

Workshop Report

Gender, Peace and Security in Southern Africa



Compiled by Cheryl Hendricks and Siphokazi Magadla
22–23 November 2010, Irene Country Lodge, Pretoria, South Africa



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ISBN 978-1-920422-42-4

First published by the Institute for Security Studies,
P O Box 1787, Brooklyn Square 0075
Pretoria, South Africa

www.issafrika.org

Cover photograph www.istockphoto.com

Design, Typesetting and Printing Marketing Support Services +27 12 346-2168

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Contents

Acknowledgements	i
Abbreviations and acronyms	iii
Executive summary	v
Session I	
Welcome and opening remarks	1
Sessions II	
Overview of the debates and practices on gender, conflict and post-conflict transformation	3
Session III	
Advances in and challenges of implementing UNSCR 1325 in Africa	5
Session IV	
Overview of the conflicts in Southern Africa and their implications for gender, peace and security	
DRC, Swaziland and Zambia	9
Session V	
Continuation of the overview of the conflicts in Southern Africa and their implication for gender, peace and security	
Madagascar and Mozambique	11
Session VI	
Continuation of the overview of the conflicts in Southern Africa and their implication for gender, peace and security	
Zimbabwe and Malawi	13
Launch of the SADC Gender Protocol 2010 Barometer and the 16 Days of No Violence Against Women campaign	
‘Structures of violence: defining the intersections of militarism and violence against women’	15
Session VII	
Gender and peacekeeping in Southern Africa	19
Session VIII	
Developing regional and national action plans for implementing UNSCR 1325	23
Session IX	
Group work	
Form and function of a SADC Gender Alliance peace and security cluster	26
Session X	
Thanks and closure	27
Notes	28
Appendix 128	
Workshop programme	29
Appendix 2	
List of participants	31

Acknowledgements

The Security Sector Governance (SSG) Programme of the Institute for Security Studies (ISS) and the SADC Gender Alliance would like to thank all the participants of the workshop for their dedication to gender equality in Southern Africa and their engaging participation in this workshop. We gratefully acknowledge the Government of

Iceland's continued financial support to the ISS for work on gender. This support has enabled us to undertake work on gender, peace and security for the past three years, including the hosting of this workshop. We also thank Siphokazi Magadla, Nanzelelo Mhlanga and Mukayi Makaya for their invaluable assistance with the logistics for the workshop.

Abbreviations and acronyms

AU	African Union	NGO	non-governmental organisation
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women	RPTC	Regional Peacekeeping Training Centre
CHMT	Cessation of Hostilities Monitoring Team	SADC	Southern African Development Community
DDR	disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration	SANDF	South African National Defence Force
DoD	Department of Defence	SAPS	South African Police Service
DRC	Democratic Republic of the Congo	SARPCCO	Southern African Regional Police Chiefs Cooperation Organisation
EAPCCO	East African Police Chiefs Cooperation Organisation	SSG	Security Sector Governance
G40	Group of 40	SSR	security sector reform
GPA	Global Political Agreement	TfP	Training for Peace
LRA	Lord's Resistance Army	UN	United Nations
Isis-WICCE	Isis-Women's International Cross Cultural Exchange	UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
ISS	Institute for Security Studies	UNIFEM	United Nations Development Fund for Women
NAP	National Action Plan	UNPOC	United Nations Police Officers Course
NDF	Namibian Defence Force	UNSCR	United Nations Security Council Resolution
		UWONET	Uganda Women's Network

Executive summary

INTRODUCTION

On 22–23 November 2010 the Institute for Security Studies (ISS), in collaboration with the Southern African Development Community (SADC) Gender Alliance, hosted a one-and-a-half-day workshop on Gender, Peace and Security in Southern Africa at the Irene Country Lodge in Pretoria, South Africa. Thirty participants from SADC and East African women's organisations, research institutes and the security sector, as well as policymakers and practitioners, attended the workshop.

The workshop took place a month after the United Nations (UN) celebrated the 10th anniversary of UN Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325. This resolution affirms the importance of women in peacebuilding and urges their increased representation in conflict prevention, management and resolution. The theme of the workshop was therefore in tandem with the global focus on gender, peace and security. In particular, we sought to determine the status of the implementation of UNSCR 1325 in Southern Africa. This was all the more pertinent because in 2008 SADC adopted the Protocol on Gender and Development, Article 28 of which calls for the implementation of UNSCR 1325.

Although Southern African countries have advanced in creating the legal frameworks for women's participation in peacemaking, peacekeeping and peacebuilding and for their protection from violence, there is still a long way to go towards creating equitable gender representation in peace and security decision-making and in creating a more gender responsive security sector. To date, only the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) has adopted a National Plan of Action for the implementation of UNSCR 1325.

The SADC Gender Protocol Barometer, produced by the SADC Gender Alliance, tracks the implementation of the Protocol on Gender and Development in SADC member states. The 2010 Barometer included a chapter on conflict resolution and peacebuilding in the region. The paucity of information on the security sector and peacebuilding in the region was evidenced in this chapter. At a meeting in Namibia in August 2010, the SADC Gender Alliance proposed the formation of

a cluster on gender, peace and security that will seek to understand, analyse and report on the gendered transformation of peace and security in the region. This workshop therefore sought to bring together participants from the region who could both begin to sketch the gendered dimensions of peace and security in the region and think through the formation of a network/cluster that could begin to more systematically monitor and support the security sector in terms of gender, peace and security.

WORKSHOP OBJECTIVES

The aims of the workshop were to:

- Provide a comparative overview of the implementation of UNSCR 1325 in Africa
- Analyse the conflicts in Southern Africa
- Obtain first-hand knowledge from women in the region on their peace and security challenges
- Share experiences and lessons learnt on promoting women's participation in peace and security
- Track the implementation of Article 28 of the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development
- Launch a SADC Gender Alliance gender, peace and security cluster

WORKSHOP THEMES

The topics covered in this workshop were:

- Advances in and challenges of implementing UNSCR 1325 in Africa
- Overview of the conflicts in the region
- National gender, peace and security case studies
- Gender and peacekeeping
- Developing regional action plans

The workshop also provided an opportunity to launch the SADC Gender Protocol 2010 Barometer and the 16 Days of No Violence Against Women campaign in South Africa. The guest speaker was the Honourable Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma, Minister of Home Affairs in South Africa.

The workshop was successful in providing a platform to exchange experiences and begin a dialogue on gender, peace and security, both within women's civil society organisations and between them and representatives of the security sector. For many participants from the region,

this was a first exposure to these debates and the willingness to carry this forward was practically expressed in the group work on the formation of a cluster on gender, peace and security in the region. A synopsis of the deliberations follows.

Session I

Welcome and opening remarks

CHERYL HENDRICKS
Senior research fellow, SSG, ISS

Cheryl Hendricks opened the meeting and welcomed delegates to the workshop on Gender, Peace and Security in Southern Africa. She noted that the ISS has over the last three years hosted a series of workshops broadly centred on the theme of gender and security, as this is a central aspect of the work of the SSG programme. To date, the programme focus areas have been on women and peacebuilding, gender and security sector reform (SSR), and gender and peacekeeping in Africa.

The ISS had the privilege of contributing to the SADC Gender Protocol 2010 Barometer produced by the SADC Gender Alliance. This was a new area for the Alliance. Engagement on the area has been further consolidated through the formation of a regional cluster on gender, peace and security within the Alliance. Hendricks indicated that it therefore seemed fitting that the ISS and the SADC Gender Alliance combine efforts and use the workshop as both a means to obtain a picture and analysis of gender and security issues as they pertain to the region and to begin to outline the form, function and activities of a regional cluster on gender, peace and security.

Hendricks reminded participants that 2010 marked the 10th anniversary of the adoption of UNSCR 1325 – a landmark resolution that focused attention on the impact of war on women and their exclusion from peace and security decision-making and implementation, and which called for the prevention of violence against women, their protection during conflict, and their participation in, especially, peace negotiations and peacekeeping. When the resolution was unanimously passed in 2000, gender-based violence and women's inclusion in peace processes

became a hard-core security matter that needed to be reported on to the UNSCR. This resolution has been augmented by UNSCR Resolutions 1820 (2008), 1888 (2009) and 1889 (2009).

Furthermore, Hendricks noted that the African Union (AU) promotes gender equality and has incorporated the underlying tenets of UNSCR 1325 into its legal frameworks; for example, the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and People's Rights dealing with the Rights of Women in Africa (2003), Article 10, states that 'Women have the right to a peaceful existence and the right to participate in the promotion and maintenance of peace' and that 'State parties shall take all the appropriate measures to ensure the increased participation of women in (a) programmes of education for peace (b) in the structures and processes for conflict prevention, management and resolution at local, national, regional, continental and international levels'.

The AU's Common African Defence and Security Policy (2004) reiterates the 'right to protection against marginalisation on the basis of gender' and the AU's Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa (2004) calls for the 'the full and effective participation and representation of women in peace processes'.

In Southern Africa, Article 6(2) of the SADC Treaty states that there should be no discrimination on the basis of gender, while Article 12 of the SADC Gender Protocol states that by 2015 at least 50 per cent of decision-making positions in the public and private sectors are to be held by women, while Article 28 notes that 'State parties shall endeavour to put in place measures to ensure that women have equal representation and participation in key decision-making positions in conflict resolution and peace-building processes by 2015 in accordance with UNSCR 1325'. These frameworks, Hendricks argued, set

the normative standards relating to gender, peace and security in the region.

However, although SADC has progressed in terms of resolving conflicts and incorporating women into its security structures, women's vulnerability during conflict remains stark. The recent mass rapes in the DRC bear testimony to this, but even in our everyday experiences in post-conflict environments, gender-based violence remains a reality that in many instances is on the increase. Women are still largely absent from the key decision-making structures of the peace and security sector and patriarchal cultures persist in most security institutions.

Hendricks pointed out that this workshop sought to celebrate the achievements of implementing UNSCR 1325 and the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development, to highlight the continued implementation challenges and to jointly find ways of creating a more secure world, particularly for women in the region. The presentations, she noted, reflected on the gendered impacts of current conflicts in the region, as well as lessons learnt from other parts of the continent.

CHERYL FRANK

Director, ISS Pretoria Office

Cheryl Frank also extended a warm welcome to workshop participants. She stated that it is important to recognise that women have gone beyond their traditional status as victims of conflict to become facilitators of peace and custodians of the rule of law. She noted that the work of the ISS lends itself to creating new partnerships that will assist women to play an important role in conflict resolution and peacebuilding in Africa. Frank was particularly welcoming of the role that the ISS could play in facilitating the work of the proposed gender, peace and security cluster of the SADC Gender Alliance.

COLLEEN LOWE-MORNA

Executive director, Gender Links

Colleen Lowe-Morna contextualised the origin of the SADC Gender Alliance, a network consisting of approximately 40 women's organisations, whose *raison d'être* is to monitor and support the implementation of the SADC Gender Protocol. Representatives of all 15 SADC countries are part of the Alliance and the network functions according to thematic clusters.



