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Economic Commission for Africa (ECA)**

**United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000)
on Women, Peace and Security**

Understanding the Implications, Fulfilling the Obligations

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The views expressed in this document are those of the consultant and do not
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Acronyms and Abbreviations

ACCORD: African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes
ACMC: African Civil Military Coordination Programme
AMIB: African Mission in Burundi
AMIS: African Mission in Sudan
BCPR: Bureau for Crisis Prevention and Recovery
BINUB: United Nations Integrated Office in Burundi
CAFOB: Collectif des associations et ONG féminines du Burundi
CAP: Consolidated Appeals Process
CEDEW: Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women
CIVPOL: United Nations Civilian Police
DDR: Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration
DDRR: Disarmament, Demobilization, Repatriation, Resettlement and Reintegration
DPKO: Department of Peacekeeping Operations
ECCAS: Economic Community of Central African States
ECOMOG: Economic Community of West African States Military Observation Group
ECOSOC: United Nations Economic and Social Council
ECOWAS: Economic Community of West African States
EMP: Peacekeeping School
FAS: Femmes Africa Solidarité
ICTR: International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda
IGAD: Inter-governmental Authority on Development
JAM: Joint Assessment Mission
KAIPTC: Koffi Annan International Peacekeeping Centre
LRA: Lord's Resistance Army
MARWONET: Mano River Union Women's Network
MDRP: Multi-country Demobilization and Reintegration Programme
MINUAR: United Nations Assistance Mission to Rwanda
MINURCAT: United Nations Mission in the Central African Republic and Chad
MINURSO: United Nations Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara
MONUC: United Nations Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo
NEPAD: New Partnership for Africa's Development
NGO: Non-governmental organization
OCHA: Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
OECD: Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
ONUB: United Nations Operations in Burundi
ONUCI: United Nations Operations in Côte d'Ivoire
PAIF: Promotion et Appui aux Initiatives Féminines
RDC: Democratic Republic of the Congo
SADEC: Southern African Development and Economic Community
SCSL: Special Court for Sierra Leone
SWAN: Sudanese Women's Association in Nairobi
TRC: Truth and Reconciliation Commission
UN: United Nations
UNAIDS: The Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS

UNAMID: African Union/United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur
UNAMSIL: United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone
UNDP: United Nations Development Programme
UNFPA: United Nations Population Fund
UNHCR: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF: United Nations Children's Fund
UNIFEM: United Nations Development Fund for Women
UNITAR: United Nations Institute for Training and Research
UNMEE: United Nations Missions in Ethiopia and Eritrea
UNMIL: United Nations Mission in Liberia
UNMIS: United Nations Mission in Sudan
WHO: World Health Organization

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“We stress the important role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts and in peacebuilding. We reaffirm our commitment to the full and effective implementation of Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) on women and peace and security. We also underline the importance of integrating a gender perspective and of women having the opportunity for equal participation and full involvement in all efforts to maintain and promote peace and security, as well as the need to increase their role in decision-making at all levels.”

United Nations World Summit Outcome, September 2005, par. 116

“We hereby agree to ensure the full and effective participation and representation of women in peace processes including the prevention, resolution, management of conflicts and post-conflict reconstruction in Africa as stipulated in United Nations Resolution 1325 (2000)”

Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa, African Union, July 2004

I. Introduction

1. We know the human cost of armed conflict in Africa: millions of people dead, millions displaced, millions maimed, and endless unspeakable suffering. Now for the first time, a study has evaluated the economic cost of armed conflicts in Africa since 1990: three hundred billion dollars.¹

2. Beyond the shock of such a number, we need to collectively reflect on the benefits that this amount could have brought to the living conditions of the populations of Africa. A second question arises. Who paid for the shortfall? Who bore the socio-economic burden of this economic ruin?

3. Some will say that conflict has no gender. Yet conflict does not affect women and men in the same way or in the same proportions. Realities that are experienced differently by women and men are hidden behind the statistics on human and economic losses.

4. It is no longer acceptable today for the many crimes and violations against women to become lost in an all-encompassing and homogenizing interpretation of reality. Women's contributions to the survival of families and communities, to peacebuilding and to social unity are also being denied. These contributions are too often submerged in the same all-encompassing analysis.

5. Where are the women? Security Council Resolution (SCR) 1325 (2000) tries to answer this fundamental question. In the first instance, its implementation at the national and regional levels in Africa is the responsibility of heads of State and governments; but it also calls upon all the key partners, including the United Nations system, international development agencies, women's groups and civil society organizations, to do their part.

6. This course presents an overview of the important issues at stake for peace and security in Africa, with an emphasis on gender. It is meaningless to understand theory unless it provides a springboard for action. African governments as well as partners from the UN, the African Union, and regional economic communities are strongly invited to take action by implementing SCR 1325 (2000). Africa needs lasting peace in order to successfully enter the third millennium. For peace to be lasting it must, among other things, be inclusive. The time has come to understand that women are part of the solution. Together, peace is possible.

II. Main Concepts

Objectives

7. As a tool, the United Nations SCR 1325 (2000) on Women, Peace and Security depends for its effectiveness on the ability to analyze and understand gender-specific

¹ *Africa's Missing Billions: International Arms Flows and the Cost of Conflict*, International Action Network on Small Arms, Safeworld and Oxfam (October 2007), 38 p.

aspects of conflict and peace. Its usefulness also depends on the technical skills required to apply a gender-based approach.

8. In order to respond to the specific needs of men and women in conflict and post-conflict situations, it is essential to be sensitive and open to the human realities experienced differently by each sex. This requires appropriate training, which is necessary for enlightened decision-making. And finally, appropriate tools, firm commitments, action and evaluation measures and accountability mechanisms are all necessary.

9. The main objective of this lesson is to provide basic theoretical and practical notions concerning the analysis of conflict, peace and security from a gender perspective. This entails more than simply understanding the theory. The lesson aims for an understanding of the obligations that accompany conceptual knowledge.

By the end of the text, readers will be in a position to understand:

- The extent to which social relations built upon dominant values – in this case patriarchal values – contribute to discrimination against women
- The validity of a gender-based analysis and approach, especially in the area of peace and security
- How to integrate the principle of gender equality in humanitarian programmes as well as peace and reconstruction programmes.

1. *Gender*

10. Disparities between men and women are a worldwide reality, and the African continent is no exception. The extreme poverty, low social status and violence that women suffer in times of conflict are simply the extension of the discrimination they experience in periods of relative normality.

11. Unfortunately, the lack of contextual analysis often contributes to stereotypes which are maintained by the ambiguity between discrimination's causes and consequences. These stereotypes tend to justify women's vulnerability in terms of natural weaknesses, rather than emphasizing the sociocultural factors, mind-sets, ideologies and practices that are truly responsible for this state of affairs.

12. It therefore becomes important to distinguish between sex, which is a biological fact; and gender, which is a social construct. Gender must be understood from the perspective of social relations based on sex. It involves roles, responsibilities, aptitudes, behaviours and perceptions that have been shaped by society and specifically assigned to men and women.

13. These roles and responsibilities are often influenced by an interpretation of male-female relationships that tends to eclipse or underestimate the productive functions of women. While men are perceived and valued for their productive role, women are often

confined within their reproductive functions. When women are reduced to the status of mother and wife, there is a genuine risk of obscuring their role in society as political and economic actors.

“We need only ask our farmers how many hours a week and how many weeks a year they work. As it happens, it is the village women who work hard, 12 to 15 hours a day. They even work on Sundays and on holidays. Women who live in the villages work harder than anyone else in Tanzania, while the village men are on holiday for half their lives.”²

Julius Nyerere, 1988

14. It is important to grasp how a perception which restricts women’s roles can have serious effects. A perception that ignores women’s contribution to the socioeconomic development of their country will spread from the individual living within their family and community to the whole society. It will influence political decisions and carry forward a systemic and systematic discrimination. This discrimination then manifests as disparities between men and women in key areas such as access to resources and production inputs, access to political opportunities, participation and decision-making.

15. Understanding gender as a sociocultural construct allows us to discuss the ethical and moral foundations which are used to uphold discrimination against women. This leads us to question the patriarchal ideology rooted in cultural practices. Patriarchal ideology is founded on the notion of men’s superiority over women. It structures the value system and the social order, and ends up being internalized and accepted by the vast majority of the population, including women.

16. Understanding gender as a sociocultural construct leads us to realize that culturally-created social relations are not fixed in time. On the contrary, where there is construction, there is also overhauling, renovation and even deconstruction, dictated by changes that come about through crises, knowledge and evolving laws, as well as technological and economic advances.

Gender³

- Socially-constructed attributes for each sex in a particular society and culture
- Differences between and within cultures
- Includes variables identifying differences in roles, responsibilities, opportunities, needs and constraints

Sex⁴

- Biologically defined characteristics
- Determined by birth

² From: *Femmes bâtisseurs d’Afrique*, Musée de la civilisation de Québec (2000), p.199. (Translator’s text).

³ *Gender Approaches in Conflict and Post-conflict Situations*, UNDP/BCPR, (2002), p.4.

⁴ Ibid

- Universal
- Unchanging except through surgical and hormonal intervention

2. *A Gender-based Approach*

17. A gender-based analytical approach is needed to respond effectively to the many challenges of gender inequality in conflict and post-conflict contexts. A gender-based approach includes four main levels of activity:

- An analysis of the political, economic and cultural context
- The design of political and strategic frameworks based on gender equality
- The design, planning and implementation of gender equality programmes
- The management and evaluation of gender equality programmes

18. These four levels are interdependent. They must draw upon the different relationships, experiences and impacts encountered and created by men and women, within the context of cultural, political, social and economic problems which collectively confront them. Other factors which can aggravate gender discrimination, such as age, nationality, ethnicity, religion, social class and minority group status, must also be taken into account.

19. As defined at the Beijing Conference, the main goal of a gender-based approach is to ensure, through appropriate measures, that problematic gender relations⁵ present in society are taken into account in all decisions taken by the community and by society, whether at the international, regional, national or local levels.

20. In the follow-up to the Beijing Conference, the UN Economic and Social Council approved definition of “gender mainstreaming” in Agreed Conclusions 1997/2.

21. “Mainstreaming a gender perspective is the process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programmes, in all areas and at all levels. It is a strategy for making women’s as well as men’s concerns and experiences an integral dimension of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programmes in all political, economic and societal spheres so that women and men benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated. The ultimate goal is to achieve gender equality.”⁶

22. Two closely connected interpretations emerge from this definition. First, gender equality is a value applied transversally through political measures and management tools. Secondly, gender equality is a horizontal activity in the sense that voluntary measures for women’s empowerment are needed to confront the disparities between men and women and achieve equality.

⁵ Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, Chapter IV, par. 202.

⁶ ECOSOC, A/52/3, Chapter IV, Concepts and Principles (1997/2).

23. It is impossible to be satisfied with a transversal integration of gender while enormous inequalities persist: “Gender mainstreaming might work if there were real equity and equality between women and men. Then gender mainstreaming becomes a way of maintaining that equality. But when you start from gross inequality, mainstreaming simply entrenches the disparities.”⁷

24. These two interpretations, transversality and voluntary measures to empower women, lead to the ultimate goal of gender equality.

25. In the particular case of issues concerning women, peace and security, a *plan of action* is needed, inspired by SCR 1325 (2000). A plan of action would clearly define goals and objectives, the means to achieve them, a timetable and evaluation mechanisms. A plan of action would also measure the true impact of policies and programmes on women’s lives.

26. A plan of action would ensure that performance reviews would go beyond taking inventory and enumerating activities undertaken within the framework of the peace process. Evidence would have to be presented connecting cause and effect between the adopted measures and the desired result⁸, namely women’s access to prevention and protection against all forms of discrimination and crimes, equality of opportunity in participation and decision-making, and equitable access to opportunities provided by peacebuilding and reconstruction activities.

3. Gender and Human Security

Understanding Human Security

27. The ending of the Cold War reconfigured the relationship of States and the international community to the concept of security. The traditional concept had been focused on defending national territory against outside aggression; now security is analyzed from the human perspective and in terms of protecting civilians. The new concept of security, inspired by the fact that 90 per cent of war and conflict victims were civilians, went beyond State security to take on a holistic perspective centred on the prevention of human rights violations, the protection of civilians from organized violence, and civilian experiences during conflicts.

28. This concept of security, rooted in the basic needs of civilian populations, is based on five premises:

1. State security cannot take precedence over the security of civilians, communities and citizens.
2. Threats against security are not only military; they are also connected to poverty, environmental chaos, oppression and the denial of rights.

⁷ Stephen Lewis, *Race Against Time* (House of Anansi Press, 2005), p.126.

⁸ United Nations Security Council, *Report of the Secretary-General on Women, Peace and Security*, S/2006/770 (2006), par. 38.

3. The State is the guarantor of its citizens' security, without exception.
4. Security is a collective concern, because its challenges – the circulation of light weapons, the permeability of borders, the smuggling of natural resources, the use of children in hostilities, violence against civilians, human rights violations, war crimes, etc. – go beyond national borders and call for collective solutions.
5. The right to intervene can be justified by the Security Council when the State has failed in its responsibility to protect its citizens.⁹

The UN and the African Union: Positions on Human Security

29. In its 1994 report on human development, *New Dimensions of Human Security*, the UNDP established an intrinsic cause-and-effect link between human security and human development. Acknowledging the interdependence of two basic human needs – protection against socioeconomic threats and political threats – the report identifies seven areas that come into play in defining human security: economic security, food security, health security, environmental security, personal security, community security and political security.

30. The UN Secretary-General's Report on the Objectives for the Millennium follows this line of thought. *Freedom From Want* and *Freedom From Fear*¹⁰ are calls to place the human person at the heart of the international agenda. They promote a concept of security built simultaneously upon the right to development and the right to live in a secure environment.

31. Following the report *Objectives for the Millennium*, the Commission on Human Security produced the 2003 report entitled *Human Security Now*. This report emphasizes economic security and universal access to socioeconomic rights, guaranteed civil liberties and political freedoms, and protection of citizens against threats and violence, in particular small arms violence. The report presents human dignity as a central value, requiring the international community to seek solutions that aim for genuine autonomy, rather than simply assisting individuals.

32. The final Outcome document of the 2005 UN World Summit continued along the same lines. At the close of the Summit, the heads of State affirmed their intention to map out a collective security system, based on the observation that many threats are closely interlinked, that development, peace, security and human rights are mutually reinforcing.¹¹

⁹ *The Responsibility to Protect*, Report of the International Commission on Intervention and the Sovereignty of States, International Development Research Centre (2001), 120p.
http://www.idrc.ca/en/ev-9436-201-1-DO_TOPIC.html

¹⁰ United Nations, *We the Peoples, the Role of the United Nations in the XXIst Century*, par. 194 and 202.

¹¹ United Nations General Assembly, Outcome Document of the 2005 World Summit, A/60/L.1*, par. 72.

33. At the regional level, the African Union endorses a holistic interpretation of human security. The Non-Aggression and Common Defense Pact¹² stipulates in Article 1(k) that “Human Security means the security of the individual in terms of satisfaction of his/her basic needs. It also includes the creation of social, economic, political, environmental and cultural conditions necessary for the survival and dignity of the individual, the protection of and respect for human rights, good governance and the guarantee for each individual of opportunities and choices for his/her full development.”

34. At the official launching of the Peace and Security Council of the African Union, heads of State and governments declared: “We recognize that the foundation for peace and security in Africa is intrinsically linked to the concept of human security. Accordingly, we reaffirm our commitment to the promotion of a comprehensive vision of human security.”¹³

The Connection between Human Security and Conflict Prevention

35. An international consensus on the concept of human security cannot be said to exist. However, within the restricted framework of peace initiatives, a limited interpretation focused on the resolution of armed conflict is recommended for pragmatic reasons.

36. First, there is a direct connection¹⁴ between conflict prevention and human security in that armed conflicts compromise the two twin foundations of human security: *freedom from want* and *freedom from fear*. Secondly, armed conflicts undermine the physical and psychological integrity of individuals.

37. Many initiatives and mechanisms already exist for preventing and resolving armed conflict.¹⁵ Some have borne fruits; others are waiting to be applied: the Anti-landmine Treaty, international humanitarian law, international criminal law, the International Criminal Court, and initiatives for disarming civilians, controlling light weapons and prohibiting child soldiers. By resolving and preventing conflicts, these initiatives ensure human security.

Gender-specific Aspects of Human Security

38. By placing civilians front and centre, the new paradigm opens the door to a gender-specific approach to human security, particularly in humanitarian emergencies, peacekeeping, peacebuilding and reconstruction.

¹² The African Union, Non-Aggression and Common Defense Pact, adopted January 31 2005 in Abuja, Nigeria.

¹³ Statement of Commitment to Peace and Security in Africa, Issued by the Heads of State and Government of Member States of the Peace and Security Council of the African Union, May 25, 2004 in Addis Ababa.

¹⁴ *Conflict-sensitive Approaches to Development, Humanitarian Assistance and Peacebuilding* (2004), Chap. 1, p. 5.

¹⁵ Organisation internationale de la Francophonie, *Sécurité humaine : Clarification du concept et approches par les organisations internationales. Quelques repères*. (January 2006), p.10.

39. For national decision-makers, humanitarian agencies and all those who intervene in conflict and emergency situations, a gender approach helps to reduce gender inequalities by examining the differential impacts of the crisis on men and women. At the same time, it brings to light the repercussions of humanitarian activities on gender relations.

40. Adopting a gender perspective in humanitarian situations¹⁶ allows us to emphasize the skills and capacities of men and women, and to identify missed opportunities to reinforce women's skills within humanitarian activities. But more importantly, it points to opportunities for removing sociocultural barriers that reproduce and exacerbate discrimination against women.

41. Men and women are all affected by humanitarian crises, but not in the same way nor in the same proportions. The causes of displacement, the needs for protection and assistance during displacements, and the challenges connected to repatriation and reintegration are not identical for men and women. To take these differing needs into account within a gender perspective means to offer adapted services and the same rights and opportunities¹⁷ to men and women.

42. During conflicts, there is a massive recruitment of men and boys into the military and armed groups. Male soldiers and civilian combatants are particularly exposed to death, mutilations and severe injuries directly related to the hostilities.

43. However, since contemporary wars tend to be internal wars, the exploitation of nationalist or ethnic feeling also leads to the recruitment of civilian women and girls and their participation in the "collective effort". Civil war militarizes public space by moving the front from inter-state borders to neighborhoods and villages. Civilian populations in general, and women, children and the elderly in particular, are delivered into the hands of organized violence.

44. During a crisis, the stereotypes and myths of male and female identity are reproduced and reinforced. Masculinity radically asserts itself in the form of violence, control and domination. Women are subject to the same constraints related to their lower status, while their situation as displaced persons or refugees brings other challenges and forces them to carry the major socioeconomic burdens of the crisis.

45. The worst forms of physical and sexual violence against women and girls are committed within this context. This violence is both domestic and related to the conflict.

¹⁶ Inter-Agency Standing Committee Working Group/Sub Working Group on Gender and Humanitarian Assistance, Background paper: *Mainstreaming Gender in the Humanitarian Response to Emergencies*, 12 p.

¹⁷ Inter-Agency Standing Committee, *Women, Girls, Boys and Men: Different Needs -- Equal Opportunities. A Handbook for Gender Equality in Humanitarian Action* (2006), 10p.

46. Additionally, women and girls are particularly affected by the destruction of socioeconomic infrastructures such as hospitals, health centers, schools, water supply systems, roads and methods of transport. This means they have even less access to basic social services, which aggravates primary and reproductive health problems. It also opens the door to increased infant and maternal mortality, increased violence and sexual exploitation and increased risks of HIV, with no authority to respond to these issues.

47. Crimes against women, such as physical and sexual violence, psychological harassment and trauma, torture and murder are common occurrences that don't receive enough attention. The following are essential conditions for providing human security to women and girls: making living environments, such as displaced persons and refugee camps, safe; providing secure water supply points; supervision of latrines and their proximity to living areas; security during food distribution and accessible social and health services.

48. These conditions can only be met through strict weapons control. They also depend on the composition of humanitarian staff and civilian police, and their ability to adequately respond to women's needs. Gender balance in humanitarian personnel and the police, a training and educational programme, and surveillance measures could make all the difference.

49. The Inter-Agency Committee on Gender and Humanitarian Assistance proposes eight ways to make humanitarian assistance more respectful of gender equality:¹⁸

1. Analyze the impact of the humanitarian crisis on women and girls, men and boys
2. Design services to meet the needs of men and women equally
3. Make sure men and women can access services equally, and there are no barriers to receiving benefits
4. Ensure women, girls, boys and men participate equally in the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of humanitarian responses, and women are in decision-making positions
5. Make sure men and women have equal opportunity for capacity-building and training
6. Collect and analyze all data concerning the humanitarian response by age and sex breakdowns
7. Hire and/or deploy equal numbers of men and women
8. Set up gender support networks to ensure coordination and gender mainstreaming in all areas of humanitarian work.

50. It is essential to acknowledge that women and girls experience a specific vulnerability, while they contribute at the same time to the well-being of families and communities.

51. Women and girls accomplish almost all domestic tasks, as well as tasks connected to food production and food security. They look after the cleanliness and viability of displaced persons and refugee sites; but they are usually excluded from decision-making

¹⁸ Ibid

structures. Women spend more time and energy on family survival activities, but don't have access to resources and production inputs.

52. An effective response to the immediate and practical needs of women is therefore just as necessary as long-term prevention measures which raise their status, and ensure their autonomy, decision-making power and power to act.¹⁹

53. To look at human security in this way means to seek a solution on three levels. First, an urgent and effective response to the immediate needs of women; second, prevention of the causes of discrimination and violence that directly target women; and third, to no longer limit women to a passive role, but on the contrary to recognize and politicize their contribution to peace and security. This way of looking at human security calls for transformative measures that challenge the structures, systems and mind-sets that underlie gender inequality, and are used to justify it.

4. *Conflict Analysis from a Gender Perspective*

54. There are many types of conflicts, but however complex they may be, they can be analyzed²⁰ in terms of causes, profiles, actors, and the dynamics they create. Conflict analysis allows us to understand the structural foundations of political crises, as well as aggravating factors, triggering events, and consequences on the social and economic fabric. It also helps us to understand emergent issues which can be used to build a lasting solution to the crisis, based on social justice, inclusion, equality and parity.

