RESOLUTION 1325 IN 2020:

Looking Forward, Looking Back

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A report based on a High-level Seminar organised by ACCORD,
together with the African Union Peace and Security Council,
at the International Conference Centre, Durban, South Africa
on 8 and 9 October 2010.

ACCORD

The African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes (ACCORD) is a non-governmental organisation working throughout Africa to bring creative solutions to the challenges posed by conflict on the continent. ACCORD's primary aim is to influence political developments by bringing conflict resolution, dialogue and institutional development to the forefront as an alternative to armed violence and protracted conflict.

Acknowledgements

The rapporteurs

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Staff from ACCORD's Interventions Department, Knowledge Production Department and Communication Department participated in the writing, editing and production of this report. The lead rapporteur is Dr Martha Mutisi, who worked alongside Dorcas Ettang and Kemi Ogunsanya.

Dr Martha Mutisi is a Senior Researcher in the Knowledge Production Department (KPD) at ACCORD. A Fulbright scholar and Harry Frank Guggenheim Fellow, Dr Mutisi holds a PhD in Conflict Analysis and Resolution from the School for Conflict Analysis and Resolution (S-CAR) at George Mason University; a Master of Science degree in Sociology and Anthropology from the University of Zimbabwe; a Masters degree in Peace and Governance studies from Africa University; and a Bachelor of Science degree (Honours) in Sociology from the University of Zimbabwe.

Kemi Ogunsanya now works as a Gender Officer at the Commonwealth Secretariat in the United Kingdom. Previously, she worked as a Training Officer in the Interventions Department at ACCORD. Ogunsanya holds a Masters degree in Labour Law and Dispute Resolution from the University of Natal, Durban (now University of KwaZulu-Natal) and a Bachelor of Law degree from Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife of Osun State in Nigeria.

Dorcas Ettang is an Analyst in the Peacebuilding Unit at ACCORD. Prior to that, she was a Programme Officer in the Peacebuilding Unit. Ettang holds a Masters degree in Political Science from the University of Windsor in Ontario, Canada where she specialised in International Relations and Global Politics. She completed her undergraduate degree in Political Science and French at Bishops University in Quebec, Canada.

Disclaimer

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List of acronyms and abbreviations

ACCORD	African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes
AU	African Union
AU CMD	African Union Conflict Management Division
CBO	Community-based organisation
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women
COMESA	Common Market for East and Southern Africa
CPA	Comprehensive Peace Agreement (Sudan)
CRC	Convention on the Rights of the Child
CSO	Civil society organisation
CSW	Commission on the Status of Women
DDR	Demobilisation, disarmament and reintegration
DPKO	United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations
DPA	United Nations Department of Political Affairs
DRC	Democratic Republic of the Congo
DSRSG	Deputy Special Representative to the Secretary-General
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
FAS	*Femmes Africa Solidarité*
ICC	International Criminal Court
ICD	Inter-Congolese Dialogue
ICGLR	International Conference of the Great Lakes Region
IDP	Internally displaced person
KNDR	Kenya National Dialogue and Reconciliation
MARWOPNET	Mano River Women's Peace Network (Liberia)
MDC	Movement for Democratic Change (Zimbabwe)
MDG	Millennium Development Goal
Sida	Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency
SRD	*Société Régionale de Développement de Rumonge* (Regional Company for the Development of Rumonge)
UCDP	Uppsala Conflict Data Program

UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNOPS	United Nations Office for Project Services
Uprona	*Union pour le Progrès National* (Union for National Progress)
WFP	United Nations World Food Programme
MONUC	United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo
MONUSCO	United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo
NAP	National action plan
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
ODM	Orange Democratic Movement (Kenya)
OHCHR	Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights
PNU	Party of National Unity (Kenya)
PRS	Poverty Reduction Strategy
PSD	Peace and Security Department (African Union)
RAP	Regional action plan
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SRSG	Special Representative to the Secretary-General
SSR	Security sector reform
TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Commission
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNSCR 1325	United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325
UNIFEM	United Nations Development Fund for Women
WIPNET	Women in Peacebuilding Network Programme
ZANU PF	Zimbabwe African National Union – Patriotic Front

Executive summary

Women play multiple roles in conflict and post-conflict situations, and these roles extend well beyond those of caregivers and victims. As such, it becomes crucially important to promote women's agency and build on their potential in peace processes by including them in all levels of participation – including in peacekeeping; negotiations; mediation; socio-economic reconstruction; disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration (DDR) and security sector reform (SSR) processes. Such thinking has informed the crafting of various international instruments that seek to give voice to women globally, and one such normative instrument is United Nations (UN) Security Council Resolution 1325, which was passed on 31 October 2000 by the UN Security Council. Resolution 1325 (UNSCR 1325) recognises the links between women, peace and security by highlighting the agency of women and mandating governments to ensure their inclusion in all processes affecting their peace and security. Ultimately, the resolution provides an overarching, comprehensive and wide-reaching policy framework for addressing the complexities and gaps surrounding women, conflict, peace and security. While the resolution recognises that women are disproportionately affected by violence during conflict, it also further underscores women's roles in conflict prevention and ultimately calls for women's participation at all levels of peace processes including peacekeeping, negotiations and peacebuilding.

A decade has passed since UNSCR 1325 was unanimously adopted, yet women are still not participating equally in peace and security initiatives. The 10-year anniversary of UNSCR 1325 spurned varied commemorations globally. Following the African Union's (AU) declaration of 2010 as the Year of Peace and Security, the 2010 Make Peace Happen Campaign, the declaration by the AU of 2010–2020 as the Decade of the African Women, and the 10th anniversary of UNSCR 1325, the African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes (ACCORD), in partnership with the AU Peace and Security Council, hosted an international High-level Seminar with the theme, '1325 in 2020: looking forward … looking back'. Held in Durban, South Africa on 8 and 9 October 2010, the High-level Seminar drew close to 60 participants from civil society, governments, intergovernmental organisations, scholars and practitioners from different countries, who were united by their quest for women's involvement in the realm of peace, security and development.

The High-level Seminar, chaired by Graça Machel, the chairperson of ACCORD's Board of Trustees, enabled delegates to deliberate on an Africa-wide strategy on women, peace and security while realising the importance of good practices and lessons learned. Focusing on global examples, but with particular attention to selected cases from Africa, women shared stories on how they successfully challenged structural obstacles and ended up participating in peace processes. Recurrent themes in the seminar included the importance of ownership of UNSCR 1325, the imperative for knowledge development and transfer to the grassroots, the need for rethinking the operationalisation of the resolution, and the notion of solidarity and its implications for the implementation of UNSCR 1325. One of the outcomes of the High-level Seminar was the crafting of an Africa-wide strategy for women in peace and security, namely the Durban Statement on Women, Peace and Security, which is a lobbying tool that women can use towards strengthening the implementation of UNSCR 1325.

This report is based on reflections on the seminar, as well as desktop research on the thematic issues of women, peace and security. It highlights the pivotal role of UNSCR 1325 as a seminal instrument that will advance the cause of women. While acknowledging some progress towards the implementation of the resolution over the last 10 years, the report also presents gaps between the aspiration of the resolution and the reality on the ground. In particular, participants of the High-level Seminar concluded that participation, protection and financing are still lacking in the implementation of UNSCR 1325. They pointed to women's continued marginalisation from formal peace processes, as well as increasing levels of insecurity and violence against women and girls in conflict zones such as Darfur and the eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) as evidence of the gaps in implementing the resolution.

Overall, the report concludes that, despite the decisive role played by UNSCR 1325 in highlighting the issues of women in peace and security, the resolution has fallen short in terms of addressing systemic violence on women as well as structural discrimination. Ultimately, the need to stop perceiving UNSCR 1325 merely as a normative framework but to conceive it an instrument that has to be translated into actions with support from governments, civil society, grassroots women, donors and the international community was underscored. Governments can assist in moving UNSCR 1325 forward through enabling policies, the provision of education and raising awareness of the resolution, as well as the establishment of national action plans (NAPs). As such, the need for creative modalities of how to move forward in addressing these gaps while furthering the implementation of UNSCR 1325 cannot be overemphasised. This report affirms the value of UNSCR 1325 as a tool for galvanising the participation of women in peace processes, enhancing the protection of women and girls from sexual violence in conflict, and promoting the leadership role of women in the transformation of conflicts.

The following are emerging recommendations from the conference. These are targeted at national governments, regional organisations, the UN and civil society organisations (CSOs):

Accelerate the development of NAPs and other mechanisms for implementation and monitoring to enable the full operationalisation of UNSCR 1325.

Engage in capacity building and training by identifying competent women in the field of peace and security who will form a critical mass that can drive the agenda of UNSCR 1325 forward.

Increase awareness raising and discussions for implementing the provisions of UNSCR 1325 as a basis for sharing good practices, and engaging grassroots women to promote organic peace initiatives.

Continue to engage with governments to review and revise national policies and laws to ensure compliance with UNSCR 1325 as well as other instruments on women's rights, such as the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW).

Rethink the operationalisation of UNSCR 1325 by locating the resolution beyond the usual departments of gender to include other government sectors, CSOs and grassroots organisations.

Integrate the UNSCR 1325 with other instruments such as CEDAW, the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and country-level poverty reduction strategies (PRPs) to encourage synergistic programming.

Appoint more women to high-level decision-making positions and peace processes as Special Envoys, Special Representatives of the Secretary-General (SRSGs), mediators, negotiators and peacekeepers.

Engage in early warning and prevention to protect women in difficult circumstances, particularly in Chad, Darfur, eastern DRC, South Sudan and other ongoing conflicts.

Provide special funding for UNSCR 1325 initiatives, either within the budgets of peacekeeping and peacebuilding missions of the UN and regional organisations or by initiating special stand-alone funding for UNSCR 1325.

Encourage solidarity and expand strategic partnerships for mobilising financial, social and political resources to enable African women to implement the provisions of UNSCR 1325 meaningfully.

ACCORD Files

High-level Seminar participants from Darfur.

Introduction

The High-level Seminar on United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 (UNSCR 1325), held from 8 to 9 October 2010, is part of ACCORD's ongoing efforts to promote, strengthen and highlight the role of women in peace and security. Set against the background of the 1995 Beijing Platform for Action, which strongly affirmed the need for a resolution on women, peace and security, UNSCR 1325 was passed by the United Nations (UN) Security Council in October 2000, following active lobbying by international women's movements and other civil society organisations (CSOs). Based on three pillars of protection, prevention and participation, UNSCR 1325 recognises the dual reality that women are disproportionately affected by violence during conflict, at the same time playing a prominent role in conflict prevention and peace processes – including peacekeeping, negotiations and peacebuilding.

The following questions guided the conversations around UNSCR 1325:

- What should be the agenda for African women in peace and security in the next decade?

- How can the vision for an Africa-wide strategy for women in peace and security be achieved?

- What has changed for African women since the adoption of UNSCR 1325? What critical gaps remain? And what can be done to address these gaps?

- How do we get where we want to be in 2020? Can UNSCR 1325 – alongside resolutions 1820, 1888 and 1889 – transform the situation of women in Africa?

Objectives of the High-level Seminar

Specifically, the following were the objectives of the High-level Seminar:

a) Envision what the African women in peace and security agenda must look like in 2020.

b) Evolve an Africa-wide strategy for women in peace and security to ensure that we reach that vision.

c) Build partnerships and networks for the implementation of this Africa-wide strategy for women, peace and security.

d) Assess the past decade since the adoption of UNSCR 1325, and the subsequent related UN resolutions 1820, 1888 and 1889, with a view to identifying lessons and the gaps that still exist for Africa.

Women, peace and security: a conceptual debate

"In war-torn societies, women often keep societies going. They maintain the social fabric. They replace destroyed social services and tend to the sick and wounded. As a result, women are the prime advocates of peace."

Former UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan

Violent conflict remains one of Africa's dominant challenges to sustainable peace, security and development. Due to the threats that conflicts pose, the UN and African Union (AU) have continued to prioritise conflict prevention, conflict resolution and peacebuilding on the continent by establishing peace and security institutions and frameworks that attempt to address conflict in the region. These frameworks guide debate regarding conflict in Africa, and are critical in charting the course and furthering the implementation and impact of UNSCR 1325. In addition, regional mechanisms have also been instrumental in driving the agenda of UNSCR 1325 and influencing member states to implement the resolution. At a national level, government departments, community-based groups and civil society (including women's groups and youth groups) are among the plethora of actors that contribute to defining and understanding the role and impact of women in the realm of peace and security.

Extant literature on women, peace and security has been preoccupied with the attempt to raise awareness of the differential and gendered impact of conflict on women (Moser and Clark, 2001). This is due to their different needs and particularities, and these need to be taken into account when determining priorities and interventions. Women increasingly bear the major burden of armed conflict. As a result, there has been increasing attention towards the question of violence against women in armed conflict, in particular sexual violence. Until recently, sexual violence against women was regarded as an inevitable aspect of armed conflict. However, with the adoption of many international instruments that protect women's rights, increasingly, crimes of sexual violence during armed conflict have been receiving harsher sanctions at international, regional and local levels.

Literature on women, peace and security is characterised by calls for the equal participation of men and women in peace processes. This literature encompasses views ranging from moral arguments to normative calls and practical suggestions for peace processes. One argument that is often espoused is that women make better peacemakers and peacebuilders, since they rarely start wars. However, such literature chooses to ignore instances where women have actively participated in conflict and in perpetrating violence, either as combatants, supporters of conflict or decision-makers.

Another argument calls for inclusive participation in peace processes, arguing that this strategy would likely lead to sustainable peace as multi-vocality would ensure that the emergent peace is owned by both men and women. This line of thinking reasons that when women are involved in peace processes, they will adopt gender-sensitive perspectives in addressing critical issues in conflict and post-conflict processes. Moser and Clark (2001) are key proponents of this argument, which deplores the limited

numbers of women in key decision-making positions and peace processes. They assert that women's participation would ensure sustainable peace, as the needs and perspectives of both men and women would have been incorporated in the peace process.

Another argument for women's inclusion in peace processes is that it is a human right and, as women are important members of society, it must be upheld. A more moral argument is that women make up more than half of the world's population; hence it is only fair to ensure that they become active participants in decisions and actions that affect them. Despite women constituting an obvious demographic majority in population composition in Africa, they remain peripheral to key processes that influence the social, economic and political spheres of their lives, including the conflict resolution field.

