

Women and Peacebuilding in Africa

Workshop report



Compiled by Cheryl Hendricks and Mary Chivasa
Kievits Kroon Country Estate, Tshwane (Pretoria), South Africa, 24–25 November 2008



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Acronyms

AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome	PCRD	Postconflict Reconstruction and Development
ASF	African Standby Force	SADC	Southern African Development Community
AU	African Union	SAPS	South African Police Service
CAFOB	Collectif des Associations et ONG Féministes du Burundi	SARPCCO	Southern African Regional Police Chiefs Cooperation Organisation
CECORE	Centre for Conflict Resolution	SAWID	South African Women in Dialogue
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women	SC	Security Council
CPA	Comprehensive Peace Agreement	SGBV	Sexual and Gender Based Violence
CSO	Civil Society Organisations	SSDDRC	South Sudan Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration Commission
CWINF	Committee on Women in Nato Forces	SSG	Security Sector Governance
DCAF	Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of the Armed Forces	SSR	Security Sector Reform
DCS	Department of Correctional Services	SPLA	Sudan People's Liberation Army
DDR	Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration	SWAN	Sudanese Women Association in Nairobi
DDRRR	Disarmament, Demobilisation, Repatriation, Reintegration and Resettlement	SWU	Sudanese Women's Union
DOD	Department of Defence	UN	United Nations
DPKO	Department for Peacekeeping Operations	UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo	UNDPKO	United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations
FAS	Femmes Africa Solidarité	UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
FGM	Female Genital Mutilation	UNIFEM	United Nations Development Fund for Women
HIV	Human Immuno-Deficiency Virus	UNPOL	United Nations Police
IBSA	India, Brasil and South Africa	UNSCR	United Nations Security Council Resolution
ICC	International Criminal Court	YPE	Youth and Peace Education Program
IDWG	Interdepartmental Working Group	WILPF	Women's International League for Peace and Freedom
IDPs	Internally Displaced Persons	WOPPA	Women as Partners for Peace in Africa
IGAD	Intergovernmental Authority on Development	WARN	West Africa Early Warning and Early Response Network
ISS	Institute for Security Studies	WANEP	West African Peace Network
IMF	International Monetary Fund	WAPI	West Africa Peacebuilding Institute
JAM	Joint Assessment Mission	WTO	World Trade Organisation
LRA	Lord's Resistance Army	WIPNET	Women in Peace Building Network
MDC	Movement for Democratic Change	ZANU-PF	Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front
MARWOPNET	Mano River Women's Peace Network		
NANGO	National Association for NGOs		
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development		
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation		
OSW	Office of the Status of Women		
NRRDS	Nuba Relief and Rehabilitation and Development Society		

Executive summary

INTRODUCTION

The numerous efforts to eradicate gender-based violence, mitigate the differential burdens that women bear during conflict, facilitate women's participation in peacebuilding, and achieve their overall empowerment has borne fruit through substantive legal frameworks and architectures at international, regional and national levels. In the peace and security sector, the United Nations Security Council Resolutions (UNSCR) 1325 and 1820 – which build upon many other interventions, such as the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, and the Windhoek Declaration – marked a major breakthrough for women's participation in peace processes.

UNSCR 1325 affirms the importance of women in peacebuilding and urges member states 'to ensure increased representation of women at all decision-making levels in national, regional and international institutions and mechanisms for the prevention, management and resolution of conflict'. It furthermore:

calls on all actors involved, when negotiating and implementing peace agreements, to adopt a gender perspective, including, *inter alia*: the special needs of women and girls during repatriation and resettlement and for rehabilitation, reintegration and postconflict reconstruction; measures that support local women's peace initiatives and indigenous processes for conflict resolution, and that involve women in all of the implementation mechanisms of the peace agreements.

The African Union's (AU) Protocol to the African Charter on Human and People's Rights on the Rights of

Women in Africa, and its Post-Conflict Reconstruction and Development framework (PCRD) are key regional instruments intended to give effect to women's participation in peacebuilding. These instruments have been promoted and accompanied by a growth of women's organisations and peacebuilding initiatives. However, though much progress has been made in creating a legal environment for women's participation in peacebuilding, women are still largely marginalised in current peace initiatives. A reassessment of progress and challenges is therefore required in order to chart a way forward that prioritises the implementation of frameworks agreed upon for the acknowledgement and facilitation of women's contribution to peacebuilding. Also important, is the ability to compare experiences in different African countries and identify and draw upon the lessons learnt. Part of this engagement must reflect on the gains made by women and their impact on the peace process itself.

Accordingly, the Institute for Security Studies (ISS) held a workshop on Women and Peacebuilding in Africa on 24 and 25 November 2008. This workshop was significant in that it was able to bring together 40 participants from the region to reflect critically on the engagement of women in peacebuilding initiatives and to think through ways of implementing UNSCR 1325 more effectively.

WORKSHOP OBJECTIVES

- To engage in constructive dialogue on the current status of women's participation in peacebuilding in Africa
- To identify the challenges that continue to impede women's participation in peacebuilding

- To share experiences and identify lessons learnt
- To collaboratively identify where further policy research and capacity building are needed
- To strengthen collaborative research and activist networks on this issue

WORKSHOP THEMES

The themes covered at this workshop were:

- Peace, security and gender in Africa
- Women and peacebuilding in Africa
- Women's participation in peace negotiations
- Women's participation in peace missions
- Gender and postconflict reconstruction
- Gender and the security sector
- Strategies for implementing UNSCR 1325 in Africa

KEY RECOMMENDATIONS

- Advocate for the implementation of frameworks, previously agreed upon, for conflict prevention, peacemaking, peacekeeping, and peacebuilding as contained in the UN Security Council Resolution 1325 of 2000, and the AU's PCRD framework.
- Re-examine assumptions and practices in relation to what women actually want. Consider how to achieve this and consult local women when determining what is good for them.
- Revisit conceptualisations of peacebuilding so that they are comprehensive and inclusive.
- Revisit the way in which negotiations are structured so that they are more inclusive and do not reinforce the idea that violence is rewarded with power.
- Find sustainable solutions for the root causes of conflict, such as poverty and food and resource insecurity, that can cause instability and potentially trigger war in a region.
- Develop early warning systems and ensure that they are gender sensitive.
- Monitor and engage in stocktaking exercises to assess progress, challenges and ways of redress for women in peacebuilding.
- Introduce un-signing ceremonies for those countries that do not comply with relevant legislation to which they are signatories.
- Protect women and leaders during conflict transformation, and document their experiences.
- Peace agreements should include paragraphs drawn from relevant international and regional conventions on women's rights and gender equality.
- Provide financial and other resources to women in conflict prevention and nonviolent transformation.

- Identify the forms of leverage that women can use to facilitate their inclusion in peace processes.
- Popularise, encourage and support smaller community-based peacebuilding initiatives.
- Education and health are key to women's participation in peacebuilding.
- Build the technical capacity for women to meaningfully participate in peacebuilding processes.
- Document women's peacebuilding initiatives.
- Do not separate issues of peacebuilding from the empowerment and sustainable development of women.
- Include the concerns of women refugees and internally displaced persons (IDP) in formal negotiation processes.
- Set gender targets for the African Standby Force.
- Regarding UNSCR 1325 specifically:
 - Simplify, translate into local languages and widely disseminate UNSCR 1325
 - Develop National Action Plans:
 - Ensure that national laws, policies and programmes that promote equal participation are in line with UN Resolution 1325
 - Ensure ratification, domestication and implementation of continental and international human rights instruments
 - Enact laws and ensure the development of policies that promote gender equality and the empowerment of women, and protect the rights of women
 - Develop guidelines and training tools to enable staff to mainstream gender in peace missions
 - Ensure equal representation of women and men at all levels of peace missions, including the decision-making structures at head office and mission areas
 - Review strategies and programmes to improve the conditions of women in peace missions, including how welfare, conduct and discipline issues are handled
 - Build collaborative partnerships with women and men constituencies
 - Conduct customised and generic training and training tools
 - Establish a database of trainers and of women who can be deployed in areas of need
 - Ensure civilians are adequately trained for peacekeeping
- For the defence sector specifically:
 - All relevant stakeholders have to participate in defence-reform processes in order to build national

consensus on, and foster national ownership of, state security.

- Defence policies should be compliant with international norms and frameworks.
- Sufficient human, financial and institutional resources must be allocated for gender mainstreaming.
- Gender diversity in recruitment must be complemented by gender-sensitive training

- Gender mainstreaming requires fundamental transformation of the culture of the armed forces
- Gender-disaggregated data needs to be standard within the defence force so that meaningful analysis, evaluation and corrective measures can transpire
- Women in the armed forces should have forums in which to share experiences

Welcome and opening remarks

Dr Cheryl Hendricks, Senior Research Fellow in the Security Sector Governance Programme (SSG) of the ISS, Ms Doris Murimi, Deputy Director of the ISS, and Ambassador Gudmundur Eiriksson, of the Iceland Embassy in Pretoria, welcomed participants and provided the opening remarks.

Dr Cheryl Hendricks noted that the ISS is an applied policy research institute that promotes human security in Africa through research, implementation support, training and capacity building. Although it is a well-known institute in the peace and security sector in Africa, it has not had a specific gender focus and therefore is lesser known in this field of study. The ISS has, however, steadily increased its work on gender. In 2008, with resources earmarked by Iceland for a project on women and peacebuilding, the ISS has been able to perform dedicated research on this topic. Dr Hendricks thanked the Ambassador of Iceland to South Africa, and particularly his predecessor, Ambassador Sigridur Duna Kristmundsdottir, for dedicating their funding to this important, yet often neglected, area of study within the peace and security community.

Women have long noted the differential effects of war on women and children at the highest intergovernmental levels. Over the last decade, the calls for women to be part of peace processes have echoed throughout the corridors of international, regional and state institutions that deal with peace and security. Women have organised themselves and, wherever there is conflict and or a peace process occurring, women's voices are being raised so that their interests can be taken into account. Dr Hendricks indicated that women have come a long way – from the development of the Beijing Platform for Action in 1995 to UNSCR 1325 in 2000, and more recently, UNSCR 1820 in 2008. But, like a slap in the face, current peace processes still exhibit a glaring imbalance in gender representation.

There appears to be no correlation between the rhetoric of intergovernmental institutions, their legal frameworks and their actual practices.

The monitoring and stocktaking of progress made in including women in peacebuilding processes is urgently required. Echoing a growing sentiment, Dr Hendricks urged that we do not need more legal instruments; rather, we need to give our instruments teeth. In addition, we should no longer be preoccupied with convincing others of the necessity of women's inclusion in peace processes, we need to find ways to ensure their inclusion. Furthermore, she noted that a lot of time and resources have been spent on developing checklists and toolkits; that is, on technical aspects. This is a necessary endeavour and an important part of realising our goals, but we must not lose sight of the political aspects: gendered relationships are political – they are fundamentally about the imbalance in power and the skewed distribution of resources between men and women. Dr Hendricks strongly urged policy makers, practitioners and researchers to reassess their assumptions and practices, and to use baseline studies to improve on implementation. UNSCR 1325 remains our most important instrument for effecting change in the peace and security environment and we thus have to ensure its implementation.

Dr Hendricks concluded by thanking all for their presence at the workshop. She remarked that, although the workshop had been organised by the ISS, participants needed to take ownership of the space in order to deal with the issues in ways that they deemed appropriate and effective. She encouraged the participants to continue to voice their thoughts and concerns loudly in all the spaces they find themselves in, as change is not something that happens in the abstract. It happens with all of us making it happen!

Ms Murimi and Ambassador Eiriksson also extended a warm welcome to the participants. Ambassador Eiriksson noted that gender equality and development were cornerstones of Iceland's foreign policy objectives. He also thanked the ISS for organising this initiative and

his predecessor for her foresight in pursuing and earmarking funds for the realisation of gender equality and, particularly, for her concern with issues related to women and peacebuilding.

Key note address

Peace, security and gender in Africa

Mrs Scholastica Kimaryo, Deputy Regional Director for East and Southern Africa, United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), gave a thought-provoking keynote address in which she lay bare the challenges to be confronted in order to make a real impact on peace, security and gender in Africa.

Mrs Kimaryo noted that, due to the programmes of the UN and various other organisations, there is a plethora of research on gender in Africa. Why then, she asked, have we seen so little results, despite our efforts? Why is it that we are getting cleverer, but the people on whose behalf we get paid are getting poorer?

