

GOVERNANCE, GENDER AND PEACEBUILDING: Strengthening the nexus

Towards durable solutions for women Refugees, IDPs and Returnees



GLOBAL GENDER SUMMIT

Kigali, Rwanda 25-27 November 2019



ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This study has been commissioned by the Africa Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) in light of the African Union Theme of 2019 on Refugees, Returnees and IDPs: Towards Durable Solutions to Forced Displacement in Africa. This report has been prepared by Laura Nyirinkindi under the leadership of Professor Eddy Maloka and Dr Rachel Mukamunana who played a key role in conceptualising and shaping the direction of the study.

Diana Demba who provided critical support throughout the process and Nomfanelo Mhambi are appreciated in the utmost. The role of Clementine Nyinawumuntu and Thivhulawi Netshivhale in documenting important aspects of the process is acknowledged with gratitude. Special thanks go to Stella Sabiiti who provided concrete insights and referrals for further investigations on key study themes.

The study findings benefitted from consultations in Kenya supported by the APRM-NEPAD Kenya office. All the Kenyan peace activists and NGOs involved in peacebuilding that provided inputs are gratefully acknowledged. The APRM Gender Forum convened in Kigali on 27 November 2019 and led by Dr Fatima Karadja, the Vice Chairperson of the APRM Panel of Eminent Persons, provided an opportunity for in-depth investigations of the emerging themes and findings. The gallant men and women who participated in this forum and availed much needed information, perspectives, views and documentation are thanked in the utmost.

LIST OF ACRONYMS

AGA	African Governance Architecture
AMISOM	African Union Mission to Somalia
APRM	African Peer Review Mechanism
APSA	African Union Peace and Security Architecture
AU	African Union
CEPG	Commission Economies pour les Pays des Grand-Lacs
CEWARN	Conflict Early Warning and Response Mechanism
COMESA	Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
CSSDCA	Conference on Security, Stability, Development and Cooperation in Africa
DDR	Demobilisation, Disarmament and Reintegration
DPG	Democracy and Political Governance
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
EAC	East African Community
EALA	East African Legislative Assembly
ECCAS	Economic Community of Central African States
ECOMIG	ECOWAS Military Intervention in the Gambia
ECOSOCC	Economic, Social, and Cultural Council
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
ECOWARN	Early Warning and Response Network
EGM	Economic Governance and Management
ICGLR	International Conference on the Great Lakes Region
IDP	Internally Displaced Persons
ILO	International Labour Organisation
IGAD	Intergovernmental Authority on Development
LPC	Local Peace Community
NAP	National Action Plan
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development
NPoA	National Programme of Action
OUA	Organisation of African Unity

PSC	Peace and Security Council
RDRC	Rwanda Demobilization and Reintegration Commission
REC	Regional Economic Communities
RM	Regional Mechanisms
SADC	Southern Africa Development Community
SAPMIL	Southern African Development Community
SDG	Sustainable Development Goals
SDGEA	Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa
SGBV	Sexual and Gender Based Violence
TNA	Transitional National Assembly
UN	United Nations
UNECA	United Nations Economic Commission for Africa
UNHCR	United Nations High Commission for Refugees
UNSCR	UN Security Council Resolution
WAEMU	African Economic and Monetary Union
WILDAF	Women in Law and Development in Africa

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

In 2002, 55 percent of global conflicts existed in Africa, falling to 24 percent by 2011. By November 2017, there were 15 conflict situations in Africa, all exhibiting the crime of trafficking in women. Modern forms of violent conflict have blurred the lines between traditional battlefields and combatants and civilian spaces and populations. The proliferation of cross border movement in arms and narcotics, terrorism and violent extremism have fuelled national and regional conflicts with an intangible, often faceless yet violent corps of belligerents that target civilians, particularly women and children.

Conflict has adverse implications for men and women, but there is demonstrable evidence that it affects women and girls disproportionately. Factors such as age, personal status, religion, ethnicity and socio-economic status compound women's vulnerability, creating multi-layered risks of oppression, discrimination and insecurity. The Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action 1995 identified the grave challenges that women face in conflict, such as displacement, loss of homes and property, family disintegration and sexual violence. Forced displacement in particular, has created a humanitarian crisis in multidimensional ways, resulting in a vast number of refugees and internally displaced persons (IDPs).

Durable solutions to addressing conflict from a preventative, management and recovery dimension require the involvement and meaningful participation of both men and women. Regardless of women's critical contributions to peacebuilding, particularly at the grassroot and community level, the majority of decision-making in governance and formal peace processes is male-led and dominated. When qualifications for participation in peace negotiations and mediations are characterised by military, defence and diplomatic experience, women are treated as ineligible as these are predominantly male dominated fields. The well-developed skills that women in peacebuilding have built in communication, dialogue, networking, mediation, conflict resolution and strategic engagement are discounted as soft skills.

African women are underrepresented in senior political, legislative and judicial positions and in peace and security institutions and processes at the national, regional and international level, including preventative diplomatic efforts. Failure to include women in decision-making in key governance structures and processes risks results in regulatory, financial and programmatic outcomes that do not respond to women's rights, reinforcing gender inequality. This has been borne out in various peace processes, to the detriment of women and girls.

A global study on the global implementation of UNSCR 1325 found that in a 40 case study research project, the strong presence and participation of women's collectives in peace processes produced positive results at the commencement, continuation and conclusion of negotiations and in the building of consensus positions. Despite this, it is estimated that out of 1,168 peace agreements signed between January 1990 and January 2014 globally, only 18 percent made any references to women or gender.

When ensuing peace processes and agreements are not comprehensively responsive to the concerns and interests of women, the post conflict recovery phases reflect similar omissions, frustrating sustainable peace. The UN Secretary General in 2004 noted that, 'the absence of women from the peace table results in insufficient attention to and reflection of their concerns in peace agreements. Furthermore, a peace process that fails to include women in agenda-setting, substantive talks and implementation raises questions about the democratic legitimacy of the process and lacks the inclusiveness to generate any sense of ownership among women. This can undermine the prospects for the durability of the agreement and sustainable peace.'¹

The UN Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325 and eight subsequent related resolutions note the low momentum in attaining the increased participation of women in peace processes and integration of gender issues in peace processes. The UN Security Council continues to urge states to engage women and men in decision-making in peacebuilding on an equal basis and for the dismantling of gender barriers to the full realisation of the aspirations and targets of UNSCR 1325. The African Union has taken several initiatives to provide leadership in this regard.

¹ Report of the Secretary-General 'Women's equal participation in conflict prevention, management and conflict resolution and in post-conflict peace-building' March 2004 22 December 2003

Women working in peacebuilding at the grassroots face limited recognition and support for their leadership roles and inadequate funding to undertake the critical work of conflict prevention, management and resolution. Despite this, women activists, civil society actors/organisations and grassroots movements of peacebuilders have displayed initiative, leadership and commitment to building peace movements, advocacy and action. All over the continent, the remarkable efforts of these actors in generating research, building capacity for mediation, reconciliation, monitoring and lobbying for peace is evident. Their effort, skills, information and commitment constitutes a strategic resource to be harnessed for the enhancement of women's decision-making in formal peacebuilding processes.



DURABLE SOLUTIONS:

Strengthening the nexus between gender, governance and peacebuilding

There is a growing realisation in African states that bad governance causes inequalities that can lead to the outbreak of sustained violence. Violence against women is a manifestation of gender inequality resulting from unequal power relations in times of peace or conflict. Sustainable solutions requires women to be their spokespersons and to articulate their concerns and issues within formal governance platforms and peace processes. As recognised in the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action and the Maputo Protocol, women should be accorded equal access to decision-making and power structures in governance processes in order to improve the chances of a fair, inclusive and sustainable peace.

The Africa Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) was established in 2002 as Africa's response to the continent's governance problems and is a vehicle for entrenching positive values of governance and democracy. The UN Secretary General's report on

the Causes of Conflict and Promotion of Durable Peace and Sustainable Development in Africa (2004) lauded the APRM initiative to support national efforts to enhance political, economic and corporate governance.² APRM is continually working with member states of the AU and AU institutions to entrench the values and standards of democratic governance in the political, socio-economic, corporate and economic sphere (the four pillars).

The primary purpose of the APRM is ‘to foster the adoption of policies, standards and practices that lead to political stability, high economic growth, sustainable development and accelerated sub-regional and continental economic integration through sharing of experiences and reinforcement of successful and best practice, including identifying deficiencies and assessing the needs of capacity building.’ The APRM’s mandate was extended by the 28th AU Assembly of Heads of State and Governments to include tracking of the implementation of the continent’s key governance initiatives and monitoring of the implementation of the AU Agenda 2063 and (SDGs) and Agenda 2030.

In light of its mandate, the APRM has undertaken reviews of countries’ governance policies and practices, working with civil society, the private sector and state institutions to diagnose governance challenges and provide sustainable solutions that form part of governments’ priority action plans and development targets. Although countries through the APRM have undertaken reviews of areas relevant to women and governance, there is need for more concerted focus on the women, peace and security agenda within existing governance frameworks at the national and regional levels.

Strengthening common objectives and identifying priority actions of the respective mandates of the African Governance Architecture (AGA), African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA) and APRM will help to build convergence towards gender, peacebuilding and democratic governance synergistically. The APRM has a diagnostic value and its reports or engagement processes at country level can feed into the agenda setting and monitoring work of AGA and APSA in their respective mandates.

² Progress report of the Secretary-General ‘Implementation of the recommendations contained in the report of the Secretary-General on the causes of conflict and promotion of durable peace and sustainable development in Africa’ UN General Assembly August 2005 A/60/182

Together with Member States, the Regional Economic Communities (RECs) can develop monitoring frameworks to track implementation of the Nation Action Plans on UNSCR 1325 convergence towards the objectives of the women, peace and security agenda. RECs can furthermore encourage more Member States to join the APRM governance mechanisms and undertake reviews with a view to converging on governance and peacebuilding standards.

STRENGTHENING NATIONAL PROCESSES:

What processes need to be prioritised and strengthened?

By working with member states to identify gaps in implementing, monitoring and reporting on important areas of governance, the APRM can prioritise gender and peace building measures in the following areas:

Democracy and Political Governance

- The AU Panel of the Wise have recommended an increment of women in mediation by 50 percent at all levels, including electoral bodies, constitutional courts and other critical areas of public office. This standard of gender parity should inform reviews of women's participation.
- Guaranteeing women's equal participation in election processes as candidates and voters is important in ensuring gender responsive leadership. Where possible, special measures of affirmative action should be integrated within constitutions and political party laws, funding mechanisms and civic education programmes.
- National Action Plans (NAPs) on the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 should be adopted by all countries and integrated within the APRM National Programmes of Action (NPoA). Such programmes will best be sustained when mainstreamed within country development planning frameworks and implemented and monitored at national and local government level.
- Vibrant civil societies and peacebuilders should be supported to continue their work in peacebuilding, and implementation and monitoring of NAPs and NPoAs. Laws that enable civil society to work without restrictions should be promoted.
- APRM review processes provide critical broad-based state-society dialogue platforms through which civil society organisations converge and provide policy

analysis and recommendations to improve governance outcomes. APRM can share successful models of such strategic engagement and encourage peer learning on best practices.

- Enhancing the resources and capacities of civil society and State institutions to collect data is important for the production of evidence-based approaches to preventative, protective and assistive interventions for women exposed to conflict.
- Inclusive security sector governance programmes is critical to gender justice. Integrating principles of gender equality and mainstreaming in these processes is an important strategy in this regard.
- The APRM espouses accountable public service in its reviews and performance targets. It is important for public and private sector institutions to integrate targets to increase the presence of women. Passing laws, budgets and recruitment policies that promote these principles is essential.
- Ratification of the Maputo Protocol and reporting on progress towards implementation is key, as well as the Convention for the Protection and Assistance of Internally Displaced Persons in Africa and the OAU Refugee Convention. APRM reviews should continue to identify gaps in countries' standards and codes and prioritise their adoption.

Economic Governance and Management

- Strengthening the capacities of countries to undertake gender budgeting is important in mainstreaming development dividends for women and should be reflected in economic policy frameworks.
- Governments should facilitate women's economic empowerment in the informal sector; sustained measures aimed at transitioning women into the formal economy can help to build their resilience in recovery phases.
- Programmes that bolster women, including rural women to earn a livelihood and access production inputs, labour and financial markets on an equal footing with men should be promoted.

Corporate Governance

- Involving the private sector in peacebuilding activities through effective partnerships is important. The private sector should be included in economic reconstruction projects to improve livelihoods, entrepreneurship and skills building. The involvement of men and women in such programmes should be encouraged by governments and CSOs.
- Private sectors in some countries have shown initiative in integrating ex combatants in enterprises that provide opportunities for apprenticeship, skills building and vocational work. APRM should amplify the value returns of such good practices and encourage countries to provide spaces for corporations to build on such good practices.
- Corporations practice corporate social responsibility as a form of good citizenship that is recommended by APRM. Countries should provide corporations with development priorities to guide their philanthropy and include projects that speak to social sectors of concern to women and men.

Socio-Economic Development

- APRM should encourage countries to implement and monitor SDG 5 and 16 to fully realise women's equal rights to economic resources, access to ownership and control over land and other forms of property, financial services, as well as inheritance and natural resources, in accordance with national laws.
- Laws that take into account women's transformed gender roles as a result of conflict should be enacted to protect the rights of widows and female headed households in the area of land, property and succession rights.
- The APRM reviews focus on the need to address climate change as an overarching issue. Climate change multiplies risks for women, since they interact more with nature for food, water and clothing. Women's adaptative capacities should be enhanced through natural resource governance, including women's increased leadership of and participation in areas like water governance.

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

The African Union has pronounced itself continuously on democratic governance, gender and peacebuilding norms, establishing architectural frameworks that extend from the continental to the regional level. Standard setting on the appropriate



regulatory and institutional frameworks form part of these initiatives. Member states are required to collectively through the Regional Economic Communities and singularly through national home grown responses domesticate and implement these normative standards and frameworks.

Harnessing the potential of men and women to contribute meaningfully to governance can be transformative. As citizens develop decision making systems, norms and institutions are developed over time to regulate how conflicts are resolved through

established mechanisms.³ Governance responses to manage the vying interests of citizens must of necessity take into account the integration of the issues concerning women as well as men, reflecting gendered approaches in the structural composition of institutional, resource and regulatory frameworks. Sustainable peace stands a better chance of being consolidated when men and women continually engage governance mechanisms - policy frameworks and democratic institutions- for problem solving, conflict prevention and resolution.

³ Hufty M 'Investigating Policy Processes: The Governance Analytical Framework (GAF)'. Available at <http://ssrn.com/abstract=2019005>

Conflict management and resolution mechanisms in times of peace extend to governance sectors including legislatures, judiciaries, public administration, electoral bodies and traditional justice mechanisms. In varying degrees, countries display divergent approaches in the inclusion and participation of women in these sectors. In practice governments' responses to violent conflict often bypass existing governance structures to form politically expedient teams to negotiate the cessation of violence with combatants and government dignitaries during intrastate or interstate conflict. In these instances, the participation of women on an equal basis as men is not guaranteed nor the integration of gender issues in negotiated outcomes, with implications for post conflict sustainable peace. Siloed peace processes that are not based on broad based participation of men and women often result in gender neutral or blind outcomes. .

Women's contributions to governance and peacebuilding are fundamental as a matter of democratic, legal and human rights. As a population that is specifically targeted and disproportionately affected during violence, women's participation and voice in developing durable solutions to conflict prevention, management and resolution is critical. However, challenges abound in the application and implementation of these rights. The structural domination of men over women in governance and peace processes is likely to produce outcomes that are not informed by women's lived realities and cannot eradicate structural gender violence. By excluding women's peacebuilding leaders and organisations from formal spaces and processes, their contributions, drawn from decades of experience in peacebuilding in informal and grassroots spaces, are under exploited, including the social capital that comes with their strong networks.

The study seeks to examine the key governance processes that are critical for supporting and promoting gender equality in conflict prevention and management with a view to identifying essential entry points and policy direction for the APRM as it implements its mandate. The critical role of the APRM in providing upstream and downstream linkages to effect AU objectives demands an integrated response to its mandate and work with Member states.

