (AIPR) as we endeavor to nurture the institute in its nascent stage. Barely within two years of its organization, AIPR is energized by a remarkable enthusiasm in performing its functions. Last year, it successfully organized two symposia in Bali and in Manila. Recently, in Nay Pyi Taw, AIPR found a strong ally in the UN, which pledged a strong commitment to assist ASEAN in the field of peace building and conflict resolution. I am proud to say that AIPR has a long and exciting future ahead of it. At this juncture allow me the privilege of thanking the Governments of Norway and Japan for their valuable assistance in making this workshop possible. Over the years of our partnership with Japan, it has consistently proved itself as a strong supporter of ASEAN in all areas of cooperation. Norway has a distinguished reputation in the promotion of worldwide peace, both as an enabler and advocate. It is home, as you know, to the Nobel Peace Prize. Our appreciation goes as well to the UN and to the Governing Council of AIPR under the chairmanship of Malaysia.

Finally, I would like to thank the local government of Cebu and all their officials for their invaluable support in this undertaking. Cebu exemplifies the warmth, optimism, and resilience of the Filipino people. And while it is one of the oldest cities in this country, Cebu has always been driven by a future-oriented and outward-looking leadership, in government, in community, and in business. For this reason, Cebu has played an important commercial, political, and cultural role in the development of the Philippines. I trust that everyone will have a good time outside of this workshop and explore the charms of this wonderful city. And may I say as a footnote that in this country, the men and husbands always have

the last words, in any discussion. And those last words tend to be "Yes, dear!"

*Maraming Salamat* and I wish you a lively and fruitful discussion. Thank you very much.

# **OPENING MESSAGE**

# H.E. DATO' HASNUDIN HAMZAH

Permanent Representative of Malaysia to ASEAN Chair, Committee of Permanent Representatives (CPR) to ASEAN and Chair of the AIPR Governing Council

The Hon. Teresita Quintos-Deles Presidential Adviser on the Peace Process and Member of the AIPR Advisory Board (Philippines)

The Hon. Hilario Davide, Jr. Governor of Cebu Province

The Hon. Agnes Almendras Magpale Vice Governor of Cebu Province

The Hon. Evan P. Garcia Undersecretary for Policy, Department of Foreign Affairs and ASEAN-Philippines SOM Leader

H.E. Koichi Aiboshi Ambassador of Japan to ASEAN

H.E. Stig Ingemar Traavik Ambassador of Norway to ASEAN

Excellencies, colleagues, ladies and gentlemen:

Allow me at the outset, on behalf of the AIPR Governing Council Members, to congratulate the Government of the Republic of the Philippines for organizing the AIPR Workshop on "Strengthening Women's Participation in Peace Processes" at the beautiful and historic city of Cebu. I would also like to take this opportunity to thank the Government of Norway and the Japan-ASEAN Integration Fund (JAIF) for co-organizing this important workshop. This Workshop is indeed timely as it would contribute in highlighting the significant role of women in peace processes, which I believe would encourage more women to take part in this important area.

Traditionally, women have been widely recognized as the primary victims of conflict. This is not surprising as women have not been spared by conflicts or war. In fact, women alongside children and the elderly

suffer more from the effects of conflict than men. Worse, history has shown us that women have been used and subjected to the worst forms of violence, from abuse, torture to rape and sexual violence. While this has been recognised, the portrayal of women solely as victims has only served to eclipse their potential contributions to conflict resolution and peacebuilding.

Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen,

History has shown us that women have always played an unacknowledged, but vital role in peace and reconciliation, particularly in post-conflict peacebuilding. They nursed the injured and the casualties of war, tended to children and orphans of war and rebuilt houses, villages and communities. The world has changed and mankind has evolved. Today, we see the growing participation of women not only in post conflict periods, but in peace and reconciliation processes. In reality, women have been the key drivers of the past and they will be the drivers for the future. International law itself recognises this.

In October 2000, the UN Security Council passed Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security, which called upon states and all actors to ensure women's full participation in peace processes. The resolution reiterates the importance of bringing gender perspectives, the issues of concern to women to the center of attention in all peacemaking, peacebuilding, peacekeeping, humanitarian activities and rehabilitation and reconstruction efforts. Besides international law, women empowerment and gender mainstreaming have been catalysts that promoted the participation of women in such areas. Their numbers, however, can be further increased in both informal and formal spaces. While women are taking leading roles in other regions around the world, in the ASEAN region, women's involvement in formal peace processes is limited. This should not be the case.

It is therefore my earnest hope that this workshop would stimulate discussions on various questions regarding the important roles of women in peace processes. And AIPR can play the role to promote common understanding and effective action towards enhancing the participation of women in all spheres and levels of peace process so that ASEAN as a region would not be left behind. This is also important as ASEAN moves forward towards full integration and becoming an ASEAN Community.

Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen,

I am sure the discourse over the next few days will have an impact on the strategy, measures and approaches on how we move forward together in enhancing the participation of women in peace processes. I would like to emphasize that the absence of women in conflict prevention, peacebuilding, reconciliation and other related processes, be it peacemaking or peacekeeping, is a recipe for unsustainable peace. Women are the majority of the world's population and their needs and interests need to be addressed. We cannot be oblivious to the potentials and roles that women could contribute to world peace.

*Mabuhay* and again my deepest gratitude to the Government and peoples of the Philippines for the warm hospitality extended to AIPR Governing Council members. I hope you will make the most of this extraordinary meeting of minds and expertise, and I wish you all the success in your deliberations and discussions.

Thank you.

# **OPENING MESSAGE**

# H.E. STIG INGEMAR TRAAVIK

Ambassador of Norway to ASEAN

Excellencies, dear colleagues, distinguished guests; dear Ambassador Elisabeth Buensuceso and your hard working team from the Philippines, which I know has been working hard to receive us so well in Cebu:

I am honoured to be present here at the second symposium held by the ASEAN Institute for Peace and Reconciliation, on a topic that has been particularly close to our hearts in Norway. In fact, Norway launched its newest Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security last month. Here, the very first concrete priority mentioned is: women's participation in peace processes, and the inclusion of both genders in peace agreements.

Will we see similar efforts from the ASEAN countries? I hope so! With a population of over 600 million, you make a difference.

Dear participants,

Throughout history, too many belligerent men have waged war. And, sadly, we also see this today. The conduct of the self-proclaimed Islamic State in Iraq and Syria is a horrifying example. I will actually dare to say, that such tactics would not be endorsed under female leadership.

As a contrast, let us look to Africa for two examples. In the aftermath of unspeakable violence, the *women of Rwanda* rebuilt their country and created stability. And the people reward it: This is now the country with the highest percentage of female parliamentarians in the world (64%). After decades of devastating warfare, the peace talks on the Liberian civil war were at a standstill when hundreds of *Liberian women* took action: They actually blocked the exits of the negotiation venue until an agreement could be reached. And so it was.

Needless to say, the lesson for the world to learn was: Next time, the women must be present in the room from the start. Indeed, throughout history, too many men have waged war. Let us create a future where women can lead the way to peace!

# **OPENING MESSAGE**

#### H.E. KOICHI AIBOSHI

#### Ambassador of Japan to ASEAN

Her Excellency Teresita Quintos-Deles, Presidential Adviser on the Peace Process,

Excellencies, Distinguished Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen:

First of all, I would like to extend my sincere congratulations to ASEAN Institute for Peace and Reconciliation (AIPR) on hosting the AIPR Workshop on Strengthening Women's Participation in Peace Processes.

I also wish to express my appreciation to the Philippine Government for its initiative.

In conflict situations, we have to keep in mind that special attention should be paid to the protection, particular needs and human rights of women and girls, as they are most vulnerable targets. Furthermore, in the prevention and resolution of conflicts and post-conflict peace process, the role of women cannot be overemphasized. In this connection, the year 2000 was a turning point as the UN Security Council adopted the Resolution 1325, raising awareness about the proactive role of women in efforts for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security.

Japan is proceeding toward the realization of "a society in which all women shine" as one of the Japanese Government's highest priorities under Prime Minister Shinzo Abe's strong leadership. From this viewpoint, we strongly support the spirit and objectives of the said UN Security Council Resolution, and the Japanese Government has been stepping up its cooperation with UN Women for the empowerment program of women in the Middle East and Africa. We have also been increasing our contribution to the Team of Experts (TOE) of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General on Sexual Violence in Conflict (SRSG-SVC). It is essential that the countries in this region as well as the international community as a whole work closely for the enhanced participation of women in peacebuilding and reconstruction process.

It is therefore extremely valuable that ASEAN Member States and their partners share and discuss their experience and good practices on women's role in peace processes. It is our great honor to contribute to the holding of this AIPR workshop with the Norwegian government. Japan is doing its utmost to move forward with the formulation of its National Action Plan on Women, Peace, and Security, based on UN Security Council Resolution 1325. The current draft of our National Action Plan does not see women as those merely to be protected, but refers to their role in decision-making with regard to conflict prevention and resolution. Japan would like to strengthen our cooperation in the area of peacebuilding with ASEAN and AIPR, including the Philippines, a forerunner in this region in terms of having a National Action Plan already.

Japan will host the "High-Level Seminar on Peacebuilding, National Reconciliation and Democratization in Asia" in June this year. We will organize a panel discussion on the protection of women during and after conflicts and the role of women in peacebuilding. We will also host the "2<sup>nd</sup> World Assembly for Women in Tokyo," so-called "WAW! Tokyo," in August. We intend to reflect the discussion and outcome of this AIPR workshop in these events.

In conclusion, I offer my best wishes for the success of this AIPR workshop.

Thank you very much for your kind attention.

# **KEYNOTE SPEECH**

# Hon. TERESITA QUINTOS-DELES

Secretary Office of the Presidential Adviser on the Peace Process and Member, AIPR Advisory Board Republic of the Philippines

These past one-and-a-half months have posed a great challenge to the gains we have achieved in the search for an enduring peace.

The peace that so many have worked for and many more have dreamed of had been close within our grasp in the advent of the New Year. Now, the momentum has been broken.

Last January 27, the holy season of fasting and sacrifice – the present season of Lent for Christians and Ramadan later in the year for Muslims – came early to Mamasapano, Maguindanao, in Central Mindanao in Southern Philippines – with the death of at least 67 – commandos, combatants, civilians – driving the peace process between the Philippine government and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) into a wilderness that would daunt the most stout-hearted peace advocates.

Perhaps we would like to wish away the consequences of the Mamasapano national tragedy, but to do this would only be self-defeating. We have to live and struggle through this experience to realize that, even how fragile peace is and has always been, we should not be detracted from the dream and goal of peace.

After Mamasapano, the old biases, the submerged fears, and, yes, bigotry have again exploded in our body politic. Once again, we stare at the ghosts of the past that have haunted our quest of many decades.

At a time when the embrace of former enemies should have been completed, we now have a Bangsamoro Basic Law (BBL) pilloried on the altar of divisive politics – effectively derailing a confident timetable that promised to conclusively shift the landscape of Mindanao from the bullet to the ballot, from conflict to development, from enslavement to poverty and marginalization to the freedom of democratic choice and self-driven governance and development.

For the past two years, we already had been pressed for time as we marked our deadlines to the promised Bangsamoro by weeks and

days. Under the original schedule, the BBL should have been on the Congressional plenaries as I now speak, but we have again moved our target to June this year.

Assuming that the BBL is passed in June, we will have to move on quickly to a plebiscite to ratify the law before we install a Bangsamoro Transition Authority (BTA) that will pave the way for the election of the first regular Bangsamoro government simultaneous with our 2016 national elections. That roadmap of peace milestones will have to be completed in a period of less than a year from June, 2015, to May, 2016.

I shall not burden you with fantasies. The fact is: the prospects for the completion of the entire process are fraught with serious difficulty, spurring fears and insecurity, especially now that the roadways of Maguindanao are again congested with civilians moving their families out of harm's way.

I do not say this defensively, because I intend to fight this battle to the last ounce of my moral and spiritual strength. I only say this because, today, I wish to make an impassioned appeal for your help.

For the voice of ASEAN has always been important for all generations of Filipinos. This is true whether we speak of human progress or human security. ASEAN has been the repository of our most ardent aspirations forged in deep commonalities of culture, identity, and ways of transformation.

Today I make an abiding appeal for your support to call upon your leaders, be they in government or in the private realm – and all your great communities for that matter – to stand for our dream of the Bangsamoro.

Your voices, thrown far and wide, in unison and volume, will help to raise the consciousness of our own Philippine nation to push forward, urging our peoples to be one with the ASEAN and the world in embracing peace with might and passion – breaking the barriers of prejudice and doubt, and building the ramparts of authentic love and community.

All over the world, women are at the bold frontlines of peace. We may be treated viciously for standing up for peace when the popular call is for blood and revenge. We are even insulted and assailed in the most indecent ways, but we stay and fight at the frontline because it is our duty in fulfillment of God's will – *Insha'Allah*! – and in fidelity to our people's dream and our children's future.

There are those who outrightly say or more subtly insinuate that the Mamasapano incident would have been avoided had some others been made to sit for the government on the peace negotiating table – these others preferably being male, preferably more knowing of the ways of war – certainly not the ladies or "princesses of peace," as GPH Panel Chair Ferrer and I have been called. In this day and age, we should name that mindset for what it is: bigoted and at the least short-sighted. Those who insist on being blind to the capacities of women who make up one-half of the world's population and who refuse to recognize that peacemaking may offer a toolbox of methodologies that may shape a better way to the future surely do not deserve a seat at any chamber of true leadership.

There are those – so far, all men – who have said that I should leave my post because I have sold the integrity and sovereignty of our nation to secessionist forces.

I ask in return: Who are the enemies of the state? Who are the enemies of the people? Can we afford to ignore the human costs of war? Is it right to call for war in the safety of Manila while communities on the ground where battles are fought – especially the women, children and the elderly – flock to the evacuation centers at the first sound of cannons and gunfire? Is it not reckless to deny the possibility – in fact, the reality – that in the outbreak and history of war there are many truths, and that the path to true peace must find a way of bridging narratives and perspectives?

To shamelessly exploit the bloodbath of Mamasapano to incite prejudice among our people, to insult those who wage peace and to lead our nation to war is a highest disservice to the Flag – and I shall not bow or yield the banner of peace as a matter of duty.

Yes, it is through the love and endurance of women that peace is nurtured. It is the women who have suffered most in their hearts for the tragedy that befell our troopers and the other victims of Mamasapano, including an eight-year-old girl who never had the chance to know what killed her and why. It is women who were among the first to call for peace to be sustained, and for our leaders not to be distracted from the mission of peace.

We in ASEAN have seen conflicts cross borders, fomenting instability and fragility across our porous geographical boundaries and exacerbating issues like the trafficking in women and girls. We feel this in our hearts and bones as we trudge through evacuation centers in a constant mission of healing bodies and souls devoured by conflict, in a relentless mission of fostering and nurturing hope in the promise that it will be better tomorrow.

ASEAN Member States are also at various stages of engagement in their peace processes. Some are parties to armed conflict and are engaged, or are preparing to engage, in peace negotiations to end the violence and achieve sustainable political settlements. We must sustain our efforts at all levels.

Some, like the Philippines, are already preoccupied in ensuring faithful implementation of signed peace agreements, while continuing to build national consensus behind final political solutions. Others serve as third-party mediators, facilitators and hosts of peace talks, as in the case of Malaysia in the case of the Bangsamoro process; as in the case of Indonesia and Brunei who help to keep our ceasefire mechanisms functional and robust.

These institutional blessings make up the political and social perimeters of what we do best: fight for peace, win for peace.

It is evident that more of women's perspectives and capacities are needed to ensure sustainable and inclusive peace processes. However, actual participation of women in formal peace processes among ASEAN Member States has been very limited, especially in Track 1 – ranging from 9.9 to 25.8 per cent – falling short of the international commitment of a 30 per cent quota for women's political participation.

In this scenario, redress for abuse, violence and crimes against women are less likely to happen, considering the lack of information on the mechanisms for accessing justice, the fear of authorities, and the culture of silence in conflict and post-conflict situations. In this scenario, women who matter most in ensuring the welfare of families and communities are less likely to enjoy their fair share of the dividends of peace.

Now is the time for us to act and prevail against the instincts of conflict that are still deeply embedded in the structures of our social and political life. We have to sustain the transformation from conflict to peace with smarter cooperation, combining best practices and taking the lead in key fronts.

We have to put our efforts together to address the challenge of placing Women, Peace and Security (WPS) at the forefront of their collective agenda.

At present, the Philippines is the only country in ASEAN that has adopted and is implementing a National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security, which contains specific pillars or targeted outcomes on women's empowerment and participation in conflict resolution and management, peacemaking, peacekeeping, and peacebuilding.

Women, led by the Chair of the Philippine Panel to the talks with the Moro Islamic Liberation Front, were instrumental in forging our Comprehensive Agreement on the Bangsamoro. After 17 years of negotiations, a woman signed this peace agreement on behalf of the government.

At the same time, the Philippine Panel ensured that gender was included in the language of the document. This can be a springboard for discussion and exchange among other ASEAN member countries to develop similar platforms to address women, peace and security issues.

The AIPR is providing a venue for these discussions and learning, having been mandated to serve as an institution in ASEAN for research activities on peace, conflict management and conflict resolution.

Whatever role women play in peacebuilding, states must ensure that they stand as important players on the decision-making table as agreements are negotiated and after they have been signed and throughout their implementation.

Women are the harbingers of human security in any peace agreement. They ensure, as stated in the mandate of my office, a principled and peaceful resolution to internal armed conflict, with neither blame nor surrender, but with dignity for all concerned.

Going back to Mamasapano and the troubled state of peace to which my country has returned, I must end, as women most often do, by speaking from the heart even as we strive to face reality with uncluttered mind and steel nerves.

Indeed we must speak of truth and justice. We must speak of the dead and injured, on both sides. We must speak of the dislocation and despoliation, on both sides. But truth is not simply death. Truth is about life. It is about what communities do to stay alive and fight to prosper. It is, in fact, also about coconut trees and azure seas abounding with mesmerizing creatures. It is about identity and the dreams and aspirations arising from these identities. It is especially about our children's future, the children of Mamasapano equally with the children of Maria.

This, I daresay, is what peace is all about. Then, and only then, can we find our way out of the wilderness.

On this hope, I lay the keynote of this proud gathering, and invoke the Almighty's blessings for all the ideals and the promised future that we collectively stand for.

Thank you and good morning.

**SESSION ONE** PART OVERVIEW OF WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN PEACE PROCESSES AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION AMONG ASEAN MEMBER STATES LUTION

# Strengthening Women's Participation In Peace Processes

#### Ms. Shadia Marhaban

International Mediator Capacity Builder and Activist from Aceh, Indonesia

Aceh has become a model in South East Asia for conflict resolution and post-conflict peace management. Being a model we have to remain active in improving, at the very least maintaining, the peace that we have achieved by showing our thirst and hunger for peace on the daily basis. I am thus grateful to be invited to this very important meeting, which is an opportunity for me, for us all, to maintain and improve the peace process where it has been achieved and to pursue it relentlessly in areas still in conflict. It has been pointed out all the time that there are no two conflicts being the same and no model of solution can be copy pasted from one to another, but there are always valuable lessons to learn, if not on what to do, on what not to do.

Although there is a common belief worldwide that the protracted threedecade-old conflict in Aceh was ended because of the Tsunami of December 26, 2004 that triggered the successful Helsinki peace talk that was started barely a month later, in actuality serious high level peace negotiations had taken place a few times before and peace agreements had been signed three times in Geneva, brokered by the Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue, which was then known as the Henri Dunant Centre (HDC).

I attended the Helsinki peace negotiations between the Government of the Republic of Indonesia and the Free Aceh Movement (GAM) as one of the nine-member team of GAM. Thus, I was one of those, in the parlance of the Indonesian Government, troublemakers or peace disturbers, who have transitioned to be a peace builder and peacemaker.

Being the only woman, both in the GAM or the Indonesian sides, I certainly understand the importance of inclusion of women in peace negotiations. It is a vital and crucial necessity that begs to be considered seriously. I have experienced the bitter and sweet sides of the peace process. After love, peace probably is the most important and nicest words in human languages that we say all the time, but they are also the most difficult to turn into reality. When former Finnish President Martti Ahtisaari received the Nobel Peace Prize, and the peace process in Aceh was cited as one of the reasons, many of us in Aceh were screaming silently, why him and not us?, weren't we the ones who have been and are still fighting for peace on a daily basis? But of course, that is not the way of the world.

It is the Acehnese people, especially the GAM fighters, men and women, who gave up the very reason of their fight, to abandon the idea of independence and changed their mode of struggle from arm to political. I think this is a very important key of every armed group that view for peace to consider, because when you enter into negotiations for peace, you enter into a dark situation where you don't know where the tunnel would lead you to. So mediators have to understand that freedom fighters, rebels, insurgents, separatists, or whatever other labels you want attach to the non-state armed groups you are dealing with they all have their fears. There is a need for peacemakers to understand this fear. What they would get in exchange to abandoning their cause? What is the guarantee that the agreement would be respected once they lay down their weapons? What can they build after the peace agreement? Signing of the agreement, difficult and risky as it is, is still the easier part of the peace process; the most important and most difficult part is implementing the agreement as agreed. The implementation is the key to the success of the peace process. And serious involvement of countries in the region is required to assure that the implementation of a peace agreement did not veer off and create new and bigger problems.

It goes without saving that the role of women in peace negotiations should not be reserved only at the level women activists or women's mainstream movements. We must try to enlarge it to the women from armed groups. In most armed conflicts, women are not only victims but actors performing active and/or passive roles. Despite their important roles as actors in a conflict, women are excluded in peace negotiations and in post-conflict peace management; they are treated merely as victims. Women's movements tend to treat female ex-combatants as not part of their movement but as targets for assistance, as victims of conflict who need their help. This is not reintegration but perpetuating segregation of the society. Ex-combatants are not victims but actors of the conflict that should be embraced back into the fold of the society as dignified equals. I think we haven't done this. I think we need to reach out: speaking to the armed groups about this issue is very important. Bear in mind that in certain circumstances, especially in peace maintenance. women can and do often influence men.

It is also important to consider the perspectives of women ex-combatants in armed groups; how they want to achieve peace, because in reality even if we can see women and children suffering in war, they are most of the time deprived in the development efforts through education and economic empowerment. Women's participation in the peace process is generally seen as fulfilling the international standard and donors' requirement. Most ASEAN countries see women's participation as a too sensitive issue to bring and to open discussions because they see mediation as engaging the most important stakeholders, the belligerents, not the community as a whole. At best women will be included in the peripheries and at worst, totally disregarded. Their participation is limited by their lack of power and legitimacy and by traditional religious values. Other factors that impede their participation are:

- Lack of coordination between women at national and grassroots levels.
- Lack of impact assessment on the participation of women in peace processes.
- UNSCR 1325 does not define peace and security resulting into diverse and conflicting interpretations and implementation.
- Government officials and traditional leaders generally do not listen to women's perspectives, hence, are not aware of women's concerns.
- Women's illiteracy and poverty

And this is also a situation where we should address the issue of the importance of having men and women together to work for peace. Although there is always the question of why must there be women, why are they there in peace negotiations? To answer these questions I would like to bring into view the commonly accepted principle that every human being is created equal. It is only logical that therefore women should have equal opportunity in solving common problems arising from wars and armed conflicts that in reality bring more sufferings to women who are rarely the source of these problems.

The post-conflict settlement and reconstruction are still based on economic assistance and power-sharing. This practice supports the patriarchal approaches and therefore limits the opportunity for women in getting into the arena. Another challenge for women's inclusion is that some mediators did appear to support it at the beginning but failed to actually provide the mechanism on how and when the women should come to the table.

There are three other factors that we should look at in the peace process: 1) the commitment of government to the peace process; 2) the capacity of the mediators; and 3) the transformation of armed groups to political parties.

Firstly, I would like to address the seriousness of the government. How would it be possible for a peace process to be implemented on the ground and how the implementation could be effective without the serious involvement of the Government? When we speak about the Government in the post conflict, it is not as a party to the conflict as it was before the signature of the peace agreement. The Government should not regard itself as a party with interest to protect against its old enemy. The enemy is now its subjects that it has to take care of with even more attention than the ordinary citizenry. In the case of Aceh. the Government of Indonesia has indeed affected serious commitment for peace and this commitment, together with that from GAM and the people in general has made the peace in Aceh well-sustained for the last 10 years. Such commitment is not an overnight work: it has taken years of sustained willingness to protect our people from war. And the Government of Indonesia has shown also a strong commitment to provide assistance to thousands of former combatants. Things in Aceh are not perfect, far from it, but at least there are clear intention and commitments to support the peace process.

Immediately upon my return to Aceh after the signing of the Helsinki peace agreement in August 2006, I started my own organization, the Liga Inong Acheh (LINA) or Acheh Women's League, specifically to target female ex-combatants, because they were not represented as combatants in the distribution of benefits as did their male counterparts. Even though we already have the provision, we have the Security Council 1325, these women have no room even to ask for their re-integration packages. So, this is very important to understand on why women should be in peace negotiations.

Secondly, the capacity of the mediators, how capable they are in handling the situation should there be pitfalls in the negotiation, is important. What can they do if the negotiation collapses? Do they have the willingness and sufficient power to do something, at the very least to state the truth about the calamity? In my experience of working in Myanmar, South Thailand and in Mindanao, I realize there is an acute lack of such quality. I am hoping that through the AIPR we could be more engaged as a team and contribute actively in building sustainable peace through trustbuilding programs, learnings from failed experiences in other countries, inclusive processes and exploring models of implementation.

There's a need to learn from not just from successful processes but more so from the failed ones in order to introduce a culture of dialogues in the society as part of the working agenda after peace. Finally, while we acknowledge that there is still much to be done, I want to stress the importance of dignity, that we have to respect the dignity of others if we want others to respect ours. Mutual trust can only be built when we start with trusting the other party first and change can be made if we allow it to happen and not insist on the proven way. Everything has its own time and place.

Thank you for this wonderful opportunity.

# **Myanmar Peace Centre**

# Dr. Naw Rebecca Thin

Associate Program Director Peace Dialogue Program and Peace Building Operations Program Myanmar Peace Center

Good morning your Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen. First of all, let me thank the organizers of this event. I feel very privileged to be here in the historical and beautiful city of Cebu.

Today I would like to present the Myanmar Peace Center as most of us are not familiar with the Center and the Myanmar peace process.

Myanmar Peace Center is a semi-government organization established on October 26, 2012 by Presidential Order 38/2012. The initial purpose of the Center is to assist the Union Peace-Making Central Committee (UPCC) and the Union Peace-making Work Committee (UPWC) for the peace process. These two committees were established by the President for the peace process. Our vision is to play a key role in the development of a peaceful nation inclusive of Myanmar's ethnic diversity. Our mission is to contribute to sustainable peace and an over-all political settlement for the benefit of all the citizens of Myanmar. The main functions of the Center are: 1) To assist the Union Peace-making Central Committee and the Union Peace-Making Work Committee for the Peace Process; 2) Serve as the focal point for the international partners and civil society organizations on issues related to the peace process; and 3) facilitate dialogues among government and non-state actors.

The Myanmar Peace Centre achieves its mission by providing policy advice and strategic policy guidance as well as coordinating government activities in five key areas: 1) ceasefire negotiations and implementation; 2) peace negotiations and political dialogue; 3) peacebuilding operation and coordination; 4) outreach and public diplomacy; and 5) Myanmar mine actions.

The Myanmar Peace Center is headed by an Executive Director who is assisted by four advisers, an Assistant Executive Director and Associate Directors for the five programs: 1) Ceasefire Negotiation-Implementation Program; 2) Peace and Political Dialogue Program; 3) Peace Building Operations Coordination Program; 4) Outreach and Public Diplomacy Program; 5) Legal Support Office to support all the functions in the Myanmar Mine Actions Program. We added one more program, the Myanmar Geospatial and Resource program, which is more on the land issues, which are usually the problem after the conflict or the post-conflict era.

For the main programs, I will present more on the Peace Dialogue Program (PD), which has five components: 1) meetings/negotiations/ dialogues; 2) political dialogue roadmap/framework; 3) process control; 4) research; 5) training.

The meetings/negotiations/dialogues are between UPWC and political parties, civil society organizations, ethnic communities and the politically conscientious community leaders. Regular briefings on the peace process and political updates are held for international stakeholders like the UN, diplomatic missions and international NGOs.

Our country is doing many things at the same time: change of government from the military to the civilian government; peacebuilding, nation building and state building. So, the roadmap to sustainable peace is number one. We have to forge the nationwide ceasefire accord because unlike other countries in the region, we have 16 armed groups that are recognized by the Government and have signed more or less a ceasefire agreement but we have five or more smaller armed ethnic groups. So, we have many armed groups that we have to deal with in a nationwide ceasefire accord. After the ceasefire, it's a framework for national political dialogue, not only with the armed groups but with political groups, democratic groups and many other ethnic political dialogue that we have to reconcile with as a nation. The national political dialogue that we aim to have after the nationwide ceasefire should result into a National Peace Accord and a Permanent Ceasefire Accord that is subject to ratification by Parliament then implementation.

It will be a long process, and we are not yet even finished with the first step of nationwide ceasefire. But since yesterday, the Union Peace Working Committee and the Nationwide Ceasefire Accord Negotiation Team from the 16 or 17 ethnic armed groups have been meeting to discuss the framework for the political dialogue. This framework has six essential items: 1) the vision for the nation; 2) the agenda and processes for the meeting; 3) the structure and working methodology; 4) decision making modalities; 5) implementation modalities; and 6) participation and representation. The framework will be finalized only after signing the ceasefire accord or the ceasefire agreement.

The main purpose of the political dialogue is to address the grievances of ethnic groups, and know the reasons why they started fighting. This will allow the national reconciliation process to start and continue in mutual respect and equal status. It also aims to address the grievances of the broader society and consolidate the democratic agenda. And then, to consolidate the reform agenda because, we are in the stage of transition from one party or military rule to the democratic government.

Another part of the Peace Dialogue Program is a discussion of the process to be adopted for the national dialogue such as the structure and working methodology; decision making modalities; participation and representation, and; implementation modalities.

We also have a research department, which conducted a survey of the perceptions and comments of the people in 14 states and regions about the changes taking place after the start of the new government took office in 2011. Among the methods used for the research were large and focus group discussions and key informant interviews.

Under the Peace Dialogue Program, the Center also conducts training for peacebuilding for the youth and on federalism for members of political parties because most, if not all of the ethnic groups are in political parties. We are also envisioning a federal nation for Myanmar. So, we have to educate political parties and other people concerned on federalism. We also conduct training on conflict transformation and transition to democracy for civil servants.

In terms of peacebuilding operations coordination, the government relations service facilitates communication between government and the following stakeholders: a) non-state actors such as NGOs and civil society organizations; b) international organizations and international non-government organizations dealing with government in providing relief assistance to the post-conflict areas; c) private companies who would like to work jointly with the government in providing relief assistance to the post-conflict areas. The Myanmar Peace Center is facilitating that process along with the coordination for the immediate response for the development of the post-conflict area such as building of schools and other centers in the area.

Women's participation in the peace process can be categorized in six groups:

 Government bodies like the Union Peace-Making Central Committee (UPCC) and the Union Peace Making Work Committee (UPWC). All 11 members of the UPCC are men who are officials from the Defense Ministry. In UPWC, of the 52 members, 48 are men and four are women. They are mostly from the parliament, and they are all ethnic members.

- 2) At the Myanmar Peace Center, of the four special advisers, one is a woman; of the 12 Directors and Associate Directors, one is a woman; of the six managers, two are women; and of the 10 Senior Program Officers, four are women.
- 3) The participation of ethnic armed groups are at three levels: a) the Nationwide Ceasefire Coordinating Team (NCCT) where of 17 members; only one is a female representative from the Ogaraniz, Liberation party; b) the Technical Support Team where of approximately 12 members, four are women who are very capable and very active in the process, and
- 4) Individual armed groups which bring at least two women whether there are 10, 12, 15 or 20 of them in the delegation.
- 5) The Community Forum for Peace and Political Dialogue, which is held every month and attended by fifty plus or minus participants, and usually 10 of them are women who are very active and articulate; and
- 6) The Civil Society Forum for Peace that is held every three months and draws more than 100 people, 40-60% of whom are usually women. The Myanmar Peace Center facilitates and provides inputs to this Forum as well.

Finally, to increase women's participation in the peace process, and in line with Security Council Resolution 1325, the Myanmar Peace Center will facilitate the drafting of a National Action Plan (NAP) together with the Government, the UN and other women's organizations.

Thank you very much for giving me the opportunity to make this presentation. The Government and the Myanmar Peace Center are very much aware of the fact that the participation of women in the Myanmar peace process still needs to be strengthened. We are working on that but given our context and culture, we still have a long way to go. We are very much encouraged by having friends and colleagues working in this area in the ASEAN region.

Thank you very much for allowing me to present at this occasion.

# Women in Southern Thailand Conflict: Included While Being Excluded

Dr. Sombatpoonsiri Janjira Co-Secretary-General Lecturer Asia-Pacific Research Association Thammasat University

Good morning. Salamat. Asamalaikum. Sa-was-dee,

First of all, let me express my gratitude to the AIPR delegates and especially the Honorable Elizabeth Buensuceso for inviting me to this meaningful Seminar. Second, I would like to humbly identify myself as an academic. I am not a seasoned activist but I am speaking on behalf of victims and survivors in the Southern Thailand conflict. Many of you may know that Thailand is rich in conflicts, we do have at least three types of conflict. We do have our conflict with Cambodia, which was solved two to three years ago; a governance conflict in Bangkok; and we also have ethnic conflict in Southern Thailand.

I like to focus on Southern Thailand conflict today because the conflict has been forgotten. Many have focused on the conflict in Bangkok and all efforts have been mobilized for this conflict but less and less people talk about the Southern Thailand conflict, I would like to walk you through the situation of women in the Southern Thailand conflict, how they have been transformed throughout a decade of the conflict, how they have been included in the peace talks and why they are still excluded.

Let me first brief on the Southern Thailand conflict. This is the area where the armed conflict has happened. We have three southernmost provinces, which are Patani, Yala, Narathiwat and some districts of Songhkla. There are about 2 million people in these areas, 80% of whom are Malay and 20% are Buddhists. The conflicts have re-emerged in 2004 and are going on until now. From 2004 to 2014, there has been 14,701 violent deaths; 6,297 deaths and 11,375 injuries. A lot of conflict literature describe this as low intensity conflict. Regardless of seemingly low casualties, people still die everyday. The causes of conflict are very complex and if I have to tell you all about the causes today it will take five hours.

Instead, I would like to identify the causes in three layers, direct violence, structural violence, and cultural violence. Direct violence refers to armed

resistance and the Thai state's counter-insurgency efforts. Structural violence includes the forced assimilation of the Malay population in Southern Thailand, the continuing poverty and the increasing ethnic discrimination. Cultural violence on the other hand refers to the history of colonization, nationalism and the use of Islam to justify violent action.

Statistics show that the number of violent attacks peaked in 2005, which resulted from three major crackdowns on lay protestors and suspected insurgents following the January 4, April 28, and October 25 incidents in 2004. All these produced more justification for the armed groups for the fight against the Thai state. Since 2007 we have peace talks mediated by ASEAN countries. Malaysia, and Indonesia helped us two years ago

How has this armed conflict transformed lives of women in the area? Let me first be clear that identities of women in the area are multiple. There are Malay Muslim and Thai Buddhist women, educated middle class and uneducated working class and urban and rural women. The conflict impacts them differently. The first impact of the ongoing violent conflict on women is the change in their traditional role of being confined in the household or private sphere to the modern role of being involved in the public sphere of politics. The second is the change in their image as "victims" to "agents" or activists. The perception of women as "victims" is widely shared by the state, NGOs and the Malay Muslim community. But even as their agency is recognized, this is still within the image of a "good woman." I will elaborate later on how this image of a "good woman" helps exclude women from the peace process.

Women transform their traditional role into modern role because basically the men in their families were affected by violent attacks -either they were killed or injured by state officials, disappeared, arrested on insurgency-related charges or suspected as sympathizers. The state crackdown on January 4, April 28 and October 25, 2004 resulted in 90 deaths. A lot of men in Southern Thailand merely disappeared, forced disappearance was rampant in the area. Others were arrested on insurgency-related charges. Sometimes they were suspected as sympathizers and because of the remaining use of martial law and emergency decree, the state was able to detain suspects without really being charged.