Photo 1 Colleen Lowe-Morna and Cheryl Hendricks

Lowe-Morna indicated that the inclusion of a new chapter on conflict resolution and peacebuilding in the SADC Gender Protocol 2010 Barometer had sparked debate. Governments are now showing an interest in sharing the figures on the number of women in their security services due to the publication of the chapter – previously this sector has been surrounded by secrecy and women have largely been invisible in it. The more pressure we put on governments for the inclusion of women in the security sector, the more representation is likely to increase. The Protocol states that women should be in all areas of decision-making; the security services are no exception to this. Lowe-Morna noted that the second edition of the Barometer was also significant because it appeared in the year that marked the 30th anniversary of the formation of SADC, the 15th anniversary of the Beijing Declaration and the 10th anniversary of the adoption of UNSCR 1325.

She reminded delegates that the workshop was taking place on the eve of the launch of the 16 Days of No Violence Against Women campaign, for which the global theme was the intersection between militarism and violence against women. She emphasised that the home remains a site of gender wars. Gender Links and the South African Medical Research Council were to launch their findings of a survey on gender-based violence in Gauteng. Lowe-Morna concluded by drawing our attention to the fact that we must think of security in broad terms and that it must include ensuring the bodily integrity and psychological security of all women. Central to this is the concept of human security that is embraced by the ISS.

Overview of the debates and practices on gender, conflict and post-conflict transformation

CHERYL HENDRICKS

Senior research fellow, SSG, ISS

Cheryl Hendricks's presentation was based on a paper that she drafted for the Nordic Africa Institute reflecting the issue areas and debates in African scholarship on gender, conflict and post-conflict reconstruction. She contended that the study of states, war and security has been a major preoccupation of Political Science, especially International Relations theory. Feminist interventions in the debates on peace and security began with women from these disciplines challenging the neo-realist representation of war, which predominantly represented the experiences of men. Citing Martha Thompson, she asserted that these feminists argued that neo-realism assumptions were grounded in

the idea that war is largely fought by men, acting in formal roles as soldiers, that it is defined and contained within a framework of state and seeks to acquire or retain state power: that it is caused by conditions of poverty and frustration and failure of the state, and that while violence against civilians is wide spread it is simply an unfortunate by-product of war.¹

Feminists sought to expose the gender constructions associated with war and uncover the varied ways in which women experienced and participated in conflict, i.e. they sought to posit gender as a central variable for the study of conflict.

Over the past 20 years there has been a concerted effort by feminists and gender activists to put gender on the agenda of the debates, scholarly inquiries and policy frameworks dealing with conflict and post-conflict reconstruction in Africa. They have portrayed women as actors, showed how and why they are targeted, and their strengths and vulnerabilities, and have made the case for women's inclusion in conflict prevention, peacemaking

and peacebuilding. Hendricks divided the literature on the topic into three focus areas:

- The first area focused on uncovering women in different battle spaces, where the primary preoccupation was to show women as actors in liberation wars and in the civil wars of the post-cold war period. Later, their roles as peacebuilders were also highlighted. However, Hendricks argued, to date there has been little in-depth analysis on the actual contributions and challenges of women who have been part of peacemaking activities such as peace conferences. There has also been little analysis of the roles played by women in conventional armies. Similarly, too, there is only anecdotal evidence of the contributions of women as peacekeepers. These remain areas for further research and analysis.
- The second area focused on women as targets, where the aim has been to show the extent of gender-based violence during conflict, the reasons for this and the broader impact such violence has on women's livelihoods. Much of this work has focused on women as victims and there has been little interrogation of the perpetrators, i.e. who they are, why they do what they do and the opportunity structures that allow for their behaviour. The 'weapons of war' thesis is only a partial explanation for the extent of gender-based violence.
- The third area focused on theoretical predilections within the literature that seek to address conceptualisations of security and to provide alternative routes for its achievement. This type of literature deals with the intersection between gender and human security, gender and militarism, and debates on gender mainstreaming. In essence, the debates revolve around the transformative potential of the various ideologies, policies and practices presented.

Hendricks then turned her attention to gender and SSR, noting the paucity of material on the subject for Africa. She listed the various reasons proffered for including women in the security sector, especially peace missions, indicating that these reasons appeared to revolve around three broad areas – improving operational effectiveness and/or special attributes, gender responsiveness, and the rights-based arguments. The critique of these arguments has been that they shift the onus of creating human security onto the shoulders of women and that they have an instrumentalist view of women's contributions.² The literature on gender and SSR, however, is maturing, as many of us now question the assumptions underlying the current implementation of SSR and argue for more transformative agendas.

Hendricks concluded by illustrating that although we have come far in our analysis on gender equality in the

security sector and in policy formulation, the realities on the ground have not changed accordingly, i.e. women remain grossly under-represented in peace processes, peacekeeping and the security sector at large.

DISCUSSION

One of the participants noted that a multi-sectoral approach is important when addressing women in conflict and post-conflict reconstruction. She emphasised the importance of coordinating all our activities, as they speak to the same goal. It was also noted that the proposed SADC Gender Alliance cluster on gender, peace and security should draw on the experiences and lessons learnt from its counterparts in West Africa, which are at present much better organised in ensuring the participation of women in peace processes, SSR and peacebuilding.

Session III

Advances in and challenges of implementing UNSCR 1325 in Africa

CHAIR: MAGDELINE MATHIBA-MADIBELA

Head, SADC Gender Unit, Botswana

HARRIET MUSOKE

Exchange programme coordinator, Isis-WICCE, Uganda

Harriet Musoke provided a brief overview of politics in Uganda, noting a prevalent tendency by rulers to acquire power by undemocratic means. To date, Uganda is still affected by the legacy of war, particularly in the north, where a 20-year-old insurgency by the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) continues to destabilise the region. She highlighted the damaging effects that the conflict has had on women, for in the region affected, sexual and gender-based violence has been the rule rather than the exception. Women have been subjected to, among other things, gang rape, sexual slavery, and exposure to anti-personnel mines and the mutilation of their limbs. The consequences of these experiences are trauma, vulnerability to HIV/AIDS, poverty, displacement and a breakdown in the social order.

Uganda is one of six countries in Africa that has developed a National Action Plan (NAP) for the implementation of UNSCR 1325. The Ugandan government had also drafted a Peace Development and Reconstruction Plan that was largely gender blind. Women formed a Gender Task Force to challenge the government to produce a more gender-sensitive reconstruction plan.

Musoke outlined some lessons learnt from the Ugandan experience in implementing UNSCR 1325. She argued that a critical lesson is the need to link existing frameworks and resources to ensure the realisation of UNSCR 1325. In Uganda, the Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development was not allocated specific funds to implement UNSCR 1325 and therefore linked its implementation to existing national policy frameworks and machineries. Civil society organisations need to be vigilant and demand inclusion in the discussions on policy formulation and implementation. In Uganda, such

organisations formed the Uganda Women's Coalition for Peace to engage in the Juba Peace Process and also formed the Gender Task Force.

Musoke concluded by urging us to build and strengthen the women's movement across Africa and to outgrow the project-oriented approach of non-governmental organisations (NGOs).

SIPHOKAZI MAGADLA

Consultant, ISS, Pretoria

Siphokazi Magadla, presenting the findings of the chapter on conflict resolution and peacebuilding in the SADC Gender Protocol 2010 Barometer, noted that Southern Africa has become more peaceful in comparison to the rest of the continent. This is despite sporadic violence in the DRC and Angola and continued uncertainties in Madagascar, Swaziland and Zimbabwe. Sexual and gender-based violence are the most pervasive sources of insecurity for women in the region, not only in fragile countries, but also in stable post-conflict states like South Africa. Southern Africa also has the highest number of people living with HIV/AIDS in the world, high infant mortality levels and low maternal health rates.

Women within Southern Africa were active in the liberation struggles to create more democratic and secure spaces. However, their participation in decision-making structures and in the security sector in particular remains unequal and uneven throughout the region.

The difficulty in obtaining accurate information on the representation of women in the security sector in Southern Africa was noted. South Africa has the highest number of women in the defence sector – 24 per cent. Although Southern African countries are making a concerted effort to increase women's representation – for

example, Malawi opened its barracks to women in 1999 and Botswana did so in 2008 – the majority of women are still performing gender-stereotyped support functions. The slow pace of women’s ascendance into the realm of decision-making is illustrated by the fact that over the past ten years there have only been three female ministers of defence (Joyce Mujuru in Zimbabwe, Cecile Manorhanta in Madagascar and currently Lindiwe Sisulu in South Africa). The police do not fare much better in the region, although the women in the police force appear to be more organised, as they established a SADC Female Police Officers network linked to the Southern African Regional Police Chiefs Cooperation Organization (SARPCCO). Twenty-one per cent of South Africa’s police service comprises women, while women constitute 18 per cent of the Botswana police force.

Magadla indicated that the research conducted for the Barometer revealed that only seven out of the 15 SADC countries had special units for rape victims. She argued that there is a clear lack of legislative commitment to gender equality in the security sector in the region, i.e. the region’s defence and police Acts are more often than not gender blind.

The lack of women in the security sector contributes to the limited number of women participating in peace missions. All SADC countries were below the 50 per cent mark for women in peacekeeping, but some met the UN target of 10 per cent (South Africa, Malawi, Namibia and Zimbabwe). In absolute numbers, South Africa’s female troop contribution is the highest; however, in terms of percentage of total troops deployed, Namibia is the best performer.

The SADC Organ needs to be the driver of gender transformation in the region’s security sector – it should mainstream gender into its Strategic Plan and it should develop guidelines for security sector governance and reform that will seek to create more gender-representative and gender-responsive security sectors within member states.

Turning her attention to peace negotiations, Magadla indicated that in the past ten years, no woman has been a signatory to a peace agreement in SADC. The proportion of women who participated in Zimbabwe’s negotiations was 18 per cent. No women signed or witnessed the Maputo Accord mediating Madagascar’s transition. However, it is notable that prominent women from the region have been part of key negotiation processes elsewhere, i.e. Graça Machel in the Kenyan peace process and Brigalia Bam, who is a member of the AU Panel of the Wise.

In conclusion, Magadla noted the need for SADC members to advance UNSCR 1325 by developing regional and national action plans. Of the six African countries

that have developed NAPs, the DRC is the only country in Southern Africa.

SANDRA AYOO

Dominion African Institute of Peace Studies, Uganda

Sandra Ayoo analysed the Juba Peace Process and contended that the process was partially compliant with the provisions of UNSCR 1325. Initially, there was a significant gap in women’s participation both at the negotiating table and as a pressure group. She argued that there was no deliberate attempt by either the chief mediator’s office or the actors at the negotiating table to include women in the process. Also, no funds were set aside for women’s participation, irrespective of the mediation efforts of Betty Bigombe in previous peace talks.

Ayoo noted that the UN Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) regional office, which had learnt from previous experience with the Sudanese Comprehensive Peace Agreement, initiated the involvement of women in the Juba Peace Process. The UNIFEM goodwill ambassador, Phoebe Asiyo, met with the parties in Sudan, i.e. the chief mediator, the LRA and Government of Uganda peace teams. UNIFEM then challenged Ugandan women to mobilise and get involved in the peace process. The women formed the Uganda Women’s Peace Coalition composed of 17 women’s organisations at the national and district levels. The coalition was coordinated by the Uganda Women’s Network (UWONET) with sponsorship from UNIFEM, the UN Development Programme (UNDP) and the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency. Later, women from the north broke away to form the Greater North Women’s Coalition for Peace with support from the Women’s Initiative for Gender Justice.