The conceptual arguments on women, peace and security have been carried forward into international, regional and national policies. At the international level, there is a resounding presence of policy instruments that acknowledge the special circumstances of women, and that seek to protect them from discrimination and human rights violations. The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), which was adopted by the UN General Assembly in 1979, urged member states not only to remove discriminatory practices against women but also to promote and respect their human rights. Similarly, the Beijing Platform for Action, adopted at the Fourth World Conference on Women in 1995, urged the international community, civil society and the private sector to take strategic action towards addressing the effects of armed or other kinds of conflict on women. The Beijing Platform for Action further called for the mainstreaming of gender perspectives into all development policies and programmes. In 1998, the Commission on the Status of Women (CSW) crafted a resolution that called on governments, international organisations and civil society to address the needs of women in conflict and to ensure their participation in peacekeeping, post-conflict reconstruction, conflict prevention and disarmament processes. Embracing the same spirit and agenda, the UN Security Council adopted Resolution 1325 in 2000 to protect women from conflict as well as strengthen their capacities in peace processes.

At the continental level, the adoption of the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights in 1981 facilitated the protection of women's human rights. The Protocol of the African Charter on Human and People's Rights and the Rights of Women in Africa, adopted in 2003, condemns all harmful practices against women. Such initiatives are in recognition of the vulnerability of women, especially in circumstances of violent conflict and structural inequalities. While this is a commendable shift, there is a danger of over-focusing on the victimhood of women while obscuring other important aspects of women's experiences during and after armed conflict.

Regional institutions such as the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the Southern African Development Community (SADC) and the Common Market for East and Southern Africa (COMESA) have already developed similar normative frameworks on gender, peace and security. The ECOWAS Gender
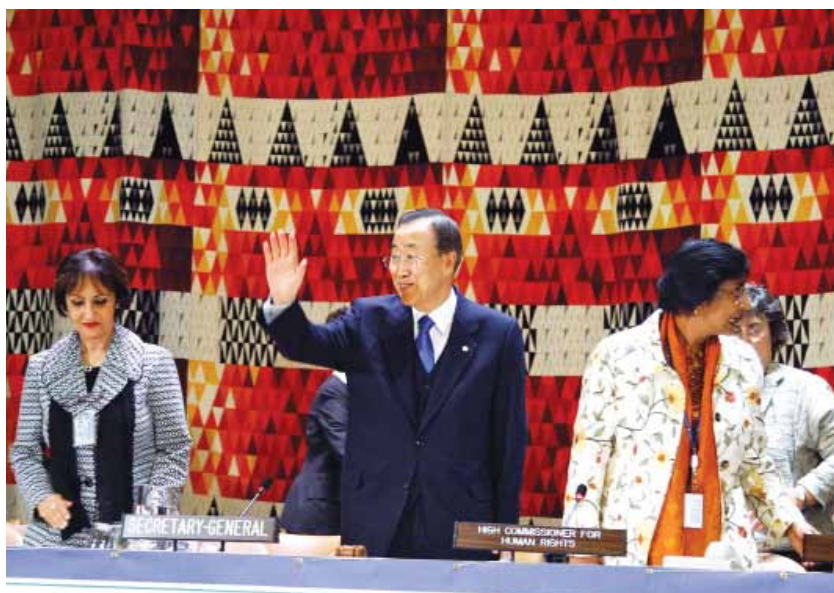
Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon waves to the audience at the thirtieth anniversary event for the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), organised by the United Nations Inter-Agency Network on Women and Gender Equality. Beside Mr Ban are Naela Gabr (at panel, left), Egypt's Assistant Foreign Minister for International Organisations and Chair of the CEDAW Committee, and Navanethem Pillay, UN High Commissioner for Human Rights. 3 December 2009. United Nations, New York.

Policy, the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development and the Addis Ababa Declaration on the COMESA Gender Policy, among others, are examples of policy documents and instruments that further the agenda of UNSCR 1325.

While there has been considerable progress at the international, continental and regional levels towards the development of a peace and security architecture that responds to women's needs, the actual role of women in peacemaking, peacekeeping and peacebuilding is still evolving. There is still a dearth of women's representation and participation in peace and security issues – particularly in negotiations and mediation. This can be partly explained by cultural and institutional barriers to women's participation – especially the existence of patriarchal values, which tend to impede women's advancement. The prevailing patriarchal power relations within African societies make it difficult for women to be appointed to leadership positions in public, private and political offices. For example, in Liberia, although the government has adopted progressive gender-related policies and frameworks in the last few years, women's marginalisation is sustained by systemic barriers and traditional practices and perceptions of women and girls.

"As long as patriarchal structures exist, and as long as women's values and perspectives are devalued, political change is meaningless."

Elizabeth Ferris, Life and Peace Institute, 2004

Due to patriarchy, women in many African countries are still viewed as secondary to men, and as not possessing the attributes of a leader. As such, the concept of women as subordinates has tended to result in them playing peripheral and ancillary roles in peace processes. There are currently a number of ongoing peacemaking processes in Africa – in Chad, the DRC, Guinea-Bissau, Madagascar and Sudan. However, the representation of women in these peacemaking processes remains low. As an example, the seven-member African Union High-level Panel on Darfur only comprises two women. However, it should be noted that the panel recognised the value of women in the peacemaking process in its report, and recommended that women comprise at least 30% of the teams in the ongoing Darfur negotiations.

Indeed, the trend in Africa has been that women tend to influence the peace process not as participants at the negotiating tables or mediators, but as advocates from outside. In circumstances where they have been allowed at the negotiation tables, they are most often brought in as a result of pressure from civil society. Such peripheral and token approaches to women's participation in peace processes do not necessarily translate to gender-sensitive peace agreements.

Despite the supportive normative architecture, especially the existence of UNSCR 1325, there are still cases of ongoing violence againsth women, as examples in the DRC and Darfur indicate. Cases of sexual violence against women in eastern DRC have not declined. Rape is commonly used as a weapon of war in the conflict, and it is estimated that up to 500 000 women and children have been raped during the 15-year conflict. Sexual and gender-based violence in the DRC is particularly challenging and heartrending because non-state actors, government forces and even peacekeepers are among the perpetrators. Apart from the psychological and physical trauma, victims of rape face stigmatisation and have had no legal recourse to make perpetrators accountable. Despite a landmark verdict in the Baraka Trial[1], sexual violence in the DRC has not changed significantly. The situation in the DRC obligates scholars and practitioners in the peace and security field to recognise that the existence of normative and legal instruments protecting women is not enough to safeguard women from sexual violence during conflict. The Baraka trial – and the situation in the DRC in general – has received wide publicity and attention through the various initiatives and projects that are ongoing. However, there is the challenge of limited funds which ultimately results in insufficient efforts towards prevention of sexual and gender-based violence. Holistic

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1   In February 2011, a military court in Baraka (eastern DRC) sentenced a high-ranking military commander and others for rape and other forms of sexual violence in eastern DRC. This verdict was welcomed by human rights defenders and women rights activists as a positive shift towards a more forthright approach in confronting impunity on sexual violence. More importantly, the verdict was perceived as sending a signal that the implementation of UNSCR 1325 – in particular, the protection pillar – is being taken much more seriously.

Salim Ahmed Salim (left), African Union Special Envoy for Darfur, converses with civil society representatives, following a plenary session of the Darfur Peace Talks in Sirte, Libyan Arab Jamahiriy, 28 October 2007.

measures are required to address the treatment of women during peace times as well as cultural and institutional impediments to women's empowerment.

Despite such challenges of implementing UNSCR 1325, this report underscores the notion of agency when analysing the application of the resolution in various locales, in particular on the African continent. Human agency is the capacity for human beings to exercise control over events that affect their lives by making informed choices about their conditions, transforming their negative situations and ultimately imposing their choices on the world. The notion of agency permeates the field of humanism, which places the actor at the centre of history and social reality. Agency is based on the assumption that humans possess the ability to solve their problems and retain their sense of worth and dignity during the process. Furthermore, the concept of human agency is based on the notion that individuals are not victims of social, economic and political structures in society, but that they have the capacity for resilience. Bandura (1989), a key proponent of human agency contends that when humans have strong belief in their capabilities, they tend to display greater and more persistent efforts towards addressing their condition. Bandura underscores that those possessing agency reflect a robust and inextinguishable sense of efficacy and a firm belief in the worth of what they are doing. From the foregoing, women's agency would therefore specifically refer to women's ability and capacity not only to make choices, but also the capability to engage or disengage with the social universe. The theoretical framework of human agency allows for an understanding of how women have been able to withstand various conditions of oppression, violence, poverty and conflict, among others.

Using the human agency framework, it becomes evident that the role women play during conflict cannot be understated. Women's roles during conflict range from heading households to maintaining the social fabric, being economic providers to resolving conflict and advocating peace. Extant literature (Becker, 2003; Ngongo-Mbede, 2003; Ntahobari and Ndayiziga, 2003; International Crisis Group, 2006) has examined how women in several African countries such as Burundi, Liberia, Rwanda, Uganda and South Africa have moved beyond victimhood, becoming active agents for social change, despite challenging circumstances. The experiences of women from these countries provide compelling evidence of women's choices in confronting difficult situations, and in becoming significant players in conflict resolution and sustainable peacemaking.

Thus, the integration of a gender perspective before, during and after conflict and during various stages of the peace process constitutes an important strategy to support inclusive and sustainable peace initiatives. The inclusion of gender-wide policies and strategies also allows for holistic and coherent peacebuilding and conflict resolution efforts on the continent. An assessment of women's needs, and the opportunities they bring to various processes, has spurred the women's movement to move beyond victimhood. Agency forms part of the basis on which UNSCR 1325 was adopted in October 2000.

UN Photo/Eric Kanalstein

Women in several African countries such as Burundi, Liberia, Rwanda, Uganda and South Africa have moved beyond victimhood, becoming active agents for social change, despite challenging circumstances.

UNSCR 1325: background, aspirations and provisions

UNSCR 1325 is a seminal legal and political instrument designed to protect the rights of women, as well as to empower them to participate fully in peace processes. The adoption of the resolution in October 2000 signalled the growing imperative of making women's issues central to the peace and security agenda of the UN. The landmark resolution acknowledges the importance of women's participation in peace negotiations, humanitarian planning, peacekeeping operations, post-conflict peacebuilding and governance. The resolution was the first document to be passed in the Security Council to underscore the role and protection of women in times of conflict. This instrument is a product of the cumulative impact of collaboration between civil society, governments, grassroots women and policy makers. The resolution is an invaluable policy and practice tool that seeks to address the diverse challenges confronting women in different contexts, particularly in conflict-affected situations. Specifically, UNSCR 1325 has made the involvement of women in peace processes possible, thereby strengthening efforts towards the achievement of durable and sustainable peace. In addition, the resolution has transformed the international law arena by facilitating the prosecution of perpetrators of acts of rape and sexual violence against women. Following the genocide in Rwanda, rape and sexual violence are now viewed as crimes against humanity. As such, the International Criminal Court (ICC) is now able to prosecute and convict perpetrators of such acts.

UN Photo/Milton Grant

The Security Council adopts resolution 1325 (2000), urging an enhanced role for women in preventing conflict, promoting peace and assisting in post-conflict reconstruction within United Nations operations, 31 October 2000, United Nations, New York.

UNSCR 1325 can be characterised as having three main pillars, namely the *prevention of violence*, the *protection of women and girls* from gender-based violence, and the promotion of *participation of women* in all levels of decision-making. The resolution is further enhanced by the mainstreaming of gender perspectives in all peace process programmes and policies.

Prevention: Under the prevention pillar, UNSCR 1325 seeks to ensure the prosecution of those responsible for war crimes, genocide, crimes against humanity and other violations of international law. It also ensures that sexual violence is excluded from amnesty agreements. In addition, the resolution proposes the strengthening of the mandates of peacekeeping operations to prevent sexual and gender-based violence, strengthening women's rights under national law and supporting local women's peace initiatives and conflict resolution processes.

Protection: Under the protection pillar, UNSCR 1325 advocates the consideration of specific needs of women and girls in the development and design of policies and programmes. UNSCR 1325 calls on member states to establish special measures to protect women and girls from gender-based violence and to end the impunity on sexual and other forms of violence against women and girls during conflict. As such, the UN urges member states to mainstream gender across the continuum of conflict – including conflict prevention, peacemaking, peacekeeping, peacebuilding, demobilisation, disarmament and reintegration (DDR); and post-conflict reconstruction processes.

Particularly noteworthy has been the launch of a global campaign against violence against women in conflict situations by the UN Secretary-General in 2008, mandating all UN offices and agencies to support initiatives and campaigns that support women in violent conflicts. Since the adoption of UNSCR 1325 in 2000, the UN has instituted a series of measures within its peacekeeping missions to protect women from sexual violence.

Participation: Under the participation pillar, UNSCR 1325 calls for women to participate in decision-making at national, regional and international levels. This entails appointing women into political and public positions, as well as commissioning women as representatives of their governments in regional, continental and international organisations. UNSCR 1325 also calls on the mainstreaming of gender perspectives in peace operations. Among other things, this includes appointing gender advisers to all UN peace operations as well as ensuring the representation of women's community-based organisations (CBOs) and groups at the negotiation tables. This requires substantive effort to ensure that parties at the negotiation tables nominate women representatives. Given that most mediators tend to be experienced politicians and diplomats, it follows that the participation of women as mediators and negotiators in peace processes will be effectively guaranteed when more women are appointed into political positions at the national level.

The implementation of UNSCR 1325 is likely to be further enhanced by ongoing efforts within the UN system to engender the participation of women in peace processes. Since 2007, UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-Moon has cumulatively appointed 10 women as Special Representatives to the Secretary-General (SRSGs), four women as Deputy Special Representatives to the Secretary-General (DSRSGs) and two women as Special Envoys, and the number of women deployed in peacekeeping missions has increased (UN, 2010).

Private Linda Mensah, one of the 41 female members of the Ghanaian Battalion (GhanaBat) 10 of the United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL). April 2009. Buchanan, Liberia.

In addition, there are currently 10 UN peacekeeping missions with a full-time gender adviser assigned to them. Furthermore, the appointment of gender advisers in UN mediation processes and the recruitment of female peacekeepers, as in the case of the Indian force in Liberia, are some of the ongoing efforts to strengthen women's participation.

The UN also created a new entity known as Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women (UN Women). This entity brings together the four UN agencies that are mandated to advance gender equality.[2] The priorities of UN Women include the economic empowerment of women, increasing their political participation, ending gender-based violence and raising women's involvement in post-conflict peacebuilding. In working closely with various UN agencies and other bodies, UN Women will be able to address the challenges that women face in a holistic and harmonised manner. UN Women is expected to strengthen the presence and impact of women on the ground.

The UN's commitment to engaging women in peace processes was further embodied when women from civil society and senior UN leaders in conflict-affected countries participated in 25 dialogues on conflict resolution and peacebuilding from June to August 2010, under

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2   These four UN agencies are the UN Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM), the UN Development Programme (UNDP), the UN Children's Fund (UNICEF) and the UN Population Fund (UNFPA).