55. Two observations can shed light on gender-specific aspects of the conflict analysis cycle:

- The profiles and the causes of the conflict refer to the social, cultural, political and economic context, as well as to the resulting realities, including the forced displacement of populations, the militarization of public space, strong military presence in areas with natural and mineral resources, light weapons proliferation, increased human rights violations, increased sexual crimes, increased HIV infections, etc. Statistics and indicators broken down by sex show that the female population is much more vulnerable than the male population and that the needs of the female population are under-evaluated. This justifies the integration of a gender approach in conflict analysis so as to minimize the conflict's impact on both sexes.
- In the effort to resolve the conflict, an analysis of the actors and the dynamics emphasizes not only the negatively-implicated actors and scenarios, but also

¹⁹ *Gender Approaches in Conflict and Post-Conflict Situations* (UNDP, 2002), p.6.
Beth Woroniuk, *Women's Empowerment in the Context of Human Security: a Discussion Paper*, pp.28-35. The paper was presented during a workshop jointly organized in December 1999 by UN ACC Inter-Agency Committee on Women and Gender Equality, OECD/DAC Working Party on Gender Equality and the Office of the Special Advisor on Gender Issues, 62p.

²⁰ *Conflict-sensitive Approaches to Development, Humanitarian Assistance and Peacebuilding* (2004), Chap.2: Conflict Analysis, pp.3-5.

people affected by the conflict, local initiatives, civil society organizations, women's groups, and refugees and displaced persons. Although these initiatives are often invisible, they are nevertheless the foundation for creating social unity.

56. Seven questions informed by a gender approach are fundamental to understanding the differential impact of conflict on men and women, and to adopt corrective measures:

1. In what ways and in what proportions are insecurity and violence expressed?
2. What are their multiple consequences?
3. What direct and indirect factors increase the vulnerability of women and girls?
4. What mechanisms are in place to adapt activities to the practical and security needs of women?
5. What is being done to efficiently meet the practical needs of women, such as safe housing, as well as their social, health, hygiene and nutritional needs?
6. What measures have been taken to prevent discrimination and violence against women?
7. What measures have been taken to allow women to participate in decision-making?

57. Conflicts have an impact on the traditional roles of men and women. First, conflicts brutally reveal the discrimination suffered by women and girls during peacetime, since the different types of abuse and violence against women in conflict situations simply reproduce and amplify what they experience in their communities. Secondly, conflicts destroy the social fabric, dislocate families and communities, increase material poverty, increase vulnerability to violence, and deconstruct the social codes and norms governing how to *live together*.

58. However, there is a third way to look at the impact of conflict on women's roles, and it is inspired by women's contributions to peace and security initiatives. From this point of view, generally-accepted ideas about male and female roles are stood on their heads. This third approach takes into account the many ways women maintain the viability of refugee and displaced persons camps, ensure peaceful cohabitation, protect their families, recreate family and community ties, and somehow hold their communities together while the men are at the front, in exile or affected by the loss of traditional economic activities.

59. Women and children make up 80 per cent of the people uprooted by conflicts in Africa. This reality forces us to analyze the changes experienced by women in their new situations as heads of households, single mothers or widows. Women accumulate extra responsibilities without necessarily receiving any extra help.

60. Women's empowerment reshapes their image by focusing on their roles and contributions to peace and security. From this perspective, women cease to be confined to an image of themselves as victims and social assistance beneficiaries. They become citizens who enjoy the right to:

- Participation, representation and decision-making
- Equitable access to resources and production inputs
- Autonomy
- Control of their own body and protection from violence

61. Gender-based conflict analysis can therefore respond to the specific needs of women for protection and assistance, and prevent discrimination, while simultaneously politicizing women's formal and informal initiatives by making them visible, bringing them into public debate, supporting them and officially integrating them into the peace process.

5. *Peacebuilding from a Gender Perspective*

"Time and again, women have played a constructive and essential part in peace processes. They are gradually finding a place at the negotiating table, in the implementation of peace agreements, in post-conflict rehabilitation, reconstruction and disarmament. It is high time they were included in those processes in a more formalized way, at all levels and at all stages".²¹

Kofi Annan, Addis Ababa, July 6, 2004

62. Peacebuilding is a pivotal period in the peace process. It offers a unified and coherent framework in which peace promotion, the sustainability of measures taken to end the crisis, and the preservation of positive outcomes from political negotiation constitute a set of interdependent goals. From this point of view, peacebuilding is both about resolving and preventing conflict.

63. Peacebuilding happens through multiple initiatives taken both through political negotiation and through reforms to create a democracy based on the rule of law. However, democracy and the rule of law are meaningless when the rights of half the population are neither promoted nor recognized. Peace negotiations lack credibility when the peace process fails to implement an inclusive and participatory approach which respects the grievances of all parts of the population, especially those affected by the conflict.

64. A gender approach to peacebuilding is based primarily on two axioms. First, women's inferior status is both a cause and a consequence of the violations which specifically target them during times of conflict. Redefining women's status through peacebuilding reforms is both an act of justice for women and a way of preventing gender discrimination.

65. Secondly, women are not solely victims. On the one hand, they participate in conflict as combatants and assistants to combat. They certainly participate less than men,

²¹ Kofi Annan, "Africa Cannot Develop Unless African Women Exercise Real Power", Addis-Ababa (July 6, 2004).

but nevertheless are confronted with challenges of healing, rehabilitation and reintegration that are often ignored by reconstruction programmes.²²

66. On the other hand, the social fragmentation and economic havoc resulting from conflict highlight women's role as informal caregiver. Their substantial contributions to peace, social unity, and family and community survival are not necessarily recognized at the political level.

67. Recognizing women's roles then becomes a political act that can impact government decisions and practices. This recognition must be based on all of women's initiatives²³ as politicians, activists, members of civil society and victims' rights groups, community service providers, members of professional associations and community organizations, etc.

68. A gender approach to peacebuilding therefore poses two conditions: women's status must be redefined by giving them the same legal rights as men, and women's contributions must be transformed into political assets.

69. This gender approach seeks out measures that have transformative power. The measures arise from causes and factors – such as lower status and the lack of rights – that increase women's vulnerability in conflict and emergency situations. A gender approach to peacebuilding results in preventing discrimination against women, by addressing inequalities at the source.

70. For decision-makers, this means that programmes linked to crisis resolution must clearly promote and reflect gender equality in all programmes, projects and policies. But they must also adopt measures to strengthen and consolidate women's status and activities.

6. *Prevention, Participation and Protection: The Conceptual Framework of Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000)*

71. SCR 1325 (2000) is a summary of principles which protect women's basic rights using international humanitarian law, international human rights law, and international criminal law. In particular it is concerned with the protection of women's rights through the mechanisms of transitional justice and criminal justice.

72. The effectiveness of SCR 1325 (2000)'s implementation depends on the ability to produce a framework for analysis and action. This must not substitute for other international mechanisms based on the same principles, but must ensure their integration.

²² UNIFEM, *Getting it Right, Doing it Right: Gender and Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration* (2004), 47p.

²³ International Alert/Women Waging Peace, *Inclusive Security, Sustainable Peace: A Toolkit for Advocacy and Action* (2004), 49 p., p.9.

73. Looking for an effective way to implement SCR 1325 (2000), the *Working Group on Women, Peace and Security*, composed of international NGOs, has proposed the **3P approach**: protection, participation and prevention.

74. The Working Group used four UN Security Council resolutions, including SCR 1325 (2000), to propose a common coherent platform. The resolutions are: SCR 1265 (1999), 1296 (2000), 1366 (2000), and 1460 (2000). These resolutions relate to conflict prevention, protection of civilians, and civilian participation, especially that of women and children.

75. Two more can be added: SCR 1539 on children and armed conflict (2004), and SCR 1612 on the protection of children affected by armed conflict (2005).

76. The idea of using the 3P approach to analyze SCR 1325 (2000) arose from three observations:

- All the resolutions mentioned above form a commitment on the part of the Security Council to prevent violent conflict, to protect civilians and to ensure women's participation in prevention, conflict resolution and peacebuilding.
- The themes of these resolutions are interdependent and closely linked. Experience has shown that trying to implement them separately inevitably leads to the breakdown of actions.
- Although each one responds to specific concerns, the resolutions all place significant emphasis on violent conflict prevention, women's participation, and the protection of all civilians.

77. Using the 3P approach to understand and use a plan of action for SCR 1325 (2000) leads to more coherent and effective collective action, because it is based on the identification of roles, processes and methods envisaged by the Secretary-General, the United Nations system, governments and non-state actors.

78. All training and capacity-building, as well as the mainstreaming of a gender approach and evaluation tools must be carefully looked at from the perspective of each P.

7. *Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000): a Tool for Planning, Evaluation and Accountability*

79. SCR 1325 (2000) is a call to committed action on the part of all multilateral, regional, bilateral and national stakeholders, including civil society, who are involved in conflict resolution. Its implementation depends, on the one hand, on defining measurable objectives and targets, and on the other hand, on creating appropriate strategies and allocating sufficient resources.

80. Like other international tools for addressing human rights, SCR 1325 (2000)'s utility cannot be assessed solely on the basis of its relevance. Its usefulness stems from the significant changes that are supposed to accrue from its implementation. SCR 1325

(2000) will remain meaningless until it moves from a declaration of commitment to a committed action.

81. However, while successive reports by the Secretary-General concerning its implementation note some significant progress, they also deplore the difficulties in designing coherent programming, and the lack of monitoring and evaluation systems that could measure its effectiveness. So a series of recommendations have been proposed to design an effective system.²⁴ The aim of these recommendations is for improved programming, a results-based management framework, coordinated activities, responsibility and accountability.

82. The Security Council called for the implementation of SCR 1325 (2000) at the national level, in particular through *national action plans*. National action plans are not a panacea. They nevertheless have the advantage of providing tangible objectives following an internal assessment, developing strategies for action, providing a reasonable timetable, estimating and mobilizing the necessary resources, and providing a framework for monitoring and evaluation.

III. Women, Peace and Security: An Analysis of African Conflicts and their Gender-specific Challenges

Objective

83. Based on the changing nature of conflict since the Cold War and the experiences of civilians, the concept of human security has now been redefined. This new way of looking at human security has also had an impact on how we analyze violent conflict.

84. The objective of this lesson is to consider the issue at the level of the African continent. The many armed conflicts that have taken place in Africa since decolonization have revealed the extent of the political, social and economic fragmentation caused by civil war. Women and children have been affected in very specific ways, and there is an acute need to analyze these conflicts from a gender-based perspective.

At the end of this lesson, readers will understand:

- The socioeconomic and socio-political dynamics of African conflicts
- The gender-specific aspects of African conflicts
- The importance of women's empowerment.

1. *Armed Conflicts in Africa: A Contemporary Form of Conflict*

85. In the collective imagination, the end of the Cold War and its polarization of the world mark a turning point in the perception of human security. The redefinition of human security is closely linked to the typology of post-colonial conflicts. The typology

²⁴ UN Security Council, *Secretary-General's Report on Women, Peace and Security* (S/2006/770), par. 42 and 43.

relates to the deeper causes and the nature of the conflicts. These in turn relate to consequences and impacts on the civilian population.

86. We can define the contemporary nature of African conflicts through the historical divide between ancestral wars and post-colonial wars. Contemporary wars are characterized, among other things, by their longevity, modern technological methods, and massive numbers of victims. Ancient conflicts, on the other hand, seem more archaic, because of the plethoric nature of their armies, and more sporadic because they were motivated by more basic concerns²⁵ such as protection from invaders and neighbours' greed, the possession of goods and property, rebellion and political resistance.

87. The point is not to idealize the way in which African States and Kingdoms waged war prior to colonization. Rather, it is to grasp the ways in which African conflicts have changed. These changes break with the past on several levels:

- Civilians used as human shields
- The internalizing and regionalizing of conflicts
- Length of conflicts beyond ten years
- Arms dealing
- The arming of civilians
- The participation of armed groups and non-regular armies
- Predatory exploitation of natural and mineral resources
- Economic decline
- Social fragmentation.

2. *An Analysis Based on Societal Conflict Rather Than on Identity*

88. The explosion of armed conflicts after the decolonization process and the violence perpetrated against civilians have created the image of an African continent that has lost its bearings. There have been widely disseminated, barely-veiled stereotypes of Africans as a people whose identity destines them to self-destruction.²⁶

89. Conflict analysis relating to Africa has therefore been reduced to the consequences and manifestations of conflicts, rather than their causes. Clichés such as “tribal warfare”, “ethnic conflict”, “religious wars” etc. describe a factual reality but nevertheless contribute to a perception wherein political cleavages are transformed into innate, visceral and atavistic hatreds.

90. Undoubtedly, ethnic references have become rallying points for political mobilization. This cannot be denied. However, the fundamental question remains: what motivations underlie and influence these forms of solidarity?

²⁵ Daniel Palmieri, *Time as a Factor in Understanding the Violence of War: the Example of Africa*, International Review of the Red Cross (2003), vol.85, No 852, pp. 775-790.

²⁶ Stephen Smith, *Négrologie, Pourquoi l'Afrique meurt*, Calmann-Lévy (2003), 233 p.

91. When we don't try to understand the endogenous and exogenous causes of conflicts, as well as the destructive dynamics they create, we risk declaring them inextricable and insolvable. By analyzing causes and factors, and emphasizing societal conflicts, we can go beyond a simplistic and stereotypical reading²⁷ of the situation.

92. Emphasizing societal rather than identity-based conflict does not mean becoming complacent about ethnic aspects of conflict, and especially not about the crimes and injustices committed in their name. Understanding dynamics of the conflicts absolutely does not mean understanding war crimes or crimes against humanity orchestrated within that framework. These crimes remain deliberate acts proscribed by humanitarian law and suppressed by international criminal law. Political responsibility must always be established and justice rendered to the victims and their families.

93. Analyzing contemporary armed conflicts in Africa from the point of view of societal conflict leads us on the one hand to interconnect political, economic, sociocultural and even geopolitical causes. Its main parameters are colonial legacies, democratic deficits, the slide into dictatorship, the erosion of the State's interventionist role in socioeconomic areas, the predatory exploitation of resources, etc.

94. On the other hand, this type of analysis leads us to look at the manifestations and impacts of conflicts, especially human rights violations and violence. A lasting solution will depend in part on taking into account the experiences of people affected by the conflict, including women, as well as on women's genuine participation in the search for solutions.

95. The following analytical framework²⁸ can help put things in perspective.
(See Box 1)

Box 1: Analytical Framework

1.	COLLECTING DATA SYMPTOMS, EVENTS, HISTORY How is socio-political discontent expressed, within a specific group? Identify facts and their evolution.
2.	THE SOCIAL DIMENSION NEEDS, RIGHTS, PRIVILEGES Where is the inequality? Who are the victims? What social factors (class, sex, status, and age) put victims at a disadvantage? What social factors benefit the privileged?
3.	THE ECONOMIC DIMENSION RESOURCES, INTERESTS Who decides how resources will be used? In whose interests? Where do interests diverge and converge?

²⁷ J.-P. Chrétien et G. Prunier (Dir), *Les ethnies ont une histoire* (1989), 435 p.

²⁸ Analytical framework used in the course: *Développement communautaire comparé* (Comparative Community Development), Université du Québec en Outaouais.

4. THE POLITICAL DIMENSION

POWER, THE FORCES AT PLAY

Who are the key actors?

Who are the opponents? The allies?

Whom does power serve? Who submits to it?

Who participates in the power to make decisions? Who is excluded? Where does the ultimate power to decide lie?

Who benefits from decisions, or the lack of decisions?

5. THE CULTURAL DIMENSION

VALUES, MODELS, IDEOLOGIES

Who possesses knowledge?

Who influences whom?

Who profits?

What models, values, trends in public opinion, discourses, and ideologies exert influence on this situation? Who conveys them?

6. SYNTHESIS

THE SYSTEM

Structural causes?

Interconnections?

Among all the analytical elements that have emerged, which ones relate to:

The overall situation?

Local customs or traditions?

Economic or social policies?

Accidental factors?

Public personalities/key figures?

Public opinion?

What connections can be made between the different causes that have been identified?

In the final analysis, how could the overall situation should be described?

96. How can we examine the phenomenon of human rights violations and wartime violence rigorously but without falling into racist clichés? This is where an analysis based on sociocultural constructs is of particular interest.

97. Violence is not a biological phenomenon. We are not born violent. We become violent. Therefore the violence of African armed conflicts should not be depicted as an identity-based trait. Ethnic and religious groups do not experience genetic, age-old hatreds carried by blood feuds. Describing conflicts as ethnic, tribal and religious should not cover up what lies beneath, which is often political and economic in nature.

98. Child soldiers in Africa are no more violent than they are elsewhere. They embody a socio-political reality characterized by the failure of the State, the destruction of moral and ethical norms, the loss of reference points, demographic explosions, unemployment and idleness. These are both causes and consequences of war.

99. By the same reasoning, violence and discrimination against women should not be analyzed as arising from innate and immutable behaviours. This violence results from power dynamics that depend on patriarchal values. To state that they are innate is to state that they are irreversible, which means closing the door on the potential transformation of gender relations into egalitarian social relationships.

100. Nevertheless, transforming unequal gender relations challenges us to take up the roots, causes and consequences of these inequalities honestly, courageously and unequivocally. We should not let a closed attitude towards criticism hinder us from challenging the mind-sets and practices that lead to discrimination and injustice towards women.

101. This also should not be considered as an affront to African cultural specificity. It is one thing to defend a culture, it is quite another to use an improper interpretation of culture to maintain the inferior status of part of the population.

102. Dismantling the foundations of discrimination against women is a societal challenge with equal rights at stake. Although its first aim is to rehabilitate women, it nevertheless benefits the whole society. This is why it is very important to involve men in the struggle to change attitudes and mentalities.

103. Educating men and women, and involving the whole community in collective awareness-raising is a political process. It has the advantage of showing that violence against women is not just a women's issue, but a problem that affects everyone. Resolving this issue requires men's involvement but also a change in women's perception. In rural areas, a large proportion of women believe that men have the right to beat their wives.²⁹ This belief is closely linked to the perception of women as property acquired through a dowry.

3. *Structural Causes of Conflicts in Africa*

104. Since decolonization, Africa has experienced some 80 coups d'état, 75 armed conflicts and 40 civil wars.³⁰ In the 1990s, national armies intervened in 19 countries worldwide, 15 of which were located in Sub-Saharan Africa.³¹ The latter are: Burundi, the Central African Republic, Comoro Islands, Congo, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Ethiopia, Gambia, Guinea-Bissau, Ivory Coast, Lesotho, Niger, Nigeria, Rwanda, Sierra Leone and Somalia. Liberia, Northern Uganda and Sudan, torn by civil war, can be added to this list.

105. Two comments can be made about this situation. To begin with, the majority of the countries where an army has intervened in political affairs are, or were recently at war. Consequently, there seems to be a cause-and-effect connection between military interference or the overthrow of constitutional order, and armed conflict.

106. Secondly, approximately 20 of the 53 countries in Africa have experienced civil war in the last 20 years. Taking into consideration the size and demographics of the

²⁹ World Health Organization, *Multi-country Study on Women's Health and Domestic Violence Against Women* (2005), p.23.

³⁰ Fraternité matin, "Instabilité en Afrique", January 16, 2004.

³¹ UNDP, Human Development Report 2002: *Deepening Democracy in a Fragmented World*.

countries involved, this means that nearly half the people living in Sub-Saharan Africa have suffered and still suffer from the atrocities of war.

107. These observations raise an important question: Why Africa? In answering this question, caution needs to be exercised. Despite the gravity and recurrence of violent conflicts, Africa should not be caricatured as a bellicose or passive continent. The Africa of the people, the Africa of ordinary men and women does not only suffer from armed conflicts, it also attempts to prevent and to resolve them.

108. As everywhere else in the world, African conflicts have a history. Their root causes can be traced to:

1. The colonial legacy, especially the arbitrary delineation of borders, the break-up of closely-knit entities belonging to the same ethnic group and the destruction of traditional political regulatory mechanisms;
2. The "divide to conquer" policy, deliberately applied by colonial powers to stifle independence;
3. Political manipulations following the Cold War;
4. Geopolitical disruption and foreign influence;
5. Economic crisis;
6. Dictatorship and democratic deficit.

These endogenous and exogenous foundations are not immutable. It is true that conflicts have disarticulated the continent. But it is also true that today's Africa is definitely looking to the democratization of its institutions.

109. In 1970, more than 30 countries experienced conflict or civil war. According to the UN Secretary-General's report³² on the causes of conflicts in Africa, 14 countries were afflicted by armed conflict or civil war in 1998 and 11 were considered as being in a state of serious political crisis. In 2007, only seven countries experienced civil war or intense armed conflict.

110. Given the complexity of the issues and the situation of each individual country, it is important to take a balanced approach and put things into context. There are of course commonalities among these countries, especially as concerns history and the struggles for independence, liberation wars, and post-colonial civil wars. However, the same analytical framework cannot be applied to all conflicts for each conflict has its own causes and characteristics.

111. To end a conflict, the nature of the conflict must be understood. In Africa, most of the conflicts are post-colonial in nature. That is to say, with a few exceptions, they are the result of problems that are rooted in the colonial era, and that are now exploding in an emancipated Africa caught between its colonial heritage, dictatorial practices which

³²United Nations, Secretary General's Report to the UN Security Council, *The Causes of Conflict and the Promotion of Durable Peace and Sustainable Development in Africa, Application of the recommendations* (2004), A/59/285, par. 3

followed decolonization and an economic haemorrhage that is generating conflict and turning African warfare into a lucrative activity for warlords.

4. *Internal and Regional Conflicts*

112. Africa has known many border conflicts but generally, arbitration by courts of law and negotiations have been the preferred way of settling these matters. Except for the war between Ethiopia and Eritrea, most of the post-colonial conflicts taking place before the end of the Cold War were internal conflicts. Other conflicts, although influenced by the Cold War, always developed within national borders, such as in Angola and Mozambique.

113. However, internal conflicts can also have regional dimensions. For example, the conflicts which affected the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Sierra Leone are both internal and regional conflicts; they show how difficult it is to classify armed conflicts in Africa.

114. Aside from these two cases where the direct intervention of neighbouring countries is well documented, the regional nature of African armed conflicts can be established by examining their impact on human security. Indeed, conflict-related issues such as the free circulation of small arms, the displacement of populations, the trafficking of natural resources, the strategic alliances between armed factions and political parties, etc., transcend national borders and become regional problems.