The women became breadwinners of their families but they faced various problems. First, they are sometimes stigmatized, viewed as part of the insurgent movement opposing the state. As a result, they did not receive any support from the Government. Until August, 2009, 548 families have members awaiting trial, which means government support for these families are being delayed. Second, even if women receive

any compensation from the Government, the existing Islamic Law potentially prevents them from receiving the full fund, which normally goes to parents of the victims. This furthers the financial insecurity of women. Third, in case of forced disappearance, the state denies any involvement. This lack of accountability results in women being ineligible for receiving any compensation.

In order to survive, women cannot just sit and cry but have to pull themselves together. Southern Thailand's Muslim women are very strong and they have been the heads of the family financially, but with the loss of their male family members, they have to work more. They face very harsh conditions in their work places. Moreover, they have to educate themselves on laws like the Emergency Decree and Martial Law, which have been imposed in Thailand's deep south, in order to defend their rights. Arrest and detention do not stop with their husbands or sons but it can happen to them as well. These laws are written in Thai and most women only know the Malayu language.<sup>1</sup> So, they have to both learn Thai and learn difficult legalistic language. Once they learned the laws, many of them became peace activists, human rights defenders, journalists and workshop trainers who helped transmit the knowledge to other women in their communities.

In addition, women are active actors in the ongoing conflict. Many women assist the armed groups by tending to the sick and wounded rebels (although it is reported that they are forced to do so). In 2007, they also joined nonviolent street protests. A number of both Buddhist and Muslim women in southern Thailand actually join the state's paramilitary because their husbands used to work for the Thai state before they where targeted and lured by the insurgent groups. They swore that they will not let this happen again, so they joined the state para-military groups, hoping to protect their communities.

Even as the women have already joined the public sphere, a number of discourses and practices still reinforce their traditional roles. For instance, the good wife discourse can silence women when encountering abuses. This discourse convinces women that they should not go out at night and they should support their husbands physically and emotionally regardless of whether or not they have been victims of domestic violence and abuse.

The discourse of good girl also dictates communities to sanction those violating codes of sexual practices. There are reported cases of rape

<sup>1 &#</sup>x27;Malayu' is the mother-tongue of the majority of Deep South's population. It originates from Bahasa Malay used in Malaysia. Unlike Malay, the written form maintains the use of Arabic script, called 'Yawi.'

and sexual violence in the area, committed by the Thai officers who however claim that most of these sexual relationships were consensual. In any case, girls who get pregnant premaritally were forced to marry with the military officer suspected to have sex with her. Soldiers in Southern Thailand are on rotation. When their term is due, they move back to their hometown which is normally in North or Northeast of Thailand. Muslims girls marrying them move with them, but find it hard to adjust themselves in a new environment. They ended up getting a divorce. In case of no marriage, the parents will force their daughters to have abortion or if they give birth they have to abandon their babies.

The most taboo issue is perhaps HIV/AIDS among the Muslim teenagers. Usually, the community decides either to excommunicate them or criminalize them because they believe that having HIV/AIDS is not a Muslim thing. There is a myth that HIV/AIDS is only caused by sex, which in most cases in Southern Thailand is caused by drug user among teenagers.

Lastly, another way of reinforcing the traditional roles of women is to condemn outspoken women as "sinful" when they raise concerns about sexual discrimination in Malay Muslim communities.

Some data on domestic violence collected by the Coordinating Center for the Relief of Those Affected by Unrest in the Southern Border Provinces and the Deep South Coordination Center (DSCC) from July 1 to November 2002 reveal the following:

- 51% of the pregnant women in the interview suffered from spousal violence; 5.2% were victims of sexual violence
- 20% suffered from mental and sexual violence
- 29.6% from physical violence including light punishment (17.5%) and corporal punishment (12.1%)

I would like to point out that discourses reinforcing traditional roles of women (as good wife, mother and daughter), and consequent practices can obstruct women's participation in peace processes. These practices reflect the dynamics of gender prejudices in Southern Thailand. There are three players reproducing the prejudices here: a) the state; b) the Malay Muslim communities; and c) some women NGOs.

The Thai state's point of view is that women are victims. So, the policy to help women is often oriented around charity, compensation, and what we call as healing program. In many ways because of this approach, they exclude the active role of women from the public debates about how peace could be brought about. For the Malay communities, the men are seen as protector and the women's role is to be a caring mother and reserved daughter. As a result of this perspective, women who are affected by the armed conflict were excluded from all kinds of public debates about peace processes.

And the last group reinforcing gender discourse are some women NGOs, which at times see women as victims and at other times see women as agents. This includes only women considered as 'good' or fitting in the moral equation of expected gender role.

These three actors share certain beliefs about gender role although they may have a different approach about the role of women in the Southern Thailand conflict. These are perceptions that women are victims and therefore weak. If they emerge out of their victimhood, they are expected to play the role of "good women." These result in the exclusion of women's voices in two ways: first for women who already transformed themselves to play a role in public place, as an activist, as a peace negotiator, they may be included in the official talks but their role is downplayed. Second, despite being affected by the violent conflict, voices of "bad women" are excluded because for the local communities they are seen as taboo and are not a part of the direct cause of the conflict.

In conclusion, in order to push through the peace talks in a conclusive way we should somehow negotiate between the modern and traditional roles of these women in Southern Thailand. We may start to recognize and accommodate women's modified roles. Second, it is important to understand broadening women's identities and challenging the notion of a "good woman," and see these as a part of maturing society. And third of all, by allowing women to come out to the public, you can actually try to reconstruct this inclusive process of peace talks and empowering all groups of women whether identified as "good or bad."

# SESSION ONE OPEN FORUM

MODERATOR: HON. LUIS T. CRUZ Assistant Secretary Office of ASEAN Affairs Department of Foreign Affairs The Philippines

#### **ASSISTANT SECRETARY LUIS T. CRUZ**

Thank you Dr. Janjira for that presentation. I would say that indeed through her presentation we were able to look at SC Resolution 1325 where the top-down approach is encouraged, where the government is encouraged to take a hard look at women's participation in peace processes from another perspective. In Dr. Janjira's presentation we note that the bottom-up approach was what transpired in Southern Thailand. Meaning, the women were forced to take an active role or the role of the activist in conflict situations because of what happened to their relatives, to their menfolk. We cannot discount the fact that as what is elucidated by Dr. Janjira, there was still some discrimination, some different perceptions of this changed role that women had been encountering but what she raised is a very fundamental issue in the experience of women in Southern Thailand. There is a need to recognize women's modified role in peace /conflict situation and the short way of approaching it is indeed for everyone -- not only from the government side and not only from the side of the men -- to have a change of mindset. That again reminded me of what the earlier presentation of Ms. Shadia has emphasized regarding the important role of the Indonesian Government in pushing through resolutely the peace processes in Aceh.

So with that I would like to thank our three presenters for keeping to their time. As a matter of fact, they were very forthright in their presentations. They were very clear. They have elucidated their points by using very few words. I would say that if only for the fact that they were able to put their points across by using such few words, they did better than the men. I would say that the same thing is happening in my household. The women in my household are better in putting across their points than the men. For the Open Forum, may I suggest that you please identify yourself and also identify the person or persons you would like to hear from or the one who will respond to your query. The floor is now open for your questions and comments. Yes, our delegate from Myanmar Ambassador Min Lwin.

# AMBASSADOR MIN LWIN

My name is Min Lwin, Myanmar Ambassador to ASEAN and Governing Council member of AIPR. Yes, we can see the role and importance of women from the presentations in this panel and the next panel. All the speakers and presenters are women except the moderator. First of all. thank you very much for the speakers from Aceh, Indonesia, Ms. Shadia and from Myanmar, our dear colleague Nor Rebecca Tin and from Thailand, Dr. Janiira, I would like to tell Ms. Shadia that signing the peace agreement is easy, but the implementation is not easy or very difficult. I have heard from the keynote speech of Honorable Teresita Deles that the challenges she is facing now are not easy. Those who participated in ASEAN-UN Collaboration in Support of the ASEAN Institute for Peace and Reconciliation on 25-26 February 2015 in Myanmar have heard about the Myanmar peace process. It is very complicated and all the problems were born together with our independence and even now we are in the process of a nationwide ceasefire agreement. I am guite discouraged by your phrase that signing the peace accord is easy but implementation is difficult. May I hear from the experienced women what are the challenges that Myanmar may face after we reach this stage and maybe Honorable Teresita may elaborate on the challenges for which Myanmar should prepare in advance. Thank you very much.

### ASEC. LUIS T. CRUZ

Thank you.. May I ask questions from two other participants before I ask the speakers to respond. I am sorry if I have to reiterate my request that you identify yourself because we are recording the discussions and with the end in view that we will be producing another book as a result of this workshop. We would want to share with as many people as possible what you you're sharing now in this seminar.

Yes, please, from Thailand.

### DR. SOMKIATI ARIYAPRUCHYA

Thank you very much for giving me the floor. Before I speak, I would like to say thank you to Ambassador Elizabeth for the warm hospitality and for organizing this Workshop. It is the first time for me to be in Cebu City and to see its important historical sites. Women's issues are important in Thailand. Women's role and status have always had a special place in Thai society. The UN has adopted a declaration that provides for the integration of women into all sectors of life. The role of women is very

important not only in conflict or violent situations, but also in normal situations as equal partners in the society and in the development of the country. Conflict in my view happens everywhere, even among two individuals. If we put two people in an Island by themselves for a while, they will eventually have conflict. Robinson Crusoe, living alone by himself had no conflict with anybody. So conflict is derived from different and conflicting perceptions among individuals, groups, or states, which lead to conflict of interests. At any one time, it is difficult to solve conflicts one hundred percent. Conflicts will come back one way or another. The permanent way in my view to help solve conflicts is for states to have guality laws and very good rule of law. I am happy to say that in Thailand we have very good law. There is no discrimination whatsoever on the ground of race, religions, sex, age. In the history of Thailand, women fought shoulder to shoulder with men. I also feel that it is important to have best practice about employment. People have to be able to get jobs they like. Women must be free to do what they like to do. We have many able women who are in business and academics, etc. The owner of a big hotel is a woman. We have people from all kinds of religion who rise to the top. In Thai foreign ministry, there are more women than men. Madame Chairperson, another thing we have to do is to empower women through education. As Dr. Janjira said cultural perception should not be a hindrance to women. In Thailand, the inheritance law provides for equality between women and men. We promote integration of women in all fields. I have with me here, my colleague, Khun Paradorn Rangsimaporn, who is a First Secretary at the Ministry of Foreign affairs. He has been compiling our efforts in the promotion of women in the area of women, peace and security. I will ask him to inform you about what Thailand has done so far and will do in the future. Thank you.

### **MR. PARADORN RANGSIMAPORN**

Thank you Dr. Somkiati for your kind introduction. I am not one of the female diplomats that the Ambassador mentioned and I am not really an expert, especially when there are so many real experts in this room particularly female experts and practitioners and academics. I just would like to inform you about what Thailand has been doing in regard to the issue of women, peace and security in particular. The Thai Government firmly supports the UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security and we recently established a National Committee on WPS, which comprises the relevant government agencies and civil society groups including women advocacy groups. The National Committee has been tasked to develop a national action plan on WPS for the years 2016 to 2021 and this should be ready for submission to the Thai Government for approval by the middle of this

year. The drafting stage has just been concluded and we are now in the public hearing phase, which is a very important stage, during which we would also be hearing the voices of women groups in our south and elsewhere. The southern issue is always foremost in the consideration of the drafting group and we hope that the national action plan would reflect this as well. Our national action plan on WPS would also seek to enhance the role of women and build their capacity and skills in negotiation, mediation and conflict resolution. We also hope to work with community leaders and groups so that they have active participation in all peace processes. I would now like to say what we've been doing at the international level. Thailand has been consistently sending female military and police officers to join UN Peacekeeping missions worldwide. As of now. Thailand has six female military and police officers in three UN Peacekeeping missions in Haiti, in Darfur, and in the Kashmir region. The Royal Thai Police is preparing a formed police unit of around 140 officers who are mostly female officers with the view of sending them to participate in UN peace operations in the near future. This is a very important development because we traditionally have been sending only individual female police or military officers to join peacekeeping missions. This would be the first time that we would be actually having a formed police unit. Thank you for your kind attention.

# ASEC. LUIS T. CRUZ:

Thank you very much, can I now call on the Chairman of AIPR – Dato' Hasnudin.

### AMBASSADOR HASNUDIN HAMZAH

Thank you Excellency and thank you to all the speakers for sharing with us the information. I just want to get more information from Ms. Shadia regarding the experience of the Aceh peace process so that it will impart some lessons for all of us. In your presentation, you mentioned about the bad practices that could also be good if you look at it from different perspective. Maybe you can share with us a bit more on how that unfortunate situation or unsavory practices can help to move forward the peace negotiation in Aceh. Thank you.

# ASEC. LUIS T. CRUZ

Thank you Dato'. Before I call on other participants for your questions can I ask the three panelists to respond and then afterwards I will call on Secretary Deles for her comments. Can I start first with Ms. Shadia.

### **MS. SHADIA MARHABAN**

Thank you very much to the Ambassador of Myanmar. Thank you for the guestion and also for Malaysia. I think looking at the peace process, it's not something solid. This is not Mathematics. You can play around with it, but you have to put the right ingredients. You have to think of a solution -- A, B and C -- and things don't happen. We often then think that this is too much waste of time and energy. When things are bad, then we will realize. "Oh my God, there's nothing we can do." I think to avoid failure, we need to look into the worst-case scenario and look for a contingency plan and execute a strategy to maintain the peace process or the negotiation further. A peace negotiation is not an end as I addressed in my presentation. In fact, it is the extension of dialogue and coordination without violence to achieve peace. So it is not the end when we sign the peace agreement. It's the continuation, but we don't use weapons. We use dialogue, we use coordination, we use trust-building, we use openness in stating our differences, we are no longer using violence and arms. So this is the situation. I think that for Myanmar, as I am also involved a little bit in the Kuching state, looking at the overall view, it is also important to have women mediators. I think that will change the dynamics of the conflict in Myanmar, having more women as mediators, be it in the government side or from the armed group. I think it is important to address this issue because some of us think that people who carried arms for 10 to 15 years can no longer think about peace. I think it's wrong to think like that. I think people evolve and people have a reason also to pick up their weapons and to protect themselves and their family. So people have their own reason to do that and when they have an alternative to channel this view to a different kind of atmosphere, they will. I'm not, for example, contesting any political position in Aceh. but I would be happy to mediate in places like Mindanao and Myanmar and South Thailand and Nepal sometimes. So it is important also to see this role: the women mediators help energize and introduce a positive dynamic into the peace process.

If you remember from a reformasi in 1998 to the Aceh peace process in East Timor and Aceh and the possible dialogue for West Papua in the future, Indonesia now is the second country in Southeast Asia that established a National Action Plan 1325. This was produced by people who are mostly from conflict areas. This was not produced in Jakarta. This was produced by inviting all women from Puso, from Ambon, from Aceh, from West Papua, those conflict provinces, to have their perspective. It was signed by President Yudhoyono in 2014. So I'm proud to say that we also have a National Action Plan. In answering the questions from Myanmar and Malaysia, the armed groups can also reach a consensus. At some point they reach a consensus when they know that this alternative won't destroy them completely. Thinking that they will be completely destroyed and going into negotiations is impossible. So you have to think of a solution to bring these armed groups into the political arena through non-violent and democratic means. That is why the political arrangement is important.

The second is the security arrangement, the rehabilitation of these armed men, the re-integration of former combatants. The important part is also to establish training courses after the Peace Accord to make them understand that you are securing their lives. This is for the future of your people so when they reach this consensus in the understanding that it will be wasteful for them to sit in the darkness of the jungle. You have to provide economic opportunities especially now with ASEAN economic integration.

When we had our first international flight to Kuala Lumpur by Air Asia, that was financed by the GAM (Gerakan Aceh Merdeka or Free Aceh Movement) governor because he wanted Aceh to succeed. He wanted Aceh to open for investment. He wanted to see Aceh to have a better future. So this is something that we need to understand from the perspective of armed groups. Understanding the fear, understanding how sometimes these people change because of the fear. We often talk about technical questions, but we haven't talked directly about the psychological implication. We only talk about techniques written in the books, but what's written in the heart is more important to me. I think understanding these people is important because this applies whether they are Filipinos, Indonesians, Thai, Burmese. They are the same people who need to sit in a position where they know their dignity is not being violated. When they know that they have the same eyes, the same position, they will sit and talk, but it is also important to provide them with a very good recipe such as our law governing Aceh. This is the same thing like the Bangsamoro Basic Law (BBL) here in the Philippines. We also had a delay for five months, which caused chaos-within the armed groups. They thought they were being cheated again. They wanted to move back but they have already destroyed their weapons. It is not easy for an armed group to commit to destroy their weapons because it will destroy also all forms of violence and the idea of independence, by re-joining the unitary state of Indonesia. So this is very important in symbolically showing that we disarm and destroy the weapons.

To show that it is a sincere peace, local monitoring is important. It is not enough to have a ceasefire committee or an international monitoring team. Local monitoring through conflict resolution and mediation training was provided in Aceh by GAM, by the former armed group themselves, so they will know who they are sharing information with. When we did socialization after the peace agreement, we went from village to village and talked to them why are we giving up after 30 years of war. Many GAM members admitted that they gave up not because of the tsunami, but because they wanted to leave the darkness of the jungle. It's also the reason that we want to move forward and stay away from this darkness.

I hope I answered your question. I think the difficult part is, if I may address the question on bad practices, that we often don't see these as a blessing in disguise. Try to see them in light of the other side of the coin and look at this as a blessing in disguise. You will see in the next five to 10 years, it is a good thing that that bad thing happened because sometimes when we focus on the negative aspects, we focus on the bad stuff and we cannot move forward. Again, negotiation is an art. It is not the end the negotiation. It is only an instrument and tool to end violence and the use of weapons. Thank you.

# ASEC. LUIS T. CRUZ

Thank you very much for your insight, Ms. Shadia. Dr. Naw, would you like to say something?

## **DR. NAW REBECCA HTIN**

Just to echo what you just have said for Myanmar about the initiation of the peace process. Both the Government and the ethnic armed groups realized that after 60 years of war between each other, it's an unwinnable war for both sides. Nobody wins, nobody loses, but the the whole country is being destroyed. Both sides realized that instead of fighting violently with arms, they start negotiations. That is the commitment from both sides. As I told you we are in the very first stage of ceasefire agreement not the peace agreement yet. But the nationwide ceasefire agreement is taking quite long. It has been there since since 2013 so it is nearly two years now, but the good news about it is that many of the agreements are not only for the ceasefire but for the future political settlement. It includes how they will do the framework properly. This process will be inclusive not only between the government and the armed groups, but as I told you other political stakeholders. The first agreements are usually very easy, but later some sticky issues can emerge that can stall implementing the agreements of the peace process. We are only at the ceasefire agreement, but even with that agreement, there are a lot of things that both sides are putting in to prevent disagreements in the future. So that's the good news about Myanmar's national ceasefire agreement right now. They are still meeting and debating so hopefully it will come out with a more durable solution and easier for us to implement. That is the hope but we have many other challenges that we have to face because ours is a very prolonged situation of conflict. Different events are coming together like the government transition from military rule to the civilian government; from one party to a multi-party system; from top down management to democratization. Everything is taking place at the same time: peacebuilding, state building and nation building. We have to be more patient and be more purposeful in having a very peaceful situation in our country. There is no other way to peace, but peace.

#### ASEC. LUIS T. CRUZ

Thank you Dr. Naw, Dr Janjira would you like to comment please.

#### **DR. SOMBATPOONSIRI JANJIRA**

I'm very moved by the two speakers' comments. It is very important for us to take note of all that have been said. I hope we learn from each other. I have only two points. First of all I think one of the reasons why implementing peace agreements is guite difficult is because the entry point of most peace agreements is exclusion. That is why I try to get my message across here that inclusion is very important for the sustainability of peace processes. I think exclusion and inclusion can come from different angles for the armed groups. The Thai Government has been trying to identify who to negotiate with. In the beginning, it was very difficult because the second round of the violence became quite uncoordinated. It looks almost like there are small groups taking their own efforts to stage violent attacks. Eventually the Thai government found one main group to negotiate with and they succeeded to some extent. Still, it is very difficult to cease all the violent attacks, although they could do so for months in 2014. They succeeded to stop the violent attacks for the month of Ramadan. But given that, there are other armed groups that are excluded from the official negotiation process and they are always spoilers. That reflects how the exclusion of certain armed groups can disturb the peace processes.

For the second issue, in response to the Thai Professor delegate, I think the Thai Government has come so far to try to include women in the political arena. I'd like to thank the delegates for sharing this updated information about the new mechanisms but what I'd like to point out is

that mechanisms are very important but the most challenging part would be to implement it on the ground. We are talking about gender roles in society. There is some truth in what the Professor said about fearing your wife and that is depicted in cartoons of popular culture in Thailand but there are also other angles of the reality. Despite the fear of your wife, 30 % of domestic violence exists in Thailand and polygamy from the male partner has increased. You also have popular culture depicting legitimate rape where you have like the male protagonist raping female protagonist legitimately. This kind of cultural liability of society remains challenging to the implementation of mechanisms like what was mentioned. The most important policy that we should try to initiate is specific education about changing gender roles, the taboo of sexual violence and how we could live in gender diversity in the community. I think that that could be the next step of the Thai government and by doing that we will reinforce the inclusive process of engaging with women on the ground no matter which group they are from.

### ASEC. LUIS T. CRUZ

Thank you for your comments. A question was also raised for the response of Secretary Deles. So can I call now on Secretary Deles, please.

#### SECRETARY TERESITA QUINTOS DELES

Thank you. First of all I want to say how much I resonate with what the panelists have said. I hope that at the end of the seminar, one of the outcomes of this discussion will be a resolution to really have a network of women in peace and negotiation work. We are few in the struggle and while we are struggling, we are so focused on our own experiences and the reality is there is so much to learn from each other and so much strength to gain from each other. I would really like to propose to the table that we end up very concretely not just a "wishy" type of resolution, but a real resolution to be implemented about an ASEAN network on peace. Having said that, I would like to offer 6 points.

Yes, we've always said the signing of the agreement is relatively the easiest step, of course, but while you're negotiating it never, it never seems to be that way. But to implement that is something else. Negotiations need a certain level of confidentiality, which means that the public does not know about the compromises that were made on the table. So when you're implementing those compromises which have not been shared with the public, they think you've given too much to

the other side when the reality is, both sides have had to move guite a distance from their original position to be able to reach that point where you agreed. But because the negotiations were kept confidential, the negotiators are accused of having been too soft on the other or whatever. In our case we did a good communication plan or we thought it was a good communication plan but when you reach a crisis you realize that apparently it did not address a deep level of ignorance about peace processes and why this had come about. The problem is when things are going well people don't really want to spend time studying anything you say. You know let's have a forum and they say, "No! no! no! you are doing well, never mind." But when the problem comes it turns out they did not understand and they just look at the problem and look for someone to blame. So we have to work on our communications better somehow and that means not just a communications plan about what is presently happening but the communication of the past, which means that we have to do good documentation because most of our peace processes are long -drawn and we at the present moment, so few people remember what has already gone before. So when there is a problem they do not know that in fact you are here because you resolved certain problems in a certain way.

I think it's important, wherever we are now, to try to draw on whatever documentation is on, from the past and find the way of quickly educating people about what has actually really already happened. But on our part now engaged in the process, it is to have that documentation and ensure that it will be part of the narrative moving forward because there will be, I am sure, there will be problems in the future and you need to have that there to remind people. This is already where we were. This is already the decisions that were made.

I think in political settlements that involve autonomy we need to identify low-hanging fruits for people who are outside of the autonomous area so that as the progress moves they get more and more invested in the process as well. There must be something out there for the rest of the population. But the reality is not everyone is investing in it and the problem is if this will happen, you leave it to the few again to defend that.

Fourth, peace processes, peace negotiations are about political settlements and we need therefore to know always the politics and understand power. I think it is very important for women to make sure that they're in the process all of the time to understand the politics and to understand the power. They have to be part of that politics, whether directly in the political field or not. The continued shaping of how that political settlement is going to be implemented is going to be political and we have to be able to insert ourselves into that.

Fifth, I wish to emphasize for women in this and not just in this field, but in many other fields, the importance of keeping our connectivity because sometimes what happens is when you're put into a certain role and you begin to play that role, your connectivity to the ground may be lost. Sometimes you're very good at talking already in a political arena or a diplomatic arena, but the people, the women on the ground don't know you anymore. You don't know them anymore and you don't talk anymore. The other one, of course, is the inter-generational connectivity. We've been told: you, women are breaking barriers because women in peace and security is certainly groundbreaking. But this is an area where there are still very few women. It has been said that such women are mothers -of- pearl and sometimes when you take the pearl you forget the mother of the pearl but that mother of the pearl needs to grow more pearls. The young people also forget that what they have now, what they're enjoying now was hard earned. It was struggled for and they want to take things for granted. If you don't protect and don't defend, then you may lose it, you may forget what that struggle is all about. I think that connectivity both from where you are to the ground, to the connections to the soil in which you grew, or the pearl from which or the mother of pearl from which you grew, should continue into the next generation.

Finally, because I think maybe I did not say this enough in the past, in my speech -- well, you know hope and faith is the life blood of peace, of peace workers. It's an act of faith everyday otherwise you just give up when the problem is so big. But part of that faith is to always have faith when you have a problem and when that problem becomes too big. But I cannot but believe that if we don't give up and if we keep this up, the BBL is going to be much better than it would have been without this crisis. And that the peace we are going to have is going to be much stronger because there are more people who got engaged; who had to make their mind up that peace is good, peace in Mindanao is good. But they have to become part of making a decision at this particular crossroads. Do we go for peace or do we go for war? My faith is to believe that at these this peace a stronger people. That makes this peace a stronger peace moving into the future.

# ASEC. LUIS T. CRUZ

Thank you Secretary. And Ms. Shadia would like to add some more points to what you have said. Ms. Shadia, please.

## **MS. SHADIA MARHABAN**

Thank you Secretary Deles for your point. I think I would like to state here that AIPR is not alone. There are many women, I'm just one of them. There are many women who would like to participate but don't know how and don't have the opportunity. So let's give this opportunity to these women through this forum for ASEAN. I think it is time to think about women mediators in the region. Understanding all the conflict vis-à-vis identity, religious and separatist issues is important I think it is important to learn from each other and to have not just a workshop or two, but really to have an understanding, a gathering that can contribute a wider position for ASEAN to play its role in strengthening the community.

I would like to also say one thing about the terms, the length of the peace processes. By saying this, Secretary Deles, I don't mean that it is wrong or right in any peace processes. But the Philippine peace process has been going on for 17, years? Seventeen years for me is a rather too long process because there should be a time limit. When you put a time limit that will make both parties to work harder. I remember when we first negotiated in Geneva, there was a two-year deadline and then it failed and in Helsinki it was shortened to seven months. I'm not saying the peace process succeeded because we were good but having this time limit made us work harder and we thought that if we don't reach this peace agreement in seven months, we would all be in despair. So by thinking that there was a time limit to our future, we were willing to work more. So, I think providing a time limit in peace negotiation is also wise. By this, we understand that we cannot drag the issues too long and then at the end of the day we are not able to address the real issues. I would like to say also that the Government of Indonesia provided Aceh the special autonomy status in the peace agreement in a sentence called "self -government." Self-government in this case is also looking at the examples of others with self-government. We are the only province in Indonesia that implemented a local political parties ordinance so this is a way of channeling the political aspiration of groups, although this may not be a good example for the other places. It is not working 100% well either in Aceh, but at least it provides us space to stop the violence, to provide more room for the former armed groups to grow and to learn the democratic processes in the real life. Thank you.

# ASEC. LUIS T. CRUZ

Thank you. At this point, I'm ready to entertain additional questions, unless, you would prefer to raise them during the next session and agree that we all end this. So can we have questions first from Brunei Ambassador Emaleen and then from Indonesia's Pak Ngurah and then the Philippines and Thailand.

#### AMBASSADOR EMALEEN ABDUL RAHMAN TEO

Thank you. I'd like to thank the three panelists for their very interesting and enlightening presentation. I would like to pose a couple of questions if I may to Ms. Shadia. Ibu Shadia you mentioned that peace in Aceh was achieved only after many, many years of conflict and you shared with us some of the important elements for the success of the peace process. In the case of Aceh, what in your own personal opinion were the crucial factors that led to the cessation of hostilities? Secondly, how much did the women of Aceh play a role in the peace process as well as the post-conflict recovery? How easy or how difficult was it for the women to participate considering the large Muslim society in Aceh. Thank you.

### ASEC. LUIS T. CRUZ

Thank you. Pak Ngurah, please.

### AMBASSADOR I GEDE NGURAH SWAJAYA

Thank you. Mr. Chairman, let me also take this opportunity to really extend our appreciation and also to commend all of the three panelists for what they are sharing to all of us. I think the work that they are doing in the field is exactly the main reason why ASEAN was established from the beginning. I think we are still continuing and trying to maintain peace and security in the region as well as peace and reconciliation processes in the region as well. There are two main points I would like to raise based on the presentation of Ibu Shadia and the other two panelists. The role of women in peace and reconciliation basically happened because of the situation. The situation that forced them, made them to participate. I also try to read some of the information from the website, including also the example of Maluku. This is because the women are forced in a situation where finally women at the grassroots level as well as women at the government level join hands and bring positive energy as what Ibu Shadia mentioned earlier. Finally, they were able to bring peace into existence. This is something that we need to think about especially with regard to the AIPR. How we will be able to create these champions and also how we will be able to continue that particular spirit in the peaceful situation. We do not require conflict to have women participating in the peace process. So we would also like to create a situation of creating champions through education perhaps. I told Ibu Shadia before that you know it is very difficult for me to find Indonesian women who are actively participating. I was talking to Ibu Shadia about participating in that particular process. We seldom see media promoting the role of women in society, especially a male-dominated society like our country. So my question is that, based on the experience that you have, you are a practitioner, you are a scholar, how can we also bring about this spirit of peace and reconciliation in the peaceful era so that people can also learn to prevent such conflict to happen in the future as well as to participate in bringing about peace and reconciliation.

Second point, I would like to support the Secretary's suggestion on creating the network, the ASEAN network of women in peace and reconciliation. I'm not an expert on peace and reconciliation, but I understand that peace and reconciliation is not one size fits all. That's the reason why the network is very important and the compiling of best practices and experience that people and children can learn from. This will really contribute positively to the success of ASEAN. Thank you very much.

### ASEC. LUIS T. CRUZ

Thank you Pak Ngurah. As a matter of fact the discussion that we are doing right now is being recorded and hopefully we can come up with a book so that it would be the beginning of the documentation on the role of women in peace processes. Can I have the last two questions now from the two Philippine delegates, please identify yourselves for record purposes.

#### **CHAIRPERSON REMEDIOS IGNACIO RIKKEN**

I am Chairperson of the Philippine Commission on Women. I was very struck by your suggestion the first time I heard it. We should also talk to the women combatants of the other side. I was interested when you said that why should we, surrender our arms, but now you are talking differently. That means to say there's a chance people are changing their minds on how to look at things.

My problem also is that outside of the autonomous area (Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao) are the other islands that have to be consulted. But Philippines and Indonesia are made up of so many islands spread out with too many people. The thing is not just that we understand the confidentiality of negotiations. But every time, we have

been talking peace, it seems like when you say build the culture of peace, it is like a romantic kind of idea. But people like you already with this kind of experience, I think you are the best speakers to talk to the people who are not interested because they are so far away from the conflict. I think that's where we also have to get them to be involved and we will try. For example, in our case, we're trying to help the peace process by explaining the Bangsamoro Basic Law that is supposed to be passed. We have to talk to our legislators to pass the law and then they don't have any memory of the history of the peace process. I'm sorry, but it is taking our country too long. As what you've said it should have been much shorter. But when we change our strategy by not explaining the law that we want to pass, but the history of the peace process since the very beginning, from the Marcos administration's time up to now, then people start appreciating the kind of process that it has undergone. But I fear we have to continue at the ASEAN level, I think there should not just be an organization, but an institute of experienced people like you to talk to inexperienced people so far away from the conflict that they are also affected by the whole situation. Thank you.

## ASEC. LUIS T. CRUZ

Thank you Ms. Rikken. With the indulgence of the participants, I'd like to entertain two more questions from Philippine delegates. Yes, please.

# DR. SOCORRO REYES

My name is Socorro Reyes, I'm with the Women Peace Table and the Center for Legislative Development. To Ms. Shadia, we understand that it is not a matter of just adding women to the negotiation panel because it could be counter-productive, because not all women will speak for or advocate for gender issues. My question to you is, was there any point in your work as a mediator when you have to re pressured to set aside gender issues because it was not a priority, because the other panel mostly composed of men do not really like that kind of discussion. In fact I've heard that for some heads of negotiating teams, they hesitate to get women into the panel because they will be talking about gender issues. In fact we also know that in the recent Syria talks the women were reluctantly consulted because the UN negotiator feels that gender is not an issue that will get people or get the other panel's support. I'm very interested to know your experiences on that.

### ASEC LUIS T. CRUZ

Thank you. The last question from Undersecretary Garcia, please.

## **USEC. EVAN P. GARCIA**

It's not a question, but just an observation to reinforce what has been said. This is 2015 if you don't have your narrative uploaded on the internet, you will get overwhelmed. You can only get your narrative up in cyberspace if you have your records. This may sound like a truism, but if you don't think about this a couple of months or even weeks down the road, somebody else is going to define what is happening and you owe it to yourself to be the one's to write a narrative. Secondly, again we are in the age of the internet, if you do not have articulate talking heads, again somebody else will do the talking for you. So find your good looking people, put them in front of a camera and have them talk. Thank you.

# ASEC. LUIS T. CRUZ

I'm sorry Undersecretary Garcia, women have the last say. Can I invite our panelists to respond during the time period and I'd like to start with Ms. Shadia, please.

### **MS. SHADIA MARHABAN**

Thank you very much for all the questions, most of which are addressed to me. I think the conflict can change if there are opportunities of economic growth and also the opportunity to establish a democratic situation. That's the fulfillment of something that will comfort us and why we sign the peace agreement.

The question from the Ambassador of Brunei to ASEAN, everyone associates the peace negotiation with giving up. I think the fear goes back to the psychological thinking that being in the armed groups we cannot justify our selves with dignity when we will be giving up or selling out or something like that. So I think we have to give them proper options. We don't need to dictate. We don't need to tell them what to do but give them the space. I remember during the 2005 negotiation we were all brought to an island in Finland by Martti Ahtisaari. Imagine we are from warm tropical places and sent there to learn what self government will look like. Exploring opportunities like this is important.

Women should have positive political will. I think that will give a different dynamic and that will make the participation of women meaningful. Without political will, I think it will be very difficult no matter what numbers you have in your peace negotiation. So far, we haven't seen negotiations failed because of the presence of women. We haven't seen that example yet. So, I would like to propose this idea of also creating an environment of having women in peace negotiations as not something special but normal, not something we have to think about even though SC 1325 is there. In Southeast Asia, we have to think beyond 1325 and how with our Asian values we can also contribute to the necessity of bringing different groups to the table.

The other thing is the Islamic role that you mention. The Islamic religion in Aceh and how that influenced the process. In 2001, the women held a very well-known conference called women conference that educated many women to understand what is peace and how to end the conflict. The women were also taught to use civil disobedience, try forms of nonviolence to get the government's attention, to look at them who are not using weapons but trying to use non-violent forms in addressing the situation. Many hunger strikes happened during 2001 - 2003. Many activists were killed, but this did not stop the work. In fact, they continued the work and stayed strong together. So it is important to have women with strong political will.

The question about Indonesia and the Philippines being composed of many islands, I think in most of Southeast Asia, community-based mediation is best to avoid military intervention. Women should be included in community-based mediation and conflict resolution. I think people in the community would be happy to contribute to this type of work. The participation of women in the peace process could not happen when there is no culture of dialogue. There is also no culture of peace when there is no culture of dialogue between man and woman. How on earth can women sit suddenly in the peace negotiation. They will say, "Who are you?" because confidentially, we are an armed group, "who are you sitting here?" "Oh, I am from the civil society." "Oh, let me see your track record." This happens because the armed groups can also bring 100 hundred civil society members who support them. So there is no distinction anymore between the actors because in Southeast Asia, there's not much difference between us -- women and the civil society. The civil society is us, so this is the distinction I think that sets our countries apart from Europe, where there is a distinction between civil society and the people. But here it is sort of a mix so this is the important part.

