Engendering Peace
Incorporating a Gender Perspective in Civilian Peace Teams

*Without peace, development is impossible, and without women,
neither peace nor development can take place.*

The Women Peacemakers Program (WPP) empowers women world-wide through gender-sensitive
nonviolence training and education. WPP is a program of the International Fellowship of Reconcilia-
tion (IFOR). Founded in 1919, IFOR is an inter-faith movement committed to active nonviolence, with
branches and affiliates in 43 countries. IFOR has consultative status at the United Nations (ECOSOC)
and has included six Nobel Peace Prize Laureates among its members.

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INTRODUCTION

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This publication is the result of a one-year pilot study carried out for the Women Peacemakers Program (WPP) of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation (IFOR). This study initiated an exploration of the field of civilian-based peace-keeping from a gender perspective.

Although feminist peace researchers and women activists have contributed significantly to a gendered analysis of peace and security – with many advocating that gender lies at the heart of violence and therefore should also be at the heart of nonviolent attempts to transform conflict and build peace – their insights have yet to filter further down to the work on the ground.

While peace and nonviolence organizations often offer progressive and sound analyses of conflict, its root causes, and strategies to address it, they are often lacking a gender-based perspective. Gender is often reduced to the category of "women's business" instead of being understood in the context of a system of (patriarchal) domination and power relations that results in direct, structural, and cultural violence. For decades, the fields of feminist activism and human rights activism developed as separate strands. It was not until the World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna (1993) that – thanks to the tireless efforts of women's organizations worldwide – the international community officially recognized that women's rights are an inextricable part of human rights.[1] Since then, several international human rights organizations (e.g. Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch) have begun to address the violation of women's rights, and violence against women in particular, as a core focus of their work.

While awareness is growing that conflict and post-conflict situations have significant gender implications that need to be addressed by any kind of intervention (be it local, national, or international, governmental or non-governmental), systematic efforts to implement gender analysis and gender-sensitive policies are still exceptional in practice. This is mainly related to the lack of sufficient gender knowledge in organizations and institutions that deal with peace and security, to the absence of sufficient financial and human resources to implement a gender perspective, and to the fact that gender has not been made a priority in the work as such.

The pilot focused on the work carried out by those organizations that provide unarmed international accompaniment in the form of peace teams (also known as "peace armies" or "peace brigades") to persons, groups or communities threatened by political violence in conflict-affected situations. In recent years, the WPP has been receiving signals from the field that civilian-based peace services are struggling to implement a gender perspective in their work.[2] Based on this observation, and recognizing its own challenges in terms of implementing a gender perspective within a world-wide peace movement such as IFOR, the WPP decided to conduct a pilot study on how to incorporate a gender perspective in civilian-based peace work. The main

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objective of the pilot project was to "make the case" for mainstreaming a gender perspective in civilian-based peace efforts. It aimed to contribute to fostering gender awareness and sensitivity within the praxis of existing peace teams and other peacebuilding initiatives to help make them more effective in promoting and accomplishing gender equality as a condition for a just, lasting peace.

Background: The IFOR Women Peacemakers Program and Peace Brigades International

IFOR is one of the oldest peace movements in the world and describes itself as "an international, interfaith movement of socially engaged citizens who commit themselves to active nonviolence as a way of life, and as a means of social, economic, and political transformation". IFOR currently has 82 branches, groups and affiliates (BGA) in 48 countries on all continents, and has six Nobel Peace Prize Laureates among its former and present members: Jane Addams (1931), Emily Green Balch (1946), Chief Albert Luthuli (1960), Dr. Martin Luther King (1964), Mairead Corrigan-Maguire (1976), Adolfo Perez Esquivel (1980). The IFOR Women Peacemakers Program (WPP) was established in 1997 at the recommendation of IFOR's 1992 International Council. The WPP took as its founding principle the vision that empowering women to become involved in building peace and civil society is essential for sustainable development and peace: "Without peace, development is impossible – and without women, neither peace nor development can take place."

During the 1992 Council,[3] less than a dozen of the 42 representatives were women. During one of the sessions, a Ugandan woman proposed to those present: "Let's be selfish for once. Let's have an IFOR women's meeting to focus on women's issues. There are women here, but there is no discussion that directly addresses women's issues, so when will we get a chance? There are so many women behind all our member organi-

zations. Why don't they get the chance to come to Council?" The women's meeting took place, resulting in a mandate to explore the establishment of a women's program for IFOR. Enthusiasm for the program increased after an IFOR delegation attended the 1995 United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing. The WPP started operating in 1997 thanks to a generous grant from the Netherlands' Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The WPP is committed to confronting cultures of violence and building cultures of peace by increasing women's involvement in peacebuilding activities. WPP aims to bring this about by providing training programs, by actively funding women's organizations, by documenting the work of women activists to make their voices heard, and by "engendering" the peace movement, primarily by mainstreaming gender within IFOR. Together with the "peace women community", the WPP works to support the implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 (UNSCR 1325), focusing in particular on the empowerment of women peace activists.[4]

The process of implementing the pilot project started early 2006, when the WPP sent out a call for cooperation to seven civilian-based peace services. The responses received were very positive and resulted in a formal agreement between Peace Brigades International's Indonesia Project (PBI-IP) – and the WPP for the pilot. PBI proved to be an ideal partner, for PBI is not only the oldest civilian-based peace organization in the world, it is also in the process of developing an organization-wide gender-and-diversity policy.[5] As gender is already on the PBI's agenda, the pilot would be able to build on the work they have already done.

PBI works for the protection of human rights and the promotion of nonviolent transformation of conflict by sending out teams of international volunteers to areas affected by repression and conflict. PBI teams accompany human rights defenders and organizations threatened by political violence in order to create space for local

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activists to work for social justice and human rights. PBI currently deploys volunteer teams in Colombia, Guatemala, Indonesia, Mexico, Nepal, and participates in a joint project with other organizations in Chiapas, Mexico.

In 1999, upon the written request of various Indonesian and East Timorese human rights groups, PBI established a permanent presence in Indonesia with its Indonesia Project (PBI-IP), which focuses on offering Protective Services and providing Participatory Peace Education.[6]

This pilot study assesses how gender dynamics play out in PBI-IP's work, considering its institutional structures and policies, recruitment and training processes, and activities in the field. The study looks at some of the challenges and dilemmas that are encountered in the field, and how those are addressed by the teams. To broaden the scope of the field research, additional information was gathered from other PBI field projects, as well as from other international civilian-based peacekeeping organizations. Based on this input, the pilot formulates some preliminary recommendations for civilian-based peace services in terms of incorporating a gender perspective in their work.

Research methodology

Data collection for this pilot was done with the help of the Indonesia Project by means of desk study of relevant institutional documents and interviews with a total of 32 current and former team volunteers, staff members, trainers, and Project Committee members, as well as with five PBI representatives from outside the Indonesia Project.

The pilot was conducted as an exploratory study using qualitative methods consisting mainly of semi-structured interviews and participant observation during the 2007 PBI preparatory training for volunteers in Lisbon as well as the field research in Indonesia.

The fieldwork in Indonesia consisted of a six-week deployment, during which all members of the four PBI IP teams in Jakarta (Java), Banda Aceh (Sumatra), Jayapura and Wamena (Papua), and the Coordination Office in Yogyakarta (Java) were interviewed. In addition, meetings took place with a total of 25 members of the local population, mostly representatives from PBI-IP partner organizations, as well as women's groups. Participant observation was also used during the peace education Training of Trainers in Banda Aceh, a forum in Wamena with local organizations, and the annual PBI IP Project Committee face-to-face meeting in Ubud (Bali). The majority of the interviews with PBI team members and partners were conducted on a one-to-one basis, with the exception of three group interviews. All the interviews were audio-recorded and later transcribed by the researcher with the support of a native Indonesian speaker. In addition, e-mail correspondence and several Skype interviews were held with former and current PBI-IP members based outside Indonesia.

Two sets of approximately 20 open-ended questions were used as guidelines for both the interviews and the questionnaires, which allowed the interviewees to add their own reflections: one for PBI-IP members (and also used in a slightly modified form for other peace teams) and one for PBI partners and members of local organizations. The first set of questions addressed gender within the context of PBI-IP and experiences in the field. The other set referred to gender in relation to the work of the respective partner organizations and the context in which they operate, as well as to their relationship with PBI and to the group's gendered experiences with the PBI-IP teams in both accompaniment and peace education activities.

As agreed with PBI-IP, the confidentiality and ownership of all PBI institutional internal documents were respected throughout the development of the project, as were the PBI-IP's rules for fieldwork so as not to interfere with or negatively affect its work. Each person interviewed was invited to sign a release form stating whether or not he/she authorized the use of his/her name and that of his/her organization as well as any photos taken and opinions expressed during the interview. Although the vast majority of the

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respondents agreed to be quoted for this project, it was decided not to identify any of them in the text, in order to respect their privacy.

E-mail and chat interviews with 13 representatives from other peace teams completed the findings: *Nonviolent Peaceforce* (NP), *Christian Peacemaker Teams* (CPT-Colombia), *International Women Peace Service* (IWPS), *US Fellowship of Reconciliation – Colombia Program* (FOR-Colombia), *International Service for Peace* (SIPAZ), *Ecumenical Accompaniment Project in Palestine & Israel* (EAPPI), and *Network in Solidarity with the People of Guatemala – Guatemala Accompaniment Project* (NISGUA-GAP).

Some limitations

This project was conceived of as a first exploration of how gender is currently being addressed in civilian-based peacekeeping in order to investigate whether further research – or even an action program – might be required. The present publication therefore does not pretend to draw firm conclusions but rather attempts to deliver useful insights about the relevance of including a gender analysis in the program strategy and institutional policies of peace teams on the basis of field observations and documentation of how one particular peace team is currently addressing gender-related issues.

In light of the project's being a pilot, some limitations need to be taken into consideration. First, despite the PBI-IP's Project Committee's[7] expressed interest in the pilot, obtaining input and feedback proved challenging due to the teams' lack of time, overloaded work schedules, and a few other factors that will be discussed further in Chapter II. Since the agreement for the pilot was made with PBI-IP, input from other PBI constituencies and bodies was limited, narrowing the scope of the work to PBI-IP. Also, as the PBI Gender &Diversity Mainstreaming Process (GDMP) was still in progress, some of the related documents had not yet been officially approved and were hence considered internal. To nevertheless gain more insight into the GDMP, two online

interviews were held with the Coordinator of the Gender and Diversity Working Group.[8]

Second, the pilot only consisted of six weeks in the field. This meant that only some of the activities carried out by the teams could be researched. For example, Protective Accompaniment (PA) was not observed directly. Nor was it possible to observe team dynamics and work over a longer period of time, so the research was limited to what PBI-IP volunteers expressed during interviews and meetings. In addition, information from both former PBI-IP members based outside Indonesia and from other peace organizations could only be obtained through indirect means such as e-mailed questionnaires and interviews through Skype.

Language was a third limiting factor. Most PBI-IP counterparts communicated in Bahasa Indonesia, which meant that a translator was required. Given the short period in the field, it was also considered important to be supported by a person knowledgeable of the organization's work and the diverse contexts in which the PBI-IP operates. That person was found in a former PBI-IP volunteer and In-Country Coordinator. Admittedly, the use of a translator might have interfered with the field research, in the sense that using an intermediary automatically limits direct interaction between the interviewer and the interviewee and increases the risk of misinterpretation. The choice for a translator with a PBI background in particular might have influenced the interview dynamics, for example if PBI country partners felt more inhibited about being critical about PBI.

Several interesting aspects have been explored during the pilot research, but – because of lack of time and the limited scope of this publication – it was not possible to deepen the analysis of its gendered and cultural implications. This applies to homosexuality (in the teams and in the society where PBI works) and the process of "Indonesianization" that PBI-IP is deliberately pursuing (that is, to recruit more Indonesian volunteers and staff and to become a more Indonesian organization).

Finally, as researcher it is important to acknowledge that aside from my professional work as a researcher and gender consultant, I am also a human rights activist and a former member of a peace team. In Shulamit Reinharz's words, therefore, I am assuming "a stance that acknowledges the researcher's position right up front, and that does not think of objectivity and subjectivity as warring with each other, but rather as serving each other".[9] Although I have attempted to be as objective and honest as possible, to be rigorous in relation to the research methods and resources used, and to be truthful about what I heard and observed in the field, my own feminist values and assessments are present throughout the work.

This publication on the pilot project hopes to inspire PBI and other civilian-based peacekeeping organizations around the world to work for gender justice as a fundamental dimension of sustainable peacebuilding. The first chapter will offer a general theoretical framework on peace and security from a gender perspective, drawing on the contributions of feminist researchers and scholars who have analyzed the gendered dimensions of conflict and war, violence and militarization, peacekeeping and peacebuilding. Chapter II provides an overview of the field of international civilian-based peacekeeping and the various tasks the organizations in that field carry out. Drawing on Peace Brigades International's main official documents it offers a general presentation of PBI – its history, principles, structure, and main areas of work – , and introduces the work of the PBI Indonesia Project (PBI-IP). Chapter III forms "the heart" of the research. It provides an overview of PBI's Gender and Diversity Mainstreaming Process and analyzes the PBI-IP's recruitment, selection and training process, as well as some of its policy documents, from a gender perspective. In addition, it offers some detailed "gender" observations from the field with regard to the internal dynamics in the field teams, the protective accompaniment provided to Indonesian human rights defenders, and the peace education work being carried out together with partner organizations. Insights from the field are contrasted and enriched with contributions from other peace teams that offer an international protective presence in other conflict areas of the world. Finally, the last chapter suggests some lines of action for civilian-based peace services in the process of incorporating a gender perspective in their work.

María M. Delgado
Montevideo, September 2008

Notes

1   Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action, Art. 18: "The human rights of women and of the girl-child are an inalienable, integral and indivisible part of universal human rights." "The human rights of women should form an integral part of the United Nations human rights activities, including the promotion of all human rights instruments relating to women."

2   The terms "civilian-based peacekeeping / peace-building organization" or "peace teams" are used indistinctly to refer to initiatives from international civil society that provide a "protective presence" in conflict situations, aiming at deterring violence and broadening the space for dialogue, human rights, and a peaceful transformation of violent conflicts. For a detailed description of the initiatives comprised under the concept of "protective presence" or "international accompaniment", see Chapter II.

3   The highest decision-making body within IFOR is the quadrennial Council, where branch representatives meet to decide on policies and actions and to elect a seven-member International Committee (ICOM).

4   UNSC Resolution 1325 reaffirms the "importance of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts and peacebuilding..." and stresses "the importance of their equal participation and full involvement in all efforts for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security...." Resolution 1325 urges UN Member States to – among other measures – "increase their voluntary financial, technical and logistical support for gender-sensitive training efforts" (paragraph 7).

5   PBI established a Gender and Diversity Working Group in 2005, which is in charge of developing a Gender and Diversity Mainstreaming Strategy for PBI. For more information, see Chapter III.

6   For a detailed presentation of PBI-IP, see Chapter III.

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7 The Project Committee is the PBI IP's governing body. It is composed of staff, team volunteers, and other voluntary members outside Indonesia and is responsible for personnel issues, IP strategy, recruitment and training. For more details, see Chapter II.

8 The final report of an assessment on gender and diversity in PBI's five field projects, carried out in 2007 as the first phase of a three-year work plan to mainstream gender and diversity within the organization, was not accessible as it was considered an internal document.

9 Reinharz, S. 1992: 258.

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CHAPTER I

Gender, Conflict and Peacebuilding
An Overview

There is no conflict in recent history where women and girls have not been targeted for sexual violence, whether as a form of torture, as a method to humiliate the enemy, or with a view to spreading terror and despair. If that's not potentially relevant to the protection of international peace and security, what is? – *Marianne Mollmann*, Human Rights Watch, Women's Division[1]

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This chapter draws on the contributions of feminist researchers who have called attention to the gender dimensions of conflict and war, violence and militarization, and peacekeeping and peacebuilding. It describes how conflict is gendered, and why a gender perspective in conflict intervention and peacebuilding is essential in order to contribute to sustainable peace. This theoretical background will serve as a framework for interpreting and analyzing the findings of the field research.

Conflict is gendered

"Gender refers to the array of socially constructed roles and relationships, personality traits, attitudes, behaviors, values, relative power and influence that society ascribes to the two sexes on a differential basis. Whereas biological sex is determined by genetic and anatomical characteristics, gender is an acquired identity that is learned, changes over time, and varies widely within and across cultures. Gender is relational and refers not simply to women or men but to the relationship between them." – UN INSTRAW[2] definition on gender

Social and political conflict, and especially violent conflict, has severe impacts on people and communities. Particularly during the past 20 years, as violent conflicts have become predominantly intra-state, the human costs of those conflicts have shifted largely from the armed actors to the civilian population.[3] This new reality has made human security,[4] particularly the protection of civilians in times of conflict, a focus of international attention. At the same time, it has triggered research and analysis on how violent conflict affects women and men differently, because they have different roles, positions and levels of power in society. The forms of violence used and the ways in which perpetrators carry out violent acts are all dependent on the gender of the victim, the gender of the perpetrator and overall gender relations in a particular social context.

For example, forced displacement is often a primary goal and result of today's armed conflicts. It enables looting, asset transfer, regional control of and easier access to resources, including mineral and oil deposits and people for slavery or extorted labor. The experience of forced eviction and displacement is gendered. Men and older boys "of fighting age" are often targeted first, being either rounded up and taken away

as combatants or publicly beaten and killed. Women and girls, who constitute the vast majority of refugees and internally displaced people,[5] face a high risk of domestic, sexual and physical violence. Whether in the name of ethnicity or religion or in a battle for resources or domination over opponents, violence against women is used to break and humiliate women, men, families, and entire communities.[6] This violence includes rape, forced pregnancy, forced abortion, trafficking, sexual slavery and the intentional spread of sexually transmitted infections, including HIV/AIDS.[7]

At the same time, conflict also produces changes in gender ideologies, relations, roles, and distributions of power. These are not static, but rather defined in a system of social relations and framed within a particular culture; as such, they become affected by conflict. The table below summarizes how the different aspects of gender relations might change during conflict.[8]

Both the different impacts of conflict on men and women and the "gendered" changes that may result from conflict need to be taken into account when designing and implementing a conflict-intervention strategy. Using a "gender lens" to analyze and understand conflict implies asking specific questions to establish the differentiated impact of conflict on men's and women's roles, identities, social position and rights and to establish what sort of peace men and women want to see established.

Conflict as an opportunity for change

Conflict situations challenge stereotypes of men as perpetrators and women as victims of violence. Many women actively participate in wars as combatants or in various supply tasks such as cooking, cleaning, taking care of the injured, and disseminating propaganda. Women at times actively promote the notion that they are the

Aspects of gender relations	Applies to	Changes as a result of conflict	Implications
Gender Roles	Everyday activities of women and men	Women take on more responsibility for providing for the family; less work for men.	Women gain confidence in their ability, while men feel increasingly "lost".
Gender Identities	Expected characteristics and behaviors of men and women ("masculinities" and "femininities")	Survival strategies or exposure to new ways of living may lead to changes in gender identities, but the underlying values remain unchanged.	Gap between expected behaviors and ability to meet those expectations.
Gendered Power Structures	Institutions (household, community, state) which shape attitudes and behaviors and which control resources	Women might gain more influence within the household, but other structures remain male dominated.	Women have more responsibility but not more power. Their experiences may lead them to organize and work towards reclaiming their rights.
Gender Ideologies	Culturally determined attitudes and values which have been established over time and which provide justification for all the above	Attitudes and values change slowly and may in fact become more hard-line.	After the armed conflict is over, women may be "sent back to the kitchen". Possible "backlash" against women's empowerment. But government and civil society can also work together to consolidate positive changes.

guardians of cultural or ethnic identity, as this role can give them status, power and a public voice. Women may even use this position to encourage their children or husbands to fight, hence inciting violence and becoming its agents.[9]

Women are not only victims or instigators in conflict, but also important actors for peace. Women play a vital role in holding communities together, whether as caretakers, leaders, counselors, or negotiators. Many are involved in grassroots efforts aimed at taking care of children, elders and the injured and thus actively engaged in rebuilding the social fabric of the community. Women activists risk their lives resisting oppressive regimes and confronting military dictatorships and often are among the first to cross the ethnic, national, political or religious lines between divided communities to work together for peace and reconciliation. This kind of activism is showcased by groups such as the Northern Ireland Women's Coalition, the Jerusalem Link, Women in Black, the Bougainville Forum, and the Sudanese Women's Voice for Peace.[10] Women's activism often draws on women's identities as mothers and caretakers,[11] – what Sara Ruddick has called "peace maternal politics", or more generally "a women's politics of resistance". In her words: "a women's politics of resistance is composed of women who take responsibility for the tasks of caring labor and then find themselves confronted with policies or actions that interfere with their right or capacity to do their work. In the name of womanly duties that they have assumed and that their communities expect from them, they resist".[12] Women activists who took part in "Mothers movements" have transformed traditional interpretations of maternity by redefining it in a collective and political manner (the "socialization of motherhood" in the words used by the Madres de Plaza de Mayo), thus creating an alternative model of political action based on familial and community responsibility rather than on individual goals.[13] In doing so, they have had an important impact in terms of eroding the legitimacy of military regimes and contributing to their defeat.

Armed conflict can generate major changes in the demographic profile (women are more apt to survive than men), in the gender division of labor in society (women take on non-traditional jobs and responsibilities due to the absence of men) and in families (women become heads of households and breadwinners), and in the political status of women (women participate in public and decision-making structures that were traditionally reserved for men). Hence conflict, despite its many negative impacts, might offer opportunities for women to assume roles and functions usually closed to them, hereby creating a space for women's empowerment and setting the stage for a larger social transformation. However, history shows that it is very difficult for women to retain such gains once the conflict is over and traditional structures are reestablished or reinvigorated.[14]

This is reflected in the fact that women's initiatives and contributions to peace are hardly recognized by governments and international agencies, including NGOs and peace organizations. Women are mostly excluded from formal peace negotiations and reconstruction programs, which results in the specific interests and rights of women not being addressed in the post-conflict phase.[15] For example, demobilization, disarmament and reintegration (DDR) programs often fail to take into account the specific needs and realities of former female combatants (many of whom have small dependent children), which makes it difficult for them to readjust in post-war society. Also, widows often lose their land and livelihood after conflict, because women are not entitled to property rights. The absence of women in decision-making forums therefore ensures that women will remain locked in disadvantaged and vulnerable positions during the post-conflict phase.

The table below provides a brief summary of the gendered impacts of the different stages of conflict.

Elements of conflict situation	Possible gender dimensions
Pre-Conflict Situations	
Increased mobilization of soldiers	Increased commercial sex trade (including child prostitution) around military bases and army camps.
Nationalist propaganda used to increase support for military action	Gender stereotypes and specific definitions of masculinity and femininity are often promoted. There may be increased pressure on men to "defend the nation."
Mobilization of pro-peace activists and organizations	Women have been active in peace movements – both generally and in women-specific organizations. Women have often drawn moral authority from their role as mothers. It has also been possible for women to protest from their position as mothers when other forms of protest have not been permitted by authorities.
Increasing human-rights violations	Women's rights are not always recognized as human rights. Gender-based violence may increase.
During Conflict Situations	
Psychological trauma, physical violence, casualties and death	Men tend to be the primary soldiers/combatants. Yet in various conflicts, women have made up significant numbers of combatants. Women and girls are often victims of sexual violence (including rape, sexual mutilation, sexual humiliation, forced prostitution and forced pregnancy) during times of armed conflict.
Social networks disrupted and destroyed – changes in family structures and composition.	Gender relations can be subject to stress and change. The traditional division of labor within a family may be under pressure. Survival strategies often necessitate changes in the gender division of labor. Women may become responsible for an increased number of dependents.
Mobilization of people for conflict. Everyday life and work disrupted.	The gender division of labor in workplaces can change. With men's mobilization for combat, women have often taken over traditionally male occupations and responsibilities. Women have challenged traditional gender stereotypes and roles by becoming combatants and taking on other non-traditional roles.
Material shortages (shortages of Food, health care, water, fuel, etc)	Women's role as provider of the everyday needs of the family may mean increased stress and work as basic goods are more difficult to locate. Girls may also face an increased workload. Non- combatant men may also experience stress related to their domestic gender roles if they are expected, but unable, to provide for their families.
Creation of refugees and displaced people	People's ability to respond to an emergency situation is influenced by whether they are male or female. Women and men refugees (as well as boys and girls) often have different needs and priorities.
Dialogue and peace negotiations	Women are often excluded from the formal discussions given their lack of participation and access in pre-conflict decision-making organizations and institutions.

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Elements of conflict situation	Possible gender dimensions
During Reconstruction and Rehabilitation	
Political negotiations and planning to implement peace accords	Men's and women's participation in these processes tends to vary, with women often playing only minor roles in formal negotiations or policy-making.
Media used to communicate messages	Women's unequal access to media may mean that their interests, needs and perspectives are not represented and discussed.
Use of outside investigators, peacekeepers, etc.	Officials are not generally trained in gender equality issues (women's rights as human rights, how to recognize and deal with gender-specific violence). Women and girls have been harassed and sexually assaulted by peacekeepers.
Holding of elections	Women face specific obstacles in voting, in standing for election and in having gender equality issues discussed as election issues.
International investments in employment creation, health care, etc.	Reconstruction programs may not recognize or give priority to supporting women's and girls' health needs, domestic responsibilities or needs for skilled training and credit.
Demobilization of combatants.	Combatants often assumed to be all male. If priority is granted to young men, women do not benefit from land allocations, credit schemes, etc.
Measures to increase the capacity of and confidence in civil society.	Women's participation in community organizations and NGOs is generally uneven. These organizations often lack the capacity and interest in granting priority to equality issues.

Woroniuk, B. *Gender Equality and Peacebuilding Operations: An Operational Framework*, Cida, Canada, 2000.[16]

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Although conflict in itself is unlikely to fundamentally change stereotypical perceptions of men and women – and is even likely to reinforce them – it is nonetheless important to stress that the post-conflict phase provides an opportunity for addressing existing gender inequalities. This can be done by providing gender-specific peacebuilding and reconstruction programs that support women in maintaining control over their lives and their newly gained positions in society, while at the same time ensuring that those do not entail additional burdens for them or exacerbate gender conflict.[17]

A milestone: United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325

The Fourth World Conference on Women (Beijing, 1995) was an important moment in terms of recognizing the need to include a gender perspective in peacebuilding. Its "Platform for Action" stated that "in addressing armed and other conflicts, an active and visible policy of mainstreaming a gender perspective into all policies and programs should be promoted, so that before decisions are taken an analysis is made of the effects on women and men, respectively" (Section "Women and Armed Conflict", par. 141).

In October 2000, the sustained determination, advocacy and lobbying of the global women's movement, with the support of some UN institutions (like UNIFEM) and member States resulted in the adoption of Resolution 1325 by the United Nations Security Council. This Resolution recognizes the under-valued and under-utilized contributions women make to conflict prevention, peacekeeping, and conflict resolution, and stresses the importance of women's equal and full participation in peace and security matters. In its 18 articles, the document calls on UN Member States to:

- conduct and disseminate research on the impacts of conflict on women and girls;
- address the specific security needs of women in conflict and post-conflict situations;

- increase the number of women at all decision-making levels in conflict prevention, management and resolution, as well as in peacekeeping operations;
- increase support for women's peacebuilding activities;
- ensure the participation of women in peace negotiations at all levels;
- protect women from gender-based violence and prosecute war crimes against women.

Although UNSCR 1325 could be strengthened by *mandating* its recommendations,[18] it is nonetheless a historic document raising the stature of gender roles and women's needs in international discourse and planning.[19]

Eight years after its adoption, one can conclude that the implementation of UNSCR 1325 has proved to be a challenge. Some UN Member States have only recently begun to draft National Action Plans (NAPs) for its effective implementation. Activists for gender justice are convinced that no action plan or any other measures will be effective without the involvement and commitment of civil society lobbying for and actively demanding its actual implementation. For this purpose, a global network of activist women's organizations has been monitoring, raising awareness and encouraging the implementation of UNSCR 1325 (including an NGO working group on Women, Peace and Security).[20] Unfortunately, few human rights organizations – even those that are working in the field of conflict intervention, such as civilian peace teams – have made UNSCR 1325 part of their core business so far.

