

UNA _UK

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THE 'F' WORD

PERSPECTIVES

FEMINIST FOREIGN POLICY

Margot Wallström
Janice Charette
Joanna Roper
Zarina Khan

FEATURE

GENDER AT THE UN

Spogmay Ahmed
Anne Marie Goetz

INTERVIEW

UN PEACEKEEPING

Diane Corner

LAST WORD

WE RISK OUR LIVES FOR PEACE

Justine Masika Bihamba



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UNA-UK

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UNA-UK

3 Whitehall Court, London SW1A 2EL
Telephone: +44(0)20 7766 3454
Email: info@una.org.uk
www.una.org.uk

Chair // Lord Wood of Anfield
Executive Director // Natalie Samarasinghe
Deputy Director // Angie Pankhania

Head of Policy // Frédéric Carver
Head of Campaigns // Ben Donaldson
Outreach & Campaigns Officer // Laurel Hart
Administrative Assistant // Hayley Lashmar

Cover image: A woman leads the 'Not in my name' march in Pretoria, South Africa, following a spike in reports of women being murdered and raped, May 2017 © WIKUS DE WET/AFP/Getty Images

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Sub-editor // Frédéric Carver
Advertising // carver@una.org.uk

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Better world

NOT EVEN CLOSE TO EQUAL

Forget having it all – women are still battling for their basic rights and safety

NATALIE SAMARASINGHE // EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION – UK

A few days before Donald Trump's inauguration, my daughter was born at St Mary's Hospital in London, surrounded by caring professionals and all the medical equipment we could possibly need.

As she slept next to me, I thought about the Tamil woman who saw a roadside, preterm caesarean as the safest course of action as she fled indiscriminate shelling and atrocity crimes – as yet unpunished – during the final stages of Sri Lanka's civil war. I thought about the Yemeni child bride who reportedly died from vaginal injuries on her wedding night, and the woman in Florida, now a minimum-marriage-age campaigner, who was forced to marry her rapist when she was just 11.

I thought about the fact that one in three women will experience physical or sexual violence (and yes, #metoo); that around half of women in the EU have suffered harassment; that 71 per cent of trafficking victims are female; and that at least 200 million girls have been subjected to female genital mutilation, most before the age of five.

My little girl is lucky not to be born in a conflict zone, or into poverty. But her relative privilege cannot insulate her against the drawbacks of being female in 2017. Economically, politically and socially there are few areas where women have it as good as men: from the gender pay gap to the legal barriers that restrict their rights in many countries, the physical threats they face in their own homes, and the online abuse they experience for voicing opinions.

Even when women do well, it is often not enough to overcome the broader context of discrimination. Research by the universities of Glasgow and Missouri indicates that girls outperform boys in mathematics and reading in 70 per cent of countries. But this advantage evaporates

when they leave school. Just half of working-age women are in the labour force, compared to 77 per cent of men. They are also more likely to be in low- or unwaged jobs. And over 130 million girls aren't in school at all.

There is no shortage of shocking statistics. Some are included on page 5, because we need to keep reminding ourselves that we are not even close to gender equality. Throw colour, poverty, disability, non-binary identity or another such factor into the mix and the figures are even worse.

We also need to concentrate on the flip side: if the number of women raped is high, the number of men doing the raping must be pretty high too, repeat offenders notwithstanding. Whenever women face discrimination, there are men – and women – who bear individual and collective responsibility. If you aren't challenging the status quo, that includes you.

It's both depressing and uplifting to think that despite all this, it's the best time in history to be a woman. When the UN was founded in 1945, women had equal voting rights in just 30 countries. Today, only one UN member state – Saudi Arabia – does not have universal suffrage. Many more girls are in school, maternal mortality has declined and there are fewer child marriages. Worldwide, the average proportion of women in parliament has nearly doubled over the past 20 years, and almost all countries have ratified the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (the US is a notable exception). We have come a long way, but not nearly far enough; for every step forward, there has been a backlash.

So what's the answer? Spogmay Ahmed (page 13) and Anne Marie Goetz (page 15) look at feminism at the UN, and the impact that changes to its staffing and policies could have on the wider world. In

our interview (pages 16–17), Diane Corner provides an example of progress at the sharpest end of the scale: sexual abuse by UN peacekeepers. But as Goetz says, internal changes alone “cannot improve delivery of the UN's many commitments to advancing gender equality”.

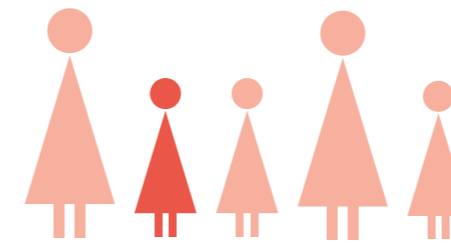
Are feminist foreign policies the solution? In part, yes. On pages 6–8, Margot Wallström, Janice Charette and Joanna Roper make a compelling case for policies that protect, include, equip and empower women. They note that this approach is as much common sense as it is feminist. After all, enabling women to contribute trillions to the global economy and to craft durable peace agreements supports the traditional foreign policy goals of prosperity and security.

But as Zarina Khan argues on page 9, gender inequality is embedded in our political and economic systems. Governments are unlikely to overhaul themselves. And while every country has feminists fighting for equality (see pages 10–11), seeking to ‘export’ feminism is fraught with difficulty.

Empowering women is only half the job. Several studies (see, for example, Elin Bjarnegård and Erik Melander's ‘Pacific Men: how the feminist gap explains hostility’) have shown what is self-evident: women are not automatically more tolerant, peaceful or feminist than men. Attitudes matter. Women – and men – who feel positive about gender equality are less likely to be intolerant towards religions or to view other countries as enemies.

This is where civil society comes in. Justine Masika Bihamba writes powerfully on page 22 about the need to fund frontline groups who know what is needed to bring about peace. Her words apply to feminism and human rights too. It is by supporting local efforts and actors that governments will achieve progress, in their own countries and abroad. //

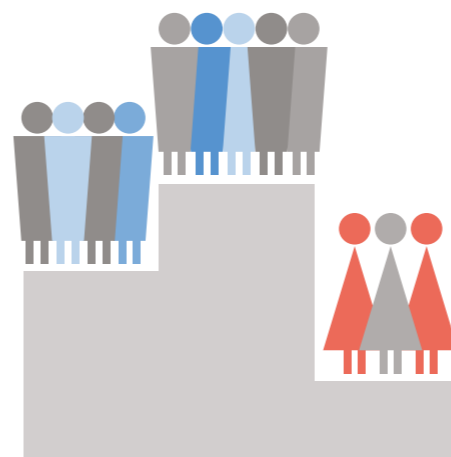
In this feature, UNA-UK lets facts and figures speak for themselves



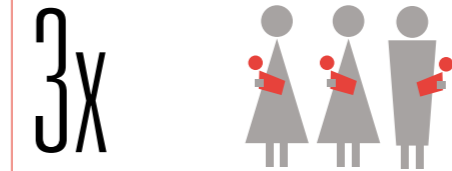
One in five girls and women (aged 15 to 49) experienced physical and/or sexual violence by an intimate partner in the previous 12 months, according to surveys undertaken between 2005 and 2016 in 87 countries.¹

99% of rapists in the United States never go to prison.²

In the majority of the 67 countries with data from 2009 to 2015, less than a third of senior- and middle-management positions were held by women.³

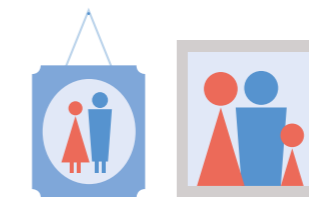


In most countries, men earn around 1.5 times more than women.⁴

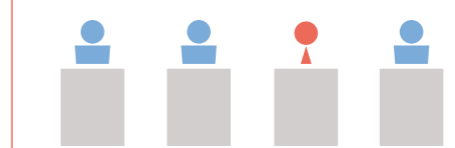


On average, women spent almost triple the amount of time on unpaid domestic and care work as men, based on data from 2000 to 2016.⁵

Of all females killed worldwide, half were murdered by a partner or male family member.⁶