Hufty (2008) proposes five analytical tools within the governance analytical framework around problems, social norms, actors, interaction spaces and processes. Analyses

of aspects in the context of governance, gender and peacebuilding will be integrated across the various themes of the report. The next section investigates the effects of violent conflict on women, focusing on phenomenon of women as refugees and IDPs as a result of violent conflict in Africa. The social constructions influencing governance and peacebuilding frameworks in the face of UNSCR 1325 are analysed in section three. Sections four and five address the regulatory and institutional frameworks and processes for peacebuilding in Africa at the continental and regional level. Section six examines the work of the APRM at the national level across the four pillars and the key gender issues relating to governance and peacebuilding. Recommendations on how to strengthen the existing governance, gender and peacebuilding frameworks are in Section seven.



Background

It has been said that in times of armed conflict, it is often more dangerous to be a woman than a soldier.⁴ Complexities arising from the changing nature of violent conflict have blurred the lines between traditional battlefields and combatants and civilian spaces and populations. The constant threat of terrorism and violent extremism best exemplifies this phenomenon, although it exists in other forms, especially in intrastate conflict. The proliferation of cross border movement in arms and narcotics, terrorism and violent extremism have fuelled national and regional conflicts with an intangible, often faceless yet violent corps of belligerents that target civilians, particularly women and children.

In circumstances of weakened state security and response mechanisms, conflict is debilitating for all, but especially affects women and girls in very specific ways. Identity factors such as age, personal status, religion and ethnicity, socio-economic status compound women's insecurity, creating multi-layered risks of oppression, discrimination and vulnerability. The undesirable relationship between violence against women and conflict is exacerbated due to increased vulnerability and insecurity of women when compared to men. When aggravated by forced displacement, socio-economic deprivations such as lack of education, health services, nutrition, food insecurity, unequal access to economic opportunities, deprive women of the realisation of their human rights, affecting them at the individual, communal and national level.

Conflict in Africa is driven by structural factors including undemocratic governance, competition for power and resources, poverty, economic deterioration, ethnic and religious divisions and social injustices and inequalities. Such drivers can be exacerbated by secondary underlying threats like climate change when countries fail to develop adaptive capacities. In 2002, 55 percent of global conflicts existed in Africa, falling to 24 percent by 2011.⁵ Despite this, intrastate conflict persists, trapping a number of countries in a vicious cycle of multidimensional challenges with severe consequences for Africa's citizens, particularly women. By November 2017 the AU

⁴ United Nations ' Security Council Unanimously Adopts Resolution 2242 (2015) to Improve Implementation of Landmark Text on Women, Peace, Security Agenda' October 2015, SC/12076 13. Available at <https://www.un.org/press/en/2015/sc12076.doc.htm>

⁵ UNDP 'Income Inequality Trends in sub-Saharan Africa: Divergence, Determinants and Consequences' UNDP 2017, UN NY

Peace and Security Council noted the existence of 15 conflict situations in Africa comprising ongoing conflicts or post conflict situations, a dozen of which were troubled by chronic vulnerabilities and all exhibited the crime of trafficking against women.⁶

As far back as 1995, the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action 1995 identified grave challenges women face in conflict such as displacement, loss of home, property, family disintegration and sexual violence. The situation of women in conflict has been compared to induce the same level of mortality and violence that male combatants face.⁷ Violent conflict is the most immediate trigger for forced displacement and this report studies the causality between the two phenomena and the consequences for women and girls. Apart from the harrowing hardships and risks displaced women face during flight, on resettlement they are affected by artificially induced social conditions, often without adequate support and protection systems. In the AU Concept note on the theme of Refugees, Returnees and IDPs, the AU Executive Council illustrated the grave humanitarian crisis and scale of displacement which has resulted in pandemic sexual and gender based violence (SGBV), trafficking, xenophobia as well as lack of adequate humanitarian assistance.⁸ Returnees often lack social services and economic support in the wake of conflict cessation, especially in the context of a weakened state.

According to the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR), 70.8 million children, women and men were forcibly displaced at the close of 2018, twice as high as 20 years ago, 2.3 million more than in 2017 and the highest number in its almost 70-year history.⁹ Of these, Africa hosted 31 percent by end of December 2018.¹⁰ Furthermore, half of the world's ten countries registering the highest refugee population relative to national population are found in sub-Saharan Africa.¹¹ Women tend to form the higher percentage of this demographic; the highest proportion of both

⁶ African Union 'Remarks by the Commissioner for Peace and Security at the United Nations Security Council Open Debate on the Maintenance of International Peace and Security: Trafficking of Persons in Conflict Situations' 21 November 2017

⁷ McCarthy M K 'Women's Participation in Peacebuilding: A Missing Piece of the Puzzle?' College Undergraduate Research Electronic Journal 2011

⁸ AU Executive Council 'Concept Note and Roadmap Framework on the Theme of the Year: "Refugees, Returnees and Internally Displaced Persons: Towards Durable Solutions to Forced Displacement in Africa" EX.CL/1112(XXXIV)Rev.1

⁹ UNHCR 'Global forced displacement tops 70 million'. Available at <https://www.unhcr.org/news/stories/2019/6/5d08b6614/global-forced-displacement-tops-70-million.html>

¹⁰ UNHCR 'Global Trends: Forced Displacement in 2018'2018

¹¹ UNHCR 'Global Trends: Forced Displacement in 2018'2018

women and children refugees by end of 2018 was in sub-Saharan Africa with 52 percent and 57 percent respectively.¹² Uganda alone is host to the third largest population of refugees globally, made up of more than 1.2 million women, men and children of whom 59 percent are women while 58 percent are below 18 years.¹³ These staggering statistics paint a disturbing picture of a humanitarian crisis with a gendered face.

In 2009, the African Union (AU) Commission declared 2010-2020 the African Women's Decade to give primacy to Africa's gender equality agenda and accelerate implementation of gender equality and women empowerment targets, including peacebuilding and governance.¹⁴ Following this, the AU declared the year 2010 the African Year of Peace, with a view to pursuing the objectives of peace for men, women and children on the continent. Despite this, cycles of violent conflict continues to foster untold suffering on the continent. By November 2017 Africa was hosting eight United Nations peacekeeping operations.¹⁵

With a view to shedding a spotlight on the phenomenon of forced displacement and on women suffering as refugees or internally displaced, the AU has within the past decade taken further deliberative steps. Since 2004, the position of Special Rapporteur on Refugees, Asylum-Seekers and IDPs in Africa exists within the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights.¹⁶ In a novel move, the AU appointed a Special Envoy on Women, Peace and Security of the Chairperson of the AU Commission in January 2014.¹⁷ In July 2017, the AU Executive Council took a decision to request the Union to declare 2019 the Year of Refugees, Returnees and IDPs with a view to seeking durable solutions to forced displacement in Africa,¹⁸ resulting in the AU summit launching the 2019 theme as 'the Year of Refugees, Returnees and IDPs: Towards Durable Solutions to Forced Displacement in Africa' on 2 February 2019. In

¹² UNHCR 'Global Trends: Forced Displacement in 2018' 2018

¹³ Kampala Declaration on Refugees, 2017. Available at <http://refugeesmigrants.un.org/declaration>

¹⁴ African Union 'The African Women's Decade, Theme: Grassroots Approach to Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment (undated)

¹⁵ AU Peace and Security Council 'Silencing the Guns in Africa by 2020: Women's Role in Preventing and Resolving Natural Resource-Based Conflicts' 29-30 November 2018

¹⁶ AU Model law for the Implementation of the African Union Convention for the Protection of and Assistance to Internally Displaced Persons in Africa

¹⁷ Open Debate of The UN Security Council on "Women, Peace and Security: The Role of Women in Conflict Prevention and Resolution in Africa" New York, March 28, 2016.

¹⁸ Decision 968 (XXXI).

2019, the AU Peace and Security Council (PSC) unequivocally identified structural gender-based inequalities as fundamental root causes of conflict-related sexual violence.¹⁹ As a sign of commitment and based on the recommendations of the Panel of the Wise, the PSC has dedicated an annual open session to conflict-related sexual violence to foster debate on sustainable solutions, required reforms and best practices.

Despite the AU commitment to searching for durable solutions to conflict from a gender perspective, country trends in peace processes provide a dialectically juxtaposed picture. On the one hand is women's essential work in peacebuilding at the community, grassroots and even local government level. This is set against the backdrop of a scattering of women as observers on the peripheries of male led and dominated formal peace processes, where a handful of women are co-opted or nominated through intense lobbying by women's groups. At the Women's Peace Conference of Zanzibar, 1999, the ensuing Zanzibar Declaration decried the male domination of peace negotiations despite women's efforts and initiatives to build consensus and dialogue.²⁰ African women noted the underrepresentation of women in senior positions in political, peace and security institutions at the national, regional and international level, low support for their leadership roles and inadequate funding.²¹

Despite the watershed moment ushered in by the ground breaking UN Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325, subsequent security council resolutions note the low momentum towards attaining the goals of UNSCR 1325,²² the 'too slow progress' in greater participation of women in peace processes and integration of gender issues in peace processes.²³ UNSCR 2242 (2015)²⁴ and eight other resolutions of the security council continue to clamour for both sexes i.e. women and men to be engaged in prevention and resolution of armed conflict, peacebuilding and post conflict situations. UNSCR 2242 calls for the dismantling of barriers to fully realising the

¹⁹ Peace and Security Council Press Statement PSC/PR/BR. (DCCCLXII) 23 July 2013

²⁰ Zanzibar Declaration on Women and a Culture of Peace adopted by a Pan-African conference in Zanzibar on 17-20 May 1999.

²¹ S/RES/2242

²² UNSCR 1820 (2008)

²³ UN General Assembly 'Women's participation in peacebuilding: Report of the Secretary-General' A/65/354-S/2010/466, 7 September 2010

²⁴ Adopted by the Security Council at its 7533rd meeting, on 13 October 2015 S/RES/2242 (2015)

aspirations and targets of UNSCR 1325 and build in women's participation at all levels of decision making.

The considerable obstacles posed to women's full involvement in peace processes, participation in post-conflict public life, continued underrepresentation of women in formal peace processes²⁵ and in mediation processes²⁶ are also at the heart of various security council reiterations for deconstructing the systematic exclusion of women. Conflict resolution is predominantly framed as a 'man's job'²⁷ with numerous peace processes displaying tokenistic 'just add women and stir' approaches to a critical area of governance.²⁸ Because of the underrepresentation of women in security sectors and diplomatic corps, women's absence is not seen for the issue of systemic exclusion that it is but rather as lack of eligibility due to socially constructed barriers. When undue emphasis is placed on qualifications based on experience in defence, military and diplomatic skills in peace negotiations and mediations, women are viewed as ineligible in such male dominated domains. The well-honed skills that women have in communication, mediation, networking, conflict resolution and strategic engagement are discounted as soft skills.

The dangers of adopting purely technical, quantitative approaches to a core governance issue such as the women, peace and security agenda cannot be overstated²⁹ Root causes of conflict arise from structural factors such as poverty, gender, regional and income disparities and affect men and women differently. Successful interventions to restore peace require political, legal, economic, social and financial interventions that must reflect the priorities of men and women. Thus, recognition of women's right and agency to articulate their concerns through decision making structures and processes at all levels is fundamental. Without implementing this overarching principle of inclusivity and participation in peacebuilding, sustaining peace or revolving conflict is jeopardised.

²⁵ S/PRST/2005/52

²⁶ S/PRST/2009/8).

²⁷ Hunt, Swanee and Posa P 'Women Waging Peace: Inclusive Security' 2001. Foreign Policy No. 124: May-June: 38-47.

²⁸ Dharmapuri S 'Just Add Women and Stir?' 2011. Available at https://www.peacewomen.org/assets/file/Resources/Academic/1325-1820-partpp_justaddwomenandstir_gender_peaceprocesses_parametersquarterly_2011.pdf

²⁹ Myrtilinen H, Naujoks, El-Bushra Judy 'Re-thinking gender in peacebuilding (2014) International Alert



2.0 FORCED DISPLACEMENT OF WOMEN AND GIRLS: THE CRISIS OF REFUGEES AND INTERNALLY DISPLACED PERSONS IN AFRICA

Internally displaced women and female refugees are by-products of forced displacement sparked by either natural causes or conflict for the most part,³⁰ though African instruments have widened the scope of causality. The Addis Ababa Document on Refugees and Forced Population Displacements in Africa, 1994 identified governance challenges at the national level as constituting the root causes of the refugee conundrum.³¹ The Document urges African governments to concretise the foundational elements of democratic institutions and governance, pursue respect for human rights, economic development and social advancement with a view to solving this crisis.

Forced displacement dislodges women, men and children from their origins and depending on their end destination, legally induced distinctions determine their fates.

³⁰ Migration data portal 'Forced migration or displacement'. Available at <https://migrationdataportal.org/themes/forced-migration-or-displacement>

³¹ Adopted by the OAU/UNHCR Symposium on Refugees and Forced Population Displacements in Africa 8 - 10 September 1994 Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

Refugees and Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) may flee for the same reason but end up with different status, the technicalities lying in whether their geographic end point is intrastate or across state borders.³² A refugee is a person that flees his or her country triggered by persecution, war or violence³³ and under UNHCR humanitarian regime, is entitled to broad protections and assistance by the receiving state. Often protective frameworks and legal regimes for refugees are better developed than for IDPs, which can be little to non-existent.

Where refugees return home and ongoing conflicts affect their ability to a smooth reintegration, they often end up being internally displaced returnees. In some instances, as happened in Cameroon in 2018, a country may be both a source country and host country of refugees, asylum-seekers, IDPs and returnees which strains country resources significantly. According to UNHCR, Cameroon had multiple internal displacements in 2018 and by September 2019 there were 1,154,900 IDPs of whom 347,923 were returnees, and 403,208 refugees.³⁴

The debilitating effect of internal displacement has been described by the United Nations as ‘one of the most tragic phenomena of the contemporary world.’³⁵ When it arises from conflicts, forced displacement is associated with gross human rights violations and hardships. The breakdown in familial and socio-cultural ties, deterioration of social amenities such as education, social services, employment food, shelter and medicine, and sexual violence, abuse and exploitation exacerbates the plight of IDPs but more so women.³⁶

A confluence of risk factors may also emerge whereby within a conflict area, natural disasters such as floods, desertification, disease and famine coincide. Such circumstances can increase the vulnerabilities of women and girls and compound discrimination, marginalisation and exploitation. Response mechanisms to counter such challenges require multisectoral challenges and can weigh heavily on a host country’s resources, with implications for adequate humanitarian assistance. In the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), the Ebola Virus Disease that broken out in

³² UNHCR and partners ‘Protecting Refugees: A field guide for NGOS’

³³ UNHRC ‘What is a refugee?’ Available at <https://www.unrefugees.org/refugee-facts/what-is-a-refugee/>

³⁴ <https://data2.unhcr.org/en/country/cmr>

³⁵ UN Economic and Social Council ‘Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement’ General E/CN.4/1998/53/Add.2 11 February 1998

³⁶ *ibid*

North Kivu and Ituri exacerbated the already existing conflict driven humanitarian situation, generating mass migration of people fleeing from the affected areas internally and to neighbouring countries.³⁷

Revelations of the crises that displaced women face in camps have persisted for as long as there have been camps. IDPs in camps often suffer from poor administration and social welfare, insecurity and breakdown of services critical to law and order and access to justice. Not all IDP camps are formally constituted, as some IDPs settle in host communities where they are exposed to even more risks without targeted social support systems. Internally displaced women in such instances face immense risks around protection from sexual violence and limited access to assistance programmes.³⁸

While refugees and IDPs may result from the same root causes of conflict, differences in their flight paths can set off different consequences. Legally and practically, IDPs may find it easier to relocate internally for better services and protection, since they are still nationals with citizen rights. The continent has grappled with the problem of refugees since the fifties, with African leadership and citizens continually seeking for solutions.³⁹ Despite the fact that under the OAU, these solutions did not consistently reflect a specific concern for women and girls caught up in conflict situations, there was an attempt to resolve the conundrum through governance. The Tunis Declaration on the 1969 Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems, 1994 highlights the importance of good governance and rule of law as key to resolving the root causes of refugees. The UN Secretary General has acknowledged that the 1969 OAU Refugee Convention transcends the landmark 1951 Refugee Convention as it reflects a more expanded definition of a refugee.⁴⁰ The OAU Refugee Convention turned 50 years old in 2019 and 46 out of 55 Member States are party to the OAU Refugee Convention 1969, of which 42 had acceded by 1995.