Besides UNSCR 1325 (2000), a number of other international and regional instruments in international Human Rights Law and Humanitarian Law (from declarations through platforms of action to conventions) aim at eradicating discrimination against women and improving the protection and promotion of women's rights. An overview of the most relevant documents at the UN level follows below.[21]

Declaration on the Protection of Women and Children in Emergencies and Armed Conflicts (1974)

This Declaration prohibits attacks and bombing on the civilian population, inflicting suffering especially on women and children, who are recognized as the most vulnerable members of the population (Art. 1). Moreover, it recognizes all forms of repression as criminal acts, including cruel and inhuman treatment of women and children, imprisonment, torture, shootings, mass arrests, collective punishment, destruction of dwellings and forcible eviction (Art. 5).

Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women – CEDAW (1979)

This Convention establishes the duty of States to respect, protect and fulfill the indivisible human rights of women, by granting them substantive equality with men in all spheres of life, including education, employment, health care, political participation, nationality and marriage. CEDAW recognizes the role of culture and tradition in the maintenance of discrimination against women and obligates States to eliminate stereotypes that reinforce it, and encourages them to implement affirmative actions and temporary special measures to ensure gender equality. Although it does not refer explicitly to violence against women and other issues developed afterwards, the CEDAW Committee – the body that monitors States parties' compliance with the Convention – elaborated General Recommendations to interpret the content of the Convention broadly in order to include those issues. That is the case of General Recommendation 19 (1992), which states that "gender-based violence is a form of discrimination that seriously inhibits women's ability to enjoy rights and freedoms on a basis of equality with men."[22] The CEDAW *Optional Protocol (1999)* enables individuals to raise complaints before the CEDAW Committee; by ratifying the Optional Protocol, a State party recognizes the competence of the CEDAW Committee to receive and consider complaints from individuals or groups within its jurisdiction, as well as agrees

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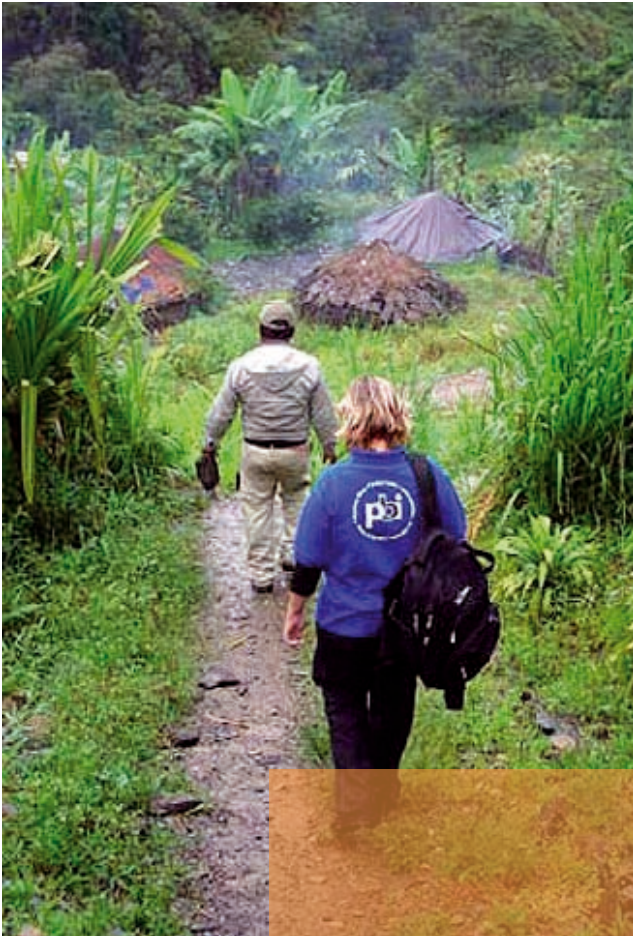
PBI volunteer accompanying a client on field trip in the Central Highlands of Papua (2007, © PBI).

PBI client organisation WALHI (Friends of the Earth Indonesia) during a demonstration in Jakarta (2007, © PBI).

to receive recommendations from the Committee. States are also obliged to submit periodic reports on their compliance with CEDAW.[23] This Convention has one of the highest rates of ratification, but it is also the one with most reservations from States parties (especially to article 16 on women's family rights).

Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989)

This Convention (entered into force in 1990) explicitly extends to all children (without discrimination of any kind, including on the basis of sex) the protection afforded to adults through legislation. Regarding children affected by armed conflict, the Convention stipulates the States' obligations to respect international humanitarian law relevant to the child, to take measures to ensure that children are not recruited and do not take part directly in hostilities (Art. 38), and to take all appropriate measures to promote physical and psychological recovery and social reintegration of a child victim of: any form of neglect, exploitation, or abuse; torture or any other form of cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment; or armed conflicts, in an environment which fosters the health, self-respect and dignity of the child (Art. 39).

Vienna Declaration and Platform for Action (1993)

This Declaration recognizes that the human rights of women and of girl-children are an inalienable part of universal human rights, calls for the elimination of gender-based violence in public and private life, and confirms that the violation of women's human rights in armed conflict situations is a violation of the fundamental principles of international human rights and humanitarian law.

Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women (1993)

This Declaration asserts that violence against women is pervasive in all societies, across lines of income, class and culture, and recognizes that violence against women by private actors is a human rights violation. Violence against women is defined broadly, encompassing physical, sexual and psychological violence occurring in the household (including harmful traditional practices), within the community in general, and perpetrated or condoned by the State. The Declaration reaffirms that violence against women is the manifestation of historically unequal power relations between men and women and that it is one of the critical mechanisms by which women are forced into a subordinate status.

Beijing Platform for Action (1995)

This Platform identifies violence against women as an obstacle to the achievement of the objectives of equality, development and peace. It includes a focus on combating violence against women as one of its strategic objectives and on promoting the status of women in war-affected countries. The section relating to "Women and Armed Conflict" highlights many gender-specific impacts of armed conflict on women and girls. It also emphasizes that women are underrepresented in conflict and post-conflict decision-making positions, peacekeeping bodies, and defense and foreign-affairs organizations. Its recommendations support mainstreaming gender into peace negotiations and peace support operations.

Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court (1998)

This Statute establishes that rape, sexual slavery, enforced prostitution, forced pregnancy, enforced sterilization and any other forms of sexual violence, as well as trafficking in women and children, are crimes against humanity (Art.7), committed as part of a widespread or systematic attack directed against any civilian population, with knowledge of the attack. The same gender-specific offences, as well as "committing outrages upon personal dignity, in particular humiliating and degrading treatment", are considered war crimes (Art. 8). The Rome Statute further provides that the term "enslavement" meets the definition of a crime against humanity, since it means the exercise of any or all of the powers attaching to the right of ownership over

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a person, including the exercise of such power in the course of trafficking in persons, in particular women and children, thereby taking into account particular experiences of women. The Rome Statute also includes gender as one of the impermissible discriminatory grounds in the definition of the crime of persecution.[24]

Security Council Resolution 1820 (2008)

This Resolution establishes the mandate for the Security Council to intervene, including through sanctions, where the levels or form of sexual violence merit it. It asks the Secretary-General to provide a comprehensive report on the implementation of the resolution and on how to improve the information flow to the Council on sexual violence. The Resolution demands that parties involved in armed conflict cease committing acts of sexual violence against civilians and take appropriate measures to protect women and girls from all forms of sexual violence. It also calls upon parties to debunk the myths that fuel sexual violence.

Other universal instruments relating to the rights of women include the UN *Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and of the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others* (1949), the UN *Convention on the Political Rights of Women* (1952) and the UN *Convention on the Nationality of Married Women* (1957). A specific UN body, the International Labor Organization (ILO), has developed abundant substantive international legislation to promote gender equality and women's rights in the field of employment and remuneration.[25]

Gender mainstreaming

Gender mainstreaming was established in Beijing as a major global strategy for the promotion of gender equality. It was later defined by the UN Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) as: "The process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programs in all areas

and at all levels. It is a strategy for making the concerns and experiences of women and men an integral dimension of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programs in all political, economic and societal spheres, so that women and men benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated. The ultimate goal is to achieve gender equality."[26] Gender mainstreaming entails bringing the perceptions, experiences, knowledge and interests of women and men to bear on policy-making, planning and decision-making.

The critical starting point for any gender mainstreaming is gender analysis.[27] As the UN Office of the Special Adviser on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women (OSAGI) stated, mainstreaming a gender perspective requires assessing how and why gender differences and inequalities are relevant to the subject under discussion (e.g. conflict transformation or intervention), identifying where there are opportunities to narrow these inequalities, and then deciding on the approach to be taken. According to OSAGI, it is important to:
- avoid assuming that all women or all men share the same needs and perspectives;
- ask questions about the responsibilities, activities, interests and priorities of women and men, and about how their experience of problems may differ;
- question the assumptions about "families", "households" or "people" that may be implicit in the way a problem is posed or a policy is formulated;
- obtain the data or information to allow the experiences and situations of both women and men to be analyzed (i.e. gender-disaggregated data);
- seek the input and views of women as well as men on decisions that will affect the way they live;
- ensure that activities where women are numerically dominant (including domestic work) receive attention;
- analyze the problem or issue and proposed policy options from a gender perspective and

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seek to identify means of formulating directions that support an equitable distribution of benefits and opportunities.[28]

In any given situation, gender analysis starts by asking basic questions, such as: Who does what? Who has access to resources? Who is in control of those resources? Who has power over whom? Who makes decisions about what? Who is affected by those decisions, and how? Gender analysis, then, becomes helpful in identifying structures that perpetuate inequalities as well as areas for action. It also facilitates in understanding the potential implications of interventions in order to design them more effectively. In situations characterized by armed conflict, social turmoil and political transition, it is even more crucial to pay close attention to existing gender dynamics and not to take for granted fixed understandings of gender relations and roles, because those are apt to be in the process of changing.

Any gender analysis made must be firmly grounded in the political, economic, social and historical contexts of the region in order to avoid simplistic and cosmetic attempts to mainstream gender. Critics of gender mainstreaming state that it is imbued with Western norms and often ignores social and cultural differences. According to Tahira Gonsalves, women form a fundamental part of national imagining and are often seen as the symbols of culture, earth and nationhood, and as such they occupy – not just symbolically but also practically – an essential position in any nation or state. Therefore, any outside attempt to change existing gender dynamics has political connotations and needs to follow from a deep understanding of how women and men in Southern communities negotiate their gender identities within structural and cultural environments "beyond standard labels of feminism, empowerment, liberation, or gender. It must not be forgotten that these are merely concepts, and not universal prescriptions."[29]

Another note of caution increasingly voiced by feminist researchers and women's organizations concerns the lack of advancement and actual implementation of gender-mainstreaming

strategies. Gender mainstreaming exists mostly at the policy level, without any real operational impact.[30] In practice, moreover, gender mainstreaming has often meant "gender *away*-streaming", resulting in the obscuring of the discrimination against and inequality of women, as well as in the disappearance or reduction of resources for women's issues, as well as of gender units, gender experts or gender focal points. All this is the case despite the fact that the Beijing Platform of Action explicitly states that gender mainstreaming does not replace the need for targeted, women-specific policies, programs and legislation to address specific inequality gaps. There are a number of reasons for this distortion, ranging from conceptual confusion to male power interests. Nonetheless, gender mainstreaming can be an effective strategy for achieving gender equality, as long as it is accompanied by a women-empowerment strategy and backed up by firm institutional commitment, adequate resources, expertise, accountability mechanisms, and systematic implementation efforts.

The following table summarizes some of the common "myths" about gender mainstreaming in the context of humanitarian assistance – a field that shares similarities with both conflict intervention and peacebuilding:

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Myth	Reality
Inserting one session on women fulfills the mandate to mainstreaming a gender perspective.	Mainstreaming a gender perspective involves changing how situations are analyzed. A brief profile of how and why women's needs are different from those of men's should be the starting point of the analysis. These basic insights should influence the understanding of the contents and raise issues to be explored in each project component.
"We have a women's project, and therefore we have mainstreamed gender."	A gender mainstreaming strategy involves bringing a gender analysis into all initiatives, not just developing an isolated subcomponent or project.
"We have mainstreamed gender, therefore we can't have specific initiatives targeting women."	A mainstreaming strategy does not preclude specific initiatives that are targeted at women or at narrowing gender inequalities. In fact, concrete investments are generally required to protect women's rights, provide capacity building to women's NGOs and work with men on gender issues. Many of these initiatives can be more successful through a separate initiative rather than as a subcomponent in a larger project.
"We are here to save lives, not to ask whether or not someone is a woman or a man before we provide assistance or to give priority to women over men."	Using a gender perspective involves incorporating an understanding of how being male or female in a specific situation contributes to vulnerability and defines capacities. It is not a screening process to exclude those who need assistance from receiving support. There may be times when, given their different priorities and needs, women and men will best be served through the provision of different resources. Furthermore, it may be necessary to make additional investments to ensure that women's voices are heard. However, a gender-mainstreaming strategy does not necessarily call for a mechanistic "favoring" of women over men.
"All this talk of gender, but what they really mean is women."	It is true that a lot of the work on gender in humanitarian assistance focuses on women. This is primarily because women's needs and interests are what tend to be neglected. However, it is important that the analysis and discussion look at both sides of the gender equation. More attention is needed to understand how men's roles, strategies, responsibilities and options are shaped by gender expectations during conflicts and emergencies.

CIDA/MHA, Mainstreaming a Gender Equality Perspective in the Consolidate Inter-Agency Appeals, Note prepared for the Donor Retreat on Consolidated Appeals Process and Co-ordination in Humanitarian Assistance, Montreux, Switzerland, March 2001.[31]

Masculinities

In relation to the myth that, in practice, gender only concerns women's issues, it is important to point out the growing attention for the topic of "masculinities". By analyzing the social construction of masculinities, feminist critique has opened up a topic that is especially important and relevant for building a culture of peace. As an expert meeting on masculinities pointed out more than a decade ago,[32] men dominate across the spectrum of violence from the personal to the structural level: the male sex dominates the world of politics, economics and the military; and is responsible for most of the violence that takes place in the private sphere. Men are also central to the symbolism of violence in the mass media as well as in sports and other risk-filled endeavors.

Although there are strong links between masculinity and violence, gender researchers and scholars reject essentialist interpretations of men as naturally violent and women as naturally peaceful, pointing rather to the social construction of a masculinity that encourages boys and men to be dominant, competitive, tough and aggressive in order to prove their "manliness". This social construction also involves a high degree of misogyny, homophobia and racism, and is reflected in patriarchal institutions. Nonetheless it is important to avoid generalizations and to acknowledge that there are hierarchies and power relations among men and that not all men are prone to violence. In that sense one should speak of "hegemonic masculinity" when referring to a culturally normative ideal of male behavior which aims to sustain both the dominant position of some men over others and the subordination of women. It is equally important to point out that besides providing men with privileges, hegemonic masculinity also acts against men, as becomes especially apparent during times of armed conflict: "Gender roles lead to a social inhibition to deal with emotions, extreme pressure on men to conform to using violence as part of a male identity, and unaddressed trauma through society's gender bias that men are not victims of war (which expresses itself in the absence of social structures to deal with men's post-war traumas) – all this leading to the suffering of the self and others."[33]

It is important to point out here that men are also victims of war. First and foremost, they are victims of direct violence, since they are the primary targets during wartime, making up a significant proportion of war casualties. Boys and men may be coerced to join the army or other armed groups, which hold them against their will, force them to commit atrocities against civilians or other armed actors, or even kill them. In addition, armed conflict may undermine the male identity when men are no longer able to provide for their families and become dependent on others for support, for example when women have taken on the role of provider for the family

during their absence. Men's experiences during war might lead to unaddressed trauma and frustrations, which often result in further destructive behavior such as domestic violence, depression, alcoholism and/or drug abuse, and suicide.

In analyzing how men's roles change and are affected by war, it is important to go beyond a focus on "male-role" stereotypes towards a broader view of gender relations, keeping in mind that "masculinities" involves not only interpersonal relations, but also large-scale institutions, power structures, economic relationships, language and symbolism.[34] The Oslo Expert Meeting analyzed how polarized models of manhood and womanhood are typical in situations of armed conflict, with men being encouraged to show dominance and aggression (being cast as "hunter", "warrior", or "protector") while women are cast as "supporter", "mother-of-warriors", or "protected".

This creation of a violent masculinity is particularly well illustrated in military training, where manliness becomes linked to brutality, while fear and sensitivity are discredited as being unmanly and even "feminine". Feminist scholars and activists have described how notions of masculinity and femininity are used to promote and sustain nationalistic identities, the military and militarized states. Ideas about strength, protection, rationality, security and control that shape security policies and the arms race are deeply gendered, for they stem from assumptions of aggressive masculinity and the warrior's heroism as being features of manhood.

Ideas about gender also affect the national and international processes through which decisions are made about the acquisition, maintenance and proliferation of weapons (including weapons of mass destruction),[35] and the waging of war. Therefore, ending war and violent conflict will necessarily imply deconstructing hegemonic masculinity that justifies the use of force as an effective means of solving conflicts in all spheres of life and society. Taking action to change narrow notions of a violent masculinity into more

constructive, alternative notions is therefore an important aspect of any strategy for peace.[36]

In light of the above, it is important to note that the ratification of UNSCR 1325 also led to an increased demand for integrating more women in peacekeeping missions in order for those to be more effective. Currently, men continue to be predominant in peacekeeping operations;[37] the proportion of women in peacekeeping missions is less than that of women within national armies and police forces. One reason for this is the traditional gender division of labor at the household level, which makes women police officers less likely to request postings with the UN civilian police due to their role as mothers and caretakers and to the length of time they would have to be away from their families.[38]

Despite the limited number of women deployed, international studies conducted on women and policing in diverse countries have found that, compared to their male colleagues, women police officers – across cultures – have significantly lower rates of complaints of misconduct, the improper use of force or the inappropriate use of weapons, are less authoritarian when interacting with citizens and lower-ranking officers, have better communication and negotiation skills, and are more likely to diffuse potentially violent situations. In addition, they respond more effectively to violence committed against women and are more likely to take action against domestic abuse.[39] It is also assumed that male and female peacekeepers working together as equals might positively impact the local communities' perceptions of women's rights and contribute to an improvement in the perceived status of women. The question remains, however, to what extent including more women will challenge an institution that draws on the hegemonic notion of masculinity, which, as stated above, justifies the use of force as an effective means of solving conflicts in all spheres of life and society.

At the same time, UN missions that were comprised largely if not exclusively of civilians – where the mandate was not military peacekeeping but the monitoring of human-rights or peace accords – have been the most successful.[40] They have all had significant numbers of civilian women personnel (37–53%), whose knowledge and actions played an important role in the success of the operations. For example, in Haiti and Guatemala, many of the women in the UN mission were lawyers who had extensive knowledge of indigenous issues and worked well with the human-rights organizations in those countries, the majority of which were created and staffed by local women.[41]

Nonetheless, military peacekeeping and civilian-based peace teams operate based on a different logic and different assumptions, as will be discussed further in the next chapter. According to Lisa Schirch, military peacekeeping relies on arms to deter violence and peacekeepers get their power from their weapons, whereas civilian peacekeepers rely on nonviolent forms of power, including moral authority and the power embodied in different forms of identity (religious, foreign, Western, etc.).[42] At the basis of these organizations lies the conviction that the military approach is neither appropriate nor effective for addressing conflict. In that sense, civilian-based peacekeeping might provide an alternative to the hegemonic masculine institution of the army, being mostly rooted in religious, spiritual or ethical pacifist and nonviolent traditions (from Gandhi to Quakers to Anabaptist churches). Another interesting difference lies in the fact that, contrary to what is observed in the field of military peacekeeping, women tend to make up the majority in almost all civilian peace-team projects around the world.[43] Before investigating these gender dynamics further, the next chapter will first provide more in-depth background information on civilian-based peacekeeping in general, and on the work of Peace Brigades International in particular.

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Notes

1   June 25, 2008, published in *Reproductive Health Reality Check*.

2   *www.un-instraw.org*

3   While during the First World War, only 5% of all casualties were civilians, civilians accounted for up to 90% of casualties during the 1990s. Report of the Expert of the Secretary-General, Ms. Graca Machel. *Impact of armed conflict on children* (A/51/306), par. 24. In *Women, Peace and Security*, study submitted by the Secretary-General pursuant to Security Council Resolution 1325. UN, New York, 2002.

4   In the field of international relations, the concept of "security" has evolved from the idea of state defense and territorial security through armaments to that of people's security through human development, which includes seven dimensions of security: personal, health, food, economic, environmental, community and political. See UNDP Reports from 1994 on.

5   Women and children make up 80% of the world's refugees and internally displaced populations. *Gendering Human Security: From Marginalisation to the Integration of Women in Peace-Building*. Recommendations for policy and practice from the NUPI-Fafo Forum on Gender Relations in Post-Conflict Transitions (2001): 18.

6   Noeleen Heyzer, UNIFEM's (former) Executive Director, in the foreword to Women, War, Peace – The Independent Experts' Assessment, by Elizabeth Rehn & Ellen Johnson Sirleaf (UNIFEM, 2002).

7   *Women, Peace and Security*. Study submitted by the Secretary-General pursuant to Security Council resolution 1325. UN 2002: 2.

8   *Gender-sensitive programme design and planning in conflict-affected situations*. Research report, Judy El-Bushra, Asha El-Karib & Angela Hadjipateras ACORD, January 2002. *http://www.acord.org.uk/b-resources.htm#GENDER* (July 2008). The summary is taken from the On-line Course on Gender & Conflict Transformation – Week 2: *Rethinking Conflict from a Gender Perspective*. The Network University (Amsterdam): *http://www.netuni.nl/tnu/moz/* (July 2008).

9   Bridget Byrne with Sally Baden, *Gender, Emergencies and Humanitarian Assistance*. Report No. 33 – BRIDGE (development – gender) Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex (1995): 18.

10 For women's experiences on grassroots peacebuilding around the world, see Mazurana & McKay 1999.

11 From the Mothers of Plaza de Mayo in Argentina (and many similar groups of women's relatives organizations throughout Latin America) to the mothers of the soldiers in Russia (refusing to send their children to Chechnya).

12 Ruddick, S. 1994: 622.

13 Guzman Bouvard, M. 1994.

14 For in-depth analysis of the reasons for this failure, see Meintjes, S., Pillay, A. & Turshen M. 2001.

15 Dyan Mazurana and Eugenia Piza Lopez,*Gender Mainstreaming in Peace Support Operations: Moving beyond Rhetoric to Practice*. International Alert, July 2002: 11.

16 In *Gender Approaches in Conflict and Post-Conflict Situations*, UNDP 2002: 5-6.

17 Judy el Bushra and Eugenia Piza-Lopez, *Gender, War and Food*, in J. Macrae and A. Zwi, *War and Hunger: Rethinking International Responses to Complex Emergencies (*Zed Publications and Save the Children UK, London). Quoted by Bridget Byrne with Sally Baden, op. cit.: 19.

18 The verbs used by the SC in the Resolution statements are "urges", "encourages", "emphasizes", "express", "calls", and "invites".

19 *The Gender Dimensions of Post-Conflict Reconstruction: The Challenges in Development Aid*, by Marcia E. Greenberg and Elaine Zuckerman (UNU-WIDER Research Paper No. 2006/62, June 2006).

20 For more information, visit: *www.peacewomen.org* (July 2008)

21 Summary based on *Gender Approaches in Conflict and Post-Conflict Situations*, UNDP 2002: 14-15.

22 At the regional level, the Organization of American States (OAS) adopted in 1994 the unique *Inter-American Convention on the Prevention, Punishment and Eradication of Violence against Women* (Convention of *Belem do Para*) that entered into force in 1995. In Africa, the Optional Protocol to the *African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights* on the Rights of Women in Africa (2003) stipulates that States Parties shall adopt and implement appropriate measures to ensure the protection of women from all forms of violence.

23 The new structure of the UN Human Rights Council has established a periodic single review process of all human rights instruments ratified by each country.

24 *Women, Peace and Security.* Study submitted by the Secretary-General pursuant to Security Council Resolution 1325. UN 2002: 38-44.

25 *www.ilo.org*

26 ECOSOC Agreed Conclusion, E/197/l.30, UN New York, 1997.

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27 There are several frameworks and tools for doing gender analysis. See e.g. ILO's Online Training Module on Gender: *http://www.ilo.org/public/english/region/asro/manila/gender/module.htm* and UNDP's Gender Mainstreaming Resources: *http://www.undp.org/women/resources.shtml* (July 2008).

28 OSAGI, *Gender Mainstreaming: An Overview*, 2002: 3-4.

29 Tahira Gonsalves, Gender and Peacebuilding: A Sri Lankan Case Study. IDRC 2004. *Https://idl-bnc.idrc.ca/dspace/handle/123456789/33539* (July 2008)

30 *Securing Equality, Engendering Peace: A Guide to Policy and Planning on Women, Peace, and Security (UN SCR 135)*, INSTRAW 2006:3.

31 In *Gender Approaches in Conflict and Post-Conflict Situations*, UNDP, 2002: 9

32 Expert Group Meeting on *Male Roles and Masculinities in the Perspective of a Culture of Peace* (Oslo, September 24-28, 1997).

33 From a presentation by Isabelle Geuskens (WPP Program Manager) at the IFOR International Council (October 15, 2006, Japan).

34 Connell 2000: 23

35 *The Relevance of Gender for Eliminating Weapons of Mass Destruction*, by C. Cohn, with F. Hill and S. Ruddick. The Weapons of Mass Destruction Commission (2006). *www.wmdcommission.org* (July 2008).

36 Oslo Expert Meeting.

37 In general, female peacekeepers constitute no more than 6% of military personnel and less than 16% of the police. Dyan Mazurana and Eugenia Piza Lopez, *Gender Mainstreaming in Peace Support Operations: Moving beyond Rhetoric to Practice*. International Alert, July 2002: 27.

38 Ibid.: 31.

39 Ibid.: 32.

40 Haiti (MICIVIH; NOT the current MINUSTAH), Guatemala (MINUGUA), and South Africa (UNOMSA). Ibid.: 35.

41 Ibid.

42 Schirch 2006: 44.

43 This tentative conclusion has been drawn on the basis of information provided by the peace teams researched for this pilot. The only exception appears to be Nonviolence Peaceforce, where men appear to make up the majority at almost all levels of the organization.

Peace teams, international accompaniment and PBI

"Our vision: A world in which people address conflicts non-violently, where human rights are universally upheld and social justice and intercultural respect become a reality." — PBI Strategic Framework 2006–2011

"Our work is motivated by one objective – to enable local people to carry out their work undeterred by violence or the threat of violence. – *Steven Molnar*, PBI President

This chapter offers an introduction to the concept of civilian-based peacekeeping, and in particular to the work of one of the oldest peace teams in the world: Peace Brigades International (PBI). It offers a general presentation of PBI's history, principles and mandate, as well as of one of its projects in Indonesia, which served as the site for the field research for the pilot.

Peace teams and international accompaniment: An overview

In her book *Civilian Peacekeeping: Preventing Violence and Making Space for Democracy*, Lisa Schirch refers to civilian peacekeeping as involving "unarmed individuals placing themselves in conflict situations in an intentional effort to reduce inter-group violence." According to the author, "civilian peacekeeping, also called unarmed peacekeeping, peace teams, or third party nonviolent intervention, performs many of the same tasks as military peacekeeping."[1]

While military peacekeeping usually includes activities such as maintaining ceasefires, limiting violence, assisting in the withdrawal of troops and demobilization of armed groups, accompanying humanitarian aid missions, protecting refugees and internally displaced people, civilian peacekeeping primarily aims to reduce levels of direct violence, so that civil-society actors can safely carry out nonviolent activism, defend human rights, or promote dialogue.

Schirch acknowledges that the concept "peacekeeping" is problematic, since it has military connotations. First, she explains how military peacekeeping "models the efficacy of using violence and thus can inadvertently reinforce the idea that violence, rather than dialogue, is a useful way of addressing conflict." Second, she points out that despite the high cost of military peacekeeping, it has not been efficient in preventing massacres or protecting civilian populations, especially women, from the armed actors. Moreover, in several instances UN military peacekeepers have been involved in forms of sexual abuse of local women and girls who they were supposed to protect (including rape, forced prostitution and trafficking).