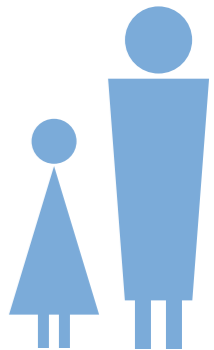
Women's participation in single or lower houses of national parliaments worldwide was only 23.4% in 2017.⁷



81% of landholders are men; in conflict-affected areas it's 89%.⁸



Around 700 million women alive today were married as children. Of those women, more than one in three – or some 250 million – were married before the age of 15.⁹



830 women die every day of the consequences of pregnancy and childbirth.¹⁰

WaterAid reported in 2012 that 48% of girls in Iran, 10% in India and 7% in Afghanistan believe menstruation is a disease.¹¹



1. <https://unstats.un.org/sdgs/report/2017/> 2. www.rainn.org 3. <https://unstats.un.org/sdgs/report/2017/> 4. www.weforum.org/reports/the-global-gender-gap-report-2017 5. <https://unstats.un.org/sdgs/report/2017/> 6. www.unwomen.org (figures from 2012) 7. <https://unstats.un.org/sdgs/report/2017/> 8. www.unwomen.org/en/what-we-do/peace-and-security/facts-and-figures 9. www.ke.ndnp.org/content/kenya/en/home/blog/2017/the-weinstein-effect-the-global-scourge-of-sexual-harassment.html 10. www.who.int/gho/women_and_health/en/ 11. WaterAid 2013, Menstrual Hygiene Matters



// Wallström speaking during a Security Council debate on children and armed conflict, © UN Photo/Rick Bajornas, 2016

MARGOT WALLSTRÖM

Minister for Foreign Affairs, Sweden

A FEMINIST APPROACH IS SELF-EVIDENT AND NECESSARY

Three years ago I launched the world's first feminist foreign policy. It was based on the Swedish Government's firm conviction that gender equality is not only a goal in itself but also a means of achieving other goals – such as peace, security and sustainable development.

Sweden's feminist foreign policy uses all available foreign policy tools for gender equality and for the full enjoyment of human rights by all women and girls. It is a systematic approach to ensure that we apply a gender perspective in everything we do. It is an analytical tool for making informed decisions. And it is an agenda for change, which aims to increase the rights, representation and resources of all women and girls, based on the actual circumstances where they live.

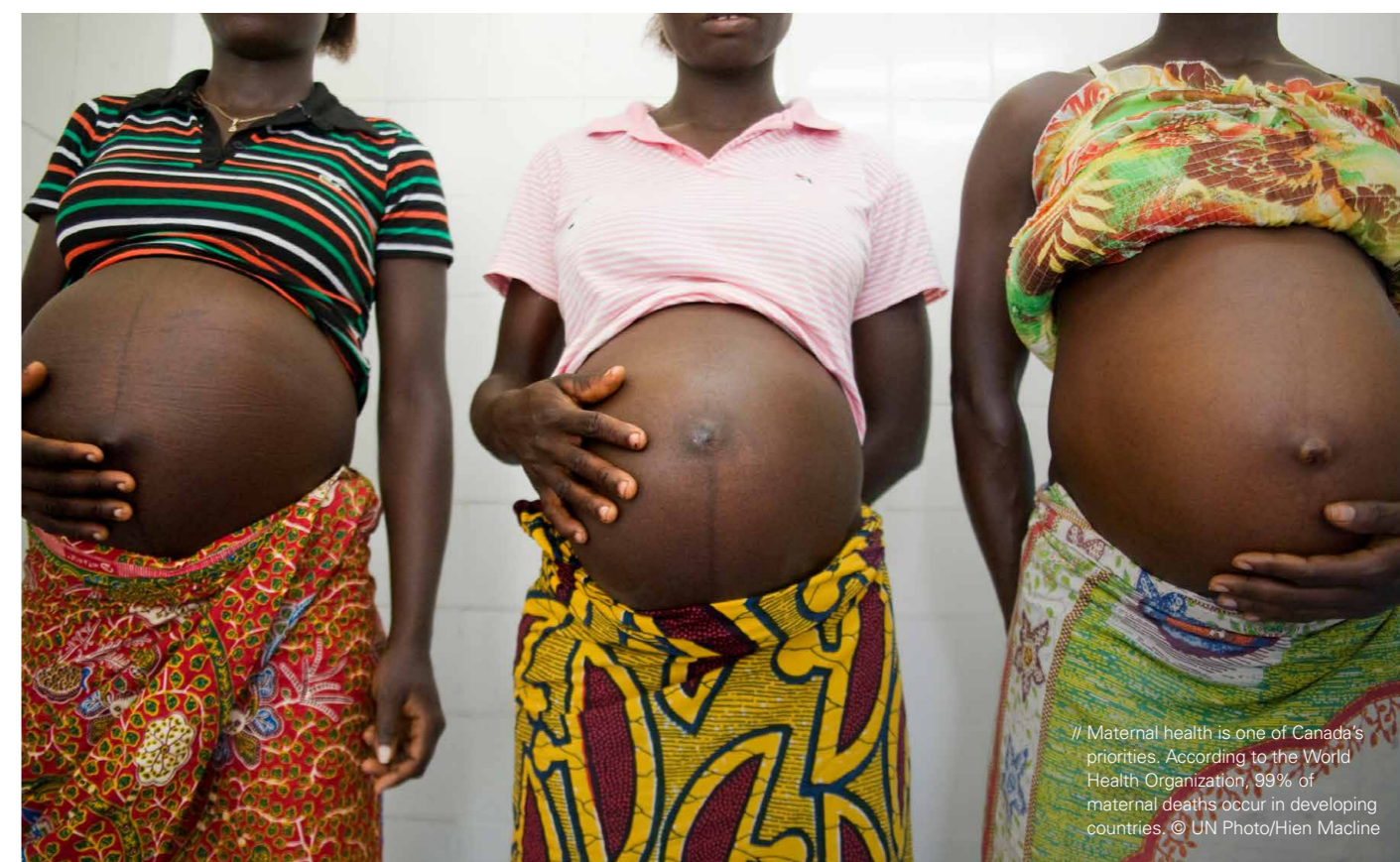
Three years after the policy was launched, we can see that it has changed the Swedish Foreign Service's way of working. It has made its mark at the multilateral, regional and bilateral levels, and in relation to all the objectives of the Foreign Service's action plan. Here are a few examples of how we now address some of today's challenges:

- **Conflict:** Between 1992 and 2011, women made up just nine per cent of negotiators and four per cent of signatories to peace agreements. Sweden promotes inclusive peace processes in a number of countries, and has launched a Swedish and Nordic network of women mediators. As a member of the UN Security Council, we are pushing for the full implementation of the women, peace and security agenda. We promote the prevention of violent conflict as a priority throughout the UN and EU, emphasising the need for this work to be underpinned by gender-sensitive analyses. We also push for the involvement of women in the design and implementation of early warning systems.
- **Mass displacement:** An unprecedented 65.6 million people have been forced from their homes and over 141 million people depend on humanitarian aid. This ongoing tragedy is aggravated when the humanitarian response is gender-blind. Humanitarian actors must take

account of the different challenges for women, men, girls and boys. As chair of the Call to Action on Protection from Gender-Based Violence in Emergencies, Sweden contributed to 67 partners making 310 concrete commitments. One of Sweden's own commitments is to fund only those humanitarian actors that base their work on gender-disaggregated data.

- **Gender-based violence:** Sexual and gender-based violence is used as a tactic of war and terrorism. Sweden's approach is to raise the issue continuously in the Security Council, including by introducing such crimes as a specific listing criterion for targeted sanctions. We also support the International Criminal Court, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and partner countries in their efforts to counter impunity and to promote the integration of a gender perspective at all stages in the work against radicalisation and violent extremism.
- **Shrinking democratic space:** The last decade has seen a constant decline in global freedom, particularly in relation to respect for the rule of law, freedom of expression and civil society space. This trend poses a dual threat to women human rights defenders, journalists and others, since they are targeted both for being vocal and for being women. Sweden has put emphasis on protecting human rights, particularly freedom of the press, as well as respect for the rule of law and democracy. We also invite women's organisations and NGOs to UN Security Council briefings.