³⁷ World Health Organisation 'Weekly bulletin on outbreaks and other emergencies Week 32: 05 – 11 August 2019

³⁸ The Gender Dimensions of Internal Displacement: Concept Paper and Annotated Bibliography submitted to: Office of Emergency Programmes, UNICEF November 1998

³⁹ Stated in the Tunis Declaration on the 1969 Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems 1994 (Tunis Declaration)

⁴⁰ United Nations 'Africa Has Set Gold Standard for Solidarity, Secretary-General Tells Regional Summit, Citing Unmatched Generosity to Those Seeking Safe Haven 10 February 2019. Available at <https://www.un.org/press/en/2019/sgsm19459.doc.htm>

Refugee women desperate to leave the country for more secure locations often are exposed to risky behaviour that further may revictimize them where exploitative practices exist such as trafficking and sexual violence at the hands of immigration officials and armed groups.⁴¹ Reports of asylum registration related opportunistic corruption and ‘sexploitation’ are common as women seek to obtain refugee status in order to access protection and humanitarian assistance.⁴² Female refugees face threats of random arrests or deportation, increasing their vulnerability. Trafficking in refugee women is also an ever present threat for desperate women and girls looking for a way out. Women are more likely to be asked to pay for services in kind leading to risky sexual behaviour.

The 2002 Report of UNHCR titled “*Sexual Violence and Exploitation: The Experience of Refugee Children in Liberia, Guinea, and Sierra Leone*”⁴³ exposed rampant violations against women and girls. Evidence was unearthed of extensive sexual violence and exploitation of children (girls under 18) committed by community leaders, teachers, medical workers, humanitarian workers. More recent revelations of peacekeeping operations and humanitarian workers sexual exploitation and abuse of refugee women has prompted debate reflected in the humanitarian #Aidtoo discourses.⁴⁴



On arrival in countries that grant them asylum, women and girls find new risks in humanitarian camps or host communities. Acts of community based banditry targeted at refugees result in sexual violence against women

⁴¹ UN University ‘Protecting Female Refugees against Sexual and Gender-based Violence in Camps’. 2015 Available at <https://unu.edu/publications/articles/protecting-female-refugees-against-sexual-and-gender-based-violence-in-camps.html>

⁴² Statement of Solidarity with Refugee Women and Girls, June 2017. Available at www.womennetwork.org

⁴³ UNHCR ‘Extensive abuse of West African refugee children reported’ Available at <https://www.unhcr.org/news/press/2002/2/3c7bf8094/extensive-abuse-west-african-refugee-children-reported.html> 26 February 2002

⁴⁴ The New Humanitarian ‘#Aidtoo: After Oxfam, what to watch’ Available at <https://www.thenewhumanitarian.org/news/2019/06/11/aid-sector-abuse-scandal-aidtoo-after-oxfam-what-watch>

as they go about collecting firewood or herding animals.⁴⁵ This affects women's socio-economic activities as women fear to stray away from relatively safe areas for health, agriculture, food and water purposes. Conflict related sexual violence is a critical area of concern because it causes health, psychosocial and physical harm, and its consequences transcend conflict and post conflict phases.

Given the weighty challenges posed by refugee populations for hosting countries, African states have striven to rise to the challenge. UN Secretary General Guterres affirmed Africa's outstanding performance in dealing with forced migration, calling it 'the Gold Standard' for solidarity in terms of leadership, vision and compassion.⁴⁶ Countries with progressive refugee rights regimes have emerged. Uganda has been commended by the UN Secretary General for its 'generous asylum regime' that not only enables refugees to live outside and enjoy rights alongside Ugandans but also integrates their issues in national development and service delivery processes.⁴⁷

Despite the manifest commitment and goodwill of Africa countries to deal with the problem of refugees and IDPs, particularly women and girls, the challenges are immense. The humanitarian assistance response required and the capacities and resources to enable this are an additional burden to host countries that already struggle with meeting the welfare of citizens for basic services. As has been reiterated by Africa's leaders and peoples, durable solutions lie in addressing the root causes of conflict that trigger forced displacement, including through a governance and gender lens. Without a strong women, peace and security approach to conflict resolution, forced displacement will remain an indictment on governance failures on the continent.

⁴⁵ UNHRC 'UNHCR's Women Victims of Violence Project in Kenya: An Evaluation Summary EC/1995/SC.2/CRP.22 June 1995. Available at <https://www.unhcr.org/excom/scaf/3ae68bf90/unhcrs-women-victims-violence-project-kenya-evaluation-summary.html>

⁴⁶ United Nations 'Africa Has Set Gold Standard for Solidarity, Secretary-General Tells Regional Summit, Citing Unmatched Generosity to Those Seeking Safe Haven 10 February 2019. Available at <https://www.un.org/press/en/2019/sgsm19459.doc.htm>

⁴⁷ Kampala Declaration on Refugees 2017 at the Uganda Solidarity Summit on Refugees

3.0 GOVERNANCE, GENDER AND PEACEBUILDING: GORDIAN KNOTS?

The riddle of the legendary Greek gordian knot connotes complex problems that are intricately tied together and yet not unresolvable with innovative approaches. Governance, gender and peacebuilding are an interwoven tapestry that together depict the complexities around conflict. While the desirable standards is to integrate the concepts closely in order to build sustainable peace and inclusive societies and democracies, they are more commonly loosely linked or and often governments often display disconnected and incoherent approaches. As a core tenet of governance, the equality of status and opportunities between men and women in all spheres of public life impacts on their ability to influence peace outcomes. This includes equal rights to preventing, managing and resolving conflict. Violence against women is structural, rooted in unequal power relations as defined in the UN Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Violence Against women. Equality is prescribed as the ‘antidote’ to gender based violence.⁴⁸

Governance

The award of the Nobel Peace Prize for 2011 to President Ellen Johnson Sirleaf for her struggle to attain women’s rights to full participation in peacebuilding work was significant, in part due to fact that it was framed in the context of UNSCR 1325. In awarding the prize, the Nobel Peace Prize Committee stated that ‘we cannot achieve democracy and lasting peace in the world unless women obtain the same opportunities as men to influence developments at all levels of society.’⁴⁹

At the heart of violent conflict is the struggle against political exclusion, inequality, discrimination, social injustice, poverty and socio-economic deterioration. All these governance concerns are reflected in various African Union instruments of the heads of states and governments and have been flagged as key drivers of conflict. In its various resolutions, the UN Security Council acknowledges the linkages between

⁴⁸ Wilton Park Conference 816 ‘Peace and Security: Implementing UN Security Council Resolution 1325’ 30 May – 02 June 2006. Available at <https://www.wiltonpark.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/wp816-report.pdf>

⁴⁹ The Nobel Peace Prize for 2011. Available at <https://www.nobelprize.org/prizes/peace/2011/press-release/>

governance and peace and security as mutually reinforcing.⁵⁰ The polity and citizens as well as different segments of the citizenry are often locked in struggles for political and economic power against finite resources. Channelling such tensions through avenues built on democratic participation and inclusive development strategies has the potential to improve the chances of sustainable peace. However, governments' legitimacy can be consolidated when democratically constituted establishments and norms respond to social justice, of which gender equality is crucial. The willingness-political will- of government institutions to diffuse political power and economic resources among women and men on an equal basis is central to accountable government.

Governance practices that exclude social groups, from benefitting from development and political dividends risk stirring up structural violence. The AU PSC has highlighted the importance of managing diversity as a critical component of conflict resolution.⁵¹ Diversity management is an overarching issue of APRM's core focus at the country level. Creating conditions for good governance is essential for legitimising state authority and preventing occurrence or relapse into conflicts.⁵² By institutionalising democratic norms and institutions to ensure equitable distribution of power and resources, governments can balance relations of and with vying social groups.⁵³ UN General Assembly Resolution 70/262 of 2016 refers to peacebuilding as an inherently political process, requiring programmatic, political, development and human rights mechanisms and programmes.⁵⁴ The mechanisms, rules, institutions and processes through which the state ensures this are essential.

Peacebuilding involves a continuum of processes which can best be implemented when embedded in governance frameworks as guarantees for men and women. General Assembly Resolution 70/262 and Security Council resolution 2282 (2016) respectively emphasise that sustaining peace is a goal and a process to build a

⁵⁰ Resolutions A/60/L.40 and S/RES/1645 of 2005

⁵¹ Peace and Security Council Press Statement 17 December 2018 PSC/PR/BR.(DCCCXVIII)

⁵² General Assembly 'Resolution adopted by the General Assembly on 27 April 2016 [without reference to a Main Committee (A/70/L.43)] 12 May 2016 A/RES/70/262

⁵³ Khadiagala G 'Silencing the Guns: Strengthening Governance to Prevent, Manage, and Resolve Conflicts in Africa' IDEA 2015

⁵⁴ A/RES/70/262

common and broad based vision of a society.⁵⁵ When peacebuilding organisations, political actors, civil society and communities are mobilised by government to participate in decision making processes over conflict prevention, management and resolution, the outcomes are more likely to appeal to a wider base. The APRM builds on citizen participation for influencing national governance processes, plans and targets, which is a fundamental component of peacebuilding.

The involvement of women as active citizens, elected leaders and decision makers is a crucial part of governance towards peacebuilding and below are indicators developed by the AU on entry points for women's participation

Indicators for gender responsive governance and peacebuilding: The Continental Results Framework)

The African Union Continental Results Monitoring Framework (2018-2028) integrates indicators on women's participation in leadership in peace and security processes. These extend to participation of women in

- decision making positions in political and civil service (ministers, permanent positions, heads of commissions and public boards,
- oversight structures for peacebuilding (Truth and Justice Commissions, Peace Commissions, alternative justice institutions),
- elective and nominative office (national and local assembly or senate members, mayors/governors and members of electoral governance bodies), women in political processes (voters, candidates),
- security institutions (police, justice, immigration, military, national intelligence, prisons), leadership positions in foreign service related to technical experts supporting mediation and negotiation processes, negotiators, mediators, observers, peace agreement signatories) and
- Number of women's CSOs participating in government- led peacebuilding processes (Security sector reform, disarmament programmes and dialogues)

⁵⁵ UN General Assembly 'Report of the Secretary General: Peace Building and Sustaining Peace' A/72/707–S/2018/43

Gender

UN Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325 urges member states to increase women's representation at all decision-making levels in national, regional and international institutions in mechanisms for the prevention, management, and resolution of conflict. Despite this, non-adherence to this important principle is more common in formal peace processes. The UN Commission on the Status of Women attributes the notable absence of women from formal peace processes to gender stereotypes and male attitudes towards power sharing as well as inadequate training.⁵⁶ Education and training can enhance women's capabilities and can more easily be addressed than systemic and attitudinal barriers that skew power relations against women's inclusion.

For long, a range of activists, observers and peace advocates have decried the limitations in meaningful participation of women in formal peace processes. The 'structural' exclusion of women from decision making processes in critical negotiations and agreements whose provisions carry much weight in the recovery period is deeply problematic.⁵⁷ Peace negotiations and mediations are precursors of agreements that capture consensus or compromise positions on distribution or redistribution of power, resources and socio-economic priorities. Out of 31 major peace processes between 1992 to 2011 that were sampled (of which 16 were in Africa ie 56%), women comprised of 9 percent on average and between August 2008 to March 2012, only two out of 61 (3.2 percent) peace agreements had women present.⁵⁸ Of the 16 African countries only the DRC had all three categories with women represented; 5 percent women as signatories, 20 percent lead mediators in North Kivu and 20 percent lead mediators in South Kivu in 2008. Kenya had 33 percent women lead mediators in 2008.

Without women's presence in peace processes, there is a high risk that resultant position documents will not adequately reflect women's interests, affecting transitional or post conflict implementation.⁵⁹ However, presence does not always equate to

⁵⁶ Porter E 'Women, political decision-making, and peace-building' *Global change, peace & security*, v. 15, no. 3 (2003)

⁵⁷ *ibid*

⁵⁸ UN Women 'Women's Participation in Peace Negotiations: Connections between Presence and Influence' UN 2010

⁵⁹ Elisabeth Porter, 'Political Representation of Women in Northern Ireland', *Politics*, 18,1 (1998)

influence. The AU Special Envoy on Women, Peace and Security illustrates the case of Malian women who expended efforts to mobilise and capacitate women through the Platform for Women Leaders to participate in ongoing negotiations.⁶⁰ The platform successfully lobbied for 8 more women from civil society on top of the 3 women originally among the 50 government delegates in the negotiations. Despite this, as a collective, women, came out empty handed when the emerging positions neglected to integrate women's priorities. In Sierra Leone, a Plan for the post conflict Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper only allocated \$2 million out of \$100 million to human rights under which a gender component was included, but with no interventions earmarked for women.⁶¹

One dimensional, heterogenous portrayals of gender priorities during and after conflict cannot respond to the complex layers of vulnerabilities that women face nor the value they add in post conflict recovery. The European Union for example notes that 'Women's security needs are, therefore, both the same as and different from men's'.⁶² Even within a conflict situation, women continue to face gender based challenges at the personal level, in the family and community sphere. Women who remain in conflict areas during the outbreak of violent conflict may suffer some or all of the risks and violations faced by women in forced displacement. Many conflicts have resulted in women in their countries being forcefully abducted and turned into sex slaves, combatants or victims of trafficking.

Women's inputs as non-state actors often span political affiliations and highly charged hostilities on negotiating sides,⁶³ helping to break impasses and broker peace. While women do not always display a bias free agenda, they have strong motivations to avoid war out of self-preservation and a desire to avoid seeing relations harmed and community descend into chaos. Women have contributed to stopping and alleviating violence and its consequences in a range of ways that include providing humanitarian relief, urging and facilitating negotiations through advocacy and exerting influence

⁶⁰ African Union Special Envoy's Remarks at Panel Discussion on the Theme 'Women's Empowerment in the 21st Century' To Mark South Africa's Women Month, Addis Ababa, 31 August 2016

⁶¹ UNDP (2010) Price of peace: Financing for gender equality in post-conflict reconstruction. New York: United Nations Development Programme.

⁶² Onslow C, Schools S and Maguire S 'Peacebuilding with a gender perspective: How the EU Can Make a Difference' Initiatives for Peacebuilding 2010

⁶³ UN Women 'Women's Participation in Peace Negotiations: Connections between Presence and Influence' UN 2010

through cultural or social means.⁶⁴ From training security sector organisations on UNSCR 1325 and working with women from affected populations on preventing and countering radicalism⁶⁵ to feeding community consultative processes into ongoing peace processes,⁶⁶ women's interventions at various levels can enrich peacebuilding.

In practice, women in peacebuilding have demonstrated a knack for bypassing bureaucracies and politics to deploy a number of tactics in peacebuilding beyond the 'negotiation table' to advance peace and security objectives. The example below from illustrates some of these strategies where women across the political sphere worked with those in government, civil society, development organisations .

Transboundary peace activism: women at work

Women are using innovative ways to contribute to formal peace processes. This involves tapping into informal and formal networks, mobilising women's grassroots connections, maintaining visibility in parallel peace agenda and processes to ensure that gender concerns and interests remain pertinent and visible.

In Uganda during the Juba Peace talks that commenced between government and the Lord's Resistance Army between 2006-8, the talks were dominated by government and military leaders, combatants and traditional leaders, with women highly absent. Perceiving the process as focusing on 'strictly military questions'⁶⁷ women peacebuilders set out to influence the peace talks process and build a groundswell

⁶⁴ Angom S. (2018) Case Studies of Women in Peacemaking and Peacebuilding: Empirical Evidence. In: Women in Peacemaking and Peacebuilding in Northern Uganda. The Anthropocene: Politik-Economics-Society-Science, vol 22. Springer, Cham

⁶⁵ ICAN 'Robinah Rubimbwa on How Women Played a Crucial Role in Peace Talks with LRA in Uganda' Apr 20, 2017. Available at <https://www.icanpeacework.org/2017/04/20/robinah-rubimbwa-uganda/>

⁶⁶ Musoke H 'Transitional justice and gender in Uganda: Making peace, failing women during the peace negotiation process' Journal Home, Vol 9, No 2 (2009)

⁶⁷ Anna Svenson 'Towards Sustainable Peace in Uganda?- a study of peacebuilding in northern Uganda and the involvement of the civil society during the LRA/ government of Uganda peace process of 2006-2007' 2007 Vaxjo University. Available at <https://www.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:205253/FULLTEXT01.pdf>

support for the integration of gender concerns, particularly given the high level of violence against women that had occurred during the insurgency.