Ayoo asserted that women participated in the Juba Peace Process with two aims: (1) to put pressure on the negotiating teams to include women; and (2) to include women’s issues in the peace agenda and outcomes. However, she noted that because the women joined the negotiations late, negotiating parties had already outlined the agenda for negotiations. The women came on board when two of the six agenda agreements were already signed (agreements on the cessation of hostilities and comprehensive solutions). Two campaigns were launched to profile the need for women’s inclusion in the negotiations, i.e. the Women’s Peace Torch and the Women’s Peace Caravan. Gender considerations were then taken into account in two of the four remaining agreements (accountability and reconciliation, and disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration [DDR]) both in language and content. The other two agreements (permanent ceasefire, and implementation and monitoring mechanisms)

make broad reference to gender mainstreaming using the principles of UNSCR 1325 without unpacking these principles in real terms. Women were not represented in the Cessation of Hostilities Monitoring Team (CHMT) and there was no gender training for peacekeeping personnel, especially for the CHMT, on the rights and protection of women and girls.

After much lobbying by women, two women peacekeepers from South Africa joined the CHMT in Juba. The Agreement on the Cessation of Hostilities failed to address the issue of physical and sexual violence as violations of women's human rights and to classify sexual violence and gender crimes as constituting violations of the ceasefire. The Agreement on Comprehensive Solutions and its Implementation Protocol refer to gender broadly and include women as vulnerable groups. But the specific needs and issues of women in terms of resettlement, reparation, representation, and participation in national politics and statutory institutions to oversee the implementation of the agreement were not addressed (e.g. creating a special division of the High Court to try war crimes, an equal opportunities commission, a self-accounting agency to be created by an Act of parliament, etc.); the protection of women combatants under transitional security arrangements or their integration into the armed forces was not addressed, and neither was the appointment and deployment of women police officers in conflict-affected areas as a part of judiciary and policing issues.

Ayoo then proceeded to identify some of the challenges to women's participation in the peace process. These included the following:

- There were coordination challenges, resulting mainly from the high turnover of staff both in UWONET and the UNIFEM Kampala office.
- There were insufficient funds and/or delays in the release of funds from UNIFEM.
- There was a disconnect between the women at the national level and those at the grassroots level and a continued north-south divide.
- The women from the north felt alienated from the south during the conflict and did not want the coalition to represent them in the Juba talks – mistrust affected women's unity in Juba.
- There was a lack of consistency in the mobilisation and defining of women's issues for the peace talks – consultations were erratic, there was a lack of feedback, calls for national meetings were made at short notice, etc.
- Women observers were said to lack skills in drafting and negotiations due to insufficient training and mentoring – limited training was provided by the Centre for Conflict Resolution, and Inclusive Security.



Photo 2 Margaret Akullo

- Women remained under-represented at the negotiating table – there was only one woman (of 28 delegates) on the government team and three (of a total of 30 delegates) on the LRA negotiating team.
- Persistent gender-based stereotypes of the capacity and functions of women arose in the discussions.

Among the several lessons highlighted was the need to build the capacities of women during peace and to establish a database of women professionals in the security sector. There was a need to define the terms of partnerships in and management of coalitions, e.g. should there be loose or semi-autonomous coalitions? Ayoo then also noted that having women on the negotiating teams or as observers did not necessarily translate into the effective representation of women's issues.

MARGARET AKULLO

Coordinator, Lango Female Clan Leaders Association, Uganda

Margaret Akullo described the formation and experiences of the Group of 40 (G40) Women's Leadership for Peace and Security in the Greater Horn of Africa project, which comprises 40 women leaders from grassroots organisations, as an example of how women are mobilising to participate in decision-making on peace and security in the region.

Akullo began her presentation by recalling that the Horn of Africa is an area prone to insecurity and militarism. Some countries in the Horn are in active conflict, e.g. Somalia, while others have just emerged from conflict, but may still have specific areas in which conflict remains unresolved, e.g. Sudan and Uganda. Eritrea remains isolated, and tension between Eritrea and Ethiopia is still palpable. Conflicts in the Horn have displaced millions of people, many of whom are women and children.

The objectives of the G40 Women's Leadership for Peace and Security in the Greater Horn of Africa project

are twofold: (1) to learn security fluency by building women's knowledge of and capacity to address peace and security issues in the Horn of Africa; and (2) to secure a seat for women at the decision-making table, which involves advancing women's participation in and influence on security policy and practices at all levels. The project therefore promotes interaction and dialogue between the G40 and national, regional and international decision-making structures and mechanisms to engage in peace and security policymaking. The project was launched in 2009 with support from Club de Madrid, Isis-Women's International Cross Cultural Exchange (Isis-WICCE), the ISS and the Strategic Initiative for the Horn of Africa.

Thus far, the project has carried out seven missions: two in Addis Ababa, two in Kampala, two in Nairobi and one in Djibouti. These missions have enabled the women involved to learn about the situation in each of the seven countries in the region. A baseline study was produced; women learnt about the AU's and the Intergovernmental Authority on Development's peace and security architectures and have engaged both organisations; Uganda's Peace Recovery and Reconstruction Plan was analysed and the G40 met with representatives of Uganda's Ministry of Internal Relations; and the Somali peace process and the lead-up to the referendum in Sudan were all part of the knowledge shared in these missions. During each mission, practical skills were developed such as messaging and how to draft action plans. Each mission ended with women developing a set of recommendations that were passed on to the respective national governments and international diplomats. Akullo argued that there is

evidence that members' capacity to engage policymakers has been developed. Very significantly, in its short lifespan, the G40 is now involved in the constitutional development process in Somalia.

The remaining challenges are limited resources and the need for the G40 to establish a functioning institutional structure that can survive beyond the project. Akullo concluded that it is empowering for women to come together to form a regional bloc so that they can successfully participate in and influence peace and security issues in their regions. As G40 struggles to strengthen its position in the Horn of Africa, it would be good for Southern African women to form a similar bloc. There is already a very strong West African bloc. The aim should be to have regional women's organisations focusing on peace and security in all of Africa's regions.

DISCUSSION

It was noted that Marie Madeleine Kalala-Ngoy of the DRC is another positive addition to the AU Panel of the Wise. Answering questions about the lessons from the G40's experience, Akullo argued that the project has significantly advanced her security fluency, because she can now speak not only on the security situation of her home country, Uganda, but also understands and can converse on the situation in the other six countries visited by G40 missions. She argued that it is important for grassroots women to understand the conditions of other women in their region so that they can jointly monitor governments at all levels.

Overview of the conflicts in Southern Africa and their implications for gender, peace and security

DRC, Swaziland and Zambia

CHAIR: EMILIA MUCHAWA

Zimbabwe Women Lawyers Association

PROF. ESPERANCE BAYEDILA

Information and Communication Sciences University, DRC

Esperance Bayedila, addressing gender, peace and security in the DRC, explained the enormity of the challenges that the country's geographic position and size presented. Nine countries border the DRC, including Rwanda, Angola and Uganda. Despite continued tensions in the east, the DRC is considered to be a post-conflict country. Women and children have borne the brunt of this conflict. However, the position of women within society and their general welfare has not been radically altered with the transition to a democratically elected government in 2006. There are very few women at the decision-making level in the DRC. Of the 500 parliamentarians, only 50 are women; of the 108 senators, only six are women.

One of the major challenges for DRC society is the large number of children that have been conceived through acts of rape. These children are not accepted by society and therefore have identity and welfare concerns. Often, too, communities ostracise the victims of sexual violence. On 3 October 2010 women in Bukavu held a march to denounce the rape of women and children.

Bayedila stated that UNSCR 1325 had been popularised in the DRC, but implementation has been slow.

LUNGILE MAGONGO

Head of department, Justice, Peace and Reconciliation, Swaziland

Lungile Magongo, speaking to the situation in Swaziland, began by outlining some of the primary issues confronting the country, i.e. high unemployment levels, widespread hunger, poverty, HIV/AIDS as a generalised pandemic and declining economic growth. She argued that all these trends are feminised, for women and girls bear the brunt of the burden they impose.

Magongo further noted that the dual legal system is a source of conflict. Swaziland's political system is known as the Tinkhundla system – a constituency-based non-party system that marginalises women at decision-making levels. Another hindrance to women's participation in Swaziland is the unclear separation of powers of government and the continued preference for customary law, which significantly sidelines women into non-political traditional roles. This is reflected in the consistently low number of women who participate in government.

Magongo cited a study conducted by the UN Children's Fund in 2007 that revealed the high prevalence of violence against female children: one in three females experienced physical violence as a child and three in ten females experienced emotional abuse as a child. Male relatives (other than the victims' fathers) were the most frequent perpetrators of physical violence, while female relatives were the most frequent perpetrators of emotional abuse. Sexual violence, therefore, often occurred in the home.

There are no readily available statistics to indicate the extent of human trafficking in Swaziland. However, the Swazi government has passed the Trafficking in Persons Act. Magongo concluded that in Swaziland the implementation of UNSCR 1325 is still a challenge, for the government does not acknowledge that the country is in conflict. Moreover, there is as yet no common agenda for the promotion of women's issues, which has largely been done on an ad-hoc basis. Swaziland is therefore in need of a national action plan for the implementation of UNSCR 1325.

JUDY SMITH-HÖHN

Senior researcher, ISS, Pretoria

Judy Smith-Höhn, presenting on Zambia, argued that the good news for this country is that it has a good record of

non-violent resolution of conflict. However, Zambia has experienced years of corruption and patronage. There is also wide political, economic and social disparity among the different groups in the country.

Smith-Höhn argued that the current constitutional review process posed a potential threat to peace and security – it has been ongoing since 2007. Elections may also have the potential to escalate into violence. Zambia's security sector, however, has not exhibited signs of being politicised, although police corruption and brutality have been cause for concern.

Zambia has a national gender policy and is a signatory to many of the international gender instruments, but the process of gender mainstreaming has been slow. In conclusion, Smith-Höhn argued that Zambia's stability depends on how it handles its development challenges and how it deals with the 'big-man' syndrome. There is also a need to close the gap between early warning and early action, as the benefit of early warning allows for informed action. Currently, the warnings of growing discontent are there, but the necessary response is not forthcoming.

DISCUSSION

The chair noted that when conflict ends there are still serious issues to contend with, especially for women.

She also posed a few questions in relation to Swaziland: 'Is there a conflict in Swaziland? What is the nature of the conflict? What is the context of women in relation to peace and security?' With regard to Zambia, she asked, 'How do we manage the constitutional review process? How do we manage peace and security?'

A further discussion on Swaziland took place, which noted that the space to mobilise had been curtailed by the Anti-Terrorism Act and the suppression of the media. Land tenure, which directly impacts upon the security of women, is another issue for consideration.

Questions were also posed in relation to who was involved in the drafting of the DRC's NAP. Bayedila responded by noting that the Gender Ministry, working together with the gender office of the UN Organization Stabilization Mission in the DRC,³ led the development of the NAP. Civil society and the gender focal point persons of the ministries and organisations such as UNIFEM and UNDP were also involved in the process.