UN Photo/Olivier Chassot

Three civil affairs officers of the joint African Union/United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur (UNAMID) meet with a group of the internally displaced persons (IDPs) at a Women Community Centre in the Abu-Shouk Camp, to hear about their security and health situation in the camp.

the auspices of the UN Open Days on Women, Peace and Security.[3] These 'open days' were designed to enable direct dialogue between women's peacebuilding organisations, and the UN on means of improving implementation of UNSCR 1325. Ultimately, these inclusive forums provided an opportunity to deepen local ownership of the resolution by women.

Since the adoption of UNSCR 1325 in 2000, other resolutions have been passed in the last decade – namely resolutions 1820, 1888 and 1889 – and these continue to advance the cause of women. Cumulatively, these four resolutions represent an important framework for improving the situation of women in conflict-affected and post-conflict countries.

UN Security Council Resolution 1820, which was passed in 2008, recognises sexual violence during conflict as a matter of international peace and security. The resolution calls for armed actors to end the practice of using sexual violence against civilians as a weapon of war, and further calls on all parties to a conflict to counter impunity for sexual violence and provide

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3   The UN Open Days on Women, Peace and Security initiative was organised by the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO), the UN Department of Political Affairs (DPA), the UN Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) and the UN Development Programme (UNDP). The 'open days' were held in countries such as Afghanistan, Bosnia, Burundi, Côte d'Ivoire, the DRC, Guinea-Bissau, Haiti, Iraq, Kenya, Kosovo, Lebanon, Liberia, Nepal, Occupied Palestinian Territories, Pakistan, Senegal, Serbia, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Tajikistan and Timor-Leste. The 'open days' signalled the UN's commitment to engaging women in building peace and security during the 10th anniversary year of UNSCR 1325.

effective protection for civilians. It also calls on the UN and peace operations to develop mechanisms to prevent and respond to sexual violence, through measures such as training peacekeeping personnel in gender awareness and the deploying more women to peace operations.

UN Security Council Resolution 1888, which was adopted in 2009, furthers the objectives of Resolution 1820 by establishing effective support mechanisms for the operationalisation of the former. The resolution calls for the appointment of a SRSG to coordinate UN efforts to address issues of sexual violence during conflict. It further calls for the addressing of sexual violence issues during peace negotiations, to ensure that perpetrators are held accountable.

UN Security Council Resolution 1889, which was also passed in 2009, strengthens the participation pillar of UNSCR 1325 as it seeks to address obstacles to women's participation in peace processes. It calls for the submission of a concrete set of indicators by the UN Secretary-General to the Security Council to monitor the implementation of UNSCR 1325. UNSCR 1889 urges member states, the UN, donors and civil society to ensure that post-conflict assessments, planning and programming cumulatively take into account the critical factor of women's protection and empowerment. This resolution was significant as it welcomed efforts by member states to implement UNSCR 1325 at the national level, and encouraged the development of national action plans (NAPs).

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Women participants expressing themselves through songs for peace and freedom during the High-level Seminar on 8 October 2010.

The operationalisation of UNSCR 1325

In Africa, the implementation of UNSCR 1325 has been made possible through the legal, policy and normative frameworks that champion gender issues. At the continental level, UNSCR 1325 was unanimously adopted by the AU Security Council on 31 October 2000. At the AU 38th Ordinary Session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Governments, held in July 2002 in Durban, South Africa, it was declared that policies on gender mainstreaming are binding and should be realised at all levels. The AU's normative framework on women, peace and security is guided by the Protocol on Women's Rights in Africa and the AU Gender Policy, among other policy initiatives.

Regional organisations in Africa have adopted a series of instruments and protocols on gender mainstreaming to support the resolution. These include the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa, which was adopted in 2003 during the Second Ordinary Session of the Assembly of the AU in Maputo, Mozambique, and the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development, which was adopted in 2008. These legal instruments reaffirm African leaders' commitment towards gender parity at all levels, including peace and security. As such, the adoption of UNSCR 1325 can be enhanced by developing an Africa-wide strategy that will enable and support vision-building and action on issues affecting women, peace and security. African peace and security institutions – such as the Panel of the Wise – can contribute both directly and indirectly to this agenda.

Although UNSCR 1325 can be considered a generic instrument that covers a myriad of issues affecting women, it can be domesticated into national laws, thereby championing the rights of local women. UNSCR 1325 presents a number of opportunities for women. The resolution's agenda can be moved forward sustainably given the current structural, ideological, political and social prospects on the African continent. The opportunities for the implementation of UNSCR 1325 are discussed in detail below.

Opportunities and prospects of implementing UNSCR 1325

There are questions about UNSCR 1325 that demand reflection and critical thinking regarding implementation opportunities.

"I want to praise women's organisations, different networks, which have been campaigning from the UN, from the African Union, regional bodies, national governments, precisely to give an opportunity for women to live in peace in their families and in their communities."

Graça Machel

Adoption of NAPs

UNSCR 1325 calls on member states to develop NAPs, which will allow them to mobilise resources and determine indicators for the resolution's implementation. NAPs facilitate collaboration between government, civil society and donors in implementing the resolution – and, ultimately, in empowering women and promoting sustainable peace. There have been achievements in the promotion of women in peace and security, especially since adopting UNSCR 1325 encouraged some countries to develop NAPs – which provide a roadmap, indicators, timelines and modalities towards implementing and operationalising the resolution. African countries that have already developed NAPs for UNSCR 1325 are Côte d'Ivoire, Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, Sierra Leone, Liberia and South Africa.

Operationalising UNSCR 1325: the Liberian national action plan

Liberia's decades of civil war and political instability destroyed lives, decimated livelihoods and led to masmsive losses – including loss of human, infrastructural and financial capital. In addition, the conflict in Liberia destroyed political institutions and values in the country, including erosion of the rule of law and the destruction of social capital. However, following the Accra Comprehensive Peace Accord signed between the government and major rebel groups in October 2003, the country has embarked on the road to peace. Liberia is currently engaged in various peacebuilding and post-conflict reconstruction efforts – including state building, governance reform, reconstruction, development, poverty reduction, ensuring food security, promoting agricultural initiatives, conducting security sector reform and addressing issues of gender inequality. As a post-conflict country, Liberia epitomises the principles, spirit, agenda, letter and intent of UNSCR 1325 through its robust NAP.

With assistance from the UN system, Liberia crafted its NAP with the rationale that this instrument would be used as a monitoring tool for the government and other stakeholders to assess progress on women's issues. The Liberian NAP specifies objectives, indicators and timelines for operationalising UNSCR 1325, and singles out the various actors and stakeholders involved in this venture. The creation of the Liberian NAP was a consultative, home-driven and bottom-up process that involved government, local leaders and civil society, as well as international development agencies. CSOs such as the Women in Peacebuilding Program (WIPNET) have had decisive inputs into the Liberian NAP. A UNSCR 1325 National Steering Committee and a Technical Monitoring and Evaluation Task Force, comprising technical experts from government ministries and agencies, were created to drive the processes of creating a NAP. The Steering Committee and Technical Task Force, working alongside the Ministry of Gender, held a wide range of consultations with the Liberian population through strategic regional county dialogues, high-level policy forums and meetings with key stakeholders. As a result, Liberians have a strong sense of ownership towards the resultant NAP.

The Liberian NAP is constructed along four pillars: protection, prevention, participation, as well as empowerment and promotion. Each pillar contains a number of strategic issues and priority areas to be addressed, with outputs and indicators. Liberia has creatively engaged in a process of implementing UNSCR 1325 by using its NAP to endorse already existing policy documents that support women's empowerment. The NAP in Liberia is used concurrently with international instruments such as CEDAW, the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) and MDGs. At a local level, the Liberian government used the NAP for the implementation of UNSCR 1325 alongside the country's development frameworks, including the Poverty Reduction Strategy (PRS), the National Gender-based Violence Plan of Action and the Women's NAP. Liberia's NAP has also been employed as a monitoring and evaluation tool to assess progress in the advancement of women's issues. Through its NAP, Liberia is at a critical juncture to put in place mechanisms and institutions, policies and programmes that can respond effectively to the different needs of men, women, boys and girls living in this post-conflict society. The Liberian NAP is also a tool for promoting collaboration between government, donor agencies, civil society and other stakeholders in the gender and development realm. In addition, it is used as a tool to promote accountability and ownership of post-conflict peacebuilding and development processes in the country. Although the Liberian NAP is a relatively young document – having been developed from 2006 and finalised in 2009 – it promises to be a useful tool in enhancing the implementation of UNSCR 1325, as well as other instruments that seek to promote women's equality and empowerment.

The Government of Liberia has further advanced the agenda of UNSCR 1325 by domesticating the resolution's calls on promoting gender equality and women's empowerment. For example, the government has passed a series of laws that address issues of gender discrimination. Such laws include the Gender Equity in Politics Act of 2010, the Inheritance Law, passed in 2007, and the Rape Law, passed in 2006. In addition, through massive campaigns as well as an enabling policy environment, many opportunities for leadership are opening up for Liberian women – as evidenced by the emergence of female leaders in senior public and political positions, such as government ministries and ambassadorial positions.

In 2007, Liberia became one of the first African countries to receive an exclusively female police peacekeeping unit. The unit, which came from India, has reportedly had a positive influence on the perception of civilians towards security forces. It is cited as one of the reasons for a current increase in women joining the security forces in Liberia. Another reason for this are the ongoing efforts by the Liberian government to mainstream gender into security sector reform (SSR) processes. The Government of Liberia has adopted a 20% quota system for women in both the army and the police force. This initiative is supported by President Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf.

It is against this background of multiple initiatives that seek to operationalise UNSCR 1325 that Liberia is often labelled as a credible example of good practice in including women in institutions and programmes that address reconstruction.

Operationalising UNSCR 1325: the Ugandan national action plan

UN Security Council resolutions 1325 and 1820 and the Goma Declaration jointly serve as the basis for the Ugandan NAP. These documents provide a framework that focuses on strengthening the participation and involvement of women within the context of conflict prevention and resolution, eradicating sexual violence and ending impunity in conflict-prone situations. In addition to these documents, the government has also committed to a wide range of national, regional and international legal frameworks on human rights. The NAP is guided by the overall objective of ensuring the protection of women and girls from all forms of sexual gender-based violence, including rape, and to ensure their representation and participation at all levels of decision-making in conflict resolution and peace processes. The NAP is meant to be relevant in increasing coordination among different institutions in data collection, information gathering, sharing of best practices and in choosing strategic priorities. It is also focused on increasing public awareness of the resolutions and the Goma Declaration.

The priorities in the national action plan, peacebuilding, conflict resolution and freedom from violence, have the main aim of preventing the violation of the human rights of women and preserving their dignity. This five-year plan (2006–2010), published in 2008 , was led by the Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development. It developed through a consultative process with a wide range of actors including line ministries, CSOs and local governments. It is used as a tool to monitor the systems in place, measure progress and assess the impact of interventions at all levels. On that basis, the NAP serves a wide range of sectors including government line ministries, departments, district and sub-county administrations, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and CBOs, and acts as a guide. In spite of the wide range of actors involved in the drafting and implementation of the NAP, the action plan cannot be successful unless there is strong political will and commitment by all to the process, sufficient funds to implement the plan, strong coordination within and among different levels, efficient monitoring and evaluation tools, and the building of capacities.

Gender-based violence has plagued much of Uganda's history and remains a critical area of concern. The country has experienced armed conflict, with devastating conflicts in northern Uganda, and the high prevalence of gender-based violence is justification why its prevention is central to the NAP. Even after the cessation of hostilities, violent acts against women continue to exist. These are manifested in many forms including rape, murder and forced pregnancy.

Operationalising UNSCR 1325: the Rwandan national action plan

In 1994, Rwanda experienced Africa's worst genocide which left an estimated 800 000 Tutsis and moderate Hutus dead (nearly 10% of Rwanda's population). Related to the genocide, thousands of people suffered either physical or psychological trauma, with women being raped and infected with HIV/AIDS. More than 15 years after the genocide, Rwanda has been making significant strides in post-conflict reconstruction and peacebuilding. The country moved to rehabilitate devastated infrastructure and restore social norms, and has embarked on an ambitious development strategy to transform the country from a low-income, agriculture-based economy to a knowledge-based service economy by 2020.

Rwanda has also made notable progress in the arena of women's empowerment. Over the past decade, the government has made efforts to promote gender equality and women's empowerment through various strategies, including the domestication of international instruments on gender. It has also ratified numerous international tools, including CEDAW and UNSCR 1325. Rwanda's NAP on UNSCR 1325 was officially launched during the International Forum on the Role of Leadership in Promoting, Accelerating and Sustaining Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment, held in Kigali in 2010. The meeting was organised by the Forum of Rwandan Women Parliamentarians, in collaboration with the Ministry of Gender and Family Affairs and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation, with the support of UNIFEM, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and other partners. The NAP launch was also attended by representatives from regional organisations, including the Pan-African Parliament and the International Conference of the Great Lakes Region (ICGLR). Civil society actors were also represented during the NAP consultations. In addition, the government strongly supports women's participation in the reconstruction of the country. Some 49% of Rwandan parliamentarians are women, with a large proportion of women also represented as senators and ministers. This makes Rwanda the country with the greatest female political participation in the world.

The Rwanda Defence Force, with support from UN Women, has appointed a Gender Desk to handle cases of gender-based violence within the organisation. The government has also introduced an initiative where the police force and the military are being trained in UNSCR 1325 and gender issues. Due to these and other initiatives, there has been a notable increase in the number of women joining Rwanda's police force, although these numbers are still low in the military forces.

Despite these achievements at the macro-political level and the strong commitment by the government, sexual and gender-based violence continues to pose a serious threat to many Rwandan women and girls.

Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf, President of Liberia, addresses the panel discussion, "Women as a Critical Force in Democratic Governance", jointly organised by the Council of Women Leaders and Communities of Democracy. Seated next to her is Dalia Grybauskaitė, President of Lithuania. 23 September 2010. United Nations, New York.

Women in peace processes

Women have been involved in peace processes in Africa both prior to and after the adoption of UNSCR 1325. There are notable cases – such as in Burundi, Liberia, Rwanda and South Africa – where women have made substantive impact in peace processes and local politics. For example, Liberia has the first democratically elected female president in Africa, while countries such as Uganda and Rwanda have the largest percentages of women in parliament in the world.

Increase in number of women in politics and public office

UNSCR 1325 underscores women's rights to political empowerment and to influence public decision-making. The resolution calls for increased representation and participation in governance and, since its adoption 10 years ago, there has been a significant increase in the number of women in political positions in several African countries. In many post-conflict countries, including Burundi, Rwanda and Liberia, the number of women in politics has increased dramatically, while set quotas have been exceeded. Sudan, for example, through its National Elections Act of 2008, reserves a minimum of 25% of seats in Parliament for women. The National Elections Act is an outcome of the implementation of the 2005 Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) in Sudan. As a result, women in South Sudan currently occupy 30% of the seats in the Regional Legislative Assembly. In Rwanda, women constitute 49% of the legislature, while in Uganda, women comprise 33% of members of Parliament. While quotas in politics have advanced women's entry into political spaces, there is a strong feeling that the

quota system should cover all spheres of government, including the public service, so that women can also play a role in policy implementation. In some countries – such as Guinea-Bissau, Burundi, Liberia, Rwanda, Sudan, South Africa and Uganda – women have used their public decision-making roles to advance women's rights.

