TOWARDS INCLUSIVE PEACE: MAPPING GENDER PROVISIONS IN PEACE AGREEMENTS

WORKSHOP REPORT

NADI, FIJI
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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report outlines the research findings of the final phase of the Australian Research Council funded ‘Towards Inclusive Peace’ research project, and details the findings and discussions of the project’s second stakeholder workshop on pursuing gender equality after conflict which took place in Nadi, Fiji in October 2019.

Research findings: implementing gender-sensitive peace agreements

1. The majority of gender provisions in peace agreements between 2000 and 2016 are not implemented: only 4 out of 10 gender provisions are consistently implemented.

2. Gender provisions are unevenly distributed across peace agreements. Provisions that address violence against women and women’s inclusion in post-conflict economic recovery appear in less than half of all peace agreements with gender provisions.

3. Gender provisions that address the issue of violence against women, women’s post-conflict justice issues and women’s economic empowerment and development are the least likely gender provisions to be implemented.

4. Gender provisions relating to human rights and women’s formal participation are the most likely gender provisions to be implemented.

5. Time does not increase the likelihood that gender provisions in peace agreements will be implemented. Instead, delaying the implementation of gender provisions is harmful. Delayed prioritisation and implementation increases the risk that implementation will fail.

6. Gender-sensitive peace agreements require ongoing political will, implementation and accountability mechanisms to be fully realised.

7. Gender provisions in peace agreements require greater support from all actors to ensure that there is broad awareness of their purpose; there are few peace agreements in the region with specific institutional modalities to effectively implement gender provisions.

8. Advancing gender equality after conflict is significantly more difficult in the aftermath of a gender-blind peace process; gender-inclusive processes must be a part of all post-conflict institutions and decision-making in order to achieve a gender equal peace.

Workshop recommendations

1. Build a network of women peacebuilders and Women, Peace and Security (WPS) experts in the Asia and Pacific region.

2. Map women’s formal and informal peacebuilding work within countries in Asia and the Pacific.

3. Address violence against women and girls as a core post-conflict issue.

4. Identify national and regional opportunities to leverage the WPS agenda.

5. Engage youth peacebuilders, especially young women peacebuilders and WPS experts.
‘TOWARDS INCLUSIVE PEACE’: THE RESEARCH PROJECT

The ‘Towards Inclusive Peace’ project is an Australian Research Council Linkage Grant, partnered with the Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, based at Monash Gender, Peace and Security Centre and involves academic researchers from Monash University, Griffith University and the University of Queensland. This project, awarded in 2015, explores the ways in which gender equality can be pursued after conflict. The project specifically looks at the optimal conditions to include gender provisions in peace agreements to advance gender equality, and to ensure their implementation.

As part of the project’s research validation and dissemination process, two regional stakeholder workshops have taken place in Asia and the Pacific. The first was held in October 2018 in Bangkok. At this event, the project’s findings to date were shared and discussions held. The core question of this workshop was to explore pathways for women’s meaningful participation in peace processes, and discuss strategies for the inclusion of gender provisions in peace agreements. The detailed findings of the workshop are available online.

On the whole, the workshop participants agreed that women’s meaningful participation is central to assuring a gender-sensitive peace agreement and enduring peace. As one participant noted, enduring or sustainable peace requires putting an end to fighting, but also ensuring that the peace dividends are shared equally, are inclusive, and allows society to transform towards justice and equality. This corroborated the project’s global research, which found that gender provisions were more likely to be included in peace agreements when women are meaningfully involved in the process and where:

1. Women have access to participate in the elite peace processes;
2. Women’s civil society participation is strong;
3. Women’s national parliamentary representation increases.

In 2019, the focus of the project has been on the implementation of these gender provisions. This phase of the research has been animated by the questions:

- **Do gender provisions in peace agreements actually get implemented?**
- **What impact do they have upon advancing gender equality after conflict?**

Even amongst peace agreements where women were represented in the three spaces (the peace process, civil society and parliament), our research found that gender provisions are not consistently implemented. In fact, as outlined above in the research findings, our research found that, on average, only 4 out of 10 gender provisions in peace agreements worldwide since 2000 have been implemented. Gender provisions that relate to women’s participation in the peace process and refer to international human rights instruments are the most likely provisions to be implemented, while specific provisions relating to violence against women, development and post-conflict transition are much less likely to be implemented.

Furthermore, the project has found that the duration since a peace agreement was signed makes no difference in determining whether or not a gender provision will be effectively implemented. It is not the case that the longer a peace agreement has been in place, the more likely it is that a gender provision will be implemented. These and other findings are detailed in the complete list of academic, policy and advocacy outputs for the project which can be found in Annex 3 of the report.