According to Schirch, unarmed or civilian peacekeeping "models the efficacy of using other forms of power – such as relationships and communication skills – to achieve similar goals." Among the advantages of civilian peacekeeping in terms of preventing and deterring violence, Schirch notes that "Civilian peacekeepers

are inexpensive, have access to and legitimacy with grassroots groups, use nonviolent forms of power to prevent violence, and often have a committed constituency of peace supporters around the world."[2]

Drawing mostly on the experience of Peace Brigades International, Liam Mahony, a well-known researcher and practitioner in this field,[3] uses a different terminology to describe the core work of peace teams: "*International protective accompaniment* is the physical accompaniment by international personnel of activists, organizations or communities threatened with politically motivated attacks."[4] According to Mahony, protective accompaniment has three primary and simultaneous effects:

- *Protection of threatened activists and organizations* who are striving nonviolently for social justice and human rights, to protect them from becoming targets of repression by government and security forces.

- *Encouragement of individuals and civil-society movements* by broadening the political space in which threatened organizations can operate, and by building links of solidarity in their communities as well as abroad.

- *Building a global movement for peace and human rights* through advocacy, networking, information sharing and solidarity work carried out by international volunteers and their organizations, both during their time of service and upon return to their home countries.

Empowering local activists and communities to overcome their fear and confront systems of terror is one of the goals of international protective accompaniment (PA). The assumption behind PA is that governments and decision-makers care about their international image and are more likely to abstain from conducting repressive actions before the eyes of foreign witnesses. Peace teams in this sense symbolically represent the presence of the international community in the conflict setting and therefore the likelihood that human-rights violations will be documented and made known internationally. This deterrent effect of peace teams can only be successful if the

field presence is part of a wider strategy, which includes what PBI calls rapid or "emergency-response networks". Such a network consists of government officials, international NGOs, multilateral organizations, diplomats, media and civil-society solidarity movements who are informed and activated in the event that members of the accompanied local organization – or the international accompaniers – become the target of violence. According to Mahoney, the efficacy of peace observers deployed in the field, combined with strong international networks, lies in the fact that it allows pressure to be exerted at all levels of the chain of command: not only on the high-level decision-makers (who could argue they are not in control of their subordinates) but also on the potential direct perpetrators of violence.[5]

For the purposes of this research, it is important to look not only at the distinction between military and civil intervention on the one hand, but also at that between civil and nonviolent intervention on the other. According to Christine Schweitzer, the latter distinction depends on whether or not the intervention uses coercive means such as economic sanctions – which can be equally harmful.[6] Following Schweitzer's definitions, it can be concluded that civilian peacekeeping is a form of nonviolent intervention, for it uses neither violence nor coercive means, its overall aim being conflict transformation. The motivations that trigger peace activists to organize an international civilian presence in a conflict situation go beyond de-escalating or ending overt violence (which is usually the main goal of military peacekeeping), as it also includes facilitating a political space in which local activists engage in a process of conflict transformation. In line with Jean Paul Lederach's thinking, this kind of peacebuilding promotes "constructive change processes (inclusive of, but not limited to, immediate solutions); is relationship-centered; crisis-responsive (rather than crisis-driven); envisioning the presenting problem as an opportunity for engagement in systems in which relationships are embedded (not only as a response to symptoms)."[7]

Schweitzer analyzes existing strategies of conflict intervention within the framework of the classical distinction between peacemaking, peacekeeping, and peacebuilding, as first developed by Johan Galtung and later popularized by Boutros Boutros Ghali.[8] According to Galtung,

- *peacekeeping* aims to control the actors, so that they at least stop destroying things, others, and themselves;
- *peacemaking* is directed at reconciling political and strategic attitudes through mediation, negotiation, arbitration and conciliation;
- *peacebuilding* implies the practical implementation of peaceful social change through socio-economic reconstruction and development.

Schweitzer argues that these three peace strategies should not be viewed as subsequent stages, but should be applied at the same time. Civilian peacekeeping organizations usually pertain to more than one of these strategies, depending on the nature or stage of the conflict, the type of organization, and the kind of resources available.

A summary of the tasks usually performed by peace teams follows below:

Accompaniment of threatened activists or organizations and "presence" in a community or during a particular event/activity where and when there is the likelihood of repression or violence form the core work of peace teams.[9] Accompaniment aims to create and protect a space for nonviolent civil-society groups to work for social change. According to Liam Mahony, the premise of accompaniment is the likelihood of an international response (that may even take the form of diplomatic pressure) to whatever violence the accompanier witnesses.

As Mahony expresses: "An international presence at their side can be a source of hope to these activists. It assures them that they are not alone, that their work is important and that their suffering will not go unnoticed by the outside world. Thus the volunteer's presence not only protects but also encourages the growth of civil-society

activism in repressive situations. (...) Some of the people being protected are extraordinary leaders (...) Others are average citizens thrust into extraordinary circumstances by the trauma of events around them. Whether they are lawyers, women's groups, peasant organizations, labor unions, internally displaced populations or community organizations, they are all struggling to defend their basic human rights and their dignity."[10]

Accompaniment and presence may take different forms: From being physically present (even 24 hours a day) in the home or office of threatened prominent activists or organizations, to accompanying them to field trips, meetings or any other activities where they might face repression or harassment by local authorities or security forces, to establishing a permanent "peace camp" with international observers in the midst of militarized or remote areas in order to protect local communities and allow them to carry out their normal daily activities without being harassed.

Interpositioning entails the physical placement of peacekeepers between groups engaged in violent conflict, while taking an impartial stance toward all parties. Since this creates a physical space between the groups, it is considered a "dissociative" peacekeeping approach. Interpositioning is not possible or appropriate when the violence is mostly one-way, when there are more than two contending sides, or where there is no clear separation of the parties.[11]

Observing/Monitoring/Documenting and Informing Documenting human-rights abuses or other violent behavior helps to channel information to the outside world through emergency-response networks and can have a deterrent effect in itself. Among the conflict-related activities that peace teams usually observe, monitor and report about, Schirch mentions: military actions; attacks on civilians, civilian freedoms of movement and access, refugee/internally displaced population movements; troop and weapon movements across borders; obstruction of essential services;

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PPE workshop in Aceh (Sumatra 2006, © PBI)

Training of trainers on PPE with partners in Banda Aceh (2008, © PBI).

hostage taking or missing persons; stealing, plebiscites and elections; agricultural and other labor in specific zones.[12]

Peace teams usually regularly provide information and political analysis to keep the international community informed about the conflict. This is done through newsletters, periodic reports, urgent action alerts, mailing lists, websites and blogs, as well as in the mainstream media whenever possible.

Advocacy and Networking seek to amplify the scope and impact of peace teams in the field by alerting and involving the international community in applying pressure on the parties in conflict (especially governments) who care about their international image. For this purpose, peace teams often have offices and/or volunteer groups in Northern countries that distribute information and develop public relations with their respective national media, governments and civil-society organizations. Rapid-response networks are established to mobilize international concern and pressure in response to emergencies. Other forms of advocacy and networking used by peace teams include:

- Receiving and hosting short-term delegations of people from influential Northern countries to express their solidarity to conflict-affected communities and activists. Upon return, the delegates raise public awareness within their own communities, inform the media, and lobby their governments.
- Speaking tours in those same countries, carried out by both former peace-team volunteers as well as leaders from the organizations that received support/accompaniment. Usually these tours are organized and financed by the civilian peace service.
- Meetings with diplomats: Peace teams often develop a network of embassy contacts (especially from the volunteers' countries of origin) and other international officials present in the country of deployment in order to regularly provide them with first-hand information about the areas, events and activities observed and monitored by them.

Facilitating Communication At times peace teams might take advantage of their unique position as international non-partisan actors to bridge political, ethnic or religious divides through dialogue. This is only possible when peace teams have gained credibility and trust from the parties involved in the conflict by means of a deliberate strategy of building relationships with all the actors in the conflict, without exceptions. As Lisa Schirch points out, controlling rumors and misinformation plays an important role in keeping the conflict from escalating,[13] especially in sensitive and volatile environments, such as that of low-intensity warfare (where rumor is used by those in power as a political tool to weaken and intimidate their opponents).

Educating on Human Rights, Conflict Transformation and Peace is another proactive task carried out by some peace teams. It usually involves providing trainings, courses, forums and other educational activities to build the capacity of local counterparts to defend and promote human rights, transform conflicts peacefully, or develop nonviolent strategies and tactics for social change.

In some cases, this educational work is requested by local organizations engaged in post-conflict activities, when the violence has de-escalated and protective accompaniment is no longer needed. In other cases, peace teams combine the educational work with accompaniment and other services as part of a broader strategy of protective presence in areas where civil-society actors lack the necessary skills and resources or are simply too intimidated to carry out this task. Peace teams usually see this contribution as part of a long-term process of peacebuilding: encouraging and training activists and organizations until they are able to take on this responsibility by themselves.

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Peace teams around the world

According to Moser-Puangsuwan and Weber, the last two decades of the previous century witnessed an unprecedented increase in cross-border civilian peacekeeping interventions. In general, these initiatives have taken the form of small-scale, non-governmental, voluntary-based programs.[14] Some have become institutionalized organizations; others are short-term projects or ad-hoc coalitions. Among the variety of initiatives, the following are often referred to:

Peace Brigades International (PBI) was formed in 1982 and began its long-term presence in Guatemala in 1983 in response to invitations from grassroots and human rights groups who were targets of harsh military repression. Over the years, PBI has opened protective accompaniment projects in Guatemala, El Salvador, Sri Lanka, Colombia, Mexico, Haiti, East Timor and Indonesia, and with Native Americans in the United States, to support endangered individuals and groups and to deter political violence.

Witness for Peace (WFP) is a politically independent grassroots organization of people led by faith and conscience in their commitment to nonviolence. WFP's mission is to support peace, justice and sustainable economies in the Americas by changing US policies and corporate practices which contribute to poverty and oppression in Latin America and the Caribbean region. WFP began its work in 1983 in Nicaragua, in the form of a "human shield" between the US-backed "contras" and the people of several border towns near Honduras, which were under attack. Over the years, WFP has accompanied people most affected by harmful US policies and corporate practices by sending delegations and volunteers to Guatemala, Haiti, and currently to its permanent projects in Nicaragua, Mexico, Cuba, and Colombia.[15]

Christian Peacemaker Teams (CPT) is a joint peace project of the Mennonite, Brethren and Quaker church traditions. Since 1986, CPT has been establishing violence-reduction teams in crisis situations and militarized areas around the world at the invitation of local peace and human-rights workers. CPT is currently involved in providing a nonviolent protective presence in Colombia, Palestine, Iraq, and the borderlands within the US CPT embraces the vision of "unarmed intervention waged by committed peacemakers ready to risk injury and death in bold attempts to transform lethal conflict through the nonviolent power of God's truth and love."[16]

The **Balkan Peace Team (BPT)** was formed in 1993 by 11 international peace organizations – including IFOR, PBI and War Resisters International – upon requests from nonviolent activists from the region for an international presence. From 1994 to 2001, BPT linked international volunteers with local peace and human rights groups. BPT's mission has included:
- Nonviolent conflict resolution: supporting dialogue and community-based conflict resolution projects.
- Civil-society development: co-operating with and encouraging the establishment of civil society organizations (CSOs).
- Human-rights advocacy: supporting local activists and providing an international presence where needed.[17]

The **International Service for Peace (SIPAZ)** is an international observation initiative created in 1995, following the Zapatista uprising in 1994, to monitor the conflict in Chiapas, México. Today SIPAZ supports the search for nonviolent solutions for the construction of a just peace by building dialogue and tolerance among the actors in Chiapas, as well as, increasingly, in other regions of Mexico (Oaxaca and Guerrero). At the same time, SIPAZ serves as a communication bridge by sharing information and experiences among organizations and networks that work towards building a just and lasting peace at local, national, regional and international levels.[18]

The **International Solidarity Movement (ISM)** is a Palestinian-led movement using nonviolent, direct-action methods and principles to resist the

Israeli occupation of Palestinian land. Founded by a small group of activists in 2001, ISM aims to support and strengthen Palestinian popular resistance through Direct Action, by challenging crippling checkpoints and curfews, confronting tanks and demolition equipment, removing roadblocks, participating in nonviolent demonstrations, accompanying farmers to their fields and protecting families whose homes are threatened with demolition. Emergency Mobilization is used to escort ambulances through checkpoints, delivering food and water to families under curfew or house arrest, helping the injured or disabled access medical care, and walking children to school. Documentation is used to inform local and international media about human-rights and international-law violations by the Israeli military and about daily life under the occupation.[19]

The **Ecumenical Accompaniment Programme in Palestine and Israel** *(EAPPI)* is a World Council of Churches initiative, which was established in 2002 in response to a call made by the heads of Churches in Jerusalem, as well as Palestinian and Israeli NGOs. The mission of EAPPI is to accompany Palestinians and Israelis in their nonviolent actions and concerted advocacy efforts to end the Israeli occupation. Each year, EAPPI sends approximately 100 ecumenical accompaniers from different countries to vulnerable communities in Palestine to monitor and report violations of human rights, to support families who have suffered from the conflict, to accompany ambulances, food convoys and school children, and to participate with Israeli and Palestinian peace activists in anti-occupation demonstrations.[20]

The *International Women Peace Service (IWPS) – Palestine* was established in 2002 and consists of an international team of women based in Haris, a village in the Salfit Governorate of Occupied Palestine's West Bank. IWPS-Palestine documents human rights abuses, intervenes nonviolently in abuses, and works with independent media to promote the dissemination of information. It also joins Palestinians in nonviolent direct actions against human rights abuses and the confiscation and destruction of land and

property of Palestinian people. This includes joining demonstrations in opposition of the Apartheid Wall, assisting in the removal of roadblocks, accompanying ambulances and accompanying Palestinians during farming. IWPS-Palestine supports Palestinian and Israeli anti-occupation groups in their grassroots resistance to the illegal military occupation.[21] It is the only organization of its kind composed exclusively of women.

The *Nonviolent Peaceforce (NP)* was founded in 1999 and inaugurated in 2002. Its mission is to facilitate the creation of a large-scale, trained, international civilian nonviolent peaceforce to intervene in violent conflicts. NP launched its first pilot project in Sri Lanka in 2003 at the invitation of several local and national Sri Lankan peace organizations. NP peacekeepers engage in many different kinds of activities, such as different forms of accompaniment, networking and connecting, concerned engagement as internationals, presence at events and places at risk of violence and crisis, rumor control, etc. These activities are primarily at the request of local Sri Lankan civilians. The NP has regional offices and an international governing Council with representatives from every continent. NP aims to create a permanent, large-scale, paid peace army in the coming years.[22]

The **Guatemala Accompaniment Project** is an initiative of NISGUA (National Organization in Solidarity with the People of Guatemala, US), as part of a broader advocacy mandate. NISGUA develops "sister communities" in North America who sponsor long-term volunteers to live in their counterpart rural communities in Guatemala, accompanying survivors of Guatemala's 36-year-long civil war as well as grassroots organizations working for justice and human rights. NISGUA is actively involved in offering political and other support for the political initiatives of these communities. The sister community relationships strengthen NISGUA's constituency for lobbying the US government to change its policies with respect to Guatemala.[23]

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The **Fellowship of Reconciliation – Colombia Program (FOR-Colombia)** is an initiative of FOR USA's Task Force on Latin America and the Caribbean (TFLAC). FOR USA is an interfaith organization committed to active nonviolence as a transforming way of life and as a means of radical change. FOR educates, trains, builds coalitions, and engages in nonviolent and compassionate actions on the local, national, and global level. In 2002 FOR/TFLAC began a permanent accompaniment presence in the Peace Community of San Jose de Apartadó, Colombia, at the invitation of the community. The presence of FOR volunteers as human rights observers provides moral support and increases the safety of the community members. Within the US, FOR informs and educates US citizens through monthly updates, speaking tours, and delegations to Colombia, in addition to participating in national efforts to change US policy.[24]

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Peace Brigades International: Background, principles and mandate

Peace Brigades International (PBI) describes itself as "a low-overhead, non-profit, non-partisan, non-sectarian, non-governmental, international network of unpaid volunteers and a few paid staff. Inspired by Gandhi, PBI uses direct nonviolent action to help deter violence and expand space for human rights activism in areas of civil strife."[25] The initiative for its creation came from a group of male activists (Narayan Desai, Piet Dijkstra, Raymond Magee, Radakrishna and Charles Walker) who officially founded PBI during a consultative meeting in Canada on September 4, 1981. It is worth noting that although some women had been invited to the meeting, none were able to attend, with the minutes stating: "those present deeply regretted the lack of women participants." This is especially interesting in light of the fact that current PBI membership is predominantly female, on which more later.

As formulated in its mandate, PBI aims "to create space for peace and to protect human rights." The main principles that guide the work of PBI include:

Nonviolence ^This has been PBI's core principle from its very foundation. In PBI's own words, it "is convinced that enduring peace and lasting solutions of conflicts between and within nations cannot be achieved by violent means, and therefore it rejects violence of any kind and from any source. PBI aims to support the processes of building a peaceful society by encouraging cooperation between groups working in democratic ways and striving to find political solutions to conflicts by nonviolent means."[26]

Non-Partisanship, Independence and Non-Interference According to the organization's historical *Vedchhi Declaration*[27] non-partisanship implies: "dealing with all parties with an open mind, reporting as objectively as possible, refraining from judgemental responses, and voicing concerns to those responsible without being accusative." For PBI, "non-partisanship is about *not* being party-political, or anti-government, or pro-independence. It enables volunteers to better relate to all parties in a conflict, and thus to build the relationships – and the trust – essential for successful accompaniment."[28] However, it also stresses that non-partisanship does not mean "indifference, neutrality or passivity towards injustice or towards violation of human rights, personal dignity and individual freedom," and states that "PBI is fully committed to these values and struggles against violence – physical or structural – as a means of establishing enduring peace." To respect the independence and self-determination of the local organizations it works with, PBI does not give strategic advice, nor does it provide material aid – even if those are requested. This is done for two reasons: to minimize the risk of its counterparts becoming dependent on PBI, and to avoid the "paternalist" attitudes that international development NGOs often display. PBI volunteers *intervene* in conflict situations but do not *interfere*.[29]

International Character As a global organization, PBI aims to represent "the concerns of the international community in relation to conflicts and crisis, which affect all, and to peace, which benefits everyone."[30] PBI aims to work with people from all cultures, languages, religions, beliefs and geographical regions, acting as links and/or representatives of the international community to assist in generating mutual dialogue between conflicting parties and offering opportunities to reach out to the outside world. Nonetheless, PBI country projects differ with regard to the international character of the organization: while PBI Colombia does not accept Colombian nationals at the project level to ensure independence and non-partisanship, PBI Indonesia (PBI IP) actively seeks to include Indonesians in the project and considers their inclusion a valuable asset, especially in its peace-education work.

Peace Brigades International: Organizational structure and culture

PBI's highest decision-making body is the General Assembly, which convenes once every three years. PBI's International Council, made up of representatives of the country groups, field projects and at-large members, is responsible for PBI's governance, including financial and legal aspects. It also appoints the Executive Committee, which is responsible for the implementation of decisions. In addition, the organization has several technical committees dealing with a variety of organizational issues including governance, management, coordination, finances, fundraising, policy development and monitoring, organizational development, and administration. PBI's International Office is located in London and headed by an International Coordinator.

Over the years, PBI has established peace teams in different countries around the world, including Guatemala (1983–1999, 2003–present), El Salvador (1987–1992), Sri Lanka (1989–1998), North America (1991–1999), Haiti (1995–2000), Colombia (1994–present), Indonesia (1999–present), Mexico (2001–present), and

Nepal (2005–present). The field projects cover a wide range of issues and actors, ranging from human rights organizations and defenders to indigenous and community leaders and environmental activists defending their land and livelihoods against powerful interests, to women's organizations addressing gender violence, to peace communities resisting militarization. The work in the field is complemented by 16 PBI country groups in North America, Europe and Australasia, which assist in generating publicity and political support for the projects, as well as in the recruitment and training of volunteers, and fundraising.

In 2001, Peace Brigades International was awarded the Martin Ennals Award for Human Rights Defenders, and nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize. Through the close daily presence of its volunteers, PBI extends the boundaries of what is referred to as the "international community" beyond governments, the UN, and humanitarian agencies. PBI volunteers act as a bridge between threatened local activists and the outside world, representing the global network for human rights both when they are in the field and in the contributions they make after they return home.[31] The external evaluation carried out by PBI in 2004 concluded that: "The appreciation of the volunteers is unanimous, in particular in their work capacity, their availability, their discretion and ability to adapt to difficult work and living conditions and their respectful attitude towards the organizations and communities they accompany."[32] This is a direct result of PBI's investing considerable time and energy in preparing its volunteers, who are expected to be culturally sensitive and respectful of local customs and realities and who need to acquire good language skills before they can join a team.

The importance given to investing in relations is also reflected in the way PBI functions internally. PBI operates on a non-hierarchical model of organizing and consensus-based decision-making "which places importance on relationships and processes and not just on outcomes."[33] PBI's decentralized functioning delegates substantial operational responsibility to volunteer commit-

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tees and staff; each field project functions with significant autonomy. In Mahony's words, "PBI's structure is as horizontal as possible, with consensus being the basis for decisions. Consensus strives to be a nonhierarchical process in which participants have an equal voice in the final decision. Given the global scale of the organization, this participation is achieved through a representative process with, when necessary, multiple feedback rounds to achieve consensus."[34]

This way of operating also poses some significant challenges since such processes tend to be time-consuming, especially within the context of an organization operating on limited resources with a small paid staff and a large community of volunteers spread over several continents. Hence PBI's democratic functioning at times interferes with its ability to respond quickly to issues requiring urgent decisions. For example, when PBI receives a request, the first step is to decide whether to send an exploratory team to make contacts and assess the context of the conflict. It may take up to three years for the PBI structure to receive a request, send an exploratory team that will write a report, and then for all of the International Council members to read the report and decide through consensus what to do.[35]

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Peace Brigades International: Main areas of work

PBI's main program areas include the following:

Accompaniment/Protective Presence This involves international volunteers accompanying human rights defenders and communities whose lives and work are threatened by political violence. In turn, an international support network backs up the PBI volunteers. While the international volunteer presence protects threatened activists from potential attackers, it also provides international solidarity and moral support for civil society by opening up space for activism and building the confidence of those organizations that are targeted.

International advocacy and support networks. PBI has country groups based in Europe, North America and Australia, which carry out an important part of the organization's international work. These support networks play an essential role, not only as a deterrent, but also by acting swiftly and effectively if human rights abuses occur. They also establish advocacy and coordination networks to influence policies relating to human rights protection. The networks include high-level contacts such as diplomats, church leaders, government representatives, Parliamentarians, well-known personalities, as well as common citizens concerned with human rights. PBI complements its protection strategy by organizing public events and speaking tours, which serve to open doors for the organizations that PBI accompanies, as well as to raise the profile of PBI itself. Country groups are also responsible for the recruitment and orientation training of PBI volunteers and also engage in fundraising for PBI institutional structures and projects.

Peace Education PBI sees this as crucial to allow a society to move from war or negative peace (the absence of war) towards a society in which social justice and human rights prevail (positive peace). The methodology and core values of PBI's peace-education work are based on the work of John Paul Lederach, among others. PBI sees it as its role to provide a safe space for people to develop, share, and reflect upon their own approaches to conflict situations affecting their daily lives, their community and society at large. In Indonesia, the PBI Peace Education Program primarily takes the form of conflict-transformation training programs and workshops. Participants come from a wide cross-section of society, including religious organizations, traditional leaders, women's groups, human-rights lawyers and activists, grassroots humanitarian organizations and governmental representatives. The teams also train trainers in order to build sustainability into the program, with the goal of eventually handing it over to local partners.[36] In addition, PBI Indonesia facilitates monthly discussions or film screenings with members of civil society

and provides public resource libraries containing a collection of peacebuilding materials.

The PBI Indonesia Project (PBI IP): Background, structure, and objectives

Indonesia is a huge and extremely diverse country: geographically, ethnically, religiously, socially and politically. This diversity, combined with economic inequalities, has been a source of instability, constantly challenging the efforts to keep the country united after Indonesia – led by Sukarno – won independence in 1949. After East Timor won independence from Indonesia in 1999, most of the challenges in terms of the country's cohesion and stability came from its easternmost and westernmost provinces: Papua (as well as Maluku) and Aceh, respectively. The country has not yet been able to come to terms with its violent history, inherited from thirty years of authoritarian rule (1968–1998). Although some positive changes have occurred[37] in the ten years since reforms were initiated during the post-Suharto era, issues regarding human rights (including women's rights), democratization and accountability for former and current state abuses remain pending. Significant disconnections exist between the current government's human rights rhetoric and actual practice, as torture, the use of excessive force and extrajudicial killings continue to be reported. The government has not completed key military reforms, including ending military business practices (as required under a 2004 law), which are a major source of conflict, corruption and parallel non-accountable power by the military in Indonesia. In addition, human rights organizations are drawing attention to human rights abuses linked to economic interests such as land rights and resource extraction. Economic interests are increasingly a source of conflict between indigenous communities and multinational corporations backed by state security forces.[38]

East Timor

PBI's presence in Indonesia started when PBI received a request from an East Timorese human rights NGO in 1998 to establish a presence in East Timor. PBI sent an exploratory team to East Timor and began preparations in Australia, but had to remove its team when the outbreak of large-scale violence following the East Timor referendum forced all foreigners to evacuate from East Timor.

During the weeks and months following the vote that gave East Timor its independence, hundreds of thousands of refugees fled to West Timor in response to the brutal, large-scale destruction of East Timor by pro-Indonesia militia forces. This led the PBI advance team to travel to Kupang, West Timor, where it established itself as the West Timorese Team in November 1999, and the first PBI team in Southeast Asia. PBI worked for one year in West Timor, after which it again had to retreat due to the killing of three foreign UN workers in September 2000 by an angry mob in Atambua, which forced all foreign organizations to leave. PBI subsequently opened a central office in Jakarta and began focusing its work on establishing a new field team in Aceh (North Sumatra), where the conflict between the Indonesian government and the separatist GAM (Gerakan Aceh Merdeka or Free Aceh Movement) had led to widespread repression and militarization.

Aceh

The first PBI team arrived in Banda Aceh in December 2000, in response to requests for protection of human rights and humanitarian workers who were facing campaigns of terror. Over the next six months, PBI began establishing a solid network of contacts with government agencies, security forces, and local community leaders. By October 2001, PBI had deployed twelve volunteers in Aceh to cater to the needs of six client NGOs.[39]

The first months of 2002 saw an increase in military activity throughout the province and a general increase in the number of people being killed in the conflict. In January 2002,

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PBI established a new sub-team and office in Lhokseumawe, North Aceh District, to meet the increasing demands of local NGOs for protective accompaniment throughout the entire province of Aceh. In May 2003, after the breakdown of negotiations between GAM and the government, Aceh was placed under martial law for six months. Subsequent presidential decrees were issued which placed severe restrictions on the work of foreign and local NGOs, forcing international NGOs to leave in July 2003. PBI subsequently based its team in Medan, the nearest city to Banda Aceh located in the province of North Sumatra, to continue its protection services to its clients and monitor the overall situation in Aceh.

After an earthquake and tsunami struck southern Asia on December 26, 2004, PBI sent an assessment team to Banda Aceh. The PBI office in Banda Aceh was re-opened, and throughout 2005 the Aceh team worked to re-establish relations with local authorities and security forces, as well as maintaining the provision of protective services to client organizations.

After the tsunami, Aceh experienced a huge influx of humanitarian aid organizations and donors, which acted as a catalyst towards the start of another round of peace negotiations between the government and GAM. In July, these negotiations led to the signing of a Memorandum of Understanding between the two parties, which marked the beginning of a peace process. The shifts in the Aceh context were also reflected in the nature of the requests that PBI received from local organizations: the focus moved from requesting protection services to providing peace-education activities. As a response, PBI established a public library focusing on peacebuilding-related resources and initiated monthly discussions among civil-society actors on topics related to the peace process. In 2005, the first PBI volunteers trained in Participatory Peace Education (PPE), including an Indonesian national, were sent to Aceh. They co-facilitated a workshop on Alternatives to Violence and conducted a Training of Trainers on Women and Peacebuilding with the client organization

Flower Aceh. In 2006, PBI decided to implement the PPE program throughout Aceh, conducting Alternatives to Violence and capacity-building workshops as well as a Peace Youth Camp in partnership with local NGOs.[40] In 2007, the situation had stabilized to the extent that the IP decided to end all client relationships in Aceh. It nonetheless continued to monitor the situation in the province, in particular the implementation of Syariah law, the reintegration of former combatants into society, and the truth and reconciliation process – three issues that could endanger the peace process. At the same time, the team started focusing on an exit strategy by facilitating relationship-building between local peace workers, developing partners' facilitation skills, sharing curriculum information and supporting organizational-capacity improvements. In June 2008, PBI closed its office in Aceh. The situation in the province continues to be monitored from the Jakarta office.