I think with regard to gender, it's a matter of strategy to include not only numbers but also to educate women of different issues such as legal and amnesty issues. The rebels would love anybody who can explain amnesty to them because that's important for them. Second thing is also for the Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR). The work for peace means you have to show how good women are tough on topics such as DDR. That will balance the position of men and women in the political negotiation. I think it will automatically bring women to the issues of amnesty. legality, international humanitarian law, reconciliation. weapons, improvised explosive device (IED), mines. These are the issues that are mostly dominated by men. We switch these to women and it will change automatically the dynamic of the peace negotiation and we will have meaningful women participation. This does not mean. of course undermining the issues of sexual violence, human rights, and, and other forms of violence that are targeting women but these can go together. In my work, I always sit with the men. I am always with the combatants and dealing with them is like talking before you talk. You have to say something that will make them comfortable. If we cannot provide something that will make them comfortable, it will be hard for them to digest what we are saying. In the peace process, we should also have the ability to maintain the coordination and relationship between the armed movement and the government, and civil society including women, youth and religious leaders.

I thank you very much. I hope I have answered all your questions. Terima Kasih, Maraming salamat po!

# ASEC. LUIS T. CRUZ

Thank you, Ms. Shadia. Would the two other panelists give their comments, Dr. Naw.

#### **DR. NAW REBECCA HTIN**

Just to add a little bit that when we talk about the participation of women in the peace table, I think it is very important for all women to have equal opportunity with men in education so women can participate in politics, in business, economic sector, in the professions and the security sector. Then there will be women automatically in every sector in times of peace and normalcy. I just want to share my experience with you, like two weeks ago, when we had a meeting for Myanmar women who are ex-combatants who shared their experiences. Some recommendations were about how to support women at the peace negotiation table. Then we talked about how we should support them. At the same time we realized that we have one group of women who we should include in our network: the wives of the men who are working for peace. These women also have many things to share with us. So this is one thing that we learned from that workshop and for our country, for any country in the ASEAN area. I have full confidence our women who are, given the equal opportunity or the chance to have full education and other skills are ready to participate in any of the social, political or economic sectors in our community. Thank you.

#### ASEC. LUIS T. CRUZ

Thank you Dr. Naw. Please, Dr. Janjira.

#### **DR. SOMBATPOONSIRI JANJIRA**

I just have a very small concluding point. Ms. Shadia actually concluded very nicely and I mean it when I said I learn a lot from this Forum. I think the most challenging aspect for reconciliation process in Southern Thailand is that the conflict is very ambiguous in a way that is not allout fighting but is identified as low-intensity conflict. Second, is that when I work for the reconciliation commission 10 years ago when we ask people whether they can participate in our negotiation process, they ask who do we negotiate with, they are invisible. You know this armed insurgents are invisible for them. I think the Thai Government has come far to identify the main group and the peace talk has been initiated, but given that, it's still very challenging, I think in this ambiguous kind of conflict characteristic of Southern Thailand, women can be very helpful. I like when Ms. Shadia said that at some point the armed group came to realize you cannot continue fighting till the end of the world because you know you are destroying your resources. You cannot go to work, you cannot continue feeding your family. These are basic things that women are most affected with. I saw a lot of women trying to talk to the men to come to their senses. I think that could be the role of the women: to try to start from the household and bring common sense to their male partners.

# ASEC. LUIS T. CRUZ

Thank you Dr. Janjira. It's now exactly 1 o'clock, time to close Session One of our workshop. But before I close the workshop, I'd like to address one matter to Dato' Chairman Hasnudin of the AIPR Governing Council. There is this challenge posed to the Governing Council by Secretary Deles, on the possibility of this workshop or the Governing Council passing a resolution to formalize this network of ASEAN women involved in the peace process, which is also supported by Indonesia, through Pak Ngurah. I'm not asking you to respond right now, I'm giving you 24 hours to say Yes or No.

So with that, I'd like to thank everyone for your very active participation. It behooves us to thank the three panelists who have given us their insights and I would like to congratulate the organizers for getting a good blend of speakers. One speaker was sharing the experiences of the beginning of peace and reconciliation processes in Myanmar through the offer by the troops to the armed groups; to the experiences of five women in Southern Thailand in participating in peace processes; and finally to the experiences of women in Aceh before, during and after the signing of the peace agreement, including the implementation of the peace agreement. I think we have a very good blend of speakers, we have learned a lot from them although I would say that they have raised very interesting issues, which I hope could be answered during the next sessions of the workshop that we will be having this afternoon and the morning of the following day.

So with that, congratulations to the three speakers, shall we give them a big hand.

**SESSION TWO** UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 1325 AND D AS AN INSTRUMENT FOR DEVELOPING AND CONSOLIDATING WOMEN, PEACE AND SECURITY INITIATIVES FOR UN MEMBER STATES

# Security Council 1325: Consolidating Peace and Security

#### Ms. Janet Wong

Country Representative UN Women, Timor Leste

Security Council Resolution 1325 is an interesting and a landmark resolution as my colleague Sakuntala has said and actually she has prepared the groundwork for my presentation. I also want to thank the earlier panelist because you have really given the spirit and the soul to the Security Council resolution 1325 through your work on the ground.

I will speak very briefly about the framework of Security Resolution 1325 and would also want to add another dimension to SC 1325 which is CEDAW General Recommendation 30 which was adopted two years ago. I will respond partly to the question of Ambassador on how much this would take root in the ground and how much difference they made.

I want to begin from the ground, this is a quotation from Mama Yosefa of Papua Province and I quote: "Many people speak of freedom. But what is freedom for Papuans? Freedom is when people are educated, when people are free from poverty and sufferings. That's freedom in our language".

I think that sets the tone very much to the spirit and soul of 1325 because we are talking about the very basic needs of people. I will not draw too much on the framework; it's four pages of resolution, a groundwork resolution as I have said earlier. Women, Peace and Security is indeed as we heard in the first panel, a human security agenda and 1325 brings it together by linking women experiences of conflict to the peace security agenda. It provides legitimacy for addressing gender issues in the areas of peace and security. It is a framework for making gender equality relevant to conflict and post conflict processes, and recognizes the gender dimension of armed conflict, peacekeeping and reconstruction.

I think the important shift Security Council Resolution 1325 has made is to see women not only as victims but as centrally involved in conflict, peace-building and post-conflict reconciliation. Many of them are consciously and fully participating in these processes. My colleague, Sakuntala has already mentioned the successive Security Council resolutions: 1820 (2008); 1888 (2009); 1889 (2009); 1960 (2010) and 2106 (2013).

The 3 Ps +1 that form the core of Security Council Resolution 1325 are: 1) **Participation** of women in decision-making and peace processes; 2) mainstreaming a gender **Perspective** into all conflict prevention activities and strategies; 3) **Protection** of women in war and peace; and 4) **Prosecution** of perpetrators of sexual and gender-based violence.

Women should be able to **participate** in peace negotiation, peace agreements, mediation and peacebuilding. But women should also participate in political processes and governance structures such as justice and security sector reform, electoral processes, political party development, public and administration reform, decentralization and importantly, delivery of public service.

The dimension which we often hear when we conduct peace dialogues is women's access to economic development without, which I think, they are not able to move forward. Often there are not enough investments in women after conflicts and usually job creation targets men. There is not enough to address the urgent survival crises faced by female-headed households which can be higher than 40%.

In terms of **prevention**, the resolution recognizes women's perspective and knowledge of tensions in social relations, threats to personal, family and community security. This is an important system of early warning about impending conflict. Also, women's approaches to defusing conflicts, mediating disputes and building trust from the community up to the national level. And also in terms of security sector reform and peacekeeping, to ensure that training is provided the police, military as well as the peacekeeping troops in order to detect and prevent gender and sexual based violence.

In terms of protection and prosecution, SC 1325 looks at the legal and normative framework for justice for conflict-related sexual and gender based violence and women's access to justice through domestic and international courts. It talks very specifically about protection of women IDPs and refugees. In the security sector reform some of the possible interventions are: 1) integrating gender into security policies; 2) recruiting policewomen and investing in retaining them; 3) training police in the protection of women; 4) investing in facilities for women to report crimes and obtain medical examination in confidence; and 5) reaching out to communities to build women's trust in the police and encourage higher levels of reporting of gender-based crimes. SC 1325 seeks to end impunity and prosecute those responsible for genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes including those relative to sexual and gender-based violence against women and girls.

All member states of ASEAN are party to the Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discriminations Against Women. General Recommendation 30 was adopted in 2013 and addresses women in conflict prevention, conflict and post conflict situations. It is a very interesting and comprehensive general recommendation, and covers a broad range of issues. It looks not only at international and national armed conflicts, but also recognizes the impact of conflicts on other forms of occupation, and other situations of concern. The latter include: internal disturbances; protracted and low intensity civil strife; political strife; ethnic and communal violence; state of emergencies; and suppression of mass uprising, or against terrorism and organized crime that may not necessarily be classified as armed conflict under international humanitarian law but which results to civil violation against women's rights. This is really comprehensive and I think this is also a response to some member states which do not recognize that there is conflict within their territories. So this is a very useful general recommendation which we member states are obliged to report on every four years. It has strengthened what is in the Security Council Resolutions which requires annual reporting to the Secretary General every year. It is the state's obligation to observe GR 30 without discrimination to both citizens and non-citizens.

CEDAW GR 30 looks at a range of issues on sexual and reproduction health and rights such as access to abortion; gender-based violence; forced and child marriage; multiple forms of discrimination; and adequate and comprehensive reparation.. In the implementation of the SC 1325 and other Security Council Resolutions. GR 30 calls for the use of substantive equality and the observance of all rights enshrined in the Constitution In this morning's discussion we did talk about the equality of opportunities but substantive equality goes deeper than that. It's not just about the same treatment for women and men, but it is looking on women special needs and concerns, women's access to opportunities and their impacts on their lives. And very interestingly, GR 30 also calls on states to ensure that their National Action Plans to implement SC 1325 are compliant with CEDAW and that adequate budgets are allocated for this purpose. Last but not least, it calls on member states to work with the UN and civil societies and organizations on the women peace and security agenda.

I would like now move onto looking at how 1325 is implemented on the ground. Forty-eight (48) countries in the world have now adopted National Action Plans (NAP) to implement SC 1325. In ASEAN only the Philippines and Indonesia have NAPs. I think many of us ask the question why have a National Action Plan. We also heard this morning whether or not we have an Action Plan, some of these interventions are already in place. We have laws, and policies, etc. But the idea of a National Action Plan is to consolidate in one place the commitments to gender equality and women's empowerment on peace and security. So it's a question of coherence and coordination. SC Resolution 1325 requires member states to take actions in the number of different areas. And so the action plan is a good mechanism for government to reflect on what has already been done and to elaborate further on other commitments. It allows government departments to have a clear division of labor and helps to identify civil society partners for implementing the resolution. A National Action Plan also improves the monitoring and evaluation. which is important and not just a document that nobody owns or nobody monitors. The National Action Plan defines objectives, benchmarks, etc. and tracks how implementation changed and of course budgets to go with that. It also enhances ownership and awareness of issues because it is discussed across ministries and also with civil society giving the NAP a national context.

I am going to discuss two examples of countries with different and very interesting experiences: Indonesia and Timor-Leste. In Indonesia the Presidential Regulation on the Protection and Empowerment of Women and Children in Social Conflict was approved last year. The regulation to implement the National Action Plan was drafted by the Coordinating Minister of People's Welfare who constituted a Working Group to spell out the mechanism for implementing the National Action Plan. Subsequently, the Ministry provided guidelines to the provinces to draft their respective Provincial Action Plans. Let me just recognize the government of Norway in this process. The government of Norway has been supporting UN Women in helping the Ministry of People's Welfare and the Ministry of Women's Empowerment develop the country's National Action Plan for SC 1325.

This is just to explain how the process took place. It took a very long time talking to different people in different ministries and being passed on from one Ministry to another to start the discussions. Often it is not rejection of the agenda, but too much work in the Ministries and perhaps not understanding the agenda enough. And so breaking down 1325 in comprehensible pieces is very important and explaining its relevance to the respective ministries is very important otherwise there will never be a buy in.

We started in Indonesia with briefing about the concepts because people are mixing things up and awareness-raising and capacity-building on the ground is very important because their support is needed. In terms of coordination and collaboration, the Ministerial regulations already state who will be doing what., The Working group, conducted wide multi-stakeholder consultations with government, academe, civil society organizations, academe, and women peace networks. Part of the working group also became the drafting group. The division of labor was very important, but equally crucial was who represented what as that was very political.

There are 17 ministries in government who have signed on to the National Action Plan each having specific goals. The more challenging process is how to translate what is in the National Action Plan for each Ministry's planning. Indonesia right now is developing its five-year plan for all the ministries and the Coordinating Minister is trying to get all the 17 ministries to ensure that whatever is in the NAP is also in their respective Annual Plans, otherwise it cannot be included in the budget allocation. Even more challenging is the implementation at decentralized levels.

The next process is monitoring and accountability, which has not quite happened yet with the NAP in Indonesia. A high-level report needs to be submitted to the President. It is due sometime this year or I think at the end of this year. Data need to be collected on what has been done, how much money was allocated, and how it was spent.

I do not have much time, but I would like to talk about Timor-Leste, because Timor-Leste is not represented here. In Timor-Leste the National Action Plan process is not as far ahead as the Philippines and Indonesia, but in Timor-Leste the whole agenda of peace and security and peace beyond was not an easy process because to move on to development they need to forget and leave the past behind. They are also very much into putting a lot of energy to the law on domestic violence because violence in the war zone has shifted to fear of domestic violence which is high at 38% and that is even an understatement. And so a lot of energy was put into implementing the law on domestic violence was passed in 2010. In 2012, the National Action Plan on Gender-Based Violence was approved.

What we have done was to link this agenda with the security sector. We tried to build ownership with the Secretary of State for Security and also included the 1325 agenda in building the capacity to develop a National Action Plan so it becomes relevant. Otherwise doing capacity around 1325 without the agenda may not be a priority for the government. So the ownership building took a long time. It is still being built. It is now with the Secretary of State for Security because with the change in

government, the Secretary of State for the Support and Socio-Economic Protection of Women is no longer there. It is now under the Ministry of Interior and so we start all over again. And that is one of the challenges that we have.

So from ownership, we also move into the community of practice on Women, Peace and Security and that is where the technical capacity of learning by doing happens and it is not just the government but also civil society organizations. This ownership was built with confidence by knowing the technicalities of 1325. The government is saying that it wants to draft the National Action Plan themselves. Usually NAPs are drafted by getting international consultants, who fly in and out, but the Timor-Leste government is quite adamant that it wants to write it themselves, want to own it, and want to know how to implement. So it is taking much longer, but the process is as important as the product. So we are spending and investing time and in the people for this process.

Just a few things about Timor-Leste. As I have said just now, with or without a National Plan for Action, these things are already finished and waiting on the ground. In drafting the constitution, 25% of women participated. They are very much part of the Truth and Reconciliation commissions. There is an electoral law that stipulates 30% women's representation in parliament and in the last election, women obtained 38% of the seats in Parliament, the highest in the Asia- Pacific Region. Women constitute 16% of the national police. But I think the challenge now is to translate that? And I think that's a bigger challenge and the numbers of course in the local level, are still very poor with only 2% of women representation.

In terms of prevention and protection, I think we understand women's crucial role. They have been part of the resistance; they have also been part of mediating conflicts in the communities. The Vulnerable Persons Unit at police stations has been put in place to deal with violence against women and children. And police are trained specifically to operate these units. There are also NGOs and peace networks and early warning systems where 30% of those involved are women.

In terms of peacebuilding, there are special protection schemes and a lot of payouts in Timor-Leste. We are trying to find out whether some of these payouts are for women who had experienced gender- based violence or whether they are payouts in the special protection scheme. If they are paid out for the veterans, then 1325 is already in practice. So that is something we need to find out more. Some of the lessons learned from the experience of Indonesia and Timor-Leste have already been articulated in the morning panel. From the Indonesia National Action Plan and also Timor-Leste we learned that the political economy analysis is important to understand who are the champions, who are the supporters, where is the resistance and what are the sensitivities before going into subject like women, peace and security. It is necessary to know what the odds are and what we investing.

The second lesson is that ownership is crucial. We have also learned that implementation of the National Action Plan is a challenge. We also saw the difficult process in developing the provincial action plans and understanding the agenda of women, peace and security. We also talked this morning about the capacity to implement and practical knowhow of what needs to be done on the ground. I have said this many times in other forums: the women, peace and security agenda language can be very alienating and it's not translatable in any of our country languages. So how can we break this down to something meaningful for people on the ground?

# Framing the Women, Peace and Security Agenda: Seven Security Council Resolutions

# Ms. Sakuntala Kadirgamar-Rajasingham

# Mediation Expert on Gender and Social Inclusion UN WOMEN

Your Excellencies, Distinguished delegates.

As the recently appointed Gender and Inclusion Advisor to the Standby Mediation Support Unit, I am honored to be present at this workshop on Strengthening Women's Participation in Peace Processes organized by the ASEAN Institute for Peace and Reconciliation (AIPR).

The agenda of this workshop confirms the centrality that Security Council Resolution 1325 plays in shaping the Women, Peace and Security Agenda, globally and in the ASEAN region.

Women's right to participate in peacebuilding and conflict recovery is an extension of women's right to political and economic participation, affirmed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), International Covenants on Political and Civil Rights, Social, Economic and Cultural Rights and most specifically the Convention to Eliminate All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW).

# Genesis of the Women, Peace and Security Agenda

Early efforts to address the situation of women in armed conflict include: the consideration by the Commission on the Status of Women in 1969 whether special protection should be accorded to women and children during armed conflict and emergency situation and the General Assembly Declaration on the Protection of Women and Children in Emergency and Armed Conflict adopted in 1974.

Building on this early work on women in conflict, the four United Nations World Conferences on Women focused on the linkages between gender equality, development and peace: Mexico in 1975; Copenhagen in 1980; Nairobi in 1985; and Beijing in 1995. Over the years, and especially in the aftermath of the conflicts in Rwanda (1994) and the former Yugoslavia, (1992-1995) the focus of the discussions on women and peace shifted from overall political issues to the impact of war on women and girls and their role in peacebuilding.

Despite this strong commitment, the understanding of the impact of armed conflict on women and girls and the role of women in conflict resolution and peacebuilding developed slowly within the United Nations. It took several decades to develop a strong normative framework and strengthened operational policies and procedures and make the UN system increasingly responsive to the needs and priorities of women and girls in countries in conflict.

# Framing the Women, Peace and Security Agenda: Seven Security Council Resolutions<sup>2</sup> that Create the Normative and Legal Framework<sup>3</sup>

I submit that despite the centrality of Security Council Resolution 1325, in defining the Women, Peace and Security agenda, it should be seen as the beginning of a continuum, further developed and amplified by an additional six resolutions detailing the impact of conflict on women and girls and the impact of Sexual Violence in Conflict (SVC) as a tactic of warfare and a matter of international peace and security.

Combined, these seven resolutions provide the normative and legal framework guiding the UN entities, regional organizations, Member States and Civil Society Organizations supporting all aspects of peacebuilding. It calls for the UN to lead by example and provides operational guidelines for political and peace keeping missions. It also provides the framework that is replicable by regional organizations, member states and civil society organizations (CSOs.)

They amount to a progressive awareness of the impact of war on women, their contribution to conflict resolution and sustainable peace, and the need to include women in early recovery and peacebuilding planning. They further recognize the impact of sexual violence in conflict as a tactic of warfare and a matter of international peace and security and make recommendations to include the participation of women in conflict prevention and resolution.

# **Presentation Framework**

I have summarized below the key elements of each resolution identifying where practicable - the operational provisions; the advances, gaps and weaknesses where applicable; UN actions to advance the resolution, including monitoring, reporting and accountability arrangements where significant.

But what I wish to highlight is that collectively, these resolutions provide a normative framework – and provides the elements for peace builders to create prisms, guidelines, targets and check lists to ensure that women participate actively and in meaningful ways, in peacebuilding processes and conflict recovery, that gender issues are interrogated and addressed at all stages and levels of the peacebuilding process and the impact of peacebuilding initiatives are assessed and facilitated from a gender perspective. This is done with the realization that inclusive peacebuilding is complicit with human rights standards and contributes to inclusive and sustainable peace.

Today we recognize that there are many parties to peace making and it is not confined to the international community, member states and parties to the conflict. International and national Non governmental organizations (NGOs), especially women's organizations may play an active role in supporting and mediating peace processes.

We also recognize that there are many entry points to peacemaking. They include Track 1, Track 1.5 and Track 2 processes that require support and the full participation (inclusion and representation) of women.

Peace processes do not only encompass the signing of agreements that focus on the Cessation of Hostilities (CoH) and the charting of political settlements. They include the tentative steps calling for Talks about Talks, Humanitarian Pauses, agreements to protect civilians and their assets in the course of conflict, agreements relating to economic recovery, settlement of displaced populations, negotiations on constitutional reform, power and wealth sharing agreements, transitional justice mechanisms, post-conflict elections and the general direction of the political, social and economic transition and transformation.

Historically women have been marginalized from these processes, especially at the international and national level. While local level peace initiatives spear headed by women and women's organizations to stop the fighting have been welcomed, and have often created the initial breakthroughs, when the talks are escalated to the level of national, regional and international negotiations, women's inclusion drops from the radar. Even more problematic are arrangements that engage with women once decisions are crystallized, simply to validate a pre-arranged agreement.

 <sup>2</sup> See Security Council resolutions 1325, 1889, 2122, 1820, 1888, 1960, 2106

 3
 Description of the key elements of SCRs 1325, 1889, 2122, 1820, 1888, 1960, 2106

 2106 drawn from DPA / MSU. 6 November 2013.

# A brief overview of the Seven Security Council Resolutions⁴ that Create the Normative and Legal Framework

Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) is the foundation and the rubric of the Women, Peace and Security Agenda. It recognizes for the first time that women have a role to play in maintaining international peace and security. It acknowledges the impact of conflict on women, their role in preventing and resolving conflict and calls for their equal participation in security and peacemaking efforts.

Key elements of SCR 1325 calls for:

- the participation of women in all elements of peacemaking particularly in peace negotiations;
- · the placement of gender advisors in missions;
- the need to train humanitarian and peacekeeping personnel on protection rights and the needs of women [ OP 6];
- the need to maintain the civilian character of refugee / IDP camps and design them in ways to help prevent sexual violence [OP12] and
- the need to adopt special measures to protect women and girls from sexual and gender based violence [OP10].

To this extent it calls for responsiveness by all parties to peace negotiations and makes specific calls on the UN system, especially its political missions and peacekeeping operations.

However, despite SCR 1325 breaking new ground, several gaps and weaknesses are identified. The Office of the Special Advisor on Gender Issues, while playing a coordinating role, has insufficient resources and no designated counterpart at country level to advance the resolution. The System Wide Action Plan lacks agreed indicators for effective progress monitoring and focuses on UN agency implementation plans and not on violations of the resolution.

It provides for informal reviews – (one annual Open Debate in October) and informal Council meetings on the subject. However, it does not seek mandatory obligations that would have given the resolution teeth. There are no accountability mechanisms. No reference to sanctions on perpetrators [OP 14] and it is tentative on amnesty – i.e. parties are *urged* to avoid giving amnesties for war crimes against women where feasible [OP 11] thereby weakening the scope of the resolution. There is no single, powerful operational entity within the UN system identified to implement it. Furthermore, the Security Council Presidential Statement

(October 2004) encourages but does not mandate formulation of National Action Plans on SCR 1325.

Security Council Resolution 1889 (2009) - calls for women to be represented in peace processes and institutions and to receive adequate protection and funding for their needs.

It lays out systems for progress monitoring and reporting on Women, Peace and Security and calls for further specific action from the United Nations.

Key elements of SCR 1889 call for:

- Women to participate in peace making and post conflict recovery institutions;
- The UN Secretary General to develop a strategy to increase numbers of female peacemaking and peace keeping personnel [OP 4];
- Placement of gender advisors and women protection advisors
- Provision of basic services for women and adequate funding for those services [OP 8-10];
- Ensuring the civilian character of IDP / refugee camps [OP12];
- Engagement of the Peace Building Commission to address gender in peacebuilding [OP14;19]
- Global indicators for SCR 1325 within 6 months [OP17]
- Recommendations for a Council mechanism for monitoring [OP 18].

# Security Council Resolution 1889 advances to the Women, Peace and Security Agenda

While the monitoring, reporting and accountability mechanisms are absent in the resolution it reflects some advances in that SCR 1889 proposes a new focal point for gender and peacebuilding issues through the Peace Building Commission and Peace Building Support Office, further calls for **global indicators to create a foundation for effective monitoring** [OP17]; appeals to the UN's architecture for transitions and peace building and UN/ World Bank Needs Assessments to prioritize gender issues in post conflict recovery, invites reflection and proposals for review procedures and accountability mechanisms that could be set up [OP18]; and informally requests for gender markers to track funds allocated for post conflict recovery.

<sup>4</sup> See Security Council resolutions 1325, 1889, 2122, 1820, 1888, 1960, 2106

Security Council resolution 2122 (2013) seeks to fill gaps in the existing Women, Peace and Security framework. It lays out a systematic approach ensuring the full participation and leadership of women and Civil Society organizations (CSOs) in conflict resolution and addresses obstacles in women's access to justice in conflict and post conflict situations.

Key elements of SCR 2122 include:

- Parties to peace talks to facilitate full participation of women at decision making levels [OP 7c];
- UN SG to make gender expertise/ advisors available in all UN Mediation teams and appoint women at senior levels as UN mediators [OP 7 c];
- Envoys and SR SGs required to regularly consult with women CSOs from start of deployment and regularly update the Council on progress made in women's participation, including through consultations with CSOs and women's organizations [OP 2c and 7a];
- The Security Council to adopt a systemic approach to implement • the Women, Peace and Security agenda;
- Preparations for the 2015 high-level review on the • implementation of SCR 1325.

Key advances were made by SCR 2122. These included the Resolution calling on member states, regional organization and the UN entities to start reviewing existing SCR 1325 implementation plans and targets, and for member states to accelerate progress and formulate new targets for the 2015 High level Review [OP15]. It also calls for enhanced monitoring and reporting mechanisms, requesting DPKO, DPA and relevant senior officials to include analysis and recommendations on impact of armed conflict on women, role of women and gender dimensions of peace processes systematically in all periodic reports to the Council [OP 2 d]; and updates to the Council on issues relevant to Women, Peace and Security, including implementation as part of the regular briefings [OP 2 b]. It further calls for the SG to commission an independent global study in preparation for the 2015 High-level review [OP 16], and requires UN entities to start reviewing implementation plans and targets in preparation for the 2015 High level review on SCR 1325 [OP15].

In respect to Implementation, all relevant UN entities are responsible for its implementation and it calls on member states to promote women's full participation and develop dedicated funding mechanisms to enhance capacities of women leaders and CSOs [OP 7b]. It calls on member states to ensure women's full and equal participation in all phases of electoral processes [OP 8]; to comply with relevant obligations to end impunity and thoroughly investigate and prosecute persons responsible for war crimes, genocide, and crimes against humanity; [OP12] and to eradicate the illicit transfer of small arms and light weapons [OP 14].

Four Security Council Resolutions<sup>5</sup> relating to the prevention and response to conflict related sexual violence and their impact on the Women, Peace and Security Agenda

SCR 1820 (2009)<sup>6</sup> is the first resolution to recognize Sexual Violence in Conflict (SVC) as a tactic of warfare and a matter of international peace and security, and establishes the conceptual framework for prevention and response to such acts.

Key elements of the resolution:

- · Demands immediate and complete cessation of SVC against civilians by all parties [OP 2];
- Demands that parties take appropriate measures to ensure the protection of Civilians from SVC [OP 3];
- Encourages dialogue on SVC between UN Officials and parties to the conflict [OP3]:
- Calls upon States to prosecute persons responsible for SVC, ensure that victims have equal protection of the law and access to justice [OP 4]:
- Urges the participation of women in conflict prevention and • resolution, maintenance of peace and security and post conflict peacebuilding [OP12]:
- Requests the development and implementation of strategies, guidelines, awareness raising, training for all UN peacekeeping and humanitarian missions; [OP 6-9]
- Requests the development of a mechanism for the protection of women and girls from violence [OP10];
- Protection from Sexual violence in conflict in and around UN managed camps [OP10]:
- Requests the development of a mechanism for the protection of women and girls in all disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration processes,(DDR) and in justice and security sector reform(SSR) efforts assisted by the United Nations [ OP 101:
- Stresses the important advisory role the Peace Building Commission can play on ways to address SVC [OP 11].

<sup>5</sup> Security Council Resolutions 1820, 1888, 1960 and 2109 6

S/RES/1820 (2008)

**UN actions to advance SCR 1820** include: The Department of Peace Keeping Operations (DPKO) production of the first UNSG report on Sexual Violence in conflict and the establishment within the UN system of the United Nations Action Against Sexual Violence in Conflict.

The stated purpose of the United Nations Action Against Sexual Violence in Conflict is to unite the work of 13 UN entities <sup>7</sup> with the goal of ending sexual violence in conflict. It is a concerted effort by the United Nations to improve coordination and accountability, amplify programming and advocacy, and support national efforts to prevent sexual violence and respond effectively to the needs of survivors. It aims to strengthen efforts to protect women and girls from sexual violence during and after conflict – recognizing that the problem is much more than a security or humanitarian issue.

United Nations Action Against Sexual Violence in Conflict supports women's engagement in conflict prevention and enhances women's influence over peace negotiations and post conflict recovery processes. This helps ensure that sexual violence is on the agenda of the police, security forces, justice, and government sectors after conflict.

The United Nations Action Against Sexual Violence in Conflict seeks to strengthen services provided to survivors, including medical care, legal support and economic security required to rebuild their lives. United Nations Action Against Sexual Violence in Conflict also connects with governance and reform processes that improve women's access to decision-making and strengthen their voices in public affairs, with the long-term view of tackling gender-specific power imbalances.<sup>8</sup>

The Monitoring and reporting mechanism provided requires the SGs annual report to include information on the use of the resolution to identify prevalence and trends and strategies to prevent SVC and benchmarks for measuring progress towards these goals [OP 15].

The SG is tasked to develop guidelines and strategies to enhance the UN Peace Keeping ability to protect civilians, women and girls from sexual violence and to include his observations and recommendations in this regards in reports to the Council [OP 9].

#### Accountability mechanisms

SCR 1820 affirms the intention to consider the appropriateness of targeted and graduated measures against parties who commit Sexual Violence in Conflict and categorically excludes crimes of sexual violence from amnesty provisions in the context of conflict resolution processes.

The resolution implicates the UN Action Against Sexual Violence in conflict network and links the UN architecture on protection of civilians requiring coordination between OCHA, DPKO, DPA, OHCHR.

Member states are held accountable for upholding international humanitarian law standards in national judicial institutions and processes.

Security Council Resolution 1888 (2009) defines the infrastructure for implementing Security Council resolutions on Sexual Violence in Conflict through assigning high-level leadership within the UN, building judicial response expertise, strengthening service provisions and building reporting mechanisms.

The Key elements of SCR 1888 include:

- Requests for the appointment of a Special Representative of the Secretary General (SR SG) to provide coherent and strategic leadership [OP 4];
- Calls for the rapid deployment of a team of experts to assist national authorities to strengthen the rule of law [OP 8];
- Decision to include sexual violence provisions in UN peacekeeping mandates [OP12];
- Requests that the need for and the number and roles of Women Protection Advisors (WPAs) are systematically assessed during the preparation of UN peacekeeping missions [OP 12];
- Requests strengthened implementation of the zero tolerance policy on sexual exploitation and abuse by UN personnel by providing guidance on addressing sexual violence as part of all training of military and police personnel [OP 20];
- Urges for the increased representation of women in mediation and decision-making processes [OP 16];
- Urges for the inclusion of sexual violence in conflict issues from the outset in all UN sponsored peace processes (preceasefires, ceasefire monitoring, humanitarian access, human rights agreements, disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR), (Security Sector Reform (SSR), vetting of armed and security forces, justice, reparations, recovery and development [OP 17];

<sup>7</sup> United Nations Action Against Sexual Violence in Conflict comprises the following 13 United Nations entities: the Department of Political Affairs (DPA), the Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO), the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA), Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR), the Joint United Nations Program of HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS), The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), the United Nations Refugee Agency (UNHCR), the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM), the World Food Programme (WFP), the World Health Organization (WHO) and the United Nations Peacebuilding Support Office (PBSO).

<sup>8</sup> http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/UN\_Action\_Against\_Sexual\_Violence\_in\_Conflict

 Urges for relevant SR SGs and UN Emergency Relief Coordinators to develop joint government / UN Comprehensive strategies to combat Sexual violence in Conflict [OP 23].

# UN actions to advance SCR 1888

The SR SG on Sexual Violence in Conflict (SR SG- SVC) is called upon to build coherence and coordination in the UN response to Sexual Violence in Conflict and is linked to UN Action for coordination support.

The SCR 1888 requests systematic reporting on trends, emerging patterns of attack and early warning indicators on the use of Sexual Violence in Conflict in all relevant SG's Security Council reports [OP 24]; and requests the SG for specific proposals in ways to ensure more effective monitoring and reporting [OP 26]. The SR SG on Sexual Violence in Conflict called upon to provide briefings and documentation on Sexual violence in Conflict to the Council [OP 24]; and the SG Annual report is to include: **information of parties credibly suspected of perpetrating patterns of rape and other forms of Sexual violence in situations on the Council's agenda** [OP 26].

SCR 1888 establishes accountability mechanisms. When adopting or renewing targeted sanction in situations of armed conflict to consider designation criteria pertaining to rape and other forms of sexual violence [OP 10].

Member states urged to undertake comprehensive legal and judicial reforms to bring perpetrators of sexual violence in conflict to justice and ensure survivor's access to justice, protection and redress, [OP 6] and ensure full accountability in cases where their personnel engage in sexual exploitation and abuse [OP 21].

Security Council Resolution 1960 (2010) provides the accountability architecture needed to list and de-list perpetrators and report on patterns and trends and calls for dialoguing with parties to end Sexual Violence Crimes.

# Key Elements Security Council Resolution 1960 include:

- Encouraging the SG annual report to: include detailed information on parties credibly suspected of committing or being responsible for SVC and to list in an annex parties credibly suspected of committing or being responsible for patterns of rape and other forms of SVC (Naming and Shaming) [OP 3];
- Requests to SG to apply the listing and de-listing criteria for parties listed in his annual report [OP 4];

- Calls upon parties to armed conflict to make and implement time bound commitments to combat SVC [OP 5];
- Requests to SG to track and monitor implementation of these commitments [OP 6];
- Requests the SG to include gender expertise in technical assessment missions [OP 13];
- Encourages Member States to deploy a greater number of female military / police personnel to UN peacekeeping operations [OP 15].

Accountability Mechanisms included in SCR 1960 include: Requests to SG to establish Monitoring and Reporting Agreements on SVC [OP 8]; and when adopting or renewing targeted sanctions in situations of armed conflict, to consider designation criteria pertaining to acts of rape and other forms of sexual violence [OP 7].

# UN entities responsible for implementation SCR 1960

Implementation and coordination takes place through UN Action against Sexual Violence under the leadership of SRSG- SVC, and cooperation/ coordination on effort between SRSG – CAAC (Children in Armed Conflict) and SRSG – SVC [OP 9].

# Member State Accountability under SCR 1960

SCR 1960 makes States accountable for upholding international humanitarian law standards in national judicial institutions and processes.

Security Council Resolution 2106 (2013) Links the SVC agenda with the gender and inclusive mediation commitments. It provides practical guidance on how to operationalise the issue of SVC on a consistent basis throughout the peace and Security agenda.

Key elements of Security Council Resolution 2106 (2013)

- Stresses women's participation as essential to any prevention and protection response [OP 1; 16];
- Requests women's participation in mediation, disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR), Security Sector Reform (SSR) and Justice sector reform [OP 1; 16];
- Requests mediators and envoys when relevant to engage on SVC issues [OP 12];
- Reflect such concerns in specific peace agreement provisions [OP 12];

- Urges inclusion of SVC issues in the definition of acts prohibited by ceasefires and in the provisions for ceasefire monitoring [OP 12];
- Calls for deployment of Gender Advisors (GAs) and Women Protection Advisors (WPAs) to UN Peace Keeping and political missions and humanitarian operations [OP 7; 8];
- Calls for training of troops and police contributing country contingents to include training on Sexual and Gender Based Violence (SGBV) [OP 14];
- Urges the provisions of non-discriminatory, comprehensive health services for survivors of SVC [OP 19];
- Urges the strengthening of national health systems and civil society networks to provide sustained assistance to women and girls living with / affected by HIV/ AIDS. [OP 20].