In bringing this research to Nadi, we sought to learn from participants’ own experiences, and to identify the specific ways that women peacebuilders and experts use – or work around – peace agreements to advance gender equality after conflict.
BACKGROUND AND OUTLINE OF THE NADI WORKSHOP

The 2019 workshop in Nadi brought together 31 participants, including women peacebuilders from seven regions across Asia and the Pacific, to share their experiences of advancing gender equality in the aftermath of peace agreements and conflicts. Workshop participants included academics, representatives from government, the security sector and non-governmental organisations, women’s human rights defenders and peace advocates (see Annex 1). While the first stakeholder workshop – which took place in Bangkok in 2018 – focused upon Asia, the second workshop had a strong focus upon the Pacific. The panel discussions specifically focused on the Pacific, and the location of the workshop was chosen to facilitate travel for Pacific participants. This seemed particularly pertinent in light of the November 2019 independence referendum in Bougainville, which was a key provision in the 2001 peace agreement.

The goals of the workshop were:

• To share strategies, successes and failures of building peace;
• To identify and explore the strategies and mechanisms used by women peacebuilders in advancing gender equality in their context;
• To understand the role that peace agreements and formal peace process (be they gender-sensitive or not) play in shaping efforts to advance gender equality after peace agreements are signed.

The workshop was driven by the following core questions:

1. Do gender-sensitive commitments in peace agreements actually get implemented and realized?
2. If so, what are the mechanisms for this implementation?
3. If not, what are the constraints to implementation?
4. Where gender-sensitive peace processes and agreements have been absent, what alternative methods exist to implement a gender-sensitive peace?

The workshop consisted of two panel sessions, three group-based activities, an overview of the project’s findings and a keynote address. The agenda appears in Annex 2. The Hon. Lynda Tabuya, Fijian Member of Parliament and Opposition Whip delivered the keynote address. The two panel discussions drew upon the extensive experience of women peacebuilders to discuss how they worked with – or around – peace agreements to advance gender equality. The group activities allowed free-flowing discussions among participants to explore deep technical, political and context-specific questions regarding how to advance gender equality in peace processes.
**WORKSHOP RECOMMENDATIONS:**

In discussing the above findings, participants made the following recommendations:

1. **Build a network of women peacebuilders and Women, Peace and Security experts in the Asia and Pacific region**

   The primary recommendation from workshop participants was for the creation of a dedicated Asia and the Pacific network of women peacebuilders across government, the security sector, university/research and advocacy communities. It was argued that such a network can build the political will, technical expertise and awareness for the implementation of gender provisions.

   **PARTICIPANT QUOTES:**
   
   “Academic-led forums can bring together women who would otherwise not be able to meet.”
   
   “[We need] long-term commitment to a like-minded WPS epistemic community.”
   
   “Every country in the region is faced with different issues and challenges – [we must draw from] what we learn from others.”
   
   “I value the new contacts/connections made to add value to our work.”
   
   “Women support other women is the very basic foundation of all initiatives since we have so limited spaces, we should appreciate each other’s work…. Then we can start to build [a] coalition, mapping our allies and companions and also find resources to support our advocacy.”

2. **Map women’s formal and informal peacebuilding work within countries in Asia and the Pacific**

   In many cases, women’s extensive formal and informal peace work is silenced in the official histories of peace agreements and their aftermath. This further silences and stereotypes women, excluding them from ongoing formal peacebuilding activities, and contributes to the difficulties they face in obtaining resources and respect. Therefore, participants asserted that it is important that women’s roles in formal peacebuilding efforts are mapped, shared and become part of the official history of the peace process.

   Importantly, it was also noted that women’s informal peace work and the skills and capacities gained working at the grassroots is frequently overlooked and unacknowledged. This is peace work that may take place in the home, or at the community level, and in informal spaces including religious, learning and ceremonial spaces. Participants therefore recommended that the modalities of women’s informal peace work be identified, mapped and – in a manner that is appropriate – strengthened.

   It was further noted that women can be incredibly creative in creating space for themselves – in both formal and informal sites – to undertake peacebuilding work. Participants argued that these strategies should be identified and shared with the broader network.
3 Address violence against women and girls as a core post-conflict issue

In addition to being a human rights violation, violence against women remains a persistent barrier to women’s meaningful participation in peace. Participants noted that this issue is poorly addressed in the post-conflict phase, and therefore recommended that it be identified as a post-conflict priority.