We recently reviewed the policy – the findings are available on www.government.se. What we found is that change is possible. And change is badly needed at a time when hard-won gains for gender equality and women's and girls' enjoyment of their human rights are regressing, as the World Economic Forum's new Global Gender Gap Index and many other studies show. A feminist approach is a self-evident and necessary part of a modern view of today's global challenges. It is about harnessing all potential, including entire populations, and leaving no one behind. //



// Maternal health is one of Canada's priorities. According to the World Health Organization, 99% of maternal deaths occur in developing countries. © UN Photo/Hien MacLine

JANICE CHARETTE

High Commissioner of Canada to the United Kingdom

A FEMINIST APPROACH TO INTERNATIONAL ENGAGEMENT

Canada's Prime Minister, Justin Trudeau, frequently refers to himself as a feminist. Our Foreign Minister, Chrystia Freeland, has emphasised that feminism, and the rights of women and girls, are integral to Canadian foreign policy.

Earlier this year, Marie-Claude Bibeau, Minister for International Development, launched Canada's new Feminist International Assistance Policy. And in September, Canada and the United Kingdom announced a new strategic partnership on gender equality.

Why has Canada made feminism a core part of our international engagement?

Canada recently undertook an enormous global review of our international assistance. We held hundreds of consultations, including here in the United Kingdom, and asked the question "where – and how – can we make the biggest difference?" The message heard loudly from around the globe was crystal clear: women and girls.

It's simple – when you leave half your population behind, everyone loses.

The statistics tell the story. Around 830 women and girls die each day from complications related to pregnancy and childbirth. Nearly two-thirds of them – some 500 – are in humanitarian and fragile settings. Each year, worldwide, 15 million girls under the age of 18 are married, and an estimated 131 million girls remain out of school.

Canada believes that creating real change on a global scale begins with empowering women and girls. This includes providing education, skills training, and ensuring women and girls have access to resources and control over their own bodies. Key to Canada's feminist policy is our \$650 million CAD commitment to support sexual and reproductive health and rights.

Canada is also prioritising gender equality in our international diplomatic efforts. This includes leading on UN resolutions to end gender-based violence and child, early and forced marriage; ensuring women have a voice in peace processes; and advocating for the inclusion of gender considerations in our trade agreements.

These are just a few examples of how Canada is putting feminism at the heart of our foreign policy. I am proud to belong to a growing cohort of women being appointed to senior diplomatic positions around the world. Prime Minister Trudeau's cabinet is gender balanced, and our civil service is recognised for its leadership in ensuring that women take their place at the highest levels of government policy-making.

There is, as always, more to be done, but we have taken demonstrable steps along our new path to break the cycle of poverty for all and build a more inclusive world. A world in which no one – regardless of gender – is left behind. //



// Over 70% of all trafficking victims are women and girls. © Mike Goldwater/Alamy

JOANNA ROPER

UK Foreign and Commonwealth Office
Special Envoy for Gender Equality

THE SMART THING TO DO

In April this year, I was appointed by Foreign Secretary Boris Johnson to be the first UK Special Envoy for Gender Equality. It's a role that demonstrates how much of a priority this is for the UK Government. The Foreign Secretary has made it clear that he wants to see a foreign policy that "consciously and consistently delivers for women and girls" around the world. The Department for International Development has mainstreamed gender equality throughout its work. The Ministry of Defence provides gender awareness training to our own forces and those of other countries, including peacekeepers in conflict zones. The Government Equalities Office oversees our domestic legislation and practice relating to equality, LGBT issues and the gender pay gap. This really is a cross-Government undertaking.

In many respects and in many circles, the debate has begun to shift from 'why' should we aspire to gender equality in all that we do, to 'how' can we better ensure gender equality is hardwired throughout our work. But there is still work to be done to help change hearts and minds. We must set out the rationale for the achievement of gender equality.

The legal, moral and social case is clear. Gender equality is enshrined in international law. Women and girls face disproportionate threats during conflict. They are less likely to be able to go to school. Very often, they are less able to exercise control over their lives and their health. Women's voices are heard less often and their opinions are less often taken into account. And – shockingly – one in three women will experience violence at some point in her lifetime.

But there is a very strong economic and political case too. More equal societies tend to be more prosperous. When more women work, economies grow. According to a 2015 report by the McKinsey Global Institute, a private sector think tank, a huge \$12–28 trillion could be added to the global economy if women played a part equal or equivalent to men. And yet, the World Economic Forum predicts that it could take over 217 years to reach economic parity.

Gender inequality takes a very different form in different countries. What's right in one region might not work in another region. So we have crafted a three-pillar policy – Equal, Empowered and Safe – that enables each mission in our global diplomatic network to respond in a way that works for their context.

But we cannot do this alone. Our new National Action Plan on women, peace and security, to be launched in January 2018, will set out seven strategic outcomes contributing to the four pillars of the women, peace and security agenda – participation, protection, prevention, and relief and recovery – to be achieved by working in partnership with the UN and others.

The role and function of the UN is vital if we are to get the high-level political leadership and commitments to make a difference. So, for example, when former Foreign Secretary Lord Hague made preventing sexual violence in conflict (PSVI) a priority, he worked closely with UN Special Envoy for Refugees Angelina Jolie to co-host the first and largest conference of its kind to firmly place PSVI on the world's agenda.

We know that sexual violence against women and men, girls and boys, still takes place too often. Lives and livelihoods are destroyed; communities are fractured and stigma is rife. We are working hard to address the causes and impacts of sexual violence wherever it happens. Our Special Representative for the Prevention of Sexual Violence in Conflict – Lord Ahmad – launched the Global Principles for Action against Stigma at this year's opening of the UN General Assembly, alongside the UN's Special Representative on Sexual Violence in Conflict, Pramila Patten.

We also want to see more women playing a substantive role in peace settlements, as this means the chances of reaching agreement are 50 per cent greater, and agreements are 35 per cent more likely to last for at least 15 years. That's why we are making it a priority to identify and support more women mediators, and are hosting a conference in Wilton Park this month to build knowledge and capacity.

We've made it a priority to eradicate sexual exploitation and abuse, and to ensure that peacekeeping operations provide the highest levels of protection for women and girls in conflict areas. If they cannot trust the peacekeepers, who can they trust?

And we keenly support the UN Secretary-General's mission to see gender parity in the United Nations and more women across the different sectors. Collectively, we need to ensure that the roles and experiences of women are included in our global policy and operational responses.

It may be a neat headline but there's truth when we write that this isn't just the right thing to do; it's the smart thing to do. //

ZARINA KHAN

Director, Gender Action for Peace and Security

CAN A FEMINIST FOREIGN POLICY REALLY MAKE A DIFFERENCE?

"A feminist is simply someone who believes that women should have equal rights to men." If we accept this popular and generally uncontroversial notion of feminism then the premise of a feminist foreign policy, implemented by a feminist government, should be just as straightforward.

Evidently not. Most countries, including the UK, that profess to champion women's rights do not have a feminist foreign policy. This is because feminism is fuller and more nuanced than the simple definition touted in mainstream culture.

The writer and civil rights activist Audre Lorde said: "I am not free while any woman is unfree, even when her shackles are very different from my own." Her feminism requires not only understanding the causes of inequality and the systems that prevent and restrict freedom, but also how these are different for different women. It asserts that the rights of one group of women cannot come at the expense of another, and that equality is not truly achieved until it is achieved for everyone.

This notion of feminism stands in contrast to the fundamental principle of foreign policy as we know it: self-interest. Adopting a feminist agenda would mean overhauling the dominant components of foreign policy: national interest, prosperity, security and so on, which have been defined by those traditionally in power. A feminist foreign policy should offer a new understanding of these concepts from the perspective of the most marginalised. There is precedent for doing so.

Women's rights activists successfully lobbied for UN member states to re-examine definitions of conflict, peace, security and justice. Today, it is widely acknowledged that conflict is gendered, and differently experienced by women and girls. UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security recognises that peace, security and justice cannot be achieved without the full and equal rights and participation of women. Moreover, the UN's sustainable development agenda, which includes a pledge to "leave no one behind", makes clear that extreme poverty will only be successfully eradicated when the most powerless in society are benefiting from development.