The focal point and leadership for this lies with UN Action with its role in facilitating and coordinating responses of peacekeeping, humanitarian, human rights, political and security actors to support SCR 2106.

# Monitoring and Reporting Arrangements (MARA) for SCR 2106

SG annual report is required to comment on the level of implementation of all Women, Peace and Security resolutions; and the resolution recognizes need for timelier, objective, accurate, reliable information as a basis for prevention and response and response. It further requests the UN SG and UN entities to accelerate the establishment and implementation of the MARA [OP 6].

Accountability and Implementation mechanisms in SCR 2106 The resolution stresses exclusion of Sexual Violence Crimes from amnesty provisions [OP 12], urges existing sanctions committees to apply targeted sanctions against those who perpetrate SVC [OP13]. Implementation of SCR 2106 is to be coordinated through UN Action Against Sexual Violence under the leadership of SR SG- SVC. The resolution calls for states to fight impunity by investigating and prosecuting those responsible for SVC [OP 2].

# The relevance of the Normative and Legal framework on the ASEAN region:

The framework provides guidance and creates obligations on all parties (including regional organizations of which ASEAN is one) engaged in advancing peace processes in their regions. In particular, SCR 2122 calls on member states, regional organization and the UN entities to start reviewing existing SCR 1325 implementation plans and targets, and for member states to accelerate progress and formulate new targets for the 2015 High level Review [OP15].

To this extent, the High Level Review invites the engagement of ASEAN and it creates an opportunity for it as a regional organization and for its composite member states as well to review their commitments and assess their challenges and accomplishments.

Almost all of the 10 members of ASEAN are experiencing conflict or have been in conflict situations in the past 40 years. Some of the situations are characterized by arms and violence, others by non-violent protests and confrontations. In some cases the conflict has crossed national borders. While politics looms large in these situations, social, environmental, religious, ethnic and development tensions also figure prominently.<sup>9</sup>

In all the Southeast Asian situations of conflict or post-conflict, the role of, and impact on women is often ignored or rarely discussed. As in similar situations the world over, when their situation is represented, women are often portrayed as passive victims, which ignores their active roles in the conflict itself, and their actual and potential roles in fostering peace and security. This is especially true for the many long and protracted conflicts and post-conflict situations in ASEAN countries such as Cambodia, Indonesia (Aceh, Papua, Maluku, North Maluku, Poso-Central Sulawesi, etc.), Myanmar, the Philippines (Mindanao), Thailand (Southern Thailand), Timor-Leste and Viet Nam. The recent round of negotiations in the Philippines (Mindanao) peace process has seen a departure from his unhappy trend, with a high level of participation of women at several levels of the peace process and on both sides of the table. But this has been exceptional.

ASEAN member states have a history of mediation in the region and these resolutions provide the framework of opportunity to contribute to inclusive, sustainable and gender sensitive mediation processes. It is vital that ASEAN mediators fully internalize and own the Women Peace and Security Agenda. Furthermore, many peace processes in the ASEAN region have a long history – as in most peace processes they are negotiated overtime facing advances and setbacks. Many peace processes in the ASEAN region, when initiated, were not all in full compliance with this framework. In some instances the framework was at its inception and was still evolving. Within the UN too, the meeting

<sup>9</sup> UN WOMEN ISSUE BRIEFS ON WOMEN'S HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE ASEAN REGION

of targets and standards remain a work in progress. As of 2014 the Department of Political Affairs has one female SRSG, one Special Envoy, One Special Advisor and three Deputy SR SGs in the 12 field operations and 11 Good Offices. However, looking ahead, it is hoped that these figures increase and this framework will be fully internalized by all parties.

In the context of ASEAN, two landmark peace processes (Aceh and Bongsamoro peace processes) are noted and they have engaged with women in different ways. The success of the Aceh Peace agreement in bringing to an end decades of conflict is noted with appreciation. However, despite a record of advocating for peace and fostering reconciliation, women in Aceh were barely involved in the intermittent dialogue processes spanning over five years that finally culminated in the Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) between the Government of Indonesia (GOI) and the Geurakan Acèh Meurdèka (GAM) in August 2005. However, women in Aceh have not given up and continue to be engaged in the monitoring and implementation of the peace process. The Women's Policy Network (JPuK) (established 2004) has been monitoring the development and implementation of the Law on the Governing of Aceh (LoGA) and of ganun (local laws) that will detail the provisions of the LoGA to promote the equitable inclusion of women's interests.

The Women's Peace Network (JpuD) (established December 2005) comprises 26 organizations and seeks to socialize the MoU and strengthen women's participation in peacebuilding strategies. A Gender Working Group (GWG) has been established as the hub for monitoring the policies of all parties involved in the reconciliation, reconstruction, and rehabilitation processes to ensure that they take into account the gender perspective in policy making and application and budget development. At the grassroots level, women's groups perform political education and strengthen individual and organizational capacity through various training, workshops and seminars.<sup>10</sup> They are still asserting their right to be engaged in the realization of peace and it is imperative that the national and regional governments respect their right to and the necessity of their participation. There remain opportunities and constraints to fully gendering the implementation of the Aceh Peace process.

The Mindanao peace process has a history going back four decades. It has seen promising breakthroughs and setbacks. Today however, it is hailed as "one of the most gender-sensitive in the world."<sup>11</sup> It has at present, a woman chairing the negotiating panel signing a peace agreement and women have played a key role also in the MILF team as consultants on substantive legal and political issues. The negotiators have adopted a human security approach to addressing many contested issues and this has been a paradigm shift. Both panels also paid special attention to drafting the multiple documents in gender-responsive language. It is significant from a gender justice perspective, and also in responding to UN standards.

The ASEAN region in this respect provides a "best practice" and opportunities for global lessons to be learned. It demonstrates that where there is political will to fight for peace and political will to engage with women, advances can be made. It is noteworthy that both the Philippines and Indonesia have developed National Action Plans (NAPs) to operationalize SCR 1325.

The UN is not a remote entity in the ASEAN region. It is represented in the region through country offices, through UN Women and other agencies and humanitarian missions. The UN, ASEAN and the member states of the region are accountable to the norms and values outlined in these resolutions. The normative framework as developed creates opportunities and challenges for framing a gendered response to peacebuilding and recovery. The UN is a resource and an ally for ASEAN member states and for the regional organization to liaise with in developing recommendations and modalities by which to operationalize this cluster of Security Council Resolutions and this workshop advances this endeavor.

<sup>10</sup> See more at: http://www.c-r.org/accord-article/agents-change-roles-women-acehs-peace-process#sthash.Xvl8bANh.dpuf

<sup>11</sup> http://www.mindanews.com/peace-process/2014/01/28/special-report-the-women-in-the-bangsamoro-peace-process-history-herstory/

# SESSION TWO OPEN FORUM

MODERATOR: H.E. TAN HUNG SENG

Permanent Representative of Singapore to the ASEAN and Member, AIPR Governing Council

#### AMBASSADOR TAN HUNG SENG

Thank you very much Miss Janet Wong. You had highlighted some important points such as the importance of having an effective National Action Plan. You also shared with us some of the very interesting experiences in Timor-Leste. I think one of the key challenges that we have to ask ourselves now is all these UNSC resolutions are targeted at Member States but we have now and we have seen this in recent days the emergence of non-state actors who have used sexual violence as a very potent weapon. I am referring to ISIS. How can the international community respond and address this? I thought that this is one point that we may want to think about.

# **MS. ELISABETH SLÅTTUM**

It seems to me that there is no female special envoy or mediator in the UN peace processes. I hope I'm wrong that the UN is not abiding by its own resolutions. I know that some SRSGs are involved in some peace efforts. But that is not quite the same as being appointed as mediator or special envoys to this process. I would like to have your views on that.

# AMBASSADOR TAN HUNG SENG

Thank you for that question. Indeed, the UN must walk the talk. I will take two more questions and I will let the panelists answer. Ambassador Elizabeth Buensuceso first and then Ambassador Latsamy Keomany.

# AMBASSSDOR ELIZABETH P. BUENSUCESO

Right now we are assessing not the suitability but the value-added of Timor-Leste as a member of ASEAN in the future. I would like to find out what is this value added, including the political experience of Timor-Leste as far as including women in political processes is concerned. What can we get from Timor-Leste if she became a member of the ASEAN? Thank you.

#### AMBASSADOR LATSAMY KEOMANY

Thank you for the very comprehensive and informative presentations. The presenter said that the implementation of SC 1325 in the ground is not so much. And therefore for the launch of the National Action Plan in Laos, we need more training and capacity building. Any training packages that can help the improvement of the implementation of these resolutions?

# **DR. SOMKIATI ARIYAPRUCHYA**

I would like to commend the two panelists for giving the advance briefing on the UN resolutions. For me, the briefing is very useful as the UN has been at the forefront of this issue for long time. Thailand has been a very good member state of the UN and we have tried our best to implement the resolutions. I would like to invite my colleague, Ms. Piang-Or Wacharaprapapong, to tell you how we implemented the UN resolutions. It would be useful to know about other countries' endeavor in this regard also. Thank you.

#### **MS. PIANG-OR WACHARAPRAPAPONG**

Thank you, Mr. Chair. So, on behalf of my delegation I would like to share a little bit about what Thailand has done in implementing UNSC Resolution 1325. As my colleague mentioned earlier, Thailand is in the process of finalizing our National Action Plan for the period of 2016 - 2021. Thailand also organized related side-events at the UN Headquarter in New York in March and in July last year under the themes "Increasing Women's Contribution to Peace and Security" and "Increasing the Role of Women in Post-Conflict Reconstruction from Relief to Development". We hope that both events provided good opportunities to stimulate discussions among stakeholders. Since this year marks the 15th anniversary of the UNSC Resolution 1325, the UN will conduct a high-level review on the implementation of the resolution. On this occasion, Thailand is now collaborating with the International Peace Institute in conducting a research project on Women in Mediation and Peace Processes, which focuses on the challenges and opportunities in translating the commitments of the UNSC Resolution 1325 into action. We hope that this project will contribute meaningfully to the Global Study

on the Implementation of the UNSC Resolution 1325, as well as the review of the High-Level Independent Panel on UN Peace Operations. Thank you, Mr. Chair.

# MS. SAKUNTALA KADIRGAMAR-RAJASINGHAM

It has been pointed out that the UN has been slow to appoint women to head peace negotiations but recently women were appointed to lead the missions in the Great Lakes region in Africa and Nepal. There were also women who were not the special envoys but they were part of the mediation process. This is something that has been noted. I would also want to tell you that the UN conducts trainings for its special envoys on gender sensitivity and on the implementation of SC Resolution 1325. I think that Mr. Jabal De Rumah greatly benefited from this training in inclusive international dialogues to ensure a significant participation of women - 30% women, 20% youth and 50% from the South. But as I said it is a work in progress in the UN itself and it takes a decade to implement it. This is not suggesting that national government and other regional organizations take a seemingly long time in engaging in it. We learn from our challenges and hopefully there will be more momentum on this. But your point is well taken that we really need to walk the talk.

There is a question on how we could develop or what packages could we use to develop the National Action Plan to implement SC Resolution 1325. As I've said, the National Action Plan is one mechanism and not an end in itself. The plan is to help you to achieve something. An architect will prepare the plan or blueprint for building the house. The mechanism does help create the internal and external checklist of accountability. We agreed within the international community that women's participation should be a minimum of 33%. This is the way to hold states accountable. Do women exist in these numbers? We know what it means to have an accountable budget because we agreed on the gender budgeting mechanisms. We really just have to operationalize and it could be useful in our National Action Plans. These are minimum figures that we should agree to, and if you don't agree to them, what are the reasons why you don't agree to them? I think accountability is useful.

# **MS. JANET WONG**

In terms of the question from the Lao PDR Ambassador, the capacity development package that you asked about, Timor-Leste has developed something like that because we want to translate SC Resolution 1325 in what could be used in the context of Timor-Leste. We brought

together various stakeholders to develop our learning pack, and this learning pack should be uploaded in the website which you can use. This brings together all materials - whether it's a video, a manual, or comic books. All the resources that civil society organizations as well as peacekeepers and governments have previously used were developed into one package. They can be shared with you if you are interested.

On the question about Timor-Leste's membership in ASEAN, I think the government of the Timor-Leste is in a better position to answer it.

# **DR. SOCORRO REYES**

I would like to ask about the UN walking the talk. Actually, in 2013, Mary Robinson was the Special Envoy for the Great Lakes region of Africa. She pushed women's participation in the process as cited in the Secretary-General's Report for 2013. The UN led some 11 negotiating processes and in the Secretary-General's Report, he claims that there was a woman in every negotiating team. But of course, it has a long way to go. It could be more than that. Indeed, Mary Robinson could be a good example of a woman negotiator based on her experience as chief negotiator in the Great Lakes region of Africa.

# AMBASSADOR TAN HUNG SENG

Thank you very much for that valuable addition. The Secretary-General claimed that there was a woman in every delegation. But the question is in what capacity?

# **MS. JANET WONG**

I just wanted to share information on the question that the Ambassador has raised: how much difference has SC Resolution 1325 made? There will be a review on the impact of the implementation of SC Resoultion1325, 15 years after its adoption. A team has been put together to look at the implementation of SC Resolution1325 globally, and this study should be ready hopefully by the end of this year.

#### AMBASSADOR TAN HUNG SENG

Thank you very much. I want to take this opportunity on behalf of all the participants to express our deep appreciation to our two panelists for their valuable contributions. They were very enlightening. It is a very educational forum for all of us, especially for me personally. I also want to thank all the participants for their active participation.



Philippine Presidential Adviser to the Peace Process Hon. Teresita Quintos-Deles delivers the keynote speech.



(From top Left clockwise) Philippine Department of Foreign Affairs Undersecretary Hon. Evan P. Garica, AIPR Chairman and Permanent Represeantative of Malaysia to ASEAN H.E.Hasnudin Hamzah, Ambassador of Japan to ASEAN H.E. Koichi Aiboshi, and Ambassador of Norway H.E. Stig Traavik deliver messages.



Members of the Governing Council and Advisory Board of the ASEAN Institute for Peace and Reconciliation (AIPR) join hands in the ASEAN way at the opening ceremonies of the AIPR Workshop on Strengthening Women's Participation in Peace Processes and Conflict Resolution.



From left to right: Ms. Sakuntala Kadirgamar-Rajasingham, Mediation Exper of UN Women, Prof. Miriam Coronel-Ferrer, Chairperson of the Philippine Panel for Peace Negotiations with the Moro Islamic Liberation Front, Dr. Socorro Reyes, Consultant for the Center for Legislative Development International, and Ms. Janet Wong Country Representative of UN Women in Timor Leste.

The Cebu Normal University Choir serenade Workshop participants with their repertoire of Philippine songs and "Let There Be Peace on Earth" in traditional Filipiniana attire.





Philippine Presidential Adviser on the Peace Process Hon. Teresita Quintos-Deles is interviewed by members of the Philippine media at the sidelines of the AIPR Workshop.







From top to bottom: Philippine Department of Foreign Affairs Assistant Secretary Hon. Luis T. Cruz moderates the opening session of the workshop. Ms. Shadia Marhaban, International Mediator, Capacity Builder and Activist from Aceh, Indonesia delivers her presentation while Hon. Teresita Quintos-Deles looks on.







From top to bottom: Ms. Janet Wong, UN Women Country Representative to Timor-Leste, Ms. Sakuntala Kadirgamar-Rajasingham, UN Women Mediation Expert, and Dr. Socorro Reyes, International Consultant for the Center for Legislative Development International speak at the Third Session of the Workshop, which Singaporean Permanent Representatives to ASEAN H. E. Tan Hung Seng Moderates.



The Workshop's male participants listen attentively as the women experts deliver their presentations.



Hon. Teresita Quintos-Deles and other women participants share a light moment during the workshop.



After a hard day's work, Philippine Permanent Representative to ASEAN Elizabeth P. Buensuceso, organizer of the Workshop, tells the workshop participants to relax and enjoy themselves during the Welcome Dinner.



The workshop participants happily obliged by letting loose on the dance floor.





Ambassador Buensuceso moderates the fourth and last sessions held on the second day of the workshop.



(Top Photo) Hon. Teresita Quintos-Deles is joined by Dr. Socorro Reyes, Chairperson Remedios Rikken and Undersecretary Maria Cleofe Gettie C. Sandoval to give life to the song "I Will Survive!" (Bottom Photo) Workshop participants light a candle for peace while singing "Heal the World".







(Top photo, from left to right) Prof. Miriam Coronel-Ferrer is joined by Ms. Elisabeth Slättum, Norwegian Special Envoy to the Philippine Peace Process with the CPP/NDF, and (Left photo) Dr. Emma Leslie, Executive Director of the Center for Peace and Conflict Studies in Combadie. Studies in Cambodia.

LAN INSTITUTE FOR FNING **Women** KSHOPON SI ROCESSES AND CONF ICIPATION IN PEACE LUTION ASE FACEAN **FFOR** N'S **participation** IN ND COM WORKSHOPON SIKE WOMEN'S SSES AND CONFLICT PARTICIPATION IN PEACE PRO RESOLUTION ASFAN INSTITUTE FOR PEACE AND **SESSION THREE** RECONCILIATION VA WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN PEACE PROCESSES EANIN DEVELOPING A NATIONAL AND REGIONAL AGENDA TO PROMOTE WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN PEACE PROCESSES KSHOPON LUTION A -**TICIPATION** IN

# Developing a National and Regional Agenda to Promote Women's Participation in Peace Processes

#### Hon. Maria Cleofe Gettie C. Sandoval, JD

Undersecretary Office of the Presidential Adviser on the Peace Process In the Philippines

The Philippines is one of the countries of the world where conflict with two rebels groups has been going on since the 1960s. It has been engaged in protracted armed conflicts for more than five decades. After the People Power Revolution in 1986, President Corazon Aquino signed an Agreement to open the peace talks with the Communist Party of the Philippines through the National Democratic Front. This peace table remains elusive and unresolved since it has been stalled since 2011.

On the Bangsamoro front, former President Ferdinand Marcos entered into a Peace Agreement on 1976 with the Moro National Liberation Front. The signing of the Comprehensive Agreement of the Bangsamoro (CAB) between the Philippine Government and the MILF on March 27, 2014 ia a new dawn for peace in Mindanao. As Secretary Quintos Deles mentioned this morning, the Bangsamoro Basic Law that is now pending in the Congress will create the Bangsamoro Government and we hope, even with the shortened period, that the bill will be passed soon.

There are conflicts in the country from west to east, north to south, in varying levels and varying populations affected. In the Philippines, we have five (5) peace tables: 1) negotiate political settlement with the Communist Party which is currently in impasse; 2) the recently concluded Comprehensive Agreement on the Bangsamoro with the Moro Islamic Liberation Front; c) the completion of the final Peace Agreement with the Moro National Liberation Front; and d) the completion of the Closure Agreements with splinter groups from the Communist Party, i.e., CPLA or Cordillera People's Liberation Army in the Cordilleras and the Tabara-Paduano Group (TPG) in the Central Islands in the Philippines.

The areas covered by these five peace tables are the same areas where our complementary track is being implemented - the Payapa at Masaganang Pamayanan (Peaceful and Resilient Communities) or PAMANA. It aims to win the peace and narrow the gap between negotiations and realities on the ground. It provides focused development in conflict-affected areas such as farm-to-market roads, bridges, water systems, irrigation, schools, community centers, among others.

While we have these peace tables and PAMANA, we also recognize that there are also other types of conflicts happening in the country such as:

- Resource-based conflicts in terms of land ownership and territorial disputes
- Inter-clan or tribal conflicts in areas where there are indigenous peoples or Moro/ Muslim communities
- · Political conflicts among warring political clans or personalities

These conflicts, in some cases, interplay with ideology-based armed conflict.

With the population of a billion in the last census, the armed conflict, as you know, all over the world, affects communities, affects economic growth, exacerbates violation of rights and impacts men and women differently. Although the data on the impact of women is not so wide, there are researches and studies done to understand the general dimension of conflicts. There are data that show direct and long-term effects on women of physical threats, harassment, and displacement for a short period of time. It has been shown that stress-related illnesses affect their general growth, health and reproductive health in particular. Fragmentation of the family due to armed conflict exacerbates women's economic burden, as they take care of the household, the children. The women shoulder the financial responsibilities when their husbands or partners are gone. Displacement increases women's vulnerability to prostitution, trafficking, rape, sexual harassment and similar violations as a result of lack of privacy in the evacuation centers.

The following are the data on displacement of people in the Philippines from 2000 up to the present due to several armed conflicts, including clan wars, including commonly locally called *rido* mostly happening in Southern Philippines.

# Data on Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs)<sup>12</sup>

Year	Number
2000	900,000 (After All-Out War)
2008	700,000 (After MOA-AD)
2009	11,000 (after the Maguindanao Massacre)
2010	101,00 (skirmishes in Central Mindanao bet Government troops and NPA)
2013	64,600 (after the Zamboanga siege)
2015	64,925( <i>Rido</i> and offensive against Bangsamoro Islamic Freedom Fighters (BIFF) in Maguindanao)

How did the National Action Plan (NAP) come about in the Philippines? This is our response to this devastating long-term and inhuman impact. UNSCR 1325 and 1820 and other related resolutions had been issued, consistent with CEDAW, Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action and other agreements in the international community, which recognize the need for a global response to the impact of armed conflict on women. It is pursuant as well to national policies that address conditions of women in armed conflicts, such as Republic Act 9710 or the Magna Carta of Women, the Philippine Development Plan of 2011–2016 and Executive Order 865, which created the National Steering Committee on Women, Peace and Security.

The National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security (NAPWPS) was launched in 2010. Using and building on the architecture of gender mainstreaming, quickly let me tell you the story of NAP. In 2007 on the 7<sup>th</sup> anniversary of UNSCR 1325, a representative of an NGO thought that the National Action Plan was a very crucial response to the issues of women in conflict affected areas. So what she did, was to talk with the Executive Director of another civil society organization monitoring and working for the implementation of the Agreement entered in the peace negotiation with the Communist Party, the Comprehensive Agreement on Human Rights and Humanitarian Law. She is now the chair of the Philippine Government panel in talks with the MILF, Professor Miriam Coronel Ferrer.

<sup>12</sup> World Bank, 2011; UNCHR 2013; NDRRMC, 2015

She and Mrs. Belleza, the representative of the NGO, and another woman working for the academe went to the Philippine Commission on Women then called the National Commission on the Role of Philippines Women, the national machinery of women in the Philippines that pushes for gender equality. They went to the Office of the Presidential Adviser on the Peace Process where at that time, the OPAPP is also headed by a woman. Together the CSOs as well as these two agencies of government went through a series of consultations, regional, national, multi-sectoral, from 2007 until 2010. A National Action Plan was firmed up and launched on March 2010, the 26<sup>th</sup> NAP in the world, the first in Asia. Secretary Deles is not here, but every time someone says this is the first time in Asia, she would say, "Please don't put more pressure on us, please don't mention that." Anyway, I just did.

The National Action Plan's desired impact is that women in conflict and post-conflict situations are protected, empowered and play a decisive role in peace and security processes/mechanisms. It has two pillars/ outputs: 1) protection and prevention: to ensure the protection of women's human rights and prevention of violation of these rights in armed conflict and post-conflict situations through the enactment and implementation of gender-responsive and conflict-sensitive policies, programs and services; and 2) empowerment and participation: to empower women and ensure their active and meaningful participation in areas of peace-keeping, peacebuilding, conflict prevention and post-conflict reconstruction. It has two support processes: promotion and mainstreaming of gender perspective in all aspects of conflict prevention, conflict resolution and peace-building; and monitoring and evaluation in order to enhance accountability for successful implementation of NAP and the achievement of goals.

What do we have in the Philippines when the Aquino administration came on board as far as the NAP is concerned? What strategies do we have to make sure that the NAP is moving?

First, we have a law that tells us that UNSCR 1325 should be implemented. This is the Magna Carta of Women. The law provides for a mechanism that tells the bureaucracy, as well as all government instrumentalities, that everyone should have a gender and development plan and set aside at least 5% of the total budget of each government agency or instrumentality, including local government units, for gender and development projects. We have also in the law, a mechanism, called "a gender focal point system," which should be established in each government office and therefore when the national action plan came on board, it did not have to invent a new mechanism. This mechanism was formalized in 2009 but as early as 1997, in the first section of

our General Appropriation Act, it already mandated the setting aside of 5% [of the national budget]. This mechanism was formalized in the Magna Carta. What happened was that the National Action Plan did not need to develop or find its way into the bureaucracy. It already has an architecture, to hold on to, or ride on to.

In the Gender and Development Plan, PCW already developed the system on how each government agency should develop a good plan and allocate the GAD budget. How will this be monitored? Each government agency submits its budget to the PCW every year. The agencies' budget will not be approved without a corresponding GAD plan. Their total budget should identify at least 5% of its budget earmarked for gender and development plans, projects, programs and activities. There are two main targets for this GAD programming: the first target is institutional in nature, meaning projects and activities that are internal to the bureaucracy, and the second level is intended for the clients or the communities a particular agency serves.

The outcome of the National Action Plan as well as its two outputs, which basically translate 1325 and 1820, was refined from a set of 16 action points and 60 indicators to 11 action points and 27 indicators. There are two levels of implementations, one in the national bureaucracy, and the second with local government units. An Executive Order institutionalized the mechanism for the implementation of the National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security by creating a Steering Committee composed of nine (9) government agencies that should lead the monitoring and implementation. The National Steering Committee is chaired by the Office of the Presidential Adviser on the Peace Process and the Philippine Commission on Women is cochair. The other members are the Department of National Defense (DND), the Department of Social Welfare and Development (DSWD), the Department of Justice (DOJ), the Department of the Interior and Local Government (DILG), the Department of Foreign Affairs (DFA), the National Commission on Indigenous People (NCIP) and the National Commission of Muslim Filipinos (NCMF). A Technical Working Group (TWG) was likewise created, composed of the technical staff from the earlier mentioned agencies. The TWG was expanded to include the agencies implementing the Payapa at Masaganang Pamayanan (PAMANA), which is the framework and program of the Government in support of the peace process. These mechanisms shape the implementation of NAPWPS, especially in conflict-affected and postconflict areas. Members of this TWG are composed of the GAD Focal Point System members and PAMANA Focal Points of the said agencies.

National agencies and LGUs have been capacitated on integrating NAPWPS in their respective gender and development (GAD) plans. Twenty-one (21) national agencies have Women, Peace and Security (WPS) programs, projects and activities in their GAD plans and budgets. Among the key accomplishments they have are:

- DSWD's setting-up of women-friendly spaces in evacuation camps after the Zamboanga siege. These spaces provide information on emergency, a breastfeeding facility, hygiene packs, etc.
- DFA's mobile passporting service in Tawi-Tawi to address human trafficking as a result of conflict and poverty and trainings for Philippine Embassies and Consulates in distressed countries.
- DOH's mental health and psychosocial services (MHPSS) in Zamboanga.
- Philippine Health Insurance Corporation's (PhilHealth) provision of health insurance for former rebels.

Among local government units, (LGUs), 35 provinces were capacitated on integrating Women, Peace and Security programs in their GAD plans and budgets. Some LGUs have likewise initiated the establishment of halfway houses for former rebels who have surrendered and decided to reintegrate in mainstream society.

Women and Peace Centers (WPC) have been established in the Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao (ARMM) to serve as the hub of their NAPWPS implementation. ARMM served as the pilot area for NAP implementation at the local level and so these WPCs were part of the institutional support provided by OPAPP.

What are modest and humble achievements so far of the NAPWPS on the level of policy? We have integrated women, peace and security in the Philippine Development Plan 2011-2016, wherein all government agencies are mandated to address the concerns of women, peace and security in conflict- affected and post-conflict areas. The updated version of the Philippine Development Plan placed a NAPWPS-specific indicator in the Peace and Security chapter of the Peace and Security chapter of the said plan: "Gender-responsive and conflict-sensitive policies/programs/support services for women and children in conflict situations identified and mainstreamed in national government agencies and local government units in PAMANA provinces."

There is also a women, peace and security section, in PCW's Women's Empowerment, Development and Gender Equality (EDGE) Program.

It contains specific action points primarily responding to the Beijing Platform for Action.

Lastly, there was a joint memorandum circular issued both by PCW and OPAPP to integrate WPS programs, projects and activities in national agencies' GAD plans and budgets, which includes NAPWPS indicators necessary for reporting accomplishments. We hope that starting next year the agencies would already include a GAD plan for conflict-affected areas when they submit the regular budget to the Department of Budget and Management. We did not make a separate tool or a separate document for monitoring NAP but instead used the GAD, which PCW already monitors.

The second achievement is the key role that women played in the peace processes. This morning the Philippines already shared with you the role which women played in the peace table, especially, in the MILF. But let me just expound a bit. There are two women out of five members of the government peace panel of the talks to the MILF, as well as two women also in the talks with the Communist Party/National Democratic Front/ New People's Army. Professor Miriam Coronel-Ferrer, Chairperson of the Government Panel is considered as the only woman in the world to sign a Peace Agreement on behalf of the government. Secretary Yasmin Busran-Lao, a Muslim Filipina, is likewise a member of the GPH-MILF Peace Table.

The heads of the Secretariats of these two peace tables are women. Three of the four heads of the technical working groups on the annexes were led by women. One of the chairpersons is here, Undersecretary Zenonida Brosas, head of the Technical Working Group on Normalization. The heads of the legal team in both the government and the MILF panels are women. They also started bringing in more women.

All these resulted in having key gender provisions in the Comprehensive Agreement on the Bangsamoro (CAB), the Section on Basic Rights in the Framework Agreement on the Bangsamoro (FAB) and the Annexes on Revenue and Wealth Sharing, Power Sharing and Normalization.

To summarize, the following are the key accomplishments of the National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security:

 An enabling mechanism through a NAPWPS Steering Committee with the technical working group composed of nine government agencies. We already have touched base with 21 national government agencies to which we provided capacitybuilding. We have started telling them on how they will work on their GAD budget plans because as I have said this is one NAP, which no agency or local government unit could claim they do not have budgets for. There is a law that says all government agencies and local government units should allocate at least 5% of their budgets to gender and development programs and projects.

- There are 35 provinces out of the 46 we have capacitated to integrate Women, Peace and Security programs, projects and activities in their GAD plans and budgets.
- There are six (6) Women and Peace Centers established in the Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao to make sure that the programs will have a base where women can gather.

Just to end on some reflections. There is always a battle cry among gender advocates to make women visible, to bring them out from invisibility where they have always been historically relegated to. Thus, women should be part of the discussion in peace processes to end armed conflict that affects communities where men and women live. Ideally and hopefully, women are not relegated to stereotyped roles, but to central and key positions where their voices can really shape the core, the mood, the language of the Peace Agreement. What is important is to make sure that women continue to be visible in key and post-conflict rehabilitation to carry on what we have started and to ensure that efforts are sustainable. Women should be present at the negotiating table to shepherd gendered political settlements. They should ensure that they continue to be present in achieving the post-conflict roadmap.

Secondly, the policy and the national agenda on Women, Peace and Security cannot be a static document. It is an agenda that is ever changing with complex and multi-dimensional components. It is evolving and needs relevant, consistent, persistent, mainstreamed and notbusiness-as usual approaches. That is why we have to calibrate and recalibrate our budget coming from UNDP. When something goes on with the rebels we just have to tell UNDP that we have low implementation or low use of funds and we cannot just move the funds at the moment. We have to wait for the appropriate time. We should be responsive to the temper of the peace process. The Philippine NAP has been revised, as I have said this is our second version, and the indicators have been reviewed at varying levels, both by the government and the civil society. It may seem in conflict with existing policies, programs and strategies and with it goes, all the challenges of mainstreaming, especially in a bureaucracy that has been set in its ways.

The leaders who are advocates of women peace and security are important and vital as they inform the agencies and show to the bureaucracy that it can be done. We are surprisingly happy that the first two agencies that responded when we started the National Action Plan are the Philippine Army of the Armed Forces of the Philippines and the Department of Foreign Affairs. They immediately included a course on women, peace and security in regular trainings for their offices. The Philippine Army immediately reviewed the systems and mechanisms in all of their divisions all over the country and did consultations and training with us so that they can be responsive to the needs ,not only of the women in the army, but also in the communities that they served. It is important that we look into the GADs Plan and see how conflicts can affect regular programming and their implementation. We look at how they can make women participate in decision-making and consultations, and make programs that are more responsive to the needs on the ground.

Thank you very much.

# Beyond National and Regional Action Plans for SC 1325: Issues of Implementation and Accountability

# Dr. Socorro L. Reyes

Senior Governance Adviser Center for Legislative Development

Since the adoption of Security Council Resolution 1325 fifteen years ago, 48 member states of the United Nations have formulated National Action Plans: 25 in Europe, 13 in Africa, 3 in the Americas; 6 in the Asia-Pacific and 1 in the Middle East. On the other hand, Regional Action Plans have been adopted in the European Union, NATO, the Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat, West Africa, the Great Lakes Region and the African Union. But the bigger question is: What impact is SC 1325 making on women's lives? What changes are happening on the ground?

In 2009, the Security Council through SC Resolution 1889 requested the Secretary-General to submit to the Security Council a set of indicators to be used by the UN, other international and regional organizations and member states for reporting on the progress of the implementation of SC 1325. A UN Agency Task Force was set up to systematically review and prioritize existing indicators used to track SC Resolution 1325. A results framework was developed using a "results chain to map how interventions are intended to result in the desired change or impact. SC 1325 is expected to result into the following changes:

## 1. Prevention

Prevention of relapse into conflict and all forms of structural and physical violence against women and girls, including Sexual and Gender-based Violence (SGBV)

#### 2. Participation

Inclusion of women and women's interests in decision-making processes related to the prevention, management and resolution of conflicts

# 3. Protection

Women and girls' safety, physical and mental health and economic security are assured and their human rights respected

#### 4. Relief and Recovery

Women's and girls' specific needs are met in conflict and post-conflict situations

Several issues of implementation and accountability have emerged in achieving this desired impact. These can be briefly categorized into: a) Protection vs. Participation; b) Planning vs. Action; c) Data Collection and Evidence-Based Analysis; d) Dedicated Financing; e) Donor Country NAPs and Conflict Country NAPs; and e) Systematic Global Assessment of Effectiveness of NAPs.

In terms of **protection and participation**, there is growing divergence between the "protection" component of NAPs, which responds to the issue of sexual violence in conflict and the "participation" component that connects women's empowerment to long-term conflict prevention and peace-building. With the exception of a few, NAPs have responded with greater intensity to the issue of sexual violence in conflict than to the challenge of ensuring women's full and equal representation and participation in decision-making bodies including peace negotiation panels, truth and reconciliation commissions, post-conflict planning bodies and national parliaments.

Eight years after the adoption of SC 1325, only 4-11% out of 280 negotiators in 33 peace negotiations are women; and the average participation of women in government negotiating panels was 7% (Fisas, 2008). Out of a representative sample of 31 major peace processes between 1992 and 2011, only 4% of signatories, 2.4% of Chief Mediators, 3.7% of witnesses and 9% of negotiators were women (UN WOMEN, 2012). An updating review in 2012 indicated that only 17 out of the 61 agreements signed between August 2008 and 2012 included gender-related keywords (UN WOMEN, 2012). In conflict-affected countries, women's share of seats in Parliament is 18% compared to the global average of 22% and occupy only 13% of ministerial positions.

National Action Plans are often activity rather than results-based. The long list of activities usually focus on sensitizing the military and civilian officials to gender issues but there is little monitoring and evaluation of the change or impact that has occurred after a series of training. Was there less sexual and gender-based violence in conflict situations? Was there greater inclusion of women in decision-making processes? Were the safety and human rights of women and girls assured and respected? Were their specific needs met in conflict and post-conflict situations?

As one respected women, peace and security expert said:

"All too often the process of creating National Action Plans (NAPs) for the implementation of UNSCR 1325 has involved specifying lists of organizational-change measures with little practical chance of altering the operation of state institutions, civilian or military. The process of formulating a NAP provides the illusion of action; governments often refer to their NAP as if the creation of a plan were a sufficient substitute for the kinds of actions that might lead to the changes envisioned under Resolution 1325. They provide a convenient façade, rather than a substantial framework, for state accountability."<sup>13</sup>

**Consistent data collection** is needed to support the development of the 26 indicators, both quantitative and qualitative, used for tracking implementation of NAPs. Data is essential to: 1) understand inconsistencies in implementation; 2) Identify good practices; 3) strengthen coordination among various actors; 4) Isolate areas that need attention; and 5) expand the evidence and knowledge base guiding planning and program development and implementation.