Other participants argued that although women have been included in the security sector, it has not transformed the corrupt culture of the police and army. Instead, women themselves become complicit in the practice.

Continuation of the overview of the conflicts in Southern Africa and their implications for gender, peace and security

Madagascar and Mozambique

CHAIR: DOO APHANE
Swaziland

DAVID ZOUNMENOU
Senior researcher, ISS

David Zounmenou, describing the nature of the conflict in Madagascar, indicated that the country had been a French colony, but gained its independence in June 1960. It has a population of approximately 20 million people. He argued that Madagascar has, from the appointment of its first president, Philibert Tsirana, to date, been embroiled in cyclical political violence. There has always been a struggle for power in this pseudo-democratic state. Madagascar, he contends, given its neo-colonial character, has not been able to establish effective governance.

The decrease in living standards, coupled with high food prices, gave rise to a new populism, led by Andry Rajoelina. This triggered the unrest of 2008 that led to the necessity for a mediated resolution between former President Ravalomanana and the current incumbent, President Rajoelina.

Zounmenou argued that the SADC/AU-led mediation process lacked cohesion because of a multiplicity of actors. The Maputo Process, led by ex-President Chissano, represented the first coherent response to the crisis, but it failed to provide clear directives on how to share political power and instead left this to the goodwill of the parties. At a meeting in Addis Ababa, the solution was what he referred to as a 'three-headed monster' – a three-person presidential council with no decisive leadership, which brought leaders who could not work together into the same decision-making realm. As a result, Rajoelina ignored both the Maputo and Addis Ababa processes.

Zounmenou then proceeded to outline the challenges facing Madagascar's peace process:

- The radicalism of the 'legalists'
- The desire to take political revenge on the 'coup plotters'

Map 1 Map of Madagascar





Photo 3 David Zounmenou and Francine Kidja

- Two peace processes – Maputo and Addis Ababa
- A divided SADC and International Contact Group
- A lack of external support
- A lack of consensus among mediators

As a result, the major donors have suspended most development funding, worsening the living conditions of the people. He concluded by arguing that a peaceful transition is possible only with a meaningful national dialogue, and free and fair elections. However, the status quo was likely to remain as Andry Rajoelina strengthens his hold on power.

FRANCINE KIDJA

Deputy chair, FPFE-GEMSA, Madagascar

Francine Kidja noted the demographic configuration of Madagascar, which is home to people originally from Africa, Asia and Europe. This adds racial and cultural dynamics to the political equation. The former presidents were from the coastal areas and the last two (Rajoelina and Ravolamanana) are from the high plateau region. This necessitates the finding of home-grown solutions that address the geopolitics of the country.

Kidja concluded that the crisis represents a unique opportunity for Malagasy women to take part in decision-making on conflict resolution and broader peace and security issues.

LIDIA SOARES

President, Associação Nós Por Exemplo, Mozambique

Lidia Soares, addressing the situation in Mozambique, stated that the country is no stranger to violent instability. It has had two major military conflicts, i.e. the struggle for liberation between Frelimo and the Portuguese colonialists, and a civil war between Frelimo and Renamo. With regard to social challenges, these related mainly to socio-economic conditions, crime and gender-based



Photo 4 Lidia Soares

violence. The Mozambican government approved the Gender Strategy and Policy in 2007, which is based on the principles of non-violence, non-discrimination and gender mainstreaming. Mozambique is also a signatory to many of the key international instruments for gender equality such as the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and the African Charter on Human and People's Rights.

Soares noted that Associação Nós Por Exemplo provides legal assistance to victims of gender-based violence and concluded by making a strong case for the implementation of gender equality laws in the country.

DISCUSSION

Opening the discussion, the chair, Doo Aphane, underscored the importance of the institutional linkages between new organisations and the older and more established ones working in this field. Questions were posed on the current level of participation of women in the mediation efforts in Madagascar. The question of who is responsible for ensuring the participation of women in these processes was also raised. Additionally, we were reminded that national security institutions are contributors to the insecurity of women in our countries and we need to have more data on their gender responsiveness. Furthermore, we need to know what efforts have been made to deal with gender-based violence and to ensure women's participation in peace and security processes and institutions. What lessons can we draw from these efforts? Participants noted that no-one would be empowering women; they need to be at the forefront of empowering themselves.

Zounmenou argued that we should have regional mechanisms of accountability for the protection of women against sexual violence. For example, in West Africa, regional courts have been used to censure states for failing to protect women, e.g. the case of Niger.

Continuation of the overview of the conflicts in Southern Africa and their implications for gender, peace and security

Zimbabwe and Malawi

CHAIR: JACQUES GBÏLÏMOÛ
Ministry of Education, Seychelles

THERESA MUGADZA

Advocacy coordinator, Oxfam, Zimbabwe

Theresa Mugadza, presenting on Zimbabwe, noted that the country was born out of conflict and that it has always experienced some measure of conflict.

She argued that the overt nature of the Zimbabwean conflict since 2000 has camouflaged many other unresolved issues such as the land question, the impact of the 1980s conflict in Matabeleland, race and citizenship, and the economic policies that inflated debt.

The current conflict is characterised by political intolerance, increased militarism, the suppression of the media, an increase in human rights violations from both state and non-state actors particularly during volatile electoral periods, an increase in poverty, and a collapse of basic services.

Mugadza stated that there is an entrenched culture of violence, fuelled by militarism, which has resulted in the further marginalisation and objectification of women. Women have become the battleground of the different political parties.

The Global Political Agreement (GPA) is supposed to be more than a power-sharing agreement, i.e. a peace

treaty. Yet it had no input from ordinary Zimbabweans. The strengths of the GPA were its ability to bring together warring factions and its provision of a roadmap for moving from conflict to democratisation. But it has many weaknesses. It does not specify the length of time that the power-sharing arrangement should hold for, parties to the GPA treat it as a *sui generis* agreement instead of a peace agreement, and SSR is not addressed. Regional actors, like the AU and SADC, Mugadza argued, have not provided sufficient oversight of the implementation of the GPA. In addition, the overarching factor of unequal partners within the GPA makes it constantly vulnerable to the threat of collapse.

Mugadza indicated that she did not think that Zimbabwe should be considering elections in 2011, because the underlying conditions that led to non-free and non-fair elections in the past still prevail. Instead, the country needs to focus on reforms: changing the political culture, SSR, constitutional reforms and institutional reforms.

NETSAI MUSHONGA

National coordinator of the Women's Coalition of Zimbabwe

Netsai Mushonga, specifically reviewing the gender dimensions of the conflict, stated that since 2000 Zimbabweans have lived with low levels of security and that this has been more pronounced for women. Women's physical security cannot be guaranteed and the violence in the public sphere fuels what happens in the domestic sphere. Women were perceived as easy targets, for their reproductive roles inhibited their mobility. Women's bodies were therefore used as the battleground among political parties. Women were assaulted as proxies by the political opponents of their husbands and relatives and thus bore the brunt of political violence.



Photo 5 Caroline Chisi, Netsai Mushona and Theresa Mugadza

Despite their disproportionate suffering, women were not adequately represented in the GPA peace process. The GPA mentions gender several times, but it does not explicitly prescribe a quota for women's representation in the transitional government. Furthermore, although the GPA specifies that there should be an organ for national healing, no specific resources are allocated to it. Issues of national healing and peacebuilding are crucial for women in Zimbabwe.

Mushonga concluded by stating that political violence may have diminished after the inauguration of the GPA, but gender-based violence has increased in the aftermath of the conflict. Despite the challenges to women's participation in the ongoing constitutional reform process, this review presents a window of opportunity for women to insert their interests.

CAROLINE MVALO CHISI

Centre for Conflict Management and Women
Development Affairs, Malawi

Caroline Mvalo Chisi, reviewing the gendered nature of security in Malawi, noted that the country has escaped the protracted conflicts that have beset other African countries. However, other subtle forms of contestation exist, which, if unchecked, have the potential to degenerate into violent outbursts, i.e. religious differences, inter-party conflicts, ethnic divisions and the potential for conflict that could emerge with the recent discovery of mineral resources. Communities living in the areas where these minerals are located are demanding social amenities such as good roads, schools, colleges, health facilities, water and electricity as compensation for the minerals, as their areas have been underdeveloped in the past.

Mvalo Chisi stated that women have reacted to these threats at both the local and national levels through the formation of NGOs and through advocating for legislation that protects women, such as the Prevention of

Domestic Violence Act. Malawi has adopted international and regional gendered legal frameworks, but there has been no effective monitoring and evaluation of their implementation. Despite challenges in implementing UNSCR 1325, 30 per cent of the Malawian troops participating in the DRC peacekeeping mission were women. The military began recruiting female soldiers in 1999. However, only 3.5 per cent of the Malawi police contingent to the peace mission in Kosovo were women.

DISCUSSION

Participants felt that part of the lack of progress with the implementation of the GPA is that SADC repeats the same strategies over and over again, and then expects different results. It was also important to disaggregate the security sector in Zimbabwe, for it is not a homogeneous grouping and differences between high-ranking officials and the rank and file are discernible, with the latter being a relatively disgruntled group suffering from poor working conditions. It is also important to note that the security sector is sensitive to any proposed reform measures. One has to look for possible entry points for reform that could be gradually introduced. Unlike other post-conflict environments, Zimbabwe's security sector has not collapsed; it remains one of the stronger institutions in the country.

Malawi's progress in increasing its gender representation in the defence sector was noted. It doubled its intake from 5 per cent in 2008 to 10 per cent in 2010.

The potential role of African first ladies in championing the interests of other women and women's participation in conflict prevention was debated. Some participants felt that first ladies did not share the same interests, nor did they have the same ability to exert influence – they could be both an asset and a hindrance. However, there are instances where some have played a positive influential role in furthering the cause of gender equality.

Launch of the SADC Gender Protocol 2010 Barometer and the 16 Days of No Violence Against Women campaign

‘Structures of violence: defining the intersections of militarism and violence against women’

On the evening of the 22 November, Gender Links launched the SADC Gender Protocol 2010 Barometer and the 16 Days of No Violence Against Women Campaign in South Africa. The Minister of Home Affairs, Hon. Nkosozana Dlamini-Zuma, was the guest of honour.

CHERYL HENDRICKS
Senior research fellow, SSG, ISS

Cheryl Hendricks gave the welcoming remarks. She noted that the 2010 Barometer is a comprehensive overview of the state of implementation of creating gender equality throughout the region. It is unique for the continent and serves as a valuable tool for governments and NGOs.