Papua

In 2004, PBI established a permanent presence in the provincial capital Jayapura at the request of several Papuan human-rights NGOs. During the mid-1980s, the Indonesian government supported a "transmigration" policy, which led to large-scale migration of inhabitants from other islands to Papua. This program, together with increasing spontaneous migration by people seeking economic opportunities in resource-rich Papua, drastically altered Papua's demographic composition. To support the new arrivals, the government appropriated, usually without compensation, large tracts of land from their traditional owners, which resulted in entire Papuan communities being displaced. This increased feelings of marginalization among the indigenous population, as non-Papuans dominated government bureaucracies and benefited from higher education and employment opportunities. By 2000, when this "transmigrasi" officially ended, non-ethnic Papuans made up around 35% of the population.[41] Reforms have taken place since Papua was granted an autonomous status in 2001, but these continue to be overshadowed by

rampant environmental exploitation, abject poverty, the perpetuation of the cycle of impunity, and an increase in military presence throughout Papua – with the military being increasingly involved in legal and illegal business.

Indigenous Papuans, acutely aware of their relative poverty in a land where outside interests are extracting its rich natural resources, feel victimized by an occupying force. Both the Indonesian army and police are viewed as perpetrators of terror. Yet civil society there is weak, as political space is limited: politically active civilians become classified as separatists, facing surveillance, intimidation, arrest, and criminal conviction for their activities. In the Central Highlands, both army troops and police units – particularly mobile paramilitary police units – engage in largely indiscriminate village "sweeping" operations in pursuit of suspected militants, using excessive force against civilians.[42] In addition, Col. Burhanuddin Siagian, who has been indicted by the United Nations for crimes against humanity in East Timor, was appointed as Papua's regional military commander in 2007.[43]

In this context, the IP has been providing protective accompaniment services to NGOs and human-rights defenders in various sensitive regions of Papua and neighboring islands such as Biak and Sulawesi. The team in Jayapura also initiated a Participatory Peace Education (PPE) program, including monthly discussions and film screenings with local NGOs, a peace library, and the provision of workshops on conflict transformation. These activities served to create a space for discussion for different Papuan civil-society actors, such as women's representatives and women's NGOs, traditional leaders, religious groups, human rights NGOs, representatives of local government, the women's section of the provincial police, and the office for the empowerment of women of the provincial government.

Since 2005, PBI has established another team in the town of Wamena, which offers protective services and peace education activities in and around the Jayawijaya district.

Jakarta

The Jakarta sub-team provides overall political and operational support to the PBI-IP and the different field teams. This is done through PA activities and through networking with civil-society organizations, with Indonesian authorities and security forces, and with the diplomatic and international community present in Indonesia. The team serves as a bridge between PBI clients and partners in Indonesia on the one hand and the international community (including other PBI projects and structures) on the other hand, especially when the latter visits Indonesia, but also for supporting international trips of Indonesian clients. Additionally, the Jakarta sub-team provides protective accompaniment to clients based in Jakarta[44] or from other islands when they visit the capital for political work. The office also supports the PBI-IP teams when these request support for exploratory field trips to other regions.

Currently (2008), the structure of the Indonesia Project (IP) consists of a Coordination Office based in Yogyakarta, where the language school attended by PBI volunteers is also based.[45] The PBI-IP Project Committee is the official decision-making body of the project and is made up of volunteers who are appointed for a (renewable) two-year term, field team representatives, the Project Coordinator, and the Finance Coordinator. A People Committee, concerned with Human Resources (HR) and Training currently includes a pool of trainers and the IP's Human Resources Coordinator. The Program Committee is concerned with the PBI-IP's program activities, including Protective Services (PS) and Participatory Peace Education (PPE), and has an advisory role. The IP Executive Committee makes decisions of an urgent nature that cannot be addressed quickly by the Project Committee and consists of three Project Committee members appointed for a renewable term of six months, with the IP Project Coordinator serving as an ex officio member.

The PBI Indonesia Project (PBI-IP) has formulated five major objectives,[46] namely to:

- help maintain a peaceful space in which civil society can operate and grow
- model nonviolence and promote nonviolent resolution to conflict
- foster social and political dialogue and reconciliation
- promote international understanding of the situation in Indonesia and the work of Indonesian organizations
- empower civil society through the above-mentioned activities, in order to reduce, and eventually end, the need for a PBI presence.

These objectives are achieved through the provision of Protective Services (PS) and Participatory Peace Education (PPE).

This chapter has given an introduction to the concept of civilian-based peacekeeping and to the history, principles and mandate of Peace Brigades International and its Indonesia Project in particular. As such, it serves as a background to the next chapter, which will describe how gender mainstreaming is addressed in PBI and how gender dynamics interact with different aspects of civilian-based peacekeeping, drawing mainly on the observations from the six-week field study in Indonesia.

Notes

1 Schirch 2006: 15.
2 Ibid.: 17.
3 His classic essay "Unarmed Bodyguards" (Mahony & Eguren 1997), based on the authors' experience with PBI, is a key reference on the theory of international nonviolent accompaniment as a deterrent tactic.
4 Mahony 2004: 6.
5 Ibid.: 7-9.
6 In an in-depth analysis of conflict intervention for the *Nonviolent Peaceforce Feasibility Study*, Christine Schweitzer defines social and violent conflict and discusses extensively the different types of conflict intervention, its different objectives, scope, actors, timing, and means/tactics, and the arguments for its legitimacy. *Nonviolent Peaceforce Feasibility Study*, Chapter 1: Putting Nonviolent Peaceforce in the Picture, by Christine Schweitzer (2001): *http://www.nonviolentpeaceforce.org/feasibilitystudy* (July 2008).

7 "Conflict transformation is to envision and respond to the ebb and flow of social conflict as life-giving opportunities for creating constructive change processes that reduce violence, increase justice in direct interaction and social structures, and respond to real-life problems in human relationships," Lederach 2003: 14. On page 33, the author offers a useful comparison of perspective between Conflict Resolution and Conflict Transformation.
8 Schweitzer 2001: 26-27.
9 It is the main activity that PBI teams have been carrying out for more than two decades in conflictive parts of the world.
10 Mahony, L*., Side by Side* (2004);
11 *Nonviolence Peaceforce Feasibility Study*, Chapter 2: Strategies, Tactics and Activities in Intervention, by Donna Howard and Christine Schweitzer (2001): 54. *http://www.nonviolentpeaceforce.org/feasibilitystudy* (July 2008).
12 Schirch 2006: 37-38.
13 Schirch 2006: 39.
14 Moser-Puangsuwan and Weber 2000: 319.
15 WFP website: *http://www.witnessforpeace.org/about/history.html* (July 2008).
16 CPT website: *http://www.cpt.org/work* (July 2008).
17 PBI website: *http://www.peacebrigades.org/archive/bpt.html* (July 2008).
18 SIPAZ website: *http://www.sipaz.org/fini_eng.htm* (July 2008).
19 ISM website: *http://www.palsolidarity.org/main/about-ism/* (July 2008).
20 EAPPI website: *http://www.eappi.org/en/about/overview.html* (July 2008).
21 IWPS website: *http://www.iwps.info/en/aboutus/index.php* (July 2008).
22 NP website: *http://www.nonviolentpeaceforce.org/srilankaproject* (July 2008) and Schirch, 2006: 24.
23 NISGUA website: *http://www.nisgua.org/get_involved/join_gap/intro.asp* (July 2008) and Mahony, 2004: 21.
24 FOR-Colombia website: *http://www.forcolombia.org/node/3* (July 2008).
25 *PBI Indonesia Volunteer Training Manual*: 12.
26 Approved by the General Assembly in Ontario, Canada, June 1992.
27 PBI International Council meeting in Vedchhi, India, 1986.
28 PBI website: *http://www.peacebrigades.org/archive/bpt.html*
29 *PBI Indonesia Volunteer Training Manual*: 18.
30 PBI Principles and Mandate *http://www.peacebrigades.org/114.html >>*
31 PBI Annual *Review* 2006/7: 17.
32 Ibid: 17.

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33 PBI website: *http://www.peacebrigades.org*

34 Mahony, L., Human Rights defenders under attack: 25 years of safeguarding the right to defend human rights (2006): 16.

35 Schirch 2006: 80.

36 This has been the case in Aceh, where after several years of helping to build the capacity of local partners, PBI recently closed its office there. In fact, since the peace agreement in Aceh, the PBI team has been devoted to peace-education work.

37 In recent years, Indonesia has ratified several international human-rights instruments. CEDAW had been signed in 1980 and ratified in 1984.

38 Sources: PBI-IP narrative reports (2007-2008) and Human Rights Watch World Report 2007.

39 PBI refers to those persons or groups who receive its protective services as "clients". Its clients have included human rights organizations like RATA (Rehabilitation Action for Torture Victims in Aceh), SPKP (Association of Human Rights Abuse Victims), Koalisi NGO HAM (Coalition of Non-Governmental Organizations for Human Rights, Aceh) and LBH (Legal Aid Foundation), and two women's organisations: Flower Aceh (a women's support NGO also monitoring human rights and refugee camps) and RPuK (Women's Volunteer Team for Humanity).

40 PBI refers to those groups with which it works on PPE activities as "partners".

41 Human Rights Watch, July 2007, *Out of Sight: Endemic Abuse and Impunity in Papua's Central Highlands*.

42 Human Rights Watch, July 2007, *Out of Sight: Endemic Abuse and Impunity in Papua's Central Highlands*: 4.

43 Human Rights Watch, *World Report 2007*

44 PBHI, KontraS, WALHI (Friends of the Earth Indonesia), Suciwati Munir (KASUM, Action Committee in Solidarity for Munir).

45 IP volunteers spend three to five months learning or improving their skills in Bahasa Indonesia before they are deployed to the field.

46 *PBI IP Policies and Procedures Manual* (updated April 2008).

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CHAPTER III

A Case Study

PBI Indonesia Project

"Certainly it is not the same being a man or a woman in Indonesia, even for the work; there are different needs. The sensitivity and awareness towards these topics should be raised and improved drastically. It's not enough now. [...] It's not an issue only for the women in the team: it's a team issue. There's still a lot to do..." — Female IP volunteer

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This chapter will document some of the gender challenges a civilian peace team faces when working in Indonesia. It will first analyze how gender is mainstreamed within PBI's Indonesia Project (PBI IP), and then go on to analyze how gender is addressed in its recruitment process, as well as during the IP preparatory training. Next it will summarize the main observations from the field visit to the IP teams and office, looking in particular at three main areas from a gender perspective: the internal dynamics on the field teams, Participatory Peace Education, and Protective Accompaniment. The questions guiding the field research included:

How can gender be addressed during Participatory Peace Education (PPE) activities, and what would gender-sensitive PPE look like?

Is Protective Accompaniment (PA) provided by women equally effective to that provided by men?

- How do local clients perceive female and male international volunteers and the protective work they provide?
- Are the threats/risks the same or different for female and for male volunteers, as well as for female and for male clients?

- Which specific threats if any are women subject to, and are those taken into account when preparing or carrying out PA?
- What gender connotations are present in the interactions with security forces and authorities when providing PA in a conflict area?
- What challenges in terms of gender does the local culture pose to international volunteers in their interactions with the population and the communities they work with?
- Is the traditional model of PA useful for women's groups that are struggling for women's rights?

The research findings presented here draw on the words and examples of the many people interviewed, in hopes of triggering a process of recognition within other peace teams and supporting them in their own gender-mainstreaming efforts.

1 Gender mainstreaming in PBI[1]

During its 2005 General Assembly, PBI approved a Six Year Strategic Framework for the period 2006-2011 that states key strategic objectives and outlines priorities but also recognizes some

of the weaknesses the organization needs to confront and overcome.

The document identifies several issues of concern that pose new challenges for PBI's work on the ground. These include the "war on terror", which weakens the respect for international human-rights standards; the increasing "privatization" of security forces, whereby repressive States resort to having non-State or illegal armed groups carry out human-rights abuses; the role of multinational corporations in natural-resource extraction, which increasingly fuels community conflict; and the increased focus on economic, social and cultural rights by the groups that PBI accompanies, which requires PBI to develop new strategies for support. PBI identified as strategic challenges the need to develop a more diverse approach to its human rights work – including a broader range of methodologies and tactics – as well as stronger links with other global movements, such as the movements for social and economic rights, health rights and the environment.

The 2005 Assembly established a number of working groups to further develop detailed operational proposals. One of the working groups established at that time is the Gender and Diversity Working Group (GDWG).[2] This group is in charge of developing a Gender and Diversity Mainstreaming Strategy for PBI. The initiative for this strategy came from a number of concerned country-group members (mainly European) who initially insisted that PBI should address gender mainstreaming in its work. As most PBI members felt that mainstreaming diversity was an even greater challenge for PBI, the negotiated agreement was to include both themes in the same process.[3]

The GDWG was originally composed of volunteers with an interest in the topic. Its first task was to review PBI official documents and include provisions related to mainstreaming gender and diversity. The lack of institutional support interfered with the assignment, however, forcing the International Council (IC) to delegate the task to its Executive Committee (EC). The EC revitalized GDWG, which came to consist of several country

groups and IC members, as well as the coordinators of all the field projects. One of the EC members took on the coordination of the GDWG. The GDWG mandate was consequently formulated as follows: "To design, promote internal debate around, monitor, and implement the Gender and Diversity Mainstreaming Process (hereinafter GDMP) within PBI (2007-2009), as instructed by the General Assembly in 2005." The general objectives were formulated as follows:

1 To develop, implement and monitor:
- the amendment of PBI official documents in line with a gender and diversity perspective
- the elaboration of internal policies that guarantee the respect of gender and diversity principles by all PBI members, staff and volunteers
- the implementation of the GDMP within all PBI entities, according to their own capacities and expectations
- training for country groups and projects on protection work focused on gender and diversity related HR abuses and violations in contexts of conflict.

2 To provide counseling and advice and to accompany the following processes within all PBI entities:
- a gender and diversity analysis of the information gathered by all PBI constituencies in their fieldwork (with an emphasis on gender and discrimination-based violence and its differential impacts on victims)
- incorporating gender and diversity perspectives in the elaboration of the work strategies of PBI constituencies (with an emphasis on specific strategies to face gender- and discrimination-based violence and its differential impacts on victims).[4]

By the end of 2006, the GDWG drafted a three-year work plan, which was approved by the IC. This work plan aimed to implement the GDMP across three levels of the organization: field projects, country groups, and international structure. In turn, these levels would consist of three

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phases: 1) assessment – in terms of establishing the current state of gender and diversity awareness in each project or structure, 2) redesigning the work plan in light of these results, and 3) implementing the proposed changes.

Early 2007, the GDWG requested all five PBI field projects to hire a consultant to carry out the above mentioned assessment at the field project level. Conclusions and recommendations from the consultants were communicated back to the GDWG, which convened a seminar in Geneva in April 2007 to present the results of four assessments to representatives from PBI country groups and field projects and to discuss the next steps.[5]

From mid-2007 onwards, the GDWG had difficulties in moving forward, due to a general decline in the participation of its members, including its Coordinator, who went on maternity leave. Phase 2 (redesigning the work plan in light of the assessment results) and Phase 3 (implementing the proposed changes) on the field-project level, as well as Phase 1 on the country-group level, were put on hold.

The 2008 face-to-face IC meeting led to a decision to resume the work of the GDWG, reducing its membership to a more realistic number and appointing a number of new and motivated members. Although the GDWG's field assessment report was approved during this meeting, no further decisions were taken regarding the GDWG's proposal to adjust PBI official documents according to a gender and diversity perspective. At the time of writing this publication, it seemed this topic would be discussed further during the General Assembly in late 2008.[6]

One could reasonably expect that if the revitalization of the GDMP continues, there will be a significant change in PBI's discourse, policies and work in the coming years. According to the GDWG Coordinator, however, gender – although clearly a topic on PBI's agenda – remains a rather sensitive issue. As the IP consultant stated, "The awareness and motivation among the IC membership are mixed, as is the reality of the General Assembly. Some people think that PBI manages issues of gender fairly well, stating that the orga-

nization's egalitarian, non-sexist and non-hierarchical functioning offers equal opportunities for everyone. Others, in turn, feel that these assumptions about the organizational culture may lead to preconceptions where possible inequalities and/or power imbalances are in danger of being met complacently and ignored."[7]

The newly appointed IP Coordinator confirmed that the topic was the subject of a heated discussion during the 2008 face-to-face IC meeting:

> "What I noticed is that the topic gender and diversity is something that everybody can relate to at certain level, or have a personal story about...so there is a lot of interest! And the discussions are quite emotional, because there are feelings, opinions, personal experiences...and I think that is very rich but also it is a challenge...for someone to drive through all that and try to get to something. From what I observed, it was the workshop topic that had the most interest and most people attending it." – IP Coordinator

She had the impression that "gender and diversity" had been a matter of much institutional debate within PBI, especially in terms of the priority it should be given within the organization.

The fact that gender is a sensitive topic within PBI also came to light during the process of gathering information for this pilot study. Although it was established from the start that the research would focus on PBI's Indonesia Project, it was assumed that it would be possible to broaden the scope of the research by analyzing some of the findings against the gender dynamics occurring in other PBI projects and groups, in order to engage in a collaborative learning process. However, both the information about the development of the GDMP and the final GDWG report on the field-project assessments were considered internal and confidential and therefore not made available for the purpose of this research. This meant that the pilot could only draw on the IP consultant's report.

PBI membership did not seem up-to-date about the GDMP at large. This became evident during

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interviews in Indonesia, with only a few people indicating being aware of the gender mainstreaming process (but none of the volunteers who had arrived in the course of the last year). Some volunteers said that they had been on the team during the first gender assessment but had not been interviewed because they had been busy at the time. Others thought it was a one-off activity that had been concluded. Few of the team members had been informed about the process through the PBI country groups in Europe. None of the interviewees indicated having read the IP assessment report. Only one person said that the full report of the GDWG had been presented during a meeting of her country group, but added that it had not been discussed further. Apparently something similar had also occurred when the consultant presented her conclusions during the IP face-to-face meeting:

> "[the report] was presented on the last day of the F2F. It was not given too much space; it was simply a report-back. The recommendation was not to do anything in particular, just to carry on as we have been doing ...So that was all. Since there are so many issues that are really pressing, and people are prioritizing...that is where it was left." – Former IP In-Country Coordinator

During the field research, it became clear that neither the work of the GDWG nor the country assessment had been sufficiently introduced or explained to the people in the field. Hence, internalization of the commitment to gender mainstreaming had not taken place. Several IP volunteers felt that the assessment was an outside decision that had been imposed on them, on top of everything else in their workload; they experienced it more as a burden than as a potential contribution to improvement. The fact that the assessment had to be carried out within a short period of time also contributed to people's sense of being pressed into something they did not consider a priority:

> "It was difficult to really understand the aims of the project, because it was never really introduced – not formally. We were just contacted and they told us: We want to do this, you have two weeks to find

a consultant, the whole thing has to be done within a month, and it was just before the F2F, with lots of things going on... So there was no major discussion, no reflection, no setting the scene or providing background information: why, where did it come from, why is PBI doing this, what do we hope to achieve... There might have been some information, but very little, and with no plan for how to actually socialize it within the project. It wasn't really set up; it was just: 'rush, implement'. I really never thought so much in depth about the results... And there were no controversial statements or conclusions, so there was no debate or reflection. And people felt it was not worth IP's time..." – Former In-Country Coordinator

When asking interviewees whether they considered gender and diversity mainstreaming to be important for an organization like PBI, several people stated that cultural diversity was more of a priority in a country like Indonesia. This response seems to stem from the fact that most volunteers did not have a clear understanding of what gender means, especially in terms of its implications for their daily life and work. One of the female volunteers explained:

> "The concepts sound very vague for people, very general. They don't know exactly what they mean... So we first need clarity, even advice on them. It's a broad issue and we might never get answers to questions like these, because it also takes a lot of time. And time is always an issue in PBI teams: topics like this are often put aside because of the time pressure (it's not so urgent, let's do it later... and then you forget it). But these issues still need a lot of attention in peace organizations. We are not angels; we carry a lot of prejudices with us, and we need to work to improve how we deal with them. (...) In PBI, because of team dynamics, gender (and diversity also) is a real topic. You can't run away from it anymore."

The assessment done by the consultant for the GDWG stated – in line with what most of the volunteers expressed during the interviews – that gender is not a significant issue for the IP, because "in general, participants felt that the IP

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manages issues of gender well," and "although major discussions around gender may not happen within the IP, the nature of the IP's work creates circumstances for volunteers to learn about gender issues." She observed that most participants concluded that the IP recruits and attracts people who, because of their interest in and commitment to human rights, either personally manage to deal with their own discriminatory views or are already for the most part non-sexist. The few that did find fault with the gender practices of the IP tended to identify instances of gender-bias in favor of women, since the majority of the applicants, staff members, sub-committee members and field-team members are female.

Although the consultant acknowledged that the IP manages issues of gender in an ad-hoc and somewhat inconsistent manner, she concluded that the concepts of gender and diversity mainstreaming, however valuable, should not distract the IP members from carrying out the work of the project. She backed this conclusion by noting that during all her conversations, not one participant had provided her with an example in which problems regarding gender or diversity had actually impeded PBI from fulfilling its mission. She recommended instead that the IP "invest further resources and time in the process of diversity mainstreaming, with a specific focus on taking positive steps towards becoming a more strongly Indonesian-led organization."

It is interesting to note that this was the only PBI field project that arrived at this conclusion; the assessments in the other countries did identify the need to develop structural and consistent policies to mainstream gender and diversity within PBI's work.

When these findings were mentioned to a former staff member, she responded that the consultant's conclusions did not necessarily reflect the vision of the IP, since the project as such had not endorsed them. Nonetheless, the report prepared by the IP Coordinator to the PBI International Council in January 2008 did incorporate the conclusions of the consultant (under the chapter "Internal Debates/Discussions", item 9: "Gender Focus") without mentioning any dis-

crepancy between the consultant's opinion and that of the IP:

> "It seems that the IP is successfully thinking about and managing the experiences of women in each facet of the IP. Since no team members were able to point out how diversity or gender conflicts might be detracting from the mission of the IP, investing further time and energy, it seems, would actually detract from the IP's mission and reduce already-stretched resources. It was recommended that the IP not invest further time or significant resources into the process of gender mainstreaming."[8]

Against this background, it is interesting that the IP nevertheless decided to engage in a pilot project with the IFOR Women Peacemakers Program. When asked about this decision, both current and former IP staff members[9] provided a variety of answers. Some people were confused about the two projects (the pilot project and the GDWG assessment), which they saw as potentially overlapping; others said that WPP's invitation had come before the assessment, which indeed turned out to be the case. According to the former In-Country Coordinator, the IP Project Committee discussed WPP's invitation on several occasions (during conference calls, emails, and a face-to-face meeting) before it arrived at a decision. In the meantime, the IP had been requested to carry out the assessment for the GDWG.

In general, the reception of the pilot was mixed. Some volunteers warmly welcomed the pilot, as they could see that the IP was falling short to manage existing gender dynamics in the daily life and work of the teams. Other volunteers stated, in line with the former assessment results, that gender-related issues were far from the most pressing issues that needed addressing in the IP.

Interviewees who already had some "gender knowledge" generally showed more awareness of the gender-related implications of the IP's field mission and the need for improvements; those who were unfamiliar with gender found it difficult to understand its relevance to their daily work. As one female volunteer explained when

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reflecting on some of the dynamics going on in her team:

> "Something I noticed is that it is very hard for volunteers to talk about this (…) if they themselves have not really had much exposure to thinking about gender. For some people it is a very new perspective. For example, one female team member had felt many of the things I felt – being ignored by men in meetings, being seen as less capable, not being listened to or being dismissed – but she had not seen this from a gender perspective. When we discussed it, she expressed that she had learned a lot from taking things from a gender perspective, and some things began to make sense, whereas previously she had assumed she was at fault."

This anecdote illustrates that a gender analysis only begins to make sense when it can make connections with the realities that people experience. At the same time, even when organizations decide to engage in gender mainstreaming, it requires constant attention and reminding people of its relevance, since it is very easy to lose track of its importance in the multitude of other challenges and the lack of resources affecting the organization.

2 The recruitment process

In the framework of civilian-based peacekeeping, field teams both live and work together, in a context that is often unfamiliar to them. Gender awareness and sensitivity among the team members is important in a setting where interactions are shaped by everyone's personal socialization, which differs considerably based on one's gender, cultural and generational background. Gender therefore needs to be addressed from the start, and hence should be firmly imbedded in the organization's recruitment processes, as that will have an impact on how gender is ultimately addressed in the field.

When interviewing IP members about this aspect, they all answered that gender sensitivity is an important criterion in the selection process. Some trainers even explained that it has been a reason for not selecting candidates who – during the preparatory training process – showed attitudes or opinions that lacked gender sensitivity, were openly sexist, or demonstrated sexually inappropriate behavior. But while it seems to be considered important, gender sensitivity is not among the eighteen criteria for becoming a volunteer listed on the IP website, nor does the application form contain any gender-related questions.

Becoming an IP volunteer involves a lengthy process: each potential candidate undergoes an application and selection process that may take several months. The process usually begins with a PBI country group (usually based in Europe, North America or Australia) providing interested candidates with information and inviting them to an orientation weekend or a short pre-training. Any candidate who wishes to continue is invited to submit an application form and is later contacted by IP members to discuss her/his motivations and receive further information about the conditions for becoming a PBI volunteer, as well as to clarify any doubts from both sides. After a successful interview, the applicant is invited to participate in the IP training session, where she/he will receive a comprehensive pre-training package and some preparatory assignments. The two-week training is a very intense, interactive process, on the basis of which the training team and the IP Human Resources Committee decide whether the applicant will be invited to join the IP team – or might be invited once specific skills are further developed (this sometimes involves the candidate's attending another training). If the candidate is accepted, the timing of the deployment is decided by Human Resources based on the volunteer's and the IP's needs. Upon arrival in Indonesia, the volunteer first follows an intensive language course and undergoes a pre-deployment training[10] in order to be able to join the IP. Once deployed in the field, every volunteer undergoes a two-month peer evaluation within the team in order to assess whether she/he can continue on the team. It is only at this point that the selection process is completed. Routine peer evaluations are then held every six months until

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completion of the contract. One PBI staff member made an interesting gender observation in light of this lengthy process:

> "Informational evenings [pre-training at the country group] are more [gender] balanced; sometimes there are even more men. So at the beginning it's more balanced, but the process is too long, and apparently men get tired somewhere along the way. In general, women are more insecure and think they need more preparation (while men think they are ready to leave the next week)...so maybe women are more patient... PBI means a lot of work... The fact is that, in the end, more women join the field projects." – Female Coordinator PBI Netherlands

During this research, 2/3 of the IP was female, with the majority under the age of 30 on field-team level. The fieldwork in Indonesia seems to offer a work context that mostly attracts a certain profile: female and single, despite the fact that PBI's recruitment policies and job announcements firmly state the organization's commitment to gender equality and its stand against discrimination of any kind. Since most applicants are women, the majority of its field-staff members and volunteers are also female.[11] PBI states that it therefore requires more male volunteers "because the strategy of Protective Accompaniment in couples requires both genders in the field."[12] Although PBI does not make use of affirmative action – in the event that a male applicant and a female applicant have equal qualifications, PBI will base its final choice on other qualities relevant to the position than gender – some interviewees have wondered whether the need for more gender-balanced teams might at times lead the IP to be less stringent when assessing male candidates for the projects.

On a higher organizational level, PBI has a more equal representation of men and women. According to the IP Coordinator, the PBI International Councils also reflects a gender balance. In PBI Netherlands, men even form the majority at the board level, whereas women operate mainly on staff and base levels. This reality could suggest a pattern similar to the division of labor world-

wide: where women occupy mainly operational (lower) levels, while men are more present at decision-making (upper) levels. In the context of a largely volunteer-based and low-paying organization, this might be explained by the fact that men – although committed to volunteering in the organization's leadership – tend to opt for jobs with better salaries or career opportunities, while women choose to devote themselves entirely to the organization's mission, regardless of what it offers professionally. When presenting these observations to some of the interviewees, the following interpretations were given to these dynamics:

> "Women are more predisposed to serve in a volunteer-based organization; they are actually more interested in serving and working for 'altruist' causes."