115. That is why peace missions as well as initiatives undertaken by the United Nations and the African Union have adopted a global and multidimensional approach based on human security.

116. The Statement of Commitment³³ to Peace and Security in Africa issued by African Heads of State and Government call for the elimination of the underlying issues that have contributed to conflict, including "ethnic and religious extremism; corruption; exclusionary definitions of citizenship; poverty and disease, with special attention on the HIV/AIDS epidemic, which has now become a security problem on our continent; the illegal exploitation of Africa's renewable and non-renewable natural resources; mercenarism; the illicit proliferation, circulation and trafficking of small arms and light weapons; and the continuing toll exacted by anti-personnel landmines".

5. *Poverty as a Cause and Consequence of Conflicts*

117. In his report on the causes of conflicts and the promotion of durable peace and sustainable development in Africa, the UN Secretary-General regrets that efforts intended to alleviate the structural economic and political conditions that foster tension and strife, such as the fight against poverty, reduction of the high unemployment rates among young

³³ *Statement of Commitment to Peace and Security in Africa*, issued by the Heads of State and Government of Member States of the Peace and Security Council of the African Union, May 25, 2004, Addis-Ababa.

people and increased competition for limited resources due to the growing population, have yielded only modest and slow results.

118. Young people under 15 represent 43.9 per cent³⁴ of the total population of Sub-Saharan Africa, compared to 19.6 per cent in the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) countries. If the age bracket is extended to include those under 25, youth represent up to 60 per cent of the people living in Africa³⁵. However, 41 per cent of African children do not have access to basic education and two out of three of the children who do go to school do not have secondary education³⁶. Girls account for two thirds of these children.

119. As concerns unemployment, statistics are not available for all countries but the International Labour Office estimates that 21 per cent of African youth between 15 and 24 are affected by unemployment. In some countries, this rate is doubled. Such is the case in Sierra Leone³⁷ where more than 50 per cent of young people do not have a “real job,” and in Ivory Coast³⁸ where 40 per cent of the unemployed are between 15 and 34 years of age.

120. Armed conflicts are fed by economic stagnation and they highlight the despair of young people, victim of the education and economic crises, and unemployment. Still some conflicts erupt as a result of poor management of the land and reflect the disenchantment of regions that are rich in natural resources but gain no benefit from these resources.

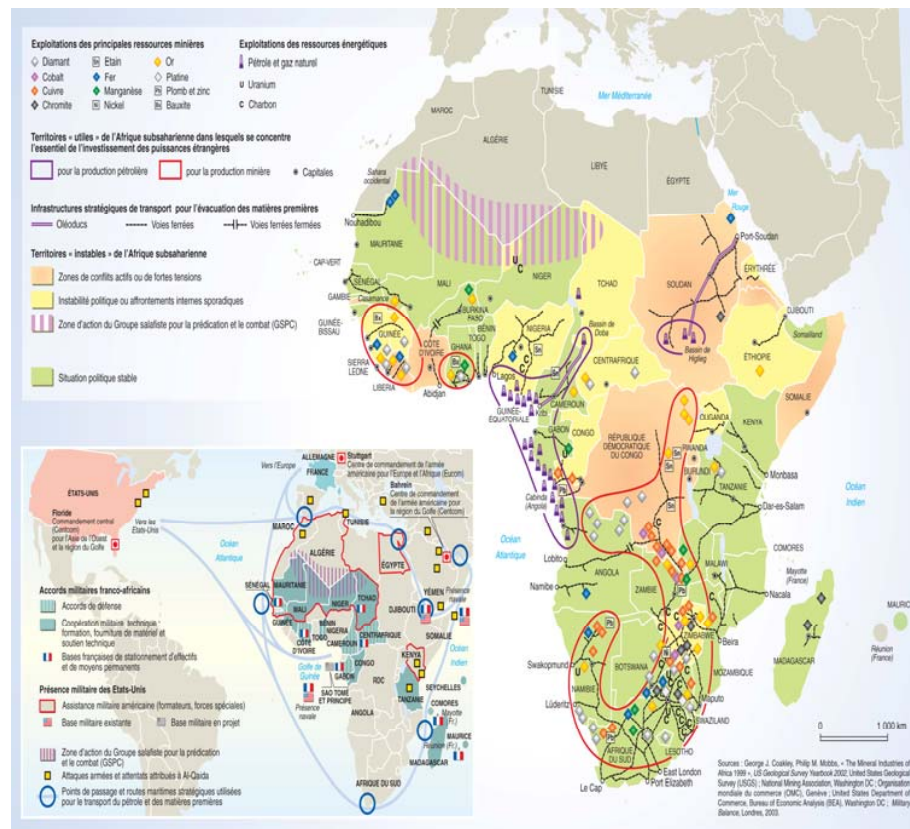
³⁴ UNDP, Human Development Report 2006, *Beyond Scarcity: Power, poverty and the global water crisis*.

³⁵ FEMNET, "Intégration du genre au sein de l'Union africaine. Proposition d'un cadre d'action", (2005), p. 7

³⁶ UNDP, Human Development Report 2003, *Millennium Development Goals: A compact among nations to end human poverty*.

³⁷ United Nations Office for West Africa, *Youth Unemployment and Regional Insecurity in West Africa*, (December 2006).

³⁸ UNDP/Ivory Coast, statistics collected in November 2005.



6. Human and Economic Costs of Armed Conflicts

“...on the top of the human misery suffered by millions during armed conflict, these conflicts cost Africa billions of dollars each year. ...the price that Africa is paying could cover the cost of solving the HIV and AIDS crisis in Africa, or provide education, water and prevention and treatment for tuberculosis and malaria. Literally thousands of hospitals, schools, and roads could have been built, positively affecting millions of people.”³⁹

Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf, President of Liberia, August 2007

121. Violent conflicts not only threaten human security, but also undermine the possibility of meeting the challenge of development. The horrific number of deaths, displaced persons and refugees attests to the human costs. As for the economic costs, annual losses are estimated at \$18 billion⁴⁰ per year.

³⁹ Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf, Foreword, *Africa's missing billions: International arms flows and the Cost of conflict*. IANSA, Oxfam and Saferworld (October 2007).

⁴⁰ Ibid.

122. While it represents only 10 per cent of the world population, Sub-Saharan Africa has the highest concentration of refugees and internally displaced population in the world, after Asia.

123. At the end of 2006, Africa accounted for a quarter of the world's refugees.⁴¹ In 2003, there were more than 15 million⁴² refugees and persons displaced by war in Africa, 80 per cent of which were women and children. Women are especially exposed to widespread and devastating physical and sexual violence, as demonstrated by the situation in Darfur, the Great Lakes Region and West Africa.

124. According to the United Nations, the war in Darfur⁴³ has already killed 200,000 persons and displaced more than 2.5 million; the war in Southern Sudan has displaced 4 million people.⁴⁴ The conflict in Angola⁴⁵ has resulted in 500,000 deaths, 4 million displaced persons and 100,000 handicapped persons. In Sierra Leone⁴⁶, the conflict has claimed over 75,000 lives, created half a million refugees, and displaced half of the country's 4.5 million people. At the beginning of 2000, the Great Lakes Region and the Horn of Africa gave shelter to more than 12 million displaced persons and refugees. In these two regions, the number of deaths attributed to war is close to five million.

125. Furthermore, Sub-Saharan Africa accounts for the greatest number of war-related deaths and the greatest number of child soldiers. It is also a region that is known for illicit trade of small arms and natural resources.

126. This picture, which reflects a deep political and social fracture, also highlights the extent of the economic breakdown caused by civil war in Africa. In addition to human suffering, economic destruction also jeopardizes the future of the next generations.

127. As was mentioned before, a recent study has assessed the economic losses resulting from conflicts in Africa since 1990 at *300 billions dollars*⁴⁷. This sum is equivalent to the amount of international aid received during the same period. The losses have been calculated based on direct and indirect consequences of conflicts such as medical costs, military expenditures, destruction of infrastructure, decline in production, inflation, reduced investments, unemployment, lack of public services, displaced populations, etc.

⁴¹ UNCHR, *2006 Global Trends: Refugees, Asylum-seekers, Returnees, Internally Displaced and Stateless* (June 2007), p. 6.

⁴² UNCHR, *Refugees*, Volume 4, N° 133 (2003)

⁴³ <http://www.un.org.french/newscentre>. UN News Centre (French), consulted September 29, 2007.

⁴⁴ UNDP Press Release, "New Seeds of Justice sown in Southern Sudan", June 12, 2007.

⁴⁵ Jean-Dominique Geslin *Un conflit coûteux, un bilan lourd*. Jeune Afrique, L'intelligent (March 4-10, 2002).

⁴⁶ Ian Smillie, Lansana Gberie, Ralph Hazleton, *The Heart of the Matter: Sierra Leone, Diamonds and Human Security*, Report produced by Partnership Africa Canada (January 2000).

⁴⁷ International Action Network on small arms, Safeworld and Oxfam, *Africa's missing billions: International arms flows and the Cost of conflict* (October 2007) 38 p.

128. African leaders recognize the economic disaster caused by armed conflicts: "no single internal factor has contributed more to socioeconomic decline on the Continent and the suffering of the civilian population than the scourge of conflicts within and between our States".⁴⁸

129. Resolution of armed conflicts in Africa therefore rests on collaborative efforts in several areas. Controlling arms trafficking and putting an end to the plundering of natural resources must go hand in hand with a strong programme to fight poverty and a coherent vision for democratic governance. The combination of these initiatives constitutes the matrix of the peace agenda in Africa, and women must be part of the solution.

7. *The Impact of Conflict on Women*

130. To grasp the situation of African women in the face of armed conflict, it is necessary to understand the structural basis of these conflicts. No sustainable solution can be found if the external and internal causes are not taken into account, such as the legacy of the colonial past, endemic poverty, criminal exploitation of natural resources, arms trafficking, the slide into dictatorship of some regimes and the geopolitical marginalization of Africa.

131. As a social and sexual category, women are part of this context. They become the main victims of armed conflict because of their vulnerability based on barriers at birth, as well as gender-specific inequalities and their marginalization. Women are victims especially because they are thrown in a crisis while finding themselves in an inferior position. The redefinition of women's status is therefore the main issue.

Crimes and Violence against Women

132. Generally, crimes committed in the context of civil wars are extremely violent. Civil war breeds collective massacres, murder, mutilation, rape, sexual slavery, prostitution, torture, forced displacement, etc. These horrors have long-lasting effects and leave deep scars that are difficult to heal.

133. It is impossible to discuss the impact of conflicts without specifically mentioning crimes relating to physical and sexual violence against women. The systematic use of sexual violence is an acute open wound for the continent. The issue is certainly political and calls for a serious review of the position and role of men and women in society. To escape the cycle of violence, societies will need to give up certain behaviours that relegate girls and women to a subordinate position.

134. Widespread sexual violence against women during armed conflict implies that their rights and citizenship are denied. In Rwanda⁴⁹, between 250,000 and 500,000

⁴⁸ Protocol Relating to the Establishment of the Peace and Security Council of the African Union, adopted in Durban, July 9, 2002.

⁴⁹ United Nations, Economic and Social Council, *Report on the Situation of Human Rights in Rwanda*, E/CN.4/1996/68, par. 16 to 22.

women were raped during the genocide; in Sierra Leone⁵⁰, 53 per cent of women and girls displaced by the war have been victim of sexual violence; in Burundi,⁵¹ approximately 19 per cent of adolescent girls and women are said to have been victim of sexual violence; in the Democratic Republic of the Congo,⁵² one woman in three living in the conflict zones is said to have been raped; in Darfur, generalized and systematic rape is used as an ethnic cleansing method.⁵³

Why Women's Status is a Fundamental Issue

“Violence against women goes beyond the physical and emotional harm. It is a means of social insubordination, limiting women's access to public life and participation in opportunities that would empower them and provide them with space to have their voice heard.”

A message from the Women from Southern Sudan to the UN Security Council in relation to SCR 1325 (2000), 8 June 2006

135. Violence is both a means and an act of domination. One person can dominate another only if that person has more rights, more power and higher status. It is therefore impossible to examine the issue of women's poverty or domestic and political violence against women without referring to the theoretical framework of citizenship and gender relations, which include many myths and behaviours that are prejudicial to women.

136. The status of women is closely linked to their citizenship. Citizenship is a legal matter, not one of honor. The place and role of women have often been interpreted as being determined by considerations having to do with the concept of honor, to the detriment of political considerations. In this perspective, it is tempting to make women the repository of the family honor and to confine them to that role.

137. Redefining the status of women by granting them full citizenship⁵⁴ poses two challenges. First, the State must develop a rights regime that legally protects, from the constitutional and legislative points of view, the human rights of both women and men. Secondly, there is a need to ensure that equal rights are not merely a legal reality having no effect on women's lives.

138. The concept of rights has meaning only if it is universal in scope. It makes sense only if it is rooted in society, that is, if it truly encourages self-development as well as the

⁵⁰ *War related sexual violence in Sierra Leone*, Physicians for Human Rights (January 2002).

⁵¹ OCHA, CAP/Burundi 2006, p. 19

⁵² Elie Mechanic (2004), *Why gender still matters : Sexual violence and the need to confront militarized masculinity*, Partnership Africa Canada, p. 8

⁵³ Human Rights Watch, *Darfur 2007: Chaos by Design. Peacekeeping challenges for AMIS and UNAMID*, p. 51 to 53.

⁵⁴ Nyamu-Musembi C., *Addressing Formal and Substantive Citizenship. Gender Justice in Sub-Saharan Africa, in Gender Justice, Citizenship and Development*, International Development Research Centre (2007) pp. 223-273.

economic, social, political and cultural equality of all members of society. For women, this means being considered as full citizens who exercise control over their physical, moral and spiritual integrity, citizens who fully enjoy the right to economic security, the right to participation, the right to decision-making, the right to leadership and the right to empowerment.

139. The principle of universal rights and its application to women is written in a number of international conventions and regional instruments, including the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women, the Vienna Declaration, the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, the Protocol to the African Charter on the Rights of Women in Africa.

140. SCR 1325 (2000) reiterates the same principles and capitalizes on the social changes affecting the roles of men and women that take place during a conflict or crisis. These changes drastically modify preconceived ideas on gender roles in society and help women attain equal rights, provided there is political recognition of their rights and consolidation of their gains.

141. Indeed, conflicts generate important transformations. A record number of women often become heads of households. The breakdown of traditional economic systems also provides the opportunity to appreciate women's capacities. In many cases, women become the main economic pillars of the family.

142. However, this transformation is not necessarily recognized at the political level and the newly-gained power remains confined to the domestic sphere rather than being used as a point of entry to change the status of women in society. To take advantage of the transformation of roles occurring during a conflict is to bring women from the domestic sphere to public space where political discussion takes place. Redefining the status of women therefore constitutes an act of justice, protection, and prevention against the return to the status quo.

8. *Conflicts and Transformation of Gender Relations*

143. The study of contemporary conflicts teaches us that while conflicts are destructive, they can also create new social dynamics based on democratic principles such as equality, equity and inclusion. In this perspective, putting an end to a conflict does not simply mean to resolve the situation at hand; it also challenges society to transform⁵⁵ the conflict and its underlying structural causes to create a more just society. The fact that the UN Security Council responds to today's conflicts through a multidisciplinary approach reflects the international community's awareness of the need to build stronger and more lasting foundations.

144. Conflicts sometimes are the expression of frustration due to social injustice. In its preamble, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights states: "Whereas it is essential, if

⁵⁵ International Alert/Women Waging Peace, *Inclusive Security, Sustainable Peace: A Toolkit for Advocacy and Action* (2004), p.8-10.

man is not to be compelled to have recourse, as a last resort, to rebellion against tyranny and oppression, that human rights should be protected by the rule of law".

145. Conflict transformation is a global process which addresses the deeper causes of conflicts while adopting sustainable solutions and preventive measures: "The Organization⁵⁶ has learned that building durable peace in post-conflict contexts, particularly after a civil war, requires addressing the root causes of conflict and promoting sustainable development, including by fostering democratic pluralism, transparent and accountable governance, the rule of law and economic recovery."

146. For it to be meaningful for both for men and women, the transformative approach to conflict resolution must mainstream the gender perspective in all its initiatives. Programmes geared to the democratization of political institutions, economic improvement and peacebuilding must clearly seek to strengthen the position of women and prevent any return to the situation existing before and during the conflict.

147. To do so, the process needs to choose a participatory and inclusive approach, one that is not limited to belligerents, elites and politicians. The participation of people affected by the conflict, civil society organizations and women's groups is a condition for success. These groups are confronted with the realities of the war and often define peace and security differently than the belligerents.

148. The participation of all civilian, political and military groups in the process grants legitimacy to the solutions found. It allows for the rehabilitation of victims by having them play an active role. It allows for the politicization of legitimate demands which otherwise might be overlooked. It allows for a collective process and awareness to take place. Finally, it builds a foundation for democracy based on a social vision, a democracy in which power and the management of power will be motivated by the common good more than by personal interests.

IV. Women, Peace and Security: Contexts of Intervention

149. SCR 1325 (2000) calls for the protection of women and girls and the respect of their rights, the participation of women and girls in peace and reconstruction processes, and for measures to be taken to prevent the violation of their rights. For countries in a crisis or post-crisis situation, SCR 1325 (2000) is implemented both through humanitarian interventions and peacebuilding initiatives.

⁵⁶ United Nations, *Causes of conflict and the promotion of durable peace and sustainable development - Implementation of the recommendations contained in the report of the Secretary-General on the causes of conflict and promotion of durable peace and sustainable development in Africa -- Progress report of the Secretary-General.*

Objective

150. The objective of this lesson is to identify opportunities likely to facilitate the implementation of SCR 1325 (2000) through humanitarian initiatives, the peace process and the reconstruction process.

151. At the end of this lesson, readers will have had an overview of the initiatives undertaken by the UN, more specifically through peacekeeping operations, to ensure the protection of women and girls and to improve their right to participate. This lesson will highlight the following issues:

1. The fight against sexual violence
2. The fight against HIV
3. The rights of women and girls with respect to disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR)
4. Challenges facing women in terms of reintegration
5. Challenges facing women in terms of political participation.

1. *Humanitarian and Emergency Situations*

152. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees estimates that women and children make up between 75 and 80 per cent⁵⁷ of war refugees and displaced persons. The challenge is not only to protect these civilians, but also to take into consideration the specific protection needs of women and children.

153. Peace operations and humanitarian efforts are the two main entry points through which civilians in general, and women and girls in particular, can be protected.

154. The concentration of women in camps for refugees and displaced persons is a double-edged sword. Initially, the need for security encourages women to group together. But in the absence of a peacekeeping force with a *firm mandate to protect civilians*, the hoped-for protection turns into insecurity.

155. Let us examine the case of Burundi where civil war broke out in 1993. The African Mission in Burundi (AMIB) was deployed to support the peace process only ten years later, in April 2003. Originally, AMIB's mandate did not explicitly deal with civilian protection.⁵⁸ The rules of engagement were developed only months later to allow the troops to use force to protect civilians in case of imminent danger. A year later, the United Nations Mission in Burundi (ONUB) replaced AMIB and was authorized to operate under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter to ensure protection of civilians.

156. In Darfur, the intervention of the African Union Mission in Sudan (AMIS) demonstrates once more the determination of the African Union to play an active role in

⁵⁷ UNHCR, *Refugees*, Volume 1, N° 126 (202), "Women seeking a better deal", p. 7

⁵⁸ Kristiana Powell, *The African Union's Emerging Peace and Security Regime: Challenges for Delivering on The Responsibility to protect*, The North-South Institute, (May 2005), pp. 25-31.

resolving conflicts taking place on the continent: "We have moved from the concept of non-interference to non-indifference. We cannot as Africans remain indifferent to the tragedy of our people."⁵⁹

157. However, despite the African Union's desire to extend AMIS' mandate beyond monitoring of the *cease-fire* by *explicitly* including the protection of civilians, political negotiations with the Sudanese Government, the stalemate paralyzing the UN Security Council, as well as serious problems with resources, capacities and logistics have not given the African Union the means to meet its ambitions.⁶⁰

158. Despite these limitations, the African Mission has more or less fulfilled its mandate and protected civilians by establishing, where it could, zones of security enabling humanitarian workers to assist displaced people, more specifically to protect women against frequent assaults as they went to fetch water and firewood.

159. On July 31st, 2007, the UN Security Council adopted Resolution 1769 authorizing the establishment of the African Union-United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur (UNAMID) which will become operational on December 31st, 2007. SCR 1769 authorizes UNAMID to operate under Chapter VII of the UN Charter in order to support implementation of the Darfur Peace Agreement, as well as to protect its personnel and civilians.

160. The example of Rwanda is particularly eloquent. In the middle of the genocide, not only was the United Nations Mission in Rwanda (MINUAR) downsized to five hundred men,⁶¹ but it was not authorized to act under Chapter VII of the UN Charter, reducing the military contingents in place to the role of stock-takers of the massacre.⁶²

161. In these three cases, the number of war crimes committed, including sexual violence crimes, would certainly have been lower had the peace operations been carried out with a clear mandate and the logistical resources required to ensure the protection of civilians, including women and girls.

162. Aside from the lack of clear guidelines on civilian protection in peace operations, another problem – and not the least – has to be contended with, and that is the resources made available to humanitarian missions to allow men and women to enjoy the same rights. Logistical and financial support, combined with capacity-building in the area of prevention and protection against gender-based violence, is essential.

⁵⁹ Ambassador Saïd Djinnit, African Union's Commissioner for Peace and Security, Addis Ababa, June 28, (2004)

⁶⁰ Kristiana Powell, *The African Union's Emerging Peace and Security Regime: Opportunity and Challenges for delivering on The Responsibility to Protect*, The North-South Institute (May 2005), pp.31-40.

⁶¹ Roméo Dallaire, *Shake hands with the devil: The Failure of Humanity in Rwanda*, Random House Canada (2003)

⁶² Ibid.,

2. *Sexual and Gender-Based Violence*

163. Even though women and children make up the majority of the population in refugee camps, the patriarchal model is replicated in those camps and becomes even more radical. In this setting, women are even more disadvantaged and deprived of all decision-making power.