For feminist activists, context is key. No action that harms women and girls occurs in isolation. It is part of an environment of discrimination, where the denial of rights for women and girls is widespread

and systematic. In the UK, this means situating foreign policy within the broader context of the UK's historical relations with the world. It means realising that others may see us differently to how we see ourselves. It means being accountable for our actions, including our colonial past and the impact it continues to have.

It also means practising what we preach at home. A feminist government should be willing to examine its own systems, cultures, institutions, language and behaviours to understand the ways in which they keep certain groups in power to the detriment of others. All of this is premised on a willingness to accept that inequality exists in all spheres and in all contexts.

The process of developing a feminist foreign policy must also be inclusive, consultative, diverse and representative. A government should start by opening the foreign policy space to a range of stakeholders: a grassroots women's rights organisation needs to be taken as seriously as the most established think tank. It should appoint feminists to positions of leadership, from policymaking roles in capital cities to heads of missions overseas. This process should include the promotion of women, but a feminist foreign policy must be everyone's responsibility. And it should commit long-term finances. Under-resourced foreign policy, with projects that rely on unpaid labour, cannot be feminist or effective.

Underpinning all of this is the need to question the very purpose of foreign policy. There is a difference between a foreign policy that has strands of work focused on women and girls, and one that seeks to undo structures of power that deny women and girls their rights. By adopting feminist language in their international policies, the Swedish and Canadian governments are setting important precedents. But they risk diluting a fuller understanding of feminism if they promote a largely unchanged global system.

If this vision for a feminist foreign policy seems nebulous, one only has to look at the work of feminist peace activists to see it in practice. Earlier this year, Afro-Colombian human rights defender Charo Mina-Rojas addressed the Security Council. She has fought tirelessly for the cultural, territorial and political rights of Afro-descendant women and peoples, including their participation in the country's peace process. A genuine feminist foreign policy would make her work the norm, rather than the exception. //

10

examples of feminism in action

This autumn, a Women, Peace and Security Index was launched at the UN. Compiled by the Georgetown Institute for Women, Peace and Security and the Peace Research Institute of Oslo, it ranks 153 countries on: education, financial inclusion, mobile phone use, parliamentary seats, employment, discriminatory laws and norms, son bias, battlefield deaths, intimate partner violence and perception of community safety. Together, these factors provide a snapshot of women's lives inside their homes and communities, and in public life.

Iceland tops the list. The UK is 12th and the US 22nd. Jamaica (41st) and the UAE (42nd) are above Hungary and Romania (joint 46th); Namibia (48th) and Lao (54th) are above Russia (55th) and Mexico (76th). Afghanistan and Syria are tied at the bottom. But just as all countries need to do more, they all have women who are fighting for progress. Here are 10 examples from across the Index.

- 1. Colombia (96th)** is recovering from over five decades of civil war, which left around 220,000 people dead. Rates of sexual and domestic violence are high. But Colombian women have insisted on being a part of the peace process. The accords that bought an end to the war include a requirement for women to participate in transitional justice, and promote formalised rural property rights for women.
- 2. South Africa (51st)** When **South Africa (51st)** embraced democracy in 1994, women set up the Soul City Programme. Using drama, entertainment and multimedia presentations Soul City has reached more than 80 per cent of South Africa's population with their message that improving health outcomes, and preventing the spread of AIDS, is best achieved by community action around consent and sexual health education.
- 3. Women in Iran (116th)** Women in **Iran (116th)** face legal barriers that affect their domestic and professional lives, from restrictions on their ability to travel to exclusion from certain jobs. Speaking out on gender discrimination can lead to imprisonment. Despite these hurdles, Iran's women lead the region in areas including education and financial inclusion, and activists have launched campaigns, such as 'One Million Signatures', to call for changes to the law.
- 4. Women played a vital role in bringing peace to Mali (146th).** The Platform for Women Leaders of Mali worked – through the media and community engagement – to raise understanding of the peace agreement. After it was signed, they continued to lobby government on threats to their security. A new land-reform policy set aside 15 per cent of government-managed land for women's associations and other groups in need.
- 5. In the Central African Republic (149th)** there are many instances of women's groups working across ethnic and religious lines to reduce tensions and facilitate peace. In the town of Boda, Muslim women have escorted Christian women entering Muslim areas, and Christian women have done the same for Muslim women in Christian areas. Projects have been set up for different communities to farm jointly and participate in sport and drama activities.
- 6. Female United Nations peacekeepers from Mongolia (39th)** have been protecting civilians in Sudan and South Sudan. In Darfur, more than half of the Mongolian troops are women. In South Sudan, they won a medal for actions including rescuing approximately 50 internally displaced people from attempted abduction. The Head of the UN Mission said, "Mongolian peacekeepers have led the way in terms of robustness", praising the role of women in helping to empower local communities.
- 7. In Zambia (111th)** women are more likely to own a business than men. Female entrepreneurs are coming to the fore in all sectors of the economy, inducing previously male-dominated industries such as mining. Progress has been led by Zambian women, with support from UN bodies including the International Labour Organization and World Food Programme, which have played a role in providing advice and support for women looking to start a business.
- 8. In Malaysia (91st)** a network of Muslim women set up an organisation called Sisters in Islam to make the case that Islam is a feminist religion and that patriarchal behaviour within Muslim communities and countries comes from men deliberately misreading Islamic texts. Sisters in Islam works with Islamic scholars to to oppose gender-based injustice, and to produce materials that make clear the links between Islam and global human rights standards and norms.
- 9. In the Democratic Republic of Congo (148th)** women in the media have worked with the UN to support victims of sexual exploitation and abuse, and to inform communities as to how to report abuses. These community-based reporting networks have used theatre, songs, quizzes, radio dramas and cartoons in order to expand and spread awareness. This year over 2,000 people were reached, and seven new networks set up.
- 10. Afghanistan (152nd)** is still one of the worst countries in the world to be a woman. But things are changing thanks to the demands of women's rights activists. At present, there are more women in senior government positions than ever before. They have also secured a review of the cases of more than 400 women imprisoned due to so-called 'moral crimes'. To date, over half have been released.

To access the Index and find out more, visit: <https://giwps.georgetown.edu/the-index/>



// UN Women offers training sessions to internally displaced persons living at a 'protection of civilians' site in Juba run by the UN Mission in South Sudan, 2016
© UN Photo/JC McIlwaine

A FEMINIST VISION FOR THE UNITED NATIONS

How far has the Secretary-General come?

Spogmay Ahmed

UN Secretary-General António Guterres took office in January 2017 following unprecedented public and member-state pressure for female, feminist leadership of the United Nations. Throughout his first year, this pressure has persisted – largely from women's civil society groups and feminist activists. One of these groups is the Feminist UN Campaign, which brings together leading feminist thinkers from civil society, philanthropy, academia and former UN staff around a shared agenda for women's rights and gender equality at the UN.

Last autumn, prior to Guterres's appointment, the International Center for Research on Women (ICRW) published a report on behalf of the Feminist UN Campaign, directing recommendations to various levels of the UN system where progress on gender equality has been slow or non-existent, including financing for gender equality and parity in leadership and staffing. Once Guterres had been selected, we adapted our recommendations into a proposed agenda for his first 100 days in office, which would send a strong signal of his commitment to improving women's rights and gender equality throughout the UN system (see the box on page 14).