Speaking to the global theme: ‘Structures of violence: defining the intersections of militarism and violence against women’, Hendricks argued that it points to one of the reasons why, after all the interventions to create gender equality and combat gender-based violence, we are still confronted with alarming rates of violence against women – it forces us to look at cultures and structures that normalise violence in all spheres of our societies. It also allows us to place back into the discourse on gender equality concepts hitherto marginalised, such as patriarchy. If we leave the power relations between men and women unexamined, the gender constructions unexamined and thus the overarching culture intact, we may manage to increase gender representation, but the ‘everyday experiences’ of women that situate them as unequal and expose them to structural violence continue. Quoting Cynthia Enloe, Hendricks highlighted that ‘it is not men on top that make something patriarchal. It’s men who are recognized and claim a certain form of masculinity, for the sake of being more valued, more “serious” and the “protectors of/and controllers of those who are less masculine” that



Photo 6 Colleen Lowe-Morna and Minister Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma

makes any organization, any community and any society patriarchal’.⁴ Militarism promotes violence as an acceptable way of settling disputes and operates with dichotomies of friends and enemies. It extends the logic of command and control beyond the barracks to the household, where women endure violent punishment for perceived acts of indiscipline in assumed male-headed households.

COLLEEN LOWE-MORNA
Executive director, Gender Links

Colleen Lowe-Morna provided highlights of the SADC Gender Protocol 2010 Barometer. She reminded participants that the launch of the Barometer signifies the coming home of the Protocol, since it was in South Africa that it was signed in 2008. She pointed out that it was the efforts of people like Minister Dlamini-Zuma, who at the time was minister of foreign affairs, that ensured the adoption of the Protocol. 2010 is a year of many milestones in the realm of

women, peace and security, as it is the 15th anniversary of the Beijing Platform for Action, the 10th Anniversary of the Millennium Development Goals, the 10th anniversary of the adoption of UNSCR 1325 and 20 years since the launching of the 16 Days of Activism against gender-based violence. Lowe-Morna highlighted that the theme of the campaign speaks to the fundamental interactions between gender-based violence and conflict.

She noted that there is still a long way to go to achieve gender parity in SADC, as only three countries had ratified the protocol, while four more were in the process of ratification. SADC is still faced with many challenges, such as large numbers of people living with HIV/AIDS. However, there have been successes in the areas of education, with more girl children enrolments, improved maternal health and a greater presence of women in the media (from 17 per cent to 19 per cent).

Lowe-Morna emphasised that the priority is not only to have more women in security institutions, but also to provide more responsive services to women, for gender-based wars take place on the home front. This was highlighted in the recently published study by Gender Links and the South African Medical Research Council on gender-based violence in South Africa's Gauteng province, which found that over half of the women in Gauteng (51.2 per cent) had experienced some form of violence (emotional, physical or sexual) in their lifetimes, and that 78.3 per cent of men in the province admitted perpetrating some form of violence against women. Yet, the report further notes, violence against women is still regarded as a private affair, with only 3.9 per cent of women interviewed reporting this crime to the police. Overall, only one in 25 rapes had been reported to the police. Peace in SADC has to start from the home base. Bodily integrity is the first form of human security, yet the most transgressed.

MAGDELINE MATHIBA-MADIBELA

Head, SADC Gender Unit, Botswana

Magdeline Mathiba-Madibela spoke to the significance of the Barometer for the SADC region. She stated that the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development is a milestone document whose process for adoption was special and challenging, for it involved the citizens of the region and it took ten regional meetings before it was passed. The women of the SADC region, through the initiation of the Protocol, had asserted the dictum 'nothing for us, without us'. The adoption of the Protocol marked a transition from an era of discussing content to that of implementation. It is critical to ground its implementation in complementary work and partnerships. This is therefore a crucial time to consolidate work to achieve gender equality in the region. The Barometer was useful for opening up dialogue and as

an advocacy tool. Mathiba-Madibela informed participants that the SADC Gender Directorate will be hosting a regional gender peace and security meeting and that it intends to do research on women in decision-making.

KEYNOTE ADDRESS

HON. NKOSAZANA DLAMINI-ZUMA

Minister of Home Affairs, South Africa⁵

I am pleased to deliver the keynote address at the launch of the 2010 Gender Protocol Barometer and 16 Days of No Violence Against Women in South Africa, which occurs during the jointly hosted Institute for Security Studies (ISS) and SADC Gender Alliance workshop on Gender, Peace and Security in Southern Africa. You would be aware that the SADC Gender Protocol Barometer was launched in Windhoek, Namibia ahead of the Heads of State Summit held in August this year to assess progress in terms of the empowerment and emancipation of women in the region.

Ladies and gentlemen,

South Africa's 16 Days of No Violence Against Women campaign will begin later this week, on 25 November, and will continue to 10 December. This year's global theme for the campaign is 'Structures of Violence: Defining the Intersections of Militarism and Violence Against Women'. During this time activists across the globe rally together to raise public awareness around gender violence.

The issues of peacebuilding and conflict resolution, as well as gender-based violence, are particularly relevant this evening, since it is now widely accepted that women face the brunt of conflict as well as socio-economic challenges. In this regard, on 19 June 2008, during South Africa's Presidency, the United Nations Security Council in resolution 1820 (2008) unanimously declared that rape and other forms of sexual violence can constitute a war crime, a crime against humanity, or a constitutive act with respect to genocide. The Council further called upon member states to comply with their obligations for prosecuting persons responsible for such acts, [and] to ensure that all victims of sexual violence, particularly women and girls, have equal protection under the law and equal access to justice, and stressed the importance of ending impunity for such acts as part of a comprehensive approach to seeking sustainable peace, justice, truth and national reconciliation.

While it remains uncertain about the effect of this resolution on the reality on the ground, especially in conflict situations, it was heartening that the international community could reach consensus on this very emotive issue.

Distinguished guests,

This workshop and the launch of the 16 Days Campaign is also more relevant than ever, especially since

the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) 2010 Report launched earlier this month states that 'Gender inequality remains a major barrier to human development. Girls and women have made major strides since 1990, but they have not yet gained gender equity'. In SADC we are still faced with a situation where, in some countries, women have minority status, are not allowed to own property, are not entitled to inherit the estates of those who are deceased, experience a gender division of labour and endure a dominant patriarchal value system. Is it possible that despite international, continental and regional legal instruments, women are still perceived as objects and experience objectification?

That this remains the situation in the year we commemorate the 15th Anniversary of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, the 10th Anniversary of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), the declaration of the African Decade for Women (2010–2020) in Nairobi this October, the 10th anniversary of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325, [the] 30th anniversary of the Convention for the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and the 30th anniversary of SADC, is of great concern.

We must at this juncture evaluate the progress we have made in terms of the struggle for the emancipation and liberation of women, which is further compounded by the emergence of new socio-economic challenges facing societies in general and women in particular. These included, amongst others, the HIV and Aids epidemic, climate change, globalisation, human trafficking, especially of women and children, the feminisation of poverty, and gender-based violence. Social, cultural and religious practices, attitudes and mind-sets continue to militate against the attainment of gender equality and equity, which are central to democracy and development.

We in Africa have long been convinced that gender equality and equity is a fundamental human right. Accordingly, African leaders further committed themselves to achieving gender parity during the inaugural session of the AU Heads of State and Government Summit in July 2002 in Durban, South Africa, and through the adoption of the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa during the 2nd Summit of the Organisation in 2003 Maputo, Mozambique. We have also signed and acceded to the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women.

In addition to continental commitments, SADC, as a building bloc of the African Union, took an important step towards achieving the emancipation of women in the region on 17 August 2008 when, here in Johannesburg, South Africa, we signed the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development. This Protocol has elevated the SADC

Declaration on Gender and Development to the most binding of its instruments, since it is legally binding, compelling Member States to expedite efforts towards gender equity in the region. It further calls for far-reaching changes and includes timelines for these goals, amongst which is the inclusion of gender equality and equity in National Constitutions, the repeal of all discriminatory laws, and work towards the continental goal of 50% women in political and decision-making positions by 2015.

Despite the political will by leaders on the continent, women still face immense challenges for empowerment and parity. The most recent scientific evidence of this is found in the 2010 UNDP report, which states: 'Women have traditionally been disadvantaged in the political arena at all levels of government. National parliamentary representation, which reflects women's visibility in political leadership and in society more generally, has been increasing over time – though the global average is still only 16%. In 2008 Rwanda's parliament became the first to have a majority of women.' This is certainly an indictment on the global leadership which has acceded to international conventions aimed at improving and uplifting the lives of women.

Burundi emerges as the closest to gender equality among the low Human Development Index countries. The Report states that women's political participation is greater in Sub-Saharan Africa than in the Arab States, Europe and Central Asia, and South Asia, but empowerment is offset by disparities in education. In terms of the Gender Inequality Index (GII), the Report further states that the bottom 10 countries (in descending order) are Cameroon, Côte d'Ivoire, Liberia, Central African Republic, Papua New Guinea, Afghanistan, Mali, Niger, the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Yemen, with an average GII of 0.79. It continues, 'Among the countries doing very badly on both fronts (Human Development Index and the Gender Inequality Index) are the Central African Republic, Haiti, Mozambique and Namibia, each with losses of more than 40% (inequality) and 70% (gender).' While some progress has been achieved in Sub-Saharan Africa, African countries still have a great deal of work to do to improve the lives of women.

In South Africa, despite the vast social disparities we have inherited, government has managed to register some progress in terms of improving the lives of our people, especially women, whose household responsibilities would include fetching water for the family, ensuring it is clean and making sure the home is warm and the family meal is prepared. For instance, over 91% of households have access to piped water, and in this regard we have achieved the Millennium Development Goal of halving the proportion of those without access to sustainable water. We are also on track towards achieving the 2014 goal of universal access to

potable water. We have also moved closer towards achieving the Millennium Development Goal of universal access to sanitation and, despite being a developing country, we have one of the highest rates of government investment in education. We have also made significant progress in ensuring the electrification of homes and rural areas.

Despite such dire statistics and in the face of an almost insurmountable challenge, the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development is a global first, having set 28 substantive targets for achieving gender equality by 2015. The Protocol places SADC at the cutting edge of innovative strategies for giving global and continental commitments meaning at sub-regional level. The 28 targets are divided into 8 thematic clusters, namely constitutional and legal rights, governance, education and training, productive resources and employment, economic empowerment, gender-based violence, health, HIV and AIDS, peacebuilding and conflict resolution, and media, information and communication.

Although the region has created a legally enabling environment in terms of frameworks for women's participation in peacemaking, peacekeeping and peacebuilding, as well as for their protection from violence, there is still a long way to go towards creating equitable participation of women in peace and security structures, protecting women during conflict and the prevention of gender-based violence.

We therefore have to acknowledge that the improvement of the lives of women is about more than legal frameworks and protocols. In fact, history has shown that any society that has won the battle against any form of social oppression has done so through the mobilisation of the masses. An analysis of how the battle against Apartheid was won in South Africa attests to this. More so, significant progress was made once women were included in the struggle.

The onus is then placed upon us as women to ensure we fight for and contribute towards our own emancipation. While there are a number of ways to do this, perhaps the most fundamental is to say no to any form of oppression immediately upon its manifestation. Surely we should find it offensive when, amongst a group of men and women, it becomes incumbent upon the women in the room to make tea and serve the men? How do we feel that a woman who bears the children who become a nation's future is considered a minor unable to take decisions about her future without a man giving her permission?