164. In violent conflicts, the social, economic and cultural foundations that structure the negotiations that usually take place to ensure a minimum balance of power between men and women completely break down. At the same time, traditional systems of protection, cooperation and family support disintegrate. Refugee and displaced persons camps are not home environments; rather, they reflect the disintegration of family and social structures. In the absence of traditional resolution mechanisms, socio-ethical codes break down and the only law that prevails is the law of force.

165. Patriarchal hegemony⁶³ thrives in refugee and internally displaced persons camps, the more so because in many respects, women are in a position of dependence. No longer producing food, they depend on food aid, the distribution and control of which are often in the hands of men. Having no control over their physical safety or food security, women must submit to the conditions of those who have decision-making power in the camps.

166. The negotiation of power with those who actually exercise power in these camps – armed forces personnel, militiamen, child soldiers and others – often results in sexual exploitation whereas poverty, promiscuity and insecurity encourage prostitution.⁶⁴ The civilian personnel of humanitarian agencies and peacekeeping forces are not innocent of this kind of abuse.

167. An investigation conducted in refugee camps of West Africa,⁶⁵ more specifically in Liberia, Guinea and Sierra Leone, has implicated local male employees and exposed the extensive practice of bartering humanitarian aid and services intended for the refugees for sexual relations with girls under 18 years of age.

168. Further to this investigation, the United Nations Secretary-General has instituted *Special measures for protection from sexual exploitation and sexual abuse*⁶⁶. The measures apply to all UN personnel, including staff of separately-administered bodies

⁶³ Judy A. Benjamin, Senior technical advisor of the Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children, "Women, war and HIV/AIDS: West Africa and the Great Lakes", remarks presented at the World Bank, on International Women's Day, March 8, 2001.

⁶⁴ UNIFEM, Elisabeth Rehn and Elle Jonhson Sirleaf, *Women, war and peace*, Chapter 4: HIV/AIDS, Women and War (October 2002), pp. 47-51

⁶⁵ UNHRC-Save the Children UK, "Extensive abuse of West African refugee children reported", press release dated February 27th, 2002.

⁶⁶ United Nations, Secretary-General's Bulletin, "Special measures for protection from sexual exploitation and sexual abuse", October 9, 2003, ST/SGB/2003/13.

and programmes of the United Nations as well as forces conducting operations under United Nations command and control.

169. However, the institution of these measures does not seem to have put an end to the misconduct of UN personnel deployed in peacekeeping missions as demonstrated by the sexual exploitation scandals involving the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC) (2004) and the United Nations Operation in Côte d'Ivoire (ONUCI)⁶⁷ (2007) forces.

170. Allegations of extensive prostitution involving MONUC agents have led the Secretary-General to appoint Prince Zeid Ra'ad Zeid Al-Hussein as his advisor, with the mandate to determine the nature and extent of the problem of sexual exploitation and abuse in peacekeeping missions.

171. In his report,⁶⁸ Prince Zeid stated: "I visited the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and Bunia in particular, and sensed that sexual exploitation and abuse was widespread, involving both civilian and uniformed personnel. Sexual exploitation and abuse appeared to be ongoing, thereby highlighting the inadequacy of current measures to address the problem in peacekeeping operations."

172. Following this report, the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations recommended a series of measures, more specifically the intensification and generalization of training programmes on the standards of conduct expected of peacekeeping personnel, the participation of women in peacekeeping missions, and the establishment of a mechanism to track and deal with cases of misconduct.

173. These initiatives have yielded some results; for example, the number of complaints has increased as a result of an improved environment. Furthermore, as of July 2005, training on sexual exploitation and abuse is mandatory for all categories of personnel in peacekeeping missions.⁶⁹

174. However, some challenges persist, especially the lack of access to justice for victims. The measures put in place by the Department of Peacekeeping Operations mostly involve suspension, termination or dismissal of individuals found guilty. Up until now, no clear guidelines have been adopted relating to victims and their right to justice and compensation. There is no guarantee that individuals found guilty will be prosecuted in their countries of origin. Impunity therefore remains an obstacle, despite the good intentions to prevent cases of abuse and sexual exploitation in peacekeeping operations.

⁶⁷ "UNOCI's Moroccan Contingent suspended following allegations of sexual abuse and exploitation against some of their soldiers", press release dated July 21, 2007.

⁶⁸ United Nations, General Assembly, "A comprehensive strategy to eliminate future sexual exploitation and abuse in United Nations peacekeeping operations", 2005, A/59/710, par. 8.

⁶⁹ United Nations, Department of Public Information, "Facts and Figures on Women, Peace and Security", (November 2005).

175. AIDS is another serious problem directly related to conflicts and sexual exploitation. At the Special Session on HIV/AIDS held in June 2001, the United Nations recognized that armed conflicts and natural disasters contribute to the spread of HIV/AIDS and that refugees and displaced persons, especially women and children, are at increased risk of exposure to HIV infection.⁷⁰

176. UN peacekeeping forces are governed by a code of conduct prohibiting high-risk behaviour, including sexual exploitation and sex trafficking. The UN Security Council has adopted Resolution 1308 precisely to address that challenge.⁷¹

177. Driven by the impact of HIV/AIDS on peace and security in Africa, this resolution acknowledges that AIDS is exacerbated by violence and political instability. With regards to peacekeeping and international security, the resolution encourages States to more adequately prepare their troops for peacekeeping operations by developing strategies for training, prevention, screening, counselling and treatment related to HIV/AIDS.

178. Sexual exploitation and abuse are not exclusive to UN personnel. State actors, armed opposition groups and civilians participating in armed conflicts also bear a large part of the responsibility.

179. African States involved in a conflict or offering shelter to populations affected by a conflict are responsible for applying *international law* which comprises international instruments relating to human rights, including the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women and the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women. The latter Conventions have been ratified by all African countries except for two.

180. African countries involved in armed conflicts taking place on their territories are also governed by *international humanitarian law* which includes four Geneva Conventions and two additional Protocols. While the four Conventions were initially developed to regulate international armed conflicts, they nevertheless include provisions that apply to armed conflicts other than international conflicts. Specifically, Article 3 found in all four Geneva Conventions prohibits acts of violence to life and person, the taking of hostages, and outrages upon personal dignity, in particular humiliating and degrading treatment.⁷²

181. Protocol II, additional to the Geneva Conventions, applies to civil war and internal conflicts. Similar to Article 3 aforementioned, Article 4 of Protocol II prohibits cruel and degrading acts, including rape.

⁷⁰ United Nations General Assembly, "Declaration of Commitment on HIV/AIDS", A/RES/S-26/2, August 2, 2001.

⁷¹ United Nations, Security Council, Resolution 1308 on the responsibility of the Security Council in the maintenance of international peace and security: HIV/AIDS and international peacekeeping operations. S/RES/1308 (2000), par. 6.

⁷² Amnesty International / Rights and Democracy, *Investigating Violations of Women's Human Rights in Armed Conflicts* (2001).

182. The causes and consequences of gender-based violence, the risks associated with unprotected sex such as sexually transmitted infections, AIDS, and unwanted pregnancies, have led humanitarian agencies to consider gender equality as a humanitarian response, notably by establishing *Guidelines for Gender-based Violence Interventions in Humanitarian Settings*.⁷³

183. These guidelines apply to the areas of emergency assistance, protection and prevention through rehabilitation and recovery measures, as well as to women's participation, autonomy and empowerment.

184. The guidelines include Action Sheets developed for sectoral areas (protection, water and sanitation, food security and nutrition, shelter, planning sites and non-food items, health and community services, education) and for cross-cutting functions (coordination, assessment and monitoring, protection, human resources, information, education and communication). Protection comes under both sectoral areas and cross-cutting functions.

185. In many respects, these guidelines are important for African governments:

1. To begin with, they are designed for use by humanitarian agencies and organizations, community grassroots organizations as well as *national authorities operating in emergency settings at the local, national and international level*.
2. Secondly, African countries contribute an increasing number of peacekeeping troops and civilian personnel. Like all other troop and civilian personnel-contributing countries, they have certain responsibilities. Before they can be deployed, civilians and military contingents must meet the required qualifications and standards, which implies that they have received appropriate training.
3. Thirdly, the first responsibility of governments is to assist and protect internally displaced persons, the majority of whom are women and children.
4. Fourthly, state and non-state actors in a conflict must respect international humanitarian law.

3. *Peace Processes and Post-conflict Transition*

186. The African continent currently hosts eight⁷⁴ of the 17 UN peacekeeping missions and two of the three Integrated Offices,⁷⁵ which makes it the largest recipient of civil and military contingents deployed in peace and reconstruction operations. At the beginning of

⁷³ Inter Agency Standing Committee, *Guidelines for Gender-based Violence Interventions in Humanitarian Settings*, (2005), 100 pages.

⁷⁴ MINURCAT (Central African Republic and Chad), UNAMID (Darfur), UNMIS (Sudan), UNOCI (Côte d'Ivoire), UNMIL (Liberia), MONUC (DRC), UNMEE (Ethiopia and Eritrea), MINURSO (Western Sahara)

⁷⁵ BINUB (Burundi), UNIOSIL (Sierra Leone)

2005, 85 per cent⁷⁶ of UN peacekeepers deployed worldwide were in Africa. The extent of the United Nations presence clearly indicates a shift in terms of the international community's commitment to resolving conflicts in Africa.

187. To understand the importance of a peace mission, we need to consider its impact in the medium-term rather than in the short-term alone. A peace mission takes place at a pivotal time in the peace process since host countries usually receive high-level international attention and substantial technical assistance during that period.

188. The success of a peace mission is not measured only by its ability to facilitate a peace agreement and eventually prepare the country to hold democratic elections. Its success also has to do with the democratic benefits and legacy that will ensure just, equitable and lasting peace.

189. In this respect, SCR 1325 (2000) asks UN agencies and all Member States to mainstream a gender perspective in all stages of the conflict and peace process, including prevention, resolution of conflict and reconstruction. Only then will the resulting peace and economic recovery be meaningful for all sectors of the population. And only then will there be lasting peace and recovery.

190. The unique feature of SCR 1325 (2000) is that it offers a strategy to place women's contribution to peace in a political framework. It also seeks to apply this political framework to numerous projects and opportunities associated with the peace process, such as the constitutional and institutional reforms, the negotiation mechanisms between political parties, the electoral process, the reintegration and reconstruction programmes, and the justice and reconciliation mechanisms.

Internal Obligations Related to Peace Operations

191. A peace mission whose mandate endorses SCR 1325 (2000) is therefore required to reflect the spirit of the resolution in its own practices, and to assist the host country in laying the groundwork for new relations between men and women based on equality, equity and parity.

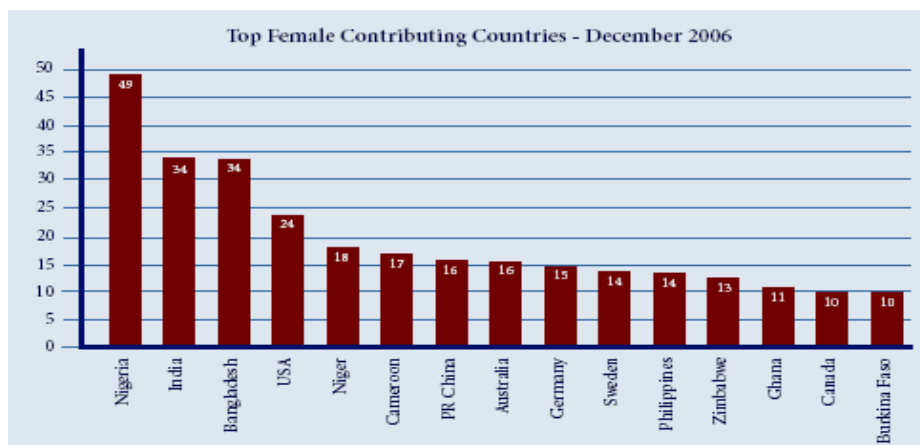
192. This means that missions themselves must make efforts to recruit an appropriate number of females, set up a Gender Unit with the necessary resources to mainstream the gender perspective throughout the mission's programmes.

193. In December 2006, women made up only 1 per cent of the military personnel deployed in peace missions throughout the world, 5.1 per cent of police officers and 30 per cent of civilian personnel. The special contribution of African countries to the deployment of female civil police personnel must however be highlighted. Of the 15

⁷⁶ The Centre for Conflict Resolution/UNIFEM, *Women and Peacebuilding in Africa*, Seminar Report (2005) p. 16.

countries that have played a role in 2006, six were from Africa⁷⁷: Nigeria, Niger, Cameroon, Zimbabwe, Ghana and Burkina Faso. Nigeria distinguished itself as the largest contributor of female police officers in peace operations.

Figure I: Top Female Police Contributing Countries – December 2006



194. As for the distribution of female contingents in *UN missions in Africa*, at the end of December 2006, 233⁷⁸ civil police officers out of 3563 (6 per cent), were women. With regards to the military component, sex-disaggregated data for military personnel deployed in Africa indicate that in August 31, 2007,⁷⁹ women constituted 1.02 per cent of military contingents (858 women compared to 50,997 officers in total). The distribution is as follows:

Table 1: Percentage of Women as Part of the Military Personnel Deployed in Africa

Country	Total	Women	Percentage
Sudan	9 416	109	1.2
Côte d'Ivoire	8 059	73	0.9
Liberia	14 127	290	2.1
DRC	17 284	362	2.1
Ethiopia – Eritrea	1 688	16	0.9
Western Sahara	223	8	3.6

Source: DPKO Statistics, August 2007

⁷⁷ United Nations, *UN Police Magazine*, "Building Institutional Police Capacity in Post-Conflict Environments" (December 2006).

⁷⁸ "To build institutional police capacity in post-conflict environments", presentation by Patrick Atayero, Acting Chief, Strategic Policy and Development Section, Police Division, DPKO, at the Police/Gendarmerie Women in Peace Operations Roundtable, Abuja/Nigeria, November 28-29, 2006.

⁷⁹ DPKO Statistics : <http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/contributors/gender/aug07.pdf>

Obligations of Peace Operations to the Host Country

195. The second and by far most important responsibility of a peace mission is to assist the host country in building the necessary institutions to achieve democratic governance and rule of law. To attain this goal, cooperation between the peace operation and the United Nations system is imperative. In order to facilitate coordination, the Resident and Humanitarian Coordinator is usually appointed as Deputy Special Representative of the Secretary-General. This close collaboration allows both components, the humanitarian/development effort on the one hand and the peace operations on the other, to work towards the same goals and operate within the same political agenda.

196. Operating within the same political agenda means sharing goals and responsibilities as well as harmonizing strategies. Technical assistance and cooperation with the host country must clearly target gender equality as one of the pillars of the rule of law.

197. To achieve this goal, two conditions must be met. To begin with, constitutional, institutional, and legislative reform designed to establish or restore rule of law must become the main entry point for redefining the status of women and granting equal rights to men and women. Secondly, the national entity, especially government, must be open and receptive to the inclusion of this principle, and demonstrate its good will by participating actively in achieving this goal.

4. *Implementation of Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) by Peacekeeping Missions: Achievements and Challenges*

198. While results vary from country to country⁸⁰, the application of SCR 1325 (2000) by peace missions, the United Nations system, sub-regional agencies and non-governmental organizations has allowed women to achieve some positive results:

1. Participation of women in peace negotiations;
2. Women's grievances taken into account in peace agreements;
3. Constitutional reform carried out in accordance with the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women and SCR 1325 (2000);
4. Electoral reform carried out in accordance with SCR 1325 (2000);
5. Election and appointment of women in positions of power;
6. Reform of the security sector, including police and gendarmerie;

⁸⁰ UNIFEM, *Securing the Peace: Guiding the International Community towards Women's Effective Participation throughout Peace Processes* (2005), pp.6, 10, 13, and 15.
Centre for Conflict Resolution /UNIFEM *Women and Peacebuilding in Africa*, (2005), pp.28-30
Nduwimana (2006), *Canada and the Implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 in the African Great Lakes Region – Challenges and Perspectives for Burundi and the Democratic Republic of the Congo*, Gender and Peacebuilding Working Group, 40 p.

7. Reform of the justice system, including family codes, inheritance and succession regimes, labour codes, and prevention of sexual violence;
8. Support for national caucuses and common platforms presented by women
9. Support for regional and sub-regional women's networks
10. Support for women's participation in civil society.

199. The above examples are encouraging, but they should not blind us to the barriers that exist to the true inclusion of women and their right to equality. These barriers are of special concern to UN agencies, development organizations and African Governments.

200. With respect to judicial reform and protection, many countries that have modified their Constitution to recognize the principle of gender equality, have not necessarily revised all subsidiary legislation to ensure their conformity to the new Constitution. Women's inheritance rights constitute one of the main obstacles.

201. Similarly, the principle of equality entrenched in the Constitution, does not always guarantee the end of discrimination against women. People still continue to rely on customary law rather than constitutional law and this obstacle can be removed only by massive and repeated public awareness campaigns. National and local authorities, traditional chiefs and women's organizations must undertake this fight together, in the name of equality and the rule of law.

202. With respect to participation and representation in democratic institutions and state structures, women have a long way to go to close the gap between them and their male counterparts.

Table 2: Women's Participation in Parliament

Country	% Women Parliamentarians (May 31, 2006)	Women/Men salaries (1991-2004)
Sudan	13.6	0.25
Uganda	28.8	0.75
Rwanda	45.3	0.74
Angola	15.0	0.62
Côte d'Ivoire	8.5	0.32
DRC	13.6	0.73
Burundi	31.7	0.78
Chad	6.5	0.65
Central African Rep.	10.5	0.61
Sierra Leone	14.5	0.45

Source: Human Development Report, 2006

203. Aside from the issue of inclusion, there is a second challenge: the need to eliminate the stereotype that presents gender parity as an elitist concept. Women can gain ground by being elected in large numbers. But there is always the possibility that an election, as democratic and inclusive as it may be, fails in the end to respond to people's aspirations if there is no genuine plan to reduce social inequalities. Therefore, the right to participate and to make decisions must be measured in relation to the collective emancipation of women.

204. This right to participate and make decisions encompasses much more than access to political visibility and underscores the need to modify gender relations both at the grassroots level and in local governance structures. That is where local democracy takes place, and where power relations are forged in society. The right to make decisions concerns the larger issue of the participation of civil society and women's organizations.

205. Democracy includes two aspects: representation and participation. The "democratic health" of a country cannot be reduced to democratic representation alone. Non-elected people must have the opportunity to speak on political issues. Yet, lack of funding and the absence of means in general are realities for many women's groups and civil society organizations. SCR 1325 (2000) recommends the support of women's associations at the national and local levels. This challenge still has not been met.

206. With respect to recovery, poverty among women and girls is one of the main causes of their vulnerability to violence. Peace processes cannot be limited to peace agreements and judicial reforms. These reforms must coincide with the restoration of the socio-economic fabric. Building women's economic strength through recovery measures and providing access to basic services such as maternal health, protection against HIV/AIDS, food security, literacy, training and education are essential to their human security.

207. Women and girls affected by conflicts are especially vulnerable to sexual violence and HIV. For example, in Rwanda, 75 per cent⁸¹ of the women raped during the genocide were infected with HIV.

208. It has also been proven that combatant girls and girls associated with armed groups have been particularly susceptible to rape and sexual slavery, which has significantly increased the rate of HIV infection among these girls.

209. In Sierra Leone, ten out of 17 female ex-combatants tested were HIV-positive.⁸² In North Uganda, 83 children forced to enrol in the army were screened and 15.66 per cent were found to be HIV-positive.⁸³

210. Even though there are no official statistics on HIV/AIDS infection for all the victims of rape and sexual violence, the abnormally high rate of sexually-transmitted infections among Ugandan and Sierra Leonean victims, which varies between 70 and 90 per cent⁸⁴, would indicate a high rate of HIV/AIDS infection among these victims.

⁸¹ Nduwimana F. *The Right to Survive: Sexual Violence, Women and HIV/AIDS*, (2004), 85 p.

⁸² Susan McKay and Dyan Mazurana, *Where Are The Girls? Girls in fighting forces in Northern Uganda, Sierra Leone and Mozambique: Their lives during and after war*. Rights and Democracy, (2004), p. 74.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Ibid., p. 73.

211. Women and girls who have been subjected to sexual violence and exposed to HIV can be stigmatized if authorities and practitioners do not put in place socio-sanitary and socio-psychological measures adapted to their situation.

212. Women and girls are responsible for the care of thousands of orphans and children born of rape and unwanted pregnancies. Years of exile and uprooting, the loss of their husbands or parents in the case of girls under 18, are factors which may deprive them of the right to inherit and to own land.

213. SCR 1325 (2000) recommends that more attention be paid to women and girls who are vulnerable in this area, by addressing their needs in matters of protection and reintegration. Transition programmes developed by governments, in partnership with the United Nations system, should incorporate the specific needs of women and girls affected by conflicts and ensure their full rehabilitation.

214. Reintegration kits, as well as community rehabilitation programmes (socio-economic infrastructure, micro-finances, capacity-building, etc.) should empower men and women equally and meet their basic needs.

215. Projects relating, among other things, to health, school education, HIV/AIDS and income-generating activities, should pay special attention to reproductive health, the prevention of gender-based violence, the rehabilitation of victims of gender-based violence, skills up-grading and training for girls who have dropped out of school, jobs for young women, the care of orphans, literacy and training for rural women's groups who grow food and women traders.

5. *Reintegration and Reconstruction Process*

216. The reintegration and reconstruction process is an integral part of the peace process. It represents the peacebuilding phase. For this phase to be initiated, the benefits of the peace process must be tangible and well-established.

217. The reconstruction process also marks a transition period. At this point in time, the decision-making and international arbitration powers vested in the peace mission are repatriated in the hands of national leaders democratically elected.

218. The reconstruction phase is generally characterized by a lesser degree of international attention. The end of the peace mission marks a drastic change for the host country; it is both a test of political maturity and a critical point since there is always the possibility of the conflict being reignited if the reconstruction programmes do not meet the needs of the people in general, and of the groups involved in the conflict more specifically.

219. Once the freely and democratically-elected government and parliament are in place, nationals regain full control of the country. Their first responsibility is to ensure peace by avoiding any potential risk of conflict.

220. At the institutional level, during the reconstruction phase, the government continues its modernization of legislation and the reforms needed for the proper functioning of the institutions that guarantee democracy, that is, Parliament, the justice system and the security system.