A Women's Peace Torch based on a five-day solidarity journey to Juba was flagged off from female women leaders from Kenya on October 27, 2006 which was received by Uganda's Minister of State for Gender, ensuing in a march in Kampala⁶⁸ and a handing over of the torch by the UNIFEM Goodwill Ambassador to the Speaker of Parliament.⁶⁹ The Uganda Women Parliamentary Association and the Civil Society Women's Peace Coalition embarked on a peace caravan to Juba under the theme "Women of Uganda Want Peace and Peace Needs Women",⁷⁰ targeting war affected populations including IDPs. The torch travelled through the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Kenya, Tanzania, Botswana, Zimbabwe, Angola, Somalia, Rwanda, Burundi, Mali, Liberia, Ethiopia and South Africa over two years⁷¹ and was eventually handed to the Chief Mediator and representatives of the negotiating parties in December 2006.

Three of the leading national women's NGOs in Uganda formed a coalition with numerous networks of peacebuilders at the grassroots level and especially from the war affected areas.⁷² At gatherings of 750 people at a time, the Juba Peace talks agenda items being debated in formal talks in Juba would be discussed in real time with the grassroots women. The lead NGOs would then pass emerging resolutions to negotiators and also funded some women representatives to lobby and observe the peace talks in Juba as well.⁷³ The Uganda Women's Peace Coalition meeting with the Ugandan President in May 2007 yielded results when the first female was included on Uganda's official negotiation team.⁷⁴

⁶⁸ Sudan Tribune 'Ugandan women to take peace torch to Juba'. Thursday 9 November 2006 Available at https://www.sudantribune.com/spip.php?iframe&page=imprimable&id_article=18573

⁶⁹ Reliefweb 'UNIFEM Goodwill Ambassador Phoebe Asiyo pushes for women's participation in the Northern Uganda peace talks, 01 November 2006. Available at <https://reliefweb.int/report/uganda/unifem-goodwill-ambassador-phoebe-asiyo-pushes-womens-participation-northern-uganda>

⁷⁰ Press statement by UNIFEM and UWONET: Northern Uganda women speak out on Juba talks. 2006-10-19

⁷¹ Stephanie Nieuwoudt 'The Long March for Peace', Institute for War and Peace Reporting 1 Dec 06. Available at <https://iwpr.net/global-voices/long-march-peace>.

⁷² Musoke H 'Transitional justice and gender in Uganda: Making peace, failing women during the peace negotiation process' Journal Home, Vol 9, No 2 (2009).

⁷³ Ibid

⁷⁴ Anna Svenson Towards Sustainable Peace in Uganda?- a study of peacebuilding in northern Uganda and the involvement of the civil society during the LRA/ government of Uganda peace process of 2006-2007' 2007 Vaxjo University.

Coalition Members who participated in some of the Juba negotiation meetings produced a declaration entitled 'Engendering Agenda Item IV – Demobilisation, Disarmament, Reintegration and Resettlement and Agenda Item V on Permanent Ceasefire' in August 2008.⁷⁵

Including more women in formal peace processes provides states an opportunity to address wider societal issues around gender discrimination and empowerment that may have been pervasive before the conflict. Strong women's lobbies in some countries have utilised peace negotiations as an opportunity to renegotiate power, leading to greater gains for women's representation and participation in public life and transitional justice mechanism activated. For example, in the South Sudan country's revitalized peace agreement signed in Addis Ababa in September 2018, women have been allotted 35% representation at all levels of governance through affirmative action.⁷⁶ In addition, women use these opportunities negotiate beyond gender equality issues to broader social justice issues. In Sudan, women's interventions broadened discussion agendas to provide wider scope on social sectors and protection for longer term stability.⁷⁷ In Somalia, women participating in the Kenyan based National Reconciliation Conference of 2002 pushed for social reforms using human rights principles as the basis for increased representation.⁷⁸

Dominant socio-legal norms of gender relations between men and women may regulate behaviour in times of relative peace and punish deviations but violent conflict weakens the, as communities and societies are torn apart and the state's resilience destabilised. In such conditions, cultural restraints are more easily cast off and the weaker and more vulnerable are the first to fall to violence and exploitation. It is no accident that the majority of refugees and IDPs are women, and that female returnees and ex combatants fare worse than male counterparts. Without a concerted and

⁷⁵ The Women's Initiative for Gender Justice 'Women's Voices • Dwan Mon • Eporoto Lo Angor • Dwon Mon' Women's Initiatives for Gender Justice, 2011.

⁷⁶ United Nations PeaceKeeping 'Juba forum explores ways to advance the status of women in South Sudan'. 24 May 2019 Available at <https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/juba-forum-explores-ways-to-advance-status-of-women-south-sudan>

⁷⁷ Crf interactives 'Women's Roles in Peace Processes' Available at <https://www.cfr.org/interactive/womens-participation-in-peace-processes/explore-the-data>

⁷⁸ Inclusive Peace and Transition Initiative 'Somalia (2002-2004)' Case Study Series, Women in Peace and Transition Processes, April 2019

deliberate effort to adopt and implement strategies that respond to these differences, women's situation is likely to deteriorate.

Women and men both experience conflict related sexual violence but fewer men report the incidence. The SGs report on Women's Participation in Peacebuilding 2010 states that in post conflict environments, there are high chances of sexual violence escalating if it had been a component of the conflict phase, or the potential to trigger increased sexual violence where it was not rampant before,⁷⁹ and new threats can emerge. In Northern Uganda, women returnees reported that following the protracted war in which sexual violence against women was prevalent, not only was this vice maintained in the post conflict phase but unlike before, domestic violence rose disproportionately.⁸⁰ The role of the state in deploying human and financial resources towards sector security governance requires a gendered response that cannot be guaranteed without the involvement of women and men on equal terms.

⁷⁹ UN General Assembly 'Women's participation in peacebuilding: Report of the Secretary-General' A/65/354–S/2010/466, 7 September 2010

⁸⁰ Nanair V 'In the Multiple Systems of Justice Whither Justice for Women?' 2011 FIDA Uganda

Peacebuilding

Peacebuilding refers to the ideas, strategies and resources applied towards sustainable peace outcomes. It revolves around the processes of identifying structural and immediate causes of structural violence and preventing managing or resolving conflict. This definition draws on the major concepts of positive and negative peace. According to Galtung, the founder behind peace and conflict studies, negative peace is the absence of organised, collective violence,⁸¹ while positive peace involves securing the integration of society and relations between groups⁸² and embodies social justice that he defines as 'an egalitarian distribution of power and resources'.⁸³ In analysing the environment required to foster positive relations at national level, Galtung cites examples of conditions that revolve around governance components of human rights, economic and political conditions.⁸⁴

UN Resolution 70/262 emphasises the importance of addressing root causes of conflict as a way of sustaining peace.⁸⁵ While peace is a fluid and complex notion, it does not mean the absence of conflict but rather, the existence of well-managed social conflict.⁸⁶ Positive peace transcends the traditional notion of non-conflict to entail the establishing and managing of social relationships to build a co-existing human ecosystem.⁸⁷ Positive peace can survive incidental outbreaks of violence when people resort to established mechanisms and processes of dispute resolution. When these systems are entrenched in governance processes, peacebuilding is institutionalised.

The Declaration on the Elimination of All forms of Violence Against Women casts violence against women as a manifestation of unequal power relations between men and women. Strategies for promoting positive peace are critical in addressing the

⁸¹ Galtung J 'Theories of Peace: A Synthetic Approach to Peace Thinking International Peace Research Institute, Oslo 1967. Available at https://www.transcend.org/files/Galtung_Book_unpub_Theories_of_Peace_-_A_Synthetic_Approach_to_Peace_Thinking_1967.pdf

⁸² Galtung J 'An Editorial' Journal of Peace' 1964

⁸³ Galtung J 'Violence, Peace, and Peace Research' Journal of Peace Research, Vol. 6, No. 3 1969

⁸⁴ Presence of cooperation, Freedom from fear, Freedom from want, Economic growth and development, Absence of exploitation, Equality, Justice, Freedom of action, Pluralism and Dynamism

⁸⁵ General Assembly 'Resolution adopted by the General Assembly on 27 April 2016 [without reference to a Main Committee (A/70/L.43)] 12 May 2016 A/RES/70/262

⁸⁶ Claske Dijkema 'Negative versus positive peace' Available at http://www.irenees.net/bdf_fiche-notions-186_en.html May 2007

⁸⁷ Miall H 'Positive Peace' International Encyclopedia of Political Science' SAGE 2011

factors that underlie structural violence including gender inequality and violence against women. Inculcating the conditions, cultures and mechanisms that promote social relations between men and women is a key area of good governance. In states that do not create the conditions to combat unequal power relations between men and women through laws, regulatory frameworks and measures to modify social conduct, women are more often at risk of systemic violence in the public and private spheres. The outbreak of violent conflict emboldens the further oppression and targeting of women as a social group, and post conflict recovery initiatives that do not link these occurrences further entrench women's marginalisation and suffering.

While the term peacebuilding is often used in the context of cessation of hostilities, experts caution against viewing peacebuilding as a post conflict activity but rather, as a continuum of approaches before, during and after conflict.⁸⁸ The term peacebuilding gained traction from 1992 after being emphasised in the address of UN Secretary General Boutros Ghali's Report to the UN Security Council which focused on post conflict peacebuilding as a strategy to forestall recurrence of conflict.⁸⁹ Two decades later, UN Secretary General Guterres's Report on Peacebuilding and Sustaining Peace of 2018 reflects the current understanding of peacebuilding as applicable during times of peace, during the war and the recovery phase.⁹⁰ Reinforcing General Assembly Resolution 70/262 and Security Council Resolution 2282 (2016), the UN Secretary General emphasises that sustaining peace is imperative to preventing the outbreak, escalation, continuation and recurrence of conflict.⁹¹

One school of thought posits the importance of addressing women's needs based on transitions between different phases of conflict rather than focusing on one phase at a time, since not all women are involved in all phases and phases may not necessarily unfold chronologically.⁹² It is indeed the case with intrastate wars that some regions

⁸⁸ International Peace Institute 'Governance, Peacebuilding, and State-Society Relations: The International Expert Forum' November 17, 2015. Available at <https://www.ipinst.org/2015/11/twenty-first-century-peacebuilding-international-expert-forum#17>

⁸⁹ 'Report of the Secretary-General 'An Agenda for Peace Preventive diplomacy, peacemaking and peace-keeping' A/47/277 - S/24111 17 June 1992

⁹⁰ Report of the Secretary General 'Peacebuilding and sustaining peace' General Assembly Security Council Seventy-second Session Agenda item 65 18 January 2018 A/72/707-S/2018/43

⁹¹ UN General Assembly 'Report of the Secretary General: Peace Building and Sustaining Peace' A/72/707-S/2018/43

⁹² Bouta T, 'Frerks J' 'Women's roles in conflict prevention, conflict resolution and post conflict reconstruction' Netherlands Institute of International Relations, The Hague 2002

may face violent conflict while others are in recovery or yet untouched by violent conflict. Governance is a continuum of processes, resources, standards and actors that can provide the framework of engagement for these varied scenarios.

In the majority of African democratic institutions and processes of peacebuilding, women's underrepresentation is manifest, this being a function of structural inequalities that in themselves carry the kernel for conflict. While women as a social group may not automatically resort to violence to protest structural exclusion, they can take sides in conflicts, driven by dissatisfaction over gender discrimination and broader governance injustices. It has also been suggested that gendered grievances and narratives can be stoked to fire up collective action around political ideology or radical objectives.⁹³ The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) Conflict Prevention Framework flags patriarchy and gender as part of the structural causes of violent conflict, referring to them as 'cultural aggravators', factors that can spawn discrimination in society and perpetuate violence. It also identifies gender inequality as a 'time bomb' and 'a source of latent' violence.

Women peacebuilding entities and individuals have devised various strategies to mediate, negotiate and deflect outbreaks of conflict. However, in the outbreak of hostilities that confront the state, formal peace processes of engaging belligerents omit women's peacebuilding efforts, even when these efforts have demonstrable success. The sometimes clandestine nature of peace processes leads to mystery and 'untested hypotheses'⁹⁴ which may include the viability of male dominated leadership. A global study on the implementation of Resolution 1325 commissioned by the UN Secretary General found concrete evidence of a 40 case study research project illustrating that the strong presence and participation by women's collectives resulted in positive peace processes including influencing commencement, continuation and conclusion of negotiations and building consensus positions.⁹⁵

⁹³ PAX 'Gender, Peace & Security'. Available at <https://www.paxforpeace.nl/our-work/themes/gender-peace-security>

⁹⁴ Paffenholz, T. 2015 'Results on Women and Gender' Briefing Paper. Centre on Conflict, Development and Peacebuilding. Geneva: The Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies

⁹⁵ Preventing Conflict Transforming Justice Securing Peace: A global study on the implementation of the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325' 2015 UN Women. See also Paffenholz et al. 'Making Women Count: Assessing Women's Inclusion and Influence on the Quality and Sustainability of Peace Negotiations and Implementation.'

As noted by the UN Secretary General, ‘ the absence of women from the peace table results in insufficient attention to and reflection of their concerns in peace agreements. Furthermore, a peace process that fails to include women in agenda-setting, substantive talks and implementation raises questions about the democratic legitimacy of the process and lacks the inclusiveness to generate any sense of ownership among women. This can undermine the prospects for the durability of the agreement and sustainable peace.’⁹⁶ It is this exercise of male privilege in critical matters that concern women and men that drives successive UN Security council resolutions to reiterate the imperative of women’s inclusion in peacebuilding on an equal basis as men.



4.0 AFRICA’S NORMATIVE FRAMEWORK ON GOVERNANCE, GENDER, AND PEACEBUILDING

Governance plays a key role in preventing, mitigating or triggering violent conflict which has such a deleterious effect on human lives, including women and girls. From the eighties, various inter and intrastate conflicts plagued the member states of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU). Despite the much vaunted OAU emphasis on state sovereignty and non-interference, there was increased OAU discourse over the plight of citizens in situations of steady economic decline and poor governance, the prevalent conflicts in the region as well as proliferation of refugees and IDPs. The Declaration on the Political and Socio-Economic Situation in Africa and the Fundamental Changes Taking Place in the World of 1990⁹⁷ heralded a recognition by

⁹⁶ Report of the Secretary-General ‘Women’s equal participation in conflict prevention, management and conflict resolution and in post-conflict peace-building’ March 2004

⁹⁷ AHG/Decl.1 (XXVI) 1990

the OAU of the need for popular popular-based political processes to end conflict, attain durable peace and manage the refugee crisis. Over time, a number of instruments and resolutions on these key themes were adopted.

The OAU Declaration on a Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution (Cairo Declaration) of 1993 reveals a determination to end conflict through addressing Africa's governance challenge. African leaders took stock of the nexus between the conditions for peace, stability and security and economic development and democratic transformation, and how deficits in these areas undermined the ability of countries to meet citizen's socio-economic needs. As a result of structural inequalities giving rise to conflict, Africa experienced a rise in refugees and IDPs; By 1993, the continent had 5.2 million refugees and 13 million IDPs.⁹⁸ The Declaration adopted an anticipatory and preventative approach to conflict and the need for peacemaking and peacebuilding efforts to avert degeneration into intense or generalised conflicts. Despite these weighty pronouncements, governance crises and economic stagnation continued to feature within most member states, perpetuating violent conflicts in Africa.⁹⁹

In many ways, the Conference on Security, Stability, Development and Cooperation in Africa (CSSDCA) adopted in 2000 by the AU propounded a comprehensive approach to governance, peace and security.¹⁰⁰ The CSSDCA conceptualized security to include the economic, political, social and environmental dimensions of the individual, family, and community, local and national life. Importantly, it noted that 'the security of a nation must be based on the security of the life of the individual citizens to live in peace and to satisfy basic needs while being able to participate fully in societal affairs and enjoying freedom and fundamental human rights.' It affirmed that democracy, good governance, respect for human and peoples' rights and the rule of law are prerequisites for the security, stability and development of Africa.

By linking the security of the nation to individual citizens rights to live in peace, satisfy basic needs and participate fully in governance, the CSSDCA underscored the

⁹⁸ Muyangwa M and Vogt M 'An Assessment of the OAU Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution' International Peace Academy, 2000 New York

⁹⁹ Ibok S 'Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution in Africa' 2000. Available at <http://unpan1.un.org/intradoc/groups/public/documents/CAFRAD/UNPAN011836.pdf>

¹⁰⁰ AHG/Decl.4 (XXXVI) adopted by the 36th decision of the ordinary summit of the Heads of State and Government in 2000

concept of legitimate government as the basis for peacebuilding. The CSSDCA also welcomed the African Charter on Human and People's Rights and the Protocol on the establishment of the African Court on Human and People's Rights as being integral to the OAU wider objective of collective security for durable peace and sustainable development. The AU has placed similar emphasis on key documents such as the Solemn Declaration and the Additional Protocol to the African Charter on Human and People's Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa (Maputo Protocol).