Capacity building opportunities

The buoyant reality is that, in Africa, there are considerable opportunities that exist for building women's capacity in peace and security expertise. Think tanks, NGOs and regional organisations on the continent have taken the lead in offering training opportunities to strengthen women's participation in peace processes. These training opportunities focus on educating women on the gender dimensions of various policies and processes whilst building their skills in conflict resolution, so they are able to participate in various peace processes. It is important not only to have women represented in peace negotiations, but it is also imperative that they participate actively and promote their own issues (Whitman, 2005). Training women in negotiation and mediation will improve the quality of their participation in peace processes. There are various ongoing capacity building initiatives for women in peace processes. Notable among such initiatives is the joint ACCORD–UNIFEM training in conflict management, negotiation and facilitation skills offered to women from Darfur and South Sudan to support their effective participation in peace processes. In addition, organisations such as Femmes Africa Solidarité (FAS), again in collaboration with UNIFEM, have also played a prominent role in enhancing women's skills in peacemaking.

> *"We have made significant progress in empowering women on the continent with the skills that are necessary to allow them to participate in conflict management in all of the conflicts that we find on the continent."*
>
> Vasu Gounden, Founder and Executive Director of ACCORD

Challenges and dilemmas of UNSCR 1325

Continued violence and impunity

UNSCR 1325 also serves as a reminder about outstanding tasks and challenges that inhibit its full implementation. There are certainly strategic gaps between the aspirations of UNSCR 1325 and the actual achievements that can be attributed to it. Despite the adoption of UNSCR 1820 on the fight against sexual violence, women continue to be the target of violence in armed conflicts around the world. There are conclusions to the effect that the United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUSCO), formerly known as the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC), have largely failed to prevent the rape of women, girls and boys in eastern DRC.[4] In addition, there has not been effective implementation of tougher penalties towards perpetrators of sexual and gender-based

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4   For details, see the Security Council Working Group's *Report on the UN Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo*.

Bineta Diop, Executive Director of Femmes Africa Solidarité during the High-level Seminar, 9 October 2010.

violence. The gap between the ideals espoused by UNSCR 1325 and the reality on the ground can be attributed to several factors, including the prevailing structural environment of patriarchy, the state-centric approach to operationalising the resolution, limited political will, lack of awareness of the resolution and a shortage of resources, among other factors.

Patriarchy and the challenge of inclusion

Although there have been notable achievements in the implementation of UNSCR 1325 through UN initiatives and NAPs, there are limited changes at the macro-social level. The resolution does not deal with the structural issues that undermine gender mainstreaming. Systemic challenges, particularly the patriarchal ideology that is embedded in most societies, make it difficult to apply UNSCR 1325 fully. These structural prejudices against women are not only manifested during violent conflict, but are reflected in the everyday systematic marginalisation of women through various cultural practices and societal institutions. Despite constitutional and statutory provisions for the equality of women in countries such as Liberia, Kenya and the DRC, the prevalence of patriarchal values severely limits the attainment and exercise of women's rights, including the right to own property and the right to participate freely in public spheres and politics. In many African countries, politics is a preserve of men, mostly because of the brute competition involved. This has forced women to remain in the quasi-political spaces of women's clubs and civil society, as these are perceived to be safer "alternatives to the exclusions and marginalisation they face in the more conventional political arenas" (Tripp, 1988:93). Ultimately, women have tended to resort to the employment of what Tripp (2000) terms "associational autonomy" as a tool to make demands from the state.

> *"If you want to prevent, let them participate and if you want to protect – let them participate in those mechanisms."*
>
> Bineta Diop, Executive Director of Femmes Africa Solidarité (FAS)

In addition, patriarchy prevents women from breaking from traditional gender norms and from occupying the public sphere. Women who attempt to break such barriers often find themselves being marginalised, stigmatised and labelled. As a result of patriarchy's enduring nature, even state structures, institutions and intergovernmental agencies such as the AU and the UN, have tended to replicate patriarchal practices. Such patriarchal values prevent women from participating fully and equally in peace and security issues, particularly in formal negotiations and peacemaking processes. Since the adoption of UNSCR 1325, women's participation in negotiations has very rarely been formal. Very often, women's inclusion in such negotiations is partial, peripheral and rhetoric. Where women are allowed to participate in formal peace processes, there is often evidence of 'gender tokenism', as women are used as 'props' to legitimise the exclusionary negotiations and to present an image of an inclusive peace process.

> *"At this point the concern is particularly around how we ensure that the commitments that link women with peace and gender equality are taken not from resolutions like 1325 but into practical action that can change the lives of women."*
>
> Vuyo Mahlati, Chairperson of the South African Post Office Board of Directors

Limited political will in implementation of UNSCR 1325

UNSCR 1325 is not a fully binding international legal instrument. As such, the resolution lacks mechanisms for ratification, which means that the enforcement of this instrument is the decision of the state. Lack of political will at both state and UN level has meant that there is no specific budget for UNSCR 1325-related activities. In some states, the half-hearted implementation of gender programmes is reflective of 'gender tokenism'. Most programmes and initiatives on gender are driven externally, and states implement them to attract funding hence Mama's concept of "state feminism" (Mama: 1997:418).

For example, the quota system in many countries is implemented for image enhancement, with little regard for the nuanced and qualitative impact of such measures. Although quotas are an instrument for gender empowerment that can address the problem of women's under-representation, they paradoxically spurn political patronage (Mafundikwa, 1997). In some cases, quotas only increase the female representation, with no direct influence on the quality and extent of female participation (Nilges, 2005). Due to the 'glass ceiling effect', women do not get to the highest levels or positions in government. Indeed, *de jure* female political participation is evidenced by the types of positions women hold in government. Often, women lead relatively weaker or 'softer' ministries and departments of Gender, Social Welfare and Small Enterprises while more powerful ministries such as Finance, Defence, Internal Affairs and Foreign Affairs are still reserved for their male counterparts.

The lack of political will and subsequent limited implementation of UNSCR 1325 have resulted in continuing sexual and general violence against women in most conflict situations, as the cases of South Sudan, the DRC and Côte d'Ivoire have demonstrated. In most cases, violence against women continues even after peace agreements are signed.

The state-centric approach to the application of UNSCR 1325

The implementation of UNSCR 1325 has been mostly through state and formal structures, which are often hostile to dynamic and robust forms of change. The dominant paradigm about the implementation of UNSCR has been that political elites at state level will move the resolution's agenda. Further, erroneous dependence on the state as the enforcer of UNSCR 1325 is seen in the limited progress in developing NAPs. The application of UNSCR 1325 at the national level has been slow – only six African countries had developed NAPs by October 2011. As such, the real instruments and opportunities for transformation lie below the state level. However, the assumption that only formal structures of the state can implement the resolution is flawed because it excludes the important role of civil society and grassroots women.

Through state structures, implementation of the resolution has focused on quantitative rather than qualitative strategies of social change. State structures such as government ministries and agencies often have weak implementation mechanisms for UNSCR 1325. This is the result of inadequate funding, lack of buy-in, limited understanding of the resolution as well as inadequate capacity, among other factors. Therefore, state structures have largely been unable to move the UNSCR 1325 agenda forward. Opportunities for transformation should be below the government level, and should include the use of CSOs that are dynamic and closer to the grassroots. Although individual state efforts have led to some positive changes in some countries, collective and systemic changes will be better achieved by CSOs whose actors have a more contextual understanding of the environment and closer proximity to women. History shows that where real action has been taken to implement UNSCR 1325, it has been as a result of pressure from CSOs and women's groups.

> *"We need a stronger movement that has grown organically at different levels outside of state structures to take on issues of concern to women in peace and security."*
>
> Dr Funmi Olonisakin, Director of Conflict, Security and Development Group, King's College London

Discord between awareness and implementation

10 years after its adoption, there are still paradoxes that exist in terms of the awareness and usage of UNSCR 1325 as an instrument. There is limited knowledge of this resolution at the grassroots level, although women at this level have been engaged in various activities that inadvertently promote the resolution. Grassroots women's peacemaking and peacebuilding activities often predate UNSCR 1325, yet recognition of this reality seems to be nominal. The other paradox is that women at decision-making levels, who are supposedly more aware of UNSCR 1325, do not promote it effectively, nor do they take into account the perspectives

Dr Funmi Olonisakin, Director of Conflict, Security and Development Group, King's College, London, during the High-level Seminar, 8 October 2010.

and views at the grassroots level. This tendency to ignore grassroots women poses the risk of lack of ownership of the resolution.

Since historically women have been excluded in academic circles, policy circles and practice, there has been a tendency for the gender discourse to be dominated by women. However, any empowerment model that marginalises other sectors of the population is bound to be unsustainable. The limited involvement of men in discourses about women's rights and security is a cause for concern among scholars and in practice. The lack of collaboration between women and men has often been cited as a challenge, and the missing link in the gender movement. The absence of men in critical conversations on equality and equity, and on the intersections between women, peace and security, has led to one-sided debates and exclusivist policy suggestions. Although the agenda for UNSCR 1325 should be led by women, the perspective and support of male counterparts would enrich the conversation as well as enhance the concerted actions towards implementation of UNSCR 1325.

Limited participation of women in peace processes

A review of peace agreements that have been signed over the past twenty years demonstrates that female mediators only account for 2.4% of signatures on peace agreements (UNIFEM, 2009), while only 16% of peace agreements contain specific provisions on women's rights and needs (Bell and O'Rourke, 2010). In addition, in all peace processes thus far, the UN has not yet appointed a woman as a lead mediator. Most mediation processes offer limited scope for the representation and input of women. Within

the broad context of creating an enabling environment for African women to take lead positions in conflict resolution on the continent, specific challenges inhibit the popular participation of women in peace processes, and these need to be addressed. The majority of mediators chosen to lead peace processes on the continent are either senior government officials or have substantial work experience at that level. There are few African women who meet the set criteria. Therefore, it follows that there are not many women included in peace processes.

Noting the complexity of mediating conflicts, there are very few women on the African continent who have the necessary skills and capacity. This observation is not meant to dismiss the wide range of initiatives that have been aimed at building the capacity of female mediators. For example, ACCORD has conducted various mediation training initiatives aimed at building this capacity. There has also been project-specific work with the AU Conflict Management Division (AU CMD), aimed at aiding technical processes in the establishment of a Peace and Security Department (PSD) roster, which will include the civilian component of the African Standby Force (ASF) and mediation and post-conflict reconstruction experts that can be deployed in rapid time to conflict areas. Such initiatives not only build on the capacity and expertise of female mediators, but are also envisaged to be able to provide a platform for female mediators to share experiences on peace and security issues in Africa, and building on the work that has been done by ACCORD relating to gender and mediation in Africa.

ACCORD's Deputy Director, Jerome Sachane, during a training in negotiation. 5–7 October 2010, Durban, South Africa. ACCORD is committed to increasing the capacity of women in conflict management.

Women in peace processes in Africa: selected cases

Women in peace processes: the case of Burundi

The 1990s witnessed Burundi descending into conflict and experiencing alarming rates of human and physical destruction. The conflict in Burundi displaced more than one million people and caused a massive influx of refugees into neighbouring countries. The impact of the conflict was particularly harsh on Burundian women, who were confronted by various adversities including rape, killing, torture and forced displacement. An estimated 85% of Burundian refugees were women and children. The conflict in Burundi also drastically affected women's socio-economic rights, including access to healthcare, shelter and food, and livelihoods.

Burundi is one example of good practice in including women at all levels of decision-making, and this could be replicated in other countries across the continent. Despite their shattered lives, women in Burundi stood above being labelled victims and reclaimed their agency by participating in peace processes at various levels. Women from the conflict-afflicted regions of Busoro and Musaga, bordering Tanzania, spearheaded a campaign for peace in their villages. Tired of war and its impact on their families, women across the ethnic divide finally confronted their desperate situation. They held a peaceful march to the local council demanding peace. With support from UNIFEM and the Mwalimu Nyerere Foundation, and for the first time, Burundian women participated in the Arusha negotiations that ushered in the ceasefire and end of conflict in Burundi. One outcome of the participation of women at the Arusha peace talks was that the 19 political leaders committed to basic rules to protect the rights of women in the new political dispensation.

Burundian women, including refugees and displaced women, participated in peace processes at various levels – materially, socially and politically. Some women provided psychosocial support through their CBOs to people affected by the conflicts, others engaged in advocacy for peace, and yet others demanded a place at the negotiating table. In 2000, during the Arusha peace process, women went to the negotiation venue in Arusha to draw attention to gender-specific issues, particularly concerning the implementation period of the peace agreement. The women demanded the inclusion of a gender perspective during the negotiations, as well as in the crafting of the peace agreement. Burundian women also formulated a set of recommendations for the reconstruction and reconciliation agenda, which would guarantee women's needs in post-conflict Burundi.

As a result of their continuous demands, negotiators and mediators ended up accommodating women's needs in the peace process. For example, each party participating in the Arusha peace negotiations nominated two women delegates to take part in the negotiations. These women attended the All-Party Women's Peace

Conference, which was organised by UNIFEM. This enabled Burundian women to make specific recommendations for the peace process to their respective parties and to the facilitator, then-South African President Nelson Mandela. In addition, each party represented at the Arusha conference committed to women's participation in the implementation of the peace accord. The parties also resolved to address key issues in the peace agreement such as ending impunity for gender-based war crimes, guaranteeing women's rights in the constitution, enacting laws to address gender discrimination in Burundian society, and implementing a quota system to ensure women's representation in public office and politics. In 2010, Burundi had 30% representation of women at all levels of decision-making.

The Burundi case demonstrates that the successful participation of women in peace processes requires not only the nurturing of collaborative processes with grassroots women, but also that these women be effectively trained and capacitated in the discourses that they seek to influence.

Women in peace processes: lessons from Kenya

The post-election violence that erupted in Kenya in 2007, and that which preceded the 1992 and 1997 general elections, paint the picture of a country that is severely fractured. The electoral violence in December 2007 turned into ethnic clashes; by the end of the month, more than 1 000 people had lost their lives, approximately 300 000 people were displaced and there was massive destruction of property. According to numerous commissions of inquiry – including the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) – the violence that erupted in Kenya following the 2007 elections was largely physical in nature, ranging from killing, assault, torture and rape to the destruction of property. The violence tore apart the social fabric and left the country scarred and divided along ethnic lines. Mediation efforts by former UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan led to a Government of National Unity between the Party of National Unity (PNU), led by Mwai Kibaki, and the Orange Democratic Movement (ODM), led by Raila Odinga.