Since then, the Feminist UN Campaign has closely monitored his progress against this agenda, and on his 100th day in office, released a report card assessing his advancements during this period. The Campaign found that, while transformative change had not been realised in this narrow window of time, the

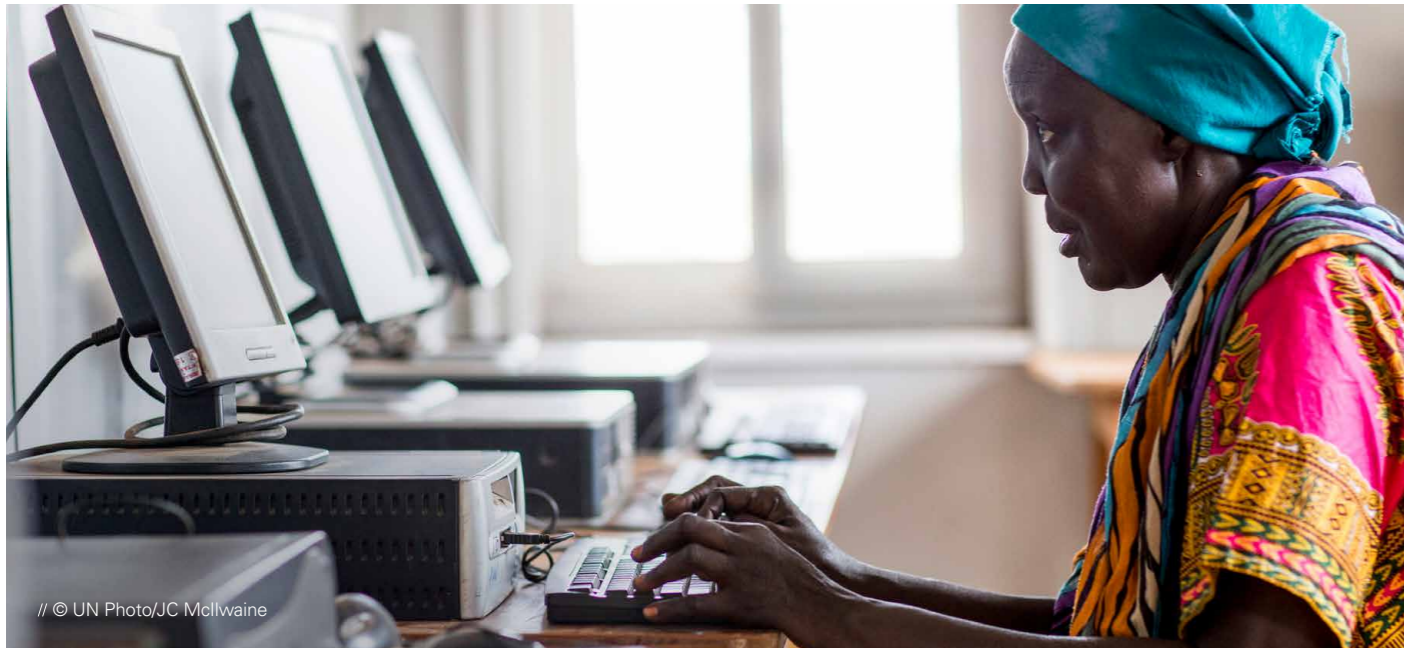
Secretary-General had made several public commitments on issues from gender parity to tackling gender-based violence, and was beginning to establish a solid foundation on which to build progress. We gave him an 'A-' overall.

As the end of Secretary-General Guterres's first year approaches, the Feminist UN Campaign is preparing to publish its second report card. To ensure a comprehensive assessment of the Secretary-General's progress to date, the Campaign has issued a survey to capture feedback from feminist voices around the world, and ICRW researchers will be conducting a qualitative analysis of interviews with experts on advancing women's rights and gender mainstreaming inside and outside of the UN system. The content of the Secretary-General's reports and speeches will also be analysed, along with any new initiatives and commitments he has launched since his term began.

Our efforts reflect civil society's call for feminist leadership, increased accountability and transparency at the UN. While commitments to gender equality are frequently made, they are often not matched by effective action. For instance, gender equality remains largely underfunded across UN programmes, member states' official development assistance and national budgets.

To ensure high marks, Secretary-General Guterres must call on member states and UN stakeholders to hold themselves accountable and advance gender equality and women's rights under their own purview. He must model feminist leadership in support of equality and justice not only within the UN, but worldwide. And as advocates, researchers, analysts and movement-builders, we must be ready to laud progress when it is made, and to encourage action where it is absent. Working together, we believe we can achieve a more feminist United Nations and world. //

SPOGMAY AHMED // Global Policy Associate, International Center for Research on Women



// © UN Photo/JC Mellwaine

A FEMINIST AGENDA FOR THE UN SECRETARY-GENERAL'S FIRST 100 DAYS



Feminist UN Campaign recommendations published by the International Center for Research on Women

1. **Implement a feminist leadership agenda for the UN.** Secretary-General Guterres should set out an ambitious 100-day agenda, leading to a full-fledged women's rights agenda for the duration of his term, including commitments to report on progress and to work with feminist civil society to hone and implement it.
2. **Ensure feminist implementation and accountability for the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs).** The SDGs represent the single best opportunity to achieve gender equality, include a focus on gender and advance women's rights across the UN's efforts. The Secretary-General should ensure the Goals have a strong accountability framework, with a focus on gender in all SDGs and with a clear mandate for oversight by the UN Commission on the Status of Women (CSW). He should also ensure that they align with other UN commitments, such as the Beijing Platform for Action.
3. **Finance for gender equality.** The Secretary-General should seek to ensure there are sufficient funds committed to gender equality across the UN, including full funding for UN Women, as well as for gender integration throughout the system. He should convene an annual High Level Panel on Financing Gender Equality to assess financing for women's rights and gender equality within
- the UN, and publish funding sources to enhance transparency across all agencies.
4. **Utilize feminist leadership.** The Secretary-General should increase the number of women and feminists in UN leadership, and protect women's rights across the system. He should achieve gender parity in his appointments, call for nominations for strong female candidates to head critical agencies and establish and implement feminist policies across the system, including whistle-blower policies and a zero-tolerance policy for all forms of gender-based violence.
5. **Enable a feminist transformation for CSW and UN Women.** The Secretary-General should commit to ensure that the CSW and UN Women live up to their potential by serving as inclusive platforms for civil society participation, with a specific focus on the inclusion of southern, feminist voices.
6. **Promote the freedom of information in the UN system.** The Secretary-General should announce system-wide reforms to increase transparency and build public trust in the UN system. The UN System-Wide Action Plan on Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women must be universally instituted across all UN agencies and bodies, including the Fifth Committee, and its data made publicly available on a central platform.

RACING TO CATCH UP

Anne Marie Goetz

Gender parity at the UN

“The gender gap is most stark in UN peace operations, where it would take 703 years at current rates to reach parity at senior director level”

In September, UN Secretary-General António Guterres announced his system-wide strategy to achieve gender balance at all levels across the UN by 2028. The strategy aims to deliver on a long-standing – and long-neglected – UN commitment to achieve equal numbers of women and men in staffing. First made by the General Assembly in 1994, the initial deadline for parity was 2000, but without targets and penalties, progress was slow. Currently, 32% of senior managers are female, and 43.7% of staff at lower levels.

Calls for progress without accountability measures are a hallmark of UN reform efforts. Not this time. Guterres's strategy comes with targets that are tailored to each UN entity according to the extent of its gender deficit. It details changes to recruitment processes and workplace conditions to help attract and retain women. Most importantly, there are measures to correct for failures. If a particular UN body fails to meet targets from mid-2018 onwards, appointments made by their leaders may be revoked and a central human resources department can intervene to correct for gender biases in recruitment and promotion.

On the surface, the UN does not appear out of step with comparable organisations when it comes to women's share of positions. But the averages disguise the paucity of women in the UN's power centres. Women are concentrated at lower levels of the seniority hierarchy. As of December 2015, they dominated the lowest professional category (P2) at 57.5%, and were scarce at the highest, with just 27.3% of Under-Secretaries-General.

In specific sectors, such as humanitarian support and peace operations, women make up just 28% of all international staff, compared to 44% across the whole UN. The gender gap is most stark in UN peace operations, where it would take 703 years at current rates to reach parity at senior director level.