Mrs Kimaryo highlighted some of the challenges that confront policymakers, researchers and activists, that could also explain our lack of progress in eliminating gender-based discrimination. These are:

- We often do not, or are unable to, consult with the women whom we purport to be assisting. For example, it is difficult to access women in conflict zones. However, until we listen to these women, hear their concerns and get their input on how to effect change, can we sincerely say that we are representing them? 'It is difficult to be more progressive than the people you are trying to help.' How can we, through our work, empower women and come up with solutions that truly offer improvements for them? Apart from finding information and publishing it, how do we reach the men and women where they are? How do we negotiate with them to come up with solutions that suit ordinary citizens? We need to reexamine our assumptions and practices and learn from the wisdom of the communities we come from. The book on Africa and development has yet to be written: 'Frankly, life for women is not responding to the development theories we have

created.' We need to come up with different ways of theorising and doing, and ask ourselves whether or not that which we are proposing is practical.

- We are often constrained by the preconditions that prevail at an institutional level and our unwillingness to challenge these. For example, our projects often have short timelines and predetermined outcomes. Unfortunately, life does not have such timelines. We have forgotten that time is supposed to be a facilitator, not the focus. We are often, however, under pressure to comply with timelines.
- We must make a distinction between a healthy critique of government and not working with governments. Mrs Kimaryo noted with concern the tendency among civil society organisations (CSOs) to be anti-government, and the African governments' equally unproductive dismissal of civil society as agents of the international community. To what extent can we operate in a way that is non-partisan?
- We need to enter into constructive dialogues with political parties. We need to put forward ideas on how these parties can be challenged to put gender on the agenda and into their manifestos.
- To what extent have we examined how business is supporting peace processes? Let us try to convince business people of the importance of supporting peace.
- We need to examine culture, the message and the messenger. We have become purveyors of a certain culture that does not take time to understand. We seem to have become blind, and simply peddle our own cultures.
- To make a difference, we have to go back to the saying 'the personal is the public'. We need to harmonise the personal and the public so that we have a platform from which to engage roleplayers in discussion.

- We need moral regeneration that is not superficial. Unless we have personal strength to change, nothing will change. We, in our diversity, have to be the front-line purveyors of the change we want and create an environment for peace.

Mrs Kimaryo ended with a quote by the UN Secretary-General, Ban Ki-moon: 'For there to be peace we need to plant seeds of peace!'

DISCUSSION

- How can we break the institutional cages in which we have trapped ourselves?
- How do we ensure seats for women at the peace table?
- Given scenarios like Zimbabwe, where there has been a lack of participation, how do we begin to engage with political parties?

RESPONSE

Our compliance is the biggest part of the problem. How many opportunities for change did we compromise

because we did not dare? We live with our internal conflict. We cannot bring about change if we are not daring in our thinking and acting. We do have a great deal of space in which to make a difference, but this change cannot be brought about overnight. Why do we expect different results when we are doing the same things over and over again? For the people who dared to make a difference, it has been tough: they have had to pay a price. We are too comfortable. We have become midwives of the status quo. As we make recommendations for others, let us also make recommendations for ourselves. Let us become the change we want to see in others.

There is little accountability for the work we do and thus little relationship between the resources used and the outcomes. There is also confusion about what we want to achieve. We need to challenge our mindset if we are to make a difference. The only thing that makes a difference is passion. Unless we have passion, we cannot inspire others to make a difference. We must move away from our professional pigeonholes, prejudices, political and religious values, as these can limit and influence the part we play in peacebuilding.

Women and peacebuilding in Africa

Panel One

There were two panels on women and peacebuilding in Africa. The first panel was chaired by Dr Jean-Bosco Butera, Director of the Africa Programme at the University for Peace, Addis Ababa. The panellists were Dr Cheryl Hendricks, of the Security Sector Governance Programme at the ISS, Dr Judy Smith-Höhn, of the African Security Analysis Programme at the ISS, and Dr Duria Elhussin, of the Afhad University for Women in the Sudan.

FRAMING THE ISSUES

DR CHERYL HENDRICKS

The recognition of women's peacebuilding activities, arguments for why women should be involved in peacebuilding, and the development of strategies for their inclusion, has been a dominant focus in the literature and activism of women engaged in the arena of development, peace and security. UNSC Resolution 1325 was a watershed moment for activists. It provided an empowerment tool, at the highest level, for women's equal participation in conflict prevention, management, postconflict reconstruction and peacebuilding. But, eight years since its inception, we are still bemoaning the fact that we are not represented at peace-tables and that the actors and constructions of peace remain profoundly gendered. We therefore need to revisit our conceptualisations and our actions, and begin to ask ourselves some pertinent questions.

Dr Hendricks noted that there appeared to be little consensus on what peacebuilding meant. Is it a set of activities? Is it an ongoing process? When does it start? What is its end goal? And who is, or should be, involved in it? She argued that those most influential in facilitating peacebuilding, namely the UN, are operating within a very

narrow, linear, activity-oriented approach. There appears to be little analytical distinction between peacebuilding and postconflict reconstruction. These activities are also conceived of as state-driven, thus restricting them to a sphere where women are not well represented. The work in which women are engaged at a local level, therefore, has not been, and is not likely to be, recognised as peacebuilding. If not challenged, the current scenario will ensure that women remain excluded from the official peacebuilding processes or, at best, be incorporated as add-ons.

Dr Hendricks argued that we need to be very clear about our conceptualisation of peacebuilding and, indeed, shape its definition so that we are not relegated to the margins of the process. We need a definition that views peacebuilding along a continuum, differing in the degree or scale of peacebuilding initiatives during conflict, acknowledging that peacebuilding occurs at all levels of society. Peacebuilding is not the signing of a peace-agreement, or an election; those are elements of a long-term process. When we redefine peacebuilding in this way, it is immediately more inclusive in terms of actors, measures and outcomes. It allows for the positing of women as central actors in the peacebuilding process. For, if peacebuilding is understood to occur at all levels, then the many activities that women undertake at the community level during war are immediately included in the conceptualisation. The way we name and define determines who is included and who is excluded. We therefore need to be at the forefront of defining/redefining peacebuilding.

Discussing why women should be involved in peacebuilding, Dr Hendricks noted that feminists have forcefully argued that 'war is gendered'. We can now add to this the idea that 'peace is gendered'. There are numerous studies citing the gendered consequences of war and our studies have evolved from the dominant

discourse of victimhood to more complex analyses that highlight that women, too, experience conflict. Women play different roles during conflict and, amidst the suffering, this also creates opportunities for redefining gender roles. The book *The Aftermath: Women in Post-conflict Transformation*, edited by Sheila Meintjies, Anu Pillay and Meredith Turshen, has been instrumental in highlighting the differential roles and opportunities presented by conflict. But, they assert, the aftermath is too late for women. Women need to mobilise during war and be present in the renegotiation of their societies if they are to make substantial gains in the postconflict era.

However, Dr Hendricks contended, the question that remains central is: on what basis are women to get to the negotiating tables? Negotiations have always taken place between warring parties, not between victims or peacebuilders. The number of armed men a group controls, and the power they are thus able to exert, gives them access to the table and determines the distribution of power and thus the distribution of rewards.

Dr Hendricks, citing Louise Vincent (2002), outlined the different theoretical positions that have underpinned the basis for women's claims to participation, namely, a liberal perspective, standpoint theory and poststructuralism. She then highlighted that we know that it is not sustainable to posit innate qualities of peace on women. In fact, this would be contrary to our claims of women as combatants, and therefore as having a right to access disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration (DDR) programmes. We know, too, that women mobilise for peace in varied ways and we do not, through privileging a discourse of diversity and fragmentation, want to lose the collective mobilising power of women, as women, for peacebuilding. We have argued for the acknowledgement of women's participation in peacebuilding processes and we have argued for the presence of women at the high table. We have largely based our arguments on a rights discourse rather than an alternative vision of society previously suggested by Louise Vincent. We have long been aware that the mere presence of women in government or at peace processes is not sufficient to effect change. We have thus argued for a critical mass of women and for women who place women's interests at the forefront to be our representatives in state institutions. We have extended our claims from the right to be at peace tables to the right to participate in peace missions, conflict prevention and other decision-making structures for peacebuilding, and we have asked that women be given the necessary training and the access to tools that will make our endeavours a success.

However, we have shied away from using the language of power, that which privileges men at the negotiating table, to posit women as central to the peacebuilding process. Largely because power, in this context, is seen as

hard power – the number of guns, soldiers or oppression one wields. As women, we assume that we have no power and we will therefore always be on the backburner, trying to rationalise why the self-appointed guardians of peace processes should include us or make our activities more visible. We have 'soft' power (the power of ideas, respect, etc), which is a more enduring form of influence.

Women, Dr Hendricks argued, are intrinsically involved in creating the opportunity for war and therefore for peace. For a war to be conducted, an 'opportunity structure' is required – resources. To date, the resources that women provide have not been taken into account. Men are able to go off to war precisely because women remain behind to maintain households. Examples from North Sudan show that women supported their husbands and sons during the war, thus tacitly legitimating the war, by giving them parcels of food and gold, and so forth. It is also no happenstance, or mere collateral damage, that women are captured to become cooks and slaves, etc – without them, rebel armies would barely survive. But these reproductive aspects of war are not taken into account. Once we recognise that this support is what makes war possible, we recognise the power that women actually hold: by withholding this support they can contribute to peace.

When women are directly affected by war, women are the ones that speak and act the loudest for peace to occur and make rapprochements long before men, having returned from the battlefield, do so at public engagements. There are countless examples of these women-driven initiatives but they do not make it to the front pages of the media. Women also use their persuasive and umbilical power over their husbands and sons to attempt to bring an end to conflict. This repositions them as central actors in peace processes at local levels. Nonrecognition of this power feeds the discourse of victimhood and perpetuates their positioning on the margins, both in times of conflict and peacebuilding. We need to become cognitively aware of the positive power we wield, and then use this power to influence situations, both directly and indirectly.

Speaking to the contributions of women to peacebuilding, Dr Hendricks noted that, at the international, regional, national and local levels, women are mobilising to bring peace to war-torn countries and to bring about gender mainstreaming in all peace processes.

1) At the international and regional levels, these have primarily been around creating legal frameworks and supporting local women. The frameworks provide important leverage for women to mobilise to be part of peace processes and to hold their governments and rebel armies accountable for acts committed against women and children. But there appears to be a major gap in the creation of these frameworks and their effectiveness on the

ground. Immunity for deeds committed during wartime, despite the formation of the International Criminal Court (ICC), is still a dominant outcome of peace negotiations. Women are still not adequately represented at peace tables, they are still not represented in sufficient numbers in peace support operations, and so forth. Part of the reason for this is that many of the above frameworks are not legally binding and they have little ability to enforce their recommendations.

By providing financial support, organising various conferences that bring women together, setting up platforms of women's organisations and in starting capacity-building initiatives for women, international organisations, such as United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM), United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF), Women for Women International, The Hunt's Foundation, and various donor organisations, have been instrumental in advocating for the inclusion of women. Through their interventions, for example, DDR guidelines now include benefits for women who were part of armies, in whatever capacity – although this, too, needs to be more effectively enforced. The Department for Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) policy directive is now very explicit on gender mainstreaming in peacekeeping missions. In the DRC, it was through UNIFEM sponsorship that women were able to attend the Sun City dialogue – although they remained excluded from the actual negotiations. Organisations like these campaign tirelessly on behalf of women, highlighting their plight during conflict, and working to bring them together so that they can put forward their demands. The Nairobi Declaration and the Oslo conference are two examples of such efforts that stand out in the cases of the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and Sudan.

Femmes Africa Solidarité (FAS), a regional organisation, has led the way in promoting the participation of women in peace processes on the continent. The Mano River Women's Peace Network (MARWOPNET), Women as Partners for Peace in Africa (WOPPA), West African Peace Network (WANEP) and the South African Women in Dialogue (SAWID) are also active in the area of women and peacebuilding on the continent.

National-based initiatives

Dr Hendricks made the distinction between the more visible national-based initiatives where women get together, usually with the assistance of an international organisation, to draft a resolution/declaration which would assert their interests, and the smaller local-level initiatives that never make it to the media – the invisible, yet more likely most instrumental, acts of peacebuilding.

She proceeded to give a number of examples from her research in the DRC, Rwanda and the Sudan.

She argued that much of the formal peacebuilding initiatives are geared towards lobbying and advocacy, while the informal strategies (usually women engaging with women) are concerned with recognising a certain advantage or power that women wield and then withholding it. But both forms of intervention are usually backed by limited resources and the format is largely that of persuasion/psychology, thus playing on the constructions of identities associated with women.