Assisting the mediator was the AU Panel of Eminent Persons, including Graça Machel and former president of Tanzania, Benjamin Mkapa. Machel mobilised women across ethnic, class and political divides, emphasising their common objectives for peace in Kenya. Women from civil society operated at the level of Track II diplomacy to influence the peace process, since they were not officially invited to the negotiation tables. However, after consultations with the mediation team, women finally joined the peace negotiations as representatives of the ODM and PNU.

Women in civil society continued to meet with the principals of the negotiating parties to highlight their concerns about the peace process and to present issues to be included in the final peace agreement. As a result of this indirect participation, some pertinent women's issues have been included in the Kenyan constitution, as well as in the actual peace agreement. In fact, the success of the Kenya National Dialogue and Reconciliation (KNDR) process is partly attributed to the inclusion of women in the peace process. The dialogue process was supported by a high number of female mediation advisers from the AU and the UN. In addition, women's concerns during the peace process in Kenya influenced the mandate of the Truth, Justice and Reconciliation Commission, which boasts an equal ratio of male and female commissioners.

ACCORD files

Graça Machel mobilised women across ethnic, class and political divides, emphasising their common objectives for peace in Kenya.

Women's involvement in peace processes: Liberia

Liberia experienced 14 years of conflict, which left approximately 200 000 people dead and over one million people displaced. As in most conflicts, women in Liberia were affected by this violence in many ways, including rape, torture and killing. During the initial attempts at peacemaking, women were sidelined in the peace process but, as the conflict between President Charles Taylor and the rebels (MODEL and LURD) escalated, women began to mobilise themselves in a campaign for peace. Examples of organisations that played a pivotal role in mobilising women include WIPNET and the Mano River Women's Peace Network (MARWOPNET).

Established in 2003 and led by activist Leymah Gbowee, WIPNET mobilised women across the ethnic, religious and political divides, using their common identity as mothers, and galvanised them towards an anti-war campaign. WIPNET led demonstrations and protests in the Liberian streets, and a delegation to the Liberia State House managed to pressure Charles Taylor to attend the peace talks in Accra, Ghana. Street demonstrations and vigils by Liberian women helped to illuminate their concerns during the negotiations. The primary demands by the Liberian women included the need for parties to participate in the negotiations seriously and conscientiously, the importance of addressing women's issues in the peace agreement, and the need for the peacekeeping force to be strengthened. Most of these demands were addressed, due to unabated pressure by women's groups, other CSOs and the media.

Liberian women also received immense support from women across the region. During the vigils held at the negotiation venue in Accra, women from WIPNET Ghana as well as Liberian refugee women from the Ghanaian Buduburam refugee camp came to protest in a show of solidarity. When the peace talks were stalling, a delegation of Liberian women, led by Leymah Gbowee, staged a dramatic sit-in at the hotel, barricaded corridors and prevented negotiators from leaving until a credible peace deal was signed. Such actions highlighted the women's struggle and earned them visibility at the peace talks, as well as regionally and internationally. Following these developments, Liberian women at the peace talks convened what is now known as the Golden Tulip Consultative and Strategic Planning Meeting, where they issued a declaration calling for greater participation in the peace process. Ultimately, Liberian women were allowed to send their representatives to the political and security committee at the negotiation table. This forced negotiating parties to attend the sessions in earnest, and partly accounted for the final signature of the Accra peace accord in August 2003 (two weeks after the sit-in). As a result of civil society's efforts, the Accra Comprehensive Peace Agreement reflected a quadratic power-sharing arrangement that divided Liberia's government departments, publicly owned corporations, autonomous government agencies and commissions between Charles Taylor's government, former armed

factions and civil society. Significantly, MARWOPNET was also a signatory to the peace agreement.

The Accra accord paved the way for the end of hostilities and a transitional government, with elections following in 2005. Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf was elected president, following a massive support campaign by women from WIPNET and other organisations.

As the rebuilding of post-conflict Liberia continues, the Liberian women's movement continues to grow and participate in peacebuilding and post-conflict reconstruction initiatives. A notable role for Liberian women in post-conflict society is their involvement in DDR and SSR processes. The Liberian peace process exemplifies how women can contribute significantly to peacemaking, peacebuilding and post-conflict reconstruction as advocates, activists and observers. While women's participation was not the only factor that led to the signing of the Accra accord, their actions, persistent activism and concerted efforts to denounce the war in Liberia was influential in transforming Liberia from a violent past to a post-conflict society. Certainly, women's participation in campaigns for peace in Liberia has earned them a place in the peacebuilding, reconstruction, political and leadership processes of the country.

UN Photo/Emma Simmons

Leymah Gbowee, Executive Director of the Women Peace and Security Network Africa Organisation, addresses a press conference to highlight the high-level colloquium on Conflict Related Sexual Violence in Peace Negotiations: Implementing Security Council Resolution 1820, 24 June 2009. United Nations, New York.

Women's involvement in peace processes: Darfur

In Darfur, the need to involve women in peace processes has seemingly become more relevant than ever before. Since the breakout of conflict in 2002, the women of Darfur have increasingly been victimised, and have endured tremendous hardship. Many have been victims of sexual and gender-based violence both within and outside the internally displaced persons (IDP) camps. Increased cases of domestic violence have also been reported. Women have been marginalised from various processes and, in many cases, have had to take responsibility for their homes and communities.

To a large extent, Sudanese women have remained largely sidelined from the Darfur peace processes. Consequently, there have been calls from various institutions for the increased inclusion of women in the negotiation and mediation processes, such as the AU-led Darfur peace talks that were held in Abuja, Nigeria and the Doha process. Ongoing efforts to build their capacity and increase advocacy by various organisations such as FAS have propelled them to the mediation table and increased their representation in these processes.

Women have played varying roles in the Darfur crisis, including securing IDP camps and calling for ceasefires. They have also had to become the head of households and lead their communities in the midst of hardship. They are responding to socio-economic challenges by collaborating to meet the needs of orphans, street children and others in need in their communities. Women have been strong influences in their communities and are integral to rebuilding peace structures and processes.

Sudanese women's organisations continue to call for the increased participation and appropriate representation of women in the political sphere and in all other sectors. Realising that they understand the realities on the ground and are connected to the challenges in their communities, their inclusion and full involvement will ensure that peace efforts are strengthened, and that sustainable peace and development are achieved in the long run. Furthermore, their inclusion will ensure their rights and that they are also responsible for this process.

It is important that focus is given to building the capacity of women in Darfur and, more specifically, to those involved in peace processes. There is a need for ongoing dialogue between women's groups to facilitate information sharing and developing collaboration and synergies among like-minded institutions. Linked to this is the need to provide economic opportunities for women so that they are able to provide for their family and the community, and contribute to building peace.

Women's involvement in peace processes: the Democratic Republic of the Congo

The increased involvement of women in peace processes in the DRC is a welcome development as they have suffered the brunt of the conflict. The impact of the war on women and girls cannot be understated. Women have become increasingly involved in peacebuilding efforts and are driving these in their various spheres. Their role in the peace process was paved by their firm stance and strong representation in the Inter-Congolese Dialogue (ICD).

Initially, the role of women in the ICD was limited, and including women in the civil society delegation in the ICD was not easily achievable. For instance, the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement did not make mention of any women in the ICD or highlight the violations against women, and it was clear that this was created solely by the Congolese men involved in the conflict. The outcome of these limitations was that women joined forces and prepared an open letter, highlighting their under-representation in the process and noting the government's commitment to CEDAW, UNSCR 1325, and the SADC Declaration on Gender Equality. They requested that the 30% quota for the participation of women be reached.

To ensure their active participation in the process, UNIFEM successfully built the capacities of Congolese women on the gender dimensions of constitutional, judicial and electoral reform. These efforts increased women's participation to 25% of the civil society delegation, from the original 8%. Women also engaged actively in the process, and portrayed their messages in the plenary sessions through plays and songs. It is particularly noteworthy that the female representatives from various groups were unified, despite coming from different regions and political affiliations. Furthermore, they coordinated their efforts through regular meetings to discuss decisions taken at the plenary sessions, share information and develop strategies on the inclusion of gender issues.

Women were represented in the five commissions created to devise resolutions to guide the dispensation of the DRC, including the Political and Legal Commission; the Humanitarian, the Social and Cultural Commission; the Defence and Security Commission; the Economic and Financial Commission; and the Peace and Reconciliation Commission. Decisions made focused on the protection of women and increasing their participation. These included the creation of rehabilitation centres for women and girls traumatised after the war; the application of a 30% quota for participation of women in all positions of decision-making at the national level; and that women should be appointed to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) to ensure that their needs are properly accounted for.

When it seemed that technical issues would lead to the parties backing out on the final day, women were pivotal in ensuring that the peace agreement was signed – they created a human barricade to block the committee room exits so that parties could not leave

the room without signing the agreement. This was successful, and the peace agreement was signed.

The role of Congolese women in the ICD was significant in creating space for them to continue engaging in the peacebuilding process. In spite of challenges such as increased human rights violations, ongoing sexual and gender-based violence, a culture of impunity, economic impoverishment and the large under-representation of women in decision-making, women's groups engage actively in their communities and spheres of influence to denounce violent crimes. They continue to be involved in peace processes, building the peace capacities of others and mediating disputes before they erupt into full-blown conflict.

Women's movements, social networks and solidarity

The Burundi, Darfur, DRC, Kenya and Liberia cases highlighted above demonstrate that the successful participation of women in peace processes not only requires the nurturing of collaborative processes but also benefits immensely from social networking and solidarity initiatives. The reality is that local people are often not able to address all the drivers and dimensions of conflict on their own (Barnes, 2006), hence the need for support from others. Networking and collaboration are fundamental to the success of social movements. Classical sociologist Emile Durkheim conceives of social networking as an initiative that allows groups to maintain social consciousness and social ties, while Tarrow (1998) adds that social networks allow movements to articulate their needs better. In the conflict resolution field, Lederach (1997) contends that sustainable peace processes require a culture of solidarity and networking to be ingrained in women's movements, so that during times of crisis, this culture is capitalised upon naturally in peace negotiations. One example of a solidarity group or networking initiative is MARWOPNET, which brought women from Liberia, Guinea and Sierra Leone together in efforts to create peace in Liberia. The collective voice of these women became a powerful force in the Liberian peace process, to the extent that a delegation was invited to be one of the signatories of the 2003 Accra Comprehensive Peace Agreement between the Liberian government and the LURD and MODEL rebels.

In strengthening women's solidarity, it is critical that they are able to establish mechanisms for feedback to their constituencies on the outcomes of the peace process. The cases reveal that when women, despite their differences, maintain a united front they achieve more structurally and substantively, respect opinions, value diversity, acknowledge contributions and tolerate each other. For example, during the negotiations between political parties in Zimbabwe, namely the Zimbabwe African National Union – Patriotic Front (ZANU PF) and the opposition Movement for Democratic Change (MDC), women worked across the political divide to ensure the participation of women at the peace talks. The representation of women at the negotiations was based on political will to participate, although only one woman was allowed to sit at the negotiation table.

There is a need to identify the different strengths of women at all levels. Conflict resolution scholar Lederach (1997) underscores how sustainable peacebuilding must occur at all levels. Similarly, the French school of thought highlights the fundamental role of grassroots members on the success of social movements. Touraine (1981) posits that the grassroots are the epitome of the collective will of the movement. In peacebuilding literature, scholars such as Lederach (1997) and Diamond and MacDonald (1996) relay a similar message, using the concept of multi-track diplomacy, which acknowledges that multiple parties and actors are necessary for the construction and sustainment of peace. In similar fashion, Dugan (1996) employs a 'nested paradigm of conflict,' which provides a way of locating conflict at multiple levels – including the issue, relationship, systems and structural levels. Dugan urges practitioners in conflict interventions to engender multifaceted strategies at multiple levels. In the same manner, the women's movement for peace is expected to work with women at every level to effect the desired changes on the issues, systems and structures. Some women are effective in documenting research analyses, others exude more impact as field marshals at the grassroots, and yet others are capable of leveraging the cause of women at strategic and decision-making levels. Given such varied identities, skills and expertise among women in the peace movement, it becomes imperative to pool this expertise and work as a collective to maximise these resources.

Working in various tracks of diplomacy

In peace processes, Track II diplomacy has emerged as a recurring avenue for women's participation. Simply defined, Track II diplomacy refers to peacemaking and peacebuilding initiatives by non-state actors who are outside formal governmental power structures. Also known as supplemental diplomacy or citizen diplomacy, Track II diplomacy generally involves informal interaction by influential unofficial actors or private citizens from civil society, business or religious communities, working outside the official processes of negotiation and mediation. Track II diplomacy is distinguished from Track I diplomacy, which is characterised by official or governmental diplomacy (Diamond and MacDonald, 1996). Saunders (1996) suggests that Track II diplomacy offers the opportunity for problem solving, dialogue and policy-related changes. Following the 2007 post-election violence in Kenya, although only two women were present during negotiations, women came together using Track II diplomacy to influence the content and issues discussed at the negotiations.

Nonetheless, while women's use of Track II processes has resulted in some concrete and constructive influences on political negotiation, the relegation of women to Track II diplomacy reduces their full participation in peace processes. In Track II diplomacy, women are mere observers or advisers to the negotiators, and these roles may not be adequate in bringing about the desired change. That said, the need for women to be considered as full stakeholders to mediation processes and not merely as observers can no longer be under-emphasised.

Despite having similar experiences and interests in peace, women are not a monolithic entity considering the complexities and diversities of their roles (McFadden, 1997; Ray and Cortwerg, 1999; McCarthy, 2011). Not only do women differ in terms of their political, linguistic and ethnic identities, but they also differ ideologically and relationally. Furthermore, women differ in their analyses of the system and their visions for the future and, in particular, in their operationalisation of UNSCR 1325. Some argue for more women in positions of political power, others advocate grassroots activism, while still others demand the inclusion of females in discourse. Therefore, the intersection of ethnic and political differences often makes it difficult to find common ground within the women's movement. In the case of Burundi, although they were united by the common goal of seeking to end violent conflict, women had to consider their allegiances to constituencies before they could speak fully in unison. In Kenya, women who earned places at the negotiation table were representing their political parties more than women; as such, their contributions were geared towards political wins rather than social considerations for women.

Currently, the apparent reality is that there is institutional and cultural resistance in allowing women to take leading roles as mediators or negotiators during peace processes. However, what has also emerged as a dominant and popular reality is the several creative ways that women have engaged in to ensure that their voices are heard in peace negotiations. Taking full advantage of their femininity and their roles as mothers, women in Liberia, Burundi and Kenya have demanded to be heard and represented during peace negotiations, with the outcome that negotiators and mediators have, although grudgingly, awarded them places at such forums. Through what Schirmer (1993) labels "motherist movements",[5] women across the world have valorised the concept of maternity by embracing their roles as mothers to demand peace. Cases such as the *Black Widows of Chechnya*,[6] the *Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo of Argentina*,[7] *Women's Peace Caravans* in Colombia,[8] and the *Single Mothers for the Alimony Fund* in Poland[9] reflect this growing trend of women politicising their motherhood to transform desperate situations.