In the year 2000, the AU replaced the OAU and with it came significant paradigmatic shifts. The Constitutive Act of the African Union with its emphasis on principles of peaceful co-existence of Member States, peaceful resolution of conflicts among states, the right to live in peace and security, gender equality and respect for good governance signalled winds of change on the continent. Later developments including the establishment of a continental peace and security architecture are discussed in the next section of the report. While not an AU instrument, the adoption of the normative UNSCR 1325 and the obligations it placed on all Member states of the United Nations progressively became influential at the level of member states and collectively, the AU. The AU Peace and Security Architecture that was subsequently developed by the AU Protocol Relating to the Establishment of the Peace and Security Council of the AU increasingly integrated the Women, Peace and Security agenda, working with member states and the Regional Economic Communities (RECs) to develop an African response to peacebuilding.

The Declaration on Democracy, Political, Economic and Corporate Governance of 2002 that established the APRM reflects a determination by Africa's leadership to increase efforts in restoring stability, peace and security in the African continent 'as fundamental conditions for sustainable development, alongside democracy, good governance, human rights, social development, protection of environment and sound economic management.'¹⁰¹ This approach encapsulates an indivisibility between governance and peace and security for citizens. Taking stock of Africa's history, and in recognition that women and children have borne the brunt of the various conflicts,

¹⁰¹ AHG/235 (XXXVIII)

the Declaration commits to ‘end the moral shame exemplified by the plight of women, children, the disabled and ethnic minorities in conflict situations in Africa.’.

The Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa (SDGEA) of 2004 reaffirmed UN Resolution 1325 (2000) on Women, Peace and Security. It highlighted the plight of women and children who bear the brunt of conflicts and internal displacement, including rapes and killings yet are largely excluded from conflict prevention, peace negotiation, and peace-building processes. This is in spite of African women’s experience in peacebuilding. The SDGEA urges AU states to ensure the full and effective participation and representation of women in peace processes relating to prevention, resolution, management of conflicts and post- conflict reconstruction in Africa as stipulated in UN Resolution 1325.

The SDGEA, African committed to appoint women as Special Envoys and Special Representatives of the AU, an aspiration that was realised under the first female chairperson of the AU. This appointment was significant because it responded to the UNSCR 1325 call for the appointment of more women as special representatives and envoys to pursue good offices missions on behalf of the Secretary General for preventative diplomacy and mediation. Globally, female Special Envoys have been underrepresented despite the imperative and practical reality of ensuring that women’s issues are included in peace agreements and processes. In general, the Special Envoys of the Secretary General are viewed as central to preventing, defusing and resolving conflicts. Analysts suggest that not only do female envoys bring fresh perspectives and alternative approaches to the negotiating table but there is also a greater possibility of prioritizing gender concerns in peacebuilding processes.¹⁰²

The Additional Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples’ Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa was adopted in 2003 and is widely referred to as the Maputo Protocol. To date, it is the most far reaching instrument on women’s rights and creates legal obligations on states to promote women, peace and security that are unsurpassed. Article 10 of the Protocol provides for the right to peace for women, a highly unique provision in international treaties. Furthermore, women have the right to participate in the promotion and maintenance of peace, to participate in educational

¹⁰² Meet the Envoys: Trends in Envoy Profiles and Appointments. Available at <https://peaceoperationsreview.org/thematic-essays/meet-the-envoys-trends-in-envoy-profiles-and-appointments/>

programmes for peace and a culture of peace, to be included structures and processes for conflict prevention, management and resolution at local, national, regional, continental and international levels, among other profound provisions. The Protocol also calls for gender responsive strategies for the protection of female asylum seekers, refugees, returnees and displaced women and for them to be involved in decision making.

In 2009, the AU uniquely filled a gap in the international and regional framework, lauded as 'sorely needed advancement'¹⁰³ by adopting the first ever treaty on IDPs. The Convention for the Protection and Assistance of Internally Displaced Persons in Africa (Kampala Convention) is a significant feature in international and African humanitarian assistance. Preceded by the Kampala Declaration on Refugees, Returnees, and Internally Displaced Persons, 2009, the Kampala, Convention came into force in 2012, launching a critical instrument into the continental human rights stratosphere. The Kampala Convention aims to prevent, mitigate and eliminate root causes of internal displacement as well as provide for the rights of IDPs, including to protection and assistance.

Beyond looking at natural disasters and conflict, this landmark Convention encompasses diseases and projects of public or private actors as causes of displacement. The Convention features rights based approaches to humanitarian assistance for IDPs. States are obliged to respect, assist and ensure the rights of IDPs and to demand accountability of non-State actors, multinational companies and private military or security companies for their roles. By 2016, the Kampala Convention had been signed by 40 Member States with 22 having deposited their instruments of ratification; by early 2019, 27 Member States had ratified the Kampala Convention.¹⁰⁴ The Kampala Convention on IDPs remains the first and only regional convention of its genre.

The term 'harmful practices' highlighted in the Kampala Convention encompasses all behaviour, attitudes and/or practices which negatively affect the fundamental rights of IDPs, including their right to life, health, dignity, education, mental and physical

¹⁰³ Asplet M and Bradley M 'Strengthened Protection for Internally Displaced Persons in Africa: The Kampala Convention comes into force' American Society of International law, Volume 16 Issue 36, December 7, 2012.

¹⁰⁴ Comparative Experiences on Implementing the Kampala Convention in West Africa
Dakar, 21-22 March 2019. Available at <http://www.globalprotectioncluster.org/wp-content/uploads/Concept-Note-Regional-Exchanges-IDP-Law-and-Policy.pdf>

integrity and education. In utilising this term in the context of internal displacement, the AU offers greater protections for women despite their religious, cultural or social backgrounds. Another important clause on preventing gender-based violence forbids all forms of SGBV such as rape, enforced prostitution, sexual exploitation and harmful practices, slavery, recruitment of children and their use in hostilities, forced labour and human trafficking and smuggling. The AU developed a model law to guide states to enact the good standards contained in the Convention. Countries like Kenya have domesticated the Kampala Convention substantively.¹⁰⁵

15 years after the CSSDCA, Agenda 2063 was adopted by the AU as an aspirational standard setting framework to achieve sustainable development on the continent. Agenda 2063 reinforces the view that democratic cultures are the lynchpin of a peaceful and secure Africa, calling for an entrenched and flourishing culture of human rights, democracy, gender equality and inclusion among others. One of the seven aspirations in Agenda 2063-Aspiration Four- envisions Africa as a peaceful, secure and conflict-free with the hope that all guns will be silent by 2020. It is preceded by Aspiration Three on an Africa of good governance, democracy, respect for human rights, justice and the rule of law. Armed conflict, terrorism, extremism, intolerance and gender-based violence are identified as major threats to human security, peace and development.

While this section does not outline a comprehensive list of women, peace and security and governance related instruments, the above outlined are indicative of a strong resolve by African leadership, civil society and citizens to develop durable solutions towards conflict prevention, management and resolution. However, the major challenge has been the gap between policy commitments and implementation and monitoring. The section below delves into the institutional framework for Africa's peace and security architecture in response to the legal and policy frameworks in place to secure peace in Africa.

¹⁰⁵ Act No. 56 of 2012, The Prevention, Protection and Assistance to Internally Displaced Persons and Affected Communities Act, 2012

5.0 AFRICA'S WOMEN, PEACE AND SECURITY INSTITUTIONAL AND POLICY FRAMEWORKS AT THE CONTINENTAL AND REGIONAL LEVEL

The saying goes that prevention starts before it becomes even visible.¹⁰⁶ The establishment of mechanisms and processes for conflict prevention, management and resolution are important in promoting practices and cultures of conflict resolution in a systemic manner. These mechanisms are also useful for monitoring societies and communities proactively to detect potential threats to the peace and are all fundamental peacekeeping and peace building initiatives. This section analyses the efforts in place at the AU level, the Regional Economic Communities (RECs) or Regional Communities (RMs) and Sub Regional initiatives, within the context of women, peace and security.

African Union Peace and Security Architecture (APSA)

The AU Peace and Security Commission was established in 2003 and later on the Africa Peace and Security Architecture (APSA), comprising of the Peace and Security Council (PSC), Panel of the Wise, Continental Early Warning System, African Standby Force and the African Peace Fund. The APSA Roadmap 2016-2020 and the AU Master Roadmap on Practical Steps for Silencing the Guns by 2020 are essential documents that outline the various strategies for conflict management on the continent.¹⁰⁷

The AU developed a Gender, Peace and Security Programme 2015-2020 which in part addresses the protection of women in conflict and post-conflict situations in Africa.¹⁰⁸ Under this programme, gender focal points work with RECs to incorporate gender issues and across the APSA.¹⁰⁹ The AU Strategy for Gender Equality and

¹⁰⁶ UN Department of Political Affairs 'Keynote Speech at the Conference on Transformative Global Governance: China and the UN, Under-Secretary-General Jeffrey Feltman 13 January 2014,'. Available at <https://www.un.org/undpa/en/node/183353>

¹⁰⁷ Institute for Security Studies 'Conflict Prevention: What's in it for the AU? ISS Policy Brief 103, May 2017

¹⁰⁸ AU 'African Union launches five-year Gender Peace and Security Programme 2015-2020' June 2014. Available at <http://www.peaceau.org/en/article/african-union-launches-five-year-gender-peace-and-security-programme-2015-2020>

¹⁰⁹ AU 'Implementation of the Women, Peace, and Security Agenda in Africa' Office of the Special Envoy on Women, Peace and Security of the Chairperson of the African Union Commission (AUC) 2016

women's empowerment (2018-2028) provides that RECs partly constitute the Ministerial Committee on Agenda 2063 and that all RECs are to appoint gender focal persons to liaise with the AU gender focal points.

By 2015 the AU Panel of the Wise had three women out of five members, currently down to 2. The Panel of the Wise have been key in proposing gender specific interventions required to promote a women, peace and security agenda at the AU, including the building of capacities of women mediators in Africa. FemWise-Africa (Network of African Women in Conflict Prevention and Mediation) was established by a decision of the 29th Assembly of the Union in 2017 as a subsidiary of the Panel of the Wise¹¹⁰ and is open to individual and institutional membership.¹¹¹ It is AU's response to the imperative for women to be included in peacebuilding processes in the context of APSA and UNSC Resolution 1325.¹¹²

FemWise-Africa is mandated to enhance the capabilities of women to participate in conflict prevention and mediation and has provided much needed programmes for skills building of over 100 African women mediators. Through FEMWISE, individual women and organisations involved in peacebuilding are engaging the continental women, peace and security agenda. In training 100 women mediators in 2018, FemWise-Africa is filling the deficit of skills and building an expert corps of women to be deployed to mediate in various conflict spots such as South Sudan, Burundi, Mali, DRC and the Central African Republic.¹¹³ This strategy converges towards the aspirations of Agenda 2063 and UNSCR 1325 towards capacitating women for peacebuilding.

Apart from women CSOs and peace advocates, the AU involves peace activists and CSOs through various processes. Following up on a recommendation of the Panel of the Wise in its 2010 study, AU annually convenes an annual open session on the status of Women and Children in Armed Conflicts. The Economic, Social, and Cultural Council (ECOSOCC) has over the years played a role in analysing conflict situations at country level and working with the AU Peace and Security and Political Affairs

¹¹⁰ Assembly/AU/Draft/Dec.21(XXIX)

¹¹¹ Operationalisation of "FemWise-Africa" Implementation Period: 2018-2020 (publisher unknown)

¹¹² Assembly/AU/Draft/Dec.21(XXIX) 4 July 2017

¹¹³ AU Peace and Security Council 'Commissioner for Peace and Security Briefs Partners on FemWise-Africa and AU Mediation Support Unit' May 2018

Committees towards monitoring conflict situations.¹¹⁴ National chapters of ECOSOCC are being established and in some countries, peace, security and humanitarian assistance themes are prominent in their work.¹¹⁵ Below is an example of AU's collaboration with civil society to promote post conflicting recovery measures for women in the area of sexual and gender based violence.

Listening Units in Central African Republic:¹¹⁶ African Union and Civil Society promoting peacebuilding

In the context of a weak and incapacitated state of the Central African Republic and yet the continued presence of armed militia in certain geographical regions, women became targets in the instability. This increased their vulnerability, exposing them to various forms of gender based violence including physical abuse, forced marriages, sexual servitude and resort to transactional sex.

The AU embarked on a project 'African Union Support to the Prevention and Response to Sexual Violence in the Central African Republic' working with two African NGOs; Doctors of Africa/ Médecins d'Afrique and 'Pan African Lawyers Union' to provide medico-legal care. Apart from providing medical and psychosocial support, the AU also embarked on strengthening communities to develop mechanisms to prevent and respond to sexual violence. Another key component of the support was the reinvigoration of the judiciary and penal system to strengthen legal responses to sexual violence. Furthermore, an economic empowerment strategy relating to capacity building was integrated.

A key element of the identification of victims and referral pathway involved a unique feature called the 'Listening Units' which were placed not only in various sub-prefectural councils, health facilities but also IDP sites in project intervention areas. Listening units were designed as part of the interventions for counselling, screening and medical referrals of victims by psychosocial workers who offered services relating to trauma-counselling, listening to and referring victims. A network of thirty-one

¹¹⁴ Nantulya P 'The African Union Wavers between Reform and More of the Same' April 19, 2019, African Centre for Strategic Studies. Available at <https://africacenter.org/spotlight/the-african-union-wavers-between-reform-and-more-of-the-same/>

¹¹⁵ AU-ECOSOCC Uganda Chapter. Available at <http://www.ngoforum.or.ug/au-ecosocc-uganda-chapter/>

¹¹⁶ Extracted from-African Union 'Final report of the project for African Union support to the prevention and response to sexual violence in the Central African Republic' PS15231 2/9/2/31/7

listening and referral units for victims of sexual and gender based violence was established.

After the first phase, recommendations for future interventions focused on including income generating activities to promote the economic empowerment of victims with a view to facilitating their reintegration.

The PSC implements the Africa Peace and Security Architecture working closely with the RECs/RMs in conflict prevention, management and post conflict resolution, focusing on harmonising respective decision making functions in these aspects.¹¹⁷ Key to this is coordination of the African Standby Force buttressed by the Regional Standby Forces of the RECs/RMs.¹¹⁸ Out of the 5 peace support operations in 2017, AU and REC collaborations led to ECOMIG in Gambia in 2016 and ECOMIB in Guinea Bissau and the AU Mission to Somalia (AMISOM) that receives forces from various countries.¹¹⁹ Other contributions of RECs to the AU African Standby Force include SADC's SAPMIL in Lesotho.¹²⁰ However, payment of membership dues into the Africa Peace Fund has not been consistent, creating challenges for effective operationalisation of these efforts.¹²¹

The AU PSC in recognition of the vulnerabilities faced by women and girls in conflict situations continually urges AU member states to urgently ratify and domesticate the Maputo Protocol, the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child, and the Kampala Convention. Furthermore, the PSC has advocated for better synergistical collaborations between the AU gender machinery, human rights mechanisms and conflict prevention, management and resolution mechanisms and the AU Committee of Experts on the Rights and Welfare of the Child.¹²²

The AU coordinates regional security arrangements working with member states to address emerging challenges. The AU Regional Strategy for the Stabilization, Recovery and Resilience of the Boko Haram affected areas of the Lake Chad Basin

¹¹⁷ Peace and Security Council Communique 20 August 2019 SC/PR/COMM.(DCCCXLXX)

¹¹⁸ Eastern Africa Standby Force, ECCAS Standby Force, ECOWAS Standby Force, North Africa Regional Capability and SADC Standby Force.

¹¹⁹ APSA Impact Report 2017, Institute for Peace and Security Studies

¹²⁰ Peace and Security Council Communique 20 August 2019 SC/PR/COMM.(DCCCXLXX)

¹²¹ H.E. Paul Kagame 'Report on the Proposed Recommendations for the Institutional Reform of the African Union', 29 January 2017

¹²² AU Peace and Security Council Communique August 2019 PSC/PR/COMM.(DCCCLXVI)

Region August 2018 displays many elements of the women, peace and security agenda. Among the UNSCR 1325 related areas of the Strategy is the prioritisation of girls and women at the front of the stabilization process politically, economically, socially and culturally.¹²³ The Strategy calls on the four countries around Lake Chad to develop national action plans for UNSCR 2250 and 2419 relating to women, peace and security.