Some of the questions we need to be asking are:

- Why do women remain excluded? The most obvious reason is because there are no consequences associated with their exclusion. What leverage do we have to bring about an alternative outcome, and how should this influence be employed?
- Getting to the negotiation table is important, but it is but one of many peacebuilding activities. How can we popularise, encourage and support the smaller community-based initiatives?
- How can we add value to all the different stages of the peace processes?
- What do we wish to bring to the peace table, who should be bringing it, and on what basis should they be bringing it?
- How do we explain the difference in outcome for women in different countries? If we know the key variables to success, then we have a good basis from which to start.
- What is the alternative vision of the 'good life' for which we are mobilising? We are not merely asking for the representation and participation of women for its own sake – or merely to have women's interests reflected – we are, as Vincent indicates, wanting to build new societies. But what are the values, practices, institutions that should form the bedrock of these societies?
- How do we move to define ourselves as actors, and be actors, in the shaping of our destinies?

WOMEN AND PEACEBUILDING IN SIERRA LEONE AND LIBERIA

MS JUDY SMITH-HÖHN

Ms Smith-Höhn asked why women were excluded from peace processes in Sierra Leone despite the vibrancy of their civil society. For example, women organised a peace rally in Freetown in 1995. This exclusion could be attributed to the fact that women's groups put other issues on the table – women mobilised in favour of elections, threatened to expose corrupt politicians, and prioritised

issues like literacy and health. In other words, Ms Smith-Höhn suggested, they had a broader agenda that scared government.

In Liberia, Ms Smith-Höhn, contended that, despite a patriarchal society, there were a significant number of educated women. The country has produced the first African woman university head and the first African woman president. There are also well publicised initiatives to address regional conflict in this area, for example, the Mano River Peace Project. Women from this organisation conducted shuttle diplomacy, trying to get the presidents of Liberia, Guinea and Sierra Leone to meet, but they were excluded from the eventual negotiating table.

Ms Smith-Höhn identified some lessons learnt through these processes:

- The centralisation of power, patriarchal attitudes and violence exclude women from peace processes.
- Institutions governed by men are unlikely to reflect women's concerns.
- Women are not homogenous, they often have conflicting interests.
- We need to shift our focus to grassroots, informal peace activities which are often undervalued and seen as volunteer work.
- That women are naturally peace-loving is a misconception.
- Women are ghettoised as women.
- We need a gendered account of both women and men in war situations and we must make no assumptions of what women want in conflict situations.

THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF WOMEN TO PEACEBUILDING IN SUDAN

DR DURIA ELHUSSIN

Dr Elhussin provided a brief background of the civil war in Sudan. Sudan is the largest country in Africa with a population of 30 million people and about 16 ethnic groups. In 2002, the Machakos Protocol was signed, signifying the beginning of another peace process between the north and the south of Sudan, which had been at war since the country's independence. A Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) was signed in 2005. The CPA brought vital peace to the country in terms of its north-south divide, but it failed to address the conflicts with Darfur and East Sudan, and ignored certain constituencies, such as women. The CPA was premised on political forces and regional interests, not women's interests.

Women constitute the largest percentage of the population (65%), especially in the conflict zones, where they represent up to 75% of the populace. Nearly 70% of

the households are left in the hands of women. During the conflict, women were not only victims of war but also active builders of peace, especially at the grassroots level. For example, they instituted people-to-people peacebuilding processes. Dr Elhussin cited the wife of the Dinka Chief, who was the one who encouraged him to go and make peace, as a further example.

Women acquired new status, skills and power through taking new responsibilities that challenged existing norms. They engaged in income generating activities, conflict resolution, literacy campaigns and other peacebuilding initiatives. They have taken a lead role in resolving interethnic conflict in the country. They have also formed networks and participated in global peace movements. In 1995, Sudanese women participated in the Beijing Platform for Action and agreed to work together collectively to end the war.

Dr Elhussin highlighted some of the achievements of Sudanese women:

- They developed the Sudanese women's minimum agenda for peace, Nairobi, January 2000
- They developed the Maastricht Declaration of Sudanese Women For Peace, April 2000
- Women participated in developing a Machakos position paper with other national NGOs
- Women participated in inter-Sudanese consultation groups
- Women participated in the Joint Assessment Mission (JAM) process
- Women prepared, with the assistance of other NGOs and academic institutions, a priorities document for women for the donor meeting in Oslo

DISCUSSION

- How do gender constructions inform our perspectives and how are gender constructions reconfigured during conflict?
- What are the specific issues for which women are pushing in Darfur? Do women raise topics affecting women, or are they broader issues relating to human security?
- In Sudan, Liberia and Sierra Leone, not all displaced populations returned to the country of origin. Many remained as refugees in their country of asylum. Were there structures to facilitate the training of these women in peacebuilding and conflict resolution?
- Is an overtly political voice necessary to take women's voices further in the Sudan? In South Africa, a women's coalition hoped assertively to determine and influence the political situation. Have we lost some of the gains they made? How are men engaged on these

issues in these countries? Is there any organisational structure for men?

- How are Sudanese women participating in transitional justice?
- We are not talking about women in general, we are talking about women peacemakers. Have women ever been seen as peacemakers at a peacemaking table, other than in the role of facilitators? Peacemaking usually takes place amongst warriors, usually to obtain political advantages (whereas peacemakers go to make peace). This is why there is an increase in violence before negotiations begin, various parties hope to gain leverage with regard to their political positions. How do we change the negotiation framework entirely?

PRESENTER RESPONSES

- Before the signing of the CPA in the Sudan, it was difficult for women to coordinate. With regard to the issues raised by women in Darfur, in the beginning

they focused on ending violence against women and improving the security situation. Women are now more focused on engendering the peace talks. In general, in Sudan there are challenges in implementing agreed-upon principles for women's empowerment. Laws cannot by themselves address issues such as female genital mutilation (FGM), rape, or domestic violence.

- On the question of transitional justice, there is no strong justice process in place in Sudan.
- We have to acknowledge the multiplicity of identities that women embody, political, economic, and social (as mothers, sisters, daughters etc). and see how we can draw on all of these in our quest for peace. It is important that we mobilise politically for the inclusion of women, but our approach must be multidimensional.
- We do need to change the ways in which negotiations are structured. In other words, what provides one with access to the negotiation table? If the criteria remain merely hard power, then the structure itself encourages and legitimises violence as a means for change and as a way to gain access to state power.

Women and peacebuilding in Africa

Panel Two

Ms Orla de Diez, Project Coordinator, African Women Leaders, Club of Madrid, chaired the second panel. The speakers on this panel were Ms Rose Othieno, of the Centre for Conflict Resolution (CECORE), Ms Ella Chimburu, of the University of Nairobi, Ms Agnes Farme, West African Network for Peacebuilding (WANEP), Sierra Leone, and Ms Girlie Silinda, of the South African Women in Dialogue (SAWID).

PROGRESS, CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN PEACEBUILDING IN THE EAST AFRICAN REGION

MS ROSE OTHIENO

Ms Othieno noted that women have always been instrumental in changing the agenda of peace processes, but that it was only with the adoption of UNSCR 1325 that their work began to be acknowledged. Armed conflict affects men and women differently and this has contributed to women's efforts for inclusion in peacebuilding initiatives.

She outlined some of the factors that have limited women's participation in formal peace negotiations and ceasefire talks, namely, unfair culture and traditions, the patriarchal nature of our society and institutions, religious injustices, and assigned gender roles. The following challenges still need to be addressed:

- The translation of the political gains in women's status to all levels of society
- The issue of quantitative versus qualitative representation
- Increased legislative and policy reforms that support and promote women's advancement

Ms Othieno asked: How do we go from negotiating our role in peace to negotiating the transformative participation of women?

Outlining the progress that women in East Africa have made in participating in peacebuilding, she noted that much progress has been made in affirmative action for women's representation in decision-making. For example, Rwanda has the highest number of women parliamentarians in the world, 48.9%; in Burundi, 35.4% of the legislature consists of women and in Uganda, 26.5%.

In Rwanda, Pro-femme started a Peace Action Campaign in 1994 with the objective of creating a culture of peace and eradicating all forms of discrimination against women after the genocide. Some of the strategies it employed were: training, media campaigns, the sensitisation of women, and advocacy for adequate laws on women's economic power. In 1996, this organisation received the Mandajeet Singh award from UNESCO for its peace work.

The Save Somali Women and Children (SSWC) organisation was founded in 1992. Its objectives are to help women overcome their marginalisation and the violence and poverty they endure in their communities, and to engender the peace process. The organisation's strategy is to start with grassroots programmes, workshops and innovative means of action. In 2000, it succeeded in involving women in politics on the basis of a Sixth Clan. In January 2004, Asha Hagi Elmi became the first woman signatory to a Somali Peace Agreement and, in October 2008, she won the Alternate Nobel Prize for her peace work.

In Burundi, the Collectif des Associations et ONG Féministes du Burundi (CAFOB) was created in 1994, in order to assist with the peaceful resolution of conflicts. They lobbied for women to participate in the peace process and for a 30% quota of women in decision-

making. They, too, enjoyed a measure of success with women participating in the Arusha talks.

Exiled Sudanese women in Nairobi created the Sudan Women's Voice for Peace in 1994. Their objective was to advance women's participation in conflict resolution through training and by creating peace committees at village level.

In Kenya, the Wajir Peace Initiative was founded in the early 1990s. They formed a rapid response team, conducted workshops, held peace days, dialogued with parliamentarians, and established an early warning system.

The Uganda Women's Peace Coalition was established in 2006 to address the need to involve women in the peace process in order to help resolve the 20-year conflict in Northern Uganda. It succeeded in getting one woman representative included on the government's negotiating team, a gender advisor appointed to the mediation team, and won the right to provide input into the agenda items, thus making the agreements and protocols more gender-sensitive.

PROGRESS, CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN PEACEBUILDING IN THE CENTRAL AFRICAN REGION

MS ELLA CHIMBIRU

Ms Chimbiru noted that, although UNSCR 1325 has helped to shift women's issues from the local level to the international arena, we still see the crimes of sexual violence against women and children committed with impunity. Few women participate in decision-making processes, primarily because the national and the international institutions responsible for implementing UNSCR 1325 lack the facilities required for reporting, monitoring and evaluating and facilitating of women's engagement. She argued that women play an integral part in peacebuilding and must be involved early in the peace process in order to build their legitimacy as participants. For effective participation in postconflict environments, there must be gender-sensitive reforms in public decision-making processes, in electoral systems, judicial systems, security systems, legislatures and local councils. In other words, there must be accommodative policies.

We must, however, also take note of the cultural constraints that women face which limit their participation in peacebuilding. But cultural practices are derived from political and economic environments, and the institutions under which they operate legitimise existing power relations. Policies regarding women's participation in peacebuilding cannot be divorced from governance policy because these provide critical linkages and overlaps. Ms

Chimbiru also stressed the need for education as the basis from which to improve women's participation in decision-making and peacebuilding.

Speaking to the ethics of women's participation, she noted that the international community has repeatedly failed to prevent atrocities against women in time of conflict, to engage multi-ethnic women's NGOs involved in reconciliation, and to match policy commitments with actual budgetary allocations.

Ms Chimbiru highlighted the important challenge posed by the exclusion of female ex-combatants in DDR programmes. These women often turn to commercial sex for an income, and they then become central in the spread of HIV/AIDS. Exclusion from DDR processes also means that women ex-combatants retain their weapons and thus can constitute a danger to society.

WANEP'S EXPERIENCES WITH PEACEBUILDING

MS AGNES FARMA

WANEP is a nonprofit organisation that was founded in 1999 as a result of the wars that engulfed the West African subregion. It has networks in Sierra Leone, Liberia, Togo, Nigeria, Senegal, Guinea, Mali, Gambia, Guinea-Bissau, Burkina Faso, Côte d'Ivoire, and Niger.

WANEP's programs include:

- Women in Peace Building Network (WIPNET)
- West Africa Early Warning and Early Response Network (WARN)
- West Africa Peace building Institute (WAPI)
- Youth and Peace Education Program (YPE)
- Research and Monitoring Program
- Civil Society Policy and Advocacy Program
- Justice Lens Program

Ms Farma listed some of the challenges faced by WANEP and by the society at large. Among these are:

- WANEP headquarters and networks are not adequately resourced to ensure the full implementation and coordination of their projects
- The continuing prevalence of gender-based violence and the lack of attention to the needs of female ex-combatants
- Secret cultural societies are often used as tools for political intimidation
- Inadequate training and confidence-building opportunities for women
- The lack of networking and coordinating with other women peacebuilding CSOs

- Women peacebuilders are traumatised by violent conflict

She listed the following best practices that should be pursued:

- Develop and support training opportunities for women through partnerships and exchange programs
- Engage in projects that stress the importance of gender perspectives in postconflict societies
- Build the technical capacity of NGOs and CSOs engaged in implementing international instruments of empowerment
- Governments should ensure equal representation of women on peace-negotiation teams and preventive diplomacy missions
- Women should equip themselves with the tools that will help to liberate them, build their collective strengths and minimise the damage of their weaknesses
- Provide support for peace advocates in rural communities
- Document peacebuilding initiatives for credibility

SAWID'S CONTRIBUTION, ACHIEVEMENTS AND CHALLENGES TO PEACEBUILDING ON THE CONTINENT

MS GIRLIE SILINDA

Ms Silinda provided an overview of South African Women in Dialogue (SAWID) noting that it is an independent, nonpartisan, South African women's forum that provides a platform for woman to be heard through dialogue. It seeks to strengthen solidarity and social cohesion, promote and consolidate peace, security and stability in our communities, and in so doing create a space conducive to socioeconomic development and the eradication of poverty.