221. At the socio-economic and socio-political levels, the reintegration and reconstruction phase sees the launching of critically important reconstruction projects. These projects attend to the return and repatriation of refugees and war-displaced persons, the demobilization and reintegration of ex-combatants and national reconciliation; this phase also means moving from a humanitarian situation to a phase of economic recovery and fight against poverty. These projects provide an entry point for promoting the rights of women and girls.

222. SCR 1325 (2000) calls on all actors to take into consideration the special needs of women and girls during repatriation and resettlement and for rehabilitation, reintegration and post-conflict reconstruction.

223. Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration Programmes (DDR) are an especially sensitive area. In many African countries⁸⁵ emerging from a conflict, for example Sierra Leone, Mozambique, the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), Angola and Northern Uganda, ex-combatants girls represent between 20 and 30 per cent of all child soldiers.

224. For instance, in the North of Uganda, the Lord Resistance Army (LRA) has carried out large-scale and systematic kidnapping of children. Child soldiers accounted for 80 per cent of its combatants and 30 per cent of these children are girls. Nearly all the girls abducted have been victim of collective rapes, sexual torture and sexual slavery. Exposed to sexual slavery and *forced* by the commanders of the LRA to serve as *wives* to the soldiers, many have become pregnant after been raped. These adolescent mothers often develop sexually transmitted infections, including HIV/AIDS⁸⁶ and are much stigmatized socially.

225. In addition to HIV and sexually transmitted infections, combatant women and girls have to deal with unwanted pregnancies and bearing children born of rape. These situations radically increase their vulnerability and underscore the challenge of developing programmes that are sensitive to their needs.

226. Despite numerous efforts, girls associated with armed groups do not benefit from demobilization and reintegration programmes in the same way as boys do. The 2006 Report by the UN Secretary-General on children and armed conflict in the DRC shows

⁸⁵ Susan McKay and Dyan Mazurana, *Where Are The Girls? Girls in fighting forces in Northern Uganda, Sierra Leone and Mozambique: Their lives during and after war*, Rights and Democracy (2004) 145 p.

⁸⁶ Human Rights Watch, *Stolen Children, Abduction and Recruitment in Northern Uganda*, (March 2003), Vol. 15, No 7 (A), pp. 13-14.

that many combatant girls and girls associated with the conflict have chosen not to participate to the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programmes because they fear discrimination and ostracism on the part of their families and communities.⁸⁷

227. Many African countries emerging from a conflict have access to a Multi-Country Demobilization and Reintegration Program⁸⁸ (MDRP) managed by the World Bank. This programme targets 45,000 ex-combatants from seven countries in the Great Lakes Region of Central Africa: Angola, Burundi, the Central African Republic, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, the Republic of Congo, Rwanda and Uganda.

228. Much effort has been made to make this programme more sensitive to the needs of women associated with armed groups and ex-combatant girls. Among other things, these efforts were directed at informing ex-combatants of their rights during the pre-demobilization phase, providing access to separate lodgings during the demobilization phase, guaranteeing their security, providing psychosocial services.

229. National demobilization and reintegration programmes must respect the guidelines⁸⁹ formulated by the MDRP. In accordance with these guidelines, demobilization activities must meet the needs of ex-combatant women, girls and men.

230. According to the MDRP guidelines, national programmes are to be based on six components, including *support to special groups*. The "special groups" category comprises those ex-combatants who are female, children, disabled or chronically ill. Similarly, the *Cape Town Principles* relating to child combatants also include girls who assume many roles during a conflict, including spying and carrying arms and munitions.

231. However, persisting problems⁹⁰ continue to prevent girl and women ex-combatants and those associated to armed groups to enjoy their right to reintegration. There exists a gap between the guidelines and the practices on the ground.

232. Ex-combatant women and women associated with armed groups continue to be stigmatized. This stigmatization targets single mothers, young women who have had children as a result of their relations with combatants, as well as women and girls who were victims of sexual violence and women associated with armed groups who have been rejected by their husbands after demobilization.

233. To solve these problems, gender equality must be strengthened at the institutional and executive levels, and human resources devoted to gender equality must be increased.

⁸⁷ United Nations, *Report of the Secretary-General on children and armed conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo* (June 2006) (S/2006/389).

⁸⁸ www.mdrp.org

⁸⁹ Multi-country Demobilization and Reintegration Program, *Guidelines for National Program*, p. 3

⁹⁰ Workshop Report: *Taking a Gender Perspective to Strengthen the Multi-Country Demobilization and Reintegration Program in the greater Great Lakes Region* (April 2006).

234. National Commissions on DDR should recruit gender experts and national programmes should have a special unit responsible for female ex-combatants. These structures should also develop indicators to assess progress.⁹¹

235. DDR programmes play an important role in the reintegration of ex-combatants. Consequently, they are an important factor in conflict prevention. DDR programmes have received much support from international donors and while this attention is positive, it has had the unfortunate result of masking other very fundamental reintegration needs.

236. Another basic issue that needs to be addressed is the socio-economic empowerment of other groups also affected by the conflict, that is, refugees and displaced persons. Women and children form the overwhelming majority in this group. To use DDR as an operational framework with regards to reintegration and reconstruction is problematic since it is an instrument⁹² destined for only one of the components of the framework, i.e. ex-combatants.

237. Statistics by country reveal that women and girls have not had the same right to education as men and boys. Compounding this first level of marginalisation, many trained and educated women do not have access to economic opportunities and salaried employment.

238. Yet, the vast majority of reconstruction projects propose traditional female activities such as handicrafts and sewing for women. Projects which offer women and girls vocational training adapted to the marketplace and to opportunities opened up by reconstruction such as management techniques, computer sciences, office support systems, road repair, construction, etc. are rare.

239. Without questioning the merits of the more traditional projects, one cannot help but wonder about the effectiveness of training women with handicrafts and sewing projects inasmuch as the purchasing power of the local people is practically absent and the possibilities of selling the products made by the women extremely low.

240. The limits of micro-credit should also be addressed. The efficiency of micro-credit is generally assessed in terms of the women's capacity to reimburse the loans and not necessarily in terms of the changes brought about in their living conditions. Micro-credit could very well not be the best solution, especially in contexts which are often unstable, volatile and unpredictable, where micro-financing structures and banks do not exist. In such contexts, assets are not protected by banking structures and women can become more vulnerable in the face of violence and robbery because they keep their money at home.

241. It is important for governments, in collaboration with the United Nations system and local NGOs, to identify intermediate resources within the female population affected

⁹¹ Ibid, p. 25

⁹² Jennifer F. Klot, *Gender Mainstreaming in Crisis Prevention and Recovery. A Forward Looking Review*, UNDP/BCPR (2006), p.27.

by the conflict. A census could provide information on the socio-professional profiles of women and girls, their level of education, as well as their real needs in the area of training.

242. More visible, more adequately counselled and better trained for the job market, these women could make a greater contribution to the reconstruction of the country by gaining salaried employment or engaging in income-generating activities. They could also play a greater role as agents of social transformation.

243. To build peace, governmental structures responsible for gender equality must be in a position of fulfilling their mandate. They need specific goals and targets. They also need well-trained human resources as well as technical and material resources.

244. Unfortunately, national structures responsible for the advancement of women are allocated chronically low budgets that prevent them from fulfilling their mandate. These structures include:

- The ministries responsible for gender and the advancement of women;
- The gender "focal points" in key ministries, such as Justice, Defence, Public Security, Foreign Affairs, Planning;
- Structures guaranteeing women's rights through technical commissions, such as:
 - Commissions responsible for the reintegration of refugees and displaced persons;
 - National commissions in charge of the demobilization and reintegration of ex-combatants;
 - Land claims commissions;
 - Truth and reconciliation commissions.

245. Yet, these structures are called upon to play a crucial role in promoting women's rights during the reconstruction phase. They require substantial funding and continued political support.

246. To effectively mainstream a gender perspective in all programmes and reforms during the reconstruction phase requires technical capacities based on gender analysis and designing and use of operational tools. Affirmative measures openly promoting women are also needed. Implemented in this fashion, reconstruction programmes will succeed in translating SCR 1325 (2000) into action.

V. Women, Peace and Security: Protection, Prevention and Participation (3Ps)

247. SCR 1325 (2000) makes recommendations on three themes: **p**rotection of women and girls, **p**revention of discrimination against women and girls, and **p**articipation of women and girls to decision-making.

248. SCR 1325 (2000) does not specify the content of reforms, the nature of services to be provided or the procedures needed to protect women and their right to participate. As previously seen, other international instruments suggest areas and action plans to bring equality to women and girls.

249. The situation varies from country to country and there are discrepancies at different levels and in different sectors. It is therefore up to each country to develop an implementation plan for SCR 1325 (2000), following its own internal assessment.

250. However, a clear understanding of what the 3Ps mean in practice is extremely important. More than a mere slogan or backdrop, they represent three focus areas with very specific issues relating to each one. An in-depth study must be done on the disparities between men and women, and on factors influencing women's vulnerability, before reforms can be undertaken or measures adopted.

Objective

251. The main objective of this lesson is to identify priority issues that could become the framework of an action plan. At the end of this lesson, readers should be able to demonstrate their ability to choose programme elements pertaining to the legal protection and the socioeconomic and socio-political rights of women.

1 Protection and Human Rights

252. The concept of protection includes three important dimensions: *legal protection*, *social security* and *economic security*. These three dimensions are interdependent because, in principle, the recognition of women's rights (legal protection) should act as a safeguard for the social and economic security of women. Legal protection should also guarantee the socio-political rights of women, including the right to participation and representation.

253. Unfortunately, many African countries lag behind in a number of important areas, such as land rights, education, and HIV prevention and care.

Inheritance, Succession and Land Ownership

"Denying women the right to inherit and own property leaves them economically vulnerable and dependant. That create a situation in which women in Africa toil all their lives on land that they do not own, to produce what they do not control, and at the end of the marriage through divorce or death, they can be sent away empty-handed"⁹³.

Julius Nyerere, 1984

⁹³ Quoted by Mary Kimani in "Taking on violence against women in Africa", *Africa Renewal*, Vol. 21, N° 2 (July 2007)

254. It is necessary to reform legislation so that it meets regional and international standards on human rights and gender equality. In a number of countries, the right to inherit and to own land is still contingent upon customary law which, in general, is based on patrilineal inheritance.

255. By recognizing only men and boys as heads of households, customary law contributes to the exclusion of women and girls and considerably limits their access to production resources and their control over these resources. The issue is especially sensitive since in Africa, women are responsible for most of the farm work. They are the ones who develop the land. Yet, it is estimated that only 7 per cent⁹⁴ of women in Africa own land.

Education

Table3: Combined Gross Enrolment Ratio for Primary, Secondary and Tertiary Schools (% , 2004)

Country	Women	Men
Sudan	34	39
Uganda	65	67
Rwanda	52	52
Angola	24	28
Côte d'Ivoire	32	47
DRC	24	30
Burundi	32	40
Chad	25	44
Central African Rep.	23	36
Sierra Leone	55	75

Source: Human Development Report 2006

256. These statistics reveal the disadvantaged position of girls. Based on enrolment and not necessarily on the percentage of students who continue their studies, these numbers do not reflect the true extent of the gap between girls and boys. Indeed, statistics on net ratios show that this gap widens at the secondary and tertiary school levels as well as in the areas of occupational and skills training. This reduces future opportunities for girls, predisposing them to greater poverty.

257. Aside from the imbalance in enrolment, it is estimated that twice as many girls as boys prematurely abandon school because of poverty and conflicts. Girls are often forced to leave school to help with household duties or to provide some revenue to the household; family investment in their schooling is not considered as important as it is for boys.

⁹⁴ North-South Institute and Third World Network-Africa, *Demanding Dignity: Women Confronting Economic Reforms in Africa* (2000), p. 16.

258. Another problem compounds the economic motivations: when girls reach puberty, they are often exposed to violence, exploitation and sexual harassment.⁹⁵ Among other consequences, early pregnancies lead girls to suspend or abandon their studies.

259. Education is a crucial element in the implementation of SCR 1325 (2000). It is of vital importance for all the young people affected by a conflict, but more so for girls. Education represents a key to protection for girls – in terms of psychological well-being, knowledge and security. It provides them with the necessary means and tools to participate actively in society. It is also a springboard that gives greater access to health and economic security.

260. It is therefore crucial that in designing a national plan for the implementation of SCR 1325 (2000), governments pay more attention to the following aspects:

- Academic upgrading for girls forced to leave school
- Completion of primary and secondary schooling
- Access to quality technical and occupational training programmes
- Increased number of non-formal educational structures centered specifically on building self-confidence, literacy, empowerment, entrepreneurship and leadership
- Inclusion of information on sexual and reproductive health and on HIV/AIDS in formal and informal education programmes
- Inclusion in the school curriculum of courses on education considered as a pillar of gender equality and peacebuilding, a strategic way of adapting education, one of the Millennium Development Goals, and an essential element of peace and reconstruction

HIV/AIDS

261. The feminization of AIDS in Sub-Saharan Africa has been clearly demonstrated. In the last *AIDS Epidemic Update (2006)*, UNAIDS states that women account for 59 per cent of all people 15 years or older living with AIDS in Sub-Saharan Africa. Among 15-24 year-olds, the feminization of AIDS increases and suggests a different socio-demographic reality informed by the extreme youth of the victims. Indeed, Sub-Saharan Africa accounts for 63 per cent of young people (15-24 age bracket) living with HIV and 76 per cent of these are female.⁹⁶

262. The specific vulnerability of women, teenage girls and girls to AIDS can be explained by the weight of socio-cultural and socio-economic factors that deny them decision-making power over their own bodies and therefore considerably limit their ability to exercise control over their sexuality.

⁹⁵ United Nations, *Report of the independent expert for the United Nations study on violence against children*, (August 2006), (A/61/299).

⁹⁶ UNAIDS, *At the Crossroads: Accelerating Youth Access to HIV/AIDS Interventions* (2004).

263. Further, women and girls constitute the great majority of people who do not attend school or who are illiterate. Yet, education and literacy are needed to gain economic and political power. Numerous studies conducted in Africa and elsewhere in the world have demonstrated that the more educated women are, the better they are able to protect themselves against AIDS. It has indeed been proven that AIDS infects twice as many women and girls with no formal schooling.⁹⁷

Table 4: Adult Literacy Rate (%; ages 15 and older, 2004)

Country	Females	Males
Sudan	51.8	71.1
Uganda	57.7	76.8
Rwanda	59.8	71.4
Angola	54.2	82.9
Côte d'Ivoire	38.6	60.8
DRC	54.1	80.9
Burundi	52.2	67.3
Chad	12.8	40.8
Central African Rep.	33.5	64.8
Sierra Leone	24.4	46.9

Source: Human Development Report 2006

264. The vulnerability of women and girls is further accentuated by the violence and discrimination to which they are subjected during a conflict or political crisis: juvenile prostitution, sexual exploitation, and sexual violence, exposure to other sexually transmitted infections that are both aggravating factors and vectors of AIDS.

265. However, women should not be confined to the role of victims; they are also part of the response and the solution. The fight against AIDS should be based on two realities: the feminization of AIDS and women's contribution to the community response to AIDS.

266. Women are admittedly the main victims of AIDS, but they are also an important part of the community response, since they carry the socioeconomic burden of AIDS by caring for the sick and the orphans. As a result of the additional responsibilities that women take on for lack of institutional services, women experience physical and psychological exhaustion. They cannot keep up with food production and household work, and family revenue goes down.

267. According to the Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS), in poor countries, more than 90 per cent of AIDS-related care and support services are provided by the community and the family. This unpaid work is mostly performed by women, the informal caregivers. A study conducted in Tanzania⁹⁸ estimated that when a family member was sick with AIDS, the care and follow-up care represented 29 per cent

⁹⁷ UNAIDS/WHO. *AIDS Epidemic Update*, Chapter on Women and AIDS (2004).

⁹⁸ The Global Coalition on Women and AIDS

of the time allocated to household chores and other production activities. In two-thirds of the cases, two women were responsible for the care of the sick person, which is equivalent to 43 per cent of the time normally devoted to other economic activities. Similarly, a study⁹⁹ conducted jointly by the Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations (FAO) and UNAIDS in Southern and Eastern Africa, estimated that in households affected by HIV/AIDS, food consumption decreased by 40 per cent.

268. These studies should help improve national programmes by encouraging greater gender sensitivity and a more equitable response. In addition to special measures aimed at reducing risk among women and girls, and placing the care of HIV patients in the hands of the medical system, women's role as informal caregiver, supplementing state services, should be recognized. This recognition should translate into political measures that provide access to equality. These measures should be incorporated into AIDS programmes so that groups of women living with HIV or having to deal with the consequences of HIV can benefit from more training, more support and more funding.

Table 5: Maternal Mortality Rate

Country	Maternal mortality rate (2000)
Sudan	590
Uganda	889
Rwanda	1400
Angola	1700
Côte d'Ivoire	690
DRC	1800
Burundi	1000
Chad	1100
Central African Rep.	1100
Sierra Leone	2000

Source: Human Development Report 2006

269. In the great majority of countries emerging from a conflict, the maternal mortality rate is higher than the world average which is 430 deaths for 100,000 births. The percentage of women between the ages of 25 and 34 who die following hemorrhages and obstetric infections is also very high.

270. Among other things, high fertility rates related to the preference for large families, poor socioeconomic conditions, obstetrical complications related in some countries to female genital mutilations, the especially high rate of illiteracy among women, limited access to information, limited access to health professionals, early pregnancies among teenagers, and sexual violence provide some explanations for this situation.

⁹⁹ UNAIDS/FAO, *Addressing the impact of HIV/AIDS on Ministries of Agriculture: Focus on Eastern and Southern Africa* (June 2003).

271. Political crisis aggravate an already critical situation. Among other things, the absence of obstetrical services in conflict zones, the disruption of transportation networks, and the lack of midwives, pose a threat to maternal and infant health. Strong measures to restore health structures and give women access to maternal health care and services are urgently needed.

2. *Prevention*

272. Guaranteeing gender equality in national legislation is a means of protecting women and of preventing gender-based discrimination. Protection and prevention go hand-in-hand.

273. However, prevention has both a legal and a political dimension. The political dimension involves the whole population developing a culture of peace and equality and taking ownership of this culture. Reflecting the march towards peace and reconciliation, this culture should draw inspiration from all the stories: stories of struggle by men and by women, whether through political organizations or social movements, including civil society.

274. Women's contributions and heroic actions have often been ignored, whereas the political-military logic that structures peace agreements and access to power has predominated. The media represents a crucial space that needs a greater female presence in order to modify prevailing opinion and help shape a collective vision reflecting all the truths and all the struggles. While the women's movement and civil society may provide the impetus, this task is mainly the responsibility of the State.

The Role of Criminal Justice and Transitional Justice

275. An important aspect of prevention is the fight against impunity. Although a very high proportion of women have been affected by sexual violence crimes, the suppression of these crimes by national and international legal instances has yielded very mixed results.

276. SCR 1325 (2000) stresses the fact that States have the obligation to put an end to impunity and to prosecute those responsible for war crimes and crimes against humanity, including those relating to sexual and other violence against women and girls.

277. However, the manner in which the two international tribunals sitting in Africa (Rwanda and Sierra Leone) have prosecuted sexual violence crimes seems to be more a function of the personal sensitivity of the prosecutors than of the mandate of the tribunals.

278. In an effort to make the Tribunal a haven of justice with regards to all the atrocities perpetrated during the civil war, including sexual violence against women, the

Prosecutor for the Special Court for Sierra Leone has included rape, sexual slavery, forced prostitution and forced pregnancy in the list of crimes against humanity.¹⁰⁰

279. A well-researched study¹⁰¹ shows that even with fewer means and resources, the Special Court for Sierra Leone has had good practices and a record number of convictions for sexual violence crimes, contrary to the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (TPIR).

*"For those of us on the road to death, this justice will be too slow. We will be dead and no one will know our story. Our families have been killed and our remaining children are too young to know. What happened to us will be buried with us. The people for whom this tribunal was set up for are facing extinction – we are dying. We will be dead before we see any justice"*¹⁰²,

Binaifer Nowrojee interview with a rape victim, Kigali, 2003

280. Although the TPIR was the first international tribunal to recognize rape and sexual violence as a crime of genocide, and although rape has been used systematically as a weapon of war in Rwanda, 90 per cent of the court decisions rendered by the end of 2004 contained no convictions for rape. Acquittals for rape were twice as numerous as convictions, and in 70 per cent of the cases, no rape charges were even brought by the Prosecutor's Office.

281. Similarly, the recent indictment of Thomas Lubanga by the International Criminal Court (ICC) has raised much concern with regards to the importance of sexual violence crimes in the eyes of the Court. The first individual to be indicted for war crimes committed in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, the Union Patriots Congolais (UPC) leader was arrested for having used child soldiers. The indictment included no charges for the numerous rapes and sexual violence crimes perpetrated¹⁰³ by the members of the UPC.

282. Yet, in their investigations, NGOs and the MONUC had gathered reliable information likely to encourage the Tribunal's investigators to conduct their own investigation to gather evidence. In the words of John Holmes, United Nations Under-Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs: "The sexual violence in Congo is the worst in the world: the sheer numbers, the wholesale brutality, the culture of impunity – it's appalling."

283. Such mixed results raise questions about the extent of the justice system's willingness to pay attention to crimes of sexual violence against women and girls and the

¹⁰⁰ Commonwealth Secretariat, *Gender Mainstreaming in Conflict Transformation. Building Sustainable Peace*. (2005), pp. 92-93.

¹⁰¹ Binaifer Nowrojee, *Your Justice is too slow. Will the ICTR fail Rwanda's rape victims?*, United Nations Research for social development (November 2005), 28 p.

¹⁰² Ibid

¹⁰³ Press Release, "Failed DRC Investigations by ICC, Claim NGOs", August 6, 2006.
http://www.womensrightscoalition.org/site/advocacyDossiers/congo/20060806_en.php

political will to deal with these crimes. However, another underlying challenge requires attention. It concerns social justice and other forms of reparation needed to rehabilitate and reintegrate victims.

284. In fact, victims' expectations of justice are not limited to punishing the guilty, but also to restoring their own dignity, their physical and psychological health, and their physical and economic security. There are two closely linked aspects to rendering justice: judgment of the crime, and reparations.

285. One way of helping marginalized groups gain access to some measure of reparations while simultaneously empowering them is to encourage their active participation in defining and implementing truth and national reconciliation mechanisms. For women, this participation requires organizational capabilities, a lobbying strategy and advance preparation concerning the charges. To claim the right to reparation, a process is necessary that includes conducting investigations, collecting data, and documenting and publicizing crimes against women.