Gender parity alone cannot improve delivery of the UN's many commitments to advancing gender equality and women's rights. The creation of UN Women in 2010 has been the most significant step in that direction, and it should be supported as the policy leader on women's empowerment and gender equality. But having more women across the UN's leadership will support that agenda, especially if it is signalled from the top that a commitment to gender equality is expected from all staff, at all levels. //

ANNE MARIE GOETZ // Clinical Professor, Center for Global Affairs, School of Professional Studies, New York University; and former Senior Advisor, Peace and Security, UN Women



// The UN Secretary-General holds a town hall meeting with civil society representatives associated with the 61st session of the Commission on the Status of Women, March 2017
© UN Photo/Mark Garten

“WITHOUT THE UN, THERE WOULD HAVE BEEN GENOCIDE”

UNA-UK speaks to Diane Corner, a former British diplomat who served as Deputy Special Representative and Deputy Head of the UN Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in the Central African Republic (MINUSCA) from July 2014 to June 2017.

UN Security Council Resolution 1325 tasks the UN with looking at peace and security through the lens of gender. How effectively have you seen this put into practice?

There have been great strides forward in some aspects but in other areas there remains more to do. Secretary-General António Guterres has been quick to address the issue of women's representation in peace operations, setting ambitious targets for early progress. There is also already much good work within UN missions to respond to women's specific experience of conflict. Yet more needs to be done to involve women fully in all aspects of bringing a conflict to an end. This is something the international community as a whole should champion. You cannot build peace if you exclude half of the population and, empirically, that half which is least conflict-prone.

Is UN peacekeeping still a masculine world? How does this shape the UN's response?

In terms of percentages of women in missions, UN peacekeeping remains a very masculine world because the largest components of peacekeeping missions are military, and they are still overwhelmingly male. That will only change if troop-contributing countries change their military recruitment and promotion policies, and also put

a premium on the skills needed for UN peacekeeping. For example, while peacekeepers may need to take robust action, they also need to build trust with the local population, and that can be much easier if you have women involved.

As one of the most senior British citizens in UN peacekeeping, how do you see the UK's relationship with peacekeeping? Could we do more?

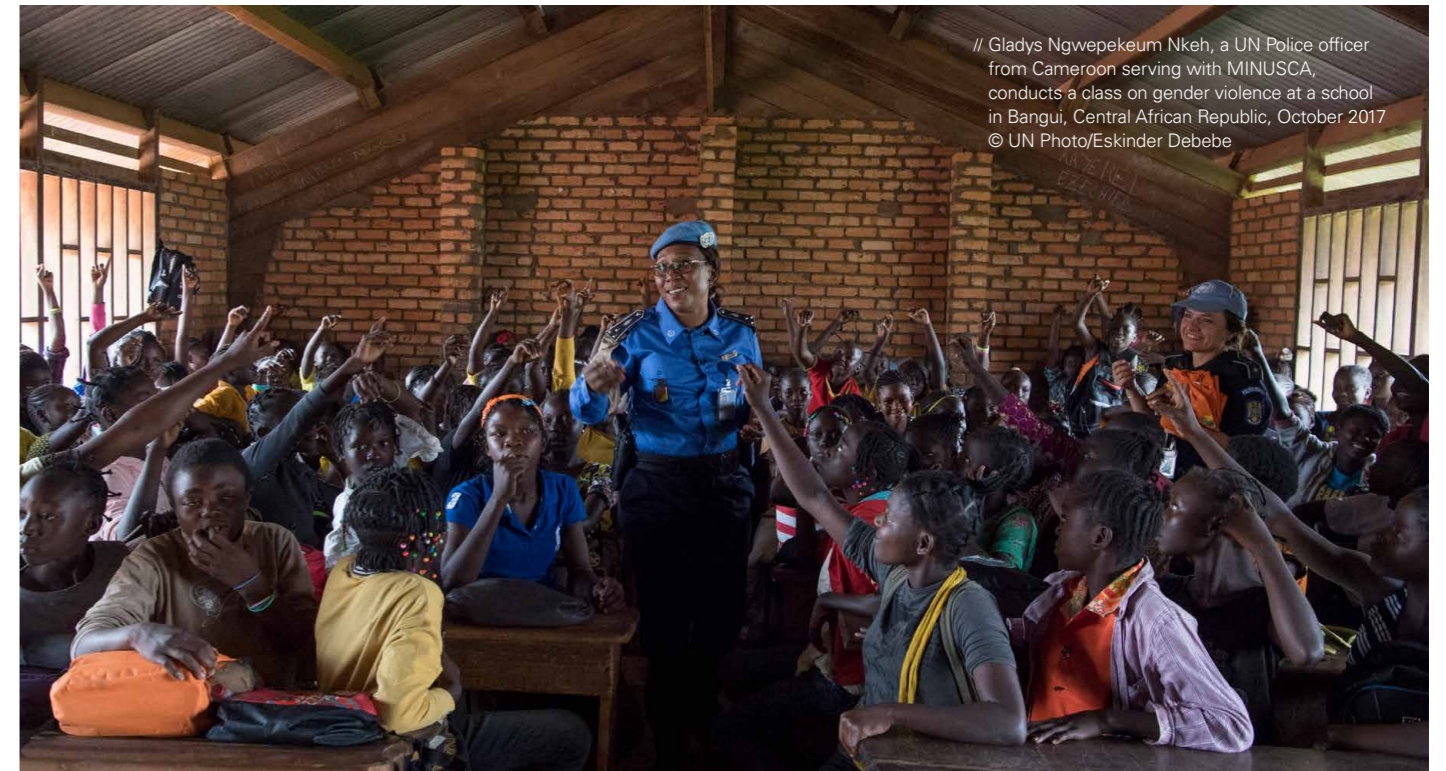
The UK's contribution to UN peacekeeping, which includes personnel, resources and expertise, is highly regarded. The UK is the biggest donor to the Peacebuilding Support Fund, in many conflict situations the UK is one of the biggest donors to UN agencies, and the UK is recognised as having particular expertise in post-conflict stabilisation. Indeed, there are great similarities with the UN's approach on stabilisation issues, for example on security sector reform or disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration.

I would, however, particularly want to emphasise the importance of the military contribution that the UK can make – and indeed is making – to a number of missions. British armed forces have unparalleled expertise, built up over seven decades, in modern counter-insurgency. Very few militaries come to the UN with anything like that kind of experience, and given the conflicts into which UN missions are now deployed, that skillset

is of critical importance. For example, in the mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, a small number [five] of UK staff officers made a big impact on the mission's effectiveness. How much the UK can contribute inevitably has to be weighed against other priorities, but I would stress that the UK should not underestimate the value that it can bring to UN peacekeeping.

You were Deputy Head of MINUSCA, the UN mission in the Central African Republic (CAR), which has faced incredible challenges but also deserves credit for stopping potential atrocities. Could you give us an overview of MINUSCA and what the future may hold for the mission and for CAR?

MINUSCA is indeed an incredibly challenging mission. Since the mid-1990s there have been around a dozen international engagements in CAR, and at least as many peace deals, and none has had a lasting impact. There are many contributing factors to the conflict: a very weak state and almost non-existent infrastructure; a plethora of armed groups, most of whom have no agenda other than personal enrichment; bad governance; predatory elites; and all this in a vast territory – CAR is the size of France and Belgium combined. It's also a source of conflict minerals in a region scarred by war. In addition, regional



// Gladys Ngwepekeum Nkeh, a UN Police officer from Cameroon serving with MINUSCA, conducts a class on gender violence at a school in Bangui, Central African Republic, October 2017 © UN Photo/Eskinder Debebe

movements of nomadic cattle herders into CAR's lush pastureland each year also provoke tensions.

Since 2014 MINUSCA has focused on the west and the centre, where most of the population lives and which saw the greatest violence in 2013–15, and these regions are now much calmer though still fragile. Since mid-2016 there has been an upsurge in violence in the east, linked in part to the withdrawal of the African Union (AU) Regional Task Force, which was fighting the Lord's Resistance Army.

Despite the difficulties, MINUSCA protects tens of thousands of civilians every day, and without the UN's presence in CAR there would have been a genocide. Personally, I think that success in CAR hinges on whether those guilty of terrible crimes will be punished. It is critically important to support the work of the International Criminal Court and the CAR Special Criminal Court – their work is key to bringing the violence to an end.

MINUSCA was once notorious for its levels of sexual exploitation and abuse (SEA), although many incidents took place before the mission was under UN auspices. How was the issue brought under control?