For effective implementation, NAPS need **dedicated financing**. Unfortunately, at both the national and international levels, there is usually little money allocated for this purpose. A number of post-conflict countries prioritize spending for Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration Programs. Donors are not any better in this either. The UN Peace Building Fund allocated only 7.4% of its funds to projects with Gender Equality. UNDP in 2013 only allocated 5% of its funds to projects with a strong gender focus. Among UN agencies, UNICEF seems better allocating 23% of its funds in 2013 to projects with gender as a principal objective in conflict and post-conflict countries. The UN Secretary-General called on member states to ensure that regional and national action plans on WPS are well-financed.

It is interesting to know to what extent **donor country NAPS and conflict country NAPS** represent genuine national commitments to gender-related reform to national security, justice and foreign policy establishments (Hudson, 2013). Studies show that donor country NAPs address WPS issues as a matter of foreign aid, influence in international institutions, and domestic efforts to accelerate recruitment to national armed forces and police. However, they have not been effective in insisting women's inclusion in peace processes like the 2013-14 Syria Peace Talks. Conflict country NAPs on the other hand are influenced by international institutions funding NAP development. But Cote d'Ivoire's NAP was not able to protect women at the outbreak of the 2010-11 election-triggered conflict. The same question may be asked of the

<sup>13</sup> Anne Marie Goetz, "Taking Stock: Protection Without Empowerment?" in a forthcoming book, Ellen Chesler and Terry McGovern (eds.) 2015, <u>Women and Girls Rising:</u> <u>Progress and Resistance Around the World</u>, Routlege, NY.

Philippine NAP: Was it able to protect women in the Zamboanga and Mamasapano conflicts?

To address the issue of systematic global assessment of NAPS, the Security Council in its Resolution 2122 passed in October 18, 2013 required a high-level Review of the implementation of NAPs in 2015. Specifically, the objective is "to assess progress at the global, regional and national levels in implementing resolution 1325 (2000), renew commitments, and address obstacles and constraints that have emerged in the implementation of resolution 1325 (2000)." It explains that without a "significant implementation shift," women and women's perspectives will continue to be underrepresented in conflict prevention, resolution, protection and peace-building for the foreseeable future. To assess and accelerate progress in time for the 2015 High-Level Review, it encourages Member States and regional organizations as appropriate, and United Nations to start reviewing existing implementation plans and targets. It commissioned a global study on the implementation of SC 1325 that will highlight good practices, implementation gaps and challenges and priorities for action.

In conclusion, 14 years and seven (7) Security Council Resolutions later, and despite some progress, women continue to be underrepresented in decision-making bodies in conflict prevention, resolution, protection and peace-building. The Women, Peace and Security Agenda is focused on sexual violence in conflict situations rather than women's participation in peace processes largely because it is an international crime that fits with the mandate and responsibility of the Security Council to uphold international humanitarian laws. Women's empowerment is key to an effective Women, Peace and Security agenda and NAPs and security institutions have to turn words into action. International accountability for women's full and equal participation in peace processes is crucial. Women's groups at the national and regional levels have to intensify their advocacy for women's inclusion and leadership in peace processes and recovery.

# SESSION THREE OPEN FORUM

Moderator: H.E. I GEDE NGURAH SWAJAYA Acting Coordinator ASEAN National Secretariat of the Republic of Indonesia

# AMBASSADOR I GEDE NGURAH SWAJAYA

Thank you Dr. Reyes. I intentionally let you have five more minutes for your presentation because of your passion in this particular issue. So we have only 15 minutes left for discussion, but I will try to summarize the points that will be raised. We have heard the Philippines' national experience and we have heard what is happening after the passage of the UNSC 1325. Now I would like to open the floor for questions, comments. Yes, Madam Sakuntala?

#### MS. SAKUNTALA KADIRGAMAR-RAJASINGHAM

First of all I would want to follow up the comment I made in my previous session and I thank Socorro for correcting me. There are apparently three envoys with the UN on the NAP process panel, and the Great Lakes, and I do apologize for that error.

I do want to ask Soccoro, for her experience, I got the impression that the National Action Plan is like a double-edged sword, you need it on the one hand to have your benchmark and indicators, but it is also a burden reporting on both. How do you balance that? The other thing is what you've pointed out in your slide. You know protection versus participation, action vs. planning, should it be a case of "versus" or should it be about asking, "when does planning lead to actions?" Without a plan you would not have actions. But if you only have planning and you get bogged down on that, you know, that's a problem in itself. So I would like to see these as being instrumental and contributing to a meaningful end rather than being a dichotomous relationship.

# AMBASSADOR I GEDE NGURAH SWAJAYA

Can I allow another two questions? Yes, please.

# DR. SOMBATPOONSIRI JANJIRA

I'm very intrigued by your last comment about the greater threat to women's security in wars and the fact that now, you know that disastrous wars are staged by non-state actors, ISIS, and the likes of Boko Haram. These non-states actors emerge out of the context of failed states. Basically, we don't have states implementing these UNSC resolutions right? So what I would like to ask simply is how we would think for the future of these, UN resolutions. How do you protect women falling as victims of these non-state actors- conducted wars?

# AMBASSADOR I GEDE NGURAH SWAJAYA

Thank you. One more from the audience or from the participants? Yes, Pak Hasnudin?

# AMBASSADOR HASNUDIN HAMZAH

Thank you so much Ambassador Ngurah. This is directed to Dr. Reyes. You mentioned just now that one of the impediments to achieve women's participation in the peace process is the lack of funding. A couple of times you have referred to this in your presentation, but in case there's no funding, how can we go about it? How does one go about getting the peace process on train? I think the investment in this field, is very important. And maybe at the national level, we will have to look on this. When you go on the international level, I think the UN would have to give some attention to this. Of course, we have many interested friendly countries, all over, and many other stakeholders who can be mobilized to assist in this important endeavor that we're going to undertake.

Regarding the clashes of armed forces that caused the issue of peace in Mindanao. It has attracted international attention and I do believe that we have the right recipe, the appropriate modus operandi of moving forward. I think we're not going to be short of people or parties who are ready to lend their hands, including funds for that matter. The question is how we can bring this first at the regional level and secondly of course, at the international level through the United Nations. If you can give your comments on this please.

# AMBASSADOR I GEDE NGURAH SWAJAYA

So, I would like to give the floor to Dr. Reyes, and afterwards I would like to invite Hon. Maria Gettie Sandoval if you would like to also comment on that. Yes, please.

# **DR. SOCORRO REYES**

Thank you very much for all the questions, I'm not sure if I'm the right person to answer those but I'll try. Sakuntala, I phrased it at versus because I want to be provocative. I want it to be issue-based. Of course, the ideas have to be connected. Ideally, we want of course, both protection and participations but what I am saying is for the institutionalization or the mainstreaming of WPS, the Security Council plays a big role. The Security Council is composed of the member states and its only as narrow or open, as the member states would like it to be. Working in the UN, I realized there are so many conservatives. So, yes, ideally, framework-related issues got to be linked and connected -- protection and participation; planning and action.

Look at the Beijing Platform for Action. We do not even want to open it because we might lose what we have already gained. And when it comes to gender let's face it: all of us are 20 years older than we were in 1995 in Beijing. But look at us we're still talking about how to turn commitments in the Beijing Platform for Action into reality.

For the non-state actors, that's quite really very scary. What is the UN doing? The member states of the UN have to wrap their heads around it and do something. This is a non-state actor and it's got resources and media space.

About funding, UN Women actually has taken the leadership in getting together a group that will look at a funding mechanism for developing national action plans to implement SC 1325. But usually, there is already gender fatigue among donors. They would ask: we have been funding you for so long, and what would you show? And let's face it, when it comes to gender, when it comes to women, we have loose change. Most member countries of the UN give gender little money. And this is true nationally and globally. Look at UN Women. UN Women was conceived as the agency taking the leadership in gender equality. And with that money was supposed to come, like 500 million US dollars. The first Executive Director of UN Women, Michelle Bachelet now the President of Chile found to her surprise, that such money did not exist.

There is no money in gender. Why are national women's machineries weak? Why are they sidelined? In Afghanistan, if there's one ministry that they want to get out of the way each time there is reorganization, it is always the Ministry of Women.

Twenty years after Beijing, 15 years after SC 1325, we're still here begging and pleading for support. But it's good we have men like you, Mr. Ambassador, who are very supportive. I keep on hearing this morning that women have really the last say in the house. But you know we want something more than that. When people offer me a seat, no I don't want that seat, I want a seat in Congress. I want a seat in Malacanang, Sec. Deles has a seat there already. We want participation. We want empowerment. We have outgrown that protection something. We don't like that anymore. We can take care of ourselves as long as you give us the opportunity to participate in decision-making.

All my life I been working on women's issues. And I'm still working on them. I'm not yet tired unlike some donors with gender fatigue. Advocates cannot have this gender fatigue. We just keep on pushing and pushing on this issue.

# AMBASSADOR I GEDE NGURAH SWAJAYA

I don't believe that this is gender fatigue, but this is more about the competition for limited resources. So, Honorable Undersecretary, would you like to have some views?

#### UNDERSECRETARY MARIA CLEOFE SANDOVAL

Just to add on the issue of fatigue from our short experience on implementing the National Action Plan. It is gender fatigue, yes. And it involves a planning fatigue as well for the implementors. For many years the Philippines is trying to make headway on gender. But up to now the implementors have not yet caught on to how and what it really means. And comes now, a conflict. Gender mainstreaming has not really reached the consciousness of many implementors both national and local. In the initial months or a couple of years that we have been implementing the National Action Plan, we were faced with moving backward instead of moving forward. We now discover that there is no understanding of gender mainstreaming so that we end up now going to the basics. Going to what is gender first, before we understand what is conflict and gender. So we end up doing that as well as moving backward as I have said. And

we face glazed eyes of planners and implementors. We try to get them excited about Women, Peace and Security but it is a challenging work.

#### **DR. SOCORRO REYES**

I just want to add that Philippine Commission on Women Chairperson Remy Rikken has grown white hair working on women's issues since she was 20. They talk about the surviving members of the 1986 Constitutional Commission. What about Remy Rikken?

# AMBASSADOR I GEDE NGURAH SWAJAYA

Thank you very much for this very interesting discussion. We really learned a lot and the challenges are still there. That is the reason why we are having a workshop. We are exchanging experiences; lessons learned and so on and so forth. In our case, in Indonesia, although it is already enacted by law that we should have 30% women in peacekeeping operations (PKO), we cannot achieve that. It does not necessarily mean that we are going to stop, but we will keep on doing that.

In the PKO contingent from the military and police force in Indonesia, out of 2000 we only have now 5% and the commander-in-chief is targeting to increase the number up to 20%. More and more women are playing a very important role. We need to keep on fighting. We need to keep on struggling and this is the reason why we are gathered here. We are feeling a lot of positive energy from the discussion since this morning. We feel very good from the first session up to the third session. And now I would like to invite all of you to extend your appreciation to the panelists: to Dr. Reyes and as well as to Hon. Maria. Also, I would like to extend my appreciation as well to all of you, the participants, and I think you also deserve a round of applause.

**FAL, FAND** RECONCILIA KSHOPON STRENGTHENING WOMEN ICIPATION IN PEACE PROCESSES AND CONF LUTION ASFANINSTITUTE FOR PEACE AN )NCILIATION WORKSH HOP ON STRENGTHE N'S PARTICIPATION IN PEACE SESAND COM WORKSHOPON STRENGTHENING WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN PEACE PROCESSES AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION ASEAN INSTITUTE FOR PEACE AND RECONCILIATION V/ SESSION FOURSTRENGTHENING WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN PEACE PROCESSES AND CONFLICT BEST PRACTICES ON WOMEN, PEACE AND SECURITY KSHOPON ICIPATION IN PEACE PROCESSES AND CONF LUTION ASE ANINSTITUTE FOR **PEACE** )NCILIATION \// N'S PARTICIPATION AND CON ESSES AND CONFLICT FACEAND FOR P TICIPATION IN PEACE PROCESSES AND

# Gender Dimension in the Bangsamoro Basic Law

## **Professor Miriam Coronel-Ferrer**

Chairperson, GPH Panel for Peace Negotiations With the Moro Islamic Liberation Front Republic of the Philippines

Your Excellencies, members of the diplomatic community, civil society organizations, our government officials, led by Secretary Deles, my comembers of this panel.

The signed agreements between the government and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) have listed several rights that we consider the most important and must be guaranteed in the negotiations and in the future Bangsamoro government. One of these rights is the right of women to meaningful political participation and freedom from all forms of violence. I would like to focus on the aspect of political participation. Why the emphasis on the political? In the Philippines, including, among the Moros and the indigenous peoples, women already play important social and economic roles. They dominate the schools. They are both buyers and sellers in the market place and, over the decades, more and more women have worked overseas to sustain their families. As a rule, they do most if not all of the household chores. Of course, there are exceptions like in my case. They are also helping out in the farm, running evacuation centers, and do other tasks in the private sphere.

It is in the arena of politics that women have been less visible. Yet it is politics that makes the decisions on our everyday lives. It is in politics that war gets known. Beyond one's neighbors and clans, it is politics that will change the future of our community, country, and the world. Those in politics make the decisions. They decide whether an army goes to war, or for it to be for peace; to respect the ceasefire, and allow them to return in their community or not; to make or modify recommendations, to sign or not to sign a peace agreement. If politics is so important, why are women often left out of that field? If negotiating peace is so important, why should there not be more women on the table? If sustaining the peace is crucial, why shouldn't women become actively involved in building peace on the ground?

The peace negotiation between the government and the MILF provides an interesting story of how women increasingly became important participants in the formal processes or the higher state level, which we call Track 1. It is also a developing story on how the active political participation of women is cascading down into the grassroots.

The Comprehensive Agreement on the Bangsamoro or the CAB, and the draft Bangsamoro Basic Law or the BBL contain all the necessary provisions for the protection and promotion of women's rights and welfare. Such outcomes did not happen overnight. It involved a seventeen-year negotiation process.

The whole context of democratization in Philippine society can be pegged to 1986 when we had the People Power Revolution, when our political institutions were restructured and a new constitution was passed. So let me just look at some of the contextual factors that supported this kind of very positive development for Filipino women.

Some of the recent trends over the last decade in finding peaceful and just solutions for armed conflicts in the country are as follows: First, the civilianization of the peace track. The diversification for all institutions involved went beyond basic institutions, which are all traditionally male-dominated. What are these institutions: the military, the bureaucracy, the legislature, the religious institutions. In recent years, we saw other institutions getting much, much, much more involved. This should be the case, after all, these are usually comprehensive problems and they require that kind of cooperation and coordination across different agencies of the government in order to deliver that kind of comprehensive peace and justice to the communities involved.

The involvement of civil society is also a more recent phenomenon. For example, if we look at our case, in the government panel talks with the MILF, involved are an academic, a former dean of the College of Law from the University of the Philippines, and now the Associate Justice of the Supreme Court; myself and another scholar of Islamic jurisprudence, a scholar from Mindanao, Dr. Yasmin Busran-Lao. The GPH panel for talks with the National Democratic Front or the Communist Party has many members coming from civil society.

Another contextual trend over the last decades is the conceptual or pragmatic moving away from traditional security to a broader view of peace and security, meaning human security, including the focus not just on the combatants but whole communities and the interface with the socio economic, security and political components. Development and capacity-building before the political agreement are important features of the whole negotiations, as well as now in the implementation. The synergy among all these elements is found in the Annex of Normalization. I do not know if you have a copy of our Comprehensive Agreement, but you will find that in a matrix. It is not without its own challenges and detractors. For example, some political leaders demand that 100% decommissioning happens before they pass the Bangsamoro Basic Law, which is of course very unreasonable and difficult to achieve because that would amount to virtual surrender even before the actual mechanism is put in place. And they would never have agreed to this process if that will be the case. All of these different elements make the approach very comprehensive without focusing on human security.

The third trend is a fact: more women get into important positions. They are able to bring other women. We call this women appointing women. Women know the work of other women, they know each other's capabilities and personhood. They get into the list of possible candidates because the women who are making decisions are up there already. Men, of course, know more men with expertise whom they can trust. They have moved around the same social or professional circles. And that explains the preponderance of males in all the institutions. In this regard, thanks to Secretary Deles who recommended me to the President and who considered my recommendations as well, for all the other women who joined our Technical Working Groups and various committees, the chairs of the three Technical Working Groups of government during the negotiations were women. They are all experts on wealth sharing, power sharing, and security. The current chair of the Normalization Committee who will see through the whole normalization component is a woman.

Let me discuss now some of the approaches and strategies that worked for us by way of identifying some measures that can be adopted. First is the opening of spaces or additional avenues for women's participation in the different processes, whether consultants or in the organization of forums or events that are dedicated largely to women. It can be said that awareness was raised on the part of everyone, including the MILF, on the need for the conscious inclusion of more women. So meaningful participation-building.

The MILF delegation started in Kuala Lumpur with no woman in their delegation. But over time, because of the new spaces that were opened up such as the TWG, and also because of the pressure that was brought on them, both by the domestic community as well as in the international community, they included women in their delegation. As demanded by their Islamic costume, women have to be accompanied by their male relative while traveling. Later, the more practical arrangement was for women to be the "protector" of each other. Some more women came in as domestic observers. It used to be that Emma was the only woman observer in the International Contact Group. The domestic women

observers were able to come inside the negotiating room and observe the whole process.

Second recommendation, building the sense of sisterhood: the women in the negotiation did not represent any women's organization. It was, thus, very important for us to link up with some of the women's groups. The women networks outside the talks expected us to carry through a gender agenda. They did their own networking with more women and other organizations. They can bring the issues of women to the talks and be important vehicles for women's empowerment.

With men around, many women tend to take the backseat. But among themselves, they are able to develop their leadership. In the absence of the husband or the father, women manage to take the lead in managing the day-to-day operations of evacuation centers. All women settings are the staging ground for future leadership in the community at large. Women are able to prove their capabilities and earn the respect of the men. It is important in this stage of empowering women to ensure that women are being included in all the training, planning, and implementation of various activities. Women themselves must believe in the art of possible. Through discussions and learning from each other, we can believe that change is possible.

For example, a training needs assessment of women's attitudes in several parts of Mindanao conducted by the Women Engaged in Action for UNSC Resolution 1325 or WEACT showed that before going through training, most women believe that it was not possible to control the proliferation of arms and to disband the private armed groups of politicians. They agreed that many violent incidents that women experience individually and as groups involved the use of guns. They did not see how the proliferation of guns could be stopped. Many among the women also believed that they should not be participating in peace and security, human rights, and governance work. But after going through the training and discussions on the peace agreements, they expressed optimism that things can change for the better especially if they help out and identify possible roles for themselves. According to them, they can encourage the decommissioning of weapons by the combatants and the acceptance of stricter regulation in the laws on firearms. They can serve as monitors in the enforcement of the regulation and the commitments under the Annex of Normalization. They can take part in the future police force for the Bangsamoro and act as mediators in community conflict resolution provided practitioners develop their knowledge and skills. So all of these opportunities and possibilities are opened up to them. These events and seminars are precisely being conducted in order for them to feel that they can play a role outside of their traditional

communities. I do not know if I have time but let me just list down several other recommendations by way of specific measures.

We need more women experts so we do need long term-training and building the expertise of women in peace and security-related fields such as foreign affairs, natural resources management, mediation, and conflict resolution. Second, we need to institutionalize and promote all of the protective mechanisms for women. In the case of the Philippines, we do have lot of these such as the Magna Carta for Women, the Anti-Rape Law and the National Action Plan. Hopefully, this will reverse and transform the relationship of domination and subordination to equality and respect between women and men.

Thank you for listening to this presentation.

# Lessons Learned and Insights As A Woman In Two Asian Peace Tables

#### Dr. Emma Leslie

### Center for Peace and Conflict Studies

Thank you and I want to add my voice to everybody else by thanking you, Ambassador Elizabeth, not only for this event but most especially for creating the best stress relief we have in this Philippine peace process. It has been a long time, but probably for many others as well.

I want to introduce myself in addition to that extensive introduction by just saying that I have never academically studied issues of gender and women, and my reflection today is more from my experience of being active in peace tables in the region both in Myanmar and the Philippines. But particularly I want to start just by drawing from 1991, and I think many in your country particularly were involved in the Paris Peace Accord nine years before the signing of the United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325.

I want to pick up three things today, the first one being why women are needed at the peace table. I have to admit that I have struggled to answer the question. My staff put together this mosaic of faces from the Philippines peace processes, all the GPH-MILF processes in particular. What I love about this mosaic is that it does not only show there were men and women, but also the age differences of people at this table, their political background, and their religious differences. You can see indigenous women, you see Muslim women who were represented at both sides of the negotiations. You see political people, you see academics, you see people with legal minds. Many of you have seen me speak in the last few months, heard me speak to the Datu and as a facilitator.

I think what was fundamental and important for me seeing these people at the table is the robustness and the richness of the diversity in that room. It's part of the root of the success of this peace agreement. Their negotiation skills, preparations, the political will in terms of many other things, but what is unique about this particular table is the fact that you have young people, Muslims, Christians, and indigenous people. You have foreigners who consider themselves to be local. I think some of you know Steve, who is an American but half Filipino. You have a myriad of people, which adds to the diversity. So for me, diversity is very important part of that dynamic.

What are the challenges to getting women to the table and having them participate effectively? I have not prepared a paper for today because I want to be able to tell you a few inside stories and I do not want that document to be going on record as having shared them. As my first point, I want to share a little bit about the time when Miriam was appointed as the negotiator for the government and the conversation I had with Chair lobal as a member of the International Contact Group. I found him to be very open and very willing to share his own feelings and his own frustrations about the process. On one particular meeting that we had with him, he expressed his great concern about negotiating with women. And we had a very honest discussion, a very considered discussion. He was really saying culturally, as a Moro man, he had never in his life had the experience of having to look across the table and work together with women. As the conversation went on for some time, I noticed that actually everyone in the room was a man except for me. I wondered if anyone noticed that. Chair lgbal continued to share that this was a problem for him in terms of how he should shake hands with her because generally he has no physical contact with women. He asked where he should look when he talks across the room and when speaking to her and so on and so forth. So after some time, I put my hand up and told him, "Chair Igbal, you do realize that I am a woman." And he said, "No. Emma, you are different," And I said, "No, and that's the point. If you will normalize your relationship with Miriam, you stop thinking that she is a woman rather as a negotiator on the other side, a human being. She is somebody you can talk with, share with, and soon you can be part of a negotiating panel with." To his credit, I think today - and I hope Miriam will testify - that Chair lobal actually does not have fundamental problems about negotiating with women anymore.

The second point is, as we got around talking about this experience, the fact is there are few of us women in peace processes – and me, in particular, the only woman in the International Contact Group. Very often I was introduced like the way Drew Gilpin Faust was introduced as the woman president of Harvard. And Drew Faust said, "I'm not the woman President of Harvard. I am the President of Harvard." I would say I am Director of the Cambodian non-governmental organization (NGO) Centre for Conflict and Peace Studies. I represent conciliation resources, I represent an NGO perspective, I represent many other things, but I am not the woman member of the ICG, and I heard Miriam introduced in the same way. She is the woman negotiator of the peace process from the Philippines. She is the chief negotiator; she is the head

of the panel, she is whatever. But she was not appointed because she is a woman.

In creating this dynamic where you are introduced as that woman, that becomes part of the identity. While it is not necessarily bad to be identified as a woman as we are, but that is not the reason we are there in the first place.

The time that we spent together, the long days and nights or weeks spent away from home together in one place obviously brings together certain kinds of relationships some identify in the room. There are grandfather and granddaughter relationships in that room. There were brother and sister relationships in that room. With respect to Zena, I believe that there was a mother-son relationship in the room at some point in the sense that one young male member of the team would really look out for his mother figure at least in the room and take advice from her. And I think this is something we have to do a lot of research on and improve our understanding of how women influence the political process with all the gender dynamics going on in the room. How do we both use that to transform, not only just be wives, or mothers or sisters in the room but also in terms of political considerations and so on? So this is a whole piece of work and theory that we have not unpacked fully yet. Something that I suffered from the first eighteen months.

As I work with young women now in peace leadership, I started to understand that they think they know that they are good. They know that they have something to offer. They have something to say. And yet they keep on assuming that people will find out they are phony, fake. What are they doing? And this notion of an impostor syndrome is being studied, but I am not sure within peace processes if we have found out how to help women deal with that. The term "impostor syndrome" was coined after studying highly successful women who considered themselves to be frauds and felt no internal sense of achievement. We have to focus on leadership formation for women on peace tables and remove that kind of mindset. They have something to offer; there is something valuable in you that will shape and transform society.

We talk a lot about getting women to the table. But how do we prepare them for this myriad of dynamics that they have to deal with? Relationships in the room in terms of men to women, the culture dynamics, and how they can communicate with each other, and this issue of the impostor syndrome. We have given a lot of credit to the Philippines peace process. There were so many women in that room, particularly from government side. I just want to show you the pictures of the International Contact Group. If you see these pictures and contrast them with the Philippines where there are women in both the government and the MILF panels, you realize that the international community did not do so well.

So there are two things that I have been able to identify thinking about this. One of them is the political will by the Philippine government to locate and promote competent women into the process and, as Miriam talked about, women bringing in other women. The second thing, I think, is the creative use of UNSCR 1325 in talking to the MILF. Early in the talks, we saw that the MILF had no women participants either in the secretariat or in their negotiating panel, so we proposed to talk to them behind the scenes and inquire why that was the case. And they said their culture does not allow that. We said that part of the agenda of the MILF is to have international credibility, and if you want to be recognized by the UN and others as a valuable partner in the peace process and as an armed group with serious and legitimate concerns, one of the ways you will get that is to respect UNSCR 1325 and to have more women in place. We also said that it will constrain their funding support if they do not include women.

Miriam said Muslim women need to travel with a man in order to participate. Every embassy in Manila has extra money for women's participation and we can talk to them for additional tickets in order to make that happen. Once we were able to address those arguments against women in the room, they took more seriously the possibility that they could have them. Later, of course, Raissa Jajurie was involved and acted as key legal support to the MILF in the Bangsamoro Transition Commission.

I just want to take you back to the mosaic because I think when you look at these individuals, it is not just age differences, not just religious differences, not just gender differences that made up this room. It was also personality differences and, I think, that is when you embrace the inclusion of diversity as a fundamental principle to peace. It's not just to have 5 women and 5 men in both sides of their table. It is to say that we need all of this richness and expertise to be able to make a peace process robust. Of course the key question for this group is "So what for AIPR? I think it is time for all of us to move beyond rhetoric and endless calls for women at peace talks and for us to go much deeper to the way that we can make things happen and to be much more creative about it.

I want to cite the case of peace talks between the Myanmar government with the Karen National Union (KNU) and the All Burma Student's Democratic Front (ABSDF) in mid-2012. The women basically took over the talks and had leading businesswomen fund the talks. The current women's business action group of Dr. Rebecca supported the entire secretariat, all of the catering, and all of the translation work. Because of that, the whole room was full of women passing notes, giving suggestions, drafting texts, and really influencing the peace process.

The second thing for AIPR, I think, is about a peace leadership program for women focusing on skills, capacities, a wide knowledge of issues and experiences of peace processes, and, in particular, addressing the "impostor syndrome". What we need to do is to focus on skills and capacity. It's not just to learn what is UNSCR 1325. They need to learn constitutions, political processes, and comparative experiences, which will really equip women to be able to participate equally at the table. So help them move beyond this "impostor syndrome". I think we should have a well thought out, thoroughly considered leadership program. We should target young women with potential to go up through the system.

And, I think, going back to the system of inter-generational mentoring mentioned yesterday and supporting women who can be at the table or who find themselves sometimes unexpectedly there, sometimes it is about pointing women to the table and then making them the most effective and most useful resources in the room.

So thank you for letting me bombard you with my thoughts. I am going to leave this mosaic of faces with you. Thanks, Elizabeth.

# **Best Practices on Women, Peace and Security**

### Ms. Elisabeth Slåttum

Norwegian Special Envoy for the Philippine Peace Process With the National Democratic Front of the Philippines

#### Magandang umaga po!

First of all, I would like to commend the ASEAN Institute for Peace and Reconciliation and the Philippine Government for taking the initiative to organize this very timely and important workshop here in beautiful Cebu. As I was asked to talk about best practices on women, peace and security, I will talk about examples of the inclusion of women in peace processes, though I wouldn't say these are necessarily the best practices. And I will talk about the examples from the facilitators' standpoint.

Let me briefly start by talking about the Norwegian engagement in peace and reconciliation just so you know the larger context. In 2003, the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs set up a Section for Peace and Reconciliation. Since then we have been involved in over 20 peace processes, most of which are secret, and we are now 16 people working on this. The aim of establishing this section was of course strengthening our capacities in facilitation.

A lot of people ask me why Norway engages in peace processes when we are far away. We are on the other side of the world. Well, first of all, we are a very small and wealthy country in Northern Europe and we believe we have a moral responsibility to contribute to resolving conflict. We also see that it is in our own interest in an increasingly globalized world to work on this issue and, last but not least, we know that conflict is a major obstacle for development. Preventing conflict is a very efficient way of fostering development.

When we engage in the peace process, we only do it if we are asked by the parties. We have five principles for working on this. First is that dialogue is key. We strongly believe that dialogue and negotiations are the way to go. Even when there is strong disagreement and severe conflict, dialogue is key. Second, we have a long-term perspective. We do not go for quick fixes and we are willing to take risks along the way. And there is political consensus in Norway about this issue, which has allowed us to have flexibility when we engage. Third, it is very important for us that the parties themselves own the process. We don't pressure the parties into solutions, etc. For us, peace can only be sustainable if the parties take ownership of the peace process. The level of risk that the parties take going into the peace process is so much higher than the facilitator takes, so all the credit should go to the parties. They should take responsibility for every success and every failure of the peace process. Fourth, partnership is key. We do not operate in a vacuum. We cooperate very closely with civil society, with academic experts, with the UN, and with other countries. And then fifth, last but not least, inclusivity. Inclusion is very important in sustainable peace and this is where, of course, inclusion of women comes in.

In order to be credible on this agenda, you need to look at yourself first. So if you are the mediation organization you need to work on this well. First of all, step one, recruit women. They are out there: find them, recruit them. Second step, train them, not only on UNSCR 1325-related issues but in peace in general, like how to negotiate a ceasefire, what demobilization and transitional justice are, everything that it takes to be effective negotiators.

Third, give them hands on experience. All the training in the world cannot replace hands on experience. Just like Secretary Deles was saying yesterday, you need to be inside the peace process, inside the negotiation room, to understand the power relationships and what is actually going on in the peace process. So this is really, really key.

And the fourth, be courageous. Whether you are a man or a woman, appoint women as a facilitators, and this not only applies to facilitators but also to parties in conflict. Each party in the conflict should give their women a chance. And here I really have to commend the Philippine government and especially the Office of the Presidential Adviser in the Peace Process and Secretary Deles for their unyielding commitment to this cause. As you know now, women are strong and involved in the peace process in the country and I think you could impart this advice all over the world.

Why include women? The women are there not because of the unyielding commitment to UNSCR 1325 but because of their competence. We need someone to be courageous enough to believe that. The last point I would add is networking. This year, the Northern countries are establishing a network of female negotiators, or female mediators/ facilitators, and some of my male colleagues are not very happy about this. They feel excluded. But I think that only women can understand the challenges that we are up against. We need to support each other. It is such a good idea. We support the initiative of the African Network for Women Mediators, and that was actually where we got our inspiration

as facilitators. We have also been talking about an Indonesian Network and I think that is a brilliant idea.

Let me move on to how we work to include women's participation and the inclusion of the gender perspective in peace processes. More often than not, women are excluded from Track 1 negotiations, but that does not mean a peace agreement becomes weaker. It just means women have to work harder to make themselves heard. In our experience with Track 2, women have been most successful and most influential when they have managed to organize across cultural, ethnic, political and religious divides and agree on a common platform for peace, and two, when they use the efficiency approach, rather than the rights-based approach. This means that they focus on the value women give to the peace process rather than focusing on women's human rights as provided for by international law.

Some examples about Track 2 negotiations that we have been involved in – first of all, Guatemala. In Guatemala, women managed to have a great level of influence in the peace process although there were only two women in the negotiating teams. The civil society consultations that included women's groups, were very important, and the UN mediator endorsed a formal tabling of their recommendations because there was also a problem with the link from Track 2 to Track 1. So you need the mediator or facilitator to at least bring whatever Track 2 comes up with to actual tables in Track 1. The actual agreement in Guatemala provides a greater number of provisions with the gender dimension.

In Nepal, women were excluded from the negotiations. But there we have a perfect example of citizen-based action where independent women and women's groups allied themselves and made themselves heard. They managed to hold on to this big women's movement and draft the National Action Plan for the implementation of UNSCR 1325.

In Sri Lanka, Norway funded, as we always do, women's organizations. But they did not manage to have a lot of influence on the peace table. The reason for that, according to experts, was that the polarization in Sri Lankan society was so strong and the confidence between the ethnic communities was so lacking that it was very difficult for these women to gather and form a common platform. So here it did not work.

I want to mention Afghanistan and Syria quickly. In Afghanistan, as you know, the Afghan women's position is very challenging. They do not take active part in political life, but it does not mean that they do not play a role behind the scenes –they often do. Norway talks to the Taliban and to the government. We focus on the rights of women. It is not because of

culture that we should not bring this up as it is important for sustainable peace, and this is our responsibility. In Afghanistan, we support women's groups to enhance their negotiation skills for possible upcoming peace processes. The same goes for Syria, where we also provide advice to Syrian women on how to negotiate most effectively and how to play a role in the peace process.

Let us move over to Track 1. As you know, this is a huge challenge. According to the study cited yesterday, UN Women said that in 2012, women are more often than not excluded from Track 1. Only 9% are women negotiators. But in some cases, there is a more positive experience. Here again the Philippines is a brilliant example, of course. And I would say that even Norway looks bad. Norway usually does not look bad when it comes to the gender equality, but when it comes to the number of women Ambassadors, the Philippines, I learned from Elizabeth, has more women Ambassadors than men. This is not the case for Norway, which is still struggling with that.

So I have to say our main focus is on Colombia because I come from the Colombia peace process. I was part of the team from the very beginning. Here it comes back to being credible for yourself. So you need women in your team. And we were then two women initially so now there is actually three out of four. I remember the first meeting with the government for the preparatory talks, which was confidence-building. They were texting each other and it was very uneasy. It was very difficult for us to bring up the inclusion of women. There they were, trying to find a solution to a conflict that has lasted for 50 years, which has killed more than 200,000 people. And for them, I think, a gender perspective or the inclusion of women did not seen that relevant. But we knew we needed to bring it up that early, before they formed their teams. It's not only me as a female but also my male colleague. So we did, and we kept doing it because you have to keep doing it. And the arguments that you use are very important.

In the beginning, it might be argued that women are affected differently by conflict and women can contribute the complimentary perspective on the conflict, and that peace is more sustainable if women are included in the peace process. But I think, by the end of the day, the argument that most resonates for the parties is that the exclusion of women decreases the legitimacy of the peace process in the eyes of the international community. If you have women, you have more legitimacy and I think that is what resonates with them. And you can only hope the time will come when they will actually recognize that it is important in itself. So what we do is keep bringing it up on several occasions with both parties. We provided policy papers on the issues on how they can integrate the gender dimension into the very concrete agenda items on their agenda. We provided experts on the topic and there is increasing awareness. Still, there were only two women in each negotiation team, two out of ten, 20% women participation. But in the Fuerzas Armadas Revolucianarias de Columbia (FARC) webpage, women are very active. FARC has given women a voice, and is empowering them. And I see the women who participate at the table. More importantly, they recently established a Subcommittee on Gender, and what is historical here is that both women and men participate in this Subcommittee, and even on the FARC side, the chief negotiator has also participated in at least one of the meetings of the Subcommittee. The Subcommittee is newly established and the government wants to participate in some of their discussions. The subcommittee of course wants to make sure that the gender dimension is included in the peace agreement. We should also say that we have provided international and Colombian experts to the Subcommittee for capacity-building. It's not because we are women that we are experts on how to integrate the gender dimension into the peace process or peace agreement.