286. Victims' right to claim reparation is now a principle of international law,¹⁰⁴ recognized through treaties and tribunals. For example, Articles 72 and 79 of the International Criminal Court Act allow the ICC to order that compensation and reparation be paid to the victim by the convicted person. In addition, ICC has established a trust fund for victims, so that reparations are not limited to compensation and restitution, but also include the reintegration of victims and their families.¹⁰⁵

Box 2. Consequences of Sexual Violence Crimes

Direct consequences and life-long effects	
a.	Thousands of immediate deaths related to genital mutilations and torture
b.	HIV/AIDS infection
c.	Unwanted pregnancies and children born of rape
d.	Thousands of deaths related to complications during pregnancy, especially upon delivery
e.	Infirmities and serious reproductive health problems
f.	Inability to procreate
g.	Psychological trauma
h.	Loss of self-esteem and self-confidence
i.	Behavioural problems, including suicide attempts
Socio-economic consequences	
•	Poverty
•	Uprooting: homelessness/no fixed address
•	Loss of revenues because of handicap resulting from physical effects of sexual violence and/or loss of parents, husband, etc. during the conflict
•	Loss of property due to expropriation or because of mental and physical handicap
•	Responsibility for many orphans, who are traumatized or victims of violence

287. In a situation with such serious consequences, justice must be proportional to the gravity of the crimes and the harm done to women. States have the responsibility to

¹⁰⁴ UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, etc.

¹⁰⁵ Anne-Marie De Brouwer, "Reparation to victims of sexual violence : Possibilities at the International criminal court and at the Trust Fund for victims and their families", *Leiden Journal of International Law*, 20 (2007) pp. 207-237

respond by taking into consideration both the urgent need to care for the victims and the long-term impact of this violence on women, their families and communities. The punishment of sexual violence crimes must take place in conjunction with the transformation of the causes and factors that expose women to violence. A multidimensional response should target four parameters of the justice system: the restoration of memory, the fight against impunity, the right to reparation and guarantees of non-repetition.

1. The restoration of memory has to do with the truth about gender-based crimes, including rape and sexual violence, as well as the truth about the assistance, the mediation efforts and the protests made by women in order to put an end to the conflict. Acknowledging gender-based crimes, writing history from the point of view of women and preserving the collective memory, including that of women, are necessary for the success of the truth and national reconciliation process.
2. The fight against impunity has to do with the punishment by the criminal courts of sexual violence crimes and all other gender-based crimes.
3. The right to reparation relates to social justice for victims. It can take many forms: restitution, compensation and reintegration.
4. The guarantees of non-repetition: the right to reparations also includes an important dimension relating to guarantees of non-repetition. In this sense, it is a preventive measure based on the reform of any legislation that discriminates against women.

Institutional, Legal and Judiciary Reform

288. To protect women and girls against discrimination and violence, and to ensure the integration and systematic advancement of their human rights, African countries must ratify and incorporate into their national legislation, the international and regional treaties which they have adopted, including the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women, the Protocol to the African Charter on the rights of women in Africa, and the African Charter on the rights and welfare of the child.

289. Governments and cooperation organizations should continue to support judicial reform, including the following aspects:

1. Review of the Constitution so as to recognize the principles of gender equality and non-discrimination
 - a. Electoral legislation reform
 - b. Review of family codes
2. Setting the legal age of majority required for marriage in accordance with the standards of the African Charter on the rights and welfare of the child (18 years old minimum)
 - a. Protection of the right to inheritance, property and succession
3. Protection against sexual violence and gender-based violence, including domestic violence, before, during and after conflicts

4. Reform of the justice and security systems to make them more accessible and more receptive to the needs of girls and teenagers
5. Gender-training and capacity-building in all ministries and State institutions

Security Sector Reform

290. After violent conflicts, insecurity, violence in general and violence against women in particular become rampant phenomena that poison communities and affect a large portion of the population. During conflicts, political institutions are paralyzed or destroyed, creating a climate of insecurity and terror. In situations of civil war and internal conflicts, officials responsible for defence, security and civilian protection can themselves become the main human rights violators.¹⁰⁶

291. Criminal behaviours and practices internalized during the war are reproduced after the war has theoretically ended. Abuses may no longer be motivated by political ends but they nevertheless pose a threat to public and human security. The use of force, firearms and edged weapons to acquire prestige, give orders or gain respect are common in the public sphere, the domestic sphere and prisons.

292. Some of the factors that increase violence against women include men's return to their homes, the challenges of family reunion after long periods of separation, male unemployment and psychological problems related to post-traumatic stress.¹⁰⁷

293. In such situations where institutions responsible for order and security are paralyzed or have seen their reputations tarnished, physical and sexual violence against women increases all the more because the authors of these crimes know that they are unlikely to be reported and prosecuted.

294. Yet, the defence and security sector is considered one of the pillars of the constitutional State and democracy. Built on the universal principles and values of human rights, the security sector represents protection rather than terror for all sectors of the population. It is at the service of the people and not a predatory force.

295. Low representation of women is one of the main problems. However, with 29 per cent of women in the National Police Force in South Africa, 25 per cent in Sierra Leone and Liberia and 12 per cent in Côte d'Ivoire,¹⁰⁸ countries emerging from political crisis and violent conflicts are changing the security practices thanks to women's participation.

¹⁰⁶ Nindorera W. and Powell K., "Delivering on the Responsibility to protect. Reforming the Security Sector to Protect the Most Vulnerable in Burundi", published by The Institute for Security Studies (2006), 9 p.

¹⁰⁷ Commonwealth Secretariat, *Gender Mainstreaming in Conflict Transformation. Building Sustainable Peace*, (2005), p.46.

¹⁰⁸ Statement by Ms. Rachel Mayanja, Assistant Secretary-General, Special Adviser on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women, At the Police/Gendarmerie Women in Peace Operations Roundtable, co-organised by Canada and ECOWAS, Abuja-Nigeria, November 28-29, 2006.

296. The peace and reconstruction process represents an important opportunity to reform police and security forces so that they become more democratic and representative of the people they serve, more accountable¹⁰⁹ as concerns their mandate to protect civilians and maintain law and order. Security sector reform is therefore part of the measures adopted to restore the rule of law. It works in conjunction with justice reform of the justice system, correctional services and other democratic governance institutions.

297. SCR 1325 (2000) calls on Member States to adopt measures that ensure the protection of women and girls and respect of their human rights, particularly as they relate to the constitution, the electoral system, *the police* and the judiciary.

298. A series of measures are required to ensure that security sector reform, especially as it concerns the police, is a vehicle of participation and representation for men and women and is an entry point for the adoption and application of a code of ethics, code of conduct or work standards that respect the rights of women. These measures include:

- Determining the values and principles, including gender equality, governing Defence and Security. The code of conduct will be based on these values and principles.
- Drawing up a Declaration and Commitment to be signed by all individuals employed, recruited or aspiring to become members of the police force. With this document, these individuals commit to working and behaving in accordance with the values and principles set out in the code of ethics.
- An intensive training plan with regards to human rights and the rights of women.
- Specific training on the prevention of acts of violence against women and children and the responsibility of the police.
- Establishing, in collaboration with police services, special units responsible for lodging complaints and offering assistance and protection to women, girls and children who are victims of sexual violence.
- Deciding on disciplinary measures or sanctions for cases of misconduct and sexual harassment.
- Appointing a section responsible for internal investigations and the application of disciplinary measures.
- Developing a recruitment plan targeting women and including gender parity, as requested by the UN Secretary-General. This plan will include:
 - A campaign to recruit young women and women, especially in educational institutions, secondary schools, colleges and universities
 - Attractive measures such as maternity leave, taking into consideration the time of pregnancy, offering the possibility of part-time work during breast-feeding period, etc.
 - Staff-retention measures
 - Measures for promotion.

¹⁰⁹ United Nations/DPKO, *Gender Resource Package for Peacekeeping Operations*, Chapter 18: "Gender and the Police", (2004), p.144-153.

3. *Participation and Representation*

299. The right to participate and make decisions is one of the twelve areas addressed by the Beijing Platform for Action. SCR 1325 (2000) can be seen as extending and adapting this principle to the context of peacebuilding. Women's right to decision-making is a goal that must be approached horizontally as well as vertically. Often, there is a tendency to evaluate women's position solely on the basis of their political visibility.

300. Women's participation in the economic development of families and communities should be the cornerstone of their participation in development and peace initiatives. Women have the right to take part in designing and managing local development projects, formal peace and reconciliation initiatives and local governance structures.

301. In addition to targeting women's participation in politically visible initiatives and structures, such as negotiations, peace agreements, peacekeeping operations, power structures set up during the post-conflict transition period, state institutions for constitutional and democratic governance etc., African governments also need to improve women's access to local power structures. To do so, the following measures should be taken:

1. Increase women's participation in local development projects;
2. Improve capacity-building for women's groups in the villages (literacy, organizational structures, management skills);
3. Design training programmes aimed at building women's leadership, especially in rural communities;
4. Develop a political framework encouraging women's participation in local affairs, especially by sensitizing the general public and local actors to the role of women in peace, development and national reconciliation.

VI. Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000): Achievements and Challenges

Objective

302. The main objective of this lesson is to give an overview of the progress achieved through the implementation of SCR 1325 (2000) and to examine the challenges and opportunities that might improve the impact of the resolution. At the end of this lesson, readers will have a better idea of the accomplishments and of the challenges facing peace operations, the African Union, regional economic communities, training centres, women's organizations and civil society.

303. SCR 1325 (2000) has not revolutionized the protection of women and girls during conflicts. Conflicts continue to take the heaviest toll on women and girls, and the many forms of discrimination to which they are subjected do not sufficiently attract attention or mobilize political will.

304. On the other hand, despite modest results, SCR 1325 (2000) nevertheless offers hope that the situation can be improved, provided the necessary steps are taken by national, regional and international decision-makers, as well as civil society and the women's movement.

305. SCR 1325 (2000) has advanced women's right to participate in peace and security initiatives. More particularly, SCR 1325 (2000) has succeeded in establishing a process for negotiation and dialogue in which policies are inspired by broader political thought, thereby reversing the usual paradigm.

306. According to the latest statistics, SCR 1325 (2000) has been translated into over 90 languages, including more than 18 African languages.¹¹⁰ This attests to its importance, especially for women's groups who are the main agents of its dissemination to the public.

307. At the national level, SCR 1325 (2000) has served as a frame of reference for many countries during peace and reconstruction processes. It has also become a reference tool in multilateral, regional and sub-regional cooperation.

1. *UN Initiatives for Peace in Africa*

308. There are presently eight peacekeeping operations in Africa and two former peace missions, which have evolved into Integrated Offices (Burundi and Sierra Leone). If the resolutions establishing these missions are compared, there is a striking difference between operations set up before the adoption of SCR 1325 (2000) and those organized after 2000 in terms of the degree of attention paid to women.

The Security Council, "Reaffirms the importance of a gender perspective in peacekeeping operations and post-conflict peace-building in accordance with resolution 1325 (2000), recalls the need to address violence against women and girls as a tool of warfare, and encourages UNMIL as well as the Liberian parties to actively address these issues".

Resolution 1509 (2003) of the Security Council Resolution establishing the United Nations Mission in Liberia

309. Before the adoption of SCR 1325 in 2000, Security Council resolutions relating to peace operations did not always mention crimes against women. The fact of not explicitly naming and condemning crimes against women has influenced political decisions.

310. When violations of women's rights remain abstract, preventing or putting an end to the violations can be left to the discretion of decision-makers; any action taken then becomes an act of compassion rather than an act of justice based on the desire to transform significantly peace mission practices.

¹¹⁰ <http://www.peacewomen.org.wpsindex.html>

311. All resolutions establishing peace missions in Africa adopted after October 2000 reaffirm their support for SCR 1325 (2000) and other resolutions designed to protect civilians.

312. In general, these resolutions recommend that:

1. Special attention be paid to sexual and gender-based violence;
2. Measures be taken to bring to justice those responsible for human rights violations and to put an end to impunity;
3. The zero tolerance policy instituted by the UN Secretary-General be applied to all civilian and military personnel acting under the UN mandate and found guilty of sexual exploitation and abuse against the local population;
4. DDR programmes pay special attention to the needs of women and girls;
5. Humanitarian assistance as well as the respect of human rights be facilitated and give special consideration to vulnerable groups, including:
 - a. Women and girls
 - b. Children in general
 - c. Demobilized child soldiers, including girls
 - d. Refugees
 - e. Internally displaced persons.

313. The latest statistics show that women constitute 1.02 per cent of the military contingents, 6 per cent of the police forces and approximately 25 per cent of the civilian staff deployed in Africa. All recent and present missions acting under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter have included a gender unit responsible for mainstreaming the gender perspective; these missions include ONUCI (Côte d'Ivoire), MONUC (Democratic Republic of the Congo), UNMIL (Liberia), UNMIS (Sudan), ONUB (Burundi), and UNAMSIL (Sierra Leone).

314. However, some challenges remain. Specifically, there is a lack of consistent funding for gender units to fulfill their mandates. However modest the results, the progress achieved since gender units were introduced deserves to be mentioned, especially in relation to the internal practices of peace missions and the support provided by national political institutions.

315. Most of the constitutions revised as part of a peace process have acknowledged the principles of non-discrimination and gender equality. States are therefore required to ensure the constitutionality of all subsidiary laws. Similarly, while there are still enormous challenges regarding protection, the rights of women affected by conflict in general, and demobilized women and ex-combatants in particular, are increasingly being recognized.

316. Justice and security reforms increasingly make an effort to take into account the challenges relating to women. Certainly, not every country can boast of high numbers of women in decision-making positions, but in places where national authorities have been open-minded, democratic elections have given women more space as observers, voters and candidates.

317. The challenge is to sustain the momentum in favor of democracy, to strengthen it, to consolidate it at the grass-roots level and to ensure that it will endure. This cannot be achieved if civil society in general and community organizations and women's groups in particular, are not empowered to act as social transformation agents.

Hybrid Diplomatic Initiative United Nations/African Union: Support of the International Conference on the Great Lakes Region for SCR 1325 (2000)

“...discrimination against women, particularly at decision-making levels, in the areas of peace and security, democracy and political, economic and social governance calls for a deliberate, immediate and sustainable redress;”

Dar-Es-Salaam Declaration on Peace, Security, Democracy and Development in the Great Lakes Region, 19-20 November 2004

318. A regional forum for political dialogue, conflict resolution and cooperation jointly sponsored by the United Nations and the African Union, the International Conference on the Great Lakes Region (2004-2006) acknowledged the importance of the rights of women and children. The Dar-Res-Salaam Declaration which approved the organization of the Conference was followed by a number of initiatives dedicated to translating into practice the commitments made by Heads of State and Government in many areas, especially with regards to human rights and gender equality.

319. Among other things, three legislative instruments on the *Protection and Assistance to Internally Displaced Persons*, the *Prevention and Suppression of Sexual Violence against Women and Children*, and the *Property Rights of Returning Persons* were adopted and incorporated into the *Pact on Stability, Security and Development*¹¹¹ and proposed to the eleven¹¹² Member States attending.

320. These Protocols constitute an important legal framework for the rights of women and girls since they are based on international humanitarian law and major international instruments: the Convention for the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women, the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and People's Rights on Women's Rights in Africa, the Convention on the rights of the child, the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child and SCR 1325 (2000) on women, peace and security.

321. To ensure that the commitments taken at the International Conference on the Great Lakes Region do not become empty promises, it is important that the countries of the sub-region, the United Nations, the African Union and donors:

¹¹¹ International Conference on the Great Lakes Region, *Pact on Security, Stability and Development in the Great Lakes Region*, Nairobi, December 14-15, 2006.

¹¹² Angola, Burundi, Central African Republic, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Kenya, Republic of the Congo, Rwanda, Sudan, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia

- Support, at the national level, the implementation of the protocols included in the Pact on Security, Stability and Development, specifically the Protocols on Protection and Assistance to Internally Displaced Persons; on Prevention and Suppression of Sexual Violence Against Women and Children, and on Property Rights of Returning Persons;
- Be actively involved in the workings of the new Permanent Secretariat of the Conference on the Great Lakes Region;
- Provide substantial funding to the Special Fund for Reconstruction and Development in the Great Lakes Region;
- Support the operationalization, at the national level, of the major international and regional instruments that help to restore the rule of law and protect human rights, specifically the rights of women and girls, as well as the legislative bills on discrimination and violence against women;
- Adopt a solid strategy in support of marginalized groups, especially widows, repatriated and refugee women, ex-combatant girls and teenagers.

2. *The African Union and the Commitment to Gender, Peace and Security in Africa*

322. Section 4 (l) of the African Union's Constitutive Act recognizes the principle of gender equality. The African Union has adopted two foundational instruments in this matter, the *Protocol to the African Charter on Human and People's Rights on Women's Rights in Africa*,¹¹³ which came into force November 25th, 2005, and the *Solemn Declaration of Gender Equality in Africa* issued in July 2004.

323. According to the latest statistics, as of July 20th, 2007, 21 countries had ratified the Protocol on the rights of women: Benin, Burkina Faso, Cape Verde, Comoro Islands, Djibouti, Gambia, Libya, Lesotho, Mali, Malawi, Mozambique, Mauritania, Namibia, Nigeria, Rwanda, Senegal, Seychelles Islands, South Africa, Tanzania, Togo and Zambia.

324. It is clear that a large majority of countries emerging from conflicts have not ratified this Protocol and therefore, cannot be held accountable on this matter. This is especially unfortunate since the Protocol on women's rights is fully consistent with SCR 1325 (2000).

325. Articles 8, 9, 10, and 11 of the *Protocol to the African Charter on Human and People's Rights on Women's Rights in Africa* (which consists of 31 articles) advocate respectively:

- a) Access to justice and equal protection before the law;
- b) Right to participation in the political and decision-making process;
- c) Right to peace, including measures to ensure the increased participation of women:

¹¹³ African Union, *Protocol to the African Charter on Human and People's Rights on Women's Rights in Africa*, adopted July 11, 2003 in Maputo, Mozambique.

- a. In the structures and processes for conflict prevention, management and resolution at local, national, regional, continental and international levels;
- b. In structures to ensure protection of refugees, returnees and displaced persons, including women;
- c. In all aspects of planning, designing and implementation of post conflict reconstruction and rehabilitation programmes;
- d) Protection of women in armed conflicts, including:
 - a. Respect and ensuring respect for the rules of international humanitarian law;
 - b. Protection of all women against all forms of violence, rape and other forms of sexual exploitation, and ensuring that such acts are considered war crimes, genocide and/or crimes against humanity.

326. In the same spirit, through the *Solemn Declaration of gender equality in Africa*,¹¹⁴ the African Union has committed itself to ensuring “the full and effective participation and representation of women in peace process including the prevention, resolution, management of conflicts and post-conflict reconstruction in Africa as stipulated in UN SCR 1325 (2000)”.

327. It should be noted that the gender parity principle was officially ratified by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the African Union in July 2002. In accordance with this principle, half of the members of the African Union Commission are men and half are women.

328. The African Union has also established a permanent mechanism, the *Women, Gender and Development Directorate*, responsible for the implementation of the African Union’s policies on gender parity and gender equality.

329. All the previously-mentioned initiatives reflect a clear difference between the African Union and its predecessor, the Organisation of African Unity. Gender equality is now part of the goals and targets of the African Union. However, many challenges persist with regards to gender and development, as well as gender and peace issues.

330. For example, there are no specific policies or directives allowing the Women, Gender and Development Directorate to serve as advisor and technical support to the African Union’s Peace and Security Council. Neither are there any strategies or guidelines for building a partnership between this Directorate and government or regional economic communities’ structures responsible for the advancement of women.

331. The African Union’s Peace and Security Council is the decision-making body responsible for the prevention, management and resolution of conflicts. The Protocol establishing the Council was adopted on July 9, 2002 in Durban and came into force December 26, 2003. As of October 2007, 43 countries have ratified it, which reflects the

¹¹⁴ African Union, *Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa*, adopted July 8, 2004 in Addis-Ababa, Ethiopia.

commitment of African governments to play a key role in resolving conflicts and promoting peace.

332. While the Protocol relating to the establishment of the Peace and Security Council mentions international humanitarian law and international human rights law, many challenges will need to be met if the Council is to uphold in a meaningful way women's rights in conflict and post-conflict situations as stipulated in SCR 1325 (2000).

333. Similarly, the Declaration of Commitment of the Heads of State and Government issued on May 25, 2004 to mark the establishment of the Peace and Security Council does not specify how the Council will address gender issues in the context of peace and security, more specifically the issues of protection and prevention of crimes against women, and their right to representation and participation in all the Council's initiatives.

334. This being said, in the Declaration of Commitment, Heads of State and Government have specified that when there are human rights violations, crimes against humanity and acts of genocide, the Peace and Security Council must be the first to condemn and act promptly, in accordance with the letter and the spirit of the Constitutive Act of the African Union and other relevant instruments to which they have subscribed.

335. Article 4(l) of the African Union Constitutive Act acknowledges the principle of gender equity, thus making the promotion of women's rights an objective of the African Union. The Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa reaffirms the same commitment to the major regional and international instruments, including the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women, the Beijing Platform of Action, SCR 1325 (2000), and the Protocol to the African Charter relating to the rights of women.

336. These documents therefore hold the Peace and Security Council accountable with regards to the protection and advancement of women. Translating this responsibility into action will require a clear policy on gender mainstreaming in all the initiatives and structures of the Council, as well as guidelines on the operationalization of this policy and the evaluation mechanisms.

337. Many civil society organizations,¹¹⁵ women's associations and female politicians have proposed measures, means and strategies that reflect the Peace and Security Council's intention to act in accordance with the principles of the African Union and SCR 1325 (2000) on the subject of gender equity. These proposals include:

- a) The representation of women as members of the Peace and Security Council and the Committee of the Wise;
- b) Finding resources for training and capacity-building in the area of gender equality;

¹¹⁵ FEMNET, *Intégration du genre au sein de l'Union africaine. Proposition d'un cadre d'action* (April 2005), , pp. 22-23
Centre for conflict resolution/UNIFEM, *Women and Peacebuilding in Africa. Seminar Report* (2006), p.21

- c) Identifying specific targets for the training, recruitment and deployment of female contingents in peace-keeping missions;
- d) Establishing a consultation mechanism with civil society organizations, especially women's groups;
- e) Creating a partnership between the Peace and Security Council, the Gender and Development Directorate of the African Union Commission, government structures and gender structures of the regional economic communities;
- f) Mainstreaming and systematically taking into consideration gender-related indicators in the early warning system.