There is also the aspect of education. Various studies indicate that women who are more educated certainly have better chances at living fulfilled and productive lives. This is not just in the area of job or career opportunities. It is as simple as women who are educated are more unlikely to die in childbirth. Literacy is crucial to improving women's rights, and it is a critical first step for lifelong learning to build capacities, reduce vulnerabilities and

improve the quality of life. It is also well documented that educated women have a crucial impact on societies in which they find themselves.

We must also ensure that the change we make today is sustained tomorrow so that the SADC we bequeath to our children is better than the one we found. In this regard, I believe that parents in general and women in particular, who are the nurturers and architects of a society, must realise that adults mirror the societies they were exposed to as children. If a boy child is exposed to a culture of abuse and male superiority in his home, he will become an abusive husband and father, convinced of his superiority. If a girl child is taught that her place is to serve and that she will always be inferior to a male child, she will become a woman who lives such a life. She will also believe it is her lot in life to be abused and ill treated. It will be difficult for her to claim her independence if she has been taught her entire life to be submissive and subservient. If we, as men and women, are to live in respect for each other, harnessing each other's strengths to build sustainable and caring families and communities, we have to be socialised as children that male and female are equal with neither being able to claim superiority and dominance over another.

I would like to conclude with the words of the then President of the ANC, Oliver Tambo, who said, 'No more shall it be that a women's place is in the kitchen, but in the forefront of the struggle.' The struggle in which we are [engaged] is ... about eradicating poverty and underdevelopment [and] uplifting the lives of all people to ensure that tomorrow is better than today, but it is also about the progress and advancement of women who can be recognised as equal participants in society, alongside their male counterparts. We must ensure that the decade 2010–2020 is truly the African Decade of Women. When the decade draws to a close we must be proud to assess our achievements and progress in terms of deliverables rather than just political and legal frameworks.

I wish you well as you continue with your deliberations. And I wish you courage as you say no to any form of abuse or oppression directed at you. The oft-repeated cliché, 'Think global[ly], act local[ly]', must be activated. Local[ly] begins with me, it begins with you. Only then can we hope to make a global impact.

I thank you.

LOVENESS JAMBAYA
Gender Links

Loveness Jambaya of Gender Links closed the meeting and thanked the minister for her contribution to women's empowerment, not only in South Africa, but also throughout the SADC region.

Session VII

Gender and peacekeeping in Southern Africa

CHAIR: CHERYL HENDRICKS

Senior research fellow, ISS, Pretoria

MAXI SCHOEMAN

Head, Department of Political Science, University of Pretoria

Maxi Schoeman, analysing gender and peacekeeping in South Africa, began by highlighting that only 3.33 per cent of UN military peacekeepers are women and that it is difficult to increase the number. Only 2.4 per cent of those who have participated in negotiating peace agreements are women. The reasons often cited for why we need women peacekeepers are:

- Women have a certain affinity with peace
- They can investigate gender-based violence, carry out body searches and gather intelligence from other women
- They are more approachable and less threatening
- They serve as role models

South Africa deploys one of the largest representations of women peacekeepers to peace missions. The government has made a commitment to gender mainstreaming in the South African National Defence Force (SANDF) in line with UNSCR 1325. However, Schoeman contended, although South Africa can rightfully celebrate the participation of women in peacekeeping, there are fundamental challenges to women's participation. There is a discrepancy between the proportion of SANDF women serving as peacekeepers (5 per cent⁶) and that of women in the defence force (21 per cent). Furthermore, the number seems to have remained largely unchanged since 2000. The Military Skills Development System programme, aimed at recruiting new soldiers, had to be curtailed during the 2007/08 financial year because of resource constraints. There is therefore only a small pool of women from which to recruit peacekeepers. South Africa is one of only six

countries that allow women in combat musterings. But stereotypes persist and so women are still predominantly located in support functions. Despite the fact that men and women in the military receive the same training, women's capacities are still measured according to their social hierarchy, which posits them as unequal to men. These stereotypes affect women's opportunities for deployment as senior commanders continue to deploy men in perceived dangerous zones, confirming traditional stereotypes of peace missions as warlike male domains. Schoeman argued that these perceptions also influenced the manner in which women perceived themselves: her research found that women did not trust themselves with the conferred responsibility of making communities feel safer.

Women soldiers also felt that insufficient support is provided to them for undertaking peacekeeping deployments, i.e. there was a lack of encouragement by their superiors, and women who returned from missions were often faced with domestic challenges because of their long absences. There was also a lack of role models in the SANDF, i.e. a lack of senior female officers. The women who participated in the study conducted by Schoeman recommended the inclusion of quotas for women in peacekeeping missions and the establishment of a database of suitable women for deployment.

Schoeman concluded by saying that a lack of information about women peacekeepers is the biggest obstacle to examining the contributions of women to peace and encouraged institutional cooperation among the SANDF, the South African Police Service (SAPS) and the academic community to devote research to providing knowledge about and insight into the demands of peace operations. Comparative studies between South Africa and other African countries would also be useful.

SANDRA ODER

Senior researcher, ISS, Pretoria

Sandra Oder, addressing the contribution and challenges of women police officers in peacekeeping, asserted that the African peacekeeping context is changing with the application of the perspective of 'Africa solutions for African problems'. However, Africa still uses UN peacekeeping doctrine. Oder argued that it is our responsibility to properly train our peacekeepers.

Four key questions ought to be asked about women in peacekeeping:

- Do women in peace operations make a difference? Are women better peacemakers than men?
- To what extent do female peacekeepers make an impact on lives in the mission?
- Is there a connection between the number of women in a mission and the gender perspective of the leadership of the mission?
- What policies and strategies are required for participation and recruitment? What are the implications for training?

Speaking to the training provided by the ISS, she indicated that, traditionally, ISS/Training for Peace (TfP) support towards police capacity-building in SARPCCO (since 1998) and the Eastern African Police Chiefs Cooperation Organisation (EAPCCO) (since 2008) has focused on the framework of the UN/AU Police Officers Course (UNPOC) for trainers, including the Trainers Clinic. Upon request, it has also focused some amount of resources and efforts in support of national generic pre-deployment training in the two regions. In terms of UNPOC training approaches, both the generic foundational and trainers' formats, the ISS/TfP has presented more than 69 courses, meetings and seminars, 44 of which were UNPOC courses, meetings and seminars. Overall, these courses involved over 1 250 police officers (and support staff) from member states of the two regional police organisations, between 2004 and 2009; they excluded seminars and workshops.

In addition, ISS/TfP police capacity-building has included a high-level police officers' seminar since 2007. Since 2008 this seminar has also been run annually as a joint SARPCCO/EAPCCO event. The ISS/TfP programme also participated in the High-Level Gender Seminar held in Kinshasa in October 2010 and provided support for the SARPCCO Medical Doctors Sub-Committee (March 2010) and the EAPCCO Gender Sub-Committee (October 2010). Other training courses have included training for effective police response to violence against women and children and training police as change agents for HIV and AIDS prevention and management.



Photo 7 Sandra Oder

Sampling from the overall 2005–08 results of deployment indicated that out of the total of 474 personnel that were trained from five national police organisations that had requested training support, 82 per cent (389) of the trained personnel were deployed to AU and UN missions.

Among notable challenges to the training were the need for institutional and structural changes and the lack of women among the police officers sent for training. There is also a need for more concrete efforts by national training colleges at the national level towards impact assessment of the outcomes and outputs of gender police training, especially in terms of deployment. If such processes are not linked to the wider institutional responses to gender mainstreaming, the trained police personnel would be knowledgeable on gender issues, but the relevance of such training would be minimal. Since national governments are responsible for training, it is imperative that institutional reinforcement of gender training, coupled with supporting gender-sensitive internal recruitment, remuneration and retention policies, are sustained to ensure effective mainstreaming in peacekeeping operations.

SUSAN CHEMUREMA

Coordinator, SARPCCO Women's Network

Susan Chemurema, describing the SARPCCO Women's Network Sub-Committee, pointed out that the idea was conceived when four SAPS commissioners met with the commissioner-general of the Lesotho Police Service at the SARPCCO extraordinary meeting held in Kempton Park, Johannesburg, in February 2007. Women police from SARPCCO member countries were mandated to explore the possibility of establishing a forum for addressing

women's empowerment and for affiliating with the International Association of Women Police. During the 12th SARPCCO Annual General Meeting in Lusaka in 2007, police chiefs passed Resolution 13, which led to the establishment of the Women's Network Sub-Committee.

Since its inception in 2007, this sub-committee has succeeded in developing a regional policy document, a strategic plan and a sexual harassment policy. It also conducted a Command and Leadership course for senior policewomen in Luanda in March 2010. Another achievement is the development of regional HIV/AIDS programmes. The ISS has been instrumental in helping SARPCCO to conduct courses on the effective policing of violence against women and children.

Chemurema concluded by highlighting some of the challenges of the SARPCOO Women's Network Sub-Committee. The primary challenges are a continued lack of alignment of legal procedures and practices of member states, a lack of funding for proposed and planned activities, the non-implementation of resolutions by member states and a lack of a strategy for the network in individual countries.

MARIANNE ERASTUS

Namibia Women's Network, Namibia

Marianne Erastus, providing an overview on gender and peacekeeping in Namibia, experienced first hand the difficulty in gaining access to information on the security sector. She stated that even after UNSCR 1325 had been in existence for ten years, there is still limited knowledge of the objectives of the resolution in Namibia.

The highest-ranking woman in the Namibian Defence Force (NDF) is a brigadier general located in the health services department. Some women are unit commanders at various levels of the NDF, while some are staff officers. Furthermore, the Ministry of Defence has a recruitment policy that stipulates a minimum intake of 10 per cent women during recruitment drives. The ministry is indirectly responding to Article 28 of the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development, for currently women in the NDF constitute about 26 per cent of the total force.

The participation of the NDF in UN peacekeeping missions started in 1992 with contingents sent to Cambodia, Angola and Liberia. The highest-ranking female officer deployed on a UN mission thus far was a brigadier general. To date, five female officers and 200 non-commissioned officers served in the UN Mission in Liberia, three served in the UN Mission in Ethiopia and Eritrea, one female lieutenant colonel served in the UN Operation in Burundi for a one-year term, one officer served in Chad and 11 female officers served in the UN Mission in Sudan on a one-year rotational basis. The police deployed 32 female officers to the AU/

UN Hybrid Operation in Darfur. Erastus emphasised that even though the numbers might seem small, relative to the population and force size they are high – Namibia's gender ratio in deployments is nearing the 50 per cent mark.

Erastus expressed encouragement for the efforts of the Namibian Police Women's Network, which was launched in February 2010. This event was spearheaded by five commissioned female officers in the top management of the force. The network was established in line with Resolution 13 of SARPCCO. The top senior female officers in the force are vigorously embarking on programmes/activities aimed at improving the position of women in policing and their empowerment in general. In 2010 the force's intake consisted of 768 young cadet constables, of whom 248 (32 per cent) were female.

Erastus concluded that the onus is also on women in these sectors to capitalise on the gains made to move the agenda forward. This, too, is the potential role of the proposed gender, peace and security cluster.