Also in Sri Lanka they had the Subcommittee on Women, and here it was interesting. On the government side, they had sort of urban intellectual and university-based academic feminists, but on the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) side, they had, you know, women fighters from the countryside. So there were a huge gap between the two groups, and you had to do capacity-building. We had to give them a lot of informal space outside the negotiation room so that they could get to know each other on a personal level. Undoubtedly, this eased things in the negotiation room, but as we all know the talks broke down.

Setting up Subcommittees on Gender is one way to go. But there are two challenges that I see on the focus on Subcommittees on Gender. One, you have to make sure that people in the Subcommittee have influence on the main table. This is very, very important. It cannot be just complying with a gender quota, so women will be at the peace table. The second challenge is that gender cannot be relegated to the Subcommittee. The gender dimension should be a part of discussions on everything, including in the Subcommittee on Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration (DDR) when they discuss ceasefire and normalization. Gender has to be integrated as part of all discussions. So in the Philippines, as haa been mentioned, it's very, very lucky that we have a critical mass of women.

So to sum it up, first you have to be credible to yourself. You have to invest in your own women and build their competence. And second, basically, we're talking about the walking the talk. You support women's groups, you train them and build their competence. You fund them to take part in Track 2 mechanisms and you link them up to Track 1. And third, in Track 1 of the formal peace process, you need to work with the parties in order to raise their awareness and include more women.

But before I end, I also want to take this opportunity to express my support for the peace process in Mindanao. I really commend both parties for having this unyielding commitment to the peace process in the midst of this storm. There is no alternative. Going back to war is not an alternative. The people of the Philippines deserve some peace. I know I do not have to say this to you, but stay strong. You have lots of supporters. It is not their voices that are the loudest but they are there.

So thank you very much, salamat po. You gave women a voice!

# SESSION FOUR OPEN FORUM

MODERATOR: H.E. ELIZABETH P. BUENSUCESO

Permanent Representative of the Philippines to ASEAN Member, AIPR Governing Council

### AMBASSADOR ELIZABETH P. BUENSUCESO

We've heard three interesting perspectives of different peace processes and they gave us a lot of food for thought. I would like to borrow around 5-10 minutes from the coffee break if you don't mind, because we have a lot of time allotted for our coffee break and give time for participants to ask their questions or say their comments on what we have heard this morning. The floor is now open, for questions, comments, queries, etc. I will collect three questions at a time and ask our panelists to answer them and then I can go for a second round. Who will have the first? Dr. Rikken, you have the floor. She was the most active last night on the dancing floor.

### CHAIRPERSON REMEDIOS RIKKEN

Can you please explain further the difference between efficiency approach and human rights approach?

### AMBASSADOR ELIZABETH P. BUENSUCESO

OK, panelists, you'll answer later the question on the efficiency approach versus the human rights approach. How nice it would be if everybody could ask questions as succinctly as Dr. Rikken just did. Ms. Sakuntala?

### MS. SAKUNTALA KADIRGAMAR-RAJASINGHAM

I will be brief. Professor Ferrer, would you please take us back into the war room as it were, in the peace room, on how you negotiated, what kind of mapping processes took place in deciding who would be the key negotiators on both sides. What planning, what convincing did you have to take to make sure that women played such a significant role? I think yesterday we heard that when there are setbacks it is very easy to blame the negotiators. We have strategy when battles are lost, but we

don't have a strategy when peace has a setback. What kind of thinking is going behind the scenes?

#### AMBASSADOR ELIZABETH P. BUENSUCESO

Thank you! Next, we have Dr. Somkiati from Thailand.

### **DR. SOMKIATI ARIYAPRUCHYA**

Thank you! Actually I have a few questions to ask, since we have with us a key person dealing with the peace negotiations, but I will try to be brief in my questions. I'm also teaching negotiations, so I would like to know how to have a good negotiation, and being a woman, what your secret advantage is in negotiating. What are the elements that help in negotiations? What are the reasons that government takes into consideration in deciding to engage in the peace process? What are the three most important challenges that you faced? Thank you.

#### AMBASSADOR ELIZABETH P. BUENSUCESO

Thank you for those questions, I think we have enough to start with. I would like Prof. Ferrer to answer those related to her presentation and then Elisabeth will answer those related to facilitation.

### PROF. MIRIAM CORONEL-FERRER

Thank you for the questions. Emma will help me out in some of these. Let's see. The peace room, how they do negotiations there. There were several strategies to soften up the introduction of gender content in a peace agreement itself. I actually have a power point of the gender content of the Bangsamoro Basic Law that can be provided to everyone, but these are largely translations on what we have in the agreement and for further elaboration you will find that in the Comprehensive Agreement on the Bangsamoro (CAB). This has a gender element across the different concerns.

So how did we manage to do that? We had to do it in different ways. Soft way: during Valentine's Day, we gave them chocolates, which had never happened before in negotiations. The women gave the men chocolates, and that was the day we were discussing a listing, or a reiteration of basic rights, and we wanted the meaningful political participation of women listed. It was a long Valentine's Day, and it was tough discussing what "meaningful" meant. They were scared of the word" meaningful" because it might mean a quota system, it might be something else. But basically we said it's the opposite of "meaningless", and what makes it meaningful is how women define that which is meaningful for them. That was the message that we tried to get across.

There was an instance when we tried to hand over a copy of UNSC Resolution 1325 to the government panel's chair, a man who is an honorary woman also, a feminist man. We asked him to hand it over. He tried to push it but there was backlash and he said, slowly, not yet. So we had to backtrack a little. But afterwards it became easier, when we were able to convey that there was kind of all-around pressure on this issue, coming from inside the room and outside the room from the international and domestic community, and that's how we got to the point where we do have these very important provisions in the agreement.

Very recently, we managed to talk to the Bangsamoro Islamic Women's Auxiliary Brigade (BWAB) with Undersecretary Zenaida here, who chairs the Joint Normalization Committee. She is the security expert that I was referring to earlier. Our strategy was that we knew that the Commander, her male counterpart, would soon be here, so we said, okay, let's do the opening program, but afterwards you ask all the men to please get out of the room and let the women stay here. And it worked. Why? Because, first of all, we rearranged the room like a classroom, with the more senior, older women in front and the younger women at the back, and there was some kind of military formation. We then asked everyone to talk. Basically, the agenda was to define what kinds of socioeconomic interventions they felt was necessary as part of the long-term development, but we phrased the question as aspirations. What were their aspirations? And they were able to talk freely, without the men in the room. When we finished, we asked the men to come back, and we told them, this is what we got. We pushed and pushed that they allow us access to this BWAB so that we can continue to work more effectively in putting concrete activities on the ground for the Women's Auxiliary Brigade. So that's the kind of strategizing that we do to get these things as part of the process, as part of the content. There are many more examples. But let me go to the other question - the advantage of being a woman! They said that what makes it hard for them to deal with a woman is that in their culture, they don't quarrel with women. But it's not true. I can tell you, it's not true.

They quarreled with us. But actually we know that the emotional content is heavier on their side because it's about their history, it's about their identity, it's about their struggle. And every time the emotional level goes up, we go down. We don't get into this machismo thing where you have to compete with them. But on that level I have to tell you, the men in our team were all very good as well. And we worked as a team. It was not the effort of just any one member. In the heat of the negotiations, you can also lose your cool and we kicked each other under the table to say or maybe motion, "You're getting really heated, you should go down". We do that to each other so we're able to guide each other. And strategize who will go forward in this agenda who will sort go a little backward. And these we were able to do.

We had assignments. Before we entered the negotiating room, we determined who will be pursuing certain points and so on. It was very good teamwork. I'm very happy to say that we were able to develop that kind of collegiality or camaraderie within our team and it helped a lot cause we were working together as one team, Eventually, we developed camaraderie as well on the other side.

Now for the last question, the challenges are very difficult. How do we address the setbacks? You know part of the setback here really involves gender-based violence. You wouldn't think that part of the demonization of the process has been the demonization of the women who were there at the forefront. There have been messages that are coming out with sexual content. You cannot allow that kind of thing to go on in the social media. We are taking appropriate action, including by mobilizing the women's groups and the social media networks to stand up and say something against this, not only for us, but for all the women public officials who will be subjected to that kind of harassment or demonization simply because they are women.

The real challenge is communication, because part of the biggest challenge is really addressing the biases and the prejudice. The lack of popular understanding not only among the public but also among our political elites about the whole context of this conflict itself and also the whole context of the peace process. A lot of things have been misunderstood at the general level, but also at the more basic level. It's election time now in the Philippines and part of the viciousness, the vitriol that came out to bring down this process has to do with electoral politics. We entered the electoral terrain and that means a lot of work for us in terms of communication so that the biases and prejudices of the general public are not tweaked to suit certain political agendas. Because after all, this is not about who's going to be the next president, this is about the future of a people who have long been subjected to this difficult situation – the future of Mindanao. Anything that's good for Mindanao is also good for the Philippines and the rest of Southeast Asia and the rest of the world. Thank you.

#### AMBASSADOR ELIZABETH P. BUENSUCESO:

Thank you, Professor Ferrer, for keeping a level head in the midst of the storm. Emma, would like to weigh in?

### DR. EMMA LESLIE:

Many of you presented previously about the Malaysian facilitation. What we haven't given enough attention to in this process is the emotional intelligence and the ability to put aside the ego. I think that was true for men and women in the room. The emotional intelligence and the capacity to facilitate and to know when to pull back, when to stop, when to take a break, and when to let somebody pick up the issue. It requires a particular skill that we need to know in both men and women. This whole question of ego is so fundamental to be able to move the peace process - putting your ego aside and taking your ego out of it. I mean, we typically start with a stable mind, but ego intervenes. But I do think that the women in this particular room were able to set aside that ego and be emotionally intelligent. Being emotionally intelligent is not about not being able to cry. We did a lot of crying - both the men and the women, but it's about being clever and knowing when the right moment is to push something. The Valentine's Day chocolate-giving is a fantastic example. It created a lot of laughter and hilarity in the room.

We also need to admit that the women in the room gave each other a lot of support, particularly in the women's toilet. It was one of our preferred venues as that is the only place where we can actually meet without anybody listening to us. The support across the room was fundamental to each of us feeling confident in various roles that we are playing.

One last point – my colleague from Conciliation Resources, Christian Hubbles Simon, should definitely be described as a male feminist. He and I had an agreement that he would speak on women's issues and I would speak on other issues so that I would not be typecast as someone who only spoke on women's issues. This was done not because I didn't support the issues, or because I could not speak for women, but as a strategy into that particular male-dominated space of the International Contact Group. That meant there were at least two of us who were advocating women's issues, and it freed me up to be able to speak on other things that I felt strongly about. I know that not everybody agrees with that approach, but in this particular case, we did the dynamics in our team for us to get some of those issues to move forward.

### AMBASSADOR ELIZABETH P. BUENSUCESO:

So you can see that we women are not scared to share with you men our strategies and techniques in negotiations. We learned a lot of negotiation techniques in just a few minutes of listening to the explanations of the two lady speakers. I would like to go back now to Elisabeth with the question of Professor Rikken on the difference between the human rights approach versus the efficiency approach.

## MS. ELISABETH SLÅTTUM:

The human rights-based approach is more that you go in and you say that it is my human right to be here. Security Council Resolution 1325 says that I should be at the table or I should be heard. That argument in our experience works less than saying, for instance, that women's participation gives an added value to the peace process. If I am at the table we have different perspectives. We suffered differently from the conflict. We have different perspectives that will make the peace agreements more comprehensive to a certain extent. And also, using the argument of efficiency for the peace process gives us legitimacy. That is sort of the difference.

I also want to add that I completely agree with your points on whether or not there's a difference if you are a woman. We discussed this a lot with my team members and with my predecessor who is male. He often said that he felt that a woman's presence was a bit less intimidating, less threatening and, of course, it depends on your personality. But the presence of women in the room made the men a little bit milder. I remember that in the secret phase of the peace process. I was pregnant and that sort of created an ice-breaker. They decided at the table that nobody could smoke because I was pregnant. So they joked about that and they called it their first ceasefire.

### AMBASSADOR ELIZABETH P. BUENSUCESO:

Okay, now I'm ready to take the second set the last set. Doc Reyes?

### **DR. SOCORRO REYES:**

Thank you very much. I have always expressed support for Miriam and Ging because I always thought that there is a gender issue when you are subjected to such harassment in the hearings for both the House and the

Senate. I always thought that had these two been men they would have been treated differently. Anyway, my point is on the meaningful political participation that you mentioned. More important than meaningful political participation is how it is translated in the Bangsamoro Basic Law into a real, significant increase in women's participation. My question is: was there any discussion among yourselves about the electoral system that can really translate meaningful political participation into reality? The Bangsamoro Basic Law says that the Bangsamoro Parliament will be composed of 40% from direct elections. 50% from the party list system, and then 10% for the reserved seats. For the reserved seats, at least one seat will be for women. That's really not the contentious part. The party list system as we practice it now is very different from the party list envisioned in the Bangsamoro Basic Law. The meaningful political participation clause of the Basic Law cannot be translated into reality unless that party list is a closed party list where women are represented on a zebra stripe basis, women/man/woman. Was there any discussion about that or did they just say, "Well, just give 50% party list"? The women will not win that way.

Then the second point that I would like to make is for Emma because you have also been dealing with Iqbal. We submitted a list of suggestions to the Bangsamoro Transitional Commission to strengthen the gender provisions. Chair Iqbal was very accommodating at that point but then we saw the Bangsamoro Basic Law and it looks like our suggestions evaporated except, of course, for a few significant provisions that you already mentioned. So for us women, it's the translation of things like "meaningful" into reality.

### AMBASSADOR ELIZABETH P. BUENSUCESO:

Do we have any more questions? Ms. Shadia, do you have a question?

### **MS. SHADIA MARHABAN:**

Thank you. My question is addressed to Ms. Slåttum, regarding the Norwegian position. We all agree on the different functions of a facilitator and a mediator. In your involvement in Sri Lanka and the outrage at the violence that has happened, have you done any evaluation and, in the future, will you take this as a lesson learned? I haven't heard anything so far from the government of Norway regarding the failure of the peace in Sri Lanka. I would like to know what happened with the LTTE women. I would like to know what happened to the civilians who were killed. No one speaks for them. Thank you.

### AMBASSADOR ELIZABETH P. BUENSUCESO:

Before you answer that, we have one last question from Ambassador Min Lwin of Myanmar.

### AMBASSADOR MIN LWIN:

Thank you, Elizabeth. Professor Miriam, you talk about giving chocolates during Valentine's Day. I wish to thank Elizabeth, her team, and the entire organizing committee. We received a packet of chocolates last night in our room. Thank you for that.

On the wall in my father's bedroom, he has this quotation: I'm the boss of this house. Whatever my wife says shall be done. I have taught you this good quotation from my dad.

We are here to support the women strengthening women in peace and reconciliation. Don't get me wrong if my question is not correct. I want to listen more. You have explained about the advantage and the strength of women on the negotiation table when you act as mediator. What are the weaknesses of women? I would like to listen more on how to overcome the weaknesses of women on the negotiation table to give guidance to the women who will participate in the peace process in the future. Thank you.

### AMBASSADOR ELIZABETH P. BUENSUCESO:

Okay, he doesn't usually go provocative like that so maybe because he's the last to ask the question, he asked the question that way. Who wants to go first? Emma?

### DR. EMMA LESLIE:

I think that's what I'm trying to say. That impostor syndrome, I think it's not weakness, I think it's that we women doubt ourselves sometimes and we need to find a way to overcome that. There is a study, there's some crazy study, about men applying for jobs that they are not qualified for and women who do not apply for the jobs that they are qualified for. I think, very often, that is true. In the case of mediation and facilitation, we still hold back. There are many other obstacles but I think one of the weaknesses as you put it is that we also sometimes don't put ourselves forward or we don't support each other in order to be able to put ourselves forward.

### MS. ELISABETH SLÅTTUM:

Yes, I agree. I think one of the biggest weaknesses would be the lack of confidence. But as I said earlier, the best way to combat that is to give women very good training, especially hands-on experience. I think my experience in Colombia gave me so much more confidence that I felt that I knew what I was doing after that. I mean, every conflict is different so you don't become an expert, but it at least it gives you more confidence so I think that's important. On Sri Lanka, I think it was a year or maybe two years ago when there was a huge evaluation of Norway's engagement in Sri Lanka. It is in English and it is public, and we did a big public meeting about it and we discussed it in the press. Many lessons were learned as well as criticisms of our engagement. It was an independent report. We did not do it ourselves. I can send it to you. And while I am not an expert on Sri Lanka, I know that our Embassy there still works strongly on funding and supporting human rights organizations and the communities, and I can also give you some information on that.

### AMBASSADOR ELIZABETH P. BUENSUCESO:

We will allow Professor Ferrer to respond now.

### PROF. MIRIAM CORONEL FERRER:

First of all, at the end of the day, it's not just about any woman or any man, it has to be the right woman or the right man. That's not to say there is a perfect man or a perfect woman. But in terms of strength, I think one of the particular things is the fact that if you are a woman. other women come to you more easily, They find it easier to talk to you, to express what they think, even bring up their issues to you. Otherwise, those issues would not have gotten on the agenda, if these had not been relayed by the women who felt more confident, felt that other women are more accessible. If it were a male official representing the government for instance, it wouldn't have been as easy for them to come up and say, "This is our problem, can you help us?" They feel that because you are also a woman, you will really do something about it, perhaps more than other men. So that is strength - that you have access to the other half of the population, that this other half of the population actually thinks that they can approach you and bring their agenda to you, so that this will go up the high level of decision-making, and that's true.

Even when there's a small problem at the community level, the attitude and misconception is that you'll have to deal with it simply because you're a woman. And that's already a challenge to you. Men don't have that challenge when they step into a room or when they go out in the public sphere to be able to know in advance a certain agenda. But we have to deal with that, and we have to make adjustments. We need to be able to address this attitude, these biases or cultural practices at the beginning. We have to overcome, we have to navigate in order to be effective in our jobs.

About ego, women have that problem too. We have a code name for that: we call it "ega", which makes it feminine. We say among some women friends that we have been working with that if there is a problem about this other woman, she has this "ega" problem, which is the female version of the male "ego." But anyway, Sir, Your Excellences, when we talk about being boss of this house, I'm sure that not many men have a problem with women being bosses in the house. But we women do need to get out of just being the boss of the house. That is where the problem also starts to be more pronounced: when we talk about women being boss outside the house. Thank you.

#### AMBASSADOR ELIZABETH P. BUENSUCESO:

Ms. Sakuntala will not let a man have the last say. She gets the last question.

#### MS. SAKUNTALA KADIRGAMAR-RAJASINGHAM:

I'm responding to my friend Shadia Marhaban's question. There is a Human Rights Commissioner's Report that is due in September this year to look at the last days of the conflict in Sri Lanka. We missed the opportunity to negotiate differently due to the tragedy of the tsunami. But in terms of the female combatants, for some reason, the previous government decided that the best way to reintegrate them into society is to give them training to become beauticians, so that has been a rapid switch. Whether they are happy beauticians or whether they wanted to be beauticians, no one ever asked that question. But they felt that in terms of meaningful participation vs. meaningless participation, this might be the best way of integration, but we will talk about it later in the margins. Thank you.

#### AMBASSADOR ELIZABETH P. BUENSUCESO:

There was another question for Prof. Ferrer, actually a long question about the political participation of women. We don't have much time but I trust you answer it quickly.

#### PROF. MIRIAM CORONEL-FERRER:

We will provide the power point of the gender provisions in a draft basic law so you can take a look. But on electoral politics, the law itself is still very general. How can women, for instance, put up their women's party list groups so that they can get seats in that 50% allocated for party list representation in the Bangsamoro Parliament aside from the reserved seats for women? And then there are also other bodies like the Council of Leaders, so that you will have a sectoral representation, including of women. However, right now, the law itself does not define that. The Parliament of the Bangsamoro will need to pass that law in order to operationalize the system for party list. That will take the 50% of the parliament. So it's still a struggle for all the other women to influence the party list law that will be passed by the Bangsamoro Parliament.

### AMBASSADOR ELIZABETH P. BUENSUCESO:

Emma, what did you do?

### DR. EMMA LESLIE:

What did I do to Chairman Iqbal? One is obviously that all of us in that process is going through a process of transformation. You were saying that Chairman Iqbal is not yet evolved enough to have implemented some gender provisions into the BBL, but he is a different person today than when they started this process. I think we all are. My role was in the International Contact Group, which is for states and for non-government organizations that provided the support, occasional advice, and observer role around the structure. So I was one of the four non-government organization representatives, and we are allowed to approach either party at any time. I would say part of that role is emotional support: being a sounding board for people when they want to vent before they go back into negotiations, thinking things through brainstorming, and occasionally facilitating. So we played all kinds of roles, but in that conversation, it was when the MILF was in particular struggling with the concept of a female Chair. I think it moved on from there reasonably quickly.

## AMBASSADOR ELIZABETH P. BUENSUCESO:

What an interesting session we've had today and what emotionally and intellectually intelligent panel members I have. Please help me in saying thank you to them by giving them a round of applause, Let us go for a coffee break now. Please come back for the session on Summary, Recommendations and Closing Remarks. Come back with fresh ideas. Let's discuss all your recommendations and decide what to do with them. Thank you!

SUMMARY, **RECOMMENDATIONS AND CLOSING REMARKS** LUTION

### SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

MODERATOR: H.E. ELIZABETH P. BUENSUCESO Permanent Representative of the Philippines to ASEAN Member, AIPR Governing Council

#### AMBASSADOR ELIZABETH P. BUENSUCESO:

We have heard recommendations from various participants in this Workshop. In fact, the other day, during our AIPR Governing Council meeting, we made a decision to place all these recommendations in a basket. They will become our pipeline of recommendations that we as AIPR can implement in the future or help other groups to undertake. So this is how we are going to treat the various recommendations that we will be hearing in this session and those we have heard yesterday. I would like to summarize what I heard so far by focusing on two recommendations that I heard being said during yesterday's session.

The first appeal made by various speakers is for AIPR to continue to provide a platform for women to discuss issues, concerns, challenges, and opportunities in mainstreaming women in peace processes and conflict resolution. So , AIPR should provide a platform. And I think this was also specifically addressed by our Chair Dato' Hasnudin – maybe he can respond to it in his closing remarks later on.

The second recommendation I heard from various speakers is for AIPR to be the body to help women train other women to become mediators, facilitators, negotiators, peace researchers, peace activists, and peace practitioners.

So that is my summary of the recommendations in yesterday's and this morning's discussions. I would like to go around, to listen to more recommendations from the floor.

I also heard this morning an aspirational recommendation – everybody in the room expressed support for the peace process with the Bangsamoro, with the MILF, to continue, for the Philippines to continue with this peace process.

These are the three things that I heard in all the sessions. So may I open the floor now for other recommendations?

#### AMBASSADOR EMALEEN ABDUL RAHMAN TEO:

Thank you very much, Ambassador Elizabeth.

Actually, after hearing the sessions we had yesterday as well as this morning, one thing that came to my mind very strongly is what you have just said, which is the need to train women, the right women as has been pointed out by Prof. Ferrer, to be part of the peace process because women can contribute. They can provide the opportunities and the added advantages. So this is very important. AIPR, what we have done so far is to hold workshops to gather information on peace mediation and peace processes. But I think we need to take a step further, to actually move up by organizing training workshops. And one of these training courses could, can be, you know, training of women to be mediators, and as you pointed out, let's get the experts, the women experts, those who have undertaken the role of mediator to initiate this. And that recommendation is in line with the TOR of AIPR.

Secondly, one of the roles that should be played by AIPR is to provide policy recommendations. And one thing that I also learned from this workshop is that there is a need for political will. There's a need for governments to take that step in appointing women to play a role in peace processes. And this is something that AIPR can provide to our governments. Thank you!

### AMBASSADOR ELIZABETH P. BUENSUCESO:

Excellent recommendations and, as Ambassador Emaleen said, these are within the terms of reference of the AIPR. If you look at the organizational structure of AIPR that we agreed on, it says there that we should develop a pool of peace practitioners. And maybe it will become fodder for our next AIPR meeting. Thank you very much, Ambassador Emaleen, for those excellent recommendations. Any other recommendations?

### **MS. SHADIA MARHABAN:**

AIPR can provide a roster similar to the UN, because I myself had been a part of the United Nations Mediation Support Unit (MSU) but I have never been called in the last three years. So if I might be useful somewhere then I can also participate. I don't know how AIPR can achieve this, but I think with the help of all of us here, I would like to see an AIPR roster of women mediators specifically for Southeast Asia.

### AMBASSADOR ELIZABETH P. BUENSUCESO:

Okay, that is a good recommendation. As AIPR gains credibility and influence as an ASEAN Institution, then people can come to AIPR who should be able to recommend mediators, facilitators, etc. Very good recommendation. Yes, Ambassador Ngurah, Indonesia.

### AMBASSADOR I GEDE NGURAH SWAJAYA:

I think that is one of the mandates of AIPR, and that should be in the recommendations. Also, we remember yesterday there was a proposal from Madam Secretary Deles on the establishment of a network of women in peace and security, peace and reconciliation. I think AIPR can encourage or promote the establishment of an ASEAN network so that we can identify women who are involved in peace and security all over ASEAN Members States, and then they can establish their own network. Thank you!

### AMBASSADOR ELIZABETH P. BUENSUCESO:

Thank you, Ambassador Ngurah, that was exactly what I meant by providing a platform for women to continue their intelligent conversation on their involvement in peace processes and conflict resolution. Okay, another recommendation – Dr. Reyes.

### **DR. SOCORRO REYES:**

I think, just complementing all that we're talking about in terms of a roster, in terms of a network, we can also add a knowledge hub where we have the various tools and resources for the ASEAN countries, especially as you are institutionalizing. I think in addition to all the experts and capacity building, you really need to have a knowledge hub.

### AMBASSADOR ELIZABETH P. BUENSUCESO:

Okay, a knowledge hub, we can elaborate on that later on. Janet, you have a suggestion?

### MS. JANET WONG:

I think in relation to the knowledge hub, countries have been looking for assistance in terms of the development of their own National Action Plans, and if there can be country exchanges, I think Timor-Leste had exchanges with Indonesia through a study tour. We could arrange such activities for countries to learn from, in order not to duplicate some of the mistakes that have been made by other countries. Thank you!

### AMBASSADOR ELIZABETH P. BUENSUCESO:

Excellent recommendation and it fulfills one of the aspirations of our session yesterday, which is to encourage member states to continue doing their national plans of action on UNSCR 1325 and implementing them. Very good suggestion.

### AMBASSADOR I GEDE NGURAH SWAJAYA:

There is an additional recommendation which I forgot to mention, especially for normal situations as we discussed yesterday. Women's roles particularly emerge during the not normal situations. But in a normal situation I think AIPR can also promote education, in cooperation with the universities, to promote the role of women in trying to preserve and maintain peace and also to train them to be a negotiator in peace process. Like in Indonesia, we have around 20 ASEAN Studies Centers throughout the different universities in Indonesia. We can use that as a platform for us to introduce this idea and also to promote education on that, and and we will have a lot of resources that we will be able to pool to share the lessons learned to the university students. Thank you!

### AMBASSADOR ELIZABETH P. BUENSUCESO:

Thank you very much for this recommendation. Also doable according to the Terms of Reference (TOR) of AIPR. Ms. Sakuntala, do you have a recommendation from the UN perspective?

### MS. SAKUNTALA KADIRGAMAR-RAJASINGHAM

What is the partnership that you envisage with the UN and its gender unit and training facilities and in its mediation roster? So, consider how we can enhance this partnership.

### AMBASSADOR ELIZABETH P. BUENSUCESO:

Yes, two weeks ago, Myanmar hosted an AIPR-UN workshop where we came up with good recommendations, and we will provide you, with the permission of our chair, a copy of the recommendations made. Not to compel everybody to follow, but, as I said, it forms part of a pipeline for AIPR's future implementation.

### AMBASSADOR I GEDE NGURAH SWAJAYA:

We can also look at the Joint Declaration on the Comprehensive Partnership between ASEAN and the UN that was signed by the ASEAN leaders.

### AMBASSADOR ELIZABETH P. BUENSUCESO:

Actually, that is part of the recommendations that were made in Nay Pyi Taw, and we're looking forward actually to negotiating a five-year Plan of Action with the UN. We will use these recommendations in mapping out various activities with the UN. Of course, gender mainstreaming will form a big part of those recommendations.

### AMBASSADOR MIN LWIN:

Following this ASEAN-UN Regional Dialogue (AURED) II in Nay Pyi Taw, one of the recommendations made was for a training program from the UN for ASEAN officials to be held in the UN. This will be three months or six months of short training course. If we can put this idea as a recommendation from this workshop, it will also be useful.

### DR. SOMBATPOONSIRI JANIRA:

From what I gather here, we're trying to build a network or a platform that combines the peace activist groups, peace scholars, and policy makers. I think there are certain groups and foundations and organization already existing. In ASEAN, for example, I know for fact that there is a network on peace and human rights. And there are ASEAN universities and a number of existing networks. I think it will be useful if we can make a connection with these existing networks and organizations and we can cooperate with them. And I'm happy to have links between the AIPR and the Asia Pacific Peace Research Association.

#### AMBASSADOR ELIZABETH P. BUENSUCESO:

Let's put all these recommendations in perspective. We have had four AIPR-related activities already, and we already listed a set of recommendations for each activity. In fact, today's workshop is a product of the first workshop we had in Manila. This is what I'd like to propose: AIPR, for most of the Governing Council members, is just only one fifth of our resources and capabilities. Our main job really is as Members of the Committee of Permanent Representatives. So we will not really have time to implement all these recommendations. My practical suggestion is for those who are interested to come up with a concept paper or a project proposal. AIPR can bring your proposal to the funding sources. There is an approved template on specific project proposals for funding by an external partner or by ASEAN itself. So I'd like you to please look up the ASEAN.org website. You will find there the template for doing the project proposals and the areas for cooperation with each Dialogue Partner or within ASEAN itself. Mr. Chair, maybe we can take look at these project proposals at a later stage.

But the specific project proposal on establishing a network of women peace practitioners or ASEAN peace forum, whatever you want to call it I think falls within our specific area of competence and within the TOR of ASEAN. Maybe this one we can take up by ourselves. But for other specific project proposals please do that – prepare a concept paper or prepare a project proposal for funding by Dialogue Partners and external partners of ASEAN, including the UN, and then we can take a look at them and approve or comment or modify, etc. according to ASEAN specifications. With that, I would like to close the table for recommendations. We have a plateful of very interesting proposals on the table. AIPR can look forward to a very busy year ahead or even years ahead. And thank you all for participating in all the session.

Before I give the floor to the Chair for his Closing Remarks, let me just clarify – because I heard from some quarters that the issues of gender mainstreaming is not included in the blueprints of ASEAN, i.e. the political security blueprint, economic blueprint or socio-cultural blueprint – I would like to assure you that it is. Gender mainstreaming is included under the ASEAN Political and Security Pillar. This workshop and the one last year and many more we are going to do, happened because gender mainstreaming is in the Blueprint. And under the Socio-cultural Blueprint, you don't need to encourage them, this is their bread and butter. The ASEAN Commission on Women is doing this kind of mainstreaming, and, I'm happy to tell you, only a month ago, the ASEAN-Australia Dialogue Partnership just approved a gendermainstreaming programme, meaning it will run for years under the

Economic Pillar, focusing on consumer protection and SMEs. So rest assured that our eyes are on the ball as far as gender mainstreaming is concerned. So I'd like to turn over the floor to our chairman, Dato' Hasnudin Hamzah, he has the fortunate or unfortunate job of chairing all the ASEAN committees that we're working on, we are tiring him to the max, but I think he loves his job. So, without much ado, please welcome Dato' Hasnudin.

# **CLOSING REMARKS**

### H.E. Dato' Hasnudin Hamzah

Permanent Representative of Malaysia to ASEAN Chair, Committee of Permanent Representatives (CPR) to ASEAN Chair, AIPR Governing Council

#### Thank you so much, Elizabeth!

Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen, colleagues, I think it will be fair for me to say that I won't have that much more to add. You have done a lot with the recommendations just now to close the discussion. Let me just say a couple of points. First, we have had very good discussion, very engaging and constructive interaction on this very important topic on the increasing role of women in the peace process. I believe this will continue in the future. AIPR cannot run away from the responsibility to mainstream gender in the AIPR institution as well.

We have heard a wide range of perspectives from the speakers and participants. Bringing their personal hands-on experience based on situations and approaches, they made recommendations that we can bring home, and especially for AIPR. Who will take the recommendations and study them very carefully? Those are very important, pertinent and relevant questions. For now, as Elizabeth said, AIPR will have its hands full, in this year and years to come.

The discussions have given us an overview of the importance of women in peace processes. We have also heard a lot of explanation regarding constraints and limitations the women face. But I think those are no different from what men face in negotiating a peace deal. But we all agree that women indeed are equally responsible part of that journey though others may don't think so. We know women play a very big role not only in the peace process. So I think we have to be very clear, talking about the AIPR perspective on how we can work closely together in assisting the women on this matter.

Establishing partnerships as suggested by Madam Sakuntala is important, particularly with the UN and other stakeholders, to provide the inclusivity and enough space for women, to ensure effective and efficient work to be taken by AIPR in this regard. So let us take this very seriously because this is very significant and it will bring AIPR to fulfill its terms of reference. I would like to once again thank Elizabeth and the governments of Norway and Japan for their assistance in organizing this event. And, of course, we should not forget those who are working very hard behind the scenes to support our meeting for a successful and meaningful outcome. Thank you so much once again. I hope we will be able to see each other.in different occasions in the near future.

Please do not be discouraged with the ego of men. Because sometimes ego or ega is necessary to make us move forward and to motivate us to achieve this noble goal in bringing peace to all, not only to us but to the future generation as well.

Maraming, maraming salamat! Thank you very much!

### AMBASSADOR ELIZABETH P. BUENSUCESO

Thank you once again to all for your cooperation and maraming salamat po! Thank you Datu! Actually I have already here the summary of our discussions, prepared by our able rapporteur over there. But give us time to refine this among the AIPR GC members and we will distribute this later on.

Before we close, let me just thank all of you. I really appreciate your active participation. Secretary Deles, you stayed with us the whole time. Thank you for being such an inspiration to everybody, such a solid rock of courage and strength in the midst of the storm. I wish you all a pleasant, peaceful and safe journey to wherever you are going home. And till we meet next time.

Maraming, maraming salamat! Thank you very much!