338. With the establishment of the Hybrid Mission in Darfur, the African Union has made a fundamental shift in the management of a peace operation whose mandate goes beyond the monitoring of peace agreements. This is a turning point since developed countries tend to commit fewer, if any, troops to UN peace missions. Consequently, Africa will be increasingly called upon, not only for peace missions on the continent, but also elsewhere in the world.

339. It is essential to mobilize political will and resources to ensure that this mandate is consistent with SCR 1325 (2000). It is also essential that the language used by the Council in its press releases and reports be sensitive to women and children. Not naming the crimes against women and not mentioning women's right to protection and participation are omissions with potentially profound political implications. They render women invisible in the assessment of a situation, and this invisibility can influence political decisions relating to conflict resolution.

3. ***Sub-regional Commitments for Gender and Peace in Africa: The Regional Economic Communities***

"We have a responsibility to help build Africa's capacity to help itself, in peacekeeping as other areas. We, the international community must not shirk this"

Kofi Annan, September 10, 1996

340. Since it was established in July 2002, the African Union has differentiated itself from the Organization of African Unity (OAU) through a better decentralization policy and improved strategies for sub-regional cooperation and economic integration. Regional economic communities (RECs) have become important actors, not only in matters of economic integration, but also on issues of peace, stability and security.

341. Initially, the mandate of the regional economic communities was economic in nature. However, geographic proximity, shared cultural space, the trans-border aspects of conflicts, as well as the close links between peace, political stability and economic stability, have led these communities to develop mechanisms for conflict resolution, arms control and the democratization of institutions.

342. Defence, peace and security: For example, the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC) has a defence and security body responsible for improving the peacekeeping capacities of its Member States.¹¹⁶ As for the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS), it has set up a Standing Advisory Committee on Security Questions in Central Africa which includes special peacekeeping forces.¹¹⁷

343. For its part, the Intergovernmental Authority of Development (IGAD) whose area of influence covers East Africa and the Horn of Africa, has played and continues to play a mediation and good offices role in conflicts currently affecting Sudan, Somalia Ethiopia and Eritrea.

344. However, the group that attracted most attention is the Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group (ECOMOG), the multilateral interposition force of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), which played a role in Liberia and Sierra Leone.

345. Opinions are not unanimous concerning the regional economic communities' interventions in conflict resolution. The main criticisms of initiatives taken during the 1990s by ECOWAS¹¹⁸ in Liberia and Sierra Leone were the lack of political neutrality, the scarcity of resources, the absence of a code of conduct and the lack of a clear mandate.

346. Other critics downplayed the failures and emphasized the main purpose of ECOMOG's intervention which was to act as a deterrent force and to defend democracy. These critics also distinguished between the behaviour of some participating countries and the merits of the interventions themselves.¹¹⁹

347. Since then, things have changed, especially with the creation of the African Union's Peace and Security Council. Before the Council's creation, the power to deploy troops and the power to coordinate initiatives undertaken as part of a peace intervention were not always well balanced. The role played by OAU was limited to good offices, diplomacy and monitoring, whereas the regional economic communities had more room to manoeuvre since they deploy the troops. In the absence of a framework and decision-making body duly representing the African Union, difficulties could more easily arise, especially in terms of political responsibility and accountability.

¹¹⁶ ¹¹⁶ Heidi Hudson (2005), "Peacekeeping trends and their gender implications for regional peacekeeping forces in Africa: Progress and challenges", p.124, in *Gender, Conflict, and Peacekeeping*, edited by Dyan Mazurana, Angela Raven-Roberts, and Jane Parpart, 304 p.

¹¹⁷ Manon Tessier and Thierry Gongora, "Une Afrique bousculée en voie de réorganisation sécuritaires?", *Le Maintien de la paix* (newsletter), No. 44, January 2000 : <http://www.psi.iqhei.ulaval.ca/Pdf/bulletin44.pdf>.

¹¹⁸ Heidi Hudson, "Peacekeeping trends and their gender implications for regional peacekeeping forces in Africa : Progress and challenges", pp 111-133 in *Gender, Conflict, and Peacekeeping*, edited by Dyan Mazurana, Angela Raven-Roberts, and Jane Parpart, (2005), 304 p.

¹¹⁹ Manon Tessier and Thierry Gongora, "Une Afrique bousculée en voie de réorganisation sécuritaires?", *Le Maintien de la paix* (newsletter), N° 44, (January 2000) : <http://www.psi.iqhei.ulaval.ca/Pdf/bulletin44.pdf>.

348. The African Union's Peace and Security Council has provided a framework as well as moral and political authority for the interventions and operations conducted by African countries.

349. Regional economic communities have taken important measures to reflect gender equality. Most have drawn up policies on gender equality. The RECs have also created advisory positions or units to operationalize the gender perspective. Such is the case of IGAD, ECOWAS and SADC.

350. IGAD¹²⁰ has set up a women's division in 1999, whereas SADC and ECOWAS have established a gender division in 1997 and 2003 respectively.

351. It is important to emphasize that, along with these structures designed to operationalize gender perspective, some initiatives led by the RECs, especially IGAD, have sought to promote women's participation in the peace and conflict resolution processes. In 2002, IGAD endorsed SCR 1325 (2000) by adopting a resolution on the inclusion of women in the peace processes underway in Sudan and Somalia. IGAD has also created the Women's Desk and a resource centre for female delegates to peace negotiations.

352. Thanks to these efforts, 35 women were able to participate in the Somali National Reconciliation Conference. The Charter adopted at the end of the Conference incorporated issues specifically related to women's rights and approved the proposal to reserve 12 per cent of the seats to women in the National Assembly and 25 per cent in the Regional Assemblies.¹²¹

353. Similarly, efforts¹²² to translate into action SCR 1325 (2000) led by IGAD, the Joint Assessment Mission in the Sudan (JAM) and Sudanese women's associations, have helped to unite women from the North and the South around common grievances.

354. With the presentation of a joint platform on behalf of women from the North and the South at the Donors Conference on Sudan, the needs of women with regards to reintegration and other priorities relative to the advancement of women, especially affirmative action as a means of attaining equality, were incorporated into the Framework for Sustained Peace, Development and Eradication of Poverty.

355. The regional economic communities have encountered the same difficulties in mainstreaming the gender perspective as the Peace and Security Council. These difficulties are related to policies as much as to technical and human capacity-building.

¹²⁰ UNIFEM, Support to NEPAD. Period of report: 2003-2004

http://www.un.org/africa/osaa/cpreports/27.UNIFEM_formatted.pdf

¹²¹ UNIFEM, *Securing the peace. Guiding the International Community towards women's Effective participation throughout peace processes*, (October 2005), p.10.

¹²² Ibid, p. 15

356. Each REC has developed in theory mechanisms for addressing issues of peace and security. Common to these mechanisms is a strong commitment to conflict prevention.

357. This commitment at the level of the RECs is a reflection of the high priority given to conflict prevention on the agenda of African governments at the continental level. Specifically, steps are underway to operationalise a Continental Early Warning System (CEWS) as one of the pillars of the Peace and Security Council. This continental system will build on the regional warnings systems operated by RECs.

358. However, presently the RECs are at different stages of development, and this has affected the process of developing early warning systems.

359. Both ECCAS in Central Africa and SADC in Southern Africa are in the early stages of early warning systems. ECOWAS and IGAD currently operate the most advanced warning systems on the continent.

360. IGAD established its early warning system in 2003: Conflict Early Warning and Early Response Mechanism (CEWARN), designed to serve the region as a mechanism that systematically anticipates and responds to violent conflicts in a timely and effective manner.

361. Since its establishment, the CEWARN through its network of Field Monitors, Country Coordinators, National Research Institutes and Conflict Early Warning and Response Units (CEWERUs) at the national level, has been monitoring and reporting on pastoralist conflicts in two pilot areas: the Somali cluster (that incorporates parts of Kenya, Ethiopia and Somalia) and the Kamaroja cluster (that incorporates parts of Ethiopia, Kenya, Sudan and Uganda).

362. The CEWARN research and training officer participated in this assessment as said that though there have been efforts to engender the peace and conflict indicators monitored within the system, engendering of their entire mechanism has been slow. CEWARN's first four years were dedicated to instating a functional software based early warning system and collecting and analysing information from the field and standardizing reporting structures. The indicators used to analyse the field reports attempted to assess the level of vulnerability of Women and Children in pastoral conflicts.

363. However, this was done in an ad-hoc manner. The recently developed five year strategy plan (2007-2011), tries to address this gap by integrating gender into its core strategic objectives. Progressive steps are also on track to mainstream gender analysis into the Early Warning and Early response framework. Specifically, a Gender and Early Warning Training Manual is being developed in collaboration with the Gender Affairs.

364. ECOWAS' Early Warning System ECOWARN was also established in 2003. The integration of gender into the ECOWARN has been weak. Though ECOWAS has gender

structures within the institutions; Gender Unit at the ECOWAS secretariat and the Gender and Development Centre in Dakar, their formal involvement in peace and security issues has been minimal.

365. The role of the ECOWAS Gender Development Centre (EGDC) is to establish, develop, facilitate, coordinate and follow-up the strategies and programmes aimed at ensuring that matters related to the disparities between men and women in the integration programmes of the Community as well as women promotion are incorporated within the framework of the objectives of the ECOWAS Treaty.

366. A Gender policy has been developed and a section of the policy is dedicated to “Gender based violence, conflict resolution and peacebuilding” Recently the EGDC has been trying to implement that mandate by organising several forums to examine how to enhance the involvement of women in this area. Partnering with civil society is integral to the Centre’s strategy as civil society organizations particularly women’s groups have more experience working on peace and security.

367. SADC does not have an advanced early warning system; however there are attempts to engender conflict resolution and peacebuilding initiatives in the region. The SADC Gender Unit has taken notable strides to ensure that women are infused into the security architecture of the institution.

368. This has been challenging as SADC’s approach to security has been state centered and militaristic often resulting in gender blind policies and activities. In 2005 the Unit commenced development of a SADC Gender Based Regional Integration Plan: Strategic Implementation Framework 2006 – 2010 which is a detailed framework developed in line with the SADC Declaration on Gender and Development (1997), the Addendum on the Elimination of Violence Against Women and Children (1998), and the SADC Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan (RISDP). This implementation framework aims to enhance the involvement of women in peace and security initiatives carried out by the institution.

369. These persisting challenges call for an analysis centered on outcomes. With the duty to account for what is being done with respect to gender equality comes the duty to document the many obstacles that lay in the way of achieving that goal.

370. As with other challenges related to human rights, development and peace, gender equality is a goal that requires an integrated policy based on a strategy, an action plan and institutional capabilities. To ensure meaningful results, gender equality partnerships should be based on the institutional capabilities of both the regional economic communities and the Member States.

371. The numerous and serious violations of the rights of women and girls briefly examined in this course are in themselves a clear indication that there is still much to do in order to free women from the many forms of tyranny and injustice they experience. It

is one thing to set up structures and policies to guarantee gender equality but quite another to translate these intentions into action.

372. Like the United Nations and the African Union, the regional economic communities have meaning only when Member States, the primary stakeholders, improve living conditions through cooperation, mutual agreements and partnerships. RECs exist not for themselves, but for the men and women who are citizens of these States.

373. Yet, in many countries, national legislation is still discriminatory against women and it is difficult, in practice, to convince people that constitutional law takes priority over customary law.

374. In terms of capacities, structures set up to operationalize gender equality are often under-funded or receive only cyclical funding, on a project-by-project basis. This makes it difficult to develop a long-term perspective. For lack of resources, capacities and political will, the main gender focal points sometimes play more of a token role than an active one.

375. If the gender initiatives undertaken by regional economic communities are to have a concrete impact, assistance, cooperation and follow-up measures should be put in place to:

- a) Give the regional economic communities a genuine operational capacity in terms of gender equality;
- b) Ensure that regional and national policies are consistent, especially as concerns the participation of women in peace and reconstruction processes;
- c) Build the capacities of all Member States with respect to gender equality;
- d) Develop a training partnership on women's rights, more specifically the need for protection in conflict and emergency situations;
- e) Design an ambitious plan for recruiting, training and deploying a female contingent in peacekeeping operations.

4. The Role of Peacekeeping Training Centres

“Notwithstanding the fact that women do not take part in decisions leading to armed conflicts, they bear the brunt of war and also put together the pieces after the carnage and destruction of lives and property. Thus there is the need to institutionalise women in peace and security operations by engendering peacekeeping, negotiations and management processes.”

Hajia Alima Mahama, Ghana's Minister for Women and Children's Affairs,
Accra, May 23, 2007

376. The increasing involvement of African contingents in peacekeeping missions demonstrates the determination of African countries to play a more active role on the

regional and international scene. However, this presents a certain number of challenges, especially as concerns the ability of African contingents to adequately fulfill their mandate.

377. Up until now, attention has focused on two types of challenges: the logistical and material needs on one hand and access to sufficient and adequately trained human resources on the other hand. The issue of training and capacity-building is a fundamental one. Many programs designed to strengthen African peacekeeping capacities have been launched through partnerships with other countries, such as the United Kingdom, Norway, Sweden, the United States, France, Germany and Canada.

378. In partnership with the Integrated Training Service of the Department of Peacekeeping Operations (ITS/DPKO), the United Nations Institute for Training and Research (UNITAR POCI) has developed an E-Learning program for African peacekeepers (ELAP).¹²³ This program offers a course on gender mainstreaming in UN peacekeeping operations.¹²⁴

379. A number of other initiatives are worth mentioning. In West Africa, the Peacekeeping School of Mali¹²⁵ has trained 965 officers from 40 African countries. This school specializes in tactical training, especially curriculum development and training programs. However, there are no statistics on the number of female officers trained comparatively to men.

380. The Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre (KAIPTC)¹²⁶ based in Ghana is a regional study and training institute on conflict prevention and peacekeeping with a focus on the operational level. The Centre trains military and civilian personnel seeking to be deployed in peacekeeping operations worldwide. Gender equality is considered a cross-cutting dimension of the courses and training offered by the Centre.

381. For example, all courses offered in partnership with Canada (the Pearson Centre for Peacebuilding) in 2006-2007, have mainstreamed gender as a cross-cutting dimension. These courses cover DDR, the early warning and early response system, political negotiations and logistics.

382. Still in West Africa, the African Centre for Strategic Research and Studies (ACSRs), housed in the National Defense College of Nigeria¹²⁷ complements the two previously-mentioned institutions by coordinating training at the strategic level. It trains military personnel, diplomats and civilians seeking to develop their skills in the management of peacekeeping operations. There is very little information on the ACSR

¹²³ ¹²³ http://elap.unitarpoci.org/learn_more.php

¹²⁴ <http://elap.unitarpoci.org/en/courses.php#course52>

¹²⁵ <http://www.emp-mali.org>.

¹²⁶ <http://www.kaiptc.org/home/?lang=en>

¹²⁷ Previously known as the National War College : <http://www.nwc.gov.ng/>

Web page and it is impossible to determine to what extent gender equality is incorporated.

383. In Southern Africa, the African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes (ACCORD),¹²⁸ a research and training centre based in South Africa, focuses on conflict management and resolution. ACCORD offers a peacekeeping program which includes the Training for Peace programme set up in 1995 and the more recent African Civilian and Military Coordination program (ACMC).¹²⁹ This program is the result of a partnership between ACCORD and the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO).

384. More than 11 members of the SADC have benefited from ACCORD's Training for Peace program. A review¹³⁰ of the training activities offered in Zambia, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Tanzania and Mauritius Island in 1996 has concluded that women represented only 15 per cent of the participants, and that the great majority of these women came from NGOs and not from government structures. The same study has established that all the participants from the Defense and Police Departments were male and that women represented a very small minority of the personnel coming from Foreign Affairs ministries; only 13 per cent of the trainers were women.

385. Efforts have been made to improve women's participation in training programs. Workshops targeting specifically female leaders were organized in Burundi and Sudan, and a course was offered exclusively to women deployed or in the pre-deployment stage of peacekeeping operations in Africa as part of the African Civilian and Military Coordination program. The following table¹³¹ presented by ACCORD shows that despite some progress, women are still under-represented.

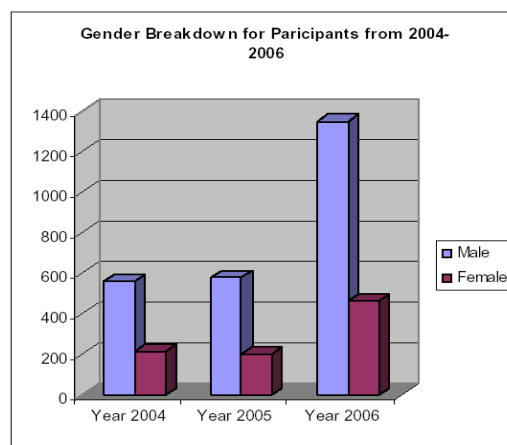
¹²⁸ <http://www.accord.org.za/web/home.htm>

¹²⁹ *Civil Society Shadow Report on the Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa*, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, (January 2007), pp. 34-36. www.genderismyagenda.com

¹³⁰ Heidi Hudson, "Peacekeeping trends and their gender implications for regional peacekeeping forces in Africa : Progress and challenges", (2005), p. 125-126. In *Gender, Conflict, and Peacekeeping*, edited by Dyan Mazurana, Angela Raven-Roberts and Jane Parpart, (2005), 304 p.

¹³¹ Gender is my Agenda Campaign, *Civil Society Shadow Report on the Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa*, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, (January 2007), p.36

Figure 2: Gender Breakdown of Participants of Training Programmes, 2004-2006



386. Low participation of women in training programmes is a significant challenge for all peacekeeping training centers. Four major factors explain why it is difficult to consider women's rights in peacekeeping operations:

- Access to and consistency of training activities on gender equality and women's rights;
- Commitment and capacity to apply on the ground the knowledge gained on gender equality;
- Assessment and accountability measures with regards to gender equality;
- Representation of women in peacekeeping missions.

387. SCR 1325 (2000) requires that all peacekeeping personnel receive training on the protection, rights and particular needs of women; it also calls for measures to expand the role and contribution of women in field-based operations, and especially among military observers, civilian police, human rights experts and humanitarian personnel.

388. It is critically important that training agreements between donor countries, training centres and recipient countries be designed and managed so as to guarantee the rights of women and an equitable access to these training programmes for men and women. To achieve this goal, training programs should:

Reach a greater number of female participants

- Explicitly target female applicants
- Develop a publicity strategy to attract female applicants, especially for military and police tasks
- Undertake internal reviews to understand why women do not register for training and take the required measures based on identified obstacles or barriers
- Increase the number of female trainers.

Incorporate in a meaningful way the rights of women in curriculum

- Include the specific needs of women as concerns protection in the context of a conflict
- Include the real needs of female civilian and military peacekeeping personnel
- Give recipients a solid capacity to systematically incorporate issues related to human rights in general, and the rights of women and children in particular
- Help recipients apply assessment measures centered on performance with regards to gender equality
- Help recipients gain extensive understanding of the role played by women as peace and reconciliation officers.

5. *Women's Networks and Civil Society Organizations*

“The SCR1325 fundamentally changed the image of women from being exclusively victims of war to being participants as peacemakers, peace-builders and negotiators. Women at the grassroots level in countries as diverse as Burundi, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Sudan, have used this resolution to lobby for their voices to be heard in peacebuilding processes, in post-conflict elections, and in the rebuilding of their societies.”

Rachel Mayanja, Assistant Secretary-General, Special Adviser on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women.
Abuja, Nigeria, November 28, 2006

389. If we were to sum up in one word SCR 1325 (2000)'s greatest contribution, it would undoubtedly be as a catalyst. Indeed, the resolution has legitimized the many struggles for peace in which women have always been involved but which have remained largely unacknowledged. Using SCR 1325 (2000) as a roadmap, women's associations have been able to break out of a situation in which they were peace activists without a title or any political recognition.

390. The activism of the women's movement deserves to be acknowledged because one of the most important achievements of the last seven years is the increased mobilization of women's organizations at the national, regional and international level for the implementation of SCR 1325 (2000).

391. Women do not constitute a homogeneous group. Like all citizens, they have political biases. However, they have realized that they share a common denominator that goes beyond crisis, conflicts and underlying factors: women's exclusion. Being able to see themselves as a lobbying group and not necessarily as a monolithic group has facilitated the establishment of national caucuses of women for peace in many countries.

392. At the regional level, women have created peace networks, by targeting regional and sub-regional institutions as the focus of intervention, more specifically, the African Union and the regional economic communities. At the international level, African women's associations have forged strong ties with international networks. Through these

partnerships, the voices of African women are regularly heard at the United Nations and other international bodies.

393. There are many such examples, but let us consider Femmes Africa Solidarité¹³² (FAS), which has a Regional Office for Africa based in Dakar, an International Secretariat in Geneva and a Representative Office in New York. FAS is a member of the Working Group on Women, Peace and Security based in New York. Through these various channels, FAS has succeeded in ensuring that the voice of African women is heard at the African Union Commission, the Human Rights Commission, the new Human Rights Council and the Security Council.

394. There are numerous women's associations working for peace in Africa. These associations have been the main standard bearer for SCR 1325 (2000). By using SCR 1325 (2000) strategically, women's associations have succeeded in:

- Developing and presenting joint platforms of demands;
- Having women's presence at the negotiating table accepted and their demands incorporated into the peace agreements;
- Reforming legislation and working for the adoption of legislation that is more respectful of women's rights;
- Expanding women's representation at the level of government structures and institutions.

The number of women's collectives for peace at work in the Great Lakes Region, in West Africa, etc. indicates that women have found a voice and a way to work for peace in Africa

395. For example, the Mano River Union Women's Network for Peace¹³³ (MARWONET) brings together women's groups from Guinea, Liberia and Sierra Leone. It is a perfect example of African women's commitment to peace, not only within national borders but also regionally. Similarly, the Women, Peace and Security Network Africa is a Pan-African collective of associations actively involved in advocating for the right of women to peace and security.

396. At the level of the continent, the Federation of African Women Peace Networks brings together organizations from more than 15 countries.