Ms Silinda posed the question: what is at stake? She noted that:

- Violence against women and children is escalating and it is disempowering women
- In conflicts and wars, women are raped, traumatised and despised. This has serious impacts on development, including negative impacts on women's health
- Human trafficking, which disproportionately affects women and girls, has become a global business that generates huge profits for traffickers and organised criminal groups
- There is a strong negative correlation between conflict and human development. Conflict increases the threat of bodily harm and destroys the social and political networks on which social cohesion is based. This increases the incidence of social exclusion

- The conditions for a stable and consolidated democracy have not yet been fulfilled

SAWID has engaged with the DRC, Burundi, Liberia and Sudan to develop strategies and programmes for strengthening women's role in the peace processes.

Ms Silinda identified the following lessons learnt:

- We cannot separate issues of peacebuilding from those of women's empowerment and sustainable development
- Early warning and early intervention are still the weak links in the conflict chain and, once a conflict matures, there is a mismatch between the event and the forms of intervention. Generally, intervention through fact-finding or mediation comes too late
- Women's participation in peace issues is limited
- Many plans have been developed to facilitate women's participation in peacebuilding, but they are rarely implemented
- NGOs working in the field of gender are often ridiculed and struggle to obtain funding for their programmes
- There is limited research on women, young women and girls which would identify specific programmatic efforts needed to address the issues faced by these groups
- Legal support for vulnerable groups is very limited
- Dependable platforms from which to engage and promote the participation of women are almost non-existent

A plan of action for peacebuilding could entail:

- Promoting participation and expanding social dialogue and civic engagement through broad-based dialogue platforms (government, civil society, researchers)
- Promoting the participation of women in the processes of peacekeeping, peacemaking, peacebuilding, post-conflict reconstruction, socioeconomic reconstruction, and human security
- Advocating for the implementation of previously agreed-upon frameworks for conflict prevention, peacemaking, peacekeeping, and peacebuilding as contained in UNSCR 1325 and the AU's PCRD
- Finding sustainable solutions for the root causes of conflict, such as poverty, food and resource insecurity, that can cause instability and potentially trigger war in a region
- Expanding the definition of conflict, which is often limited to issues of violent conflict rather than encompassing a larger human security perspective, to

one that is inclusive of political, social, and economic dimensions

- Developing early warning systems

In conclusion, Ms Silindi, echoing Noeleen Heyzer (UNIFEM's Executive Director) noted that the question is not only what women can bring to peace consolidation, but also what peacebuilding can do to promote women's human rights and gender equality – how can it transform social structures so that they do not reproduce the exclusion and marginalisation that underlie conflict?

DISCUSSION

- What are the problems encountered by women who are in DDR programmes?
- Have the gender instruments been translated into different languages and have they been understood?
- There is too little technical knowledge among women. Hard technical skills are required to gain respect in these corridors of power.
- The relationship between poverty and women and peacebuilding needs to be acknowledged; that is, are women not engaged because of poverty? Issues on peace should not be separated from those of sustainable development.

- Why has Rwanda been able to engage women in peacebuilding and decision-making? This is a highly militarised state that could push women forward. Is it only political will?
- We need to identify what we are we doing wrong. Why are governments, rebel groups, etc. still excluding women?
- Many women do have technical knowledge but are still not included in peace processes.
- After the genocide in Rwanda, women changed their roles. Women became builders and taxi drivers, and their representation in parliament is a justice rendered to their participation. Political leadership allowed this to happen through a combination of the recognition of their role and political will.

PANEL RESPONSES

- Although some of the instruments have been translated into local languages, more of this work can be done. The distribution of, and familiarity with, these instruments are a necessity.
- Strong work can be done at the local level, we should therefore have more community-level systems of peacebuilding.
- Peace is a process. We demobilise the combatants into society, but their minds are still in the bush.

Women's participation in peace negotiations

Dr Rokhaya Ndiaya Fall of NEPAD was the chair for this session. The panellists were Ms Tabitha Mathiang, of SSDDRC, Ms Margaret Otim, from Northern Uganda, Mr Rino Kamidi, Intern at the ISS and Ms Mildred Sandi, of NANGO in Zimbabwe.

WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN PEACE NEGOTIATIONS IN SUDAN

MS TABITHA MATHIANG

Ms Mathiang noted that Sudanese women have a history of facilitating peace processes in the Sudan. They also continue to provide physical and psychological support to people in need and participate in conflict prevention and peacebuilding programmes.

Ms Mathiang indicated that, during the conflict, women participated as combatants and/or provided support to fighters; they fed and cared for the sick and wounded soldiers; they kept families and communities together through singing peace songs; persuaded husbands, sons and daughters to stop fighting; and formed women's organisations and networks that advocated for peace, both at the grassroots and internationally. The formal participation of women in the negotiations was, however, limited.

During the negotiations, women resorted to passing recommendations on pieces of paper under the doors of closed negotiation rooms. They also held demonstrations to highlight issues that they believed were not being adequately addressed, for example, the plight of orphans and the disabled, and gender balancing.

Some of the main women's groups engaged in peacebuilding in the Sudan are:

- Sudanese Women's Union (SWU)
- Sudan People's Liberation Army SPLA Women's Movement
- New Sudan Women's Federation (NSWF)
- Sudanese Women's Voice for Peace
- Sudanese Women Association in Nairobi (SWAN)
- Nuba Women's Peace Group
- Nuba Relief and Rehabilitation and Development Society (NRRDS)

Ms Mathiang argued that women are still marginalised by their male counterparts in the Sudan, and that their lack of a single voice and continuing cultural barriers have impacted upon their ability to participate in peace negotiations.

GENDER AND PEACE NEGOTIATIONS IN NORTHERN UGANDA: ACHIEVEMENTS, CHALLENGES AND WAYS OF REDRESS

MS MARGARET OTIM

Northern Uganda has experienced two decades of war. During this time, many women and children, in various capacities, have participated in the war but, women were not recognised as combatants. Ms Otim stated that a woman, Betty Bigombe, spearheaded the first attempts at peaceful negotiations. The peace agreement was not signed and the war still continues.

Ms Otim urged that the stalled peace talks be reinstated and that the process be engendered. She also argued for the need for reparations to heal the wounds of the past.

THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN THE PEACE NEGOTIATION PROCESS IN ZIMBABWE

MS MILDRED SANDI

Ms Sandi stated that the past ten years in Zimbabwe tell a gruesome and chilling story of the debilitating effects that internal contradictions and unsanctioned conflicts can have on the social, political and economic fabric of a country. The conflict, driven by partisan interests, has altered people's mindsets and created serious divisions. In the pursuit of self-preservation and a bid to hold onto power, ZANU-PF resorted to the use of force to suppress dissent. They also instituted legislation and policies that resulted in a serious economic crisis, indebtedness, poverty, political instability, collapsed health and education services, and frequently committed human rights violations. Women and children have been severely affected by this crisis. There are horrendous stories of how women have been abused, abducted, raped, displaced and emotionally harassed. Yet they continue to play second fiddle while peace initiatives were being drawn up.

The current political settlement in Zimbabwe, which is between the three main political parties (ZANU-PF and the two MDC formations), is a clear manifestation of the total disregard to which women have been subjected. There is no record of women ever being consulted to ensure that the peace initiative is holistic in its approach. This is out of kilter with the reality that the three parties concerned draw much of their support from women, and that they each have strong women's leagues. Zimbabwe is also a signatory to many of the international protocols and treaties. For example, they have ratified the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa which states, *inter alia*, that:

- Women have the right to a peaceful existence and the right to participate in the promotion and maintenance of peace
- State parties shall take all appropriate measures to ensure the increased participation of women

These protocols, signed outside of the country, appear to have no bearing internally.

The few women who participated in the negotiations did so as political advisors for their parties. Ms Sandi indicated that both women and the larger civil society were excluded from these peace talks, which took place under a veil of secrecy. Given the nature and process of the peace deal, there was little space for gender issues to be taken into consideration. The situation was further compounded by the fact that the mechanism for enforcing compliance to the agreement, the Joint Monitoring and

Evaluation Committee, will function with very little or no input from the women at all.

Ms Sandi also noted the divisions between women in Zimbabwe: 'Zanu-PF women do not mix with the MDC women.' It was underscored that women should participate fully in decision making, the drafting, formulation and implementation of peace protocols, and postconflict reconstruction.

The following lessons can be learnt from the Zimbabwean peace process:

- Zimbabwean women need to unite beyond the political divide in order to advocate for political representation and social change. The polarised environment of conflict negotiations has reinforced patriarchal and other social attitudes that exclude women from decision making and sources of power and influence
- Strong coordinated alliances need to be built at local, regional and international levels in order to influence the post-transition phase to achieve gender equality and gender balance in decision making
- Women need to explore innovative strategies to ensure that their priorities are enshrined in the constitution
- Levels of awareness and understanding of international instruments and how these impact on women and men at local levels need to be raised, for example, UNSCR 1325
- Women should be strengthened through training and capacity-building programmes. These should cover conflict transformation and peacebuilding, research, policy formulation and implementation, advocacy and lobbying, and gender mainstreaming
- Women and leaders should be protected during conflict transformation and their experiences documented
- Peace agreements should include paragraphs drawn from relevant international and regional conventions on women's rights and gender equality
- Peace agreements and national constitutions should make reference to numerical targets to ensure gender balance in formal peace talks and negotiations
- Collaborative and powerful networking with regional and international support networks needs to be established to influence and pressure parties in conflict to include women in the peace delegations
- Financial and other resources should be supplied to women in conflict prevention and nonviolent transformation in order to influence decisions and impact change
- This workshop needs to adopt a results-based approach in order to monitor progress and evaluate outcomes and impacts

Table 1 Representation of women in the DRC government

	Total	Men	Women	% of women
President of the Republic	1	1	0	0
National Assembly	500	458	42	8.4
Senate	108	103	5	4.6
Provincial Assemblies	662	621	41	6.2
Governors	22	22	0	0
Government	56	49	7	14.2
Total	1 351	1 254	97	7.1
New Cabinet	54	51	3	7.4

CHALLENGES TO INCORPORATING WOMEN IN PEACE NEGOTIATIONS: THE CASE OF THE DRC

MR RINO KAMIDI

Mr Kamidi indicated that the contributions of women peacemakers in the DRC have largely gone unnoticed. Women were largely excluded from negotiations leading up to the 1999 Lusaka Peace Accord. During the Sun City talks, only 40 of the 340 participants were women. More recently, during the Goma Conference in 2008, of the 800 participants only 20 were women.

The lack of women’s participation extends into the new government.

He noted the following major challenges facing women in the DRC:

- Political: little representation at decision-making level; slow progress on gender mainstreaming; poor gender budgeting
- Social: feminisation of poverty; widespread sexual violence and impunity for these acts; high levels of illiteracy
- Legal: Article 14 and 15 of the constitution promote gender equity but there has been little implementation
- Lack of political will: women are used to achieve specific political agendas

Mr Kamidi concluded by stressing the need for gender-sensitive security sector reform in DRC.

DISCUSSION

- No agreement with the LRA has been signed, partly because of the threat of the ICC. With Southern Sudan’s involvement, is it not possible to exert stronger pressure on the parties to provide some guarantees for security?
- The fragmentation of the women’s movement in the DRC impeded the progress that could have been made towards larger gender representation after the elections. This was essentially a lost opportunity.
- Women’s organisations often start to assert demands for inclusion in negotiations too late. Women should be more proactive, and also need to be more involved in the policy debates around security issues.

We need to develop monitoring tools and a single monitoring and evaluation platform for African countries.

PRESENTER RESPONSES

- Sudan has facilitated the peace talks. However, mediators should not be seen to be taking sides, so Sudan cannot pressurise any of the parties.
- Liberia should teach us a lesson. Are their policies being gender-sensitive because there is a woman at the top?
- Many of the NGOs in the DRC see the formation of NGO’s as a vehicle to make money – this partly explains the mistrust that exists among the different organisations.

Women's participation in peace missions

This panel was chaired by Ms Marthe Muller, of South African Women in Dialogue. Ms Sandra Oder, of the Training for Peace Programme at the ISS, and Ms Ruby Marks, of the Department of Foreign Affairs, South Africa, were the presenters.