KSHOPON STRENGTHENING WOMEN ICIPATION IN PEACE PROCESSES AND CONF LUTION ASFAN**INSTITUTE FOR PEACE** AN  $\mathcal{N}$ RKSHOP on **STRENGTHE** N'S participation in PEACE P ROCESSES AND CON ASEAN INSTITUTE FOR PEACE AND WOMEN'S HOPON STREI PARTICIPATION IN PEACANNEX ESSE ES AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION ASEANINSTITUTE FOR PEACE AND SUMMARY REPORT OF THE AIPR WORKSHOP WOMEN'S PARTICIP ON STRENGTHENING WOMEN'S AND CONF EAN PARTICIPATION IN PEACE D PROCESSES AND CONFLICT PREVENTION KSHOPon 51 ICIPATION IN PEACE PROCESSES AND LUTION ASEAN INSTITUTE FOR PEAC NCII IATION VV OP ON S N'S **participation** IN PFA ESSES AND CON RECONCILIATION CIPATION IN PEAC E FOR P HENIN CESSESAND

# Summary Report of the AIPR Workshop on Strengthening Women's Participation in Peace Processes and Conflict Prevention, Cebu, The Philippines, 18-19 March 2015

# Introduction

- 1. The ASEAN Institute for Peace and Reconciliation (AIPR) Workshop on Strengthening Women's Participation in Peace Processes and Conflict Prevention was held on 18-19 March 2015 in Shangrila Mactan Hotel in Cebu, the Philippines and was coorganized by the Philippine Permanent Mission to ASEAN and the Office of the Presidential Adviser on the Peace Process (OPAPP) of the Republic of the Philippines.
- 2. The objectives of the Workshop are: 1) To locate the situation of the different ASEAN member-states along the peace-armed conflict continuum and surface the level of women's participation in the processes being undertaken by member-states to end violent conflicts internally and/or in the region; 2) To raise attention on and appreciation of the UNSC Resolution 1325 and the NAP as an instrument for developing and consolidating WPS imperatives for UN member-states; 3) To provide a venue to explore and learn from some existing good practices in promoting and enhancing women's participation in peace processes worldwide; and 4) To provide a platform for the development of appropriate and timely agenda and the appropriate networks for pursuing such agenda on national and regional levels.
- 3. The workshop was attended by the ASEAN Member States' representatives to the AIPR Governing Council, who were assisted by the members of their respective delegations, as well as experts and peace practitioners from ASEAN, the UN, Australia and Norway and representatives from think tanks and CSO's dealing with peace and reconciliation. The List of Participants appears as **ANNEX 1.**

The Summary Report was circulated to ASEAN Member States on 13 May 2015

# **Opening Remarks**

- In his welcome remarks. Hon, Undersecretary Evan P. Garcia noted the importance of the role of women in Peace Building. Citing historical and contemporary examples particularly in Timor-Leste and in the Philippines, he emphasized the challenge of establishing a platform for women to play a major role in peace efforts within the ASEAN region. Since holding the two symposia in Bali and Manila, he said that the AIPR has a long and positive outlook ahead and has become a venue for learning and sharing of best practices as evident in the caliber of the speakers, who are all experts and immersed in the ASEAN peace efforts. He also mentioned the importance of the UNSCR 1325 as it reaffirms the roles of women in the areas of peace and security. He concluded by expressing his gratitude to the Foreign Ministries of Norway and Japan for their support along with the Governing Council of AIPR through the Chairmanship of Malaysia, and the Local Government of Cebu.
- 5. Ambassador Dato' Hasnudin Hamzah, Permanent Representative of Malavsia to ASEAN, and current Chair of the Committee of Permanent Representatives (CPR) to ASEAN delivered a message as Chair of the AIPR Governing Council. He lauded the timeliness of the workshop as it highlights the role of women, affirming that its outcome will inspire and encourage more women to be involved in peace efforts in the region. He recognized that women have always played a vital role especially in post-conflict situations, but noted that in the ASEAN Region, their involvement is still limited, and he believed that this should not be the case. He said that including women is very important especially since ASEAN Community building requires inclusivity. He is positive that the workshop would have an impact on how the region moves forward towards that direction. He concluded with a hope that all speakers and participants make use of the workshop as an opportunity towards establishing a roadmap to inspire and encourage more women to participate in peace building.
- 6. H.E. Stig Ingemar Traavik, Ambassador of Norway to ASEAN expressed the gratitude and honor of the Government of Norway for being a part of the effort towards empowering and involving women in peace processes, a topic that he said is particularly close to the heart of Norwegians. He shared the current effort of the Norwegian government in developing a new plan that seeks to increase the participation of women in governance. He also noted the case of Liberia and the Philippines as examples, with both countries having good participation of women in the government.

He concluded by reminding everyone to create a culture where women would be able to contribute towards peace building.

- 7. H.E. Koichi Aiboshi, Ambassador of Japan to ASEAN acknowledged the important role of women especially in post-conflict situations. He shared the current efforts of Japan towards a society where women shine. He also reiterated the Japanese government's support for UN efforts on women, saying that it is important for countries to involve women in peace-building. He declared that Japan is doing its best to develop its National Action Plan for Women in the Peace and Security. This year, Japan will host two high level meetings: one on peace building and national reconciliation and the other being the 2<sup>nd</sup> World Assembly for Women. He said that Japan plans to share the outcome of AIPR workshop during these meetings. He concluded by wishing the workshop success.
- 8. In her keynote speech, Hon. Teresita Quintos-Deles, Secretary of the Office of the Presidential Adviser on the Peace Process (OPAPP) and member of the AIPR Advisory Board for the Philippines provided an update on the Peace Process between the Government of the Philippines (GPH) and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF). She acknowledged that the past month and a half have posed a challenge to the peace efforts, due to the Mamasapano tragedy. Despite the uncertainty, she gave assurances that they would continue to live and struggle towards peace. Although the prospects for peace are now fraught with serious difficulty. Secretary Deles said that they have no choice but to move forward, especially as the on-going war continues to displace families, women and children. She affirmed the role of the AIPR in providing a venue for discussions to address women, peace and security issues in the region. She highlighted the need to speak of truth and justice, and of the casualties sustained on both sides. She emphasized that truth is not just a matter of death, but also of life, and that this is this is about our children's future, both from Mamasapano and from Metro Manila.
- 9. The opening ceremony was spiced by a beautiful rendition of songs about peace by the Cebu Normal University Choir and ended with a group photo of the members of the AIPR Governing Council and the members of the Committee of Permanent Representatives to ASEAN, the keynote speakers and the representatives of the Local Governments of Cebu.
- 10. The programme of the workshop appears as **ANNEX 2.**

# Plenary Session 1: Overview of Women's Participation in Peace Processes among ASEAN Member States

- 11. The session was moderated by Hon. Luis T. Cruz, Assistant Secretary of the Office of ASEAN Affairs, Department of Foreign Affairs-Manila.
- 12. Ms. Shadia Marhaban, International Mediator, Capacity Builder, and Activist from Aceh, presented for Indonesia. She talked about her experience in being a mediator for the peace negotiations in Aceh and Helsinki. In Aceh, she represented the rebels in the negotiations, and because of the peace efforts, Aceh is becoming a model in Southeast Asia. She noted that signing the peace agreement is the relatively easy part, and what is difficult, and certainly more important, is the implementation of the signed deal. She talked about the importance of women and level of involvement of countries, as well as the perspective of the armed groups. She emphasized the value of having both men and women work for peace. She also talked about women combatants, reintegration packages, combatants in large numbers and how to deal with them. She stressed that with AIPR, the region should be able to engage more and learn how people can change for the better.
- 13. Dr. Naw Rebecca Htin, the Associate Program Director for Peace Dialogue Program and Peace Building Operations Coordination Program of Myanmar Peace Center, presented for Myanmar. She focused her presentation on the Myanmar Peace Centre (MPC), a semi-government organization established to assist the Union Peace-making central committee and the Union Peace-making work committee for the peace process. She discussed on the current efforts of the MPC towards the peace in Myanmar and expressed hope that the ceasefire agreements beign negotiated would become a reality.
- 14. Dr. Sombatpoonsiri Janjira, the Secretary-General of the Asia Pacific Peace Research Association presented for Thailand. She discussed the effects of the conflict in Southern Thailand on its women. In her presentation, she presented relevant statistics on the ongoing conflict, and explained how it has impacted the women there, citing various effects such as stigmatization, financial insecurity, and lack of accountability. She also discussed traditional and modern roles of women within the conflicted areas.
- 15. In the open forum, the Governing Council representative of Myanmar said that he agreed with the observation made by Ms.

Marhaban that the signing of the peace agreement is easier done than the actual implementation the agreement. He said that the Myanmar peace process has been very difficult, and although a nation-wide ceasefire has been reached, it is still short of a fullfledged peace agreement. He asked the speakers to share what they think would be the possible challenges Myanmar will face when it negotiates and signs a peace agreement.

- 16. The Governing Council member of Malaysia also asked Ms. Marhaban what were the practices that helped the peace process to move forward in Aceh.
- 17. Ms. Marhaban responded by saying that the peace process is not mathematical in the sense that you can play around with it, but that it definitely needs to have the right ingredients in order for it to prosper. It is also important to consider the worst case scenarios when negotiating for the peace, and put into place contingency plans in order to maintain the peace process. Ms. Marhaban said that the signing of the peace agreement is not the end of the negotiations, but is the extension of dialogue without violence to achieve and maintain peace. As for the peace process in Myanmar, Ms. Marhaban said that it is important for Myanmar to have women mediators from both the government and armed groups to play a role in the peace process. She believes this will change the dynamics of the conflict in Myanmar as this can provide an alternative channel for people who have been involved in conflict to air their views.
- 18. As for the practices that allowed the peace process to move forward in Aceh, Ms. Marhaban said that it is important to give the armed groups assurances that they will not be "destroyed" when they come into a peace agreement. Ms. Marhaban said that peace practitioners often talk about the technical aspects of the peace process, but do not address the psychological aspect, where the "fears" of the combatants are addressed When the combatants are assured that their dignity will not be taken away from them as a result of the peace process, then they will sit and talk.
- 19. The peace process must include political and security arrangements for the combatants, where they are given an opportunity to participate in the political arena, through non-violent and democratic means. Ms. Marhaban said that it is also important to disarm, rehabilitate and reintegrate the former combatants into society. This can be done through training courses where the participants can get a "common sense" that living in peace within society is the better alternative to being a combatant in the jungle outside of society.

- 20. Finally, Ms. Marhaban said that another important aspect of the peace process is monitoring by those involved in the conflict themselves. She said that these where what helped the GAM (Free Aceh Movement) during the peace process in Aceh.
- 21. Dr. Htin agreed with Ms. Marhaban saying that the Myanmar peace process was able to move forward only because both the government and the armed groups showed initiative towards peace. Both parties realized that after over sixty years of conflict, not only was the war unwinnable for both sides, but the country as a whole could not develop economically because of the conflict. Dr. Naw said that Myanmar is still in the first stage of the peace process, with the negotiation of a nationwide ceasefire in 2013. Although two years has passed since the ceasefire, many agreements have been signed between the two parties, including political settlements, not only between the government and the armed groups, but also for other political stakeholders. She admitted that while some agreements were easy to negotiate, there were some that were made difficult because of "sticky" issues. But because both parties were committed to the future of the country, she said that things are still moving forward.
- 22. The Governing Council representative of Thailand said that one way to deal with conflict is through the passage of good laws in society. He mentioned that in Thailand, there are already laws which prevent restriction or discrimination against freedom of expression, religious freedom, sex or age of persons. In this sense, women have had as much opportunity as the men in Thailand to participate in all sectors of society. He also pointed out that Thailand is a strong supporter of Women, Peace and Security under UNSC Resolution 1325 and has been sending women participants to peacekeeping operations under the UN.
- 23. Dr. Janjira said that one of the reasons why implementing the peace process is difficult is because the entry point of the peace agreements is based on exclusion. She said that inclusiveness is needed in order to sustain the momentum of the peace process. She cited the experience of the Thai government in dealing with the armed groups in Southern Thailand, where a difficult time was experienced in finding the right people to negotiate the peace with. She said that many different groups were staging violent attacks and it took a while before the government was able to find a major group to negotiate with. And although a cessation of hostilities was negotiated, the fact that some groups were excluded only resulted in the ceasefire lasting for just a month.

- 24. Dr. Janjira also said that although she agreed that Thailand has come far in terms of including women in the political arena by setting up mechanisms to ensure their participation, she said that the hardest part is in implementing those mechanisms on the ground. She said that a lot of ways that cultural influences portray women in Thailand make it difficult to implement these mechanisms. She said that what is needed is civil education in order to raise gender awareness among the people, while maintaining the inclusiveness of women in the process.
- 25. Secretary Deles proposed that AIPR come up with a resolution creating an ASEAN network of women in peace and negotiation work. She said that given that women practitioners in the region are few, there is so much that they can learn from one another, as well as give each other the strength to move forward. While she also agreed that implementation of the peace agreement is the more difficult part, she said that negotiating for the peace is likewise difficult. She said that peace negotiations need a certain level of confidentiality, which means that the public is not made aware of certain compromises made at the negotiating table. When the time for implementation of the agreement comes, then this is the only time these compromises are made clear, and the public sometimes do not agree with them. But she also said that these compromises are necessary in order to move the process forward.
- 26. In the case of the GPH-MILF negotiations, Secretary Deles said that they had put together a communication plan to raise the public's awareness of the peace process. But she said the problem was that when things are going well, people do not really want to spend the time studying what the peace process is all about. So when a problem comes, the lack of understanding leads to the negotiators being blamed. She said that what is needed is good documentation of the peace process, so that people can know what was done in the past in order to move the process forward.
- 27. Secretary Deles also mentioned that while it is important to identify "low hanging fruits" for the benefit of those directly involved in the peace process, it is also important to have "low hanging fruits" for those outside of the peace process so that they can be invested in the process as well. She said that peace agreements are ultimately about political settlements, and that it is important for women to be aware of the politics and powers behind the peace process if they want to become involved in the process. At the same time, it is also important for women not to lose their connectivity with other women as well as with other generations. Women involved

in peace and security are still very few and there is a need for them to encourage others to become involved, especially those from the next generations.

28. Finally, Secretary Deles said that hope and faith are the lifeblood of peace workers. If a peace worker does not have faith, then he or she will end up giving up on the process whenever setbacks happens. In the case of the Bangsamoro Basic Law, she believes that despite the current setback, the peace that will be attained afterwards will be much stronger than before because more people got involved in the process.

# Plenary Session 2: United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 as an instrument for developing and consolidating Women, Peace and Security (WPS) imperatives for UN Member States

- 29. The session was moderated by H.E. Tan Hung Seng, Permanent Representative of Singapore to ASEAN and Member of the AIPR Governing Council.
- 30. Ms. Sakuntala Kadirgamar-Rajasingham, mediation expert on Gender and Social Inclusion presented on behalf of UN Women on the UNSC Resolution 1325. She discussed the history and implementation of UNSCR 1325 and provided an overview of various UN instruments on women, human rights, peace and security. She emphasized that inclusive peace building is composite, having many parties involved in peacemaking. She said that UNSCR 1325 is the rubric by which the participation of women in peace processes is assessed.
- 31. Ms. Janet Wong, presented on behalf of UN Women in Timor-Leste on Consolidating Peace and Security within the UNSCR 1325. She talked about the framework of UNSCR 1325 as well as the 3Ps +1 that form the core of UNSCR 1325: participation, protection, prosecution, and the fourth "P" which represents the prosecution of sexual violence during conflict. She showcased two studies in the case of Indonesia and Timor-Leste. She concluded with some lessons on political economy analysis, ownership, accountability, and capacity-building.
- 32. During the open forum, Ms. Elisabeth Slåttum of Norway observed that the UN has not yet appointed a female special envoy or

mediator to any peace process. Although UNSCR 1325 and its successor documents were very important to Norway, she said that the shortage women mediators from the UN make it look like the UN is not abiding by its own resolutions. She asked the speakers if they could share their views on this.

- 33. The Governing Council Member of Laos asked if the UN has any training and capacity building packages that can help countries in the implementation of UNSCR 1325 and its successor documents.
- 34. Ms. Sakuntala responded that she will bring the issue of the lack of women special envoys back to the UN when she makes her report after the workshop. She also responded to the query by Laos on the packages used to develop UNSCR 1325 and its succeeding resolutions, saying that the development of a National Action Plan is one mechanism. She said that the Plan is not an end unto itself, but is meant to achieve something, which is to create internal and external checklists and accountability mechanisms for increasing women's participation. While UN members have already agreed to a target participation of 33%, many are still not maintaining those figures. But the development of a National Action Plan is a way for countries to keep themselves accountable to this target.
- 35. Ms. Wong also responded to the question of Laos, saying that the Timor-Leste also received a capacity-development package for UNSCR 1325. She said that various stakeholders in Timorese society were brought together to develop a learning pack, which is distributed online, either in a form of a video, manual, comic book, or any medium that can be easily understood by its target audience. Ms. Wong said that these materials can be shared with Laos if they are interested.
- 36. As for the question of the Philippines on what Timor-Leste's experience on peace and reconciliation could bring to the table on her application of membership to ASEAN, Ms. Wong said that the Government of Timor Leste would be in the best position to answer.
- 37. Dr. Socorro Reyes also commented that a good example of a female negotiator is Ms. Mary Robinson, who was appointed by the UN as the chief negotiator for the Great Lakes region. She also pointed out that in the UN Secretary General's report for 2013, the UN had led some 11 negotiating processes and that a woman was part of every negotiating team. She did say that the UN has a long way to go and that more can be done to further implement the provisions of UNSCR 1325.

38. Indonesia informed the meeting that it has been able to develop a National Action Plan on UNSCR 1325 in November 2014. The Thai GC member said that his country is in the middle of finalizing its NAP. In commemoration of the 15<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of UNSCR 1325, Thailand is collaborating with the International Peace Institute in conducting a research project on Women Mediators in Peace Processes. Thailand hopes that the outcome of the project will contribute meaningfully to the global studies on the issue.

# Plenary Session 3: Developing a National and regional Agenda to promote Women's Participation in Peace Processes

- The session was moderated by H.E. I Gede Ngurah Swajaya, Acting Coordinator for the ASEAN National Secretariat of the Republic of Indonesia.
- 40. Hon. Maria Cleofe Gettie C. Sandoval, Undersecretary of the Office of the Presidential Adviser on the Peace Process (OPAPP), presented on Developing a national and regional agenda to promote women's participation in Peace Processes. She described the mandate of OPPAP and gave an outline of the conflicts and peace processes in the Philippines. She emphasized that armed conflict is a gendered crisis that impacts men and women differently. She presented the Philippine National Action Plan (NAP) on Women, Peace and Security and highlighted its beginnings and current status. She ended with reflections and challenges on the operationalization of the NAP.
- 41. Dr. Socorro Reyes, an international consultant of the Social Development and Gender Equality Center for Legislative Development International of the Philippines, gave a presentation on National and Regional Action Plans as well as implementation of UNSCR 1325. She also presented some issues of implementation and accountability such as protection vs. participation, planning vs. action, data collection, dedicated financing, donor country and conflict country NAPs and systematic global assessment. She also examined relevant provisions of UNSCR 2122. In conclusion, she noted that despite some progress, women still continue to be underrepresented in decision-making bodies involved in conflict prevention, resolution, protection, and peace-building.
- 42. During the open forum, Ms. Sakuntala asked Dr. Reyes if there are ways to make the National Action Plan more user-friendly,

considering that some countries feel burdened by its reporting requirements. She also asked if there is indeed a dichotomy between protection vs. participation, and planning vs. Action. She feels that both have a part to play towards a meaningful end rather than having a dichotomous relationship with each other.

- 43. Ms. Sombatpoonsiri asked if there is a way in the future to improve UNSCR 1325 to protect women who fall victim to conflicts initiated by Non-state actors such as the ISIS and Boko Haram.
- 44. Dr. Reyes agreed with Ms. Sakuntala that planning, action, protection and participation are both needed, and that her choice of the word "versus" is meant to highlight that there is a price to be paid in terms of institutionalizing and mainstreaming of women, peace and security under UNSCR 1325.
- 45. On the issue of Non-state actors, Dr. Reyes agreed that it is a big problem, and that the members of the UN have to be able to come together to do something about.
- 46. Dr. Reyes also noted that there already is fatigue on the part of donors on gender issues, and that funding support generally goes to other issues which are more prestigious and has better and faster return for investment.
- 47. Secretary Deles added that in addition to donor-fatigue, there is also planning fatigue on the part of the implementers. She pointed out that the Philippines had been trying to mainstream gender for many years and that there is no real understanding as to what mainstreaming really means. She said that they have been trying to get the planners and implementers of the Philippines' own National Action Plan to get excited about women, peace and security, but that its been challenging work so far.

# Plenary Session 4: Best Practices on Women, Peace and Security

- 48. The session was moderated by H.E. Elizabeth P. Buensuceso, Permanent Representative of the Philippines to ASEAN and Member of the AIPR Governing Council.
- 49. Ms. Miriam Coronel-Ferrer, the Chairperson of the GPH Panel for Peace Negotiations with the Moro Islamic Liberation Front, presented for the Philippines. In her presentation, she focused

on the gender dimension in the Bangsamoro Basic Law. She described the processes, mechanisms, and features of the Bangsamoro Peace Process that showed the empowerment and involvement of women. She also mentioned current efforts of the Government of the Philippines including the National Action Plan on Women, Peace, and Security that support these.

- 50. Dr. Emma Leslie, the Executive Director for Peace and Conflict Studies in Cambodia discussed the reasons for engaging women in the Peace Process. As an example, she highlighted the diversity of key players in the Bangsamoro Peace Process, and how they overcome cultural, generational and gender differences. She also emphasized the ever changing relationships as applied to the Peace Process. She acknowledged the political will by the Philippine Government to locate and promote competent women into the process. She concluded to talk about the future opportunities for AIPR to move beyond the rhetoric of endless calls for women to be involved in peace talks, peace leadership program for women, and to develop a system for inter-generational mentoring and support for women who can be sent to the peace tables.
- 51. Ms. Elizabeth Slåttum, the Norwegian Special Envoy to the Philippine Peace Process with the National Democratic Front of the Philippines, talked about best practices on Women, Peace, and Security. She highlighted Norway's work towards peace and reconciliation and enumerated the five principles that it works by: dialogue, long term perspective, ownership by the parties of the process, cross partnership, and inclusivity. She shared advice on how to involve women in Peace Processes such as recruitment. training, providing hands-on-experience, and appointing them to positions of influence. She also mentioned the possibility of involving women in Track 2 mechanisms, citing the examples of countries like Guatemala, Nepal, Sri Lanka, Afghanistan, and Svria. She also cited the involvement of women in Track 1 activities in countries like Colombia. Sri Lanka, and the Philippines. She ended by expressing her government's support to the Peace Process in Mindanao.
- 52. In the open forum, Ms. Sakuntala asked Prof. Coronel-Ferrer what kind of mapping processes took place in deciding who would be the key negotiators for both the Philippine Government and the MILF, and how they managed to ensure that women played a significant role in the process.
- 53. The Governing Council member of Thailand asked what were the advantages of being a woman negotiator during the peace talks,

and what were the challenges faced by the peace panel during the GPH-MILF Peace talks.

- 54. Prof. Coronel-Ferrer responded that there were several strategies employed to be able to include gender elements in the Bangsamoro Basic Law, and that the negotiating team had to do it in different ways. As an example of a "soft" approach, Dr. Coronel-Ferrer said that the women negotiators gave chocolates to the members of the other panel during Valentine's Day, in order to get them to discuss the inclusion of meaningful participation of women in the political arena. She said that there was a lot of pressure coming from all around in terms of negotiating for these provisions to be included in the peace agreement, but that they were able to move forward because they negotiated for these with the women directly.
- 55. As for the advantage of being a woman negotiator, Prof. Coronel-Ferrer said that one advantage was that during the negotiations, the women were able to control their emotions when the emotional level at the discussions were going up. She was quick to point out that the whole government panel worked as a team, and that both the men and the women contributed to the success of the negotiations.
- 56. On the challenges, Prof. Coronel-Ferrer said that they faced difficulties facing the recent setbacks to the peace process. She pointed out that the women negotiators had been demonized along with the peace process, but that the real challenge is communication and addressing biases and prejudices. She said that there are a lot of things that have been misunderstood about the peace process. She said that as it is now election time in the Philippines and the negotiating team has a lot of work in terms of communication so that the biases and prejudices of the general public are not tweaked to suit certain political agendas.
- 57. Dr. Emma Leslie agreed with Prof. Coronel-Ferrer on the emotional intelligence of the negotiating panel, and that this was true for both the men and women. The ability to put aside ego, and let someone else vent out their frustrations is a particular skill that needs to be nurtured for both men and women involved in peace negotiations, she said.

# Summary, Recommendations and Closing Remarks

58. The closing session was moderated by H.E. Elizabeth P. Buensuceso, the permanent Representative of the Philippines to ASEAN and Member of the AIPR Governing Council.

The moderator summarized the recommendations as follows:

- AIPR to continue giving women a platform to enhance their roles in peace and reconciliation efforts in the region
- AIPR to explore the possibility of establishing an ASEAN Women for peace networking
- The Workshop expressed support for the Bangsamoro Peace
   Process
- To identify appropriate training courses for women who desire to become mediators, negotiators, facilitators, etc.

The participants also contributed additional recommendations as follows:

- Recognize the need to train the right women to be part of the peace processes
- Encourage governments to take steps to appoint women in the peace process
- Provide a roster of women negotiators specifically for Southeast
   Asia
- Promote women's education through the universities, which could include training as peace process negotiators
- Need to develop a knowledge hub in addition to capacity building
- Countries need support in developing their National Action Plan (e.g., Timor Leste being supported by Indonesia)
- Explore the partnership of UN and the AIPR on Women in Peace and Security
- Consider having short training courses to be conducted by the UN for ASEAN officials on peace and reconciliation; and
- Make use of existing networks in ASEAN to promote women's participation in peace processes and conflict resolution.

Amb Buensuceso advised the participants to actively get involved in translating these recommendations to actual implementation in view of the limited time and resources of the AIPR which can then assist the project proponents by seeking funding and approval of the projects by relevant ASEAN bodies for implementation. She also shared the interest of dialogue partners in mainstreaming women in the three community pillars, as exemplified by the approval of the ASEAN-Australia cooperation of gender mainstreaming initiative focused on SMEs and consumer protection.

In his closing remarks, H.E. Dato' Hasnudin Hamzah lauded the lively discussions on the increasing the role of women in peace processes.

He praised the speakers for sharing their personal experience and insights that the rest of the participants can bring home. As Chair of the AIPR Governing Council, he said that the AIPR will consider the recommendations made during the workshop, and expects a busy and exciting time ahead for the Institution. He noted that women are an indispensable part of the journey toward peace. He reminded the participants about the need to have a clear vision of how everyone can work together more closely with all stakeholders to ensure inclusivity, as well as to ensure a more effective and efficient work by the AIPR. He concluded by thanking the Philippine Permanent Mission to ASEAN and the Government of the Philippines for organizing the workshop and the Governments of Japan and Norway for their funding support.

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# **OPENING SESSION**

# 1. HON. TERESITA QUINTOS-DELES

**Hon. Teresita Quintos Deles** currently serves in the Cabinet of President Benigno S. Aquino III as the Presidential Adviser on the Peace Process, a position she is holding for the second time since her appointment on 1 July 2010. The first time was from 2003 – 2005. By virtue of this position, she carries the mandate to oversee, coordinate, and integrate the implementation of the comprehensive peace process in the Philippines, with staff support lodged at the Office of the Presidential Adviser on the Peace Process (OPAPP). Along this line, Secretary Deles currently serves as the Representative of the Philippines to the Advisory Board of the ASEAN Institute for Peace and Reconciliation (AIPR) for a term of three (3) years, ending in 2016.

Secretary Deles, a peacemaker and an advocate on women empowerment, has pioneered and provided leadership to numerous national coalitions, community processes and international linkages and initiatives, covering issues of conflict management and transformation, constituency-building for peace, poverty reduction, social reform agenda building, political and governance reforms. Under her leadership as PAPP, the Philippines became the first country in Asia-Pacific to implement a National Action Plan on UNSCR 1325 (Women, Peace and Security), which is duly recognized by the Asia-Pacific Regional Advisory Group on Women, Peace and Security, where she is a member.

Prior to being the PAPP, Secretary Deles co-founded the International Center for Innovation, Transformation and Excellence in Governance (INCITEGov), where she served as the managing trustee and focal trustee for peace and Security Sector Governance Issues (2006-2010). She was the Lead Convenor and Secretary General, Cabinet Rank, of the National Anti-Poverty Commission (NAPC) in 2001-2003. She also co-founded and served as Executive Director of the Gaston Z. Ortigas Peace Institute (GZO-PI). In 1991-1994 Secretary Deles served as Expert-Member of the UN Committee on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (UN-CEDAW).

Over the years she has received awards in recognition of her work and leadership in peace and conflict resolution such as the Philippine's Role Model for Peace Award by N-Peace Network; Freedom Flame Award by the Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom; and the Professorial Chair for Public Service and Governance Award by the Metrobank Foundation and Ateneo School of Government; Aurora Aragon Quezon Peace Award for Peace Advocacy and Conflict Resolution; and One of the Outstanding Women in the Nation's Service (TOWNS) award. She is also one of the 27 nominees from the Philippines among the 1000 Women for Peace nominated for the 2005 Nobel Peace Prize.

# 2. HON. EVAN P. GARCIA

**Hon. Evan P. Garcia** is currently the Undersecretary for Policy of the Department of Foreign Affairs of the Philippines and Senior Officials' Meeting (SOM) Leader of the Philippines in various fora, including ASEAN. Before assuming his current position, Undersecretary Garcia was the Permanent Representative and Ambassador of the Philippines to the United Nations in Geneva. He also served at the Philippine Embassy in Tokyo and as Deputy Chief of Mission at the Philippine Embassy in Washington D.C. Undersecretary Garcia earned a Bachelor of Science in Foreign Service, magna cum laude, from University of the Philippines (Diliman) and License in International Relations and Political Science from the Graduate Institute for International Studies in Geneva, Switzerland.

# 3. H.E DATO' HASNUDIN HAMZAH

H.E. Dato' Hasnudin Hamzah is the Permanent Representative of Malavsia to ASEAN and is currently the Chair of the Committee of Permanent Representatives (CPR) to ASEAN as well as the Governing Council of the ASEAN Institute for Peace and Reconciliation. He graduated from the University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur in 1982 and obtained a Master's Degree at the National University of Singapore in 1997. Ambassador Hasnudin Hamzah joined the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Malaysia in 1982 and was assigned at the Malaysian Embassy in Manila, the Philippines (1988-1992), High Commission of Malaysia in Singapore (1994-1998) and Permanent Mission of Malaysia to the United Nations in Geneva, Switzerland as Deputy Permanent Representative and Consul-General of Malaysia to Switzerland (1998-2001). He was the Undersecretary for the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC) Division of the Malavsian Foreign Ministry and Special Officer to the Foreign Minister. Prior to the current assignment, he was the High Commissioner of Malaysia to New Zealand (2009-2011) and Ambassador to Jordan and concurrently accredited to Iraq (2006-2008).

# 4. H.E. STIG INGEMAR TRAAVIK

**H.E. Stig Ingemar Traavik** is the Ambassador of Norway to Indonesia. Timor Leste, and ASEAN. He holds a Bachelor's degree in History and a Master's degree in Political Science from the University of Oslo. His career in the Norwegian Foreign Ministry began as an Executive Officer for the Ministry's Political Department in 1994. He became a Foreign Service Trainee in 1996 and got his first foreign assignment as Second Secretary at the Norwegian Embassy in Abidjan, Ivory Coast. His other foreign assignments include The Norwegian Delegation to the UN and WTO in Geneva, Switzerland, the Norwegian Embassy in Kabul, Afghanistan and the Norwegian Refugee Council as Resident Representative in Afghanistan and Pakistan. Ambassador Traavik is a 2<sup>nd</sup> Dan black belt in Judo, and represented Norway in Judo at the 1992 Olympic Games in Barcelona. He is a six time Judo champion in Norway between 1987 and 1996, and is a Bronze medallist in the World Judo Championships for Veterans in 2011. He is married to Noor Sabah Nael Traavik and they have four children.

# 5. H.E. KOICHI AIBOSHI

H.E. Koichi Aiboshi is the Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Mission of Japan to ASEAN. He graduated from Tokyo University in 1983 with a degree in International Relations. He joined the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan in 1991 and has served the Ministry in various capacities including: 1) Deputy Director of the First Southeast Asia Division, Asian Affairs Bureau, 2) Deputy Director of the First International Economic Affairs Division, Economic Affairs Bureau, 3) Director for the Humanitarian Assistance Division of the Foreign Policy Bureau, 4) Director for the Second Middle East Division of the Middle Eastern and African Affairs Bureau, 5) Director of the Loan Aid Division, Economic Cooperation Bureau, 6) Deputy Assistant Vice-Minister for Parliamentary Affairs, 7) Deputy Director-General for International Cooperation, Global Issues and African Affairs, and 8) Deputy Director-General for International Cooperation, Global Issues and African Affairs and Middle Eastern Affairs. His foreign assignments include serving in the Embassies of Japan in France (1995), Republic of Korea (1999), and Socialist Republic of Vietnam (2008), before becoming the Ambassador of Japan to ASEAN in 2014. He is married with two children.

# **SESSION I**

# 1. HON. LUIS T. CRUZ (Moderator)

**Mr. Luis T. Cruz** reassumed the position of Assistant Secretary for ASEAN Affairs at the Department of Foreign Affairs on 01 March 2014 after a six-year posting as Philippine Ambassador to Seoul, Korea. He graduated from San Carlos Seminary with a bachelor's degree in philosophy.

Having joined the Philippine Foreign Service in 1983, Mr. Cruz has served in Asian countries such as the People's Republic of China (Beijing and Guangzhou), Malaysia and the Republic of Korea. His first posting was in the United Kingdom, together with his wife Minda Cruz, who joined the Philippine Foreign Service as the same with him. Mrs. Cruz is currently the DFA Assistant Secretary for Asian and Pacific Affairs.

Mr. Cruz assumed related positions in the Philippine Department of Foreign Affairs, such as Director General for ASEAN Affairs, Principal Assistant to the Undersecretary for Policy and Director for China Division.

During his previous stint as Assistant Secretary for ASEAN Affairs (2006-2008), Mr. Cruz chaired several meetings of ASEAN functional committees at the time when the Philippines was Chair of the ASEAN Summit in 2006-2007. He also organized the ASEAN Open Lecture Series in various Philippine schools and universities to promote awareness about the regional organization and its impact on the young generation among Filipino students.

In August 2007, Assistant Secretary Cruz received the *Lakandula* Achievement Award from the Office of the President and the *Gawad Mabini* Leadership Award from the Department of Foreign Affairs for his outstanding work during the one-year Philippine chairmanship of ASEAN. In October 2013, Assistant Secretary Cruz received the Gawad San Lorenzo Ruiz from the Hyewadong Filipino Community for embodying the spirit of Christian leadership in the Filipino diaspora in Korea.

# 2. Ms. SHADIA MARHABAN

**Ms. Shadia Marhaban** is a member of the Board of Directors of the School of Peace and Democracy in Aceh, Indonesia. She participated

in the Coordinator Caucus 1325 in Indonesia for Women Peace and Security on the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1325. She was president of the Aceh Women's League (LINA) from 2006 to 2012, and was a member of the Free Aceh Movement (GAM) Team in the Helsinki peace negotiations with the Government of Indonesia. Her work experience includes being a member of the UNDP - Expert Roster for Rapid Response in 2015, National Coordinator Consultant for UN Women on UNSCR 1325 in West Papua, Indonesia from 2012 to 2013, and was Special Assistant to Aceh Governor Irwandi Yusuf for the Anti Corruption Task Force under the UNDP's Aceh Governance Transitional Programme (AGTP). Ms. Marhaban finished her study of Arabic at the American University in Cairo, Egypt in 1989, She holds a degree Political Science and International Relations from the National University of Indonesia from 1995, and was a Fellow at the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs of the Harvard University at Cambridge, Massachusetts from 2011 to 2012. She also took the Mediation Course at the Federal Department of Foreign Affairs of Switzerland.

# 3. Dr. NAW REBECCA HTIN

Dr. Naw Rebecca Htin graduated with Bachelor of Medicine, Bachelor of Surgery from the University of Medicine 1, which is the oldest medical school in Myanmar. She also holds a Masters Degree in Public Administration from the John F. Kennedy School of Government. Harvard University in the USA. She attended the Summer Peace Program on Conflict Transformation in Deeply Traumatized Societies, held at the Eastern Mennonite University in the USA, as well as the Chevening Fellowship on Conflict Resolution (Post Conflict Resolution), in the University of York in the UK. Her work experience includes eight years as a Civil Assistant Surgeon at the Yangon General Hospital, eleven years as an Operations Manager for World Vision International, and three years as Country Director for World Concern Myanmar. She is currently the Managing Director of the Kwekabaw Company Limited Hospital, as well as the Associate Program Director for the Peace/ Political dialogue and Peace Building Operation Coordination Programs at the Myanmar Peace Center.

# 4. Dr. SOMBATPOONSIRI JANJIRA

**Dr. Sombatpoonsiri Janjira** is a lecturer of International Relations at Thailand's Thammasat University, and co-Secretary General of the Asia Pacific Peace Research Association (APPRA). Her most recent publications are; Humor and Nonviolent Struggle in Serbia (New York:

Syracuse University Press, forthcoming in 2015); "Playful subversion: Red Sunday's Nonviolent Activism in Thailand's Post-2010 Crackdown," Journal of Peace & Policy Vol. 20 (2015); and " 'If You Use Nonviolence, I will Respond with Nonviolence': A Nonviolent Conflict in the case of the 2007 Pattani Protest, Southern Thailand,' in Conflict Transformation: New Voices, New Directions, eds. Rhea DuMont, Tom Hastings, and Emiko Noma (NC: McFarland, 2013); Her current research, funded by Thailand Research Fund, looks at state responses to street protest.