4 Identify national and regional opportunities to leverage the Women, Peace and Security (WPS) agenda

WPS is about “building relationships [and] making connections”

A number of participants lamented their country’s limited engagement with the UN WPS agenda. For example, while the Philippines has had a comparatively gender-sensitive peace agreement and process, participants noted that – despite their similarly strong engagement with WPS – the agenda hasn’t been used to the fullest advantage in the resolution of the Bangsamoro conflict. A number of other participants noted that their countries had thought about the peace process in terms of the sustainable development agenda, but not sufficiently in terms of the WPS agenda.

Furthermore, there was a strong appetite for regional engagement with WPS. Participants from the Pacific were disappointed that a second Pacific Regional Action Plan was not developed. They spoke strongly of a need for negotiations to begin on a new iteration of this Plan with bolder regional resourcing commitments attached this time. Similarly, many of the participants advocated for a Regional Action Plan, or if not an Action Plan, at least a Regional WPS Platform for Asia.

5 Engage youth peacebuilders, especially young women peacebuilders and WPS experts

Participants noted that peacebuilding is an inter-generational process. Therefore, acknowledging the work done by youth – particularly young women peacebuilders, and ensuring their engagement is important. One participant noted in the Bougainville context:

“To fill in the gap of our next generations of leaders, there needs to be more mentoring and capacity building to get our youths particularly young women and girls to share the role of women in peacebuilding. [This is particularly important] in a matrilineal society.”

In Papua, it was noted that youth have been very active across the political spectrum, including in peace movements. Students and young people are mobilising around ideas of nationalism, anti-colonialism, liberation, independence and conflict resolution. They are using a number of non-violent strategies including protests, strikes, boycotts, and information sharing on online platforms to spread their views and experiences.
WORKSHOP FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

Constraints to advancing gender equality after peace agreements

The workshop found that there remain a number of constraints to women’s efforts to promote gender equality after conflict. While there were differences in each context, we identified a number of persistent constraints in post-conflict communities which both had – and didn’t have – gender-sensitive peace processes.

Patriarchy, militarism, and cultures of distrust

All participants agreed that protracted armed conflict has perpetuated legacies of patriarchy, militarism, authoritarianism and military rule (in some cases), and general cultures of distrust. In Aceh, for example, a participant noted that there have been expectations among former male combatants that they should achieve a ‘peace dividend’, that is, financial and power-based recompense for giving up their arms. In Myanmar, participants argued that a militarised masculinity animated the behaviours of the Tatmadaw and the initial ceasefire agreement was largely a ‘men’s agreement’. In the case of the Solomon Islands, participants noted that social and cultural norms excluded women from participating in the formal reconciliation ceremonies.

In the ongoing violence in West Papua, participants noted that a militant and highly securitized approach to the ongoing violence is reinforcing cultures of distrust between Papuans and the Government of Indonesia. Participants further noted that the focus upon traditional securitisation approaches makes it unlikely that a gender-sensitive process or resolution will occur.

‘Patriarchy’ was similarly cited as a malignant influence on women’s political participation. Though patriarchy manifests as different traditions and practices in different contexts, it involves a traditional assumption of gender hierarchy with men in leadership roles and women in roles subordinate to them. In Bougainville, participants noted that in post-conflict elections husbands and chiefs were making decisions for women on who to vote for, rather than allowing women to cast an independent vote. This is a pressing concern in light of the independence referendum.

Gender provisions in peace agreements are generally not well implemented

While there were exceptions to this statement, most participants found that where gender provisions in peace agreements existed, there was limited political will in the post-conflict phase to drive their actual implementation. This meant that resources, infrastructure, and knowledge regarding the gender provisions was usually lacking. One participant noted – for instance – that even the Philippines peace agreement was strongly gender-sensitive on paper, but that this had not translated into a strong commitment to implementation.

This accords with the global research undertaken by the research team which found that, on average, only four out of every ten gender provisions are implemented.

Gender provisions in peace agreements can be vague and difficult to operationalize

In the last stakeholder workshop, the research team noted that where gender provisions were present in peace agreements, they are more likely to weak and vague rather than strong. The ‘vagueness’ of gender provisions has a significant impact upon implementation. The lack of detail can create confusion, dispute and a lack of political will for implementation.