FACILITATING THE CONTRIBUTION OF WOMEN IN PEACE MISSIONS ON THE CONTINENT: LEGAL FRAMEWORKS, PRACTICES AND NECESSITIES

MS SANDRA ODER

Ms Oder noted that conflict affects women and men differently, and it is imperative for peace missions to understand these different impacts. How the differences are considered in planning and implementing peace activities determines how effective the interventions will be. Gender mainstreaming in peacekeeping activities is the full incorporation of gender perspectives into all peacekeeping activities, from the initial stages of the ceasefire negotiations, to the establishment and functioning of the peace mission.

UNSCR 1325 calls for:

- Expanding the role and contribution of women in peacekeeping, especially among military observers, United Nations Police (UNPOL) and human rights and humanitarian personnel
- Incorporating a gender perspective into the peacekeeping operations and including a gender component in the field mission where appropriate
- Providing member states with training guidelines and materials on the protection, rights and particular needs of women
- Appointing more women to top leadership positions in field operations

- Protecting women and girls from gender-based violence during conflict
- Attention to gender issues in all reports to the Security Council

The DPKO Policy Directive on Gender Equality calls for contributing nations to have more female peacekeepers, but contributing nations face structural challenges.

Ms Oder noted the need to:

- Recognise the resistance to mainstreaming a gender perspective in peace missions and to find constructive ways of overcoming this
- Present statistical and analytical evidence to reflect the actual gender gaps and discriminatory practices
- Promote organisational change to transform attitudes, behaviour and the work culture, internally
- Adopt proactive measures, such as meeting with stakeholders, and providing technical advice and support to facilitate the legal and constitutional provisions to promote the participation of women
- Ensure that all planning and programmes take into account the objectives of gender equality and, therefore, include sufficient budgetary provisions to give effect to these

How do we make 1325 work?

- Provide member states with training guidelines and materials on the protection, rights and particular needs of women
- Appoint more women to leadership positions in field operations
- Protect women and girls from gender-based violence during conflict

- The security of women is the best indicator of the security of a nation, thus any early warning system must take women's voices into account
- Ensure that field operations protect women and girls and support humanitarian assistance for them
- Ensure that any support offered to a peace process by the Security Council (SC), and any attempts at mediation or settlement, make explicit the need to involve women
- Ensure that peacebuilding elements of an operation are gender sensitive, particularly when designing postconflict reconstruction

Ms Oder concluded by noting that we need good leadership on gender equality as this is the foundation for sustainable peace. We need to hold leaders to account on their commitment to gender equality.

GENDER MAINSTREAMING IN PEACE MISSIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA: PROCESS, ACHIEVEMENTS AND CHALLENGES

MS RUBY MARKS

Ms Marks noted that a sense of gender fatigue seems to have set in globally. We should consider un-signing ceremonies for those countries that do not comply with relevant legislation to which they are signatories. She also posed the question: 'How do we make sure that our militancy survives?'

We have underestimated the resilience of patriarchy and what is needed is a second wave of gender activism. We should also conceptualise UNSCR 1325 'from the bedroom to the battlefield'.

Four things need to be in place for us to make progress:

- An institutional mechanism for coordination
- Political will that is translated into budget
- An attitude of 'nothing about us without us'
- A national action plan

The DPKO has selected South Africa as a pilot for the implementation of UNSCR 1325. Already, 40%–60% of South African peacekeepers are women.

The South African Department of Foreign Affairs has a leading role in coordinating the implementation of UNSCR 1325 in the country. In this regard, it has set up an interdepartmental working group (IDWG), a collaborative venture with the Department of Defence (DOD), the South African Police Service (SAPS), the Department of Correctional Services (DCS) and the Office of the Status of Women (OSW). This working group will, in consultation with other stakeholders, develop a national action plan in line with UNSCR 1325 and prepare progress reports for the UNDPKO.

The key objectives of the IDWG are to:

- Ensure that national laws, policies and programmes that promote equal participation are in line with UNSCR 1325.
- Ensure ratification, domestication and implementation of continental and international human rights instruments
- Enact laws and ensure the development of policies that promote gender equality and the empowerment of women, and protect the rights of women.
- Develop guidelines and training tools to enable staff to mainstream gender in peace missions.
- Ensure equal representation of women and men at all levels of peace missions, including decision-making structures at head office and mission areas.
- Review strategies and programmes to improve the conditions of women in peace missions, including how welfare, conduct and discipline issues are handled.
- Build collaborative partnerships with women and men constituencies.

The South African National Action Plan for the Implementation of UNSCR 1325 will:

- Review all relevant policies to ensure alignment with global and national commitments to gender equality.
- Evaluate all training materials to ensure that they incorporate a gender perspective.
- Strengthen the collection of sex-disaggregated data and gender statistics relevant to peacekeeping to inform national policy-making.
- Commit both human and financial resources to ensure the implementation of the action plan and the use of gender-responsive budgets in the security sector.
- Review the conditions of service for peacekeepers to ensure that specific requirements for women (clothing, equipment, monthly supplies and separate facilities) are addressed.
- Establish a minimum target for the deployment of women to peacekeeping.
- Support and strengthening gender units within the ministries of defence, correctional services, and foreign affairs, as well as the SAPS which will, among other things, oversee the recruitment and deployment of women to peacekeeping.
- Launch national awareness campaigns to promote the recruitment of more women to peacekeeping, promoting women in the military and police as role models and including them in such outreach activities.
- Review the qualification requirements for the recruitment of women to the military or police services, removing those that discriminate against women (for

example, biometric requirements) while retaining high standards.

The following challenges highlighted were:

- Uneven monitoring, evaluation and benchmarks for implementation of UNSCR 1325 across departments
- Inadequate involvement of senior women at all levels of peacekeeping processes
- Lack of internal coherence and coordination amongst, within and between government departments
- Uneven implementation of frameworks due to inadequate financial and human resources
- Persistent patterns of patriarchy
- Insufficient implementation of training programmes
- The departmental domestication of the national action plan through appropriate forums (government and civil society)
- Lack of uniformity in the training programmes of different countries due to cultural diversity (both a strength and weakness)
- Lack of budget, financial capacity, political buy-in, as well as cultural constraints
- Lack of information
- Resistance to change

Some suggestions on the way forward included:

- Conduct customised and generic training
- Develop standardised and customised training tools
- Establish a database of training providers

- Lobby for, and monitor, the representation and participation of women in peacekeeping
- Develop qualitative and quantitative indicators on women's participation in peacekeeping, especially in affected areas
- Include diversity management programmes
- Review conditions of service and amend policies that may affect women's participation in peacekeeping
- Develop collaborative partnerships between civil society and government

DISCUSSION

- When will the national action plan be ready?
- How effective has the use of gender budgets been?
- How can we domesticate the personal and political agendas?
- Can the SADC develop a policy document on how they are going to implement UNSCR 1325?

PANEL RESPONSE

- It is important for us to think of ways in which we will be able to leverage the use of budgets, but also for us to move away from the stigmatisation of gender budgets and think beyond its use even though it is of importance.
- We must have in-mission training and induction as means of injecting knowledge. We must have standards through which to observe the DPKO policy.

Gender and postconflict reconstruction

The panel was chaired by Mr Hamidou Hamadou of the Centre for Egyptian Women's Legal Assistance. The speakers on this panel were Dr Michele Ruiters, of the Development Bank of Southern Africa, Dr Lydia Wambugu of the Direct Conflict Prevention Programme, ISS, and Mr Joseph Chilengi, of the Africa Internally Displaced Persons Voice.

GENDER AND POSTCONFLICT RECONSTRUCTION: FRAMEWORKS, IMPLEMENTATION AND CHALLENGES

DR MICHELE RUITERS

Dr Ruiters emphasised the relationship between peace, gender equality and development. Peacebuilding is not a linear process – it should rather be conceptualised as a web of interconnectedness of conflict, development, peace, poverty, identity and security, among other issues. A rights-based framework should inform both the development and the peace agendas. Postconflict reconstruction requires the participation of all, but more especially the participation of marginal groups such as women, youth, ethnic minorities and the war-disabled, among others.

Dr Ruiters proceeded to provide a list of the many international and regional frameworks on gender and postconflict reconstruction. The implementation of the frameworks, however, faces many challenges. Among these challenges are:

- There is a limited application of frameworks
- No clear accountability lines and mechanisms are in place
- The frameworks are toothless

- Civil society is weak in many of the countries
- The peace is tenuous in these fragile states, making the role of the state in securing peace and development difficult
- Development is not always people-centred
- Women still face cultural and traditional hindrances when trying to gain access to the public sphere
- Local governments are not developed in many post-conflict countries – and they are the interface between citizens and government
- The development framework is still largely that of large-scale infrastructural development – we need to consider alternative developmental models
- Health and education is key to women's equality; its provision remains inadequate

The postconflict phase also presents a number of opportunities, namely:

- Postconflict societies are 'abnormal' and therefore offer opportunities to make social, political and economic changes
- The national discourse around women can change – they can now be viewed as equal partners in development, etc
- International organisations can exert pressure on governments to include women in governance
- Both men and women can be empowered to create new realities through peacebuilding initiatives
- There can now be long-term people-centred and gender-sensitive planning processes
- DFIs could be pressured into funding gender programmes because they do not generally fund them

GENDER AND POSTCONFLICT RECONSTRUCTION IN AFRICA: ATTENDING TO THE CHALLENGES OF REFUGEES AND RETURNEES

DR LYDIA WAMBUGU

Dr Wambugu noted the four general clusters that lead to forced migration and displacement:

After listing the relevant pieces of legislation for refugees and displaced persons, she outlined the key features of the refugee problem in Africa. Out of the 15 million refugees and asylum seekers in the world, three million are African. Chad currently has the biggest number of refugees in Africa – 350 000.

Dr Wambugu indicated that women, as a group, share the problems experienced by all refugees; that is, they need protection against forced return to their countries of origin, and security against armed attacks and other forms of violence. Refugee women lack protection against unjustified and unduly prolonged detention, discrimination, sexual exploitation, and other forms of sexual and physical abuse. In addition to the basic needs of all refugees, women and girls have particular needs that reflect their gender and age, especially issues pertaining to reproductive health and child rearing.

Some of the general challenges faced by those dealing with refugees and returnees relate to the improper documentation and registration of refugees; the lack of correct refugee profiling by gender, age and levels of education attained; and the lack of certificates duly translated into local languages for those with skills. Agreements by asylum and home countries of origin on border modalities also pose difficulties. In addition, local marriages between refugees and members of the local populations complicate repatriation, raising the issue of nationality for those who do not want to return under the repatriation operation.

In addressing the challenges of returnee women in postconflict reconstruction the following needs to be taken into account:

- Countries should ratify and domesticate the relevant regional and international instruments protecting the rights of women and girls, including the:
 - Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa
 - Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa
 - The African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child
 - Convention to End all Forms of Discrimination Against Women
 - Convention on the Rights of the Child
 - UN General Assembly Resolution 1325 on women, Peace and Security

- Societal transformation needs to be facilitated in ways that reflect the interests of women, addresses their needs and aspirations, and consolidates any opportunities to improve their lives that emerge from the conflict.
- Provision needs to be made for the security and protection of the civilian population.
- Access of all sectors of society to justice needs to be ensured.
- Legal provision needs to be made for obtaining justice for victims of human rights violations, particularly those who suffered sexual violence during the conflict.
- Constitutional and legal rights need to be restored to those displaced persons who lost them during conflict.
- Women's rights and their participation in the political, social and economic spheres of life need to be guaranteed and protected.
- Strategies to promote gender equality and women's and girl's empowerment in all aspects of life need to be developed.
- Gender-sensitive planning and budgeting is required to ensure that gender is mainstreamed in PCRD.
- The re-unification of family members who were separated during conflict needs to be ensured.
- Mechanisms of registration and appropriate identification documentation of affected populations (including their children, spouses, property, land and other possessions that might have been lost during conflict), need to be put in place.
- The returnees's ability to exercise their rights to return to their places of origin or live in other areas of their choice needs to be ensured.
- The participation of women's groups, civil society organisations and other representatives of affected groups in reconstruction processes, including peace processes, needs to be guaranteed.
- Training and skills development need to be provided to affected population to facilitate their reintegration (unemployed youth, women ex-combatants, refugees, IDPS (even while still in exile/displacement) and the disabled).

THE NEXUS BETWEEN INTERNALLY DISPLACED WOMEN AND PEACE

MR JOSEPH CHILENGI

Mr Chilengi addressed the issue of how internally displaced women can best be integrated into peace processes, peace agreements and peacebuilding.

He noted that internally displaced women have rights grounded in international human rights law and international humanitarian law, and that states in postconflict situations have an obligation to protect those rights.