Sexual violence can result in forced displacement, domestic violence, stigmatisation and discrimination against women. Related to this is the normalisation of sexual violence in the public/private sphere as a direct consequence of conflict.¹²⁴ The AU signed a landmark Framework of cooperation with the UN Office of the Special Representative of the Secretary General on Sexual Violence on 31 January 2014. Among the things the AU seeks to achieve through this is promoting accountability and fostering political leadership and action against impunity for sexual violence in armed conflict, multisectoral services for survivors, integration of prevention safeguards in mediation and conflict resolution efforts as well as ensuring the participation of women in such efforts.

In November 2018 the PSC adopted the AU Policy on Conduct and Discipline for Peace Support Operations and the AU Policy on the Prevention and Response to Sexual Exploitation and Abuse for Peace Support Operations, both of which are informed by good practice and lessons learned from the past and current AU and UN Peace Operations. The policies categorise sexual abuse and exploitation by military, police and civilian personnel in AU PSOs as serious misconduct, for which AU has zero tolerance. The Policy on Prevention and Response to Sexual Abuse and Exploitation cites important gender responsive provisions like the Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality and UNSCR 1325. Member states are required to ensure vetting, screening and background and criminal reference checks of military and police personnel during pre-deployment verifications of civilian personnel upon a request from the AUC. The Policy also establishes a Conduct and Discipline Office/Unit or focal point, as a complaint handling mechanism that is mandated to ensure among other things accessibility to the community, especially women and children.

¹²³ African Union Regional Strategy for the Stabilization, Recovery & Resilience of the Boko Haram affected Areas of the Lake Chad Basin Region August 2018

¹²⁴ Nanair V 'In the Multiple Systems of Justice Whither Justice for Women?' 2011 FIDA Uganda

Despite all these policy safeguards and AU troops being trained on compliance with the AU Policy on Prevention and Response to Sexual Abuse and Exploitation, allegations of sexual violence by uniformed forces of AMISOM were levelled in 2014.¹²⁵ The AU Commission response to this development indicated concerns over security sector reforms measures, prosecutorial actions and heightened vigilance through administrative structures as a way of preventing impunity.¹²⁶ In 2019 the Peace and Security Council recommended stiff penalisation of acts of gender-based violence and sexual abuses perpetrated against women and girls in refugee and IDP camps.¹²⁷ Evidence of zero tolerance for sexual abuse and exploitation can be seen in other peace support operations. In 2006 for example, Nigeria withdrew its entire civil police force from DRC after allegations were raised around involvement in the abuse of women.¹²⁸

The nexus between governance and peacebuilding is evidenced in the efforts of key governance and peace and security actors at the continental level to rationalise and strengthen their work. In January 2018 the Assembly, acknowledged the APRM's value in being positioned as an early warning tool for conflict prevention in Africa, in the context of synergies with the APSA and the African Governance Architecture (AGA).¹²⁹ The APRM which is currently the chair of AGA, together with AGA and APSA have created a joint platform to harmonise their work.¹³⁰ The three entities are increasingly focusing on harnessing their collective potential through national structures and processes.

The RECs/RMs

While an evaluation of the performance of RECs/RMs is beyond the scope of this report, an analysis of the RECS/RMs reveals a trend towards adopting a women, peace and security agenda spread across various policy and governance frameworks, albeit unevenly. Many of the regional instruments setting up RECs/RMs predate

¹²⁵ EPON 'Assessing the of the African Union Mission in Somalia / AMISOM Report' 1/2018

¹²⁶ AU 'The African Union Releases the Key Findings and Recommendations of the Report of Investigations on Sexual Exploitation and Abuse in Somalia' 21 April 2015

¹²⁷ AU Peace and Security Council Press Statement 19 March PSC/PR/BR. (DCCCXXXIII)

¹²⁸ Wilton Park Conference 816 'Peace and Security: Implementing UN Security Council Resolution 1325' 30 May – 02 June 2006. Available at <https://www.wiltonpark.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/wp816-report.pdf>

¹²⁹ Assembly/AU/Dec.686 (XXX)

¹³⁰ The African Capacity Building Foundation \Media Brief on the AGA-APRM Experts Meeting March 5-6, 2017.' Available at <https://www.acbf-pact.org/media/news/media-brief-aga-aprm-experts-meeting-march-5-6-2017>

UNSCR 1325 and are gender neutral which is indicative of the timelines when major women rights instruments were developing at the continental and international levels. Most of the RECs/RMs have adopted Gender strategies, policies and action plans and entities within gender and political departments of the RECs/RMs that focus on gender and somewhat on peacebuilding. The inherent danger with such compartmentalised approaches lies in the risk of the women, peace and security agenda being seen as separate from mainstream peace and security concerns. Some of the regional arrangements have successfully mainstreamed gender, governance and peacebuilding approaches in their instruments and work approaches as illustrated in this section.

Apart from RECs/RMs, other sub regional groupings exist such as the Commission Economies pour les Pays des Grand-Lacs (CEPGL) (The Economic Commission for the Great Lakes Countries) of Rwanda, Burundi and DRC.¹³¹ The three countries signed a sub-regional action plan. In West Africa is the Mano River Union comprising of Liberia, Guinea, Sierra Leone, and Cote d'Ivoire. This section delves in more depth into the International Conference of the Great Lakes due to its strategic value as a regional organisation that was set up to deal specifically with conflict management and prevention of Sexual and Gender Based Violence (SGBV) in the Great Lakes Region.

¹³¹Draft Regional Action Plan for the Implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 2018-2023. Available at https://ungreatlakes.unmissions.org/sites/default/files/draft_regional_action_plan_on_security_council_resolution_1325_2000.pdf

Southern Africa Development Community

Southern Africa Development Community (SADC) has had an organ on Politics, Defence and Security Cooperation since 1996 that is established by the Protocol on Politics, Defence and Security Co-operation of 2001.¹³² Its mandate extends to security and rule of law and its overall objective is to promote peace and security in the region.¹³³ The organ deals with conflict management, prevention and resolution, the development of democratic institutions and practices and observing and monitoring standards contained in international human rights treaties.

While the Protocol on Politics, Defence and Security Co-operation is neutral on women, peace and security, the SADC Gender and Development Protocol contains important provisions in this regard. Article 28 of the Revised SADC Gender and Development Protocol has some provisions on peacebuilding and conflict resolution as does the SADC Gender Policy. The SADC Gender Policy has comprehensive provisions on gender, peacebuilding and conflict resolution and seeks to mainstream women's participation in peacebuilding (Article 4.11). The policy provides for strategies to improve women's representation and participation in decision making positions, in peacekeeping negotiations and conflict resolution.

The SADC Standby Brigade was established in 2008 alongside a Regional Peacekeeping Training Centre. In 2010, the region established a Regional Early Warning Centre. Some SADC member states have increased women's participation in peace keeping. Statistics from SADC region show a high deployment of women in peacekeeping forces in the AU or UN. In 2015 Malawi's peace keeping force was almost 50 percent women (48.8%) and Namibia 34.6 percent.¹³⁴ However this emphasis varies from one country to the next.

At the regional level, a Regional Strategy on Women peace and security (2018/2022) and action plan was adopted with a view to mainstreaming gender in peacebuilding,

¹³² Protocol on Politics, Defense and Security (2001) Available at https://www.sadc.int/documents-publications/show/Protocol_on_Politics_Defence_and_Security20001.pdf

¹³³ SADC Organ on Politics, Defense and Security. Available at <https://www.sadc.int/sadc-secretariat/directorates/office-executive-secretary/organ-politics-defense-and-security/>

¹³⁴SADC `SADC Gender and Development Monitor 2016` SADC, Southern African Research and Documentation Centre, 2016

security and conflict resolution.¹³⁵ Member states are required to develop NAPs to implement this regional strategy and for example, Mozambique developed a National Action Plan on UNSCR 1325 (2018-2022) that integrates the objectives of the SADC Regional Strategy on Women peace and security (2018/2022).¹³⁶ Only a quarter of SADC member states i.e. 4 out of 16 have National Action Plans on UNSCR 1325.

Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS)

ECCAS peace and security framework mainly revolves around the Protocol of Peace and Security, 1999. Three major instruments emerged in response to peace and security concerns: The Commission for Défense and Security, the Central African Early Warning System and the Central African Multinational Force.¹³⁷ The Peace and Security Council for Central Africa (Conseil de paix et de sécurité de l'Afrique centrale, COPAX) was also established to promote common objectives in the region.¹³⁸ A Department of Human Integration, Peace, Security and Stability includes an electoral and early warning unit.¹³⁹ In 2004 the Protocol Relating to the Establishment of a Mutual Security Pact in Central Africa entered into force, and a Declaration on gender equality was adopted by ECCAS.¹⁴⁰

ECCAS has had a Human Rights and Democracy Centre since 2001, which provides an entry point for civil society engagement on peacebuilding. The Central African parliamentarians (Réseau des Parlementaires de la CEEAC, REPAC) established in 2002 was intended to deliberate on various issues including gender and human rights but faced resource challenges that affected its operations.¹⁴¹

ECCAS has a new and harmonised Gender Policy 2018 and Action Plan in place for promoting gender mainstreaming. 7 countries in the Central Africa region have

¹³⁵ Southern African Research and Documentation Centre 'SADC develops regional strategy on women, peace and security' July 2018. Available at <https://www.sardc.net/en/southern-african-news-features/5787/>

¹³⁶ Available at <http://www.lse.ac.uk/women-peace-security/assets/documents/2019/NAP/NAPMozambique2018.pdf>

¹³⁷ UNECA 'ECCAS 'Peace, Security, Stability and Governance'. Available at <https://www.uneca.org/oria/pages/eccas-peace-security-stability-and-governance>

¹³⁸ International crisis group 'Implementing Peace and Security Architecture: Central Africa'. 7 November 2011. Available at <https://www.crisisgroup.org/africa/central-africa/implementing-peace-and-security-architecture-i-central-africa>

¹³⁹ Elowson C , Wiklund H C 'ECCAS Capabilities in Peace and Security: A scoping study on progress and challenges' 'Swedish Defence Research Agency 2011

¹⁴⁰ AU 'Economic Community of Central African States'. Available at <https://au.int/en/recs/eccas>

¹⁴¹ Ibid

NAPs¹⁴² while a Central African Regional Action Plan on UNSCR 1325 was endorsed in May 2018 by ECCAS.¹⁴³

Economic Community of West African States

The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) Revised Treaty of 1993 provides for the maintenance of regional peace, stability and security and peaceful settlement of disputes. The Treaty provides for the rights of women but does not contain specific provisions on women peace and security. The Treaty makes provision for the establishment of a regional peace and security observation system and peacekeeping forces where appropriate.

The ECOWAS Conflict Prevention Framework was adopted in 2008 and is a central instrument in promoting UNSCR 1325 objectives. Within the 14 components on conflict resolution and peacebuilding is a broad component on Women, Peace and Security with specific reference to UNSCR 1325. The Framework calls for effective collaborations between the respective Departments of Human Development and Gender, Early Warning Political Affairs. It promotes the provision of financial and technical support for local peace constituencies targeting local disputes interventions. Focusing on security sector organisation, the Framework emphasises gender sensitivity and balance in the recruitment, promotion and entitlements of armed forces and security personnel. Its early warning system- ECOWAS Early Warning and Response Network (ECOWARN)-incorporates women and gender equality in its indicators.¹⁴⁴

The Protocol Relating to the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management, Resolution, Peace-Keeping and Security of 1999 has provisions on the role of women conflict prevention, management, resolution, peace-keeping and security initiatives. It provides for the inclusion of women among eminent personalities to be identified to serve as ECOWAS mediators, conciliators and facilitators in the ECOWAS Council of

¹⁴² Angola, Burundi, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Congo, Democratic Republic of Congo and Rwanda

¹⁴³ WILPF Cameroon 'Validation of Central African UNSCR 1325 NAP' Available at <http://www.wilpf-cameroon.org/en/validation-of-central-african-uns-cr-1325-nap/>

¹⁴⁴ AUC 'Implementation of the Women, Peace, and Security Agenda in Africa' Office of the Special Envoy on Women, Peace and Security of the Chairperson of the African Union Commission 2016

Elders, (renamed the Council of the Wise). ECOWAS has a Standby Force that has made peacemaking interventions in Liberia, Sierra Leone, Guinea Bissau and Cote d'Ivoire.¹⁴⁵

In 2010, ECOWAS simultaneously adopted the Dakar Declaration & ECOWAS Plan of Action for the Implementation of UNSCR 1325 and 1820 In West Africa.¹⁴⁶ The Declaration defined various interventions to be coordinated by a Gender Development Centre which had been established in 2003.¹⁴⁷ Coordination of RAP implementation by member states is undertaken by the Gender Development Centre, which also implements the mainstreaming of gender in the region.¹⁴⁸ As a region, ECOWAS has the highest number of countries with NAPs to implement UNSCR 1325; 13 out of 15 countries in West Africa have NAPs.

Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa

Although established for economic development reasons, the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) has components of peace and security with a women, peace and security component. The 1994 Treaty establishing the Common Markets of East and Southern Africa (COMESA) has as one its aims co-operation in the promotion of peace, security and stability among the Member States in order to enhance economic development in the region. The COMESA Gender Policy only makes fleeting reference to women, peace and security. Its provisions note the need to address peace and security as a cross cutting issue within the socio-economic concerns that COMESA addresses.

COMESA has a Governance, Peace and Security Programme since 2002 and institutional frameworks to address peace and security.¹⁴⁹ COMESA Ministers of Foreign Affairs meet annually to address matters concerning conflict prevention, conflict management and post conflict reconstruction and a Committee on Peace and

¹⁴⁵ Ceesay-Ebo A 'Gender Dimensions of the ECOWAS Peace and Security Architecture: A Regional Perspective on UN Resolution 1325. CODESRIA 2011

¹⁴⁶ Peace women 'Regional Action Plan: ECOWAS'. Available at <https://www.peacewomen.org/action-plan/regional-action-plan-ecowas>

¹⁴⁷ ECOWAS Gender Development Centre. Available at <https://www.ccdg.ecowas.int/about-egdc/history/?lang=en>

¹⁴⁸ Udoka Ndidiamaka Owie 'Women, Power & Policymaking: Beyond the Rhetoric: Mainstreaming Gender in the ECOWAS Peace and Security Architecture' Policy Briefing August 2019

¹⁴⁹ COMESA 'Governance, Peace and Security'. Available at <https://www.comesa.int/services/governance-peace-and-security-unit/>

Security is in place. COMESA has a Committee of Elders whose main is to provide support to the Office of the Secretary General on preventive diplomatic missions.¹⁵⁰ The COMESA Conflict Early Warning System monitors from an economic viewpoint the System Structural Vulnerability Assessments¹⁵¹ that build on the COMESA Peace and Prosperity Index.¹⁵² ECOWAS has the Regional Political Integration and Human Security Support Programme that is part of its peace and security architecture¹⁵³

From 2004-2007, COMESA, the East Africa Community (EAC) and the Inter Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD) undertook a Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution project and strategy for the region; fighting the trade in illicit small arms and light weapons was assigned to EAC, war economies to COMESA and general conflict prevention to IGAD.¹⁵⁴ Through the War Economy component of the project, Members sought to understand better the economic elements of conflict as well as post-conflict reconstruction.

CSOs involved in peacebuilding are accredited to the COMESA programme on Peace and Security and the Inter Parliamentary Forum also has a peace and security component within its mandate.

¹⁵⁰ COMESA News ‘Egypt elected president of COMESA Committee of Elders 23 February 2019. Available at https://www.comesa.int/wp-content/uploads/2019/07/COMESA-Quarterly-Newsletter-Vol.-1.-2019-final_email.pdf

¹⁵¹ Elizabeth Mutunga ‘Repositioning COMESA as a Peaceful and Secure Region for Deeper Integration’ COMESA. Available at https://www3.nd.edu/~ggoertz/rei/reidevon.dtBase2/Files.noindex/pdf/d/386_06.%20Peace%20and%20Security%2030%2007%202010.pdf

¹⁵² Statement by Mr. Sindiso Ngwenya COMESA Secretary General at the Annual Briefing of the African Regional Economic Communities to Member States and United Nations Entities on Silencing the Guns in Africa: The Nexus Between Peace, Security, Governance and Development October 2015

¹⁵³ UNECA ‘COMESA - Peace, Security, Stability and Governance’. Available at

¹⁵⁴ Mutunga E ‘Repositioning COMESA as a Peaceful and Secure Region for Deeper Integration’

East African Community

The East African Community (EAC) Treaty highlights the importance of gender and the enhancement of women's roles in cultural, social, political, economic and technological development. Peace, security in general is emphasised while good governance is cast as a fundamental principle of the EAC. The EAC Protocol on Peace and Security addresses the different threats to peace and security and the management of refugees but is gender neutral. The EAC Gender Policy 2018 has provisions on Gender, Peace and Security. The Policy calls on members states to enhance processes for women's inclusion in peace and security in the phases of prevention, protection, participation, relief and recovery.