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5   'Motherist movements' refer to movements led by women, usually demanding an address to their concern for peace, development or any other socio-economic and political rights.

6   The *Black Widows of Chechnya* is a social movement that emerged to highlight the plight of women following the conflict in Chechnya. Many women lost their husbands to the war.

7   *Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo* is an association of women whose children disappeared during the war and Argentinian dictatorship between 1973 and 1986. For decades, these women have fought for their rights to reunite with their children, who were abducted during this period.

8   *Women's Peace Caravans* in Colombia travel into the most dangerous parts of Colombia to protest against the civil war and negotiate with armed groups and drug warlords.

9   The *Single Mothers for the Alimony Fund* is a social movement that emerged in Poland in response to the government's cutbacks in welfare, as a result of neo-liberal policies for structural economic reform. Due to these structural adjustments, the government was forced to cut down on non-productive sectors of the economy. Women mobilised together to oppose the government's proposal to eliminate the Alimony Fund.

Indeed, women around the world have often evoked their motherhood and femininity as forms of political identity to package their struggles and advance their causes. The valorisation of motherhood has been used in the 20th century by various women's movements in Latin America, North America, Asia and Europe. In Africa, 'motherist movements' have always existed in traditional societies, as mothers are revered in most African cultures and have always had significant influence (Ogbomo, 2005). Such movements have gained eminence on the continent, possibly because of the pervasiveness of conflict. The increasing politicisation of motherhood by women's movements for peace demonstrates that femininity does not have to be a disempowering posture when it comes to demanding rights and recognition for women. In Burundi, political parties finally nominated two women to be represented at the peace talks, as did parties in Kenya.

In Liberia, women were ultimately invited to the Political and Security Committee during the Accra peace negotiations, a move that enabled them to articulate their needs in and concerns about the peace agreements. However, some feminists like Strange (1990) are critical of a peace movement built on women's identity as mothers, arguing that the feminisation of peace movements tends to reinforce male–female stereotypes, condone inequalities, reinforce patriarchy and absolve men of their equal responsibility to value and protect life.

UNSCR 1325: strategic mapping beyond 2020

The following set of recommendations are tabled for consideration by women's organisations, civil society, think tanks, national governments, regional organisations, the AU, donors, the UN and international community:

Capacity building for women in peace and security

It is important to build a critical mass of female experts in peace and security to drive the UNSCR 1325 agenda forward. This can be done through continuous and concerted efforts towards capacity building and specialised training for women in mediation, negotiation and conflict transformation. Ultimately, when women are soundly trained and effectively capacitated in the discourses that they seek to influence, they are better equipped to address structural issues that inhibit their full and effective participation in both local and high-level peace processes. Furthermore, the building of the expertise of women in areas of economics, health and hard security issues such as DDR and SSR, will give them the space to participate actively and engage with male counterparts on a wide range of processes in their countries and communities. Against this background, a database of women experts in the fields that support the implementation of UNSCR 1325 should be developed.

Knowledge development and transfer

Ownership of UNSCR 1325 and its implementation by women is critical to effect the necessary change. As such, more work needs to be done to inform and educate women and men on the content of the resolution. To drive the UNSCR 1325 agenda forward sustainably and successfully, it is imperative not only to document good practices, but also to conduct an audit of what has failed. Knowledge generation in the realm of UNSCR 1325 will enhance the strategies of moving its agenda beyond 2020. The cases of Liberia, Burundi, Kenya and South Africa are core learning sites of women's participation in peace processes.

Regional dialogue, collaboration and strategic networking

It is important for women to build synergies and enhance their collaboration towards the implementation of UNSCR 1325 through sharing experiences. Synergies need to be established among peace and security practitioners, experts, governments and regional bodies where a wide range of issues and areas are jointly discussed. Women should promote dialogue among themselves at a regional level by using spatial and networking structures such as the Mano River Union and the ICGLR. As a women's organisation, FAS has employed this regional approach in its programme targeted at implementing NAPs in the Great Lakes Region. In 2009, FAS worked with countries such as the DRC, Burundi and Rwanda to develop their NAPs through regional consultation. At the end of the consultation, the Bujumbura Declaration was adopted, stipulating the common actions and modalities needed to achieve the identified goals. Initiatives such as this could lead to the development of regional action plans (RAPs) for the implementation of UNSCR 1325.

To advance the cause of UNSCR 1325, it is important to clearly define its agenda and levels of operation. When women pool their resources, they should identify their strengths in implementing UNSCR 1325. It is important to work with peace and security institutions that are sensitive to the spirit of the resolution. These include the AU Peace and Security Council, the Panel of the Wise or Panel of Elders, the Forum of African Female Ambassadors (which includes South African and Liberian foreign ministers), among others. Such institutions can directly or indirectly contribute towards the UNSCR 1325 agenda.

Rethinking UNSCR 1325 implementation strategies

Given the challenges of locating the UNSCR 1325 agenda in 'gender institutions' such as departments and ministries of gender, which are usually the weakest and most under-resourced ministries in government, it is important to rethink strategies for implementation. Since gender issues are cross-cutting, proponents, advocates and practitioners working on UNSCR 1325 should create links with various sectors and departments. Although ministries of gender have taken the lead in developing NAPs, further engagement with different sectors and departments can ensure holistic application of the resolution. Implementation of UNSCR 1325 by various departments and institutions will allow a wide-reaching, more comprehensive and sustainable influence of this instrument.

Since there is no limit to creativity on how to implement UNSCR 1325 at a national level, countries are encouraged to apply the resolution in a context-specific and responsive manner. Liberia has taken significant steps in dealing with gender issues in post-conflict reconstruction and has gone beyond the three pillars of prevention, protection and participation by adding the fourth one: empowerment and promotion. Importantly, the constitution and other national regulatory frameworks can be used to promote the rights and inclusion of women.

For pragmatic reasons, it is important to integrate the implementation of UNSCR 1325 with other policy instruments, such as CEDAW and the Beijing Platform for Action. Practically, one way of doing this is to integrate UNSCR 1325 and CEDAW indicators of reporting, as well as matching UNSCR 1325 indicators with those from progressive instruments such as MDGs and PRSs, as Liberia has done.

Revising laws on gender equality and enforcing them

Although laws that advance gender equality and protect women's rights exist in some countries, enforcement is generally low. The enforcement of laws on property rights and gender parity, and the punishment of perpetrators of sexual and gender-based violence are imperative if governments are to move beyond the rhetoric on UNSCR 1325. One recurring theme during the High-level Seminar was the continuation of systemic violence, structural discrimination and sexual violence against women. It is, therefore, the duty of governments to ensure that their national laws match the provisions of UNSCR 1325 and other international instruments that protect the rights of women, such as CEDAW.

Broadening the mandate of SRSGs and increasing women's participation

To promote visible and effective peace processes, it is important to call for more representation and the active participation of women at the highest decision-making levels in national, regional and international peace and security systems. This includes the appointment of more women as Special Envoys and SRSGs. In addition, the AU, UN and regional organisations such as SADC and ECOWAS should identify and appoint women who have expertise and experience in areas such as mediation, dialogue and peacemaking.

Broadening participation of grassroots women in the UNSCR 1325 agenda

Apart from involving women who have expertise in peace and security in pushing the UNSCR 1325 agenda, it is equally important to work with women in grassroots organisations. It is essential to not just focus on governmental structures but to involve women and CSOs at local, national and international levels in the representation and protection of women within the application of the resolution. Ownership of the process by grassroots women is critical to make an impact and effect the necessary change. Local women's organisations are the conduit to implementing the resolution, and they should be provided with information and resources that will expand their understanding of UNSCR 1325 insofar as it relates to their circumstances. These organisations provide immense value, as they bring the perspectives and needs on the ground to the table, thereby ensuring a holistic and inclusive agenda.

Furthermore, the involvement of grassroots communities in the uptake and operationalisation of UNSCR 1325 will strengthen early warning and conflict prevention systems. As people with vested interests in peace, it is important for women to be both producers and consumers of early warning data. The failure to capitalise on early warning data and the subsequent failure to intervene early in the 2007 post-election violence in Kenya was acknowledged in the *African Peer Review Mechanism Report* of 2008.

Earmarking special funding and resources for UNSCR 1325

Lack of financial support to civil society, especially for women's organisations, has serious implications on the sustainability of peace. There should be specific funding targeted for the implementation of UNSCR 1325 at all levels. Both national and international peacebuilding and development agencies should develop funds that are earmarked for the needs of women and children. Alternatively, funds targeted at peacebuilding should incorporate gender equality considerations. It is also imperative to develop mechanisms that allow the availability of flexible funding specifically for the protection of women in armed conflict, the increased participation and involvement of women in senior-level decision-making processes, and other UNSCR 1325-related activities. Financing for women's organisations should also be increased to enable them to build capacity for engaging at national, regional and international levels. Furthermore, international agencies and donors should set aside urgent action funds to facilitate rapid responses by women in crisis situations. National governments can also

commit to the success of these resolutions by earmarking specific funds to support the implementation of their NAPs.

Dealing with impunity for violence against women

Women in conflict environments who are currently affected by sexual violence need not only the support of other women, but also protection from governments and intergovernmental institutions. Women should continue to lobby the UN, AU and governments to address acts of impunity – especially in communities ravaged by violence, such as Darfur and eastern DRC. CSOs should also pressure their governments not only to enact legislation against all forms of impunity, but also to ensure that perpetrators are given tougher penalties. With regard to sexual and gender-based violence committed by peacekeepers and humanitarian personnel, the recall of offenders should be enforced unconditionally.

UN Photo/Jenny Rockett

Comfort Lamptey, Gender Adviser for the Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO), addresses a press conference on gender issues in peacekeeping operations. 18 January 2008, United Nations, New York.

Conclusion

Slightly more than 10 years ago, the international community adopted UNSCR 1325, which linked the role of women to peace and security. The resolution underscored that sustainable peace cannot be achieved without the full and equal participation of women in peace and security matters. UNSCR 1325 has been hailed as one of the most significant normative tools that seek to address the challenges faced by women in conflict and post-conflict societies. Together with its subsequent resolutions 1820, 1888 and 1889, UNSCR 1325 provides the framework for realising the agenda of promoting women's efforts in peace processes. In the last decade, the implementation of UNSCR 1325 at the local level has been mixed. While there has been enthusiasm in selected African countries that have established NAPs, this fervour is not cross-cutting. Many parts of the continent evidently lack the political will, institutional wherewithal and state-wide supportive institutional and cultural frameworks to sustain the implementation of these resolutions.

Against this background, in moving the UNSCR 1325 agenda forward, it is important to go beyond a state-centric approach and gravitate towards a more broad-based approach where civil society, grassroots communities, academic and research institutes, as well as regional bodies, actively participate in the operationalisation and monitoring of the resolution. As such, the acceleration of NAP implementation as well as the establishment of concrete evaluation and monitoring mechanisms is fundamental to the achievements of the UNSCR 1325 goals. It is hoped that, by 2020, the participation and representation of women at national and sub-national decision-making levels will have increased considerably, and that sexual and gender-based violence will be prevented in most societies. In addition, solidarity missions should be promoted as part of early warning and rapid response intervention by women at national, regional, continental and international levels.

While candidly recognising the challenges of implementing UNSCR 1325, it is still important to shift from a narrative of 'women as victims' towards one that acknowledges 'women as agents of social change'. The celebration of women's achievements and good practices is a motivational strategy that will strengthen the efforts of women who are experiencing ongoing struggles.

> *"There are avenues that open up during conflicts which take women out of the private space, which challenge traditional cultural norms. And then it is up to us as partners to recognise this and help women to basically grab these opportunities and sustain them."*
>
> Comfort Lamptey, Gender Adviser, UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations

Overall, the implementation of UNSCR 1325 over the past 10 years has generated lessons and facilitated the mapping of strategies for moving forward with its agenda. It is, therefore, critical for all stakeholders – including governments, regional organisations and the UN – to commit financial, social and political resources towards addressing the outlined gaps in fulfilling UNSCR 1325.

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Annexure 1:
UN Security Council Resolution 1325

United Nations

Security Council

S/RES/1325 (2000)

Distr.: General
31 October 2000

Resolution 1325 (2000)
Adopted by the Security Council at its 4213th meeting, on
31 October 2000

The Security Council,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Recognizing the urgent need to mainstream a gender perspective into peacekeeping operations, and in this regard *noting* the Windhoek Declaration and the Namibia Plan of Action on Mainstreaming a Gender Perspective in Multidimensional Peace Support Operations (S/2000/693),

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

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

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

1. *Urges* Member States to ensure increased representation of women at all decision-making levels in national, regional and international institutions and mechanisms for the prevention, management, and resolution of conflict;

2. *Encourages* the Secretary-General to implement his strategic plan of action (A/49/587) calling for an increase in the participation of women at decisionmaking levels in conflict resolution and peace processes;

3. *Urges* the Secretary-General to appoint more women as special representatives and envoys to pursue good offices on his behalf, and in this regard *calls on* Member States to provide candidates to the Secretary-General, for inclusion in a regularly updated centralized roster;

4. *Further urges* the Secretary-General to seek to expand the role and contribution of women in United Nations field-based operations, and especially among military observers, civilian police, human rights and humanitarian personnel;

5. *Expresses* its willingness to incorporate a gender perspective into peacekeeping operations, and *urges* the Secretary-General to ensure that, where appropriate, field operations include a gender component;

6. *Requests* the Secretary-General to provide to Member States training guidelines and materials on the protection, rights and the particular needs of women, as well as on the importance of involving women in all peacekeeping and peacebuilding measures, *invites* Member States to incorporate these elements as well as HIV/AIDS awareness training into their national training programmes for military and civilian police personnel in preparation for deployment, and *further requests* the Secretary-General to ensure that civilian personnel of peacekeeping operations receive similar training;

7. *Urges* Member States to increase their voluntary financial, technical and logistical support for gender-sensitive training efforts, including those undertaken by relevant funds and programmes, inter alia, the United Nations Fund for Women and United Nations Children's Fund, and by the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and other relevant bodies;

8. *Calls on* all actors involved, when negotiating and implementing peace agreements, to adopt a gender perspective, including, inter alia:

(a) The special needs of women and girls during repatriation and resettlement and for rehabilitation, reintegration and post-conflict reconstruction;

(b) Measures that support local women's peace initiatives and indigenous processes for conflict resolution, and that involve women in all of the implementation mechanisms of the peace agreements;

(c) Measures that ensure the protection of and respect for human rights of women and girls, particularly as they relate to the constitution, the electoral system the police and the judiciary;

9. *Calls upon* all parties to armed conflict to respect fully international law applicable to the rights and protection of women and girls, especially

as civilians, in particular the obligations applicable to them under the Geneva Conventions of 1949 and the Additional Protocols thereto of 1977, the Refugee Convention of 1951 and the Protocol thereto of 1967, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women of 1979 and the Optional Protocol thereto of 1999 and the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child of 1989 and the two Optional Protocols thereto of 25 May 2000, and to bear in mind the relevant provisions of the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court;

10. *Calls on* all parties to armed conflict to take special measures to protect women and girls from gender-based violence, particularly rape and other forms of sexual abuse, and all other forms of violence in situations of armed conflict;

11. *Emphasizes* the responsibility of all States t put an end to impunity and to prosecute those responsible for genocide, crimes against humanity, and war crimes including those relating to sexual and other violence against women and girls, and in this regard *stresses* the need to exclude these crimes, where feasible from amnesty provisions;

12. *Calls upon* all parties to armed conflict to respect the civilian and humanitarian character of refugee camps and settlements, and to take into account the particular needs of women and girls, including in their design, and recalls its resolutions 1208 (1998) of 19 November 1998 and 1296 (2000) of 19 April 2000;

13. *Encourages* all those involved in the planning for disarmament, demobilization and reintegration to consider the different needs of female and male ex-combatants and to take into account the needs of their dependants;

14. *Reaffirms* its readiness, whenever measures are adopted under Article 41 of the Charter of the United Nations, to give consideration to their potential impact on the civilian population, bearing in mind the special needs of women and girls, in order to consider appropriate humanitarian exemptions;

15. *Expresses* its willingness to ensure that Security Council missions take into account gender considerations and the rights of women, including through consultation with local and international women's groups;

16. *Invites* the Secretary-General to carry out a study on the impact of armed conflict on women and girls, the role of women in peace-building and the gender dimensions of peace processes and conflict resolution, and *further invites* him to submit a report to the Security Council on the results of this study and to make this available to all Member States of the United Nations;

17. *Requests* the Secretary-General, where appropriate, to include in his reporting to the Security Council progress on gender mainstreaming throughout peacekeeping missions and all other aspects relating to women and girls;

18. *Decides* to remain actively seized of the matter.