The return and reintegration of displaced women can simultaneously address the root causes of a conflict and help prevent further displacement. More specifically, the return of displaced women can be an important signifier of peace and the end of conflict. It can validate the postconflict political order, and these women can make an important contribution to the recovery of local economies. Furthermore, in many countries, whether willingly or unwillingly, some women IDPs have become party to conflict, and their inclusion is therefore necessary for conflict resolution.

IDPs often have needs that are different both from refugees and other war-affected civilian populations, and thus they require special attention in peace processes. More often than men, women IDPs remain close to the zone of conflict and are thus more vulnerable to the violence there. They also encounter serious problems regaining land and property left behind.

He noted that civil society – including women IDPs – should be encouraged to participate in peace processes, not just as means of exercising their rights, but also because they often have significant contributions to make; for example, as ‘peace connectors’ and catalysts. He also indicated that while women IDPs and their concerns are increasingly mentioned specifically in contemporary peace agreements, the language used is too vague and non-committal to be followed through. Additionally, while women IDPs tend to be mentioned in transitory agreements, they are then expunged from the texts of the final accords. Also, even where IDPs and their concerns are specifically mentioned in the text of final peace agreements, commitments to women IDPs are rarely fully implemented.

Mr Chilengi then gave examples of how to include IDPs in peace processes.

‘Track-one’ participation

The Guatemalan peace process is a rare example of the formal participation of refugees and IDPs, in a ‘track-one’ process. In 1987, Guatemalan refugees in Mexico organised themselves into Permanent Commissions (*Comisiones Permanentes*), dedicated to achieving a ‘collective and organised return’. Many of the refugees were from traditionally poor, marginalised and excluded groups and, contrary to culture and tradition, female refugees played a leading role in the movement. But historically direct IDP (or refugee) participation at the negotiating table has been minimal. This is because of the exclusive and high-level structure of most ‘track-one’ processes, or what has been characterised as an ‘elite pact-making’ approach to peace. The short deadlines under which traditional negotiations work also preclude time-consuming consultations. They thus lack the specialised

contributions and sense of ownership that can be gained through civil society participation. If political solutions are imposed on people, they have less chance of being implemented successfully.

A second set of obstacles relate to the fact that, very often, displaced women have specific disadvantages. For example, they may belong to minority groups and lack resources, education, political skills and influence. Unless they are already organised, they also lack leaders who can represent them. Mr Chilengi noted, however, that such obstacles are not insurmountable, and that in Burundi, Afghanistan and Guatemala, women’s groups have had considerable success in ‘track-one’ involvement – in ensuring guarantees of women’s rights and equal treatment, minimum quotas for women in decision-making forums, and the protection of women’s rights to property and inheritance. Lessons should be learned from the mobilisation of wider civil society groupings specifically for displaced populations.

A third obstacle relates to the particular circumstances of women IDPs. They often do not live in camps and are more scattered, they lack an international regime to support their rights, and may be more vulnerable to reprisals from their government when they do mobilise. Mr Chilengi therefore urged that far more attention should be paid to the specific obstacles facing women IDP mobilisation and to developing strategies to overcome them.

‘Track-two’ participation

‘Track-two’ initiatives run parallel to track-one initiatives and appear to be growing in legitimacy. They provide the means for organisations and individuals normally excluded from high-level ‘track-one’ processes to provide input into a process where political parties or parties to the conflict are unlikely to fully reflect their concerns.

Participants in ‘track-two’ processes have special insights into, and understandings of, conflicts. The presence of NGOs within communities at war and their ability to move among displaced populations and armed forces, for example, are characteristics often not shared by UN agencies and donor governments. Ideally, track-two processes should therefore precede and complement track-one negotiations.

‘Track-three’ initiatives

‘Track-three’ or ‘grassroots’ initiatives probably provide the greatest scope for direct participation of women IDPs. The advantages of ‘track-three’ processes can be that they encourage ownership of the peace process at the local level and provide a safety net, in that, if formal negotiations stall, progress can still be made at the local level. Mr Chilengi noted some examples of track-three interventions, such as Mali. After years of unsuccessful government efforts to negotiate peace, traditional decision-making activities and community

meetings were facilitated by civil society leaders and resulted in localised ceasefire agreements in the north of the country. In both the DRC and Colombia, for example, women were able to negotiate certain agreements directly with militia groups on issues such as humanitarian aid passage.

Peace processes at the local level can also create conditions for peace processes at the national level. This has been the case in Sudan, where ‘people-to-people’ peace processes between the Dinka and Nuer in 1999, and the Ngok Dinka and Missiriya Arabs in 2000, made negotiation possible across the north-south border.

Mr Chilengi indicated that grassroots efforts have often been one of the main outlets for women’s peace activities. The Wajir Women’s Association for Peace in Kenya, for example, engaged in grassroots advocacy with elders and men to end violence, provided training and loans to ex-militia, and established the Wajir Peace and Development Committee, with measurable reductions in violence as a result.

However, he contends that it may be necessary to find alternatives to direct participation of women IDPs in ‘track-one’, ‘track-two’ and ‘track-three’ processes, for many of the practical obstacles listed earlier still prevail. Where women IDPs do participate directly, these disadvantages may weaken their voice and raise the need for complementary strategies. The mobilisation and participation of women IDPs can also entail risks for the displaced.

Some of these complimentary strategies could entail international mediators prompting political leaders to incorporate displacement issues in peace negotiations. However, the potential pitfall is that they may not necessarily accurately reflect the priorities of the displaced women. A second complementary strategy is to focus on the legal rights of women IDPs. There are international, regional and national mechanisms that can be harnessed to promote the protection of IDP rights as a contribution to the pursuit of peace.

Mr Chilengi concluded by noting that efforts to address internal displacement issues in peace processes and peace agreements are largely pointless unless those issues are also mainstreamed in the peacebuilding phase.

DISCUSSION

International agreements need to be unpacked and understood. They are often lengthy but can be distilled into their main points.

- Are African Banks trying to offer alternative economic frameworks? Is anything been done to think outside of the reigning macro-economic frameworks?
- What are the guidelines and time frames for the repatriation of refugees from Tanzania?
- What are the sanctions for noncompliance in the Pact for the Great Lakes region?
- Does the UN Security Council have a sanction for member states that do not comply with UNSCR 1325?

PANEL RESPONSE

- GENDERNET and other organisations have simplified these documents, but not to the lowest common denominator. Doha and WTO, for example, impact on women who sell fruit and vegetables. That is a challenge we have to take up.
- The Development Bank has a programme on women in construction, but it is the only one they have.
- South Africa has a triple ‘A’ rating from the IMF. We are getting money from banks that set the standards for the neo-liberal framework, and we seem happy to be within that framework and to be recognised in it. India, Brasil and South Africa (IBSA) have looked at alternatives to inflation rating. We operate within a system that will not be going away soon, so we have to become stronger within our own focus.
- For a durable solution to the refugee crisis we need to recognise the reasons for flight from countries of origin and ensure that these no longer exist. We also need to note that there were 200 000 Burundian refugees, of which 17% were born in Tanzania.
- Regarding the time frames: there are no time frames for the return of refugees. This gives rise to protracted caseloads.
- Women implement immense survival strategies when displaced. When women are given their rations, they go to a joint market, where they trade with local women for things they do not have. Women therefore have coping mechanisms. How do we integrate these coping mechanisms at the national level?
- UNSCR 1325 is clear on displacement in that it recognises the responsibility of states to put an end to impunity.
- To harmonise all laws in the Great Lakes Region, the pact provides for no impunity for acts of sexual violence.

Gender and the security sector

This panel was chaired by Dr Cheryl Hendricks of the ISS, and the panellists were Ms Lauren Hutton, of the SSG Programme at the ISS, Ms Christine Mgwanya, Assistant Commissioner of the SAPS, and Mr Daniel de Torres of the Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces.

GENDER AND DEFENCE REFORM: AN OVERVIEW OF THE PRINCIPLES AND PRACTICES

MS LAUREN HUTTON

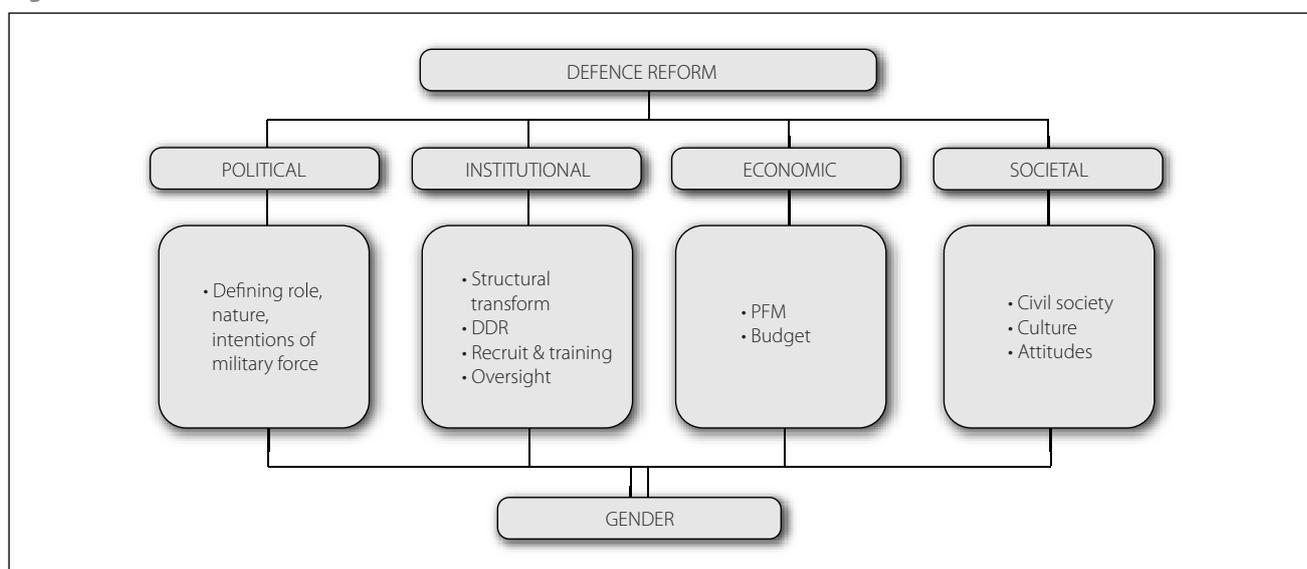
Ms Hutton began by noting that we should not assume that our defence forces are not professional – they are bound by ethics, practices and international laws and norms. What we need is a change in our thinking about security. We need to ask the questions: security for whom and from what?

Defence reform is part of a bigger field of security sector reform which seeks to strengthen the security and justice institutions to ensure more effective delivery of security services and respect for human rights and democratic norms. Security sector reform is therefore not just about numbers but primarily about governance.

Defence reform seeks to reflect, civil control, accountability, adequacy, affordability, appropriateness and good governance principles.

It is a 'multifaceted approach which seeks to find an optimal force design and improved efficiency while also intending to develop and maintain a professional, balanced, modern defence force, representative of all groups within a country. It must be in line with and give effect to national defence policy and

Fig 1 What is defence reform?



Source Slide taken from Ms Hutton's presentation

principle of civil-military relations and the resultant armed forces should earn national and international respect as professional and reliable institutions’.

Ms Hutton then noted some key issues in defence reform:

- Democratic control – putting in place constitutional and legal framework and civil oversight.
- Strengthening the process for reviewing security threats and developing the capacity to respond to them
- Delineating clear roles and responsibilities for internal security
- Introducing integrated approaches to policy development, military expenditure, human resource planning and management of military assets
- Civil society engagement in the debate regarding defence transformation
- Promoting reform in training, career development and transition
- Promoting ethnic and social balances, for example through employment equity policies
- Strengthening regional arrangements for security

But why do we need to integrate women into the defence sector?

Changes in the construction of security – the promotion of human security, which focuses on gender equality too.

- To create more representative forces
- To provide a bigger pool of resources and skills for recruitment
- To contribute to operational effectiveness
- To strengthen oversight

Ms Hutton concluded by providing some key recommendations for defence reform:

- To build national consensus on and ownership of state security and to ensure that the needs of different groups are addressed, all relevant stakeholders have to participate in defence reform processes
- Defence policies should be compliant with international norms and frameworks; as such, gender mainstreaming requires sufficient human, financial and institutional resources
- Gender diversity in recruitment must be complemented by gender-sensitive training
- Gender mainstreaming requires fundamental transformation of the culture of the armed forces
- Gender disaggregated data has to be standard within the defence force so that meaningful analysis, evaluation and corrective measures can transpire

- The discourse of gender-mainstreaming in defence reform should be couched in the language of security sector reform (SSR)
- Women in the armed forces should have forums in which to share experiences

STRENGTHS AND CHALLENGES OF WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE SERVICE (SAPS)

MS CHRISTINE MGWENYA

With the formation of a new nonracial democracy in South Africa in 1994, all the police agencies amalgamated into one police service. The post-apartheid period also saw the development of new policies that sought to eliminate discrimination and sexual harassment, and to uphold human rights.