EAC established a Department of Peace and Security as well as a focal point in the Peace department that serves as a liaison on peace issues. A Gender Unit is in place to facilitate gender mainstreaming in the different sectors of the EAC and together with the Peace and Security Department, focus on UNSCR 1325 implementation by member states. An Eastern Africa Standby Force was established to maintain peace and security in the region, and while it is not pegged to the EAC, it is a Regional Mechanism with a standalone Secretariat.¹⁵⁵ The Eastern Africa Standby Force has a Gender Policy in place.

The EAC adopted a Regional Framework on UNSCR 1325 to complete the national level efforts on UNSCR 1325.¹⁵⁶ The Regional Strategy on Peace and Security identifies common action areas for cooperation among the states and includes the development of mechanisms for conflict management and resolution and a conflict early warning system.¹⁵⁷ In 2011, the East African Legislative Assembly (EALA) passed the EAC Conflict Management law to establish the Conflict Prevention,

¹⁵⁵ Desmidt S, Hauck V' Understanding the Eastern Africa Standby Force: A regional mechanism without a political home' ECDPM

¹⁵⁶ FAWE 'EAC Regional Framework on UNSCR 1325'. Available at <http://fawe.org/girlsadvocacy/wp-content/uploads/2018/12/EAC-Regional-Framework-on-UNSCR-1325.pdf>

¹⁵⁷ Hon Beatrice Kiraso 'EAC integration process and enabling peace and security architecture' EAC IRC depository. Available at <http://repository.eac.int/bitstream/handle/11671/248/EAC%20Integration%20-%20Enabling%20Peace%20and%20Security%20Architecture.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y>

Management and Resolution Mechanism,¹⁵⁸ which integrates components of the region's early warning system.¹⁵⁹

All member states of the EAC developed NAPs on UNSCR 1325 between 2008 and 2016 but the region is yet to develop a common action plan.

The Intergovernmental Authority on Development

The Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) Peace and Security Strategy (2016-2020) was adopted to guide member states in the implementation of UNSCR 1325 and 1820 and Peace and Security is one of its three major components. Also, in place is the IGAD Gender Policy and Strategy framework (2012-2020).

IGAD established a Women and Peace Forum in 2015 in order to contribute to gender responsiveness in peacebuilding.¹⁶⁰ The Regional Strategy for Higher Representation of Women in Decision Making Positions was endorsed to increase the number of women in decision making. Attempts have been made in IGAD to integrate gender analyses in its focus on refugees and returnees as well as the plight of host communities, emphasising the utility of socio-economic assessments including gender assessments.¹⁶¹

IGAD's Centre for Early Warning (CEWARN) is under the Peace and Security Department of IGAD and part of its peace and security architecture with a focus on cross-border related conflicts.¹⁶² Established in 2002 under the Protocol on the Establishment of a Conflict Early Warning and Response Mechanism, CEWARN continuously assesses threats and risks to peace and security in the region that could potentially blow up into conflict.¹⁶³ The Protocol does not have a women, peace and

¹⁵⁸ East Africa Legislative Assembly 'EALA Passes Conflict Management Bill'. Available at <http://www.eala.org/media/view/eala-passes-conflict-management-bill>

¹⁵⁹ UNECA 'EAC - Peace, Security, Stability and Governance). Available at <https://www.uneca.org/oria/pages/eac-peace-security-stability-and-governance>

¹⁶⁰ IGAD 'IGAD Women and Peace Forum Board Launched in the Republic of Djibouti'. Available at

¹⁶¹ Working Paper for IGAD Thematic Meeting on Jobs, Livelihoods, and Self-reliance of Refugees, Returnees, and Host Communities

¹⁶² Conflict Early Warning and Response Mechanism. Available at https://igad.int/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=1225:igad-women-and-peace-forum-board-launched-in-the-republic-of-djibouti&catid=46:executive-secretary&Itemid=123
<http://www.igadhost.com/igad/index.php/about?showall=&start=2>

¹⁶³ IGAD 'CEWARN'. Available at <http://www.igadregion.org/cewarn/>

security component and is silent on gender issues in conflict management. Given the challenges in the region, IGAD established a Centre of Excellence for Preventing and Countering Violent Extremism as part of its countering violent extremism initiatives.¹⁶⁴ Under the Gender Peace Programme is the IGAD Women and Peace Forum.

IGAD has a Regional Action Plan and five out of its seven members have a national action plan on UNSCR 1325.¹⁶⁵

Regional organisations: The International Conference of the Great Lakes Region

The International Conference of the Great Lakes Region (ICGLR) presents a unique opportunity to study the workings of a regional organisation constituted solely for the purposes of security and peacebuilding and with a strong focus on UNSCR 1325. Its members are also states parties to other RECs/RMs and straddle ECCAS, EAC, SADC and COMESA.

In 2000 the UN Security Council, in its resolutions 1291 and 1304, called for an International Conference on peace, security, democracy and development in the Great Lakes region. Responding to it, ICGLR was established comprising of 12 of the Great Lakes Region countries or those with a nexus to it.¹⁶⁶ ICGLR's membership was guided by the interconnectedness of the countries' border boundaries requiring the pursuit of common regional objectives to promote sustainable peace.¹⁶⁷ For example in 2014, ICGLR heads of state recognised that the activities of armed groups promoting violent conflict and operating in Eastern DRC threatened not only the security of the DRC but also that of neighbouring countries.¹⁶⁸

In November 2004, an ICGLR summit endorsed the Dar Es-Salaam Declaration on Peace, Security, Democracy and Development in the Great Lakes Region. The

¹⁶⁴ Available at <https://cve.igad.int/new/>

¹⁶⁵ Eritrea, Kenya, South Sudan, Sudan

¹⁶⁶ Angola, Burundi, Central African Republic, Republic of Congo, Democratic Republic of Congo, Kenya, Uganda, Rwanda, Republic of South Sudan, Sudan, Tanzania and Zambia.

¹⁶⁷ About ICGLR. <http://www.icglr.org/index.php/en/background>

¹⁶⁸ Declaration of the Summit of Heads of State and Government of ICGLR on the Promotion of Peace Security, Stability and Development in the Great Lakes Region, 15 January 2014

Declaration prohibited interstate aggression and recognised the link between crises and conflicts and violations of the human rights of women, children and youth. The Declaration was cognizant of the value returns accorded by self-evaluation and monitoring mechanisms for good governance and democracy such as the APRM.

ICGLR since 2004 has developed a significant body of legal frameworks on peace, security and accountability for illegal armed conflict in the region with the adoption of 12 protocols. The ICGLR Pact on Security, Stability and Development in the Great Lakes Region, 2006 emphasises the prioritisation of peace and security, democracy and good governance, economic development and regional integration as well as humanitarian, social and environmental issues. The ICGLR Goma Declaration on Eradicating Sexual Violence and Ending Impunity in the Great Lakes Region was adopted in June 2008 in light of the ‘alarmingly high’ incidence of sexual violence. It frames SGBV as a threat to national and regional peace and security.

Overall, the ICGLR has had a strong focus on SGBV in the region. In 2011, a critical instrument was adopted by the ICGLR that displays a number of good practices to fight impunity for sexual violence and to extend psychosocial, medical and legal services to help women in their recovery phases. The section below highlights the various positive dimensions of the Kampala Declaration to End Impunity for Sexual Violence.

Kampala Declaration to End Impunity for Sexual Violence and SGBV prevention

At the behest of the ICGLR Regional Women’s Forum, the ICGLR organised a Special Summit on Sexual and Gender Based Violence which birthed the Kampala Declaration to End Impunity for Sexual Violence, 2011. A first of its kind, the Kampala Declaration was adopted at the ICGLR 4th Ordinary summit and Special Session on SGBV convened under the theme ‘United to prevent end impunity and provide support to the victims of SGBV.’ The Kampala Declaration highlights the prevalence and impunity of SGBV in times of peace, during and after in post conflict settings. The Heads of States and Government expressed deep concern that the incidence of SGBV in the Great Lakes Region remained alarmingly high, with severe impact on the individual, family, community and state level and also pose security and development risks.

The Declaration calls for various interventions including the eradication of existing armed groups in the region and the strengthening of judicial, security and financial sectors to prevent, protect, respond to and punish SGBV. It recommends the fast tracking of establishing SGBV recovery centres to provide medical, judicial/prosecutorial and psychosocial support to victims of SGBV as well as the strengthening of mechanisms to provide income generating activities for survivors of SGBV.

Under the Declaration, Member States further set up a special Regional Facility for training and sensitising judicial officers, police units, social workers, medical officers and other categories of persons who handle SGBV cases in the Great Lakes Region. The Regional Training Facility (RTF) was established in 2014 in Uganda. RTF has conducted several training sessions for the military, judges, prosecutors, journalists, medical and social workers in its course of work on SGBV prevention and response. In 2019 trainings have focused on ending SGBV against Refugees.

Reviews of the implementation of the Kampala Declaration in 2016 indicate that the majority of the ICGLR member have made significant strides in fulfilling their commitments in preventing SGBV, punishing perpetrators and supporting survivors. Most countries have developed SGBV laws and gender policies and established one-stop recovery centres for survivors of SGBV.¹⁶⁹ However, some countries manifest less progress mostly because of ongoing conflicts, and challenges for victims of SGBV in accessing justice discourage survivors from seeking redress.¹⁷⁰

A Regional Women's Forum was established in 2010 as a coordination and consultative organ of ICGLR which seeks to promote equal participation of women at all levels.¹⁷¹ In 2017 the Regional Women Forum visited eastern Congo to conduct situational analyses from a gender perspective.¹⁷² Following a request from the ICGLR Regional Women Forum, observer status was granted to one woman in the

¹⁶⁹ 'Towards an Anti-Sexual and Gender-Based Violence Norm in the Great Lakes Region of Africa: Civil Society Review of the Implementation of the 2011 ICGLR Kampala Declaration' ISIS WICCE 2014

¹⁷⁰ Nyirinkindi L and Twesiime K M 'Improving Access to Justice and Ending Impunity for SGBV in the ICGLR Member States' ICGLR Regional Training Facility 2017

¹⁷¹ Republic of Rwanda 'Rwanda to host the Regional Women Forum Secretariat' 07/31/2015. Available at http://197.243.22.137/migeprof/index.php?id=61&tx_news_pi1%5Bnews%5D=237&tx_news_pi1%5Bcontroller%5D=News&tx_news_pi1%5Baction%5D=detail&cHash=4d2d8d7fe6c19c8dea9a146fc0647b1file

¹⁷² ICGLR Regional Women Forum participation in TSC Field Visit: 7-11 September 2017. Available at https://ungreatlakes.unmissions.org/sites/default/files/icglr_regional_women_forum_participation_in_tsc_field_visit-7-11_september_2017.pdf

peace talks between DRC Government and M23 in Kampala, Uganda.¹⁷³ The Regional Women's Forum continues to lobby for women's inclusion in respective teams so that women's issues would be integrated in the final outcome of the negotiations. A model law on the Prevention and Suppression of Sexual Violence Against Women and Children was developed which establishes the National Committee on Sexual Violence with various coordination, advisory, educational and complaints handling functions.¹⁷⁴

9 of the 12 Member States have NAPs on UNSCR 1325 in place.¹⁷⁵ In 2018, ICGLR developed a regional action plan (2019-2024). The AU has emphasised that with these modest gains, it is important for women in the Great Lakes region to participate in peace and political process and for ICGLR to identify a role for not only civil society engagement but the private sector in contributing to peace and stability.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷³ ICGLR 'The ICGLR Regional Women Forum gets observe observer status in DRC-M23 peace talks. Available at <http://www.icglr.org/index.php/en/component/content/article/138-meganews/180-the-icglr-regional-women-forum-gets-observer-status-in-drc-m23-peace-talks>

¹⁷⁴ Nyirinkindi L, Twesiime Kirya M, 'Improving Access to Justice and Ending Impunity for SGBV in the ICGLR Member States' Regional Training Facility of the ICGLR 2017. Available at <https://www.icglr-rtf.org/publication/view/improving-access-to-justice-and-ending-impunity-for-sgbv-in-the-icglr-member-states-rtf-sgbv-study/>

¹⁷⁵ Angola, Burundi, Central African Republic, Democratic Republic of Congo, Kenya, Rwanda, South Sudan, United Republic of Tanzania and Uganda. See ICGLR Regional Action Plan for The Implementation of United Nations Resolution 1325 (2000) 2018-2023

¹⁷⁶ AU, UN Joint Press release JPR21 - 27.02.2018



6.0 STRENGTHENING THE NEXUS: A ROLE FOR THE APRM IN THE COUNTRY REVIEWS PROCESSES

The APRM and Governance in Africa

The Africa Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) was established in 2002 as Africa's response to the continent's governance problems and received wide acclaim as a much needed vehicle for entrenching positive values of governance and democracy. The UN Secretary General's report on the Causes of Conflict and Promotion of Durable Peace and Sustainable Development in Africa, 2004, lauded the APRM initiative to support national efforts to enhance political, economic and corporate governance.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁷ Progress report of the Secretary-General 'Implementation of the recommendations contained in the report of the Secretary-General on the causes of conflict and promotion of durable peace and sustainable development in Africa' UN General Assembly August 2005 A/60/182

The APRM is a specialised agency of the AU with a mandate to assist countries to self-assess and diagnose governance challenges and through a peer review process, arrive at sustainable solutions that are to be monitored over time. The process relies on an examination of country targets towards meeting international, regional and national commitments in the four pillars of political governance, socio-economic development, corporate governance and economic governance and management.

The primary purpose of the APRM is 'To foster the adoption of policies, standards and practices that lead to political stability, high economic growth, sustainable development and accelerated sub-regional and continental economic integration through sharing of experiences and reinforcement of successful and best practice, including identifying deficiencies and assessing the needs of capacity building.'¹⁷⁸ Each of these aspects guides the methodologies, approaches and focus areas of APRM's work at the national level. Governance outcomes are escalated to multilateral continental institutions and such as the Pan African Parliament, RECs and the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights. The AU main investigative tool, a Questionnaire designed for national level review, provides an important backdrop for all assessments, and background and issues papers are developed by thematic experts of the APRM Secretariat. Household surveys and community scorecards are also methodological approaches used by states to provide an evidence basis for governance reviews of the APRM.

The APRM structures are based at the continental and national level. At the continental level is the Africa Peer Forum of the Heads of States and Governments, the Panel of Eminent Persons, the Focal points and the Secretariat. Following the integration of the Secretariat into the AU, the organs of the AU including the AU Commission, the Permanent Representatives, Specialised Technical Committees all add extra layers of policy guidance and oversight. At the national level are the APRM structures that include the Focal Points and the APRM governance structures, referred to as councils or commissions. The APRM continental and national structures collectively constitute the APRM.

¹⁷⁸ Objectives, Standards, Criteria and Indicators for the African Peer Review Mechanism ("the APRM") NEPAD/HSGIC-03-2003/APRM/Guideline/OSCI 9 March 2003

The country self-assessment processes draw from participatory and interactive methods of engaging citizens, civil society, the private sector and state entities. In addition to country self-assessments, external African experts add a layer of objective and complementary problem identification and solving. At the end of an assessment, the governance reform areas and targets identified are distilled into the National Programme of Action (NPoA) that is monitored over three years, although Ghana, which was the first country to be assessed in 2006 continues to monitor its NPoA. Other countries have integrated the NPoA into national planning and development processes and mainstreamed the APRM implementation, thus institutionalising implementation and monitoring. By reporting annually to the Africa Peer Review Forum constituting of Heads of State and Governments, Africa's leaders discuss governance solutions in candid environments that reflect the spirit of peer review.