MASHELA PATRICIA MOKGAGANE

Department of Defence, South Africa

Lt Col Mashela Patricia Mokgagane, speaking on the implementation of UNSCR 1325 from a South African Department of Defence (DoD) perspective, noted that South Africa deploys one of the largest contingents of women in peace support operations on the continent, with 19 per cent representation. Female soldiers are deployed in combat roles as military observers, air traffic controllers, commanding officers, legal officers and medical task team commanders. They form part of integration teams administering DDR programmes, in which they incorporate a gender perspective. South Africa is also the only country that deploys a military gender advisor who advises commanders on gender issues and does training on managing sexual exploitation and abuse, and gender-based violence with the troops.

The DoD also offers a gender advisors course at the Peace Missions Training Centre and there is currently a pilot project at the Infantry School to integrate gender into the training of instructors. Mokgagane also indicated that the defence industry has made great strides in modifying equipment and uniforms to make them gender friendly, e.g. a female bulletproof vest was recently unveiled, the industry is doing away with the 'one-size-fits-all' approach to uniforms and efforts are under way to modify SANDF weapons so that they are compatible with the female physique.

The Directorate of Transformation introduced a gender mainstreaming strategy in 2008, and a Gender Mainstreaming Council with representatives from services and divisions was established. The recruitment target

for women at entry level is 40 per cent. Currently there are 52 women with the rank of general in the SANDF.

However, many challenges to gender mainstreaming and empowerment remain, the chief of which is the continued prevalence of patriarchal attitudes harboured by both men and women. Mokgagane argued that the patriarchal nature of most militaries makes it difficult for female commanders to exercise command and control in multinational peace support operations. In addition, language barriers make it difficult for women peacekeepers to perform their perceived roles of gathering information within peace missions. A high rate of sexual violence is also committed in mission areas by South African troops. The six-month uninterrupted deployment period for peace missions poses a challenge for women to perform their family roles. A lack of exposure to gender activism among senior female officers prevents them from embracing and championing the gender equality agenda within the SANDF.

In proposing a way forward, Mokgagane argued for the incorporation of gender assessments and civilian gender advisors into missions. There should also be support structures for female soldiers, such as daycare centres, within the workplace and deliberate career pathing to allow women to develop fields of expertise and boost their retention in the system. She concluded by emphasising that the success

of all peacekeeping operations depends on the gender configuration of deployed forces.

DISCUSSION

Participants noted that of all the countries that deploy peacekeepers in Southern Africa, Namibia had the best gender ratio. The absolute number of women deployed by South Africa may be bigger, but in terms of percentage of total contingent, it is much lower than Namibia's. Other participants inquired about the lack of women in SARPCCO training sessions and what effective retention strategies could be devised for women in the security sector.

Sandra Oder argued that the persistent lack of women in training sessions is due to the fact that participants are chosen by their respective countries and not by SARPCCO. Although SARPCCO encourages a 10 per cent representation of women, the proportion is almost always less than this.

Maxi Schoeman noted that we continue to think of peacekeeping in terms of a military paradigm. Yet often, different skills and approaches are required. We need innovative recruitment strategies and we need to promote awareness of what women do in defence forces, especially at institutions of higher learning, if we are to attract women to the SANDF.

Session VIII

Developing regional and national action plans for implementing UNSCR 1325

MAGDELINE MATHIBA-MADIBELA

Head, SADC Gender Unit, Botswana

Magdeline Mathiba-Madibela began by outlining relevant SADC legal frameworks promoting gender equality in general and in the security sector in particular. These are:

- The SADC Treaty, Article 6(2)
- The SADC Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan
- The Strategic Indicative Plan of the Organ, which is silent on gender, but is an important entry point
- The SADC Declaration on Gender and Development (1997) and its Addendum (1998)
- The SADC Gender Policy (2007), Thematic Area 4.11
- the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development (2008), Part 3, Article 12 and Part 8, Article 28
- SADC member states as parties to international treaties and protocols on gender, peace and security

Article 28 of the SADC Gender and Development Protocol has two provisions:

- Equal representation and participation in key decision-making in conflict resolution and peacebuilding processes by 2015 in accordance with UNSCR 1325 on Women, Peace and Security
- The prevention and elimination of the incidence of human rights abuses especially of women and children and ensuring that perpetrators are brought to justice before a court of competent jurisdiction

The SADC Gender Policy (2007) seeks to:

- Create an enabling environment for the promotion of peacebuilding in the region
- Prevent human rights abuses during conflict
- Promote the participation of women in all peacekeeping initiatives



Photo 8 Magdaline Mathiba-Madibela



Photo 9 Patricia Mokagane

Mathiba-Madibela noted that SADC, at its summit held in the DRC in September 2008, directed the Secretariat to develop a regional strategy to address sexual violence against women and girls, particularly in conflict and post-conflict situations, and to develop a regional programme

on mainstreaming gender into peace and security in line with UNSCR 1325.

She outlined eight objectives, with corresponding actions, that would constitute the focus areas for SADC's action plan. (See Table 1)

Table 1 Eight objectives, with corresponding actions, that would constitute the focus areas for SADC's action plan

Objective	Actions	Actors
1. Develop and implement strategies/frameworks for mainstreaming gender in peacekeeping and conflict resolution processes of armed and other forms of conflict in line with UNSCR 1325.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Review constitutions, legislation and policies to integrate gender. 2. Develop capacity for gender mainstreaming at all levels. 3. Develop checklists and guidelines for operationalisation. 4. Review and integrate gender into structures and institutions. 	SARPCO, SADC Organ, Regional Peacekeeping Training Centre (RPTC), government, civil society
2. Advocate for increased representation of women in key decision-making positions.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Domestic UN, AU and SADC protocols on gender and development. 2. Advocate for the reform of constitutions, legislation and policies, as appropriate, to include gender parity. 3. Advocate, develop, adopt and implement affirmative action measures through equal opportunity legislation. 4. Develop, implement and monitor equal representation guidelines. 	Government, civil society, SADC, partners
3. Advocate for the inclusion of women in continental, regional and national policy peace dialogue.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Develop programmes to address patriarchal systems and structures. 2. Advocate for the review and/or enactment of policies that create space for women in engagements. 3. Carry out an ongoing audit on the status of barriers to, obstacles to and opportunities for the effective participation of women. 4. Promote public information on the benefits of equal benefits and opportunities. 	Government, civil society, SADC, partners
4. Build the capacity of women to participate in post-conflict peacebuilding processes particularly in SSR, DDR programmes, and democratisation and governance processes, including consultations, reviews and electoral systems.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Strengthen the capacity of women involved in decision-making through continued leadership training. 2. Train institutions responsible for the sector and sectoral issues, i.e. governments, the SADC Organ, SARPCCO, the RPTC, civil society, academia, researchers and the media. 3. Create opportunities for mutual learning and mentoring inter- and intra-regionally, as well as South-South and South-North. 4. Research and document issues, lessons and best practices. 	SADC Organ, SADC Gender Unit, civil society, AU
5. Develop strategies for the prevention and elimination of all forms of violence against and human rights abuses related to women and girls in conflict and post-conflict situations.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Develop and enact legislation prohibiting all forms of violence. 2. Establish mechanisms to ensure that perpetrators of violence are tried by courts of competent jurisdiction. 3. Establish programmes to deal with socio-cultural and political practices. 4. Develop a comprehensive integrated approach to services and support. 5. Develop awareness-raising programmes for communities. 	Government (military, police, health), civil society, international cooperating partners
6. Provide special measures to reduce the stigmatisation of women and girls that have been sexually abused (forcibly married, used as sex slaves, etc.).	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Create rehabilitation measures for women to address the physical and psychological effects of conflict. 2. Provide services to deal with the immediate and long-term effects of abuse. 3. Train service providers to deal with violence in a gender-sensitive manner. 4. Develop actions for community mobilisation against violence. 5. Create networks that operate in this area for easy referrals and cooperation. 	Government, civil society, private sector
7. Develop and support community education programmes and social services, including economic empowerment programmes, to protect and assist women and children during times of armed and other forms of conflict.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Promote national research to guide interventions on needs and priorities. 2. Develop specific women's economic programmes. 3. Develop IEC⁷ plan and actions. 	Government, SADC, civil society, private partners
8. Promote international, continental, regional and national research on gender, peacebuilding and conflict resolution.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Develop a database for all stakeholders. 2. Identify key areas of research for different levels of engagement. 3. Develop a strong research base by training researchers across the region. 4. Conduct research. 5. Disseminate results, etc. 	Academic and research institutions, SADC, SADC member states, civil society

Some useful entry points were outlined for the operationalisation of the regional action plan, e.g. the use of the existing SADC policy frameworks, the SADC gender mainstreaming toolkit and training manual, clear institutional mechanisms, political will, and strong partnerships with civil society.

The SADC process for achieving the regional plan would consist of:

- Holding conversations and engagements with partners
- Convening a SADC technical meeting bringing together gender, peace and security experts, the SADC Organ, women with personal experiences and other stakeholders by January/February 2011
- Submitting the draft output to senior officials/gender ministries by June 2011

- Submitting the final output to SADC ministers responsible for gender and women's affairs by July 2011
- Submitting the final output to the Council of Ministers for approval and adoption by August 2011

Mathiba-Madibela concluded by highlighting the need for a multiple strategy approach, i.e. both gender mainstreaming and women's empowerment, and that all key sectors need to be involved. We also need stronger collaboration between gender structures and the SADC Organ on Peace and Security. In addition, there needs to be a clear road map of engagement, i.e. a regional action plan on gender, peace and security, and a clear monitoring and evaluation mechanism.

Session IX

Group work

Form and function of a SADC gender alliance peace and security cluster

Cheryl Hendricks reminded participants that the decision to have a gender, peace and security cluster within the SADC Gender Alliance was taken in Windhoek in August 2010. The ISS was asked to coordinate the cluster. The idea is that within each country there will be a sub-cluster with an elected focal point person/organisation who/that will co-ordinate communication and activities on areas of gender, peace and security. The groups were to discuss possible objectives and activities that the cluster should undertake.

The groups forwarded the following suggestions:

1. The ISS should coordinate the cluster. The ISS, with the country focal point organisation, should identify organisations/people at the national level working on gender, peace and security. A letter should be sent out requesting the current country focal point organisation of the Alliance to call a meeting with organisations/people who could form part of the national cluster. Meetings should be held to formalise national clusters.
2. Clear terms of reference should be developed for national clusters.
3. Checklists and guidelines should be developed for monitoring the implementation of Article 28 of the SADC Gender Protocol.
4. A regional UNSCR 1325 action plan should be advocated and lobbied for.
5. The development of NAPs should be facilitated.
6. Information should be collected on gender, peace and security, and a framework for reporting should be developed.
7. Gendered affirmative action within the security sector should be advocated for.
8. Audits of women's participation in the security sector should be conducted.
9. A database of women peacebuilders should be established.
10. A website for the cluster should be developed.
11. Regional gender-sensitive early warning indicators should be developed.
12. Security fluency among women's organisations should be developed.
13. Gender balance in peacekeeping missions and the deployment of gender advisors should be advocated for.



Session X

Thanks and closure

Hendricks thanked all the participants for their contributions at the workshop and indicated that this was the start of the hard work ahead of us.