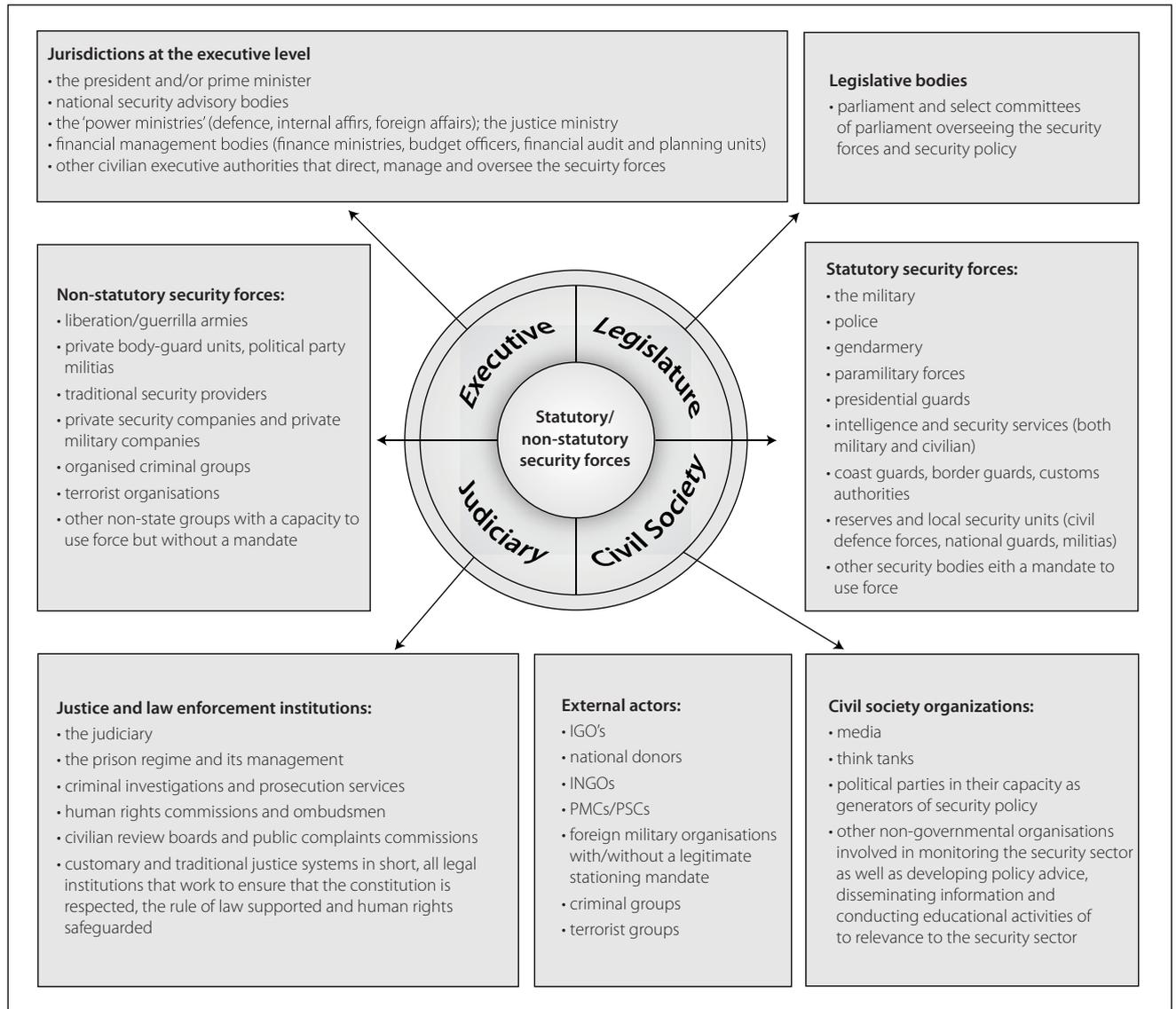
Ms Mgwenya, measuring both the successes and the challenges facing gender equity in the post-1994 period, noted that policewomen enjoy the same conditions of service and work alongside their male counterparts, but that they are still largely excluded from the specialised services. In addition, the workplace is not family friendly, there are few skills-training opportunities for women, and employment equity issues vis-à-vis women are not addressed seriously. Women in decision-making are still largely confined to heading support service functions.

She noted that women in SAPS soon realised that they needed to pool their resources if they were to make any progress in the institution. Nine provincial structures (women support networks) were established. Besides providing support and motivation, they focused on issues of sexual harassment and seized promotional and training opportunities. They also garnered the support of the deputy minister in their quest for gender equity.

The South African Police Service now boasts three African women pilots, four African women in internal audit, six women in the explosives unit and four women in the elite task force. The SAPS has also made impressive inroads into the deployment of women peacekeepers – 38% of those deployed by South Africa are women. Women peacekeepers also establish women's desks where they are deployed to share information on sexual harassment, and gender-based violence experienced by women in these areas.

The SAPS now reserves 40% of all training for women (70% of all leadership training is reserved for women), all senior appointments and recruitment and promotion drives are monitored carefully.

Fig 2 Who is who in the security sector?



Source Slide taken from Mr De Torres's presentation

GENDER AND SECURITY SECTOR REFORM: UTILISING THE TOOLKIT

MR DANIEL DE TORRES

The Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of the Armed Forces (DCAF) has produced a toolkit that can be utilised to support gender-sensitive SSR. Mr de Torres gave a brief background of the work that the DCAF undertakes and the nature and content of the toolkit.

Integrating gender into defence reform is not only about women having guns, but also about women at the end of the barrel of a gun being treated well.

Mr de Torres indicated that, to ensure gender-sensitive reform, we must know what we want, what is possible and what will have the most impact.

Some of the things required for gender-sensitive reform would be:

- A gender-sensitive code of conduct
- More women in decision-making
- More women in uniform
- Gender-sensitive budgets

Some of the entry points for gender-sensitive reform would be:

At a macro level:

- Official reform process
- Defence reviews, white papers
- Annual budget
- Electoral platforms
- UNSCR 1325 national action plans

At a micro level

- Recruitment drives (warriors or soldiers)
- Internal planning

- Code of conduct drafting/review

The approaches that can be utilised are:

- Assessments/stakeholder mapping
- Consultations
- Training
- Advocacy
- Public campaigns
- Technical and policy advice

Useful instrument and tools are:

- UNSCR 1325
- National action plans
- Gender and SSR toolkits
- Gender and SSR training resource package
- CWINF guidelines and best practices

DISCUSSION

- We are providing tools for getting women into the military, but we have not discussed how we transform the culture of the security sector.
- It is easier to change policy than behaviour. What is the situation on the ground in African countries? Have we seen any transformation?
- We should be using military budgets and military staff to assist with poverty eradication.
- In SADC there are still too few women in the defence forces. How can we assist member states to improve their representation and how can we assist women who are already in these forces? Can South Africa play a role here?
- Where does the private security fit into SSR?
- We need to unpack the whole aspect of militarisation when we deal with SSR. To what extent is a militarised masculinity linked to security? To what extent are femininities being transformed when we bring women into this sector?
- What kind of support are the women's desks giving to people in conflict zones – is it just moral support?

- How do we move beyond women competing with each other instead of supporting each other?
- How can we improve the conditions, including living conditions, of women in the security sector?

PANEL RESPONSE

- Private security is part of SSR, but the only reform is how to regulate it to fit into state security structures. To the extent that mercenaries are included, South Africa is the only country in Africa that has legislation against the use of mercenaries. It is not an illegal activity in Africa, and the AU has not signed any laws on it.
- We have a huge opportunity in Africa with the formation of the African Standby Force. We should be pushing for more women's representation in this structure. We also need to accept that we will not see high numbers of women in the defence force. We should realistically be aiming at 20%–30%. Women who go on peacekeeping deployment often do not want to return.
- There is no correlation between a reduction in military expenditures and poverty reduction. What we need to ask is, how can we make the military the most affordable, identify realistic roles for them, and align equipment with the missions?
- The practice of forming women's networks has been shared with Southern African Regional Police Chiefs Cooperation Organisation (SARPCCO) members. There is also a SARPCCO women's network. In the networks, we do see a reduction of the competitive practices between women – here they tend to bond.
- We need to be thinking of how to create better links between the security sector and civil society. The police are providing a service to the population, the people should have the opportunity to give input.
- The sole purpose of a military is to prepare for war. Interstate wars have declined and most militaries are now engaged in peacekeeping operations. Militaries, however, prepare for peace in the same way they prepare for war. We must also note that the fact that we have militaries does not necessarily mean that we have militarised societies.

Strategies for implementing UNSCR 1325

This session was in the form of breakaway groups, facilitated by Ms Yaliwe Clarke of the Africa Gender Institute. Five breakaway groups were formed to address ways in which we could implement UNSCR 1325 in peace processes, peacekeeping, DDRRR, Refugees, IDPs and Returnees, and how to involve and strengthen women's networks.

Some of the overall suggestions that emerged were:

- We need political will that is translated into resources and action
- We need to relate UNSCR 1325 to local contexts
- UNSCR 1325 needs to be simplified, translated and disseminated widely
- National action plans must be developed
- National focal points for implementation must be established
- Inter-ministerial/departmental working groups (defence, police, prisons, etc) should also be formed

Some of the gaps identified in UNSCR 1325:

- Human trafficking is not explicitly addressed
- There is no explicit reference to IDPs as a gender issue
- There is no explicit link to the social construction of both femininities and masculinities.
- There is no mention of men's role in implementing UNSCR 1325
- HIV/AIDS awareness training is neglected

PEACE PROCESSES (ARTICLES 1, 2 AND 8 ON THE RESOLUTION SPEAKS TO THIS ISSUE):

- Increase women's technical expertise in gender analysis of conflict, gender budgeting, etc

- Deal with women's poverty as this limits women's ability to effectively engage in peacebuilding interventions
- Women's position in politics determines their role in peace processes
- Lobby political leaders to ensure women's representation in decision-making bodies (electoral systems)
- Lobby mediation teams to ensure women's participation in peace processes
- Women refugees and IDPs need to be included in formal negotiation processes
- Consider how we can change the content and processes of formal negotiations to enable more participation by civil society and women, in particular
- Tap indigenous women's knowledge of conflict resolution
- Draw on the lobbying experiences of women – they successfully pushed for quotas in parliament
- Ensure more funding for women's groups
- Document the experiences of women's groups influencing peace processes

UN PEACEKEEPING MISSIONS AND STRUCTURES (ARTICLES 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 AND 17)

- Deploy more women in UN peacekeeping offices – military observers, UNPOL, human rights and humanitarian personnel
- Pay attention to gender in all reports to the UN Security Council
- Audit peacekeeping missions for implementing UNSCR 1325
- Utilise the DPKO policy directive on gender equality (November 2006 under the secretary-general for

peacekeeping) that has action points and time frames with a department action plan with resources

- Reduce institutional and cultural barriers within the UN system
- Address sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV) in UN missions (Article 10)
- Domesticate UNSCR 1325 – enact laws to ensure women are involved in peace missions
- Develop a positive image of men and women in peace missions
- Set gender targets for the African Standby Force
- Ensure training of civilians for peacekeeping
- Gender advisors should be civilians
- Develop data-banks on women who can be deployed on peacekeeping missions

DEMILITARISATION, DEMOBILISATION, DEMINING, REHABILITATION, RESETTLEMENT, RECONCILIATION PROCESSES (ARTICLES 8(A), 10, 13)

- Pay more attention to gender issues in DDDR processes
- Ensure that women are included in DDR processes (ex-combatants, sex slaves, wives of militia men, helpers of armed forces). The use of the term ‘women associated with armed conflict’ acknowledges their role and need to be part of DDR
- Implementers of DDR processes should consist of women’s organisations as well
- Do not feed into gender role stereotypes when providing training in the reintegration programmes
- Identify women who were raped and ensure that they get the necessary support
- Pay special attention to the needs of child-mothers
- Address the stigma attached to children born of rape (and their mothers)
- Stop the impunity for sexual-based violence during reconciliation processes
- Where the state fails to protect, the state should bear an obligation to compensate victims
- Explore various kinds of reparation and compensation mechanisms
- Ensure prosecution of perpetrators of SGBV – re-examine transitional justice processes (Articles 10,11)
- Work closely with traditional leaders, religious leaders and clan leaders, but be aware that some traditional reconciliation mechanisms can entrench inequality. For example, women have been used as compensation for crimes in northern Uganda
- Ensure that violence, both in public and in homes is addressed