> "There is a tacit assumption that women will more easily accept low salaries for 'crazy' amounts of work, while men will not."

> "Women are more interested in social issues and less interested in earning money."

> "Women are more used than men to receiving low salaries and/or to working in places where they cannot pursue a 'promising' professional career."

> "If PBI would offer a more hierarchical and career-oriented environment with higher salaries, more men might apply."

> "The 'care-giving' aspect associated with peace work seems to attract mainly women, who are eager to stand beside people who suffer from violence and injustice, to alleviate their situation."

> "Men are expected to develop a career, to get a job and a proper salary, so they face more barriers if they want to step off that path and take one or two years off for volunteer work."

> "Women are more prone to take on 'pacifist' activism, while men may find a more 'combatant' or aggressive activist profile more attractive."

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This "feminization" of civilian-based peacekeeping seems to apply to the majority of the peace-team projects, the only exception being the Non-violent Peaceforce (NPF), where men are in the majority throughout the organization. It is worth noting that NPF profiles itself on its website as "the world's only paid and trained unarmed civilian peacekeeping force", which suggests that the organization aims at building up a professional peace force which does not rely on voluntary efforts. Indeed, that might explain why it seems more attractive to men.

Nonetheless a gender-sensitive recruitment policy goes beyond the number of men and women working for the organization; it also ensures equal opportunities for everyone, as well as a safe and comfortable working atmosphere. For example, it implies looking into whether there are sufficient provisions in place to appoint staff members with family or dependants. [13] In an interview with the female Co-Director of FOR-Colombia, she pointed out how she was the organization's first staff member with family dependants. When they decided that she would move from California to Colombia in order to be closer to field team, it became clear that the organization had never before considered the needs of a worker with family dependents moving overseas. Nor had the organization done any reflection on its commitment to support a worker if such a situation should occur. This was also the case with regard to volunteers, until a female candidate with an eight-year old son applied in 2007. This application challenged the project to break with its stereotyped image of volunteers and to foster a non-discrimination policy that met the organization's needs as well as those of the volunteer as a mother. According to FOR-Colombia's Co-Director, the arrangement worked out well, and the experience was very positive.[14]

In terms of the IP itself, there have been a few cases where couples have applied and were accepted as volunteers, but so far there have been no volunteers with children or other dependants. This might reflect an institutional culture that automatically assumes the worker/volunteer's family status as "without dependents".

3   The preparatory training

A key moment in the recruitment process in terms of addressing gender dynamics and better preparing volunteers and staff for the realities of the field is the preparatory training. As part of the research for the pilot, the author of this publication attended the 2007 IP preparatory training in Lisbon in the role of participant observer. The training was attended by five male and seven female candidates[15], and was facilitated by a male and a female trainer from Australia who, in turn, were supported by the new IP Coordinator and the new Human Resources Coordinator, as well as by two former IP volunteers.

The 10-day training provided candidates with a broad range of theories and exercises on different topics such as conflict analysis, non-violence, and group dynamics, as well as an update on the work of the IP and the cultural context in which it operates. The facilitation of the trainers drew on popular education methodologies, engaging the participants through group exercises, role-plays, and games.

The trainers complemented each other well, showing a sound knowledge of the different topics and of PBI's work on the ground, as well as great expertise in using participatory training tools. It seemed that the training sessions portrayed a gender-based division of labor between the trainers, related to their respective professional backgrounds: where the male trainer – who is an expert on active non-violence – presented the more theoretical and ideological topics (such as security, political and strategic analysis, PBI's principles and mandate, and deterrent theory), the female trainer – who is a retired social worker – mainly took on topics related to relationship and team building, group process and dynamics, and personal experiences during deployment (including dealing with stress and trauma). In this sense, the training reflected traditional divi-

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sions of labor depicted by feminists as public versus private, and political versus personal.

To complement the training sessions, all participants received high-quality materials and resources. However, none of the materials incorporated a gender perspective, whether they addressed topics like nonviolence, conflict analysis, culture, or power and privilege. Nor was gender a matter of significant debate during the training. At certain moments, involving specific examples or exercises, it became a topic for reflection, but in general only briefly.

An account of some observations made during the IP training follows below. These are included to make visible how gender plays out and is – or is not – addressed during a key moment such as the preparatory training. This is done to further thinking on how gender might be mainstreamed throughout the peace team's training curriculum. For example:

- Since gender and diversity mainstreaming is not part of PBI's official definitions yet, it was not mentioned when presenting PBI's Principles and Mandate;
- An exercise called the "barometer" invited participants to indicate their stand on an imaginary line as to whether they were for or against the statements made; this provided some interesting insights into the way the group thought about gender:
  - *"A woman uses a spray against a man who attacks her while walking in the street at night; is that violence?"*
  Most participants, both men and women, argued that self-defense could not be considered violence, especially when the woman's life/integrity is at risk.
  - *"In a poor family, where food is scarce, the man eats first, then the children, and last the woman. Is that violence?"*
  Interestingly, it was mostly women (and very few men) who considered this practice violent. The statement generated some discussion when some of the men justified the practice with patriarchal arguments such as "men work more, so they need to

eat more" and "men are the providers/protectors [someone mentioned "the hunter"] in traditional societies, so they need to be strong and well-fed".
  - *"If a client asks PBI to be accompanied by men instead of by women, do you agree to that?"*
  Significantly, all the men and some of the women aligned in the "yes" end of the spectrum; while most of the women aligned in the "no" position.
- During a brainstorming exercise around the word "violence", there was little mention of gender. Aside from the one female participant who mentioned gender and the one male participant who asked what that meant, there was no further dialogue on that topic.
- The training session on "Do No Harm" did not include a gender perspective. On one occasion a female participant described how an aid agency that had arrived in Aceh after the tsunami only focused on offering resources to women in order to empower them, while the men who had lost their livelihoods received nothing. Although this example could have been used to illustrate how a gender perspective should not be confused with a focus on "women's issues" but instead addresses the systems of relations and power dynamics between women and men, the subject was not investigated further during the session.
- During the session on "Security" there was little mention of gender, even though there are some strong gender-related implications in the IP security policies, as will be analysed later.
- The subsequent session on "Fear & Stress" also lacked a focus on gender, even when participants were invited to split up into small groups and discuss their fears in relation to their deployment in the field and how they would manage them. This is particularly remarkable in view of the fact that female IP volunteers – especially in Papua – consider sexual harassment to be one of the most common and difficult experiences they have to endure. During the field research, several interviewees indicated that the preparatory training did not

adequately inform them about this, nor were the teams well-enough equipped to deal with sexual harassment when it occurred.

- During a session on "Strategic Analysis and Security", participants were asked to analyze a situation that occurred in Aceh during a Youth Peace Camp.[16] Although the situation had significant gender connotations – the female participants had been removed from the camp at night by the Syariah Police; and the attitude of the policemen towards the female PBI volunteers had been disrespectful to the point of being aggressive – it was only analyzed as a security incident in the IP's assessment of the case.[17]

- During a presentation on PBI's code of conduct, gender was only addressed when discussing intimate relationships between team members and locals.

- The training included one session focusing on gender-related situations. Interestingly, this session was not prepared and facilitated by the lead trainers. Instead, a male participant, who showed an attitude of resistance toward the topic of gender, was asked to prepare this session. In light of the difficulties he was facing with the task, a female trainee volunteered to help him. In the end, the female trainee ended up preparing and facilitating the session by herself.

During the session, participants were asked to discuss the following scenarios:

  - "You are a female volunteer working with a well-respected client of PBI. When you are alone with him, his behavior and way of touching you is inappropriate, in subtle ways. Nobody else on the team has noticed this. What do you do?"

  - "You hear that an important and well-respected male client of PBI is beating his wife at home. What do you do?"

  - "The male members of the team are always more than willing to do the public relations, networking and 'important' (public) work, but reluctant to do the administrative/office work and keep the house tidy (maintenance tasks). What do you do?"

  - "A male and a female volunteer are on a bemo [small mini-van], traveling in a Muslim area. The passengers are mostly women and will not stand near the male volunteer, meaning there is less space available. You feel bad about this, because you don't want them to feel uncomfortable. What do you do?"

The responses varied and were often creative. In general, the tendency in all the small groups was to address the problem openly, to share the concern with the team and ask for its support (case 1); to try to move towards more equitable gender relations (case 3); to be respectful when dealing with local culture and customs (case 4); but also to model and promote alternative gender relations, coherent with nonviolence and human rights (case 2). The responses to the role-plays were especially interesting in light of how some of these situations had actually been dealt with in the field. This will be further elaborated upon when presenting the field results.

- During a discussion about the words "masculine" and "feminine", several participants went beyond essentialist notions. For example, the words "strong", "independent", "rational", "emotional" and "powerful" were mentioned as qualities of both sexes. The group also went into an open discussion about issues such as: "nature/nurture",[18] gender roles and their connection with this dichotomy, sexuality, the concept of "transgender" and the place of transgender people.

At first sight it might appear as if the group accepted feminist concepts without much contest or questioning. It is nevertheless important to ascertain whether or not that really is the case. In general, people know that it is not "politically correct" to openly confront feminist ideas in a progressive setting; at the same time, if they do not have much knowledge on gender issues they often prefer to keep silent to avoid the risk of exposing their lack of awareness, or even their sexist attitudes (of which they may not be fully aware). This might be the case even more when women outnumber the group.

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Left: PPE workshop in Wamena (Papua, 2007, © PBI).

Right: Workshop on conflict transformation with female Muslim grassroots leaders in Central Aceh (2007, © PBI).

PPE activity experiencing and dealing with fear in Wamena (Papua, 2007, © PBI).

At one point, outside the training session, a spontaneous discussion unfolded between the above-mentioned male candidate and some female participants. The male candidate was attending the preparatory training for a second time as the IP was still considering whether to accept him due to the macho attitudes he had displayed during the first training. During the discussion he openly exposed his resentment towards women's emancipation, questioning the supposed "privileges" that women had gained and the "losses" he felt those changes had brought to traditional family arrangements. The male trainer intervened by conveying that one should not get trapped into comparing or measuring losses or gains, but instead should try to work together towards more equitable gender relations.

This incident serves to illustrate how deeply rooted gender prejudices and/or misconceptions can be in people's thinking, and how they often do not come out unless certain conditions are in place – such as adequate time and space – for people to express themselves freely. The male candidate was finally accepted by the IP. It remains a question whether this approval was linked to the scarcity of male volunteers in the IP project, as indicated earlier.

Although the training showed gender sensitivity on several occasions, no firm theoretical background on the link between gender and conflict was provided, nor were international instruments such as UN Security Council Resolution 1325 – which stresses the importance of a gender perspective in all peacebuilding efforts – referred to. The absence of an explicit theoretical framework and approach interfered with the trainers' ability to take full advantage of the opportunities raised by the participants, as well as by the gender-related situations and group dynamics throughout the training.

It is worth noting that, according to the Coordinator of PBI's GDWG, all the consultants that carried out the assessment on gender and diversity in the field projects identified training as one of the most important areas that were in need of

improvement in the process of gender-and-diversity mainstreaming. Therefore, it is expected that, as a next step, the GDWG will accompany and give directions to all the field projects in developing a more gender-sensitive training model.[19]

When other civilian peace teams were asked how they address gender in their recruitment, selection and training process, their answers confirmed that a systematic gender approach is lacking in the majority of the projects.[20] None mentioned "level of gender awareness/knowledge" in their list of criteria for selecting volunteers or staff. Although all stated that they look for a gender balance in their field teams, staff, training team, and activities (as well as a balance in terms of nationality, ethnicity and age), all but the NP suffered from a lack of male volunteers.

In general, most responses hardly went beyond mentioning the gender balance in numbers. Almost all acknowledged that more should be done in terms of providing gender-analysis tools, but stated it was nonetheless just one among many different priorities. An impression of some of the responses follows here:

- In SIPAZ,[21] male candidates are explicitly asked if they would feel comfortable working in a team where the coordinator is a woman and all or almost all other team members are female. This aspect is evaluated further after the volunteer has joined the team in the field.[22]

- EAPPI stated that its recruitment process is based on a non-discrimination policy. It does not have a quota system on the grounds of gender.[23] Issues of power dynamics, relationships between the sexes and cultural norms and expectations are discussed during its preparatory training. Special attention is given to the risks or difficulties that female volunteers might face in the field.

- FOR-Colombia addresses gender by analyzing it through the concept of power during its trainings, with a special focus on the macho culture of the traditional rural communities they accompany and how this aspect interferes with the fieldwork. Their volunteer appli-

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cation form also includes a specific question about dealing with sexism.

- Nonviolent Peaceforce tries to have a gender balance in its trainings as well as in the field but also acknowledges that more can be done "on deepening the analysis of the impact of conflict on women".
- NISGUA includes gender in its trainings in the context of discussions about oppression, privilege and power, linking it on a macro-level to discussions on neo-colonialism and imperialism and the tensions between the Northern concept of gender equality versus the reality of the indigenous, rural communities they work with.
- IWPS (composed exclusively of women) replied that it does not include an explicit gender dimension in the IWPS trainings on nonviolence for volunteers.[24]
- CPT[25] gives a lot of attention to gender in its trainings. Its intensive one-month preparatory training includes sessions on "undoing sexism": "In one session the men and women meet in separate groups and the men answer a question about what keeps them from hearing women's voices about sexism. The women talk about 'What women in CPT want men to know about sexism'. The groups share their information with each other. Also, the women's list is published to the wider volunteer corps. As a result of this training exercise, the men of the corps decided to form a 'men's caucus' that holds regular conference calls to discuss and further the work of undoing sexism." CPT's training manual also includes sections on gender, sexual harassment and gender roles on the team.[26]

This section has provided some insights – based on direct observations – on the lack of a systematic inclusion of a gender perspective in the IP preparatory training. In light of the fact that a gender perspective is essential for sustainable peacebuilding as described in Chapter I, training is a key moment at which to start addressing gender in the work of peace teams. It is important to note that increasing the gender awareness of vol-

unteers and staff will require more than one preparatory training. The turnover in staff and volunteers, the complex and context-specific relation between conflict and gender, and the often deep-rooted traditional gender notions make it important to make gender training a regular and mandatory activity in the organization.

4 Gender dynamics in the team

The IP has produced a considerable amount of policy materials aimed at taking care of its team as well as being culturally sensitive and respectful towards the communities it works with. These policies have been collectively discussed and formulated through consensus over the years, and are often reviewed during face-to-face IP meetings. The section below introduces some of the most relevant policies in light of the pilot study, and describes how they relate to some of the gender dynamics in the field.

4.1 Code of conduct
The IP manual on Policies and Procedures establishes a set of rules and advice for relationships on the team and with Indonesian people, as well as for other aspects regarding the conduct of volunteers in the host community. The motto underlying these policies is that "at all times PBI must be aware of negative perception." It states: "Our advice is to conduct yourself as a PBI volunteer at all times. This necessarily involves respect for local customs, tradition and religion in a transparent way."

Regarding relationships on teams, the manual states that this is acceptable "as long as volunteers remember that they are 24/7 representatives of PBI when they are in Indonesia, more so on field teams. Relationships are the same as work and should be conducted with the same care and attention as all other PBI activities that have potential to affect the reputation of PBI." Particular attention is given to relationships between PBI volunteers and local people, which are considered to be a "far more sensitive issue". Volunteers are advised to not conduct any rela-

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tionships in secret in order to avoid gossip and negative speculations. Special care should be taken in Aceh, where the "opportunity for more intimate relations should be avoided" because of the strict Syariah regulations about extramarital relations. The IP manual states that volunteers should be aware that as Westerners, any relationship with a local person implies a position of power in terms of both finance and freedom: "As a foreigner you will always have the advantage and freedom to leave with your reputation intact", while "the personal conduct of a local in their local area marks their permanent reputation". It states that "this is especially the case for male foreigners in relationships with local women more so than female foreigners with men," because of the lower status and the lesser degree of freedom of women in Indonesian society. This power imbalance is also a risk within the teams, as one female IP trainer commented, and hence has potential implications for the IP's aim of having multicultural teams and more Indonesian volunteers. Finally, the IP forbids any intimate relationships between PBI volunteers and clients, as it is assumed that this would inevitably hinder the volunteer's objectivity and jeopardize PBI's professionalism in the eyes of clients, local authorities and the wider community.

Nonetheless, it is left up to the team members to behave in accordance to these rules. In the opinion of one female volunteer:

> "I personally think in Aceh there should be certain rules that you should follow and that you should not be allowed to say you don't agree. For example, because of the Syariah, it is not clear whether it applies to foreigners or not; it's a very vague thing… So we need to be careful. But besides that, when a Muslim breaks the Syariah, she/he faces a court case, and a sentence; so it's a serious issue. So when a volunteer engages sexually in a relationship with a local person, that puts the local person in a serious situation, because you are breaking the law when you do it; so there should be some rules. Sometimes people are very young, and they are not really aware of the consequences… We can just go away, but local people can't."

The importance of having a code of conduct cannot be underestimated, yet one needs to avoid operating on one-dimensional perceptions of power relations (North-South, foreign-local), and also take into account the myriad power relations that exist in the cultural context at hand, as will be elaborated further in Section 4.4.

4.2 Taking care on the team

The IP training manual for field volunteers includes several sections on "care-taking". A section on "Mental Health on the Team" provides team volunteers with tools and strategies for coping with potential burnout and feelings of "fear, loss, grief, frustration, anger and despair". A detailed "Volunteer Support/Stress Management & Prevention Strategy" section emphasizes stress-prevention activities. In terms of stress management and burnout prevention, the manual states the following: "Taking care of the thing which we have the most control over – that is, ourselves – is a vital part of effective activism. Putting some attention into stress management and physical, emotional and spiritual renewal is crucial to looking after ourselves for the long haul." The manual also lists a number of stress and burnout symptoms, as well as contributing factors – including personal, organizational and socio-political factors, and how to address them.

Among the personal factors mentioned are:
- the accumulation of emotions that are not dealt with, for instance: grief, disappointment, conflict, uncertainty, frustration and obsession
- the denial of basic needs, for example the need for adequate nutrition, exercise, sleep, time-out, recreation, creativity, intimacy, spirituality, or privacy.

Organizational factors might consist of:
- a group culture or ethos (often set by role models) of working too hard, competitiveness, being overly task-focused with low process orientation;
- unresolved conflicts or unawareness of oppressive attitudes or practices.

Socio-political factors include:

• patriarchal values such as: "an attitude that workers are expendable", "focusing on feelings or relationships is a waste of time", "productivity is everything", etc.

It was particularly interesting to see how the fact that the IP consists mostly of women was reflected in the issues of self-care and care for the team members. When observing the IP face-to-face meeting, it looked at times to the author as if teams of hard-working and exhausted women, who were devoting unlimited personal energies to the project, were at the same time encouraging each other to "take care of yourself". It looked as if the large amounts of voluntary work, as well as the overwork of paid staff, had become structural in the organization, meaning that the whole organization is built on the endless and dedicated commitment of its members who, in their search to serve the common cause are at times at risk of forgetting themselves. In view of this, one former volunteer shared the following during an interview:

> "Women are more ready to give. If you look at the people who are suffering from burnout, there are a lot of women...because of the amount of work. The whole structure of PBI relies and 'lives' on what women are giving to the projects... So I think that if we are going to institutionalize gender in the whole structure and mandate of PBI, that is where we should start..." – Former female IP volunteer, PBI Netherlands

Feminist economists have often pointed to the "invisible work" associated with what they have defined as an "economy of care", usually carried out by women. The economy of care not only manifests itself at the household and the community level, but also includes the non-profit sector, the level at which PBI and most volunteer-based human-rights and peace organizations operate.²⁷ Such an environment can easily lead to self-exploitation, and consequently, burnout. The former IP In-Country Coordinator pointed out that she had observed that men seemed to be better at drawing the line:

> "And then you have those superwomen who are giving too much for too long to the project, and they end up with a burnout or in hospital...because it's too much stress, it's too demanding, it's not healthy... And women in particular go through those processes. In the current Strategy Committee, you have three women and one man, but he's not as active... Because men know how to say 'no' more easily, or how to step out, or how not to get so personally involved... We need to take better care of ourselves..." – Former IP In-Country Coordinator

Next to this organizational factor, interviewees also identified patriarchal attitudes and values as forming an important frustration and stress factor. Female team members recounted experiences with a controlling male colleague, both within the IP household and in the field. One volunteer recounted how this male colleague always wanted to be the one to introduce PBI during a meeting, when leading an educational activity, or when initiating the talk with an interlocutor, stating:

> "For me it is very difficult to deal with that... Especially in the context of a culture where there is male dominancy, even [the male] doesn't notice that he gets caught into it, playing the role that he's expected to play...instead of modeling a different gender role... It's partly a personality thing, but also I think that he is affected by the society...maybe he would be more aware of it in [his Western country], but here he is less so, because there is no gender awareness in this society...

> "I have experienced being treated as less important by both authorities and by civil society. I notice that [the male volunteer] is seen as 'the head of the house' by many of our friends and contacts, and this is frustrating. When he went away for a week, it was empowering to feel capable in his absence and to feel free to make choices without being sanctioned all the time."

Another female volunteer told how she had made many attempts to reach the landlord of the IP house to reach an agreement on infrastructural improvements and a new contract. The moment

the landlord finally came to the house, the male volunteer took over, arranging the matter in a "man-to-man" setting and signing the contract on behalf of the team. The female volunteer was very upset about this and had complained about it. When interviewing the male volunteer concerned, he acknowledged that he had taken over and had acted in ways that reinforced traditional gender roles, but he nonetheless took a "pragmatic" approach to the matter:

> "Yes, it happens all the time that local people assume that I'm the boss and the head of the household... When dealing with our landlord, regarding practical issues, if I show up at a meeting, he immediately turns to me... And we've had some discussions because of that... and I said that I am aware of it, but I just wanted to get the issues solved. (...) Yes, I think it's an opportunity for PBI teams to model alternative gender roles in a male-dominated society... if we do it, I think it's a good thing... but there are just many other priorities also... So in this case I decided not to challenge the landlord's sexism, because I really wanted to have this water pipe installed... So I think it's one priority among many others...".

When bringing up PBI's gender and diversity mainstreaming process, he expressed that PBI should not make diversity too much of a priority: "We should always have the best people available and make our best efforts to make our work better, but not embark on this kind of thing as an organization. Diversity is a characteristic more than a value in itself, for me." However, not recognizing how gender dynamics affects a team often means leaving it up to the affected individual to come to terms with it:

> "And we had problems in the team... I was very aware of it, and I said that we had problems...and then the problem shifted and I became the problem, because I was the one who was saying that we had problems in the team... And the words he used to describe me were very gendered: I was 'too sensitive', 'too emotional'... I didn't say anything... I just swallowed it...and felt that PBI owes me for swallowing it... The team wasn't in a position where

it could actually reflect on the process itself, and to see it..." – Female IP volunteer

In addition, several female IP members – from different teams and different periods – referred to male competition, expressing how they had witnessed rivalry between male team members, with each one striving to be in command within the team and outside:

> "There have been some strong ego personalities in some teams who addressed everything from an individualistic stand, not working collectively in a process, even competing among themselves in the team, 'possessing' their own contacts... They included both females and males; but there were lots of male egos." – Former IP staff member
>
> "I noticed he reacts differently to other Western men – competitively – whereas he seems to be able to push Papuan men around, and they automatically respect him. It is interesting that many of the things [another female from another team] describes about [two male volunteers] are also the same with him. They almost fall over themselves trying to give out their business cards with their personal cell phone number, so that they will be the one contacted, jealously guarding 'contacts' and information." – Female IP volunteer

When interviewees were asked if they had noticed specific gendered dynamics within the teams in terms of the division of labor, they generally said "no", stating that there was an egalitarian distribution of work among all team members. Nonetheless, one male volunteer acknowledged that he cared little for household tasks:

> "I don't like to cook, so when I do it it's because I'm very hungry and I want to eat, but I don't like to cook for everybody. I see it as a burden, so it's very quick and very seldom. Most of the time I go out... There is also a difference in terms of cleaning the house: women tend to be more sensitive, while men don't care too much, or less... Then sometimes there have been clashes... It also depends on what people are knowledgeable about...there was a guy who loved electricity, so he tended to do that stuff... And I'm also male, but I don't like electricity, so I'd call someone to fix whatever needs fixing...

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Maybe about the shopping… females tend to do it, while I hate shopping."

In the same team, a female volunteer expressed: "We [the female volunteers] do more of the domestic work here, but we just let it go as an issue… When I was young I wouldn't have let it go… My suspicion is that it has something to do with age… like for example in the Jakarta team the young women will let it go in a different way, just by not doing the domestic work themselves either (…) But also I won't do anything when there's a computer problem; I have absolutely no interest in finding out what the problem is and how to fix it… With the office work it's more gender neutral; I write more reports because that is my skill"

This was also observed during the preparations one team was making for a forum with local partners and community members. While the female volunteers took on all the logistics (arranging the room and the food), the male team member took charge of the formal tasks such as opening the meeting and introducing PBI.

These dynamics seem quite common in some of PBI Latin American projects.[28] For example, in PBI Mexico, the consultant observed that traditional gender roles determine the power relations and internal dynamics within the teams and in the work, and although they were a cause of conflicts, there was no conscious reflection on them. A former female volunteer in PBI Colombia commented that women were always struggling to make the men responsible for the maintenance tasks. According to her, men were keen to take part in meetings, field trips, interviews and all the "important work" but never wanted to do the office work, administrative tasks, or household/office cleaning. "Even if we went in a mixed couple to a meeting or to a field trip, when we came back, the man usually assumed that the woman would be the one to write the report. Although when it came to presenting it, he was ready to do it and to receive the credit for it," she said. She concluded that: "The old traditional division between private-public is still very strong, even

among 'progressive' men and 'emancipated' women, and we must acknowledge it."

Despite the challenges, the majority of the (female and male) IP volunteers preferred to work in a mixed, gender-balanced team, especially since they were operating in a cultural setting characterized by rigid gender identities and roles. This made it difficult for the team members to relate to the opposite sex, which in turn limited the opportunities for informal socializing and interfered with trust building and with the community work in general. In general, IP males found it easier to interact with the local men, while female volunteers were more likely to reach out to the local women.

Local gender dynamics also influence the way the communities perceive the IP teams. While some volunteers experienced Indonesians as being open and tolerant towards foreigners, others expressed that the fact that the IP project setting requires non-married women and men to live together may affect the IP's image. Indonesian volunteers and staff pointed out that this became a particularly sensitive issue when female Indonesian volunteers joined the Aceh team. While the local community may well accept the Westerners' living styles, their tolerance usually does not extend towards their own nationals. Some interviewees expressed concern about how this would affect the reputation of the Indonesian female volunteers, especially after they leave PBI. In this regard, it is interesting to note that members of the IWPS project in Palestine indicated that one of the reasons for establishing a women-only peace team in a rural village was precisely to avoid the complications associated with negative perceptions from a traditional Muslim community about non-married women and men living under the same roof.

Several IP volunteers also commented that whenever they went into the field in gender-mixed pairs, locals would perceive them as couples – at best. Since the cultural context accepts polygamy and most IP teams are made up of several female members and one male, some locals viewed the PBI teams as a constellation of women in a rela-

tionship with one man. In this context, the man is perceived as the head of the household and "the boss" of the team. One female volunteer expressed how she had experienced that:

> "In Indonesia, being an unmarried woman means being considered a child – a single woman has hardly any rights and is seen as inferior. The fact that there is a man in the PBI house and that most of the women are single and often young makes him the ruler of the house. In Aceh, the [mostly female] helpers who work at the PBI house always turn to him with regard to work issues, salary, etc."

This anecdote illustrate how the interaction with local people often takes place in line with – and therefore reproduces – traditional (expected) gender roles. This confronts the IP teams – and peace teams in general – with the difficult dilemma of whether to adjust to the local culture or to model more egalitarian gender roles. If teams are not gender-aware, they might be missing out on the opportunity to challenge the patriarchal ideology and to provide alternative roles. One former female IP volunteer commented:

> "The teams in the field often work in an environment of gender discrimination, sexual violence and ethnic conflict, and as an international organization PBI should set positive examples. For the work in Papua, it can be said that the majority of human-rights workers are male, while women are in a marginalized position and are often not part of relevant human-rights discussions. Female PBI volunteers can be an example of women working for human rights. The role of male PBI volunteers is no less crucial, as they can set examples as men who respect women as equal counterparts, meeting with local women at eyelevel, listening to them, and treating them as subjects rather than as objects, as it is widely common in Papua. Such a male approach can be an important experience for both women and men in the local context and can open the window for alternative gender interaction."