As an example of this, it was noted that the text of the Nationwide Ceasefire Agreement in Myanmar calls for a ‘reasonable number of women representatives in the political dialogue process.’ This, they argued, is vague and has led to ambiguity regarding women’s representation. While the subsequent Framework for Political Dialogue includes a clause acknowledging the need for 30 per cent participation in the political dialogue, it has not translated effectively into leadership roles for women in the peace process mechanisms. The 30 per
A cent quota has been met for one committee (social), of the five issue-committees (land, economic, political and security), set up to implement the peace process. The representation of women in the social committee, which discusses social welfare for return of displaced persons return (70% of which are women), is important. However, women also have a stake in access to land, political participation, economic development and security sector reform. The exclusion of women from these committees – and the gendered cultures evident in these committees – reveals the social norms amongst the government, military and ethnic armed groups that decide representation in these committees.

A gender-blind peace agreement denies women access to formal peace spaces and institutional mechanisms

A number of the participants were working in contexts where the peace agreement was entirely gender-blind. The 2000 Townsville Agreement that ended the conflict in the Solomon Islands had no gender provisions whatsoever, and no women participated in the negotiations. Similarly, the 2004 Memorandum of Understanding that ended the conflict between the Government of Indonesia and GAM (Free Aceh Movement) was also devoid of gender provisions and women’s participation.

In the case of the Solomon Islands, participants noted that nearly two decades after the peace agreement, women’s contributions to informal peacebuilding have never been formally acknowledged and women’s political representation remains low. It was further noted that their experiences of conflict, including of violence, have never been addressed. There continues to be cultures of impunity and high rates of violence against women during the ‘era of peace’.

In the case of Aceh, one participant noted that the gender-blind peace process hampered women’s and gender concerns being raised by any party at the peace table. Participants further noted that there has been significant degradation of women’s rights in the aftermath of the peace agreement. One participant relayed her experiences of an interview with an Acehnese woman:

After participating in the first election in Aceh in 2006, the woman stated:

‘My happiness is almost complete. The peace (MoU Helsinki) was desired by many, [myself] included. My kids can now go to school, and we can live normally.’

When the same woman was interviewed in 2014, she felt that women had been secluded from society. She stated:

‘I was accused of having (another man), ulama (mostly male) think that we (women) must not work until late. But if I am not working, how could I feed myself and my husband? His post-conflict money had gone. We should work to pay bills.’
Siloing and lack of coordination across agencies in peace implementation

A number of participants noted that peace agreements and the infrastructure that is built around peace processes can be very technical. This is alienating and can exclude women. The Myanmar peace process was described as one such example of a complex and technical peace process. Participants argued that the institutional architecture of peace had isolated gender issues away from the state’s priorities. Some participants noted that the bureaucracy around the implementation of peace agreements can lead to the siloing of agencies and actors, and hamper coordination within government and between government, civil society and external actors. Others noted that this creates a ‘fog’ where different actors are not being effectively heard, or listened to.

One participant noted that the Philippines provided a contrast to this. The Philippines deliberately sought to make sure that silos and personal power politics were avoided through efforts to ensure a collaborative and mutually reinforcing design. But the participant conceded that despite good intentions, it can be hard to reform existing institutions.

Violence against women and girls

Across a number of post-conflict sites, violence against women and girls continues to be a major constraint on peace, as well as a major barrier to women’s participation in peacebuilding. In Bougainville, participants noted that violence against women and girls continues to be an overwhelming concern, as does the high rates of child, early and forced marriage. In the Solomon Islands, the 2014 Family Protection Act provides pathways for legal redress, however participants noted that there remain significant barriers to women’s ability to readily, confidently and successfully take advantage of this legislation. Violence against women is also a significant inhibitor to women’s participation in Aceh. In this case, one participant noted that the strict interpretation and practice of Sharia Law has facilitated state sanctioned violence against women including public shaming and caning. In Myanmar, there is still no anti-violence against women law providing clear legal norms and redress for women and girls, though such a law has been under discussion since 2014.

These discussions validated the research findings which identified violence against women commitments as being one of the least likely types of provisions to be implemented.

Access to justice for women in the aftermath of peace agreements

A number of participants highlighted ‘justice’ as being one of the most poorly implemented areas of peace agreements. Pacific participants noted that in the Solomon Islands women ran their own process of truth and reconciliation alongside the formal Truth and Reconciliation Council that was conducted some years after the conflict. This brought to light the heavy burdens experienced by women during the conflict but these have not been well-reflected in general debate on conflict transition. This process has been important for women’s groups however who have continued to lobby for stronger gender equality language around the legislation relating to reparations and justice.

Similarly, in Indonesia, it was mentioned that the National Commission on Violence against Women had conducted investigations into sexual violence in West Papua, however, these issues have not been officially addressed. In Aceh, there were commitments in the 2005 peace agreement to establish a truth commission and a court with jurisdiction over crimes against humanity. This court was only recently established – over a decade later – and only has local jurisdiction and cannot compel witnesses or testimony from outside of Aceh.