Annexure 2:
Durban Statement on Women, Peace and Security

DURBAN STATEMENT ON
RESOLUTION 1325 IN 2020 –
LOOKING FORWARD, LOOKING BACK

HIGH LEVEL SEMINAR ON THE PROMOTION OF WOMEN, PEACE AND SECURITY IN AFRICA

8–9 October 2010
Durban, South Africa

A High Level seminar of practitioners, academics and policy makers was convened on the promotion of women, peace and security in Africa, on the 8th–9th of October 2010 in Durban, South Africa. It adopted the following decisions to accelerate the implementation of Security Council Resolution 1325 on women peace and security (2000) in the context of the African Union (AU) Year of Peace and Security (YoPS), the decade of the African Women 2010–2020.

The seminar affirmed the value of resolution 1325 as a tool for galvanizing the participation of women in peace processes, the protection of women and girls from sexual violence in conflict, and the leadership role of women in the prevention of conflicts.

While acknowledging some progress towards implementation of resolution 1325 over the last ten years, the seminar noted a persisting gap between the aspiration of the resolution and the reality of women's continued marginalization from formal peace processes, increased insecurity and high levels of violence against women and girls.

The High Level seminar identified the following key factors which impede the full implementation of resolution 1325:

- Structural factors, including the lack of political will and patriarchal power relations which are embedded in many aspects of our societies
- The absence of a strategy to mobilize the wealth of endogenous actors and resources, operating outside the state machinery, with the potential to drive and guarantee effective implementation of resolution 1325
- Limited dissemination of information on resolution 1325 particularly to women at the grassroots
- Lack of dedicated financial resources to advance implementation of resolution 1325

To address these challenges and to accelerate implementation of resolution 1325 by 2020, the seminar adopted the following action points:

- Adopt and promote a paradigm-shift from debate around the resolution, to meaningful application and action

- Linking implementation of resolution 1325 with other relevant instruments for the promotion and protection of women's rights including CEDAW
- Appointment of more women to high-level decision-making positions, specifically as Special Envoys and Special Representatives, mediators and negotiators, and at all levels in the technical teams and working groups that support peace processes
- Expanding engagement with women at the grassroots in different conflict settings to foster their participation in peace processes to thus promote organic peace initiatives
- Promotion of efforts that enhance solidarity among women for early action to prevent sexual violence and to facilitate the pursuit of justice
- Promotion of women's participation in conflict prevention and early warning activities
- Establish a funding mechanism to support implementation of resolution 1325 within the budgets of peacekeeping and peacebuilding missions of the UN and regional organizations
- Supporting efforts to increase the numbers and quality of women in the armed forces, broadening opportunities for their deployment to peacekeeping missions, and improving their conditions of service
- Advocate for greater accountability from African states to protect the rights of women and girls to promote their participation in peace processes
- Development of standardised indicators for tracking, monitoring and evaluating the implementation of Resolution 1325 in Africa by all stakeholders including the AU and its Member States
- Advocate and support the development and implementation of National Action Plans towards the full implementation of Resolution 1325 by all African countries
- Documentation of the different country experiences in implementing the provisions of resolution 1325 as a basis for sharing good practices
- Expanding partnerships to mobilize financial resources to enable Africa women to meaningfully implement the provisions of resolution 1325

The following specific modalities will facilitate implementation of resolution 1325 by 2020:

- Investment in knowledge development and knowledge transfer on the situation of peace and security for women in Africa including through:
  - ◆ Ensuring that the language of the resolution is accessible and understood by all
  - ◆ Creating a database of women experts in the field of peace and security
- Creation of lateral linkages to promote women's participation in all aspects of peace processes
- Harnessing women's participating in formal and informal peace processes as a complement to the efforts of governments
- Accelerate development of national action plans on resolution 1325 in all African countries
- Establish a partnership forum of African women and donors to discuss modalities for expanding support to the women, peace and security agenda
- Establish a rapid response fund to support women in conflict areas
- Mandate ACCORD to bring together a task force to develop a concrete work plan on the basis of recommendations emerging from this Seminar – A vision of Resolution 1325 in 2020.

Delegates from Sudan and the Democratic Republic of the Congo challenged the seminar to help prevent and curtail sexual violence against women and girls in both countries. In the particular case of the Sudan, the prevailing volatile security environment in the run-up to the forthcoming referendum on the status of South Sudan, generated calls for early action to prevent possible widespread sexual violence against women and girls from South Sudan living in North Sudan.

In response to this call to action, the seminar recommended the immediate deployment of a solidarity mission to Sudan by African women, and also called on the recently appointed Special Representative of the Secretary-General on Sexual Violence in Conflict to urgently review and implement measures to avert any widespread incidences of sexual violence against women in South Sudan.

Annexure 3:
Opening Remarks by Madame Graça Machel

Resolution 1325 in 2020: Looking Forward ....
Looking Back

Members of the Diplomatic Community;

Ladies and Gentlemen;

All Protocols Observed.

The Hutu women of Busoro, near the Burundian capital, Bujumbura, are separated from their Tutsi neighbours in Musaga village by little more than a dirt road and the country's bitter civil conflict. For years, that was barrier enough as the fighting ebbed and flowed around them. Over time, the sound of gunfire echoing through the green hills became almost routine, and the absence of the men, off to war or gone in search of jobs, came to seem normal. It was the screaming of the wounded that was hardest to take -- that and the fear that knotted the stomach even after the guns and the cries fell silent.

Until one day it simply became too much to endure. With fires still burning from the latest battle, the women of Musaga collected what food and clothing they could for victims in Busoro. Then they marched to the local government office, where they rallied with their sisters from Busoro to demand an end to the killing. The Tutsi and Hutu women clasped hands to sing "Give us peace. Give us peace now!" They sang together for hours before making their separate, dangerous ways back home. And although the war continued, something important had changed. The road that divided them now connected them, and through their local peace group, Twishakira amahoro ("we want to have peace"), the women of the villages have worked to keep the connection strong.

This spirit was then matched at the Arusha peace negotiations, where women delegates participated in an All-party Burundian Women Peace Conference, the first of its kind, convened jointly by UNIFEM and the Mwalimu Nyerere Foundation. Each of the 19 parties participating in the Arusha negotiations committed to "ending impunity for gender-based war crimes and crimes against humanity; training defense and security forces to understand their responsibilities to women and children; guaranteeing women's rights in the constitution; enacting laws to assist in eliminating gender discrimination in Burundian society; and implementing a quota system to ensure that women make up at least a minimum proportion of elected representatives."

From the year 2000 to 2010, for many it would seem that we have come a long way since Burundi, where the role of women at the peace table appeared to have been guaranteed and the adverse effects of armed conflict, in particular, on women and children, was recognised for the consequent impact it would have on durable peace and reconciliation. To express it simply, a *decade*!

As I look around the room, I see many familiar faces – many champions – from across this continent who accepted the responsibility to not only commit resources and time towards conflict prevention, resolution and building peace in Africa, but who have also committed *themselves* to this purpose. You bear the greatest significance and the greatest testament to the variety of international and regional frameworks and legal instruments that are intended to provide the platform for our work.

Thus, it gives me a deep sense of honour to present the opening address for this seminar knowing that its task is two-fold. Firstly, it signifies an important milestone for UN Security Council Resolution 1325, and secondly it serves as a reminder that, while there may be achievements, our task, as a lesson learned from yesterday, for today and tomorrow, must be consistent and should be persistent.

Distinguished Delegates,

The year 2010 is a landmark year for women.

Women can celebrate 15 years of implementation of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, the *end* of a decade of implementation of the UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security, the *beginning* of the decade of the African Women, the African Union's Year of Peace and Security and the launch of UN Women intended to accelerate the progress in meeting the needs of women and girls worldwide. All these represent efforts made, triumphs achieved, failures endured and goals still desired.

2010 is thus a year to acknowledge achievements made in the promotion of women, peace and security but to also reflect on what can and should be strengthened; what we seek to celebrate a decade from hereon. In recent years, civil conflicts characterised by violence have been common in most parts of Africa. Women, in addition to bearing the brunt of violence, also contribute, albeit unrecognised, to the resolution of conflicts and efforts towards sustainable peace. Owing to the tireless lobbying by, and for women, the inadequate attention to women's representation and participation in peace processes was finally acknowledged through the passing of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 in 2000. This conference will review what has been achieved over the past ten years in the implementation of the resolution but most importantly what still needs to be done in the next 10 years.

Notably, the resolution was the first formal legal document to be passed by the UN Security Council addressing women's inadequate participation in peace processes and recognising sexual violence as a war tactic. It brought to the fore the importance of women's rights still being human rights even in the midst and at the height of violent conflict. The resolution acknowledges women's pertinent contribution to peacemaking, peacekeeping and peacebuilding processes. It has had a ripple effect in the passing of other key UN Security Council resolutions namely 1820 (2008) addressing sexual violence in conflict; 1888 (2009) aimed at strengthening leadership and implementing recommendations on ending sexual violence against women during armed conflict and 1889 (2009) which emphasises the participation of women in all phases of the peace processes.

In the past few years, however, we have come to understand that having a resolution is not an end in itself; it is only the first step. A number of countries have launched action plans

to implement the resolution. Of note, in Africa, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Rwanda and Uganda have led the way as joint ventures with civil society and government. However, there is still a long way to go and we must ensure that implementation of national action plans becomes an aspect of national ownership and priority. Continued sexual violence against women enshrouded by stigma in DRC and the Darfur region of Sudan sadly and unacceptably forms part of the daily reality even as we speak. The mediation talks of 2008 in Kenya that I participated in were attended by only two women both affiliated to political parties. In a population of approximately 39 million Kenyans, where women comprise close on 50% of the population, the percentage calculation is almost microscopic. Currently, women remain underrepresented and relegated to track II diplomacy in ongoing peace talks in Chad, Guinea-Bissau, Madagascar and Sudan … indeed there is still work to be done. But this does not take away from the initiatives that have been undertaken to call for the participation of women. The seminar proceedings will highlight the experiences from across the continent that has seen the resolution realised.

As early as two days ago, women representatives from the Darfuri Women Public Forum undertook a capacity-building training in mediation and negotiation, convened as a partnership with ACCORD, UNIFEM and the AU-UN Hybrid Mission Civil Affairs section. Whilst the Darfur Peace Agreement (2006) established a platform for healing, recovery and rebuilding of fractured communities as well as the hope for the security and protection of women's rights, overall women's participation in the Darfur peace talks remained marginal. To secure the participation of Darfuri women in the Darfur peace processes, negotiations and subsequent dialogues, and to ensure that their voices continue to be heard, such efforts most certainly keep alive the possibility and serve as catalysts to integrate women's concerns into the process, and to ensure an inclusive peace framework. To the Women of the Darfur Public Forum, your efforts and persistence are to be applauded. I trust that each of you are able to draw on your experiences and share them in this forum – for if we are not able to learn from each other, from both our successes and challenges, then we have ourselves failed and been unsuccessful in our common purpose.

Although Resolution 1325 has its strengths in having a global constituency and being an international law complemented by other international agreements, it is evident that the spectrum for the role of women in peacemaking, peacekeeping and peacebuilding remains discontinuous.

Distinguished delegates,

As we move into the next decade of implementation of the resolution, we must ensure that we progress from rhetoric to realistic action. It is humbling and remarkable to see that there is still plenty of commitment, drive and passion to overcoming patriarchal approaches to peace processes, realising human rights for women and achieving sustainable peace and security. In the next ten years, we must promote increased ownership of Resolution 1325 and related resolutions from grassroots to national, regional and international spheres. Gender must stop being synonymous to women and the resolution should not be seen as a women's issue but as a human rights issue requiring everyone's attention. Unity, as the purpose, must be emphasised for both men and women because the peace dividend

is to be achieved for the whole of society, not women alone. We have had 10 years to implement the resolution; there have been some successes yet we are not where we want to be. As women, we bear many hats: we are caregivers, leaders, mothers, professionals, politicians, sisters, survivors, warriors in addition to forming a majority of most populations. We can therefore never be relegated to the periphery in any political, economic or social sphere. We must act now. Some of the things that should be done include: (i) Awareness creation – Women, men, children including members of armed groups and political leaders need to be informed of the content of the resolution otherwise we are preaching to the converted; (ii) Funding – We must put money where our mouths are, there has to be adequate, consistent and deliberate funding for implementation of the resolution; (iii) Expertise – Knowledge and expertise are crucial: those working in conflict and post-conflict contexts should be well-trained and well-informed to address women's concerns; (iv) Political Will – States must have the political will to support the resolution's implementation, enhance national ownership and make it a societal and not solely a women's issue; (v) Visibility and Agency – The various roles of Women must be acknowledged, their inclusion in peace processes should become the norm rather than the exception.