Notes

- 1 Martha Thompson, Women, gender and conflict: making the connections, *Development in Practice* 16(3) (2006), 242.
- 2 See, for example, Yaliwe Clarke, SSR in Africa: a lost opportunity to deconstruct militarised masculinities *Feminist Africa* 10, 49–66.
- 3 More commonly known by its acronym, MONUSCO.
- 4 C Cohn and C Enloe, A conversation with Cynthia Enloe: feminists look at masculinity and the men who wage war, *Signs* 28(4) (2003), 1187–206.
- 5 <http://www.polity.org.za/article/sa-dlamini-zuma-address-by-the-home-affairs-minister-at-the-launch-of-the-2010-sadc-protocol-on-gender-and-development-pretoria-november-2010-2010-11-22>.
- 6 The proportions seem to vary between 5 and 19 per cent, indicating the need for more precise information.
- 7 It is not clear what is being referred to here.

Appendix 1

Workshop programme

Gender, Peace and Security in Southern Africa 22–23 November 2010, Irene Country Lodge, Irene, Gauteng

Day 1: Monday 22 November 2010	
08:00–08:30	Registration
08:30–09:00	Welcome and opening remarks <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Ms Cheryl FRANK, director, ISS Pretoria Office ■ Ms Colleen LOWE-MORNA, executive director, Gender Links ■ Dr Cheryl HENDRICKS, senior research fellow, ISS, Pretoria
09:00–09:30	Overview of the debates and practices on gender, conflict and post-conflict reconstruction <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Dr Cheryl HENDRICKS, senior research fellow, ISS, Pretoria
09:30–11:00	Advances in and challenges of implementing UNSCR 1325 in Africa Chair: Ms Magdeline MATHIBA-MADIBELA, head, Gender Unit, SADC, Botswana Speakers: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Ms Harriet MUSOKE, exchange programme coordinator, Isis-WICCE, Uganda, on Uganda ■ Ms Siphokazi MAGADLA, ISS, Pretoria, on Southern Africa ■ Ms Sandra AYOO, Dominion African Institute of Peace Studies, Uganda, on the Juba Peace Process ■ Ms Margaret AKULLO, coordinator, Lango Female Clan Leaders Association, northern Uganda, on G40 Formation and Experiences in the Horn of Africa
11:00–11:20	Tea/coffee break
Overview of conflicts in Southern Africa and their implications for gender, peace and security	
11:20–13:00	Panel 1 Chair: Ms Emilia MUCHAWA, Zimbabwe Women Lawyer's Association, Zimbabwe Speakers: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Prof. Esperance BAYEDILA, Information and Communication Sciences University, DRC, on gender, peace and security in the DRC ■ Ms Lungile MAGONGO, head of department, Justice, Peace and Reconciliation, Swaziland, on Gender, Peace and Security in Swaziland ■ Dr Judy SMITH-HOHN, senior researcher, ISS, on Challenges to Peace and Security in Zambia
13:00–14:00	Lunch
14:00–15:15	PANEL 2 Chair: Ms Doo APHANE, Swaziland Speakers: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Dr David ZOUNMENO, senior researcher, ISS, on Overview of the Conflict and Peace Process in Madagascar ■ Ms Francine KIDJA, deputy chair, FPFE-GEMSA, Madagascar, on Gender, Peace and Security in Madagascar ■ Ms Lidia SOARES, president, Associação Nós Por Exemplo, Mozambique, on Gender, Peace and Security in Mozambique

Day 2: Tuesday 23 November 2010	
15:15–15:30	Tea/coffee break
15:30–17:00	<p>Panel 3</p> <p>Chair: Mr Jacques GBİLIMOÛ, Ministry of Education, Seychelles</p> <p>Speakers:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Adv. Theresa MUGADZA, advocacy coordinator, Oxfam, Zimbabwe, on the Conflict in Zimbabwe ■ Ms Netsai MUSHONGA, national coordinator of Women's Coalition of Zimbabwe, former board member of the Women Peace Makers Programme, member of Women Peace Makers Programme in Zimbabwe, on Gender, Peace and Security in Zimbabwe ■ Ms Caroline MVALO, executive director, Centre for Conflict Management and Women Development Affairs, Malawi, on Gender, Peace and Security in Malawi
18:00–20:00	<p>Launch of the SADC barometer on gender and development and the 16 days of activism campaign venue: Library room</p> <p>Structures of Violence: Defining the Intersections of Militarism and Violence against Women</p> <p>Keynote speaker: Hon. Minister Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma, Minister of Home Affairs, South Africa</p>
08:30–10:00	<p>Gender and peacekeeping in Southern Africa</p> <p>Chair: Dr Cheryl HENDRICKS, senior research fellow, ISS, Pretoria</p> <p>Speakers:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Prof. Maxi SCHOEMAN, head, Department of Political Science, University of Pretoria, on Gender and Peacekeeping in South Africa ■ Ms Sandra ODER, senior researcher, ISS, Pretoria, on The Contribution and Challenges of Policewomen in Peacekeeping in Southern Africa ■ Ms Susan CHEMUREMA, coordinator, SARPCCO Women's Network ■ Ms Marianne ERASTUS, national coordinator, Namibia's Women's Network, on Gender and Peacekeeping in Namibia ■ Lt Col Mashela Patricia MOKGAGANE, Department of Defence, South Africa
10:00–10:20	Tea/coffee break
10:20–11:20	<p>Developing regional and national action plans for implementing UNSCR 1325</p> <p>Chair: Ms Marthe MULLER, SAWID, South Africa</p> <p>Speaker: Ms Magdeline MATHIBA-MADIBELA, head, SADC Gender Unit, on Developing a National Action Plan on UNSCR 1325 for the SADC Region: Prospects and Challenges</p>
11:20–13:00	Group work: Form and function of a SADC Gender Alliance peace and security cluster
13:00	Closure and departure

Appendix 2

List of participants

Name	Organisation & country	Email
Ms Margaret Akullo Elem	Lango Female Clan Leader Association Northern Uganda	makulloelem@yahoo.com lawoclan@yahoo.com
Mrs Lungile Nompumelelo Magongo	Council of Swaziland Churches Swaziland	jpr@africaonline.co.sz c.o.c@africaonline.co.sz
Mrs Magdeline Mathiba-Madibela	SADC Secretariat Botswana	mmadibela@sadc.int
Prof. (Ms) Bakanda Esperance Bayedila	Information and Communication Sciences University DRC	epebayedila@yahoo.fr
Ms Harriet Nabukeera-Musoke	Isis-Women's International Cross-Cultural Exchange (Isis-WICCE) Uganda	mharriet@isis.or.ug program@isis.or.ug
Ms Caroline Mvalo Chisi	Centre for Conflict Management and Women Development Affairs (CECOWDA) Malawi	carolmvalo@yahoo.co.uk cecowda@yahoo.co.uk
Ms Marie Francine Kidja	FPFE-GEMSA Madagascar	kidjafrancine@yahoo.fr
Prof. Maxi Schoeman	Department of Political Science, University of Pretoria South Africa	maxi.schoeman@up.ac.za
Mr Jacques Kouï Gbilimoü	Ministry of Education – Employment and Human Resources Seychelles	jakoui@yahoo.fr
Mrs Mularika Florence Boloko	Peace and Development Women Coalition DRC	florenbl2002@yahoo.fr
Ms Emilia Muchawa	Zimbabwe Women Lawyer's Association Zimbabwe	emilia@zwla.co.zw
Ms Netsai Mushonga	Women's Coalition of Zimbabwe (WCoZ) Zimbabwe	netsaimushonga@yahoo.com coalition@zol.co.zw
Ms Marianne Erastus	Namibia Women's Network Namibia	Erastusm2001@yahoo.com.au
Ms Lidia Soares	Associação Nós Por Exemplo Mozambique	Soares.lidia64@gmail.com lsoares1964@yahoo.com.br
Mrs Lungiswa Memela	Western Cape Network on Violence Against Women South Africa	lmemela@wcnetwork.co.za
Ms Doo Aphane	Swaziland	dooaphane@realnet.co.sz

Name	Organisation & country	Email
Ms Puseletso Ntsoelikane	WLSA Lesotho	pntsoelikane@yahoo.com
Ms Colleen Lowe-Morna	Gender Links South Africa	execdirector@genderlinks.org.za
Ms Loveness Jambaya	Gender Links South Africa	alliance@genderlinks.org.za
Ms Mukayi Makaya	Gender Links South Africa	alliance@genderlinks.org.za
Mr David Zounmenou	ISS South Africa	dzounmenou@issafrica.org
Ms Sandra Oder	ISS South Africa	soder@issafrica.org
Dr Judy Horn-Smith	ISS South Africa	jsmithhohn@issafrica.org
Ms Cheryl Franks	ISS South Africa	cfrank@issafrica.org
Dr Cheryl Hendricks	ISS South Africa	Chendricks@issafarica.org
Ms Siphokazi Magadla	ISS South Africa	smagadla@issafrica.org
Ms Nanzi Mhlanga	ISS South Africa	nmhlanga@issafrica.org
Adv. Teresa Pearl Mugadza	Oxfam Zimbabwe	tpearl@zol.co.zw
Ms Ivy Mutwale	SADC-CNGO Botswana	ivy.mutwale@sadc-cngo.org.bw
Ms Bhawtee Ramdin	Mauritius Council of Social Services	macoss@intnet.mu
Ms Sandra Josephine Ayoo	Dominion African Institute of Peace Studies Uganda	
Ms Susan Chemurema	Interpol	
Mr Johannes Oljelund	Swedish Embassy South Africa	
Ms Marthe Muller	SAWID South Africa	
Lt Col Mashela Patricia Mokgagane	Department of Defence South Africa	



ISS Head Office

Block D, Brooklyn Court, 361 Veale Street
New Muckleneuk, Pretoria, South Africa
Tel: +27 12 346 9500 Fax: +27 12 346 9570
E-mail: iss@issafrica.org

ISS Addis Ababa Office

5th Floor, Get House Building,
Africa Avenue, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia
Tel: +251 11 515 6320/24/67/98 Fax: +251 11 515 6449
E-mail: addisababa@issafrica.org

ISS Cape Town Office

2nd Floor, The Armoury Building, Buchanan Square
160 Sir Lowry Road, Woodstock, South Africa
Tel: +27 21 461 7211 Fax: +27 21 461 7213
E-mail: capetown@issafrica.org

ISS Dakar Office

Stèle Mermoz, 100x Elhadji,
Ibrahima Niassé MZ83, Senegal
Tel: +221 33 824 0918/21 Fax: +221 33 824 2246
E-mail: dakar@issafrica.org

ISS Nairobi Office

Braeside Gardens,
Off Muthangari Road, Lavington, Nairobi, Kenya
Tel: +254 20 386 1625 Fax: +254 20 386 1639
E-mail: nairobi@issafrica.org

ISS Pretoria Office

Block C, Brooklyn Court, 361 Veale Street
New Muckleneuk, Pretoria
Tel: +27 12 346 9500 Fax: +27 12 460 0998
E-mail: pretoria@issafrica.org

www.issafrica.org

WORKSHOP REPORT

ISBN 978-1-920422-42-4



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This seminar report was made possible by the Government of Iceland.
In addition, general Institute funding is provided by the governments of Denmark, the Netherlands, Norway and Sweden.