In Mindanao, again, participants noted that the transitional justice process has been one of the least funded and most difficult areas to generate political support. Participants surmised that this was because elite actors would see this as derailing the peace process by ‘raking up’ past atrocities. However, one participant noted that post-conflict justice is central to resolving conflict-era grievances and building trust in institutions. This was echoed in Myanmar as well, where participants argued that the military’s resistance, an overall lack of political will, and community distrust in institutions were hampering efforts to move justice and accountability mechanisms forward.
These discussions support the project’s research finding that gender provisions in peace agreements that concern justice for women are one of the least likely types of provisions to be implemented.

Local funding to women’s organisations in the aftermath of peace agreements

“The need for aid agencies to let national and regional actors set the development goals, NOT DONORS.”

Participants noted several constraints on the effectiveness of women’s organisations in civil society in promoting gender equality after peace agreements. While some were context specific, most of the issues resonated across the group as being a factor in their own experiences of promoting women’s rights. These constraints included:

- Lack of sustained support after the peace agreement was signed. Those participants who were representatives of civil society organizations noted that funding was erratic and sometimes petered off in the aftermath of a peace agreement being signed.

- A number of participants noted that women’s civil society organizations were largely supported (financially and otherwise) by international donors but not by local government and agencies. One group of participants noted that international aid (while welcome) can mean that women’s organizations are not supported locally. Others went so far as to say that they experienced hostile attitudes and feelings of suspicion from their own governments. In some cases, this was because they were seen to be politically partisan (criticising the government and supporting the opposition). In other cases, it was because their agendas and alignment with outside actors was treated with suspicion.

- Participants also noted that local government regulations on civil society can affect the outreach and communication activities on politically sensitive topics like citizenship, violence against women, land registration and transitional justice. In these situations, donors may not fund such programs in areas where these activities will be resisted by local government. Participants argued that there needs to be more thought given to how donors can open pathways for these programs to be funded with government cooperation and support in place for civil society.
ENABLERS TO GENDER EQUALITY AFTER PEACE AGREEMENTS

There was a strong agreement among participants that advancing gender equality after peace agreements had been signed requires transformational change. This change must occur in institutions, power relations, and social and cultural attitudes. One participant noted that changes in these contexts are never linear, but require understanding how the “formal and informal” rules of the game are gendered and can be challenged and changed. From these discussions, the following factors enabling gender equality in the aftermath of peace agreements were identified.

A strong regional network of women peacebuilders and WPS experts throughout Asia and the Pacific

As noted in the recommendations, this was the single most important and consistent finding of the workshop. The vital need for a network of women peacebuilders and WPS experts that matches those present in other regions globally was clear to all participants. In justifying this call, many participants noted that Asia and the Pacific is one of the most conflict and crisis affected regions of the world. While peacebuilders and experts may come from various locations and sectors across societies, including women’s peace movements, government agencies, civil society and community organisations, academic and research communities, and non-governmental organisations, the workshop was testament to the value of sharing experiences and lessons across Asia and the Pacific.

Both this and the previous workshop documented that women have been pivotal to efforts to prevent conflict and build peace throughout the region. Furthermore, the research project has identified that women’s representation is strongly linked to the inclusion of gender provisions in peace agreements. However, seeking representation and championing the implementation of gender provisions can be difficult and dangerous work for civil society, the security sector, bureaucracy, academia and parliament. When gender implementation provisions are failing it can often be a warning sign that there are serious social and political obstacles to progressing gender equality in that context. In these situations, participants often seek external support to sustain their advocacy. However, building individual support networks is time-consuming and resource-intensive. Participants argued for a regional and formal network of women peacebuilders and WPS experts to be supported by outside funding. The participants overwhelmingly singled out such an initiative as something they would benefit from in terms of creating:

A capacity-building forum where knowledge on regional and global frameworks, and technical skills are shared and developed

Commitment by all to strengthen women’s formal and informal participation

All participants agreed that women’s participation in all aspects of peace and security policy-making and practice is central to achieving sustained peace. In the words of Hon. Lynda Tabuya, MP, the first step is ‘showing up’ and being present. Participants noted that women’s participation needs to be strengthened at all levels and in all spaces. It was noted that this must occur at both macro and micro-levels, in formal and informal spaces, and barriers to women’s participation must be understood and removed. Furthermore, there must be a diversity of women, and a diversity of participation modes. One participant noted the importance of being able to show emotions, to share personal stories, and to have these understood as part of peacebuilding work.