In view of this, it is interesting to see how the Christian Peacemaker Teams (CPT) in Colombia deal with this dilemma. One female volunteer told of how team members consciously work together to counter sexism within the team as well as in the society they work in:

> "We work in teams of two, if possible a man and a woman. It is not unusual for gender-mixed teams to discuss what role each will play when out on an accompaniment or how to put the woman in a leadership position, especially when the people we accompany may not immediately see the woman as a leader. Teams will often evaluate how these roles went and whether the teammate or the community was dismissive of the woman's leadership or participation. For example, a male teammate and I recently went to a meeting with a male advisor. After the meeting, my teammate asked how the meeting had gone for me, because he noticed our advisor was not making eye contact with me. I speak less Spanish than my teammate, so we discussed that at future meetings together I would start the discussion with the advisor. This would allow me to step into a leadership role despite being able to participate less as the conversation progresses due to my limitations with Spanish." [29]

She also shared an anecdote of a mixed-gender team having to sleep in the same room, with one of the men only having underwear to sleep in, which made the women feel uncomfortable. She told: "This conversation and policy brought to the attention of some men how their behavior might make women feel vulnerable, and the privilege men have to use public spaces in whatever clothes they wish, while women have to consider who they might encounter in the middle of the night near the bathroom, for example, and whether they need to be well covered to feel comfortable." Considering that team members often have to sleep in "mixed" spaces with community members, the team decided to institute a pajama policy; requiring men and women who travel to carry modest sleepwear.

These examples serve to show that an effective response to frustrating gender dynamics in the team and during fieldwork requires the care, sensitivity, and joint efforts of both male and female team members.

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4.3   Security

The IP has invested a lot of energy in reflecting on, elaborating and evaluating its security policies. Each team has a security manual that includes general security measures that apply to all IP members and teams, together with specific security measures related to the environment in which the team operates. General security measures include rules about the security of the PBI house/office, computers and documents, and procedures in case of natural disasters or the need for evacuation. In terms of specific measures, the manual includes information on local transportation and communication systems, health services, local authorities, and local threats. The Wamena team security manual advises PBI volunteers to avoid moving around on their own at night because there are few if any night lights (besides there being frequent power cuts), and therefore higher chances of burglary, rape or other kinds of violence. The manual states: "Violence towards women has been observed by the team on several occasions, and although this was violence towards Papuan women, given the tense situation here (and the alcohol-abuse), little incidents can quickly get out of control." Volunteers are requested to carry their mobile phone, a torch and rape alarm at all times and to inform the team about their journeys. Female team members are advised not to go jogging alone or when it gets dark. The teams are also expected to regularly monitor and analyze the security risks of their clients but also of the PBI volunteers themselves.

One gender-specific security measure related to the cultural context is the "man-in-the-house" policy. This policy measure was established in 2006 in Papua and later extended to Aceh as well. The policy states that there must be at least one male volunteer on each team and that he must be present overnight in the PBI house. When that is not possible, the team, the IP, and the HR Coordinators will work out an alternative solution. In practice, this has meant that whenever the male volunteer needs to leave, another team has to send a male (usually from Jakarta) to

replace him until he comes back. The policy further states that field trips and protective accompaniment (PA) should preferably be conducted by gender-balanced teams. In situations where it is necessary or desirable for a female-only team to carry out a field trip or PA away from the team location, a security assessment needs to be conducted in advance.

The "man-in-the-house" policy was adopted after a series of break-ins in the PBI house in Jayapura happening at a time when older volunteers had left the house and were replaced by new young female volunteers. Locals had apparently interpreted the attempt as a consequence of the "mom and dad" figures leaving the house. Hence PBI decided to act in accordance with local opinion that the presence of a man in the house makes it a safer and more respectable place. Accepting this view implicitly meant confirming it, however, and thus forfeiting an opportunity to demonstrate an alternative model of a respectable and safe house inhabited and run by women-only. According to the gender consultant, most IP volunteers experienced the "man-in-the-house" policy as an uncomfortable one:

> "Many spoke of the struggle between wanting to exhibit the equal treatment of women and men in all PBI's work – a value that they believe in – and recognizing the true security situation within Indonesia and taking measures to make the protection of volunteers a higher priority. One male participant articulated this struggle in this way: 'Do we work to make an example in order to foster change here in Indonesia, or do we protect our volunteers at all costs?'"

During interviews, most IP volunteers strongly argued against the policy. One of the women stated:

> "This idea that a man is important for the security of women perpetuates the gender power imbalance. It also has effects on the team members... That is one of the reasons why [the male volunteer] feels so important...! I also think it is disempowering for women..."

Several team members pointed out that the policy did not have any deterrent effect on break-in attempts. Apparently, the Papua team had recently suffered a series of break-in attempts, even though a male volunteer had been continuously present on the team and in the house. The fact that these incidents affected not only PBI but also the rest of Wamena seems to indicate that they were not sexually motivated but rather common burglaries. Nonetheless, opinions varied widely, as shown below:

"In Aceh, because of the local culture, you need to have a male person in the team, but also it's often a single male with a constellation of females… The male policy was put into place for the Papua team, but we also agreed that we didn't feel safe without a man. We had a couple of incidents in the night: hearing noises, things being thrown, someone wandering in the garden… (…) The male presence helps to confront and address these problems. And we have agreed and felt comfortable with it, in the past." – IP female volunteer

"I could accept this policy if there were a serious cultural reason (here or in Aceh), that is, if the perception of the locals is such that it's not a good idea to have females alone in the house… But for other reasons (security, protection), I wouldn't agree with it. [The other female volunteer in the team] and I have both had a lot of experience living in many different kinds of places and we are used to looking after ourselves. I don't go out late at night alone any more than I'd do at home… it's the same." – IP female volunteer

"It's an inconsistent policy; it is very controversial. It was very much discussed, and the opinions changed all the time, depending on who was on the team in each period. (…) If it's only one woman who doesn't feel comfortable, I can understand it; but if you have three or four women in a house who don't care (as is the case now), the guy has to stay anyway." – IP male volunteer

"We need special sessions or trainings on gender sensitivity – especially regarding the security measures – because some of them are overrated; I had

different security measures than PBI [when she was doing fieldwork for her PhD] and I was doing okay in Wamena. I totally disagree with the 'man-in-the-house' policy. You need to have a very good community network with the neighbors; it's the most effective way. I disagree also because it puts the female volunteers in a very dependent position." – Former Indonesian staff member

"I'm totally in favor of gender-mixed teams. But I wouldn't so much stress the fact that there must be a man in the team. Most harassment takes place in meetings (even with men present) and also in the streets, in daylight… And I don't think a man would make such a difference. For me, the rule should be that there must be always two people in the house. (…) I don't like this policy because it's just playing with the image of this patriarch in the house… I think it's positive that PBI cares and reacted to this problem, but the policy created is too simple, not adequate; it doesn't increase our security at all; it's based on a stereotype, and it's not working. It makes a lot of trouble. People have to fly around; often men are chosen because of this rule, and that's not a good reason to look for a team member." – IP female volunteer

"I can understand the frustrations and people feeling upset and limited…but I do think it's necessary. Yes, developing community networks has always been a strong focus of PBI. (…) But it's not enough. You can't put the responsibility on your neighbors to take care of your protection, although it's definitely important to have their support and awareness. (…) It's very strange in Indonesia to have a household with only women. There has to be a man in all houses, even as a symbolic presence, it makes the house more respectable and the women safer, because in the people's perception they are protected by the man. And that reduces the perception of PBI volunteers being targets." – Former female In-Country Coordinator

The controversy around the policy led to its being brought forward for revision during the 2008 face-to-face IP meeting. Interestingly, the discussion centered around the excessive burden that

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the policy puts on the shoulders of the males in the teams: among other things, they are limited in their freedom to travel, to sleep away from the house, to make field trips, or to attend PBI meetings beyond their location. Not a single female participant[30] who opposed the policy framed the criticism in terms of the negative effects on the female volunteers, in particular in terms of disempowerment and dependence – frustrations that were clearly expressed during interviews for this pilot. This allowed the IP to continue operating on the basis of a traditional conception of security as "protection", which assigns the role of "protectors" (i.e. strong) to men while women are cast in the role of the "protected" (i.e. weak). This thinking echoes the same discourse often used to justify war and aggression.

A feminist approach to security would employ a more holistic understanding, coincident with the concept of human security and emphasizing the need to empower all stakeholders and develop collective support strategies. An alternative solution such as building up strong community-support systems, might have been a more empowering option for everyone, as suggested by the former PPE Coordinator, a Javanese woman who lived in the Central Highlands of Papua for more than a year. Other options could be to consult local women's organizations on how they deal with threats to their security in a manner that affirms them as agents of change rather than passive, potential victims of violence, or even to explore how other peace teams deal with women-only teams in areas with a high level of violence and security threats, such as FOR in Colombia and IWPS in Palestine.

4.4   Sexual assault

Each teams' security manual includes the IP policy on sexual assault. This policy was elaborated after a female volunteer suffered a rape attempt when jogging alone in an isolated area near the PBI house. The policy states that the IP needs to be proactive and preventive in addressing the risk of sexual assault. IP teams are requested to map out the occurrence of sexual aggression in their risk and security analysis: "In particular, patterns

of sexual aggression – including place, time, situation, and categories of victims and perpetrators – should be identified and examined. Because sexual aggression is commonly underreported, additional information should be gathered from trusted sources." In addition, volunteer trainings need to include the risk of sexual aggression or sexual assault as one of the risks that PBI volunteers face. According to the document, the options available to a survivor of sexual assault (as well as to a teammate on a team where someone has been assaulted) include counseling, medical care, time away from the team, an opportunity to change teams, or ending the contract if the victim wishes.

The IP consultant's assessment found that, in general, the teams manage stressful situations stemming from sexual harassment or attacks quite well. Nonetheless, several interviewees in this pilot study shared that the sexual harassment they had experienced had not always been recognized as such by the team, nor had it been adequately addressed.

Female interviewees from Aceh expressed that all of them had experienced harassment or attacks on the street, either verbal or physical, by young men who were passing by on motorbikes or by motorbike taxi drivers. In Papua, the lack of respect for women and the high level of violence against women made female volunteers alert about sexual attacks. All young female volunteers reported having suffered harassment due to stereotypes about Western white women. "Men have a lot of fantasies about Western women as being "easy" and "sexy," observed one Indonesian IP trainer, hence "female volunteers are under pressure from the community than males. People put more stereotypes on the women than on men." Many linked this behavior to the high consumption of pornographic material. One male volunteer in Papua expressed:

> "I always say to the guys [neighbors]: 'Don't believe all the porn movies that you watch, because this is not the reality'. Because they are very influenced by the Internet... At night, if you go to the Internet cafes, you'll see all the guys watching porn stuff...

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and I know the young guys here exchange this kind of stuff…"

At the same time, age also made a difference in the outside perception. Older female volunteers (in their thirties and forties) in a Papuan team commented that they did not feel so threatened, nor had they experienced harassment, but that they were happy to be doing this job at this age, considering the constant stress the younger volunteers were going through.

Each volunteer tended to deal with this reality in her/his own way. One female volunteer bought a ring to avoid repeated wedding proposals and to gain some respect from the local men. A male volunteer had chosen to play the role of protector and "man of the house", which nonetheless at the same time confirmed and reinforced the patriarchal patterns of behavior:

"I sit every night with the young guys outside, so I know what they think about Western women: they are really attracted to them; they are always trying to get information from me… Because I sit with them, I drink with them, so I have a very different approach… and I can afford to sit outside with guys at midnight, because I don't feel unsafe. (…) So I think it is the duty of the guys within the IP to use these sexual differences to socialize on a deeper level than what [the females] can do… And it's not only for having fun, but to say to them: 'Please, we are friends, so keep an eye on the house when I'm not here'. (…) That means that if they respect me, they are going to respect the women… So I play the 'older brother' so that they don't even touch [the females]… 'hati-hati [be careful] with me, ah?'… 'You touch my sister or my mother, and you touch me'. This is also the way in Indonesia and in Papua: you don't touch your friend's sister or mother… So they respect me, but of course we also do joke around a bit…"

One IP volunteer expressed her anger and frustration about the lack of sensitivity and support she had experienced among her team members when she complained about the constant sexual harassment she faced from a top official in Jakarta. Since this official was one of the team's main contacts, holding a key authority position with the Papuan police force, she was encouraged to bear with the situation in order to not disturb the institutional relationship. She expressed her feelings in this way:

"So I don't think people are really prepared. They say there's a lot of harassment in the streets in Papua… which is true, but it is not the real problem; it is not the most difficult situation I faced… With people in the street, you can easily get rid of them… But it is more complicated when the harassment is work-related, as in at official meetings, and even within the NGO's network… Then it gets really tricky… And the team puts pressure on you because they don't want to lose that contact, or they are too lazy to look for a new one… She [her teammate] wasn't supportive at all; it was like: 'it is part of the job', and she told me that other volunteers had gone to dinner with him, but I said I didn't want to do it… and she said he was really a very important contact, and I said 'well, he might well be, but there are limits, and if he steps over them, then I am pretty sorry if this contact is gone and we have to search for another one… And if that is bad for PBI, then it is not my fault, but that guy's… And I was not at all supported… and in order for me to say 'I'm not the problem, the problem is him'…I was not prepared for this kind of situation…"

Her case painfully illustrates how gender interacts with power dynamics, at the expense of the individual who is at the disadvantaged end of the power dynamic. It became clear during the field research that the complex gender dynamics in each cultural setting posed significant challenges to the IP, which most teams found difficult to deal with, especially as they were not trained to deal with this aspect of their work. As one male volunteer concluded:

"In the environments we work in, it's very difficult to understand the gender situation; and I don't see any efforts or initiatives being proposed to better understand its complexity (related to culture, history, etc.) and to integrate that into our peacebuilding strategy. There's a strong connection between gender and the local culture. (…) We're a foreign entity trying to have an impact in this environment

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or local culture. Wamena has a very specific cultural make-up; and it is interrelated with the conflict and with peacemaking in all these different ways... it's really complex. (...)"

5   Gender in Participatory Peace Education (PPE) and Protective Accompaniment (PA)

Before going into the specifics of the IP's PPE and PA work, it is important to take a closer look at some of the gender dynamics that occur in post-conflict Aceh and conflict-ridden Papua and at the challenges those pose to the teams.

In **Aceh**, women became victims of violence during the 30-year conflict between the Indonesian government and the Free Aceh Movement (GAM). They experienced rape, torture, kidnapping, displacement, and – more recently – illegal trafficking. Many of them have lived in fear for many years, and they still account for the majority of the internally displaced population (IDPs) in Aceh. The *tsunami musibah* (tragedy) on December 2004 added to these women's suffering: although humanitarian aid did reach the region, little attention was given to women's needs by local as well as international NGOs.

The signing of a peace agreement between the Indonesian government and the GAM, as well as the provincial gubernatorial election in December 2006 (won by Irwandi Yusuf, a former spokesperson for the GAM, who took office in February 2007), gave rise to a more positive climate in Aceh. Although local communities are more optimistic about the future of Aceh, they still face difficulties such as exclusion from the peace process, aside from the fact that the implementation of the peace agreement is far from sufficient. This is especially the case for women, who – despite forming the majority of the Acehnese population and having played a major role in keeping the family and community safe during the conflict – have been mostly excluded in the public discussions and decision-making process leading up to the peace agreement. Although women did actively try to make sure that their

initiatives, voices and concerns were included in the peace process and its implementation, their success in that regard was limited.[31] Currently, women in Aceh are voicing their concerns about the way the Syariah law is being interpreted and implemented, with it focus mainly on controlling what women may wear (including the strict enforcement of headscarf use) and restricting their participation in the public domain, including political decision-making.

In **Papua**,[32] social and political unrest have become the norm. The arrival of non-Papuan immigrants, missionaries, Indonesian military and foreign corporations have confronted the indigenous Papuans with different values, religions and habits, while the Papuans felt marginalized from the profits that different groups were making from their land and resources. At the same time, the combination of large amounts of money from the central government after Papua received Special Autonomy, poor governance and the corruption of the local elites has left ordinary Papuans feeling increasingly disillusioned. The fact that local authorities are failing to deliver improvements to their standard of living has led to increased tensions among the different groups, often among indigenous tribes.

While entire communities suffer the consequences of conflict, Papuan women and girls are particularly at risk of certain human-rights abuses, including sexual violence. Before 1998, rape was used as an instrument of torture and intimidation by the Indonesian army, as it had been in Aceh and East Timor. Today, violence against women by security forces is ongoing. Rape and other forms of gender-based violence continue to occur during military or police operations and when women and girls travel to gardens, schools, markets, or wells. According to Human Rights Watch, they are forced to provide sex upon demand to members of the security forces, and refusing to comply can have fatal consequences. In some cases, security forces allege that women and girls have connections with the OPM (Organisasi Papua Merdeka or Free Papua Movement) and then commit acts of

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sexual violence against them in retaliation and as intimidation. Perpetrators have also threatened rape survivors and their families with reprisals if they try to report the assault.

All over Papua, women and children also face a high level of domestic violence, including physical, psychological, structural and cultural violence such as threats, obscenities, beatings, sexual harassment, rape, and murder. Alcohol is often mentioned as a major trigger for this form of violence, yet other factors and influences need to be taken into consideration to explain its large-scale occurrence: the weak position of women in Papuan society and culture, the high level of discrimination against them, their limited mobility and restricted access to resources, their lack of access to information and decision-making power, and their marginality within contemporary political movements, including the nationalist movement. All of these factors affect the ability of women and girls to assert their rights and to participate in society as full and equal citizens.[33] Women and children are often too afraid or ashamed to report domestic violence to the police. This is partly linked to the local culture, which considers family affairs to be private matters that should not be brought out into the open. Hence, domestic violence is largely accepted and ignored as a matter of concern by Papuan society. In addition, the lack of proper protection systems and the uncooperative behaviour of the police and other state institutions result in impunity.

According to the IP consultant, the extreme cultural diversity of the IP settings makes it difficult to establish project-wide policies. This was confirmed by several interviewees, who suggested that PBI should provide more in-depth information on the gendered culture of the particular region where teams are deployed. Many struggled with the question of how to maintain a balance between respecting local culture while at the same time disagreeing with some of its practices. For example, one male PPE volunteer in Wamena explained how the team grappled with

the gendered aspects of the *adat* system (traditional law, values and customs):

"A lot of organizations in the highlands are overwhelmed by the cultural changes that have been forced upon them, with horrible impacts (sickness, starvation, alienation)...first by missionaries, then by Indonesian government and army, and now by capitalism [read: transnational corporations that are extracting natural resources]. You see these old men who are really worried about the influence of foreign cultures on the youth – about sex, about Western culture, Indonesian soap operas and slang, Western movies with guns, porn...(...) So there's a strong desire in these people to go back to the roots of their culture... And we see this has a very healthy component, but also I don't know what this implies in terms of gender relations... For example, adat required the widows to cut off their fingers. The missionaries stopped that, so the only ones who have that now are the oldest women, and you still see them in the market. (...) So we should develop more interactions between these cultural organizations that we work with and women's organizations (I'm just thinking, we haven't talked about it in the team), because they both are concerned with human rights and with ending all forms of violence... (...) Yes, you have to understand what this ideological environment is about: the organizations here are working in an anti-colonialist environment. Colonialists said the same things the chief of the police is saying now: that these people are backward, stupid, and ignorant... So for these activists to emerge from that and to say that there are aspects of their culture that are not evil, that is already revolutionary. So how do we balance helping people to reclaim the healthy aspects of their culture while incorporating the healthy aspects of the new culture? Like the awareness that women have the same rights as men, (...) empowering women to make sure their voices are heard. (...) I imagine that under the adat system there are clearly different gender roles... They have their ceremonies and rituals where women play a role, but we don't know much about this..."

Most of the peace teams that were contacted for the pilot found it a real challenge to remain

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respectful of the local culture and religion when they would see gender-based discrimination and violence occurring before their eyes. Nevertheless, several of them felt it was important to remain impartial and to adhere to a policy of non-partisanship, independence and non-interference:

> "I think one of the most fundamental issues we struggle with in terms of the breaking-down of any oppression construct is the tension between our Northern political views and the social/cultural norms in the South, particularly in a post-conflict society. Our ideas about gender equality or anti-oppression are very often in conflict (or seem to be) with the ideas about or practice of gender on the ground. As Northerners, it is very important to remain conscious of the dangers we potentially raise in terms of imposing our own social/cultural ideas, especially if we do not want to duplicate colonialist or paternalistic dynamics." – NISGUA representative

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Similarly, the Co-Director of FOR Colombia acknowledged that although the teams would report and intervene in any incidents of violence committed by outside agents, when it came to violence within the accompanied community – especially domestic violence that happens behind doors – they could not do anything.

The issue of domestic violence and gender discrimination becomes even more delicate when the perpetrators are well-known leaders and project partners. One of the IP teams recounted how they indirectly heard of an incident of domestic violence involving a couple they had been working with in preparing a workshop for the local community on domestic violence. The team members had not known whether they should address it with their partner organization, and whether and how to support the woman.

Other team members spoke of observing inappropriate and dominant attitudes from local male participants and even co-facilitators towards their female colleagues during IP workshops. A female client of PBI in Jakarta explained that she had witnessed several male activists harass their female comrades from the human rights

community, adding: "sometimes what they [well-respected human-rights defenders] say in public is not what happens at home, for example with their wives, or even in the office; what they say and what they do are different. They talk about gender equality, but they do not respect their own wives".[34] A former IP staff member confirmed that women face gender discrimination, and that women even perpetuate this amongst themselves:

> "We found out along the way that there is a lot of violence towards less-educated women who are volunteers in the organizations. They have less confidence as women, and the men who are highly educated (although they are PBI partners) treat them with less respect. We did a barometer-of-violence exercise [indicating levels of agreement or disagreement with various statements] and we found out that although they are human rights activists, they are not gender sensitive. Even women activists gave the same answers. You have to pay attention because there is a power imbalance all the time (in knowledge, in everything)."

The following section will look deeper into how gender issues affect the IP's Participatory Peace Education (PPE) program work, and how it deals with this.

5.1   Gender and PPE

The goal of the PPE programme is to develop strong networks and build capacity for conflict transformation among local organizations, authorities and religious groups. The IP's peace education workshops, in addition to its other peacebuilding activities, focus on empowering civil society to serve as an agent of change in the conflict areas in Indonesia, on building connections and understanding between different actors, and on enhancing the ability of local actors to foster dialogue and work for reconciliation. As part of the strategy to maintain the sustainability of the program, follow-up workshops are carried out and training of trainers (ToT) is offered at the request of local partners. All activities are initiated as a response to local needs

and focus on the local context of the participants attending.

Since 2000, the IP has conducted many conflict-transformation workshops in West Timor, Flores, East Timor, Aceh, Jakarta, Medan, Sulawesi and Papua. In that way, it reaches out to various segments of those communities (including religious and traditional leaders, women's groups, PBI-client organisations, human-rights activists and authorities), both at the local and the national levels, for example with the Ministry of Justice and Human Rights and the National Human Rights Commission. Hence, PBI's PPE program tries to address peacebuilders at the grassroots, the middle and the upper levels of society.[35]

Furhermore, the IP operates on the basis of a concept of "education" as being "elicitive"[36] (with participants being the key source of knowledge), which is why the word "participatory" has been to the name of its education program. According to the IP, this "elicitive method" fits in well with PBI's mandate, as it serves to empower civil society.

While the content of each workshop depends on the specific needs of the participants, a standard workshop will include sessions on conflict prevention, local models for conflict transformation, power relations, trust building, nonviolent communication, popular education methods and peacebuilding skills.

The IP's PPE work is experiencing a number of challenges in relation to gender that are related to the fact that it is operating in a patriarchal and culturally diverse setting. Workshop participants often find it difficult to openly discuss sensitive issues such as existing gender relations or issues involving sexuality. That meant that "you had to go around and address them in a different way," as one female PPE trainer put it:

> "Those requesting the workshops had sometimes been involved in working with conflicts arising from gender inequalities and were already in the process of 'conscientization' on many local levels. So the local facilitator might talk about what was meant by the word 'gender', and after people had talked

about the local conflicts they had experienced or helped resolve, those examples would be related to the women's position, inviting them to look at ways to resolve the issues without denigrating anyone and while maintaining respect for the local elders."

Raising gender issues is easily perceived as questioning participants' cultural identity, which is especially the case in Papua, according to a former female PPE trainer: "Gender issues in Papuan communities, especially in relation to domestic violence, are real concerns. However, people are very defensive about their culture and traditions. Gender issues become quite sensitive issues to discuss about."

Women's participation in PPE activities is another major challenge across Indonesia, despite the commitment of PBI to encourage it and to empower and build the confidence of its female facilitators.

Working as a female trainer entails specific challenges, as one Indonesian female PPE trainer explained:

> "Personal identities are important factors in the community. I think, as an Indonesian woman, my presence as a trainer is more welcomed in some areas because I represent an international organization and I work with international volunteers. As for other women trainers, they are more welcomed because they are internationals. Indonesians pay high respect to internationals, especially males. I am from Flores and Catholic, and when working with PBI in Flores (which is dominated by Catholics), my challenge was in being a trainer for male and older participants. Socio-culturally, older men are respected and dominant in decision-making processes."

She shared that although she was never openly rejected as a trainer, she could sense that some people found it difficult to accept her as a female and younger trainer. This would come out in people questioning her about her educational background and experience. In one of the trainings where the majority of the participants were priests, she encountered a lot of resistance, to

the point where she felt the female trainers were being contested as to their training abilities. Only after some discussion did the women receive some respect and approval from the participants.

Getting female participants to attend can be an evenbigger challenge. In both of the Trainings of Trainers (ToTs) organised by the IP in Banda Aceh in February 2008, only two out of a dozen participants were women. The IP report on the ToTs reveals that none of the PPE Summits reached a gender balance, although the participating organizations had been invited to send women representatives. However, those organizations had also been asked to send representatives with the most experience in PPE activities, since the aim was to exchange knowledge based on existing experience. Since Acehnese culture makes it difficult for women to publicly express their opinion, especially in certain group constellations, PBI Aceh concluded that this might serve as an obstacle to women becoming facilitators.

Although the fact that PBI keeps a record of women's participation in its trainings shows its concern for gender equity, several PPE volunteers expressed that PBI should go further in its efforts to involve women. PBI's current strategies for socializing, networking and partnering mainly address male-dominated organisations, thereby confirming and perpetuating existing gender realitities. As one female volunteer explained:

> "It's really difficult to organize activities for women... It is possible to do something with women, but to address a lot of women you have to go where they are... You should do some kind of activity at the market... It doesn't work to organize it and invite them to come... Even if they have time (and time is always an issue, but not the only one), they won't come, because this is not totally what they do. The whole approach needs to be different if you want to work with women... and the structure we normally work with is not working with women... If you just invite them, they won't come."

In Papua, some interviewees from the local community expressed that it is likely that regardless of what efforts are made, very few women will be able or allowed to participate in a workshop or any other activity, because of the local, gender-based division of labour. Whereas men often have time to attend meetings, workshops and other social activities, women have to do all the housework while at the same time looking after the children and the garden. Another barrier that prevented women from participating is language, as most women and girls, especially in the villages of Wamena, do not attend school and hence do not speak Bahasa Indonesia. As the PPE volunteers do not speak the native language, these women are hard to reach.

Even where women do participate in PPE activities, their participation is not automatically equal. Men usually tend to be outspoken and dominant, while the women remain silent. Nonetheless, several PBI volunteers stated they tried to empower the women by giving them space and encouraging them to participate actively. A former female Indonesian trainer reported:

> "As some people (usually men) tend to dominate group discussions, we often break the participants into smaller groups in which everyone has a chance to speak. There are cases where some women can finally speak up after several days of training, because the group dynamics enables them to speak and they feel more comfortable being in the group. Having women trainers also helps other women feel more comfortable about speaking up and becoming involved in group discussions."

Gender identity also often interacts with other identity aspects, such as age and educational background, as one female volunteer working in Wamena explained:

> "It is still a huge challenge to make people speak. (...) Normally there are two or three elders who do all the talking and the rest don't say anything. Or normally men talk and women listen. (...) Also, when women talk, it's the Indonesian women who talk, not the Papuan women... Papuan men will talk more than Papuan women, and Indonesian women will talk as much as Papuan men...but Papuan women are at the bottom of the social hierarchy...