The mission still has too many cases – even one case is one too many – and within the UN we should never be complacent that SEA is a problem which has

been brought under control. But it is true that the number of cases in MINUSCA has declined of late, due to a number of strands of work. First, the mission leadership recognised the critical importance of dealing with this problem. It led an intensive campaign within the mission on zero tolerance for SEA, backed up by concrete measures, including the removal of two battalions (750 troops each), and a company (120 troops), and suspected perpetrators or those who had neglected their duty to prevent SEA. Second, we resolved to be transparent about the problem, even when that put us at the receiving end of international opprobrium. Third, we sought to put the needs of victims at the heart of our response, working with the UN country team and humanitarians to provide support. Fourth, we strengthened capacity in the mission to lead on victim support, on the handling of cases and on the media aspects. It was a huge amount of work, but it was vitally important to get this right – for the mission and the wider UN system, and above all for the victims.

Why has the UN found SEA to be such a difficult issue to tackle?

I think that the UN, like so many organisations and institutions as we know now, failed for a long time to recognise the scale of the problem it had on its hands. Crimes of this nature are often hidden. Victims

do not readily speak out, even more so in countries where they may be subject to reprisal for doing so, and where the institutions of justice do not exist. Of course that should have been recognised years ago.

If there is a silver lining to what happened in MINUSCA, it is that the UN's approach to SEA has been transformed, with a senior team devoted to eradicating the problem and to supporting victims; with transparency on the number of cases; with much greater vigilance within missions; and with mission leaders held to account for their performance in tackling SEA. But the very low rates of conviction for those accused of committing SEA remains a cause for concern and troop-contributing countries still need to tackle this.

Without the right policies and structures in place, SEA can be found in every country and every organisation. That has to stop. I hope that the backlash we are now seeing in response to scandals in the entertainment industry, politics and elsewhere, marks a watershed in ensuring that women everywhere are treated with respect. And the UN's rightful place is at the forefront of these efforts. //

DIANE CORNER // Former British diplomat who joined the UK Foreign & Commonwealth Office in 1982. Her postings included Kuala Lumpur, Berlin, Harare, Freetown, Dar es Salaam, Kinshasa and Brazzaville, before her UN appointment.

DOES 'ZERO TOLERANCE' WORK?

// *As a policy to combat sexual exploitation and abuse, zero tolerance seems obvious*

Tolerance in any form – active, passive or unintentional – can normalise inappropriate behaviour and create a toxic environment in which violent transgressions are more likely, and more likely to be suppressed or ignored. Even minor actions can have damaging effects when they are part of wider patterns and structures of abuse and inequality.

This will not come as a surprise to most women. Global estimates published by the World Health Organization indicate that over a third of all women – 35 per cent – have experienced either physical or sexual violence, most at the hands of their husband, boyfriend or male family member. Even allowing for serial or repeat abusers, that's still a lot of men. Clearly, this will not be news to them either.

In most sectors, just one case can ruin an organisation's reputation, although it seems to have taken the avalanche of allegations against prominent figures in Hollywood and US and UK politics for these industries to wake up.

The UN, on the other hand, has been grappling publicly with sexual exploitation and abuse for some time, most prominently in its peace operations. It first set out a zero-tolerance approach in 2003. This was reinforced in a 2005 report by Zeid Ra'ad Al Hussein, then Jordanian

Ambassador to the UN, now UN High Commissioner for Human Rights.

So what's the problem with zero tolerance? Surely it's the best way to stop abuse?

Well, there are three strands of criticism. The first relates to definitions. The UN defines sexual exploitation as "...abuse of position of vulnerability, differential power or trust, for sexual purposes..." and sexual abuse as "...physical intrusion of a sexual nature, whether by force or under unequal or coercive conditions".

Notions of propriety are inherently cultural. In our patriarchal society, all inter-gender relations are arguably unequal; indeed, all relationships have power dynamics. Critics therefore contend that the UN, with its unique ability to create international norms, could do more to set baseline standards and establish what is never appropriate.

Second, many practitioners find the policy impractical. They argue that it has been interpreted to mean that any sexual relationship between UN staff and nationals of the host country is abusive, with the rather Victorian exception of relationships within marriage.

As a consequence, significant amounts of effort are expended determining the propriety of relationships. This can be particularly time consuming when the

UN has large numbers of peacekeepers from country X stationed a few miles across the border in country Y, leading to the policing of an ill-defined border. It can also feel uncomfortably akin to judging relationships on the basis of nationality. Many feel that these resources could be better deployed tackling clear-cut cases of abuse.

Finally, there are concerns that zero tolerance fails to place enough emphasis on the importance of consent and the particular atrociousness of rape. A false equivalence might be drawn between crimes of non-consent and still serious but non-criminal professional misconduct. Some UN personnel and troops may even form the impression that all sexual acts, consensual or not, are not permissible while deployed with the UN but are acceptable at other times. Some troops have responded to investigators: "Why did you give us condoms if this is not allowed?" And consent itself is a thorny issue, not always easy to determine, not always freely given.

At the same time, the UN rightly feels that it must make clear that sexual impropriety in any form will not be tolerated. It does not want to trivialise victims' experiences or contribute to a dangerous, enabling atmosphere. While concerns about zero tolerance are frequently

raised in private, few practitioners are willing to do so publicly.

What is the solution? In part it will come from listening more closely to victims, and bringing a victim perspective into this discussion. The Secretary-General's appointment of Jane Connors as the first UN Victims' Rights Advocate is an important step forward in this regard.

UNA-UK believes that accountability must also be part of the equation. However one feels about zero tolerance, it is ultimately a human resources policy and no substitute for the criminal prosecution of criminal acts.

Prosecutions must be sought for all cases involving allegations of recognised sexual crimes. When no such crimes are involved, the policy must kick in with real consequences.

Seeking prosecution for acts of sexual violence is important because it punctures the climate of impunity that enables perpetrators. It is also important because it places a gradient of severity on top of the otherwise flat policy that the zero-tolerance approach risks creating. Most important of all, it can provide survivors with a sense of justice. //

To find out more about UNA-UK's work on this issue, visit www.mission-justice.org



// Mongolian peacekeepers of the UN Mission in South Sudan. As of October 2017, 3.8 per cent of 81,390 peacekeeping troops and 9.8 per cent of 11,116 police were female. © UN Photo/Martine Perret

KEEPING BRITAIN GLOBAL

Lord (Stewart) Wood of Anfield // Chair, United Nations Association – UK

Addressing the UN General Assembly earlier this year, UK Prime Minister Theresa May set out a clear case for why multilateralism is so important – not just to the rest of the world, but to British interests and values.

Britain benefits hugely from the rules-based international system, and from the privileged position we have as a permanent member of the UN Security Council. We are as exposed to the risks of terrorism, cyber-crime, climate change, pandemics and nuclear war as any other country. Strengthening the United Nations, and thus the collective struggle against these threats, is not just altruism in the community of nations – it is squarely in our national interest.

Our international order is currently being tested as never before, with challenges from nuclear proliferation to climate change, from international terrorism to mass migration of peoples across borders and continents. What links these challenges structurally is that they stem from politicians acting in their countries’ – or their personal – short-term self-interest, as opposed to their long-term national interest. Too many leaders focus on extending their own electoral lives, rather than improving the lives of the citizens they serve.

Successive UK governments have been guilty of counter-productive short-termism. This has to stop if the rules our world relies upon are to be safeguarded and strengthened. So it is crucial that a British government that is serious about our global system takes the lead in developing a joined-up approach towards multilateralism.

UNA-UK’s research shows that the UK’s commendable contribution on UN peacekeeping and overseas aid has been tarnished, and its efficacy reduced, by consistent failure in the fields of arms control and nuclear disarmament. Meanwhile Britain’s record on preventing atrocities, tackling climate change and furthering human rights is mixed at best.

We have turned this research into a simple scorecard (see page opposite) to provide a snapshot of the UK’s performance in upholding the principles of a “global Britain”. Here are some key findings.