Consultation with groups of women, and their meaningful participation, was identified as a central enabler to implementing a gender-sensitive peace. Participants noted that in the aftermath of the peace agreement in Bougainville, women were the drivers of ensuring that commitments to consultation with women were made and fulfilled. One participant noted that in her experience, it was the women in Bougainville who see early warning signs of conflict, so it is important to involve them in political processes in order to sustain peace. However, it is important to note that in the case of Bougainville, there was little in terms of concrete provisions in the peace agreement or resulting constitution to support women’s participation.
Create spaces for women peacebuilders to be heard

Participants showed a number of different ways in which they had created their own spaces and opportunities to build peace. The Hon. Lynda Tabuya, MP noted in her keynote that women often need to be ‘louder than the status quo’ to be heard. This sentiment resonated in different ways, with participants offering narratives of how women peacebuilders worked around exclusionary politics.

One approach involved creating their own spaces within or alongside formal spaces. In the Solomon Islands, for example, women peacebuilders were forced to work around a gender-blind peace process. In this case, the peace agreement had had no gender provisions and women had been absent from the peace talks. Furthermore, efforts to institute Temporary Special Measures (TSMs) or ‘gender quotas’ in parliamentary decision-making to support women’s participation have generated some interest at the level of provincial government but not at the national level. In response, women’s civil society groups have established a Provincial Women’s Caucus project in three provinces with the assistance of the national office of UN Women. The aim of this structure is to provide an independent source of advice and legislative oversight to decision-makers in provincial government. The Solomon Islands National Women’s Peace Summit also provided a forum for women peacebuilders to share their experiences and opportunities, but also their frustrations over their ongoing marginalisation from national policy debates in areas such as customary governance and land tenure.

Similarly, in response to the lack of involvement of women in the peace process in Aceh, the Aceh Women’s League was formed by women’s rights defenders to support women’s representation and participation. In 2008 they developed the “Charter on Women’s Rights for Aceh” which was endorsed by the Governor and covers issues relating to land ownership, child custody, education and protection from violence.

Another approach recognises that there are contexts where it is neither safe nor legitimate to engage with ‘formal’ peace processes. This might be because the formal sector is corrupt, cannot be trusted or where open participation might generate violent backlash against women. Therefore, participants noted the importance of recognising the informal modalities of participation that women engage in to shape peace. This requires listening to the local stories of implementation and activism to see the often-hidden ways that actors might engage with the peace process. This might include peacebuilding in the home or within family or kinship groups, or at the community level through informal networks. Participants further noted the importance of creating safe spaces to allow these stories to be shared.

Support other women

Participants noted that women’s engagement with peace comes in many different forms. Regardless of how this operates, participants highlighted the importance of women supporting one another. Some participants noted that the context will constrain or shape how women participate in peace, while others noted that women’s own intersectional identities and personalities will determine this. In other cases, participants acknowledged that strategic decisions are made about how to best advance gender equality in any particular context. This leads to decisions regarding how, where, why and in alliance with whom, they might act collectively. In short, participants noted the importance of understanding the context in which different women peacebuilders and experts are operating, and supporting one another.

For instance, a number of women peacebuilders spoke about the role religion plays in shaping their activism for gender equality. In Aceh where Sharia Law is in place, women rely upon – or reinterpret - religious texts and teachings to promote women’s human rights. In Bougainville, women have found their matrilineal customary standing and the population’s strong identification with the Catholic figure of Mary as their island’s patron saint has provided them with some standing as they worked to mediate conflict between combatants. Similarly, during the conflict and its aftermath in the Solomon Islands, women relied upon on both kastom and Christian doctrine in carrying out peacemaking roles. This included invoking traditional restrictions (tambu) to mediate and exert pressure on militants to disarm.
Others discussed the importance of women’s identities as mothers. For example, one participant noted that in the upcoming Bougainville referendum, the role of women as mothers will play an important conflict prevention role. The participant noted, in a context where narratives of gendered motherhood are very strong:

‘Let me say that, every conflict comes out from a household or family and a family comes out from a clan. We encourage [the] empowerment [of] people to go back to their families, so that when a situation arises it has to be dealt with, within families or clan and communities. Mothers will be conversing with their families and clan leaders.’

While it is important to recognise the fact that this kind of maternalist framing of the relationship between gender and peacebuilding can be a limiting, it is also important to recognise the significance of this in context.