397. In Liberia, thanks to the work of MARWONET and other national organizations, the Ministry of Gender and Development was established in 2003. The new electoral legislation guarantees equitable participation of men and women, stipulating that at least 30 per cent of the candidates should be women.

398. In Sierra Leone, MARWONET and other women's organizations have taken the lead on many issues, notably the right to participation and political representation.

¹³² <http://www.fasngo.org>

¹³³ Elisabeth Rehn and Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, *Women, War, Peace. The independent experts' assessment on the impact of armed conflict on women and women's role in the peacebuilding*, Chapter 6: "Organizing for peace", p.77; UNIFEM, *Progress of the world's women* (2002), Vol.1.

Women actually hold 14.5 per cent of all seats in Parliament. This score may be low compared to the 30 per cent benchmark and the parity principle; however, to appreciate the important gains made by women, it should be noted that in 2002, women occupied 8.8 per cent of the seats in Parliament.

399. In Côte d'Ivoire, even if women have not been officially admitted at the peace negotiations, they are mobilizing in greater numbers and in a more structured way for peace and their right to participate.

400. Various groups such as Coalition des Femmes Leaders, Plate Forme des femmes pour gagner, Organisation des Femmes Citoyennes, Association des femmes juristes, Femmes d'Ébounei¹³⁴ have orchestrated public awareness campaigns on issues related to peace and to the electoral process using SCR 1325 (2000) as a reference point.

401. A delegation of women, members of the Plateforme de la Société Civile (Civil Society Platform), went to Accra in March 2005 to advocate for the right to participate. The women's organizations approached all political parties to convince them of voting in favour of reserving at least 30 per cent of the seats for women. Similarly, women's groups have met the international community's High Representative for Elections to advocate for gender parity.

402. In Sudan, civil society organizations, such as the Sudanese Women's Association in Nairobi (SWAN), the Sudanese Women's Voice of Peace and the Community Development Association, have denounced violence against women and actively promoted a common agenda for gender equality.

403. In June 2006, during the visit of a Security Council delegation, a collective of women's organizations affiliated to civil society, issued a declaration using SCR 1325 (2000) as reference point.

404. Their major recommendations¹³⁵ dealt with women's rights in humanitarian situations, violence against women, the needs of women at the time of reintegration, facilitating the voluntary return of women, participation of women to decision-making structures following the peace agreement, especially the Comprehensive Peace Agreement and the Darfur Peace Agreement, and women's participation to the Dialogue on Darfur and the consultative process.

405. In Somalia, women have created the "sixth clan" in order to be admitted to the negotiation table. When the Nairobi Peace Agreement was signed in 2004, civil society was represented by a woman, Asha Haji Elmi, thanks to the work carried out by Save Somali Women and Children.

¹³⁴ Coalition of Women Leaders, Women's Platform to Win, Organization of Female Citizens, Association of Women Jurists, Women of Ébounei for Peace.

¹³⁵ *Recommendations from Sudanese Women's Civil Society Organizations to the Security Council Delegation*, (June 2006). <http://www.peacewomen.org/campaigns/Sudan/Sudan.html>

406. In Uganda, the Juba Peace Talks to resolve the conflict in the North of the country have only just begun. Nevertheless, the Uganda Women's Network has already petitioned the mediator, Dr. Riek Machar, on a variety of issues: women's participation and representation at the negotiation table, especially for women living in the region affected by the conflict; and ensuring that women's grievances are addressed in the peace agreement.

407. In the Democratic Republic of the Congo, women's organizations have set up "synergies 1325", a collective of more than 12 provincial and regional associations, including Network for Women's Action; Association of Women Lawyers for Development; Association for Promotion and Support of Women's Initiatives,¹³⁶. The groups have committed themselves to disseminating SCR 1325 (2000) and to using it as a political bargaining tool.

408. In this respect, Promotion et Appui aux Initiatives Féminines (PAIF) coordinated a campaign to mobilize women from Eastern Congo on electoral issues and on the implementation of SCR 1325 (2000). At the workshop on women and elections in the DRC, 70 participants called for a "parity democracy".¹³⁷ In their view, the government's legitimacy should be measured against women's participation as voters, candidates, organizers and observers: "Fifty! Fifty! One voice for a man, one voice for a woman. Enough with exclusion!"¹³⁸

409. Congolese women's organizations have also pooled their energies and created the Caucus des femmes Congolaises (Congolese Women's Caucus). This group has played a decisive role in ensuring the inclusion of women in the Inter-Congolese Dialogue. Some 60 women from all the regions of the Congo participated in the multi-party National Forum which took place in Nairobi in February 2002. At the close of this forum women launched the Nairobi Declaration and the Women's Common Platform for Peace. Thanks to women's participation in the peace talks, both at the regional and national levels, the *Global and Inclusive Agreement* approved at the outset of the political negotiations process incorporated the parity principle, based on SCR 1325 (2000).

410. The new Congolese Constitution adopted in December 2005 acknowledges the principle of gender parity and equality (Article 14) as well as the State's responsibility in eliminating all forms of discrimination against women (Article 15).

411. In Rwanda, despite the unspeakable wounds inherited from the genocide, women have put the past behind them to rebuild the country. Groups such as Pro-Femmes and Haguruka have played a central role in reforming legislation after the genocide. The Constitution of Rwanda as well as many subsidiary laws has become a reference in terms of gender equality. For example, the *Matrimonial Regimes, Liberties and Succession Law* grants equal rights to boys and girls, and to husbands and wives.

¹³⁶ the Réseau Action Femmes, Association Femmes juristes pour le développement, Association Promotion et Appui aux Initiatives Féminines

¹³⁷ PAIF, Workshop, "Les Femmes face aux élections en RDC", p. 5, Goma, (May 23-24, 2005).

¹³⁸ PAIF, Manifeste "Plus que jamais" : Les femmes envers les élections en RDC, (2005).

412. The principle of gender equality having been entrenched in electoral law, Rwandan women have succeeded in substantially increasing their representation in the power structures. In October 2007, Rwandan women account for nearly 35 per cent of all ministers and secretaries of State, 48 per cent of members of Parliament and 30 per cent of senators. The new Commission on National Reconciliation is presided over by a woman, as is the Supreme Court of Rwanda. Five of the 12 judges of this Court are women.¹³⁹

413. In Burundi, more than 50 per cent of women's grievances have been formally acknowledged and incorporated into the Peace Agreement. In July 2000, in collaboration with UNIFEM, the Nyerere Foundation has organized the All-Party Burundi Women's Peace Conference.¹⁴⁰ This conference brought together women from all political parties, women's organizations, women refugees and internally displaced women. It resulted in a Declaration on Peace whose main recommendations were formally integrated into the Peace Agreement.

414. The new Constitution of Burundi, as well as the *Electoral Law*, recognizes the principle of gender parity and equality. Articles 13 and 22 of the Constitution affirm the equality of all citizens before the law, and the law guarantees equal protection. These two articles reject all forms of exclusion and discrimination, including those based on gender. With regards to representation and participation, the Constitution of Burundi guarantees at least 30 per cent of the seats to women, in Government, the National Assembly and the Senate.

415. The results of the last elections held in August 2005 clearly indicate that women have participated massively to the electoral process: they have organized public awareness campaigns on election issues from women's perspective, they have voted massively; and they have participated in the process as observers, polling stations agents and monitors, and candidates.

416. In 1999, women accounted for only 13.5 per cent of Parliamentarians. The last elections have considerably changed things. Today, women represent 30 per cent of all parliamentarians, 32 per cent of senators, 30 per cent of provincial governors, and 34.7 per cent of ministers.

417. Whereas in the past, women were mainly given the responsibility of family-related portfolios, today they occupy positions previously in the exclusive domain of men: the presidency of the National Assembly, the vice-presidency of the Republic, the Ministry of Development Planning, the Ministry of Foreign Relations and International Cooperation, the Ministry of Commerce and Industry, the Ministry of Justice, among others.

¹³⁹ Mukararasi Godeliève, "Les Rwandaïses après le génocide", *Revue Relations*, (March 2006), pp. 14-16

¹⁴⁰ UNIFEM, *Engendrer la paix. Réflexion sur le Processus de Paix au Burundi*, 2001.

418. These results have been achieved through the perseverance of Burundi women's organizations, especially the Collectif des associations et ONG féminines (CAFOB) and the Réseau Femmes et paix.¹⁴¹

419. The progress achieved by women's organizations with regards to legal protection, participation and representation is significant. However, these results should not deter us from the many challenges to women's right to protection, participation and decision-making.

420. Facts and statistics are eloquent. Women and girls are victims of numerous forms of abuse and discrimination. The economic and political exclusion of women increases their vulnerability to poverty and violence, especially sexual violence.

421. These persisting challenges should encourage governments, multilateral and bilateral partners, and civil society to be more ambitious and visionary. On the one hand, numerous reforms are still needed to ensure that all laws are non discriminatory against women. On the other hand, constitutional and legislative advances made in the wake of reforms should take precedence over customary law which, despite efforts, continues to be the norm. It is one thing to modify laws, but quite another to apply the new laws.

422. Women's organizations and civil society groups are plagued with cyclical funding and chronic under-funding. They do not have access to adequate training to do their work in the areas of advocacy, training and public awareness.

423. Not all governments are genuinely committed to considering women's organizations as partners for peace. For all these reasons and for the sake of efficiency, it is advisable for all governments to adopt clear policies and national action plans.

424. National action plans have the advantage of clearly defining the goals to be achieved and the strategies to help achieve these goals. Building partnerships with civil society organizations is at the same time a goal, a strategy and a tool for action.

VII. Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) at the National Level: National Action Plans

Objective

425. This lesson is the outcome of is the course. Having assimilated the basic theory underlying a gender perspective, as well as the major issues relating to *women, peace and security*, readers should now be able to understand the need for national action plans on SCR 1325 (2000). This lesson suggests guidelines for the development of a national action plan and the process leading to its adoption.

“The Security Council reiterates its call to Member States to continue to

¹⁴¹ Collective of Women's Organizations and NGOs, and the Network Women and Peace.

implement resolution 1325 (2000), including through the development and implementation of national action plans or other national level strategies.”

Statement by the President of the Security Council, 7 March 2007

426. Ever since it was adopted in October 2000, SCR 1325 (2000) has encouraged discussion on how best to translate its objectives into concrete and efficient action. Developing an *action plan* is part of this process.

427. Moreover, the last four Statements of the President of the Security Council relating to *Women, Peace and Security*, also recommended the application of SCR 1325 (2000) at the national level, including through the development and implementation of *national action plans*.

428. The United Nations International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (INSTRAW) has published a guide suggesting a process and providing guidelines for the development of national action plans. The major strategic guidelines suggested in this publication and in the UN Action Plan are extremely useful and relevant. The following components are important to take into consideration while developing a national action plan:

- Assessment of the situation or internal audit;
- National consultation with all the important partners, including civil society and women’s organizations;
- A participatory approach;
- Specific targets and areas of action;
- A governmental coordination body;
- Partnerships with key stakeholders, especially the United Nations system and women’s organizations;
- A realistic timeframe;
- A budget and adequate resources;
- Monitoring and evaluation mechanisms.

429. In addition, the African context requires a process that corresponds to the unique challenges facing the continent and countries in post-conflict situations.

1. An Action Plan Centered in the National Context

430. The foremost responsibility of countries emerging from a conflict is to rebuild their country on solid and sustainable foundations, which includes guaranteeing the same rights for men and women and supporting the advancement of women. As a priority, the action plan of a country emerging from a crisis should target prevention and peacebuilding at the national level; this does not prevent the sharing of political achievements, lessons learned and good practices to help other peace processes in the region and in the world.

431. In concrete terms, SCR 1325 (2000) should serve as a national safeguard for the promotion of women's rights at every stage of the peace and reconstruction processes. By consolidating peace at the national level, countries prepare themselves to play a more constructive role regionally or internationally.

432. Similarly, by developing national capabilities in the area of gender equality, African States will bring justice to the women of their countries while at the same time preparing their countries to contribute more significantly to peace processes around the world.

2. *A National Coordination Mechanism*

433. Responsibility for defining and implementing a national action plan rests primarily with the government. It is up to the government to consult as necessary with all key actors and partners, and to assess needs for institutional support, human and financial resources, and training. The government must also identify targets, set a timeframe and define monitoring and evaluation mechanisms.

434. In many donor countries, these tasks are coordinated by the Foreign Affairs Ministry, in close collaboration with the Defence and the International Cooperation Ministries. It is up to African countries to determine the governmental body responsible for coordinating and implementing the national action plan on SCR 1325 (2000), based on the specific realities of each country.

435. Given the regional and international commitments of countries adhering to SCR 1325 (2000), given also the UN Secretary-General's request for biennial reports, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs seems to be in the best position to act as spokesperson and report on the implementation of SCR 1325 (2000) to the international community.

436. We must however distinguish between the role of spokesperson and the role of executive leader at the national level. This is where the model chosen by donor countries reveals its limitations when applied indiscriminately to developing countries and countries in post-conflict transition.

437. In the African context, especially in countries in post-conflict transition, the implementation of SCR 1325 (2000) requires the involvement of a number of Ministries, for example Justice, Security and Defence, Foreign Affairs, Institutional Reforms, Status of Women and Humans Rights; it also requires the participation of numerous national structures dealing with technical issues such as the various commissions on the return and repatriation of war refugees and displaced persons, on land redistribution, demobilization and reintegration, truth and reconciliation, etc.

438. It is important for each government to set up a national coordinating committee representing all the involved Ministries and governmental bodies. To demonstrate the government's leadership and political will, a powerful ministry, such as the First Ministry, should coordinate the work of this committee.

3. *Partnerships with Key Stakeholders*

439. To develop a national action plan and implement it efficiently, it is critical to work in solidarity and partnership with national stakeholders on the one hand, and with bilateral, regional and multilateral cooperation agencies on the other hand.

440. At the national level, partnerships with civil society organizations, women's groups, the media, various levels of government and UN agencies in the country (specifically peacekeeping missions, Integrated Offices, the UNDP and UNIFEM), must be clearly defined. This helps to generate collective political support for the application of SCR 1325 (2000) and therefore increases its chances for success.

441. The more actors and decision-making bodies are involved, the more general awareness there will be about SCR 1325 (2000). This will allow politicians, government agents, civil society organizations, women's groups, community groups and the general public to discover or increase their knowledge of SCR 1325 (2000), develop a sense of ownership and be in a better position to defend it.

442. At the regional and international level, building partnerships with bilateral, regional and multilateral institutions based on the country's specific needs and on these partners' expertise can substantially increase the chances for success of SCR 1325 (2000). For example, a country could propose a training and capacity-building plan based on SCR 1325 (2000) and subsequently sign partnership agreements with peacekeeping training centres. Discussions can also be undertaken with the RECs, in order to better integrate gender dimensions through their Early Warning System, using the SCR 1325 (2000) as a framework.

4. *Timeframe and Resources*

443. One of the major problems encountered when evaluating the true impact of gender policies is the gap between intention and action. SCR 1325 (2000) is no exception. Partnerships and cooperation agreements have a crucial role to play, not only in terms of mobilizing resources, but also in terms of technical assistance

444. To avoid repeated failures, it is essential that governments identify specific budgets for the implementation of SCR 1325 (2000) when developing action plans. Without an appropriate budget, the action plan is likely to remain an interesting political document rather than the framework for action it ought to be

445. After the needs assessment or internal audit has been conducted, the issue of institutional capabilities needs to be addressed. Governments must clearly identify *short-term, medium-term and long-term* objectives in the area of training and capacity-building.

446. Management and evaluation tools taking gender into account must be developed and shared with all ministries and public structures. Similarly, training and recruitment of gender experts must be a priority.

5. *Protection, Prevention and Participation*

447. African countries emerging from conflicts are not a homogeneous group. A crisis can have very different impacts on women from one country to another. The socioeconomic infrastructure, key institutions of democratic governance and the rule of law can have experienced very different stages of destruction. However, gender equality and women's advancement should be at the very centre of peace, reconciliation and reconstruction issues.

448. It is essential that the three main focuses of SCR 1325 (2000), *protection*, *prevention* and *participation*, are included in the objectives and strategies of every project, programme and policy connected to peace, reconciliation and reconstruction.

449. It is also critical that efforts designed to achieve gender equality through the application of SCR 1325 (2000), not be limited to using gender as a cross-cutting issue but that, according to the needs and the situations, voluntary measures (affirmative actions) the advancement and empowerment of women be adopted.

Protection of the rights of women and girls should be achieved through concrete measures and reforms relating to:

- The legislative, judiciary, and constitutional systems
- Security and physical protection
- socioeconomic rights (land, property, education, literacy, economic security, primary health)
- The fight against sexual violence and gender-based violence
- Maternal health and reproductive health
- The fight against HIV/AIDS.

Prevention should include the following aspects:

- Justice and reparation, including transitional justice
- Security sector reform: gender-specific requirements
- Justice reform: gender-specific requirements
- New peace culture based on women's contributions and built on gender equality.

Participation and representation should be guaranteed through:

- Humanitarian programs
- Negotiations and peace agreements
- Peace operations
- The electoral process
- Power structures put in place in the post-conflict transition period
- The rule of law and democratic governance institutions
- Reintegration and reconstruction programs, including DDR.

6. *An Action Plan Based on Results*

450. The terms of reference of an action plan on SCR 1325 (2000) must be based on four principles: coherence, coordination, effectiveness, and accountability. This means that all the objectives to be met in the short, medium and long term must be subjected to periodic evaluations.

451. Monitoring and evaluation are not limited to sex-disaggregated data and statistics. They must also examine the direct causal link between implemented reforms, developed capacities, adopted measures for gender equality, and women's empowerment.

452. A performance review is advised in order to evaluate the true impact of the action plan. This review should be conducted by the government's coordinating body, in close collaboration with civil society and United Nations partners. Independent studies by women's organizations are often necessary to assess progress, identify obstacles, update targets and propose new strategies.

7. *An Action Plan that Does Not Duplicate Other Efforts*

453. Most African countries already have action plans and policies on gender equality. These plans are based essentially on the Convention for the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women and the Beijing Platform. In accordance with the commitments made in these documents, evaluation and progress reports are periodically presented to the UN.

454. African countries have also committed to gender equality at the continental level within the African Union. By signing the Solemn Declaration on gender equality in Africa, governments have committed to submitting annual reports on the implementation of this Declaration to the African Union Commission.

455. To avoid possible duplication, some countries choose to incorporate SCR 1325 (2000) targets into existing strategies and action plans. It is up to each country to find the best way of implementing SCR 1325 (2000).

456. It should be noted that a national action plan on SCR 1325 (2000) can be an excellent asset and complement to other initiatives, inasmuch as it specifically targets capacities and practices in the area of peace and security.

- To begin with, a national action plan on SCR 1325 (2000) is a more efficient and strategic way of integrating gender into constitutional, legislative and institutional reforms.
- A national action plan on SCR 1325 (2000) allows the updating of gender policies and action plans developed before the crisis. Prepared in a different context, these action plans are often disconnected from new concerns brought to light in the conflict resolution and peacebuilding phase.

- A national action plan on SCR 1325 (2000) ensures that the principle of gender parity in decision-making positions is applied.
- Only a national action plan on SCR 1325 (2000) can facilitate a national and collective process on the conflict's impact on women and children, as well as on the need to protect women and to ensure their right to participate in all aspects of peace and security initiatives.
- Only a national action plan on SCR 1325 (2000) can offer a framework for recognizing the role and contribution of women to national peace and reconciliation efforts, especially by strengthening women's organizations and those of civil society.
- Finally, politically stable countries can use their national action plans on SCR 1325 (2000) to identify targets to be met not only domestically but also internationally, for example, their contribution to peacekeeping operations, peace processes and political mediation efforts.

Table 6: Framework for development of national action plan

Development of National Action Plan: a Proposed Framework		
Steps	Objectives	Results
Establishment of a national coordination mechanism, f. ex., Inter-ministerial Committee or Taskforce	Define the responsibilities of the government. Identify the role and tasks of the ministries and governmental structures.	The terms of reference on the mandate and the national coordination mechanism are defined and adopted.
Assessment of institutional needs and capacities	Identify required institutional reforms, training and capacities.	A training and capacity-building plan is prepared.
Consultation with civil society and women's organizations.	Identify areas of action and forms of collaboration.	A joint document on areas of action and a policy recognizing women's groups and civil society organizations are developed.
Partnership negotiations with the United Nations	Identify potential partnership agreements with agencies, based on their respective responsibilities.	A preliminary partnership plan is developed, coordinated by the UNDP, the Integrated Office or UNIFEM, as the case may be.
Consultation of key partners, including the United Nations system, women's groups and civil society organizations on the monitoring and evaluation mechanism	Identify evaluation instruments and timelines.	A monitoring and evaluation mechanism is developed showing progress in attaining objectives as well as obstacles and opportunities.
Finalizing a national action plan for the implementation of SCR 1325 (2000).	Compile the major results of the consultation process and internal assessment.	A national action plan is adopted, which describes clearly the mandate of the government, areas of action, partnerships, resources, timeframe and monitoring and evaluation mechanism.

VIII. Conclusion: Beyond Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000)

“We recognize that development, peace and security and human rights are interlinked and mutually reinforcing and cannot be enjoyed without each other.

We reaffirm that gender equality and the promotion and protection of the full enjoyment of all human rights and fundamental freedoms for all, in particular for women and children, are essential to advance development, peace and security.”

UN World Summit Statement, September 2005, para. 9 and 12

457. At the 2005 World Summit, Heads of State and Government acknowledged the inextricable link gender equality and development, peace and security.

458. Countries emerging from conflicts do not seek the status quo but rather long for lasting or sustainable peace and development. However, this legitimate aspiration must be understood in the light of what is meant by "sustainable". Peace and development can exist without necessarily being equitable or inclusive. Sustainability therefore poses the challenge of equality, equity and inclusion.

459. SCR 1325 (2000) is a framework for action to correct gender-based inequalities that increase the vulnerability of women and girls in the face of conflict. Its effective implementation seeks to better protect the rights of women, to recognize their contribution to peace efforts and to facilitate their participation and representation within decision-making structures.

460. SCR 1325 (2000) does not mark the end of women's long march towards equality. It is a path leading to this equality. The true success of SCR 1325 (2000) will be apparent the day Africa definitively turns away from political instability and armed conflicts; the day Africa's only fight is for development; the day gender equality is underlying all development efforts.