REFUGEES, IDP’S AND RETURNEES (ARTICLES 12, 14)

- Focus more on women IDPs as well as on refugees and returnees
- Take into account the positive shifts in gender roles that transpire during these situations and ensure that repatriation efforts do not result in a backlash against women
- Take into account resource conflicts (especially land) that occur between returnees, IDPs and local populations (in their home country) and especially women’s access to resources, which may be undermined
- Focus on the protection of women’s property rights (both IDPs and returnees)
- Build on and support women’s socioeconomic survival strategies by including them in national plans for reconstruction
- Women’s organisations can be utilised to ease the tensions between those who stayed in country versus returnees
- Target the remaining population when providing support so they don’t feel left out of socioeconomic benefits

Involve and strengthen women’s networks (Articles 15, 8 (b))

- Work across political or ethnic divides
- Build alliances between women’s groups at local, regional and international levels
- Make use of technical competencies of women
- Overcome mistrust between women’s groups (across class, between diaspora groups versus local networks, etc)
- Strengthen capacity, skills training and research on gender, peace, and conflict transformation
- Provide security for women who take the lead in peace activism
- Make use of regional and continental instruments, processes, and platforms, such as Nepad, the Pan-African Parliament, the peace and security committee of AU, etc
- Work with municipal/local government level structures to bring about change
- Raise awareness of UNSCR 1325
- Encourage women’s groups to focus on DDR and/or (SSR)
- Explore options for resource mobilisation and local investment options
- Attract media attention to the work that women are doing in relation to peacebuilding
- Map the needs of local women’s groups

Appendices

Appendix A: Programme

Day 1	
Monday, 24 November 2008	
08h00 – 08h20	Registration
08h20 – 08h50	<p>Welcome and opening Dr Cheryl Hendricks <i>Senior Research Fellow, Security Sector Governance Programme, Institute for Security Studies, Pretoria</i></p> <p>Ms Doris Murimi <i>Deputy Director, Institute for Security Studies</i></p> <p>Amb Gudmundur Eiriksson <i>Iceland Embassy</i></p>
08h50 – 09h20	<p>Keynote address: Peace, security and gender in Africa Mrs Scholastica Kimaryo <i>Deputy Regional Director for East & Southern Africa, UNDP</i></p>
11h00 – 11h20	Coffee/Tea break
11h20 – 13h00	<p>Women and Peacebuilding in Africa Chair: Ms Orla De Diez <i>Project Coordinator, African Women Leaders, Club of Madrid</i></p> <p>Progress, challenges and opportunities for women’s participation in peacebuilding in the East African region Ms Rose Othieno <i>Acting Executive Director at the Centre for Conflict Resolution, Uganda</i></p> <p>Progress, challenges and opportunities for women’s participation in peacebuilding in the central African region Ms Ella Chimbiru <i>Lecturer, University of Nairobi, Kenya</i></p> <p>WANEP’s experiences with peacebuilding Ms Agnes Farma <i>Desk Coordinator, West African Network for Peacebuilding, Sierra Leone</i></p> <p>SAWID’s contribution, achievements and challenges to peacebuilding on the continent Ms Girlie Silinda <i>General Manager, South African Women in Dialogue, South Africa</i></p>
13h00 – 14h00	Lunch
14h00 – 15h45	<p>Women’s Participation in Peace Negotiations Chair: Dr Rokhaya Ndiaya Fall <i>Project Manager, Francophone, NEPAD</i></p> <p>Achievements and challenges of getting women to participate in peace negotiations Ms Susan Nkomo</p> <p>Women’s participation in peace negotiations in Sudan Ms Thabitha Deng</p> <p>Gender and peace negotiations in Northern Uganda: Achievements, challenges and ways of redress Hon Margaret Otim</p> <p>Challenges to incorporating women in peace negotiations: The case of the DRC Ms Monique Kande</p> <p>The role of women in the peace negotiation process in Zimbabwe Ms Mildred Sandi</p>

15h45 – 16h00	Coffee/Tea break
16h00 – 17h00	<p>Women’s Participation in Peace Missions Chair: Ms Marthe Muller <i>South African Women in Dialogue</i></p> <p>Facilitating the contribution of women in peace-missions on the continent: Legal frameworks, practices and necessities Ms Sandra Oder <i>Senior Researcher, Training for Peace Programme Institute for Security Studies, Pretoria</i></p> <p>Gender mainstreaming in peace missions in South Africa: Process, achievements and challenges Ms Ruby Marks <i>Department of Foreign Affairs, South Africa</i></p>
17h00 – 18h30	<p>Gender and Postconflict Reconstruction Chair: Mr Hamidou Hamadou <i>Head of International Relations, Centre for Egyptian Women’s Legal Assistance</i></p> <p>Gender and postconflict reconstruction: Frameworks, implementation and challenges Dr Michele Ruiters <i>Research and Information Division Development Bank of Southern Africa, South Africa</i></p> <p>Gender and postconflict reconstruction in Africa: Attending to the challenges of returnees Dr Lydia Wambugu <i>Consultant, Direct Conflict Prevention Programme, Institute for Security Studies, Ethiopia</i></p> <p>The nexus between internally displaced women and peace Mr Joseph Chilengi <i>Executive Director, Africa Internally Displaced Persons Voice</i></p>
20h00 – 22h00	Dinner function – Traditional South African braai
Day 2	
Tuesday, 25 November 2008	
08h30 – 10h00	<p>Gender and the Security Sector Chair: Dr Cheryl Hendricks</p> <p>Gender and defence reform: An overview of the principles and practices Ms Lauren Hutton <i>Researcher, Security Sector Governance Programme Institute for Security Studies, Pretoria</i></p> <p>The South African experience South African National Defence Force</p> <p>Strengths and challenges of women’s participation in the South African Police Service Ms Catherine Mgwenya <i>Assistant Commissioner South African Police Service</i></p> <p>Gender and security sector reform: Utilising the toolkit Mr Daniel De Torres <i>Deputy Head, Special Programmes Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces</i></p>
10h00 – 10h30	Coffee/Tea
10h30 – 12h30	<p>Strategies for Implementing UNSCR 1325 Facilitator: Ms Yaliwe Clarke <i>Africa Gender Institute, Cape Town</i></p>
12h30	<p>Closing remarks Dr Cheryl Hendricks</p>
13h00	Lunch
	Departures

Appendix B

List of Participants

WOMEN AND PEACEBUILDING WORKSHOP

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United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325

The Security Council,

Recalling its resolutions 1261 (1999) of 25 August 1999, 1265 (1999) of 17 September 1999, 1296 (2000) of 19 April 2000 and 1314 (2000) of 11 August 2000, as well as relevant statements of its President and recalling also the statement of its President, to the press on the occasion of the United Nations Day for Women's Rights and International Peace of 8 March 2000 (SC/6816),

Recalling also the commitments of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (A/52/231) as well as those contained in the outcome document of the twenty-third Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly entitled "Women 2000: Gender Equality, Development and Peace for the twenty-first century" (A/S-23/10/Rev.1), in particular those concerning women and armed conflict,

Bearing in mind the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the primary responsibility of the Security Council under the Charter for the maintenance of international peace and security,

Expressing concern that civilians, particularly women and children, account for the vast majority of those adversely affected by armed conflict, including as refugees and internally displaced persons, and increasingly are targeted by combatants and armed elements, and recognizing the consequent impact this has on durable peace and reconciliation,

Reaffirming the important role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts and in peace-building, and stressing the importance of their equal participation and full involvement in all efforts for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security, and the need to increase their role in decision-making with regard to conflict prevention and resolution,

Reaffirming also the need to implement fully international humanitarian and human rights law that protects the rights of women and girls during and after conflicts,

Emphasizing the need for all parties to ensure that mine clearance and mine awareness programmes take into account the special needs of women and girls,

Recognizing the urgent need to mainstream a gender perspective into peacekeeping operations, and in this regard noting the Windhoek Declaration and the Namibia Plan of Action on Mainstreaming a

Gender Perspective in Multidimensional Peace Support Operations (S/2000/693),

Recognizing also the importance of the recommendation contained in the statement of its President to the press of 8 March 2000 for specialized training for all peacekeeping personnel on the protection, special needs and human rights of women and children in conflict situations,

Recognizing that an understanding of the impact of armed conflict on women and girls, effective institutional arrangements to guarantee their protection and full participation in the peace process can significantly contribute to the maintenance and promotion of international peace and security,

Noting the need to consolidate data on the impact of armed conflict on women and girls,

1. Urges Member States to ensure increased representation of women at all decision-making levels in national, regional and international institutions and mechanisms for the prevention, management, and resolution of conflict;
2. Encourages the Secretary-General to implement his strategic plan of action (A/49/587) calling for an increase in the participation of women at decision-making levels in conflict resolution and peace processes;
3. Urges the Secretary-General to appoint more women as special representatives and envoys to pursue good offices on his behalf, and in this regard calls on Member States to provide candidates to the Secretary-General, for inclusion in a regularly updated centralized roster;
4. Further urges the Secretary-General to seek to expand the role and contribution of women in United Nations field-based operations, and especially among military observers, civilian police, human rights and humanitarian personnel;
5. Expresses its willingness to incorporate a gender perspective into peacekeeping operations and urges the Secretary-General to ensure that, where appropriate, field operations include a gender component;
6. Requests the Secretary-General to provide to Member States training guidelines and materials on the protection, rights and the particular needs of women, as well

- as on the importance of involving women in all peacekeeping and peace-building measures, invites Member States to incorporate these elements as well as HIV/AIDS awareness training into their national training programmes for military and civilian police personnel in preparation for deployment and further requests the Secretary-General to ensure that civilian personnel of peacekeeping operations receive similar training;
7. Urges Member States to increase their voluntary financial, technical and logistical support for gender-sensitive training efforts, including those undertaken by relevant funds and programmes, inter alia, the United Nations Fund for Women and United Nations Children's Fund, and by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and other relevant bodies;
 8. Calls on all actors involved, when negotiating and implementing peace agreements, to adopt a gender perspective, including, inter alia: (a) The special needs of women and girls during repatriation and resettlement and for rehabilitation, reintegration and post-conflict reconstruction; (b) Measures that support local women's peace initiatives and indigenous processes for conflict resolution, and that involve women in all of the implementation mechanisms of the peace agreements; (c) Measures that ensure the protection of and respect for human rights of women and girls, particularly as they relate to the constitution, the electoral system, the police and the judiciary;
 9. Calls upon all parties to armed conflict to respect fully international law applicable to the rights and protection of women and girls as civilians, in particular the obligations applicable to them under the Geneva Conventions of 1949 and the Additional Protocols thereto of 1977, the Refugee Convention of 1951 and the Protocol thereto of 1967, the Convention Security Council - 5 - Press Release SC/6942 4213th Meeting (PM) 31 October 2000 on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women of 1979 and the Optional Protocol thereto of 1999 and the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child of 1989 and the two Optional Protocols thereto of 25 May 2000, and to bear in mind the relevant provisions of the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court;
 10. Calls on all parties to armed conflict to take special measures to protect women and girls from gender-based violence, particularly rape and other forms of sexual abuse, and all other forms of violence in situations of armed conflict;
 11. Emphasizes the responsibility of all States to put an end to impunity and to prosecute those responsible for genocide, crimes against humanity, war crimes including those relating to sexual violence against women and girls, and in this regard, stresses the need to exclude these crimes, where feasible from amnesty provisions;
 12. Calls upon all parties to armed conflict to respect the civilian and humanitarian character of refugee camps and settlements, and to take into account the particular needs of women and girls, including in their design, and recalls its resolution 1208 (1998) of 19 November 1998;
 13. Encourages all those involved in the planning for disarmament, demobilization and reintegration to consider the different needs of female and male ex-combatants and to take into account the needs of their dependants;
 14. Reaffirms its readiness, whenever measures are adopted under Article 41 of the Charter of the United Nations, to give consideration to their potential impact on the civilian population, bearing in mind the special needs of women and girls, in order to consider appropriate humanitarian exemptions;
 15. Expresses its willingness to ensure that Security Council missions take into account gender considerations and the rights of women, including through consultation with local and international women's groups;
 16. Invites the Secretary-General to carry out a study on the impact of armed conflict on women and girls, the role of women in peace-building and the gender dimensions of peace processes and conflict resolution, and further invites him to submit a report to the Security Council on the results of this study and to make this available to all Member States of the United Nations;
 17. Requests the Secretary-General, where appropriate, to include in his reporting to the Security Council, progress on gender mainstreaming throughout peacekeeping missions and all other aspects relating to women and girls;
 18. Decides to remain actively seized of the matter