Regardless of how women conduct their peacebuilding work, an important theme of the workshop was that women should support women. Many spoke of the pressures that donors and state actors exert on women’s organisations in civil society to speak with one voice, deliver outcomes that can be captured and measured in ‘log frame’ bureaucratic tools, align along pre-existing ethnic, racial or religious lines, or compete with one another for resources. Women noted that these pressures should be reframed and sometime resisted and that women should embrace the plurality of views and activities conducted by civil society when they are committed to the same goal. One participant spoke of the need to ‘defend the idea of compassionate community as critical for the progression of long-term peace.’

Foster inter-generational peace leadership

Building peace is a long-term process and a number of participants spoke to the importance of constructively working with young people including young women to ensure peace is ongoing and fluid. The keynote speaker, the Hon. Lynda Tabuya, MP particularly noted the successes she had had in supporting and building young people’s political participation through her social media platforms. She further noted the importance of supporting diverse groups of young people in formal and informal spaces, in the rural and urban sectors, and in different socio-economic contexts. In Bougainville, the current referendum is occurring seventeen years after the peace agreement was signed. Participants noted the importance of working with young people, many of whom will not have a living memory of the conflict or the peace process, but will be given carriage of the decisions that will be made.
CONCLUSION

As the region now awaits efforts to implement the decision for independence in Bougainville, the workshop provided a timely reminder of the importance of ensuring the inclusion of women, and a gender perspective, in all areas of the peace process.

The workshop presented rich and contextualised qualitative data from across the region that supported many of the global research findings of the research team. The workshop confirmed the positive impact that women’s participation has on the possibilities of a gender-sensitive peace. However, it also echoed the findings regarding the main barriers to the implementation of a gender-sensitive peace.

While the barriers are formidable, they are not insurmountable. The challenges are neither linear nor stable, but they become more manageable when women peacebuilders and WPS experts network together. Ensuring this network is strong and sustainable must be the next big step in pursuing gender equal and enduring peace in Asia and the Pacific.
## ANNEX 1:
### LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAME</th>
<th>ORGANIZATION</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>Anna Tarhata Basman</td>
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<tr>
<td>Devika Narayan</td>
<td>Assistant Supt, Manager Registry &amp; Records - PHQ, Fiji, Police</td>
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<tr>
<td>Elizabeth Krishna</td>
<td>Interfaith Search Fiji</td>
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<tr>
<td>Elvira Rumkabu</td>
<td>Lecturer, Cenderawasih University, Papua</td>
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<tr>
<td>Florence Swamy</td>
<td>Executive Director, Pacific Center for Peace-building, Fiji</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hana Hanifah</td>
<td>Researcher, Indonesia</td>
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<td>Irine Gayatri</td>
<td>PhD Candidate, Monash GPS</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jacqui True</td>
<td>Professor, Director, Monash GPS</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jasmine Kaur</td>
<td>University of South Pacific, Fiji</td>
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<tr>
<td>Katrina Lee-Koo</td>
<td>Associate Professor, Deputy Director, Monash GPS</td>
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<tr>
<td>Khin Khin Mra</td>
<td>Centre for Good Governance and the Department of Social Welfare, Myanmar</td>
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<tr>
<td>Loata Vakasobuduru</td>
<td>Inspector, Assistant Divisional Admin Officer/Western, Fiji Police</td>
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<tr>
<td>Loraini Seru</td>
<td>Superintendent, Deputy Director Major Crime, Fiji, Police</td>
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<tr>
<td>Losana Derenalagi</td>
<td>femLINKpacific Western Division, Convenor of the Rural Women Leaders Community Media Network (RWLCMN)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lynda Tabuya</td>
<td>Member of Parliament (Opposition), Fiji</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ma Lourdes Veneracion-Rallonzra</td>
<td>Associate Professor, Ateneo de Manila University; Director, Asia Pacific Centre on the Responsibility to Protect-Philippine Office</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nicole George</td>
<td>Associate Professor, University of Queensland</td>
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<tr>
<td>Noraida Chio</td>
<td>Asia Foundation, Philippines</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pauline Soaki</td>
<td>Gender Consultant, Solomon Islands</td>
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<tr>
<td>Phyu Phyu Oo</td>
<td>PhD Candidate, Griffith University</td>
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<tr>
<td>Roshika Deo</td>
<td>University of South Pacific, Fiji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sandra Kraushaar</td>
<td>Acting Director, Gender Security and Multilateral Engagement, Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sara Davies</td>
<td>Associate Professor, Griffith University</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sarah Hewitt</td>
<td>PhD Candidate, Monash GPS</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sara Phillips</td>
<td>Program Officer, Monash GPS</td>
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<tr>
<td>Selai Cama Korovusere</td>
<td>Director WOMEN, Ministry of Women, Children &amp; Poverty Alleviation, Fiji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vilisi Waqavesi</td>
<td>Superintendent, Deputy Director Corporate Service, Fiji</td>
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# ANNEX 2: WORKSHOP AGENDA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SESSION</th>
<th>TIME</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Registration</strong></td>
<td><strong>08:30-09:00</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Welcome and Opening Prayer</strong></td>
<td><strong>09:00-09:10</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Selai Cama Korovusere, Director Women, Fijian Ministry for Women, Children and Poverty Alleviation</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Project Update</strong>, Professor Jacqui True, Director, Monash GPS</td>
<td><strong>09:10-09:30</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Keynote Address: Women's Roles in Ensuring Inclusive Peace in the Region</strong></td>
<td><strong>09:30-10:00</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Hon. Lynda Tabuya, Member of Parliament (Opposition)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Moderated by Associate Professor Katrina Lee-Koo, Deputy Director, Monash GPS</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Morning tea break</strong></td>
<td><strong>10:00-10:30</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>**Session 1</td>
<td>Advancing Gender Equality after the Peace Agreement: Working with (and around) Peace Agreements**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panel Speakers:</td>
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<tr>
<td>1. Ma. Lourdes Veneracion-Rallonza, Associate Professor, Ateneo de Manila University, Philippines; Director, Asia Pacific Centre on the Responsibility to Protect-Philippine Office</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Elvira Rumkabu, Lecturer, Cenderawasih University, Papua</td>
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<td>3. Pauline Soaki, Gender Consultant, Solomon Islands</td>
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<tr>
<td>4. Irine Gayatri, Indonesia; PhD Candidate, Monash GPS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Khin Khin Mra, Centre for Good Governance, Myanmar</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Moderated by Associate Professor Sara E. Davies, Griffith University and Adjunct, Monash GPS</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Lunch break</strong></td>
<td><strong>12:00-13:00</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>**Session 2</td>
<td>Break-Out Groups: Working With Peace Agreements**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How can peace agreements be leveraged by different stakeholders to ensure gender equality?</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Rapporteurs Report Back</strong></td>
<td><strong>13:45-14:00</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Anna Tarhata Basman, Member, Bangsamoro Transition Authority, Philippines</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. Noraida Chio, Asia Foundation, Philippines</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Hana Hanifah, Researcher, Indonesia</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Sarah Hewitt, PhD candidate, Monash GPS, Australia</td>
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<tr>
<td>5. Alice Hou, President, Guadalcanal Provincial Council of Women, Solomon Islands</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Session 3 | Spotlight on Sustaining Peace in the Pacific  14:00-15:00