Even if it is a women-only activity, they are the lowest in the hierarchy and they won't talk."

A volunteer from the same team expressed how even well-educated and articulate young activists from a local women's organization would withdraw when confronted with men higher up in the hierarchy. Several IP members suggested that it might be necessary to organize separate trainings for men and women in order to provide women with a safer space in which to express themselves:

"In some cases it might be even wise to have a separate training for men and women, before having joint trainings, in order to give equal chances to both sexes. This is not a must, but in some situations it might be an option worth looking into. If male participants are more articulate, the trainers should have prepared some activities that will ensure the participation of all participants." – Former volunteer working with a local organization in Papua

The IP has occasionally facilitated workshops for women-only groups in both Aceh and Papua, but it has not yet made it common practice to conduct separate workshops on sensitive issues such as gender violence and gender power relations, nor does it provide systematic capacity-building support. In Aceh, for example, the IP organized a Training of Trainers (ToT) on "Women and Peacebuilding" in Banda Aceh (Sumatra) with Flower Aceh (an Acehnese women's organisation) for tweny women and five men in 2005. That was soon after the signing of the peace agreement (MoU) between the government of Indonesia and the rebel group GAM ushered in the post-conflict era in the aftermath of the tsunami. The training was designed to raise participants' awareness about CEDAW and the concept of gender equity, as well as to explore women's roles and positions both during and after conflict and violence. It allowed the participants to reflect on the MoU from a gender perspective and encouraged further strategizing on the role of civil society, especially women, in supporting grassroots peacebuilding in Aceh. The training

team consisted of four IP volunteers (one male and three females – of which two Indonesians) and two women trainers from Flower Aceh. In addition, four female guest speakers from local organizations and the Aceh Monitoring Mission shared information about the peace process, the MoU and its implementation, and opportunities for women's involvement in the post-conflict process. The training report mentioned that, despite the fact that the participants came from a women's organization, this did not guarantee gender awareness. In addition, some topics clearly were taboo:

"In a facilitation session, the only man in one of the groups from outside Banda Aceh presented their session whilst the women in the group sat there and said nothing. It was quite obvious that even though the participants work in a women's organization and wanted to discuss gender equity, the stereotypes were still strong. One of the female participants mentioned that women are comprised of 99% emotion and 1% ratio. Surprisingly, most women in the group nodded.

"It was interesting that people tended to avoid criticizing religion, but instead blamed culture as a source of gender issues in the community. In a small group discussion, one woman said that things are too sensitive in Aceh to blame religion. People wouldn't accept the idea."

The evaluation report also revealed that although participants experienced the training as very positive, they also wanted more in-depth discussions on the topics, with more time and examples to get a better grasp of them. This specifically applied to participants who had not been familiar with gender and who still found it quite "abstract" and complicated. At the end of the training, participants formed six regional working groups in order to replicate the training in their communities. PBI and Flower Aceh were asked to facilitate follow-up meetings and discussions in order to deepen understanding. However, when interviewing the IP's PPE Coordinator and asking about the follow-up of this training process, it became clear that PBI had not taken part in it,

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as it was assumed that Flower Aceh was able to handle it on its own when it did not request further support from PBI.

In Papua, the IP conducted its first workshop on domestic violence in 2006, in collaboration with the provincial government's office for the empowerment of women (BPP). In its report on the training, the IP stated:

> "Domestic violence is a widespread phenomenon in Jayapura. Women don't enjoy the same rights as men do and the violation of their rights is often not perceived as such. Especially non-physical violence towards women is viewed by many men as well as women as acceptable. Addressing domestic violence is a difficult and delicate matter as it is largely regarded as a family matter. Outsiders are afraid to intervene in what is considered a 'private matter' and often feel insecure about possible ways of intervening. There are a number of initiatives of NGOs, government offices, churches and individuals to (...) support survivors and to empower others to take action. However, these initiators or helpers often feel insecure about their potential of addressing the issue and struggle to grasp the root causes of the problem. Alcohol is such an enormous trigger of domestic violence in Papua that it tends to overshadow underlying causes as well as other aspects. Furthermore the different initiatives are carried out independently from each other. There is no platform for shared learning."[37]

The initiative to organize the workshop followed from a request from the local police and BPP members who had participated in the first peace discussions facilitated by the IP upon arrival in Papua. In fact, the first Jayapura team had not intended to focus on the situation of women in particular, but rather on identifying human-rights defenders and organizations as being in line with its mandate. The Indonesian government's reluctance to allow foreign organizations to visit Papua,[38] combined with the sensitive political situation at the time, made the IP decide to have its first "peace discussion" with a group of women, as women were less likely to be suspected of political activities. This meeting

was more a tactic than a conscious decision to work with women, as a former female volunteer explained:

> "In Papua we started the PPE work through peace discussions. We tried to figure out what the best combination of participants (for the first meeting) would be, because there were many eyes watching. Then we decided to start the first discussion with women, because that seemed to be less threatening (there was the risk of being accused of supporting the separatists). The strategy was to start with women and then see if it was possible to target a wider audience. It was really an issue at that time."

The IP would probably not have chosen domestic violence as a topic for its first peace-education workshop, had it not been for participants voicing their concern about the widespread reality of gender violence and the need to address it. The IP former PPE Coordinator explained:

> "Basically we worked on the requests from the local partners. In Papua we set up a PA team, but the first requests were for PPE – and from women. So we did the first series of monthly discussions on women as well, because the request and directions from the locals were for that. They made the first monthly discussion open to everybody, and we elicited all the needs and problems related to conflict resolution. And from there we planned more specific discussions based on what came up in the first general discussions. And they came to the conclusion that the main problem of violence in Papua was violence towards women. They were the ones who decided on this topic (and they were not only women)."

The workshop was co-facilitated with the BPP office. According to the report, it turned out to be a rather challenging partnership due to the differences in training style (the prescriptive BPP approach versus the elicitive IP approach). The main goal of the workshop was to explore the root causes of domestic violence and possible ways of addressing the problem, as well as ways to support those affected by domestic violence. The participants consisted of 16 representatives (two men and 14 women) from churches, NGOs

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and government offices, as well as *adat* leaders, in order to ensure a wide range of experiences and approaches towards domestic violence. The IP facilitation team consisted of three women (including one Indonesian from Flores) and one man. The participants evaluated the activity positively, and a working group was created to follow-up on the goal of building a network of people committed to work collaboratively on addressing the issue of domestic violence in Papua. Some of the local women reported that a special unit for dealing with cases of domestic violence had been created at the local police as a result of the workshop, but it was not possible to confirm this information during the research. Unfortunately, the working group did not manage to remain united when internal disagreements occurred.

During the interviews, several IP members and women's organizations in the field confirmed the need for sustained and women-only activities, as their daily realities were simply too rigid for women to manage to internalize the gender concept quickly.

Although gender and violence against women in particular was addressed in some of the PPE workshops, it did not result in further analysis within the PPE teams in terms of the continuum of violence against women from micro level (domestic violence) to macro level (rape during war), and in terms of how this topic relates to building a culture of peace through peace education. The gender workshops seemed to be a rather ad-hoc activity – initiated upon request of the local partners – rather than an integral part of the IP mandate. The inclusion of gender in PPE workshops also relied heavily on the availability of committed volunteers with gender knowledge, as one female volunteer confirmed:

> "We do not always have volunteers with strong gender knowledge who could do more work on gender in the field. I think it is mostly up to us how we manage these things, and so to a large extent it depends on the volunteers who are on the team at a particular time, their perspective, and their priorities. For example, when the team consisted of [three males], it was hard for me to see them addressing gender in their work, beyond their realization at the last minute that they should have more women participants in a workshop."

When asked whether any processes had been put in place to ensure that the existing knowledge on gender and peacebuilding would be transferred to new PPE volunteers, the interviewees made it clear that this aspect needed further strengthening. One ex-trainer explained that there was a good chance that most of the experience and knowledge would be lost with the change of people in the PPE team, despite the fact that she had collected training materials from her workshops and sent them to the PPE coordinator to make them available for future use. Hence, the fact that PPE coordinators have devoted significant time and energy to passing on previous work to new team members does not guarantee that gender will be systematically addressed throughout the PPE curriculum. This is due to several factors, ranging from a lack of awareness and knowledge, through gender not being seen as a priority, to newcomers not having the time to read all the project materials available due to the demanding workload of the teams. As in many organizations, the commitment to gender in the IP seemed to rely on the concerns and skills of particular individuals (mainly women), which undermined the sustainability of the work already done.

5.2   Protective Accompaniment (PA)
In the IP's gender-assessment, the consultant had established that "in none of the teams did a client or local partner ever indicate wanting to have a field team, training team, or PA team of a specific gender composition." Indeed, during the interviews, representatives of client organizations expressed that they did not perceive any difference in terms of the deterrent effect and security provided by male or female volunteers. This is because, in their view, all volunteers represent the international community and work very professionally. Nonetheless, a male volunteer shared that he had personally received some discreet feedback from male clients, expressing

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Members of Women's Working Group (KKW) in Jayapura (Papua), (March 2008, Photo: Maria Delgado)

Members of the Central Highlands Women's Forum (FPPT) with researcher in Wamena (Papua, March 2008, Photo: Maria Delgado)

that they felt safer when accompanied by male volunteers and in certain dangerous situations or places would prefer to have a male team by their side instead of a female team.

When two female clients in Jakarta were interviewed,[39] they expressed that – although they had never shared it openly with the IP – they preferred to be accompanied by female volunteers because they felt more comfortable among women. Some of the reasons for this were practical, for example when needing to spend the night somewhere during a field trip; others were more subjective, such as feeling more confident when talking to a woman about their concerns, fears and needs, including the threat of sexual attack or harassment. When explicitly asked if they would feel safer in a dangerous situation with a man by their side, they underlined this was not the case. In terms of security, they felt it would not make any difference and, for the reasons stated above, would actually prefer a female accompanier. They insisted that they had never requested that from PBI, however.

Confidence issues not only seem to affect some of the local women, but also female accompaniers in the peace teams. During interviews, several female IP volunteers expressed that although they preferred to work in a mixed team, they sometimes experienced more freedom and felt more confident when attending a meeting with another woman. This was mainly related to the fact that male volunteers tended to take over – even when the team had divided roles and topics before the meeting to make sure each volunteer would have her/his turn. Two female volunteers mentioned:

> "He always wants to go to the more 'important' meetings, i.e. with the military commanders – why he sees these as more important I think is interesting – and doesn't trust us to manage those. When it is him and a girl he happily accepts that the girl is ignored."

> "In my experience it was stronger to go with another female than in a mixed team, most of the time, because in many cases people would focus

more on the man than on the woman (especially in Aceh, I think). In Papua we even used it as a strategy because there was a huge suspicion towards PBI, so if only women went to the meetings with authorities, they didn't feel so threatened, so they behaved less suspicious, more relaxed. And we made use of our female role to develop communication differently."

Most civilian peace teams faced similar dynamics. The former PBI Colombia volunteer shared that she had observed implicit assumptions among team members as well as clients that male volunteers would offer more security. They had assumed they would be "listened to more" and more respected during their interactions with the security forces. However, she felt that this had more to do with the attitude of the female volunteers than with the skills of the males: if the women showed their professionalism and self-confidence, they would have the same results. In her opinion, the women worked even harder to prepare themselves for difficult and dangerous situations because they were aware of the challenges they would face, whereas the men often took for granted that they would be able to handle the situation in a "man-to-man" fashion.

The consultant who assessed PBI Mexico observed similar gender dynamics on the team. Where in some cases female volunteers had expressed concerns regarding their ability to do a Protective Accompaniment (PA) because of their gender, age or limited experience, male volunteers had never expressed insecurity or concerns about their ability to carry out a PA, even if they were new on the team. The consultant also observed that male volunteers tended to take on the role of "protectors" or somehow "partners" of the accompanied female individuals.

The FOR Colombia Co-Director stated that her experience with women-only teams was very positive. She also felt that the women at times demonstrated more commitment and dedication to the work and had been very proactive at a political and diplomatic level. Regarding team dynamics, she had observed that male volunteers

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tended to be more dominant and bossy and that community leaders tended to prefer them as accompaniers, believing they could offer more protection. Nonetheless, she also observed that female volunteers were perceived as less threatening by security forces and other armed actors, as they were seen as less confrontational or arrogant.

The IP teams stressed that, according to IP policy, clients cannot request a particular volunteer or gender for a PA, but have to comply with the accompaniers who have been appointed by the IP team through consensus. Ideally, the IP tries to provide gender-mixed teams for all PAs (especially in Papua), although this is not always possible due to the scarcity of male volunteers. The GDWG consultant noted that some team members had indicated that having a foreign woman in a high-level meeting often proved useful, as these were at times able to accomplish what non-Indonesian men could not. Most volunteers concluded that a mixed pairing should not be required, feeling that a PA field team consisting of two women could have a deterrent effect equal to that of a PA field team consisting of a man and a woman.

Regarding the interactions of the teams with local authorities, a former female volunteer and staff member summarized the gender dynamics as follows:

> "They behave differently when women are present, not only because they feel less threatened, but also because they want women to believe that they are nice. They want to give a positive image of themselves. So even if they used to refuse everything, in the presence of women they change completely: they become smooth, everything is possible... Whereas with the guys, they have to show who is the boss. They have to tell them: 'I'm the one in charge,' which means they can be very aggressive."

While all interviewees agreed that the presence of women seemed to make authorities and security forces feel less threatened, volunteers expressed different opinions regarding whether the women managed to get the authorities to take them seriously. Some expressed doubts, because "they may say 'yes, yes,' but then you don't get anything from them". Another female volunteer observed that the whole experience with local authorities was always very gendered. She told of how, during a meeting with a high-level military chief in Papua, he would behave very kindly with the women, using polite words like "you and us have the same goal: we are all here to work for peace." But when he wanted to deliver a strong message, he would stare straight at the males, and with an authoritative, aggressive tone, he would state: "But don't you mix in politics!" Another former volunteer commented:

> "We discussed if that meant that they didn't take us seriously. But I think we managed to get what we wanted to get, and they were 'forced' to take us seriously, in a less threatening way. (...) In the end we managed to make them take us seriously, and it was easier for us if we were only women. We were given more space, more respect...If we went there together with a man, the dynamics changed. There were these jokes with him ('Oh, you're so lucky, you have so many women at home'). They [the male volunteers] were following the game (because we needed to be in good relationship with them); which wasn't very enjoyable for us. We always got questions like 'Are you married?' or "Are you alone here?", or they invited us to go out with them...This happened in almost every meeting with the authorities. And in a way, we learned to deal with it, not to agree and make a joke... We can't expect them to behave differently. In the beginning it was more problematic, but after lots of meetings I got used to it and accepted that it was part of the deal."

When questioned further about harassment from government officials, the interviewees made it clear that that was quite common. It mostly occurred in a pattern: female volunteers would be treated inappropriately, to the extent of harassment; male volunteers would be pushed to be complicit as a way of male bonding; both female and male volunteers would have difficulties handling the situation, with the female ending up feeling helpless and upset, while the male

volunteer tended to consider it just an anecdote. Several female volunteers complained about the teams having developed a kind of pragmatic approach to this reality, considering it "the way it is in this country", at times even passing on the message that this is "the price you have to pay" to maintain a good relationship with the authorities.

It is interesting to compare three different accounts of the same high-level meeting, each told from the perspectives of the three volunteers who took part in it:

> "We had this meeting with the head of the police... [The other female] was completely shocked... he was not touching us, but he talked for at least half an hour about his personal sexual life... He was kind of addressing me because I was sitting next to him, but sometimes he addressed [the male] to kind of making him complicit ('oh, yeah, we're both men, and we know how to enjoy sex')... and [the male] was totally helpless, you could see that... And he was shocked because he had already met with this guy alone, and he had not talked like this then... But I wasn't too surprised, because of my experience in Jakarta... And again my male colleague, like [a previous female colleague], did nothing in this situation. I know he didn't like it – he just let it go, he didn't engage in the talk – but none of them did anything in the meeting." – Female volunteer

> "My impression is that they do pay attention to women, but it is kind of a strange attention...not appropriate at all...asking personal questions and opinions, and really being explicit about their interest in our countries, and repeating our names and countries of origin several times... [The male volunteer] was present and it was clearly not the same attitude towards him." – Female volunteer

> "Gender makes a very big difference. With the authorities, the difference is that I don't get verbally harassed sexually, while the women usually do. There are some guys calling or messaging a woman in the team over and over... I never have to deal with that, so it's easier for me. If we go to a meeting, it's completely different when women are present than it is without them. (...) Regarding

my role in it, we've had some discussions about that, but we didn't come to any clear strategy about what to do... Actually we generally have a lot of things to talk about, and we get overwhelmed... we don't have time enough for all of them, so we really focus on the most pressing things (...) I don't really know what could be my role... I need to think about it more... because I think the main goal is to accomplish our objective in that meeting..." – Male volunteer

It seems clear that sexual harassment is a complex aspect of PA, and that so far there has not been any critical reflection on how both female and male team members should deal with it. Rather, it has simply been left up to the particular individual to decide how to respond. An older male volunteer commented:

> "You have two different kinds of female volunteers: the ones who are very straight and say: 'Stop, don't do that, I don't like it'. And then you have those others who get calls and text messages after the meeting, 10 times a day, and they don't know how to react. For two female volunteers I had to take the phone and say: 'Stop, that's enough, she doesn't like it, and she is my friend'... Not only with authorities: I also had to do it with some people from local organizations we know. (...) In 2005, a volunteer told me after a meeting that she had felt uncomfortable, so I said: 'OK, next time, just show me a sign and then I will jump into the situation. I will politely express my concern to this person... Now, with more experience, I can see how far they go, and if I see that it's going too far, I react – politely but strongly, even if it's a high-level authority... perhaps by making a joke, reminding him that he has a wife, or whatever, or something like that... but in a very diplomatic way, because we need those people... I wouldn't confront them because if it's a high-level meeting, you're still representing PBI, so you have to think that we need them..."

The risk of the pragmatic approach of the teams is that gender relations (which always have to do with power relations) may also become a tactical matter for making the work more effective – as was shown earlier in the case of the female vol-

unteer being harassed by an official and feeling sacrificed for the sake of maintaining good relationships.[40] The former In-Country Coordinator confirmed that there was no clear strategy in place for dealing with that, although the IP did try to come up with measures to address it:

> "Many times we try not to send women alone, because they may be harassed. There have been many female volunteers who were subsequently harassed following meetings – because they get their phone numbers – so we make sure we have meetings with mixed teams. We also agreed not to put personal mobile phone numbers on cards. We also try to support volunteers who have been harassed and try to strategize as a project about how to address the issue, or we have male volunteers answer the phone. I remember discussing that on several occasions within the project."

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When asking volunteers whether they experienced any differences in accompanying male or female clients, some of them answered that they had never had a female client so far – because the vast majority of PBI's clients are male.[41] Some argue this is because men make up the majority of the human rights defenders in Papua, and human rights organizations in Indonesia generally tend to be male dominated. When asked whether there is anything that the IP could do to support women's activism for women's/ human rights, the general reply was that PBI works upon request, and only organizations that request its services can become clients. Such requests usually follow after PBI has interacted for some time with local civil society organizations. This modality does not guarantee that the process will reach – and be suitable for – everybody in need, however. Cooperation thus tends to depend on whom PBI socializes with, who are the most well-known organizations and activists, and who acts as local contact person or intermediary for the community. That makes it likely that the most powerless and vulnerable groups, including women in general and poor women in particular, will be excluded.

Female clients from WALHI (Friends of the Earth – Indonesia) and PBHI (a major human-

rights NGO in Indonesia) were somewhat critical towards the IP for not being gender-sensitive enough. The WALHI representative explained that its organization – having a gender policy – always analyzes the gender-differentiated impacts of environmental problems and actively seeks to include the voices and concerns of women in its investigations, field trips and reports. She considered it important to take a different approach towards women at the grassroots level, as men at this level were always the ones in command, which meant women hardly had any voice and even lacked the confidence to speak out about their situation. She felt that PBI needed to take into account the different needs of women when carrying out a PA. As an example she mentioned how the IP, when preparing a PA for her and a male colleague, never spoke to or asked her about the specific threats that she might face as a woman. The security discourse had been exactly the same as for the male colleague.

The former Indonesian female PPE Coordinator stated that the IP needed to do more in terms of encouraging female activists to step forward:

> "Of course PBI responds to requests, but you need to encourage them [the women] to make a request. That sensitivity is what is lacking. How to give them the space and build the trust (...) It's worthwhile to create the space and to be aware about the context, and to help them to become aware about themselves, about their own problems and potential..."

When asked why the IP mostly served male activists, a local woman activist who works for a "victims-of-torture" program in Jayapura answered that it could be for any number of reasons. It might be because women do not feel entitled or are too shy to ask for protection or because most of the female victims are not well organized, so that they could not ask for protection. She described IP clients as coming mostly from "big NGOs, with big power,[42] who are very vocal about the injustices in Papua, which makes them a target for the military. Women have neither power nor big organizations," she concluded. She also added that women are intimidated in a different way than male activists are. The intimi-

dation is not so direct, in the sense that it is often not clear where the threat is coming from. This makes it more difficult to "prove" – and subsequently to ask PBI for analysis and monitoring. In her view, male activists nonetheless still received the brunt of the threats: "They face more danger than us. As I said before, here we are still able to handle this situation, but if it gets worse, we would also like to ask for PBI's protection and become a PBI client."[43]

A female volunteer based in Papua also felt that the IP needed to focus more on women's specific security concerns. She recounted:

> "I do think that women have different security needs, and perceptions, because their experiences are different as well... I remember a case when I accompanied some lawyers to court. Most of the lawyers and all of the prosecutors and those who were being prosecuted were male. There was only one female lawyer; and at a certain point she said she felt especially vulnerable being the only female there... It happened that after a court session someone approached her and she got a threat of rape... She couldn't see who it was, as the room was full of people..."

During interviews, it became clear that neither the Indonesian nor the Papuan human rights organizations(including PBI's clients and partners) – nor to some extent the IP members – were adequately aware of the struggles and vulnerability of women – and of women activists in particular. A high profile female human rights activist – and PBI client – in Jakarta explained that women in the human rights movement accept their lower status because they do not feel confident, even though they often have the same skills and expertise as their male colleagues:

> "I can also see the role of feudalism here in Java, and the culture that makes women feel that way. They are not used to being strong and to acting as leaders. If they are 'cleverer' than a man, they will be stigmatized as being 'arrogant'. And if a woman does become a leader, she will be suspected of having used sex to get the position. (...) If she is cleverer than her husband, he cannot take it; she will have to quit, or get divorced." [44]

Female activists in Jakarta confirmed that women were struggling hard to be respected and valued once they stepped into the public "male" domain.[45] A former female Indonesian PPE Coordinator added how many women had deeply internalized the way society responded to them, having been socialized to feel inferior.

After living for one year in the highlands of Papua, she also stressed the importance of talking with a diverse spectrum of local women, not just the women from NGOs and partner organizations, but also older women who work at the grassroots level and in the villages:

> "You have to get the wisdom from the women who live in the villages; they are the ones who really know the problems that women face in the communities...You would get a different kind of perspective, because they have been going through different kinds of struggles in their daily life, to maintain the family, their livelihoods."

She went on to confirm that women all over Papua are severely affected by domestic and other forms of violence, with much of the violence coming from within the community. Nonetheless, as most cases of violence go unreported, statistics are lacking. One female volunteer observed that many human rights activists or groups failed to recognize violence against women as a major human rights concern. She stated: "I feel that human-rights activism in Papua is still really young, and concepts are different from the way I often want them to be, or the way they're defined in international law. For example, rape committed by members of the military is not seen as a human-rights violation." It is even more difficult for locals to recognize that several of their traditions violate women's rights. A local woman activist told of the many traditional laws and customs (*adat*) that are detrimental to women's rights. As an example she mentioned the dowry system, which gives the man the right to demand unlimited obedience and service from his wife, because he "paid for her".[46] Hence, marriage for women in Papua means being considered slaves or domestic servants instead of partners. More-

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over, this "property-owner's right" exercised by the husband justifies domestic violence as a private issue that nobody should interfere in – not even the victim's own family.[47]

When interviewing one of PBI's main clients in the Central Highlands of Papua, it became clear that he did not see systematic violence against women's resulting from the presence of security forces in the villages as a major concern, or even a violation of human rights. Although there were many rumors and some reports about armed groups (especially the police) subjecting the village women to sexual violence, he mentioned that no one had filed any charges, so he could not do anything about it. Moreover, he expressed that it would be very difficult for him to gather information about rape cases or sexual abuse committed by police and army,[48] as the victim would likely feel too ashamed to discuss it with a man. He nevertheless acknowledged that women were vulnerable to abuse by the security forces and endured trauma and fear as a result of the ongoing conflict and impunity. When the issue of domestic violence was brought up during the interview, he assumed that it was more of a power issue related to disagreements between spouses and insinuated that provocative behavior by the woman sometimes caused the violence.

During the interview he also cited the case of a young woman who had been abducted by a policeman to a police dormitory. The next day her naked corpse was taken to the hospital without explanation. He said he had tried to have the police officer prosecuted, but the victim's family had chosen to negotiate with the police and had agreed to drop the charges in exchange for a considerable sum of money. An IP female volunteer shared how the same human rights defender had told PBI he had accompanied his niece to the police station after she had been sexually harassed and, as is custom, had received a payment for the crime as a relative of the victim. He seemed to perceive this as an acceptable settlement. This example serves to illustrate how violence against women – even violence occurring in the public domain – has become normal and even acceptable as an unfortunate side effect of the conflict.

The IP did not seem clear on whether it should consider the violation of women's rights as part of its broad mandate of "creating space for peace":

> "They [the IP teams] still think it is a private problem and has nothing to do with the mandate. I don't know if they are aware that it is also violation of human rights. (...) It is really important for them to be aware of the patterns of violence in the context in which they are working, so that they can decide what to do when they get a request. To assess what is the priority, you must know and have a sense of the level of violence." – Former Indonesian staff member

As described earlier, the question of whether gender issues – in this case violence against women – are taken seriously depends on each volunteer's interest and awareness. One male IP volunteer, for instance, recognized that gender issues are relevant for peace education teams, but he as "a PA person, for example, was not interested in building relationships with a women's group, because their work is not related to PBI's mandate and work." A female volunteer from the same team expressed how frustrated she felt when her suggestion to invite women activists to dinner to get to know their work better met with a dismissive response of "that is a PPE thing" and "we are a PA team". According to her, the IP teams do not currently have any provisions for making sure that women are part and parcel of the PA work:

> "We don't do it. Because there is a way of working that has become like a sort of procedure. So we socialize with the military, the police, maybe the local government...the key actors. And that would be justified as a security thing...that we are there just to maintain the security for persons... But I would challenge that...in the same way that we say that our security depends on our neighbors much more than on having a man in the house... In the same way, the security of our clients depends on the whole community. (...) There's a lot of gender violence there...but I'm sure that if we stay there for

some time, we will see that the women have systems for dealing with it…"

As stated before, it seemed as if this traditional form of accompaniment does not fit with the women's needs and realities, nor with their grassroots human rights work, which is low profile and grounded in the communities. Several representatives of women's organizations in Aceh and in Papua mentioned that the high-profile protection that PBI offers is not always useful to them.[49] They expressed that if female activists would go into the field with foreign accompaniers, the police/military would afterwards bother and intimidate them, questioning them about who the foreigners were, what they were doing, and why they were working with them. When asking a male IP client about this, he stated he had never been asked such questions about his relationship with the IP.

At the time of this research, IP teams and staff were discussing why the IP has been receiving so few requests for protective accompaniment from its clients in Papua. This is the case even though the IP has accepted a broad coalition of more than 60 Papuan NGOs and grassroots organizations as clients. PBI has realized that it needs to do a sound analysis of the reality of human-rights and social organizations in Papua, a situation that may differ from that in other countries where PBI has a presence. During the face-to-face meeting in March 2008, the IP teams from Jayapura and Wamena presented a proposal for developing a one-year pilot for "increasing visibility". The pilot involves residing in rural and remote areas for several weeks in order to build relationships with the communities there and to listen to their needs. A former Indonesian IP staff member, who used to live in the Central Highlands, shared how she had advised the IP to build up a stronger base in the communities to get to know their realities. Short field trips did not suffice as a way to gain sufficient understanding of what was going on. She told:

> "So now [the teams] start wondering and getting more in contact with the community. What people need is that you be there and listen to their sto-

ries. (…) And because Indonesia is so diverse and fragmented, you do need to know and understand the local cultures, which differ so much from one another… Otherwise you cannot elicit the culture and knowledge and values of the local people. (…) You must be involved, inserted and close to the local people as key sources of information. (…) But of course to understand and analyze that information, you have to have the tools, for example to be more gender-sensitive…to capture what is really going on…and we don't have those tools yet."