# **SESSION II**

# 1. H.E TAN HUNG SENG (Moderator)

Amb. Tan Hung Seng is the Permanent Representative of the Republic of Singapore to ASEAN. Ambassador Tan joined the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Singapore in 1990 and served as the Ambassador of Singapore to the Arab Republic of Egypt, with concurrent accreditation to Libya, from July 2009 to July 2013. He was also concurrently accredited to the State of Kuwait until September 2012. Before assuming post in Cairo, Ambassador Tan served as the Director of the Middle East, North Africa and Central Asia Directorate at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Singapore. Ambassador Tan has worked in various capacities on issues related to ASEAN/ASEAN Regional Forum, the Middle East and International Organizations. His overseas postings have included two earlier stints in Egypt (as First Secretary from 1992 to 1995 and as Deputy Chief of Mission/Counsellor from 2003 to 2005) as well as a posting in Bangkok, where he was Deputy Chief of Mission/Counsellor from 1999 to 2003. He was awarded the Public Administration Medal (Silver) in 2011. Ambassador Tan graduated with a Bachelor of Social Science degree, Second Class Honours (Upper) from the National University of Singapore in 1990. He obtained his Master of Arts (Merit) degree in Southeast Asian Studies from the University of London, School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), United Kingdom, in 1998, under the Raffles/Chevening Scholarship.

# 2. Ms. JANET WONG

Janet Wong has been working extensively in the field of development in Asia, focusing on advancing gender equality and women's empowerment in the region. Janet is currently the Country Representative for UN Women Timor-Leste and since last year was assigned the task of Country Manager a.i. for Indonesia. Joined UNIFEM since 2005 as Programme Specialist, she had served in various capacities, providing technical assistance to country offices, including in situations of post conflict and/ or post disaster and being on the Advisory Group of a Regional Joint Programme on Engaging with Boys and Men to Prevent GBV (P4P). Prior to UNIFEM, Janet was the Social Affairs Officer with the UN Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific. Janet has also worked for several global and regional organizations, including the World Bank Consultative Group on International Agricultural Research, World Fish Center; People's Health Movement; and Asia Pacific Forum on Women, Law and Development.

# 3. Ms. SAKUNTALA KADIRGAMAR-RAJASINGHAM

Sakuntala Kadirgamar-Rajasingham is a Visiting Research Fellow at the Australian National University, Canberra. She brings over twenty years extensive experience working in conflict and post-conflict countries advising on constitutional and governance issues, as well as promoting gender and social inclusion. In Yemen, she was a senior advisor to the UN on the design and implementation of the national dialogue process and led discussions on politically sensitive issues including state restructure, secession and autonomy. In Somalia, she was a senior constitutional advisor to the UN Political Office for Somalia (UNPOS) on issues related to the political transition and the completion and the provisional adoption of the constitution. In Nepal she was senior constitutional advisor to UNDP, promoting dialogue and trainings for the Constituent Assembly and civil society. She has worked for the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA) as the Senior Constitution Advisor and as Head of the Asia program and has consulted to the World Bank. She has supported constitutional and political reform process and women's political and economic participation in a number of countries, particularly in Asia and Africa.

# **SESSION III**

# 1. H.E. I GEDE NGURAH SWAJAYA (Moderator)

**H.E. I Gede Ngurah Swajaya** graduated with a Law Degree from the University of Udayana, in Bali Indonesia in 1986, and holds a Master of Arts from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University in Boston Massachusetts. Some of the highlights of his diplomatic career at

the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (KEMLU) include assignments at the Indonesian Embassy in Bonn, Germany, the Permanent Mission of Indonesia to the UN in New York, and as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the Kingdom of Cambodia. He was the Permanent Representative of Indonesia to ASEAN from 2010 to 2013, and was the Indonesian Representative to the ASEAN High Level Task Force (HLTF) on Strengthening the ASEAN Secretariat and Reviewing the ASEAN Organs in 2014. He is currently the Acting Coordinator for the ASEAN National Secretariat of Indonesia.

# 2. Hon. MARIA CLEOFE "GETTIE" C. SANDOVAL

**Hon.Maria Cleofe Gettie C. Sandoval** is the Undersecretary for Programs, Office of the Presidential Adviser on the Peace Process (OPAPP), of the Office of the President, Republic of the Philippines. Her main tasks include the supervision of the implementation of two (2) final peace agreements with former rebels who were members of splinter groups of the Communist Party of the Philippines; a national program implemented in conflict-affected areas to complement the peace negotiations; the national implementation of the National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security; and the team that drives the information and education campaign for the passage of the law that will create the new political entity in the Bangsamoro in Southern Philippines.

Previously, she held other government positions as Assistant Secretary for Policy in OPAPP (2004); Director for Sectoral Policy of the National Anti-Poverty Commission (2001-2003); and Chief of Staff of *Abanse!* Pinay, the first women's party-list in the House of Representatives, Congress of the Philippines (1998).

Ms. Sandoval spent many years as part of civil society working with a non-government organization involved in alternative lawyering (or public interest law). As a lawyer, she worked for the interests of labor, informal settlers, peasants, and cross-cutting concerns like gender and governance. She was in-charge of program development, handled cases in court, drafted and lobbied for laws and policies in Congress and other policy-making bodies, conducted training and formation of marginalized sectors, particularly relating to gender. She also served as consultant on gender and law and human rights to other institutions such as the Department of Interior and Local Government, Oxfam-Great Britain, Commission on Human Rights and other non-government organizations and is a member of the board of trustees of several nongovernment organizations. She had previous teaching experience as a volunteer for the Jesuit Volunteer Program (1985-86) and at the Ateneo de Manila School of Medicine and Public Health as subject matter expert on Medical Jurisprudence (2009-2012).

In the course of her work as part of civil society and government, Ms. Sandoval has participated in and acted as resource speaker on discussions, training, courses and conferences in the Philippines and abroad on topics such as gender empowerment and human rights, alternative lawyering, laws on women, peace process, women and peace, and governance, among others.

She earned her Degrees on Bachelor of Arts, Major in Economics (1985) and Juris Doctor (1991) from the Ateneo de Manila University, Philippines.

# 3. Dr. SOCORRO REYES

**Dr. Socorro L. Reyes** is a policy analyst, governance adviser, legislative specialist and women's rights advocate. At present, she is the Regional Governance Adviser of the Center for Legislative Development International. She is also an international consultant on public policy and governance, social development and gender equality, disaster risk reduction and mitigation as well as disaster recovery and rehabilitation. She is also involved in advocacy for women's participation in decision-making in peace processes in Mindanao particularly in the passage of a gender-responsive Bangsamoro Basic Law.

She was the former Chief of the Asia-Pacific and Arab States of UN WOMEN, New York (2005-2011) where she directly supervised four subregional offices in East and Southeast Asia, South Asia, the Pacific, Arab States and North Africa. She was UNDP Senior Gender Adviser to the Government of Pakistan (2001-2005) where she designed the capacity development program for 36,000 women councilors and conceptualized the Women's Political School. She was also Director of Gender and Governance of the New York-based Women's Environment and Development Organization (1999-2001) and spearheaded the Global Campaign for "50-50 Get the Balance Right!". She was the founding President and Executive Director of the Congressional Research and Training Service (CRTS), the first non-governmental legislative support services organization established to provide assistance to the first post-martial law Congress. She taught Political Science at De La Salle University for 20 years and was the first Chairperson of the Department of Political Science.

She is the proud grandmother of two lovely girls, Denise Gabrielle, 16 and Monica Isabel, 8.

# **SESSION IV**

# 1. H.E. ELIZABETH P. BUENSUCESO

**H.E. Elizabeth P. Buensuceso** is currently the Permanent Representative of the Republic of the Philippines to ASEAN. Before assuming her current position, Ambassador Buensuceso was the Assistant Secretary for European Affairs in the Department of Foreign Affairs of the Philippines. She was also the former Philippine Ambassador to Norway, Denmark and Iceland (2008-2011) and the Lao PDR (2004-2008). She served at the Philippine Embassies in Brussels and Beijing as Deputy Chief of Mission. Her other postings include Singapore and Hong Kong. Ambassador Buensuceso earned a Bachelor of Arts, major in English, magna cum laude, and Master of Arts in Teaching English, both from the University of the East and a Master of Arts in Asian Studies from the University of the Philippines.

Ambassador Buensuceso is a professional diplomat having been with the Philippine Foreign Service for 35 years. She has served in various positions in the Department, including in the Office of Asean Affairs, the Anti-Terrorism Unit of OUP, the Economic Diplomacy Unit, etc. She has organized various international conferences, workshops and other meetings under the ASEAN, ASEM and bilateral frameworks.

Before her Foreign Service career, Ambassador Buensuceso was a Lecturer at the Polytechnic University of the Philippines and the University of the East, teaching Literature, Philosophy and English Grammar and Composition.

# 2. PROF. MIRIAM CORONEL-FERRER

Prof. Miriam Coronel Ferrer heads the government panel that negotiated and signed the Comprehensive Agreement on the Bangsamoro (CAB) with the Moro Islamic Liberation Front in March 2014. She is a professor of politics at the University of the Philippines where she also served as director of the Third Word Studies Center and convener of the Program on Peace, Democratization and Human Rights. She had also been visiting professor in several Asian universities. Prof. Ferrer has published several books and journal articles on Philippine democratization, civil society and peace processes. She was founding co-chair of the Non-State Actors Working Group of the International Campaign to Ban Landmines, and was one of 27 Filipinas among the "1, 000 Women for the Nobel Peace Prize" nominated in 2005. An active peace advocate in her country, she co-led the civil society-initiated drafting of the National Action Plan on the UN Security Resolution 1325. The Philippine NAP was formally adopted by the government in March 2010.

Prof. Ferrer is the first woman in the world to have signed a major peace agreement as chief negotiator. In the same capacity, she oversees the different mechanisms that have been established to implement the agreement.

# 3. Dr. EMMA LESLIE

Having led and supported initiatives for conflict transformation, peace and development throughout the Asia region since 1993, Emma Leslie currently holds the position of Executive Director of the Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies (CPCS). She is also a Consultant for Conciliation Resources, and a Trainer and Facilitator at the Folke Bernadotte Academy. In 1997, Emma moved to Cambodia to work for the Cambodia Campaign to Ban Landmines, and in the same year co-founded the regional peacebuilding network, Action Asia, and the Applied Conflict Transformation Studies (ACTS) MA programme. In 2008, Emma founded CPCS in Cambodia, which hosts a range of interconnected programmes that strive to support the advancement of peace processes across Asia, and to promote research and comparative learning for Asian approaches to strategic conflict intervention.

Emma has extensive advisory experience and works as a practitioner, facilitator and trainer on conflict transformation and peacebuilding issues in Asia and globally. Since 2011, she has represented Conciliation Resources in the International Contact Group (ICG) for the peace talks between the Government of the Philippines and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front. In March 2014, the Comprehensive Agreement on the Bangsamoro was completed and signed, and Emma continues to accompany the peace process through her role with the ICG, remaining connected to the peace panels and key actors on both sides of the conflict. Since 2012, she has been an observer to the peace talks between the Myanmar Government and the Karen National Union.

Emma is soon to be a joint Cambodian-Australian citizen, holds an honorary Doctorate in Education from Charles Sturt University and a Masters in International Development from Deakin University. In 2005, Emma was one of the thousand women nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize for her commitment to sustainable peace in Asia and beyond.

## 4. Ms. ELISABETH SLÅTTUM

**Ms. Elisabeth Slåttum** is a Norwegian diplomat and was appointed Special Envoy to the Peace Process between the Government of the Philippines and the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP) in 2014. Prior to this, she was part of the Norwegian facilitation team in the peace process between the Colombian Government and the FARC. Previously, she has been engaged in dialogue and conciliation efforts in Haiti and the Dominican Republic and in the efforts to coordinate international support to the Nepali peace process in the post-agreement phase. She has been posted to the Norwegian Embassy in Venezuela and has also done NGO work in Argentina and Colombia. She holds Masters degrees in European Politics from the College of Europe, Warsaw, and in French from the University of Oslo. AN INSTITUTE FOR PEAC KSHOPON STRENGTHENING WOMEN ICIPATION IN PEACE PROCESSES AND CONF LUTION ASFANINSTITUTE FOR PEACE AN NCILIATION WORKSHOP ON STRENGTHE N'S participation in PEACE P ROCESSES AND CON ASEAN INSTITUTE FOR PEACE AND WORKSHOPON STREN NG WOMEN'S -NIR PARTICIPATION IN PEACANNEX III SSES AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION ASEAN INSTITUTE FOR PEACE AND LIST OF PARTICIPANTS RECONCILIATION \/ WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION ESSES AND CONFLICT AN INSTITUTE FOR PFACE AND RECONCILIA KSHOPON STRENGTHENING WOMEN ESSES and CONF ICIPATION IN PEACE PROCH LUTION ASEAN INSTITUTE FOR PEACE AN NCILIATION WO (SHOP on **STRENGTHE** CE PROCESSES AND CON FACE AND RECONCILIATION N'S participation in PEAC **ASEAN** INSTITUTE FOR PFAC CIPATION IN PEACE -SAND CONFLICT SOLUTION ASFANINSTITUTE FOR PEACE AND HENIN TICIPATION IN PEACE PROCESSES AND (

# PARTICIPANTS

Country	Name	Designation
Brunei	H.E. Emaleen Abd Rahman Teo	Head of Delegation
Cambodia	Mr. NUON Rithyroath	Head of Delegation
Cambodia	Mrs. Doeuk Han	Head of International Cooperation Department
Indonesia	H.E. I Gede Ngurah Swajaya	Head of Delegation
Indonesia	H.E. Rahmat Pramono	Permanent Representative
Indonesia	Ms. Artauli RMP Tobing	AIPR Advisory Board Member
Indonesia	Ms. Lily Savitri	Member of Delegation
Indonesia	Mrs. Starlet Yuniarti Koenardi	Member of Delegation
Indonesia	Mr. Ronald Arafah*	Member of Delegation
Lao PDR	H.E. Latsamy KEOMANY	Head of Delegation
Lao PDR	Mr. Bounchanh XAYALATH	Member of Delegation
Lao PDR	Mrs. Sinthamala Lanavanh	Deputy Dierctor General
Lao PDR	Mrs. Vidavone KEOBOUNKHONG	Acting Director
Lao PDR	Ms. Vathida PHONEKEO	Desk Officer
Malaysia	H.E. Dato' Hasnudin Hamzah	Head of Delegation
Malaysia	Mr. Azril Abd Aziz	Member of Delegation
Malaysia	Mr. Muhamad Akmal Abdul Wahab	Member of Delegation
Myanmar	Ambassador Mr. Min Lwin	Head of Delegation
Myanmar	Ms. Nan Su Htet Hlaing Kyaw	Member of Delegation
Myanmar	Ms. Ni Tar Myint	Member of Delegation
Myanmar	Mr. Tun Lynn Aung	Member of Delegation
Myanmar	Mr. Tin Maung Naing	Minister Councillor
Singapore	H.E. Tan Hung Seng	Head of Delegation
Singapore	Ms. Yu Pi- Hsien	Member of Delegation
Thailand	Dr. Somkiati Ariyapruchya	Head of Delegation
Thailand	Mr. Paradorn RANGSIMAPORN	Member of Delegation
Thailand	Ms. Asya Thanchitt	Member of Delegation
Thailand	Ms. Piang-or Wacharaprapapong	Member of Delegation

Viet Nam	H.E. Vu Dang Dzung	Head of Delegation
Viet Nam	Mr. Duong Tri Hien	Member of Delegation
Viet Nam	Mr. Vu Quoc Chính	Head of Socio-Cultural Cooperation
Viet Nam	Ms. Tran Thi Thu Trang	Deputy Head of South East Asia Division
ASEC	Mr. AKP Mochtan	Head of Delegation
ASEC	Ms. Ivana Agustin	Member of Delegation
ASEC	Ms. Leena Ghosh	Member of Delegation
Speaker - SEA	Ms. Shadia Marhaban	Speaker
Speaker - SEA	Dr. NAW REBECCA HTIN	Speaker
Speaker - SEA	Dr. SOMBATPOONSIRI JANJIRA	Speaker
Speaker - SEA	MS. JANET WONG	Speaker
Speaker -	Ms. Emma Leslie	Speaker
Speaker - Norway	Elisabeth Slåttum	Speaker
Speaker - Manila	Prof. Miriam Coronel-Ferrer	Speaker
Speaker - Manila	Hon. Maria Cleofe Gettie C. Sandoval	Speaker
Speaker	Ms. Sakuntala Kadirgamar-Rajasingham	Speaker
Philippines	Amb. Elizabeth P. Buensuceso	Moderator and Organizer
Philippines	Noel M. Novicio	Member of Delegation
Philippines	Christopher Patrick T. Aro	Member of Delegation
Philippines	Hon. Evan P. Garcia	Undersecretary for Policy
Philippines	ASEC Luis Cruz	Moderator; Assistant Secretary for ASEAN Affairs
Philippines	Anwar M. Ito	Member of Delegation
OPAPP	Hon. Teresita Quintos-Deles	Secretary, OPAPP/ Head of Delegation
OPAPP	Dir. Pamela Padilla	Member of Delegation
OPAPP	Asec. Rosalie C. Romero	Assistant Secretary, OPAPP
OPAPP	Muriel Magadia and Diane Leomo	Member of Delegation
OPAPP	Marc Siapno	Member of Delegation
ASEAN Philippines	Undersecretary Zenonida F. Brosas	Undersecretary, OPAPP

ASEAN Philippines	Chair Remedios Rikken	Member of Delegation
ASEAN Philippines	Dir Socorro Reyes	Speaker
Secretariat	Nihaya T. Macaradi	Member of Delegation
Secretariat	Nilo Jay G. De Guzman	Member of Delegation
Secretariat	Carina B. Gaurana	Member of Delegation
RCO Cebu	Dr. Angel H. Espiritu and Vincent Argel Diano	Members of Delegation
RCO Cebu	Anika Fernandez and Cecil Lyn Ponpon	Members of Delegation
Norway	Ambassador Stig Traavik	Ambassador
Norway	Caroline Hargreaves	Member of Delegation
Norway	Christian Groseth	Member of Delegation
Norway	Kristian Netland	Member of Delegation
UN	Mark Harris	ASEAN-UN Liaison Officer
Japan	Ambassador Koichi Aiboshi	Ambassador
JICA	Teresa Mendoza	JICA Representative

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KSHOPON STRENGTHENING WOMEN ICIPATION IN PEACE PROCESSES AND CONF LUTION ASFANINSTITUTE FOR PEACE AN NCILIATION WORKSHOP ON STRENGTHE N'S **participation** IN **PEACE** P ROCESSES AND COM **ASEAN** INSTITUTE FOR **PFACE** AND RECONCILIATION WORKSHOPON STRENGTHENING WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN PEACANNEX IV SSES AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION ASEAN INSTITUTE FOR PEACE AND RECONCILIATION TERMS OF REFERENCE OF THE AIPR ES**and** CONFLICT AN INSTITUTE FOR PFACE AND RECONCILIA KSHOPON STRENGTHENING WOMEN ICIPATION IN PEACE PROCESSES AND CONF LUTION ASEAN INSTITUTE FOR PEACE AN KSHOP on **STRENGTHE** N'S PARTICIPATION IN PEACE PROCESSES AND CON ACE AN INSTITUTE FOR PEACE AND RECONCILIATION **ASEAN** INSTITUTE FOR PEAC ESSES AND CONFLICT CIPATION IN PEACE PRO SOLUTION ASFANINSTITUTE FOR PEACE AND P ON STRENGTHENIN NCI IATION V TICIPATION IN PEACE PROCESSES AND

# TERMS OF REFERENCE OF THE ASEAN INSTITUTE FOR PEACE AND RECONCILIATION

The ASEAN Institute for Peace and Reconciliation (hereinafter referred to as 'the Institute') shall be established under Provision B.2.2.i of the ASEAN Political-Security Community Blueprint. As a follow-up to the ASEAN Leaders' Joint Statement on the Establishment of an ASEAN Institute for Peace and Reconciliation adopted on 8 May 2011, the Institute shall be an entity associated with ASEAN under Article 16 of the ASEAN Charter.

The Institute shall operate in accordance with the following Terms of Reference (ToR):

## 1. HEADQUARTERS

The headquarters of the Institute shall be in the Republic of Indonesia, hereinafter referred to as "the Host Country", and shall be based in Jakarta.

## 2. LEGAL PERSONALITY

The legal personality of the Institute shall be established under a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) between the Host Country and the Institute.

## 3. PRINCIPLES

The Institute would operate in accordance with the ASEAN Charter and be guided by the principles of the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia, inter alia:

- a. respect for the independence, sovereignty, equality, territorial integrity and national identity of all ASEAN Member States;
- b. shared commitment and collective responsibility in enhancing regional peace, security and prosperity; and
- c. non-interference in the internal affairs of ASEAN Member States.

## 4. MANDATE AND FUNCTIONS

#### 4.1. Mandate

The Institute shall be the ASEAN institution for research activities on peace, conflict management and conflict resolution, as requested by ASEAN Member States.

The Institute's work will include, inter alia, promotion of those activities agreed in the ASEAN Political-Security Community Blueprint and additional activities as agreed by ASEAN Member States.

## 4.2. Functions

The Institute may undertake, among others, the following activities:

### Research

- Undertake research and compile ASEAN's experiences and best practices on peace, conflict management and conflict resolution as well as post-conflict peace-building, with the view to providing appropriate recommendations, upon request by ASEAN Member States, to ASEAN bodies
- Undertake studies to promote gender mainstreaming in peace building, peace process and conflict resolution
- Study and analyse existing dispute settlement mechanisms in ASEAN with a view to enhancing regional mechanisms for the pacific settlement of disputes

## **Capacity Building**

- Hold workshops on peace, conflict management, conflict resolution
- Hold seminars/workshops/training in promoting the voice of moderation to contribute to the Global Movement of the Moderates, as well as to advance work in the area of interfaith dialogue

- Knowledge building among relevant government officials, scholars or think-tanks on conflict management and resolution

#### Pool of Expertise and Support for ASEAN Bodies

- Develop a pool of experts from ASEAN Member States as resource persons to assist in conflict management and conflict resolution activities
- Where appropriate and at the request of ASEAN governments, provide policy recommendations to ASEAN governments on promotion of peace and reconciliation based on their own studies, as well as facilitation for peace negotiation
- Assist ASEAN bodies, upon request of ASEAN Member States, on activities and initiatives related to peace, reconciliation, conflict management and conflict resolution

### Networking

- Function as a knowledge hub by establishing linkages/ network with relevant institutions and organisations in ASEAN Member States, as well as other regions and at the international level, which have similar objectives aimed at promoting a culture of peace
- Collaborate with relevant UN agencies, regional organisations and international think tanks to exchange expertise and experiences on peace, conflict management, conflict resolution

#### **Dissemination of information**

- Disseminate best practices, lessons learned and relevant information to ASEAN Member States
- Outreach and engagement with the civil society and other relevant stakeholders to promote peace, reconciliation, conflict management, conflict resolution and peace-building

- Promote awareness of the work of the Institute among the general public

## 5. BUDGET AND FUNDING

- ASEAN Member States shall make a contribution to support the operations of the Institute for each budget year.
- ASEAN Member States may consider making additional contributions to support the operations of the Institute within the same budget year.
- The Institute may seek additional project-based voluntary funding from ASEAN Member States on an ad hoc basis, which should be requested in a timely manner
- The Institute shall mobilise additional resources from ASEAN Dialogue Partners, interested countries, international and regional organizations, financial and any other institutions, corporations, foundations or individuals to fund project-based activities.
- The resources mobilised to fund the project-based activities will also be allocated as deemed appropriate to support the operations of the Institute.

## 6. STRUCTURE

The Institute shall be composed of the Governing Council, the Executive Director and an Advisory Board

## **Governing Council**

- 6.1. The Governing Council, hereinafter referred to as "the Council", shall consist of :
  - a. a Representative of each ASEAN Member State to be appointed by and accountable to the respective appointing Governments;
  - b. the Secretary-General of ASEAN as ex-officio member; and c. the Executive Director as ex-officio member.
- 6.2. Each Member of the Council, except for the ex-officio members, shall work for a term of three (3) years and shall be eligible for one re-appointment.

- 6.3. The Chair of the Council shall be the Representative of the ASEAN Member State holding the Chairmanship of ASEAN.
- 6.4. The Members of the Council, except for the ex-officio members, shall elect two (2) Vice-Chairmen from among themselves each for a term of one year.
- 6.5. The Council shall :
  - a. formulate the guidelines and procedures for the activities of the Institute;
  - b. have the overall responsibility for the funds of the Institute and shall be responsible for the formulation of policy for the procurement and the utilization of the funds;
  - c. approve the annual operating budget for the Institute;
  - d. perform such other functions as may be necessary to carry out the objectives of the Institute; and
  - e. meet at least twice a year.

## **Executive Director**

- 6.6. The Executive Director of the Institute shall be a national of an ASEAN Member State and shall be appointed by the Governing Council through open recruitment for a non-renewable term of three years.
- 6.7. The Executive Director in discharging his/her functions to serve ASEAN Member States, shall represent the Institute, not his/her country or any other institution.
- 6.8. The Executive Director shall:
  - a. represent the Institute in all administrative and operational matters, manage the activities of the Institute and perform such other functions as may be assigned by the Council from time to time;
  - b. have authority to appoint such professional, secretarial and administrative staff as are necessary to achieve the Institute's objectives; and
  - c. undertake activities to raise funds for the Institute's activities, in accordance with guidelines and procedures as established by the Council.
- 6.9. The Executive Director shall be responsible to the Council.

## Advisory Board

6.10. An Advisory Board, hereinafter referred to as "the Board", shall consist of:

- a representative appointed by the government of each ASEAN Member State, hereinafter collectively referred to as "Representative";
- b. the Executive Director as ex-officio member.
- 6.11. Representatives shall work for a term of three years and shall be eligible for one re-appointment.
- 6.12. Representatives shall be eminent persons in the field of peace and reconciliation, including, but not limited to, academics, parliamentarians, senior or retired civil servants and civil society representatives.
- 6.13. Representatives on the Board, with the exception of the Executive Director, shall not serve concurrently on the Council.
- 6.14. The Board shall advise the Council on the research priorities for the Institute.

## 7. DECISION-MAKING

Decision-making in the Institute shall be based on consultation and consensus in accordance with Article 20 of the ASEAN Charter.

## 8. REPORTING MECHANISM

The Executive Director shall make regular reports on the work of the Institute through the relevant senior officials to the ASEAN Political-Security Community Council (APSC Council).

## 9. REVIEW MECHANISM

This TOR shall be initially reviewed five years after the official launching of the Institute. This review and subsequent reviews shall be undertaken by the APSC Council supported by the relevant senior officials.

KSHOPON STRENGTHENING WOMEN ICIPATION IN PEACE PROCESSES AND CONF LUTION ASFAN**INSTITUTE FOR PEACE** AN RKSHOP on **STRENGTHE**  $\mathcal{N}$ N'S participation in PEACE P OCESSES AND CON ASEAN INSTITUTE FOR PEACE AND WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN PEACANNEX VESSES AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION ASFANINSTITUTE FOR PEACE AND MEMBERS OF THE AIPR GOVERNING WOMEN'S **particif** COUNCIL AND ADVISORY BOARD AND CONFLICT AND RF KSHOPON S ICIPATION IN PEACE -Sand CONF LUTION ASEAN INSTITUTE FOR PEAC NCILIATION MO OP ON S N'S **participation** IN ESSES AND CON RECONCILIATION CIPATION IN PEAC E FOR P HENIN RTICIPATION IN PEACE CESSESAND

	Governing Council
BRUNEI	<b>H.E. Emaleen Abdul Rahman Teo</b> Permanent Representative of Brunei Darussalam to ASEAN
DARUSSALAM	Advisory Board
	<b>Mr. Mohammad Shafiee Kassim</b> Acting Director Department of International Organizations Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade
	Governing Council
CAMBODIA	<b>H.E. Dr. Chem Widhya</b> Undersecretary of State Ministry of Foreign Affairs Kingdom of Cambodia
	Advisory Board
	<b>H.E Kan Pharidh</b> Ambassador/Permanent Representative of Cambodia to ASEAN
	Governing Council
	<b>H.E Bagas Hapsoro</b> Former Deputy Secretary-General of ASEAN
INDONESIA	Advisory Board
	<b>Amb. Artauli Tobing</b> Former Ambassador of Indonesia to Vietnam
	Governing Council
LAO PDR	<b>H.E. Latsamy Keomany</b> Permanent Representative of the Lao PDR to ASEAN
	Advisory Board
	H.E. Kouily A. Souphakhet Ambassador of the Lao PDR to Indonesia
	Governing Council
MALAYSIA	<b>H.E. Dato' Hasnudin Hamzah</b> Permanent Representative of Malaysia to ASEAN
WALAI JIA	Advisory Board
	<b>H.E. Tengku Dato' Abdul Ghafar Tengku Mohamed</b> Facilitator, GPH-MILF Peace Process

	Governing Council
	<b>H.E. Min Lwin</b> Permanent Representative of Myanmar t ASEAN
MYANMAR	Advisory Board
	<b>Mr. Kyee Myint</b> Deputy Director-General Myanmar Institute for Strategic and International Studies
	Governing Council
PHILIPPINES	H.E. Elizabeth Buensuceso Permanent Representative of the Philipp to ASEAN
	Advisory Board
	H.E. Teresita Quintos-Deles Presidential Adviser on the Peace Proces
	Governing Council
	<b>H.E. Tan Hung Seng</b> Permanent Representative of Singapore ASEAN
SINGAPORE	Advisory Board
	<b>Prof. Joseph Liow</b> Associate Dean S. Rajaratnam School of International Stu
	Governing Council
THAILAND	<b>H.E. Dr. Somkiati Ariyapruchya</b> Dean Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies, Rangsit University
	Advisory Board
	H.E. Chombhala Chareonying Permanent Representative of Thailand to ASEAN
	Governing Council
VIET NAM	<b>H.E. Nguyen Hoanh Nam</b> Permanent Representative of Viet Nam t ASEAN
	Advisory Board
	H.E. Le Cong Phung

AN INSTITUTE FOR PEAC, KSHOPON STRENGTHENING WOMEN ICIPATION IN PEACE PROCESSES AND CONF LUTION ASFANINSTITUTE FOR PEACE AN NCILIATION WORKSHOP ON STRENGTHE N'S **participation** IN **PEACE** P ROCESSES AND CON ASEAN INSTITUTE FOR PEACE AND RECONCILIATION ENING women's WORKSHOPON STRENG PARTICIPATION IN PEACANNEX VISSES AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION ASEAN INSTITUTE FOR PEACE AND RECONCILIATION WORKSHOP ON STRENGTHENING WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN OCESSES AND CONFLICT AN INSTITUTE FOR PFACE AND RECONCILIA KSHOPON STRENGTHENING WOMEN ICIPATION IN PEACE PROCESSES AND CONF LUTION ASEAN INSTITUTE FOR PEACE AN KSHOP on **STRENGTHE** N'S PARTICIPATION IN PEACE PROCESSES AND CON ACEAN INISTITUITE FOR PEACE AND RECONCILIATION **ASEAN** INSTITUTE FOR PFAC CIPATION IN PEACE SSES AND CONFLICT SOLUTION ASFANINSTITUTE FOR PEACE AND HENIN NCII IATION VA RTICIPATION IN PEACE PROCESSES AND (

#### AIPR WORKSHOP ON STRENGTHENING WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN PEACE PROCESSES AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION 18-19 March 2015 Cebu City, The Philippines

## PROGRAMME

## Day 1, 18 March

0830H-0900H Registration

0900H-1030H Opening Session

Chorale Rendition by the Cebu Normal University Choir

Welcome Remarks	Hon. EVAN P. GARCIA Undersecretary of Foreign Affairs and SOM Leader Republic of the Philippines
Message	H.E. DATO' HASNUDIN HAMZAH Permanent Representative of Malaysia to ASEAN Chair, Committee of Permanent Representatives (CPR) to ASEAN and Chair of the AIPR Governing Council
Message	H.E. STIG INGEMAR TRAAVIK Ambassador of Norway to ASEAN
Message	H.E. KOICHI AIBOSHI Ambassador of Japan to ASEAN

**Group Photo** 

1030H-1045H	Coffee Break/Meet ar	nd Greet	1530H- 1600H	Coffee Break
1045H-1300H		of Women's participation in Peace ict Resolution among ASEAN Member	1600H - 1700H	Session III: Developing a National and Regional Agenda to promote Women's Participation in Peace Processes
	Moderator:	Hon. LUIS T. CRUZ Assistant Secretary Office of ASEAN Affairs, Department of Foreign Affairs Republic of the Philippines	Moderator:	H.E. I GEDE NGURAH SWAJAYA Acting Coordinator ASEAN National Secretariat of the Republic of Indonesia Speakers (20 minutes per speaker):
	Speakers (20 minutes	per speaker):	1).	Hon. MARIA CLEOFE GETTIE C. SANDOVAL Undersecretary
2).	International Mediator, Indonesia <b>Dr. NAW REBECCAN</b> Associate Program Din Peace Dialogue Progra Coordination Program Myanmar Peace Center	am and Peace Building Operations er	2).	Office of the Presidential Adviser on the Peace Process Republic of the Philippines <b>DR. SOCORRO REYES</b> International Consultant Social Development and Gender Equality Center for Legislative Development International, The Philippines
3).	Thailand Co-Secretary-General Asia Pacific Peace Re	search Association	1830H	Open Forum Welcome Dinner (Venue – The Ocean Pavilion, Mactan Shangri-La)
	Thammasat University			
	Open Forum		<u>Day 2, 19 Marc</u>	<u>ch</u>
1300H-1430H			<u>Day 2, 19 Marc</u> 900H-1030H	<u>ch</u> Session IV: Best Practices on Women, Peace and Security
1300H-1430H 1430H-1530H	Open Forum Lunch Break Session II: United Na 1325 as an instrumer	tions Security Council Resolution nt for developing and consolidating Security (WPS) imperatives for UN	-	Session IV: Best Practices on Women, Peace and Security H.E. ELIZABETH P. BUENSUCESO Permanent Representative of the Philippines to ASEAN and Member, AIPR Governing Council
	Open Forum Lunch Break Session II: United Na 1325 as an instrumer Women, Peace and S	tions Security Council Resolution It for developing and consolidating Security (WPS) imperatives for UN H.E. TAN HUNG SENG Permanent Representative of Singapore to ASEAN and Member, AIPR Governing Council	900H-1030H Moderator: 1).	Session IV: Best Practices on Women, Peace and Security H.E. ELIZABETH P. BUENSUCESO Permanent Representative of the Philippines to ASEAN and Member, AIPR Governing Council Speakers (20 minutes per speaker): Prof. MIRIAM CORONEL-FERRER Panel Chairperson GPH Panel for Peace Negotiations with the Moro Islamic Liberation Front Republic of the Philippines
1430H-1530H 1).	Open Forum Lunch Break Session II: United Na 1325 as an instrumer Women, Peace and S Member States Moderator: Speakers (20 minutes Ms. JANET WONG Country Representativ UN Women, Timor-Les MS. SAKUNTALA KA	tions Security Council Resolution tfor developing and consolidating Security (WPS) imperatives for UN H.E. TAN HUNG SENG Permanent Representative of Singapore to ASEAN and Member, AIPR Governing Council per speaker):	900H-1030H Moderator: 1). 2).	Session IV: Best Practices on Women, Peace and Security H.E. ELIZABETH P. BUENSUCESO Permanent Representative of the Philippines to ASEAN and Member, AIPR Governing Council Speakers (20 minutes per speaker): Prof. MIRIAM CORONEL-FERRER Panel Chairperson GPH Panel for Peace Negotiations with the Moro Islamic Liberation Front

#### 1030H-1100H Coffee Break

## 1100H-1200H Summary, Recommendations and Closing Remarks

#### Moderator: H.E. ELIZABETH P. BUENSUCESO Permanent Representative of the Philippines to ASEAN and Member, AIPR Governing Council

#### Closing Remarks: H.E DATO' HASNUDIN HAMZAH Permanent Representative of Malaysia to ASEAN Chair, Committee of Permanent Representatives (CPR) to ASEAN and Chair of the AIPR Governing Council

1200H Lunch at the Shangri-La Hotel

#### PM Free time/Departure of Delegates



# AIPR ASEAN Institute for Peace and Reconciliation

The ASEAN Institute for Peace and Reconciliation (AIPR) was created based on the ASEAN Leaders' Joint Statement on the Establishment of the AIPR on 8 May 8, 2011. Under the Terms of Reference (TOR) of the AIPR, which was finalized during the 45th ASEAN Ministerial Meeting in July 2012, the Institute was established to serve as the ASEAN institution for research activities on peace, conflict management and conflict resolution. The Institute's work will include the promotion of those activities agreed in the ASEAN Political-Security Community (APSC) Blueprint and additional initiatives and projects as agreed by ASEAN Member States.

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The Permanent Mission of the Philippines to ASEAN

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