Panel Speakers:

1. Nicole George, Associate Professor, University of Queensland, Australia
2. Florence Swamy, Executive Director, Pacific Centre for Peacebuilding, Fiji
3. Barbara Tanne, Peacebuilding Consultant, Bougainville

Moderated by Betty Barkha, PhD candidate, Monash GPS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Activity</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>14:00-15:00</td>
<td>Session 3</td>
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<tr>
<td>15:00-15:15</td>
<td>Afternoon tea break</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15:15-15:45</td>
<td>Session 4</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>In cases where peace agreements are gender-blind or restrictive, how can different stakeholders promote gender equality during the implementation phase of peace agreements?</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>15:45-16:00</td>
<td>Carousel Around the Groups</td>
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<tr>
<td>16:00-16:15</td>
<td>Final Reflections, Moderated by Sarah Hewitt, PhD Candidate, Monash GPS</td>
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<tr>
<td>16:15-16:30</td>
<td>Vote of Thanks, Professor Jacqui True, Director, Monash GPS</td>
</tr>
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ANNEX 3: PROJECT PUBLICATIONS AND RESOURCES

Journal articles:


Policy briefs and reports:


Online publications:


This workshop report is an output of the Australian Research Council Linkage Project “Towards Inclusive Peace: Mapping Gender Provisions in Peace Agreements, 2000-2016” (LP1048808). The project is hosted by Monash GPS and partnered with the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. The views expressed herein are those of the authors and are not necessarily those of the Australian Government or Australian Research Council.

This report is a review of the discussions held at the workshop, and of the key findings of the research team to date. The research team is led by the Chief Investigators: Jacqui True (Monash University), Sara E. Davies (Griffith University), Nicole George (University of Queensland), and Katrina Lee-Koo (Monash University). The team would like to thank Sara Phillips for her support in the production of this report.

arts.monash.edu/gender-peace-security  |  #MonashGPS  |  Arts-MonashGPS@monash.edu