On arms control, the UK has prioritised making a quick buck over civilian lives, thus undermining the Arms Trade Treaty, one of the core building blocks of our international system. Over the past three years or so, the UK has licensed £3.6bn of weapons to Saudi Arabia. During that time the Saudi-led coalition has been identified as responsible for the majority of civilians killed in Yemen, now facing the world’s largest humanitarian crisis. It has also been criticised by the UN for its role in the deaths of children.

On nuclear disarmament, we are all rightly fixated on the dangers posed by an unstable North Korea. But Pyongyang’s emerging threat is a product of the weakness in our global non-proliferation system. This weakness will grow further if President Trump decides to do more damage to the Iranian Nuclear Deal and thus treat Iran, which the International Atomic Energy Agency has consistently found to have followed the rules, in the same manner as a state that does not. The Non-Proliferation Treaty is based on a bargain: non-nuclear states will not acquire weapons so long as nuclear states take active steps towards disarmament. And nuclear states, including the UK, have not been keeping up their side of the deal. When 122 nations recently met to approve a historic treaty banning nuclear weapons, the UK didn’t show up.

On climate change, the UK played an important role in bringing about the Paris Climate Agreement, but has scrapped its climate change department, and dragged its feet on implementation.

On human rights, the UK has played a largely positive role at the UN Human Rights Council. But too many politicians have treated UN experts with contempt and fanned the flames of anti-human rights sentiment at home. And on preventing atrocities, the UK’s record is mixed: too often political objectives have come before protecting civilians. You can find out more about all these issues, and make up your own mind about the Government’s record, via www.una.org.uk.








We hope that our scorecard, which will be regularly updated, will become an accessible way for people to measure the UK against its professed commitments to lead in strengthening multilateral rules and institutions. The safety, prosperity and health of our country, and our world, relies on us doing so. //

HELP US KEEP BRITAIN GLOBAL

For the past six months, UNA-UK’s Keeping Britain Global campaign has been making the case that what’s good for the world, is good for the UK. What happens in far-away countries has the potential to affect British citizens. And decisions made in the UK can have huge repercussions abroad.

Our campaign looks at opportunities for the UK to contribute to the global good. It also scores the UK’s current performance in these areas, using independent sources – such as UN reports and cross-party parliamentary committees.

For the next stage in our campaign we need your support. Visit una.org.uk/takeaction and find out how you can help.

THE UK’S RECORD	SCORE	EVALUATION
Responsible arms trading	Red 	The UK’s practice of selling weapons to regimes with bad human rights records is undermining the Arms Trade Treaty. Civilians are paying the cost.
Effective UN peacekeeping	Green 	The UK has made a significant contribution to UN peacekeeping. It must now encourage others to follow suit and support effective reforms.
Preventing atrocities	Amber 	The UK’s record is mixed – as a permanent member of the UN Security Council, it bears particular responsibility for preventing genocide, ethnic cleansing and other atrocities.
Multilateral nuclear disarmament	Red 	The UK is failing in its commitment to work for multilateral disarmament at a time of increasing nuclear threats.
Respect for human rights	Amber 	The UK has largely been a positive force on the UN Human Rights Council. But inflammatory rhetoric and disdain for human rights by some politicians have marred its record.
Support for overseas aid	Green 	The UK is a generous aid donor. Care must be taken to ensure aid goes where it is most needed – including underfunded UN humanitarian programmes.
Tackling climate change	Amber 	The UK has ratified the Paris Climate Agreement but concerns are growing that the UK has de-prioritised climate action and is not on course to meet emissions targets.

WE RISK OUR LIVES FOR PEACE

I was born in Goma in the east of the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), a country fraught with security challenges and an unstable political situation that has reached crisis levels.

Many people have read about the notorious levels of sexual violence here. Decades of conflict have seen rape used as a weapon of war. Like so many women around the world, we have also had to deal with sexual violence in our homes and communities.

This has had a big impact on our ability to end conflict. When conflict increases, the political participation of women decreases, and with it, the likelihood of peace.

We have seen this happen here. Women have been excluded from political life at every level. Article 14 of our constitution calls for gender equality in all spheres of life, yet less than 10 per cent of the DRC's parliament is female. Our role is often seen as 'home maker' rather than 'change maker'. This is deeply frustrating. It also puts the future of our country at greater risk.

Women have been recognised time and again as those who can influence change at the community level. Seventeen years ago, UN Security Resolution 1325 called for the full and meaningful participation of women in peacebuilding. I have seen no concrete evidence of this happening in the DRC.

The answer may lie in international aid priorities. Much of the substantial funding that has been put into women's participation in peace processes has arguably been wasted. On the front lines, we know what will work. We have seen millions of pounds go to events such as

the UK Global Summit on Ending Sexual Violence in Conflict, while we scrape by with minimal funding. The UK has made efforts to be a global leader on ending sexual violence around the world, but, from our perspective, it has not yet managed to get funding to those on the ground who are doing most – if not all – of the heavy lifting.

In the DRC, our experience is compounded by the fact that neither the international community, nor our government, has managed the basic task of keeping us safe in our own country. We are at constant risk of violence, or even death. I speak out because I feel I have no choice and I want to do what I can for Congolese women and for the future of the DRC, but my staff at Synergie des Femmes have little sense of security. My colleague was raped and both our office and my home have been raided. This is the real price that Congolese women have been forced to pay to improve our lives.

I take inspiration from women around the world who have shone as beacons of hope in what seem like impossible situations. In September, Synergie des Femmes coordinated the Congolese Women's Forum for Peace and Security. With support from the Panzi Foundation, 65 feminist leaders from around the country came together in our capital, Kinshasa, to plan a peaceful future.

Our international partner, Donor Direct Action, organised a global hour of solidarity afterwards, which linked us with inspirational global leaders, including Swedish Foreign Minister Margot Wallström; former UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, Navi Pillay; Gloria Steinem; and Meryl Streep.

Over 600,000 people around the world watched the broadcast on Facebook Live. At the event, Leymah Gbowee, the Nobel Peace Prize laureate from Liberia, called the DRC "the world capital of sisterhood and solidarity". These women give me the energy to continue. Because of incredible women like Leymah, and others who support Congolese women, I know that we will succeed.

Within a week of the forum, we already saw change. Eighty Congolese women (including six from our forum) were able to join peace talks in the Kasai region. This represented only 20 per cent of those in the room, but that in itself was a milestone on which we will build.

I hope that the UK, UN and other donors will see the huge opportunity that exists to fund frontline feminist groups. We are doing everything we can to make sure that the DRC has a peaceful future but we need resources.

We have risked our lives for peace in this country. Irrespective of the level of support we get, we are not about to give up. For instance, we are now calling for elections – already a year overdue – as our current president, Joseph Kabila, has exceeded the two five-year terms set out in our constitution.

Without the inclusion of women there can be no peace. We hope that the international community will get behind us at last, and truly support us in our mission to lead from within.

JUSTINE MASIKA BIHAMBA // Founder of Synergie des Femmes, a women's organisation based in the DRC, which partners with the global women's group, Donor Direct Action.

// Congolese girl at the window of a classroom converted into a dormitory at the Maluku transit camp, May 2014
© UN Photo/Sylvain Liechti





Kim Wall was an award-winning journalist working in print, video, radio and longform. She reported on gender, popular culture, identity and foreign policy from China, Sri Lanka, Uganda, Haiti, North Korea, India and the Marshall Islands.

On 10 August 2017, Kim disappeared after boarding Danish inventor Peter Madsen's submarine off the coast of Copenhagen. Ten days later, her body was found by the police. The investigation into her murder is ongoing. She had just turned 30 in March.

The Kim Wall Memorial Fund was established by her family and friends to honour her spirit and legacy. The grant will fund a young female reporter to cover subculture, broadly defined, and what Kim liked to call "the undercurrents of rebellion". The fund was set up to reclaim the narrative of her life and death, and ensure that the stories Kim would have reported on, are reported on.

Kim would have wanted more women to be out in the world, brushing up against life. We are asking for your help in realising her vision of this braver, lovelier world.

Please consider contributing.
www.gofundme.com/rememberingkimwall

KIM WALL MEMORIAL FUND