Another female volunteer agreed with that staff member's viewpoint and explained further:

> "I think PBI's traditional mandate and approach don't meet the needs of this environment (…) The assessments last year were all within the paradigm of what was already happening… They did not look at what we could do… And there is a lot that we could do here, as far as I can see, very easily, without challenging our mandate…

> "The way we have done PA or field trips so far is to fly in for a few days meet with just the high-level people (military, police) and then come back here again. But we are seeing that it is not enough. But if we were able to have a presence in an area, regularly, for 3–4 weeks at a time, that would let us build relationships with the local people, at the grassroots level… It will be a slow process to move away from this old, tight model of PA (…) and to start thinking about what is really going on here and what sort of protection we can offer, for whom, and how…"

At the time of this research, the IP was planning a strategic meeting to discuss whether it is responding to what is needed and what else can be done. Several interviewees expressed that they were planning to advocate for more of a focus on women's needs and a broader definition of violence in order to open up the areas that the IP could work in.

It is important to stress that the IP is not alone in this. Peace teams and human rights organizations around the world face similar situations and

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dilemmas. One CPT female volunteer shared an experience of her team in Colombia:

> "In the past two years we have helped coordinate two women's workshops led by a women's organization for rural women to discuss how sexism and women's issues are played out in the armed conflict. It was our contact with the woman's organization that made us realize that our annual human-rights report did not adequately reflect the abuses experienced by women. Our report only includes reports of human-rights violations that we witness or hear about from a firsthand source. Although we hear about the abuse of women, we often do not hear the story directly from the women themselves, due to their not being at community meetings or to the shame they would experience in publicly sharing the details of what happened. For the upcoming year, we have committed to documenting human-rights abuses against women even if we have no firsthand reports of those abuses. Our next human-rights report will include a section on human-rights violations experienced by woman."

Designing strategies to actively reach out to women in order to collect their "hidden" concerns, needs and realities is especially important in patriarchal societies, where men dominate public life and few women dare to speak out. It requires a conscious and deliberate effort that most peace teams have yet to make an integral part of their work. The CPT volunteer described her own "conscientization" process in this regard, confirming that her organization was still grappling with how to properly address women's realities:

> "We write reports (logs) about all of our accompaniment trips. (...) As I was writing, I realized that I had learned the names of many of the men we had met in the campo, but I knew none of the women's names! The men were in positions of leadership and were present at meetings and in charge of hosting us in the community. The women were usually in the back kitchen, preparing meals or doing household tasks. In addition to interacting with the women who served meals, we did greet many women as we walked through the community. But when I went to write the log I realized we had been

told very little in terms of the women's names or their roles in the community. I brought this concern to a team meeting and challenged us to seek out the women and learn their names.

> "I am aware of male leaders who have been displaced or have had to go into hiding. But this has left many women at home as the sole caregiver for the family, along with the added stress of constantly worrying about her partner. As noted above, we have noticed that human-rights abuses against women are often more private than abuses against men and may therefore go unnoticed or undocumented. (...) We have to actively seek out women in the communities where we work and connect with them as legitimate partners in our work. We need to continue to hear women's voices and make sure their voices are heard by others."

In light of the fact that most peace teams have only started to think about a gender perspective in their work, the next chapter will summarize some of the findings of pilot and provide some recommendations on how to make gender a more integral part of civilian-based peacekeeping.

Notes

1 The information about this process was taken from a telephone interview with the GDWG coordinator (November 2007).
2 It is worth noting that the GDWG is one of 15 topic-based working groups within PBI, all functioning on a voluntary basis.
3 Interview with a senior IP member, Bali, March 2008.
4 Edited version of the Indonesia section of the GDWG draft report.
5 As the assessment of the Colombia project had not been completed by the consultant, it was not included in the final report. That task is currently being carried out and is expected to have been completed by October 2008.
6 From an online interview with the GDWG Coordinator (August 1, 2008).
7 *Gender and Diversity Mainstreaming in the PBI Indonesia Project*, by Sarah Gyorog: 4.
8 PBI Indonesia Project – An Overview, Prepared for PBI IC Call – January 9, 2008: 14.

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9   In 2007 PBI IP underwent changes in its leadership: the positions of Project Coordinator and In-Country Coordinator were merged into one position (based in Indonesia) and a new person was hired for that post. Also a new Human Resources Coordinator was hired. The former Project Coordinator and In-Country Coordinator remained as Fundraiser and member of the Strategy Committee, respectively.

10 This is a shorter training session (usually three days long) that focuses on logistical, security and cultural issues in relation to the location of deployment.

11 Online interview with the GDWG Coordinator (August, 2008).

12 This will be further elaborated under the section Protective Accompaniment.

13 For example, the IP does not offer special provisions for foreign staff with family or other dependants, such as coverage of transportation costs; neither does the health insurance of staff/volunteers cover pregnancy costs.

14 It is worth noting that the volunteer was placed in the Bogota office, where the security and material living conditions are better than in the rural community that FOR accompanies.

15 Interestingly the previous training, which took place in Indonesia, had a different gender balance: 9 male and 7 female candidates (which might reflect the cultural differences between Europe and Indonesia in terms of women's position and opportunities in society).

16 In 2006, as part of its peace-education program, the Aceh IP team (in partnership with Aceh Institute) organized two peace camps for high-school students. In the first one, the Syariah police raided in the middle of the night and removed the girls from the camp, because it was considered inappropriate to have a mixed camp (despite the fact that boys and girls were sleeping in separate tents in separate areas of the camp and the police had received a map of the camp setting in advance).

17 The recommendation from the IP Project Committee was that "Socialization directly between PBI, Dinas Syariah and local-level Syariah police must occur before any further activities in the field, to ensure the security of PBI and its associates."

18 "Nature" refers to the belief that sex and also gender characteristics (including roles, identities and behavior) are biological, while "nurture" refers to the understanding of gender dimensions as socially/culturally constructed and learned.

19 Online interview with PBI GDWG Coordinator (August 1, 2008). Late December 2008, the IP reported that they are already working with the GDWG Coordinator to mainstream gender and diversity in the entire training curriculum and materials.

20 Infomation was gathered through questionnaires and by analyzing the organization's application forms and selection criteria as made available through their websites.

21 For the full name of this and the other organizations listed here, see Chapter II.

22 SIPAZ does not provide specific training before deployment. Their volunteers often attend PBI training programs.

23 In the six years of operation, the percentage of female participants in EAPPI has always been higher than male (estimation 60-70%), and (in July 2008) all staff in the Jerusalem office are female.

24 In addition, IWPS volunteers often attend the training program offered by the International Solidarity Movement.

25 CPT has peace teams in different countries and regions; contributions for this project are from CPT in Colombia.

26 Most of the CPT training manual is available on their website under the tab Resources. See training materials used for Undoing Sexism at: *http://www.cpt.org/resources/training/undoing_oppression* (July 2008).

27 See for example Shahra Razavi, *The Political and Social Economy of Care: Conceptual Issues, Research Questions and Policy Options* (UNRISD, Gender and Development Programme, Paper No. 3, June 2007).

28 Sources: Assessment by Ana Paola Gutierrez on PBI Mexico for the GDWG; Interview with a former female volunteer in PBI Colombia (Lisbon, September 2007).

29 Written contribution from CPT Colombia team member, March 2008.

30 At the face-to-face meeting there were 11 women and three men present (one of them part-time).

31 For a more in-depth account of women's initiatives in the peace process in Aceh, see *The Aceh Peace Process: Involvement of Women (A brief study based on interviews on women's involvement in the peace process and Recommendations to the parties of the Peace Agreement).* A report by Crisis Management Initiative in collaboration with UNIFEM and CCDE. August 2006.

32 Sources for this section include: PBI IP Narrative Reports 2007 and 2008; *PBI IP – An Overview* prepared for PBI IC Call, January 9, 2008; PBI IP PPE workshop reports; *Out of Sight: Endemic Abuse and Impunity in Papua's Central Highlands*, Human Rights Watch, July 2007; *Conflict Analysis and Policy Recommendation on Papua*, by Yulia Sugandi, 2008.

33 *Out of Sight: Endemic Abuse and Impunity in Papua's Central Highlands*, Human Rights Watch, July 2007.

34 Interview in Jakarta, February 2008.

35 John Paul Lederach recommends reaching all levels of society when doing conflict intervention/ peacebuilding. Some scholars refer to the strategy of involving different social actors at different levels "multi-track diplomacy", in contrast to the traditional approach to conflict intervention which focuses only on the "big players" at the top.

36 The "elicitive method" of the PPE is adapted from the work of John Paul Lederach, whereby participants are the main resources in creating a model of conflict transformation that matches their own local context. The facilitator's role is to act as a catalyst for drawing out and emphasizing local wisdom.

37 From the Conclusion of the IP report: *PPE Workshop on Domestic Violence* (Jayapura, November 2006).

38 International well-known human-rights NGOs such as Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, and others have not been authorized to visit Papua, despite having submitted repeated requests to the Indonesian government.

39 These are representatives from the client organizations PBHI and WALHI who work in Papua, Central Kalimantan and other sensitive areas. There are very few female clients; the majority of IP clients have been males.

40 See also under 4.4. Sexual Assault.

41 The IP had two strong women's organizations as clients in Aceh during the harsher times of the conflict: Flower Aceh and RPUK.

42 It is arguable that there are "big, powerful NGOs" in Papua, especially compared to the NGOs and human-rights organizations in other parts of Indonesia and the global South. But it is nonetheless interesting that some women activists have that perception, in comparison with their own situation in terms of resources and power in their society.

43 Interview with representative from Alliansi Lembaga Demokrasi untuk Papua (ALDP), Jayapura (Papua), March 2008.

44 Interview in Jakarta, February 2008.

45 Interviews with representatives from WALHI and PBHI. Jakarta, February 2008.

46 Interview with representative from Kelompok, Kerja Wanita (KKW), Jayapura (Papua), March 2008.

47 Interview with four representatives from FPPT, a women's organization in the Central Highlands of Papua.

48 See *Out of Sight: Endemic Abuse and Impunity in Papua's Central Highlands*, Human Rights Watch, July 2007: 58-63.

49 Interviews with female representatives from RPUK (Banda Aceh) and ALDP (Jayapura, Papua), February and March 2008, respectively. A representative from SKP, the human rights commission of the Catholic dioceses in Jayapura, also told me that PBI used to accompany her when she visited the Papuan political prisoners, but after some time they told her that she had better not go to the prison with internationals because the authorities were giving them troubles because of that.

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Conclusions

"Equality between women and men is a matter of human rights and a condition for social justice, and is also a necessary and fundamental pre-requisite for equality, development and peace." – Platform for Action, p 17, 1995

"Gender justice and active nonviolence are both rooted in a deep respect for human dignity and reject domination and oppression based on unequal power relations. Gender justice and active nonviolence are about the renunciation of all forms of violence and all structures of oppression." — IFOR Paper: Why IFOR needs a gender policy, p. 3, 2006

As this pilot has only been able to touch the surface in terms of the many ways in which gender interacts with the domain of civilian-based peacekeeping, it cannot claim to be exhaustive. Being a pilot, it aims to be a preliminary exploration and hopes to inspire and motivate further discussion, reflection and research in the field of civilian-based peacekeeping.

When PBI-IP members were asked at the end of each interview what they considered to be the main gender challenges of the PBI's Indonesia Project, several mentioned that the IP needed to recruit more men. Only one staff member expressed a broader challenge, namely the need for the IP to contribute to a more egalitarian society for women and men. These answers reflect a major dilemma for the IP: Is its mission "just to protect human-rights defenders" or is it "to foster social change"? This dilemma is not only relevant for the IP, but for all civilian-based peace organizations.

The IP is currently going though a period of transition, in which it is reflecting on its role and impact in Indonesia, a country that has changed considerably since the IP opened its offices. This transitional process and the resulting strategic discussions offer a unique and timely opportunity for the IP to reflect on its work and the role it wants to play in Indonesian society. At this stage, it is hoped that the pilot will not only inform and further encourage the implementation of the subsequent stages of PBI's gender and diversity mainstreaming process, but also assist civilian peace organizations in general in making gender an integral part of their work.

The following section summarizes some of the key insights gained from the field research and formulates some preliminary recommendations for peace teams around the world.

Gender mainstreaming

As organizations with a vision of a nonviolent world based on respect for human rights and justice for all, peace teams are committed to building a culture of peace. In order for peace and justice to prevail, men and women need equal opportunities and a chance to participate actively in all decisions affecting their lives. In patriarchal societies, however, men are given more privileges than women, with gender discrimination being one of the world's most wide-

spread forms of violence. During and after conflict, gender-based violence even becomes more rampant: men are pressed into military service because of their gender, while rape is used as a weapon of war against women.

A transformation of the power relations between women and men is therefore a prerequisite for a culture of peace and requires women and men to work together to eliminate unequal power relations. A culture of peace is reflected in equal participation in decision-making processes and equal opportunities and responsibilities for both women and men in peacebuilding and reconciliation processes. Gender justice is therefore an important pillar of a culture of peace.

To translate a commitment to gender justice into daily practice, a gender-mainstreaming strategy is essential. First of all, raising gender awareness in peace teams starts with raising questions. Some useful questions might include: Do the policies of the organization benefit more men than women, or vice versa? Is power shared at all levels in decision-making? Is there an explicit zero-tolerance policy against sexual harassment? Are procedures in place to handle complaints about such harassment? Who attends meetings, conferences, and courses? Are meetings organized in such a way that both women and men are able to participate? Are there provisions for childcare?

A commitment to gender justice in peace teams and human rights organizations reflects for example in initiatives and program that systematically include women's rights in the human rights agenda, and empower women and girls, in order for women and men to become equal partners in peacebuilding and reconciliation. Mainstreaming thus includes gender-specific activities and affirmative action whenever women or men are in a particularly disadvantageous position, so as to overcome the direct and indirect effects of previous discrimination. Nonetheless, gender mainstreaming is not only about adding a "woman's program" or a "gender-equality component" to an existing activity, nor is it merely about increasing the participation of women. It

is also about ensuring that the specific experiences, knowledge, and interests of women and men will bear on the peace team's agenda and practices.[1] That might even entail changing this agenda and revising the organization's goals, strategies, and actions so that both women and men will be able to influence, participate in, and benefit from its work.

A commitment to gender mainstreaming can be made explicit through the formulation of an organization-wide gender policy. The implementation of this policy will start with a thorough gender analysis of all areas of activities and structures so that gender differences and disparities can be diagnosed (gender baseline). In this regard, it is important that any organizational issues or problems be critically reviewed from a gender perspective and not automatically perceived as gender-neutral. Next, action points (a gender action plan with indicators) need to be formulated, and accountability mechanisms need to be established in order to monitor progress. Real progress in terms of the implementation will nonetheless depend on the allocation of adequate resources for mainstreaming, which includes both financial and human resources.

One of the biggest challenges that peace teams face in this regard is its volunteer-based structure, which poses a major challenge to the sustainability of the gendermainstreaming efforts. The high turnover of volunteers can lead to chronic institutional memory loss, in particular in relation to the transference of expertise and lessons learned. In addition, the demanding workload in a complex setting can lead to gender mainstreaming being pushed aside when competing with other "priority" areas for time, funding and staff allocation. Putting and keeping gender on the agenda is therefore a challenge, as it involves constantly reminding people not to take gender equality for granted just because "we are part of a *peace organization* where such injustices do not occur". The risk of doing so would be that unjust situations continue to be ignored, brushed over, and ultimately not addressed.

Change does not happen overnight, and in the beginning it is usually driven by committed

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individuals. Once taken on board at an institutional level, the actual work has only just begun. A gender-sensitive organization requires, most of all, strong institutional leadership, which regularly reminds its membership of the relevance and importance of the issue, in order to sustain the overall commitment and ownership for the process.

Human resources

Peace teams largely depend on the efforts of dedicated volunteers and a small pool of paid staff. This, combined with a demanding workload in a complex and dangerous setting, requires a human resource vision that actively works to prevent burnout and the development of a culture of self-sacrifice. The field research revealed that female volunteers and staff in particular are vulnerable to this kind of work ethic, which can be traced back to the way women are socialized in most societies: to place the needs of others before their own. In a context where the needs of others are overwhelming, it can become increasingly difficult to establish clear boundaries and maintain a healthy balance between giving and taking. On a recruitment level, it would therefore be important to try to establish whether the potential volunteer or staff member has a history of burnout or experiences difficulties in setting boundaries. Indications in this direction require extra caution when deciding whether the candidate is ready for deployment in the field.

Furthermore, peace teams should reflect on whether they consist of certain dominant "profiles", which in the case of the IP – as well as the majority of the peace teams – seems to be mainly single females. It would be important to investigate whether the recruitment procedures are inclusive enough, as well as whether sufficient policies are in place for dealing with the gender-specific needs of staff and volunteers (in terms of parental care, pregnancy leave, security, sexual harassment, etc.).

In light of contexts where gender inequality is the norm, it is equally important that the organization formulates a clear vision and position in relation to respecting gender equality and

offers guidelines – for example in the organization's code of conduct – on how it expects its female and male staff members and volunteers to behave and respond in that regard. Female and male team members will encounter different experiences in the field, and hence have different needs. A gender-sensitive approach implies taking these needs into account. For example, any dismissive assumption that sexual harassment is part of the "operational costs" of deploying white/foreign/Western women abroad should be avoided. Peace teams need to take a clear stand with regard to the local community: discriminatory practices towards its team members – no matter how subtle – are not acceptable..

It is equally important that peace teams reflect on policies (such as the IP's "man in the house" policy) and/or practices that reinforce the traditional imagery of male "protectors" versus female "protected", in order to move beyond a narrow concept of security towards a strategy of inclusion and empowerment. A gender-sensitive approach to security does not mean ignoring that men and women face different security risks during deployment, however. Overall, gender-sensitivity should be made a criterion for selecting potential volunteers, in order to avoid sending people to the field who are not willing to adhere to the organization's gender-mainstreaming strategy.

Policy in itself is not sufficient to ensure good organizational practice. Hence it is important that its content is discussed and internalized during training moments and team briefings. A key moment for addressing gender and preparing team members for the realities of the field is the preparatory training. Sufficient time should be calculated into this process to explain and discuss organizational policies, as well as to include a gender perspective in the different training sessions. Specific training sessions addressing UN Security Council Resolution 1325 and 1820 and the gendered aspects of armed conflict and peacebuilding are essential if participants are to receive a firm theoretical background. In addition, it is advisable to include role-play exercises

PBI client and colleagues of JAPH-HAM (human rights organisation) in Wamena (Papua, March 2008, Photo: Maria Delgado).

PBI volunteers with partner organisation YSBA during a forum with local organisations in Wamena (Papua, March 2008).

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in the training sessions to prepare candidates for the gender-specific challenges (such as sexual harassment and machismo) in the field. To that end, it might be helpful to invite former volunteers (male and female) to tell about the gender-related obstacles and privileges they encountered during their fieldwork and their strategies for dealing with those.

Once the new team members have been deployed, the organization should strive to harmonize the job description with the tasks that they need to perform in order to minimize structural overload. It is advisable to provide professional assistance in the field of stress management, coaching and interpersonal conflict management – not on a permanent base but certainly when required. It is equally important that coordinators be trained in recognizing any signals of stress and burnout, as well as of gender-related discrimination. For if team members (including volunteers and staff) feel discriminated, stigmatized, stressed and/or chronically overloaded with work, this will ultimately hamper the effectiveness of the work. Peace teams should therefore be mindful of whether their demands are realistic considering the available human resources, or continuously operating on stretched parameters. Despite the many challenges they face, it is important that peace teams – and peace organizations in general – dare to be self-reflective and critical in this regard.

Peace Education

Addressing gender discrimination and violence against women and de-constructing the gendered aspects of war and peacebuilding are crucial components for creating a culture of peace through peace education. This includes raising awareness on how a violent social construction of masculinity that emphasizes domination and control over others is not only at the root of domestic violence, marginalization of women and discrimination against women (gender injustice), but also of violent conflict, militarized states and societies (a culture of war). De-constructing this violent hegemonic masculinity is a crucial component of peace education, conflict transformation, and the building of a culture of peace.

Besides ensuring that gender will be systematically addressed throughout the training curriculum, it is equally important to ensure that the training arrangements reflect gender awareness. For example, it might be necessary to organize women-only trainings, in order for women to first work in a "safe" space where they can discuss and analyze their position in society. It also requires actively seeking women's participation by recruiting women in their own environment (market, home), and by keeping women's needs and realities in mind in terms of the location (safety) and timing (safety, female workload) of the training. By overlooking such details, peace teams might implicitly reinforce and perpetuate gender inequality.

When organizing mixed workshops or trainings for the local population, trainers need to be aware that this is not as simple as "add women and stir". They need to be sensitive to the gendered power dynamics in the group, and to make sure that women have enough space to voice their contributions. It is equally important for trainers to reveal the gendered interactions between the participants in order for them to reflect on those. In this regard, it is crucial that mixed training teams function as role models for the participants in terms of showing equal gender relations by alternately taking on leading and supporting roles and treating each other with respect. One former IP volunteer stated in this regard:

> "The teams in the field often work in an environment of gender discrimination, sexual violence and ethnic conflict, and as an international organization PBI should set positive examples. For the work in Papua it can be said that the majority of human-rights workers are male, while women are in a marginalized position and often are not part of relevant human-rights discussions. Female PBI volunteers can be an example for women working for human rights. The role of male PBI volunteers is no less crucial, as they can be role models as men who respect women as equal counterparts by meeting with local women eye to eye, listening to them and treating them as subjects rather than as objects,

as is common in Papua. This kind of approach by males can be an important experience for both women and men in the local context and can open the window for alternative interactions between genders."

Dealing with issues such as discrimination against women and their exclusion from public spaces/activities is an important aspect in any mixed-gender peace training, as a way of raising awareness about the fact that the female half of the population in any community/society remains excluded from full participation in society. Working with male participants on this topic is very important in order to create a community of male allies who can help to uncover the many (often invisible) forms of violence and power abuse against women.

It is important for peace teams to realize that integrating a gender perspective in peace education requires a long-term commitment. It starts with reaching out to women in the spaces where they feel comfortable, involves working on women's empowerment through training, and ultimately involves men's participation by facilitating their awareness and commitment towards gender equality. With an eye to sustainability, peace teams should consider building alliances with national/local women's groups, as these can provide valuable input to the training content as well as a local resource pool of facilitators and trainers, besides serving as role models.

Protective Accompaniment

The IP external 2008 evaluation concluded that, given the particular challenges that the Papuan political context poses to its traditional model of accompaniment, "PBI needs to adapt its protective services to meet the current needs of the civilian population in Papua, so as to make its work in Papua more effective." During the research it became clear that the PBI's accompaniment strategies are mainly designed to deal with direct state violence and "clash scenarios". However, once the violence of state and non-state actors is less visible, direct, and intense, the

traditional approach is less effective. The 2008 evaluation suggested that the IP adapt its *modus operandi* to the particular context of the region in which it works. During the field research, several activists confirmed this need, stating in particular that the IP's current accompaniment work does not fit the needs of women human rights defenders. Interviewees suggested reaching out more actively to women activists, in order to understand their realities and particular needs in terms of security. Hence, although providing accompaniment upon demand might seem to be an "open" approach, it can be implicitly exclusive as it perpetuates and reinforces traditional patterns in terms of who can ask and who cannot.

A gender perspective in protective accompaniment implies that peace teams look at how violations of human rights take different forms according to the gender of the victim. While men are often targets for selected repression that may take the form of arbitrary detention, torture or even extrajudicial killings, women – especially indigenous women living in villages or remote rural areas far from institutional or media view – are easy targets for massive and systematic forms of sexual violence. A broader concept of security would therefore serve the peace teams' mandate. To bring this about, peace teams will need to update their concept of human rights to include women's rights in particular and consequently, the provision of protection and support to women's rights activists in their mandate. In countries experiencing violent conflict, as well as those that are just coming out of a war situation, it is crucial to raise awareness about key international instruments such as CEDAW, UNSCR 1325 and UNSCR 1820, and the Rome Statute of the ICC, since in such situations women's rights are more than ever at a risk of being violated. Peace teams can play a role in this regard in informing and educating the human rights defenders and the organizations they work with and in actively supporting those organizations that work for women's rights. This is especially important in light of the growing awareness within the international community that women's rights are a core component of any human rights work, and

that women's active participation is crucial if any sustainable development is to take place.

With regard to their own people, peace teams should reflect on the specific situations that young, foreign, female volunteers might be exposed to when doing accompaniment, especially in a local context where they are apt to be treated as "sexualized bodies" rather than as professional international accompaniers. In such an environment, it is important that the organization formulates an adequate set of operational guidelines and response, and does not leave it up to the individual team members to cope with the problems.

At the same time, peace teams should not get trapped in the false dilemma between mainstreaming diversity instead of – or over – gender. Rather, they should acknowledge that both categories are inextricably intertwined. They should realize that gender is a cross-cutting dimension that determines one's identity and position in society, even within the boundaries of a certain ethnic, religious, class, age or other identity. Hence, peace teams should begin working to unveil and reverse oppressions of any kind, exposing the connections among them.

Feminist peace researcher Cynthia Enloe[2] stated that feminists are forever being scolded for wasting their energy on looking at and analyzing the proverbial "trees" rather than focusing on "the forest" – or in other words: "the Big Picture" – as the latter is supposed to hold the key to causality in trying to make sense of societal conflict and its chances for resolution. With many peace practitioners struggling with scarcity of time, funds and human resources, many would state that they cannot afford paying attention to such "non-urgent" issues ("the trees") as gender.

Enloe also strongly advocates a more progressive understanding of conflict – the one that informed the feminist analysis that ultimately led to UN Security Council Resolution 1325 – namely, the idea that "patriarchy – in all its varied guises, camouflaged, khaki clad, and pin-striped – is a principal cause both of the outbreak of violent societal conflicts and of the international com-

munity's frequent failures in providing long-term resolutions to those violent conflicts." What if, as Enloe concludes, the contested, interlocking constructions of public and private masculinized privilege known as patriarchy form a principal engine of causality in societal conflict – and of its chances for long-term resolution? What if the only way to throw these workings of hegemonic masculinities into sharp relief is to take the lives of women seriously?

Peace teams, perhaps even more than any other international peace institution, are well equipped to develop a progressive and gender-sensitive response to conflict. Their bottom-up, grassroots approach, their respect for the local culture, and their elicitive educational method, combined with the modest lifestyle of their field teams and their close contact with the communities they serve, constitute a great potential for starting this transformative journey, contributing to a more peaceful future for women and men.

Notes

1 For this reason, it is important that any gender mainstreaming also focus on the concept of "masculinities". As some feminist critics have observed, the impact of some measures to "mainstream gender" in military peacekeeping missions – namely, to incorporate more female personnel as well as gender advisers and gender units, and to implement gender trainings – has been minor or insignificant because it has not been linked to any discussion on militarism as such, nor in particular to one on militarized masculinities, or even masculinities in general.

2 *"What if Patriarchy is the "Big Picture"? An Afterword.* In Mazurana, D.; Raven-Roberts, A., Parpart, J. (eds) 2005: 280-283. The books analyses the gendered dynamics of international peacekeeping, humanitarian and human-rights interventions in the Balkans, Guatemala, Mozambique, Angola, Namibia, Rwanda, Ethiopia & Eritrea, and East Timor.

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Bio

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Maria was a co-founder and worked for more than 15 years with *Servicio Paz y Justicia* (SERPAJ), the first and main human rights organization in Uruguay, and a well-known Latin American network on human rights and nonviolence.

She also served for 7 years with *International Service for Peace* (SIPAZ), an international coalition created to monitor and support the peace process in Chiapas, México. She was a member of SIPAZ international team in Chiapas and also served as International Outreach Coordinator.

Maria has worked as independent electoral observer for the *Unity for the Promotion of Democracy* of the Organization of American States, as gender consultant for IFOR's *Women Peacemakers Program*, and for the Americas Secretariat of the international coalition *Jubilee South*.

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