Most of the things I have mentioned have probably been said many times before but not done and we must overcome this challenge. The next two days provide us with the opportunity to reshape our destiny for the next 10 years by doing the same things differently; to influence the United Nations Security Council to give women a legal framework that is binding on states; to assess where and why we ourselves have gone wrong and get down to business; to recognise that it is not a women's fight anymore but a societal responsibility; to embrace a more collaborative approach to the implementation of the resolution.

It is our hope that the outcomes of this conference will reawaken shared action and vision towards achievement of peace and security for all women.

It has not been my aim to zoom in on the challenges only but merely to raise them as pertinent ideas – food for thought you may say – for our deliberations in the next two days and the decade to come. We are presented here with a unique opportunity, where leading practitioners, intellectuals, academics and policy makers are seated side-by-side to forge stronger relations and consolidate the web of networks to attain the key principles and objectives that are already set-out in the resolutions. Our experiences must be institutionalised and our strategies analysed. Our practices must be questioned and the type of society – the type of Africa we seek – must be ultimately promoted. Our goal is not the mere identification of the gaps and loopholes presented in the resolutions; our goal is a pro-active one in the promotion of conflict prevention, resolution and sustainable peace on this continent. A destiny that is ours to shape.

ACCORD echoes its commitment to the ideals and principles of the African Union and the United Nations in their efforts towards the achievement of sustainable peace for all. We trust that your voices hereon resonate this echo!

I thank you.

Annexure 4:
Agenda

"Resolution 1325 in 2020: Looking Forward … Looking Back"

8–9 October 2010
International Convention Centre. Durban, South Africa.

Friday : 8 October 2010

Time	Session	Speakers
	Session 1: Resolution 1325: Looking Forward … Looking Back **Chair: Pravina Makan-Lakha, General Manager: Operations and Business Development, ACCORD**	
09h00–09h45	Keynote Address	H.E. Madame Graça Machel Chairperson ACCORD Board of Trustees
	Opening Remarks: African Union (AU) Peace and Security Commission	H.E. Ambassador Hawa Ahmed Youssouf - Special Representative of the Chairperson of the AU in Central African Republic
	South African Government	H.E. Ambassador G.S. Kudjoe - DDG Africa Multilateral, Department of International Relations and Cooperation
	Messages: African Union - Women, Gender and Development Directorate	Ms Litha Musyimi Ogana - Director: Women, Gender and Development Directorate, AU
	UNIFEM	Ms Florence Butegwa - UNIFEM Representative to the AU and UNECA
09h45–10h10	Screening of Film - **What is our Vision for Women in Peace and Security for the Next Decade and Beyond**	**1325 in 2020 Looking Forward … Looking Back**
10h10–10h30	***GROUP PHOTO*** ***Coffee/Tea break***	

Friday : 8 October 2010

	Session 2: Defining and analysing the context and challenges facing Women in Peace and Security: Moderator: Nikiwe Bikitsha	
10h30–12h30	**Defining and analysing the context and challenges facing Women in Peace and Security:** • To what extent has the landmark UNSCR 1325 been useful in driving systemic change on the ground in ways that have advanced the cause of women in Africa? • What has been the real impact of UNSCR 1325 in Africa? • What are its limitations? • Can UNSCR 1325, alongside Resolutions 1820, 1888 and 1889, transform the situation of women in Africa? • What does the African context require? • Are there peculiarities that make UNSCR 1325 and similar resolutions limited in their relevance?	Presenters: Dr Funmi Olonisakin - Senior Research Fellow: Conflict, Security and Development Group, Department of War Studies, Kings College, London Discussants: 1. Dr Margaret Vogt - DSRSG UNPOS-Somalia 2. H.E. Ambassador Monica Juma - Ambassador of Kenya to the AU 3. Ms Comfort Lampety - UNDPKO-Gender Advisor
12h30 – 15h00	***Luncheon***	A luncheon hosted in honour of Ms Sophia Williams de Bruyn - A leader at the Historical 1956 March by 20 000 South African women to the Union Buildings in protest of the oppressive Apartheid Pass laws against women.
	Session 3: Plenary- A Conceptual and Practice Debate Moderator: Nikiwe Bikitsha	
15h15–17h00	A facilitated discussion on a Conceptual and Practice Debate	
17h00–17h15	**Closing session**	Dr Grace Maina - Acting Manager: Knowledge Production Department, ACCORD
	Reception at ACCORD House hosted by the Founder and Executive Director of ACCORD, Mr Vasu Gounden **19h00–21h00**	

Saturday : 9 October 2010

Time	Session	Speakers
	Session 4: Realising 1325: Experiences in Peace Processes **Moderator: Dr Thelma Awori, Board President, ISIS-WICCE**	
09h00–10h30	Solidarity Missions as a strategy to mobilize and support women in peace processes	Madame Bineta Diop - Executive Director, Femmes Africa Solidarité (FAS)
	The Role of the Panel of the Wise in Promoting Resolution 1325	Dr Brigalia Bam- Chairperson of the Electoral Commission and Member of the Panel of the Wise
	The Kenya Mediation Process	Mrs Florence Mpaayei - Executive Director, NPI-Africa
10h30–11h00	*Coffee/Tea break*	
11h00–12h30	Reflections from the Capacity Building Training conducted for Darfuri Women	Representative from UNIFEM-Darfur Women's Group
	Reflections from the experience of drafting the 1st 1325 Action Plan in Africa – Liberia	The Honorable Annette M. Kiawu Deputy Minister for Research and Technical Services
	The Experience in Negotiations- Burundi	Ms Perpetue Kanyange - President of the Women's Peace Centre
	Responding to cases of Sexual Violence	Dr Thelma Awori -SIS WICCE
12h45–14h00	*Networking Lunch*	
	Session 5: Charting a vision for 'Women in Peace and Security' for the next decade **Moderator: H.E. Ambassador Monica Juma**	
14h00–16h00	**Plenary Facilitated Discussion** • What is our vision for African women on issues of Peace and Security by 2020? • What is the nature of the change we should seek to see for African women in the area of Peace and Security? • In what ways can Resolution 1325 and other policy instruments advance this vision? • What should the role of various actors at the levels of the UN, AU, REC's and national actors be in bringing about the outcomes desired?	
16h00–16h20	*Coffee/Tea break*	
	Session 6: Closing Session: Declaration from the Seminar **Moderator: H.E. Ambassador Mervat Tallawy**	
16h20–17h00	**Declaration from the Seminar**	Ms Mary Wandia
	Closing session	Ms Pravina Makan-Lakha

Annexure 5:
Participants List

Name	Organisation
Hawa Mohamed Abaker B.	Representative from Darfur
Amel Ibrahim Idries Abdalla	Representative from Darfur
Batoul Abdelgabar Yousif Adballa	Strategic Initiative for Women in the Horn of Africa (SIHA)-Sudan
Zahara Abdal Niem Mohamed Abdalla	Representative from Darfur
Fathia Mohamed Abdelaziz	Representative from Darfur
Omar Ismael Abdourahman	UNECA
Amina Mohamed Abulgasim	Representative from Darfur
Amna Aljameel Ali Abdulrhman	Representative from Darfur
Mona Mohamed Salih Adam	Representative from Darfur
Bertha Amanor	Women Peace and Security Network - Africa (WISPEN-A)
Dr Thelma Awori	Isis-Women's International Cross Cultural Exchange (Isis-WICCE)
Eva Ayiera	Urgent Action Fund – Africa
Alawia Murhatan Mohammed Bahmeldin	Representative from Darfur
Ebtihal Abdulrhman Eshak Bakheet	Representative from Darfur
Mary Balikungeri	Rwanda Women's Network
Mavic Cabrera-Balleza	Global Network of Women Peacebuilders
Dr Brigalia Bam	Electoral Commission of South Africa (IEC)
Fatou Bensouda	International Criminal Court
Nikiwe Bikitsha	SABC & CNBC Africa Journalist and Commentator
Isabelle Boukinda Nzaou	Communauté Economique et Monétaire de l'Afrique Centrale (CEMAC)
Cllr. Pearl Brown Bull	Committee of Experts, Independent National Human Rights Commission of Liberia
Hyacinthe Budomo	International Conference on the Great Lakes Region

Florence Butegwa	UNIFEM
Faddy Gladys Canugora	Kitgum Women Peace Initiative (KIWEPI)
Madame Bineta Diop	Femmes Africa Solidarité
Suad Adam Elbergo	Representative from Darfur
Chantal Ekambi	United Nations Political Office for Somalia (UNPOS)
Fatima Abdel Mourim Eltahir	Representative from Darfur
Halima Mohamed Abd Elrahman	Representative from Darfur
Mahboaba Abdulbrahim Ali Hamza	Representative from Darfur
Ambassador Dr. Monica K. Juma	Kenyan Ambassador to the African Union
Vasu Gounden	Founder and Executive Director, ACCORD
Bekezele Gumede	YWCA-Zimbabwe
Perpétue Kanyange	Synergie des Partenaires pour la Promotion des Droits de la Femme (SPPDF)
Fatima Karadja	AANSEDI ECOSOCC/AU
Najwa Andraos Kefayeh	UNIFEM
S. Bibi Khan	South African Women in Dialogue (SAWID)
Mohamed Kheir	International Criminal Court
Nozipho Khumalo	South African Women in Dialogue (SAWID)
Jennifer Klot	Social Science Research Council
H.E. Amb G.S. Kudjoe	DDG Africa Multilateral, Department for International Relations and Cooperation
Comfort Lamptey	UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations
Busisiwe Linda	South African Women in Dialogue
Bernadatte Abioseh Macauley	Campaign for Good Governance
Madame Graça Machel	Chairperson: ACCORD Board of Trustees
Puseletso Madumise	South African Women in Dialogue (SAWID)
Vuyo Mahlati	South African Post Office, National Planning Commission of South Africa

Pravina Makan-Lakha	General Manager Operations and Business Development, ACCORD
Charlotte Makulo Toytely	Projet de Renforcement de capacités de organisations de la société civile dans la prévention et la gestion des conflits en Afrique Centrale (PRÉGESCO)
Mangondza Godelin-Medard	African Union
Ruby Marks	The Department of International Relations and Cooperation
Thokozile Matshe	The Olof Palme International Center, Feminist Political Education Project, Women In Politics Support Unit
Tayba Abdulkareem Adam Mohamed	Representative from Darfur
Major General Ntsiki Memela-Motumi	South African National Defence Force
Florence Mpaayei	Nairobi Peace Initiative-Africa
Salma El Tahir Idriss Musa	Representative from Darfur
Litha Musyimi Ogana	Director,Women Gender and Development Directorate
Odette Mutanguha	COMESA
Rose Mutombo Kiese	CAFCO
Yvette Ngandu	AU Peace and Security Council
Yves Niyiragira	African Union Monitor Initiative Fahamu-Networks for Social Justice
Jessica Nkuuhe	Urgent Action Fund
Jeanne Nzuzi Nsamba	Comité National Femme et Développement (CONAFED)
Hon. Betty Achan Ogwaro	Southern Sudan Legislative Assembly
Johannes Oljelund	Embassy of Sweden, Pretoria
Dr Funmi Olonisakin	Conflict, Security and Development Group, Kings College, London
Dr Memunatu Pratt	Department of Peace and Conflict Studies, University of Sierra Leone
Jerome Sachane	Deputy Director, ACCORD
Fardous Hussain Salih	Women from Darfur
Dr Helen Scanlon	Gender Justice Program, International Center for Transitional Justice

Atty. Esther Seton-Cee	Sexual Gender Base Violence Crimes Unit (SGBV-CU), Liberian Ministry of Justice
Francine Shako Obonga	Centre d'études sur la Justice et la Résolution 1325
May-Elin Stener	Royal Norwegian Embassy, Pretoria
Amb Mervat Tallawy	Cairo Centre for Training on Conflict Resolution and Peacekeeping in Africa
Oury Traore	International Consultant, Peace & Security
Dr Margaret A. Vogt	United Nations Political Office for Somalia
Mary Wandia	Oxfam GB Pan Africa Programme
ACCORD Staff	
Zinurine Alghali	Programme Officer, Peacekeeping Unit
Alex Comninos	Special Projects Officer, Coordination Office
Sabrina Ensenbach	Research Intern, Knowledge Production Department
Dorcas Ettang	Programme Officer, Peacebuilding Unit
Anne Flaspoeler	Intern, Peacekeeping Unit
David Peter Hansen	Documentalist, Knowledge Production Department
Bhavya Jeena	Communications Officer
Tamara Kirkwood	Special Projects Officer, Coordination Office
Lamii Kromah	Programme Officer, Peacekeeping Unit
Dr Grace Maina	Acting Manager, Knowledge Production Department
Karanja Mbugua	Analyst, Peacemaking Unit
Dr Martha Mutisi	Senior Researcher, Knowledge Production Department
Beatrice Nzovu	Senior Programme Officer, Peacebuilding Unit
Kemi Ogusanya	Training Officer, Training Unit
Denis Barnabas Otim	Research Intern, Knowledge Production Department
Marisha Ramdeen	Special Projects Officer, Coordination Office
Warigia Razia	Coordinator, Peacebuilding Unit
Dr Kwesi Sansculotte-Greenidge	Senior Researcher, Knowledge Production Department
Charles Scott	Head of Communications
Michelle Tendai Chikambwe	Intern, Peacekeeping Unit
Jenny Theron	Coordinator, Peacemaking Unit

RESOLUTION 1325 IN 2020:
Looking Forward, Looking Back

United Nations (UN) Security Council Resolution 1325, which was passed on 31 October 2000 by the UN Security Council, recognises the links between women, peace and security by highlighting the agency of women and mandating governments to ensure their inclusion in all processes affecting their peace and security. Ultimately, the resolution provides an overarching, comprehensive and wide-reaching policy framework for addressing the complexities and gaps surrounding women, conflict, peace and security. While the resolution recognises that women are disproportionately affected by violence during conflict, it also further underscores women's roles in conflict prevention and ultimately calls for women's participation at all levels of peace processes including peacekeeping, negotiations and peacebuilding.

The 10-year anniversary of UNSCR 1325 spurned varied commemorations globally. Following the African Union's (AU) declaration of 2010 as the Year of Peace and Security, the 2010 Make Peace Happen Campaign, the declaration by the AU of 2010–2020 as the Decade of the African Women, and the 10th anniversary of UNSCR 1325, the African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes (ACCORD), in partnership with the AU Peace and Security Council, hosted an international High-level Seminar with the theme, '1325 in 2020: looking forward … looking back'. Held in Durban, South Africa on 8 and 9 October 2010, the High-level Seminar drew close to 60 participants from civil society, governments, intergovernmental organisations, scholars and practitioners from different countries, who were united by their quest for women's involvement in the realm of peace, security and development.