The contributions of the APRM to enhancing governance analysis, discourse and actioning can be summarised in four broad areas:

Participatory and inclusive governance discourse: The APRM has built credibility over time as an enabler of state-society dialogue. In the process of identifying the national governance issues, citizens and other non-state entities play a key role in shaping the discourse and identifying the issues. The national structures that oversee the process are required to have substantial representation of non-state actors. The National Governing Councils or APRM Commissions have been encouraged to reflect the leadership and independence of citizens over governance processes. This is a significant departure from past heavily technocratic, bureaucratic, externally donor imposed and driven review processes.¹⁷⁹ As observed by the UN Economic Commission for Africa, 'The APRM framework, principles, processes, and substantive content, provide a deliberative approach that can enhance state-society linkages for constructing such a developmental State.'¹⁸⁰

Over the one and a half decades of APRM's existence, a wide array of national level non state actors have participated in the public hearings of the APRM. The ability of the APRM to effectively probe governance, development and social justice issues

¹⁷⁹ UNECA 'Gender Equality and the APRM' UNECA 2016

¹⁸⁰ UN Economic Commission for Africa 'APRM and the Quest for a Developmental State: The Role of CSOs in Implementing the National Programme of Action' January 2012E/ECA/CGPP/3/3

derives from popular participation by citizens in the country research processes led by technical research institutes, wide media publicity and citizen debates at the national and subnational level. This has been shown to widen political space through promoting a 'plurality of voices' that use this process to call for accountability hence influencing governance targets and outcomes.¹⁸¹

Women have utilised these APRM platforms to develop conversations on gender equality including the women, peace and security agenda, particularly in countries where tensions and conflicts exist. Various APRM country review reports have identified constraints to women's rights and development as well as peace and security concerns, leading to targeted gender specific outcome areas being implemented and monitored through National Programmes of Action (NPOAs). Reviews indicate progress in gender responsive laws, structures and programmes, although resources and in some instances, lack of follow through on commitments continue to constrain the attainment of desired standards and goals.¹⁸²

Fostering the adoption of governance standards: One of the key areas of the APRM focus during reviews and monitoring phases is to assess the extent to which countries are signing, ratifying and domesticating AU and international instruments relating to governance across the four pillars. This is critical in building convergence towards the appropriate standards required to achieve political and socio-economic transformation of the continent. Among the areas of scrutiny are standards relating to the rights of women and girls and vulnerable refugees and IDPs.

The gaps identified by countries in their standards have led a number of them to undertake significant steps towards adopting instruments that can provide their citizens with legal claims and thresholds to hold their governments accountable. The women, peace and security standards are not strongly reflected in the review tools and the APRM is currently undergoing a review process that will see key related standards mainstreamed across the Questionnaire.

Strengthening capacity and resilience: the APRM has been perceived as a diagnostic tool because of its successes in capturing trends and forecasting various

¹⁸¹ Da Costa P K 'Rule of Experts? Decomposing Agency and Agendas in Africa's Development Regime' University of London Thesis, 2011

¹⁸² UNECA 'Gender Equality and the APRM' UNECA 2017

governance scenarios. In particular, the identification of tensions relating to conflicts in countries reviewed were flagged by APRM in a number of countries, revealing its utility as part of an early warning mechanism. By undertaking assessment in collaborative, non-judgmental and voluntary approaches with expertise garnered from the continent, governments are accelerating the learning curve and growth process to adopt more resilient models of governance across the four pillars.

Furthermore, the APRM adds value to government processes by examining the gaps within and between policy standards and practice implementation, providing analytical inputs into how these gaps can be closed. By drawing on national expertise of think tanks and experts in the country under assessment, the homegrown solutions offered are more likely contribute to sustainable results.

Disseminating best practices: The peer review processes have offered insights into how other countries under similar circumstances are dealing with Africa's challenges through innovations that provide significant breakthroughs. Where there are areas in which learning can be extrapolated from a country's significant progress, these have been highlighted and documented by the APRM. There is more room for growth by governments as civil society organisations have displayed more proactivity in this area through sharing good practices, research tools, publications and engagement strategies through transboundary networking.¹⁸³

In some regions the APRM country structures designed innovative approaches to governance issues, as happened with the Ghana district oversight committees. These local committees work with national level APRM structures to strengthen communities' understanding of governance issues through dialogues.¹⁸⁴ This model spurred exchange visits, documentation and interest in replication of these good practices in other APRM countries like Mali, Burkina Faso and Benin.¹⁸⁵ The Annual Methodology Forum of the APRM now in its third year is also building up the methodological aspects governance assessments and is a useful platforms for exchanging ideas, good practices, information and research among countries.

¹⁸³ *ibid*

¹⁸⁴ GhanaWeb 'APRM trains District Oversight Committee members' Available at <https://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/NewsArchive/APRM-trains-District-Oversight-Committee-members-329681#>

¹⁸⁵ *ibid*

Monitoring implementation of governance targets: When monitoring is left to governments, this creates technocratic approaches that are unfeasible in the governance realm, as governance is not necessarily about the nuts and bolts of programme implementation. Governance often embodies qualitative assessments of programmes that require citizens as the intended beneficiaries to close the feedback loop. The APRM national structures not only identify implementation areas of the NPoA but allocate civil society organisations certain responsibilities for jointly implementing and monitoring alongside government where appropriate and monitoring the outcomes. The development dividends of such participatory approaches to monitoring governance processes build ownership and sustainability.

The Ghana District Oversight Committees offer insights into citizen led and localised monitoring of APRM outcomes. Citizens volunteer to monitor the NPoA at the subnational level.¹⁸⁶ In Uganda, the Uganda Governance Monitoring Project of CSOs identified 32 indicators of the NPoA across the four pillars which they monitored in thematic areas and disseminated findings to citizens.



Applying the APRM analytical framework to Governance, Gender and Peacebuilding Priority issues

The following section utilises the APRM governance analytical framework and indicators which have potential utility to strengthen the critical linkages that peacebuilding from a gender perspective require. In the spirit of the APRM philosophy, areas of emerging or established good practices in gender and peacebuilding from various countries are highlighted to build better understanding of how African states and peoples are building resilience and innovating around conflict management.

¹⁸⁶ UNECA 'APRM and the Quest for a Developmental State: the Role of CSOs in Implementing the National Programme of Action' January 2012 E/ECA/CGPP/3/3

Pillar of Democracy and Political Governance

The APRM tool details specific indicators in this pillar for the assessment process, including constitutional democracy and the rule of law, prevention and reduction of intra and inter-state conflicts, promotion and protection of civil and political rights, and promotion and protection of the rights of women, children, youth and vulnerable groups. Three UN security council resolutions on women, peace and security feature aspects of elections, security sector, justice and Demobilisation, Disarmament and Rehabilitation (DDR).¹⁸⁷ These are critical areas that have a correlation with the APRM pillar on Democracy and Political Governance (DPG). These indicators speak to the majority of the women, peace and security themes often raised in regard to gender and peacebuilding.

Priority DPG issues relating to gender and peacebuilding

Critical rights stand at the centre of women's ability to participate in leadership and political office pre-conflict, during and after conflict. The political rights of women as a specific category are given special attention within the APRM questionnaire in this Pillar and in the Pillar on Socio-economic Development. In the DPG pillar, the focus is on women's leadership and political rights. APRM probes the effectiveness of national measures in place to enhance the role of women in the democratic governance process and to protect and promote their rights. In respective country review reports, APRM advocates for women's inclusion in the political structures, processes and systems in the executive, legislature and judiciary and local government level in line with AU policy instruments.

Several NPoAs developed indicate substantial responses to address gaps in the political rights of women, with commitments to include special measures for affirmative action in the elective and non-elective offices. This is important because women's underrepresentation in public office especially at the higher echelons is a structural issue of gender inequality in most countries. Liberia undertook a deliberate strategy to appointment women as ministers of finance, police, commerce and defence as a

¹⁸⁷ Sabine Freizer, 'Enhancing Women's Engagement in Peace, Security and Recovery' UN Women (undated)

means of strengthen responses to UNSCR 1325 by placing women in significant decision making structures.¹⁸⁸

a) Human Rights Based Approaches to gender and peacebuilding

Both the PSC and the African Commission on Human and People's Rights, endorse the integration of human rights issues as conflict early warning indicators.¹⁸⁹ There is an exponential linkage between conflict and increased gender-based violence that can signal early warnings of impending conflict.¹⁹⁰ The UN Commission on the Status of Women urges member states of CEDAW to promote and protect the full array of rights for women and girls during conflict prevention, conflict management and resolution and in post-conflict peace-building phases.¹⁹¹

In 2013 when the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women issued General Recommendation 30 on Women in Conflict prevention, Conflict and Post Conflict situation, it emphasised the nexus between Women, Peace and Security and the implementation of rights outlined in CEDAW, stating that countries should assess how conflict affects the whole gamut of Convention rights.¹⁹² The Committee extends this standard to women and girls under threat of violence, calling on states to provide protection and security to allow for women's freedom of movement and participation in social, political and economic activities. This includes the rights of women to form and join vibrant civil society associations that can promote peacebuilding. Such rights should not be unreasonably curtailed even during states of emergency as they hold the key to women's participation in peacebuilding. It is important that countries underwrite the integration of women's rights into critical documents like constitutions and transitional arrangement documents, which in itself can be transformative.

¹⁸⁸ Wilton Park Conference 816 'Peace and Security: Implementing UN Security Council Resolution 1325' 30 May – 02 June 2006. Available at <https://www.wiltonpark.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/wp816-report.pdf>

¹⁸⁹ AU Peace and Security Council Communique August 2019 PSC/PR/COMM.(DCCCLXVI)

¹⁹⁰ Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women 'General Recommendation No. 30 on Women in conflict prevention, conflict and post-conflict situations' 1 November 2013 CEDAW/C/GC/30

¹⁹¹ UN Commission on the Status of Women 'Women's equal participation in conflict prevention, management and conflict resolution and in post-conflict peacebuilding' Forty-eighth session 1-12 March 2004

¹⁹² Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women 'General Recommendation No. 30 on Women in conflict prevention, conflict and post-conflict situations' 1 November 2013 CEDAW/C/GC/30

The APRM review of standards and codes in the DPG pillar analyses the extent to which countries are adhering to commitments under national, regional and international treaties and declarations on human rights. The Report of the UN Secretary General on Peacebuilding and Sustaining Peace links the peace and security pillars to human rights mechanisms, including special procedures, the treaty monitoring mechanisms and the universal periodic review.¹⁹³ There is a wide body of treaties and declarations, resolutions and statements on important rights that are relevant to gender and peacebuilding, many of which are considered by the APRM review process.

By March 2019 only 13 of 40 states parties had submitted reports containing content on the Maputo Protocol,¹⁹⁴ despite its rich provisions on peace and security.

b) Participation in formal peace processes and decision making structures.

Women have a right to participate in government and decision making under Article 7 of CEDAW which most countries have ratified and domesticated. As a testament to the acceptability of the principle theoretically, no African country has a reservation lodged against Article 7.¹⁹⁵ The Maputo Protocol extends this right to inclusion in peacebuilding structures and processes for conflict prevention, management and resolution at all levels.

Increased women's participation in decision making is notable in several countries that have adopted special measures such as quotas and proportional representation, although it is not accompanied by qualitative capacity building efforts to increase women's effectiveness in office. Less success has been evidenced in executive and judicial appointments of women and yet women's involvement in conflict resolution extends to policy making and adjudication. Failure to meet the growing demand for greater public participation by women in decision-making processes risks social disruption and can be a long-term driver for political conflict.

¹⁹³ A/72/707 S/2018/43

¹⁹⁴ Panel Discussion on the State Reporting Obligations and Guidelines on Reporting under the Maputo Protocol 29 April 2019 University of Pretoria. Available at https://www.up.ac.za/faculty-of-law/news/post_2807209-panel-discussion-on-the-state-reporting-obligations-and-guidelines-on-reporting-under-the-maputo-protocol

¹⁹⁵ United Nations Treaty Collection. Available at https://treaties.un.org/Pages/ViewDetails.aspx?src=IND&mtdsg_no=IV-8&chapter=4&lang=en

Formal peace negotiations, mediations or peace agreements offer moments in time to course correct on a number of governance issues and participation in them is the key. In 2004 the UN Secretary General noted that peace agreements for the most part excluded gender equality and the status of women within the post-conflict society and displayed gender neutral language and content, with no recognition of women's priorities and concerns.¹⁹⁶ It is estimated that out of 1,168 peace agreements signed between January 1990 and January 2014 globally, only 18 percent made any references to women or gender.¹⁹⁷ Only 3 out of 11 peace agreements signed in 2017 contained gender-responsive provisions, while only 25 agreements out of 1500 peace agreements adopted between 2000 and 2016 referred to women's engagement roles in the implementation phase.¹⁹⁸ This does not bode well for post conflict phases that can foster gender responsive governance or adequately respond to women's needs.

Electing more women into decision making structures like legislatures is important for enabling a critical mass of women to influence laws that impact on gender, peace and security. However, even where women are elected into office, they may not necessarily hold meaningful positions or wield substantial influence. Women caucuses in parliament often lack the skills and influence due to heavily male oriented patronage systems in legislatures, and patriarchal constituencies. The regional Parliaments of ECOWAS, EAC, Inter-Parliamentary Committee of the West African Economic and Monetary Union (WAEMU) and ECOWAS in 2013 called for the increased representation for women parliamentarians on committees for security and defence issues cooperation.¹⁹⁹

Participation in formal peace processes is an essential element of women's exercise of their right to make decisions on matters of public interest. However, negotiating delegations mostly comprise of appointed rather than elected delegates, at which stage women drop off the lists over male preference. By March 2019 UN Women estimated women's involvement in formal peace processes 1990 and 2017 at only 2

¹⁹⁶ UN Commission on the Status of Women ` Women's equal participation in conflict prevention, management and conflict resolution and in post-conflict peace-building Report of the Secretary General` 22 December 2003 E/CN.6/2004/10, Christine Chinkin, background paper presented at the expert group meeting held in Ottawa, November 2003 (see para. 2 and note 1).

¹⁹⁷ Bell `Text and Context: Evaluating Peace Agreements for their `Gender Perspective.`

¹⁹⁸ UN Security Council `Report of the Secretary-General on women peace and security` (2018) (S/2018/900)

¹⁹⁹ The Role of Parliament In Conflict Prevention and Management In West Africa: Regional Conference organized jointly by the National Assembly of Côte d'Ivoire and the Inter-Parliamentary Union-Abidjan, 28-30 October 2013

per cent of chief mediators and 8 per cent of negotiators, despite “irrefutable evidence” of the positive results evidenced when women participate meaningfully in such processes.²⁰⁰ According to the Special Envoy on Women, Peace and Security in Africa, in 16 African peace processes between 1992 to 2011, only two had 5 percent female signatories and only three of 16 processes had female lead mediators.²⁰¹

Elected women can and have boosted what they lack in numbers by working across political entities to join hands with women’s civil society organisations and male and female champions. By building non-sectarian coalitions across the political divide, women in official peace processes are espousing the values universalism of peacebuilding and leveraging their strategic advantage to influence formal peace processes. The example from Somalia serves to illustrate the effectiveness of this strategy.

Building bridges across the divide: The Sixth ‘female’ Clan of Somalia

The phenomenon of the Sixth Clan in Somalia gained prominence during the peace negotiations involving the Somali Transitional National Government. Obtaining access to the peace process and the Transitional National Assembly (TNA), women across clan divides established an extraordinary clan based on gender rather than clan identity. This was a significant break from past peace negotiations processes that were exclusively led by male clan leaders.

In the face of the prolonged conflict, Somali women in Somalia and the diaspora progressively built a track record of peacebuilding, working together across clan and social divides. 100 women from various local and regional networks and clans influenced the five main clan heads of southern Somalia to be part of the Djibouti Peace talks in 2000.²⁰² Initially, women were integrated in each clan’s delegation but on realising that patriarchal clan based negotiations of about 2000 to 3000 men would

²⁰⁰ UN Women “Women, peace and security experts look ahead to 2020.” Available at <http://www.unwomen.org/en/news/stories/2019/3/news-womenpeace-and-security-experts-look-ahead-to-2020>

²⁰¹ African Union Special Envoy’s Remarks at Panel Discussion on the Theme ‘Women’s Empowerment in the 21st Century’ to mark South Africa’s Women Month, Addis Ababa, 31 August 2016

²⁰² Timons D ‘The Sixth Clan — Women Organize for Peace in Somalia. A Review of Published Literature’ 2004, University for Peace, Switzerland

marginalise their voices, carved out a niche for themselves in ensuing peace talks, constituting the 'Sixth clan'.²⁰³

The Sixth Clan contained women from different clans and social backgrounds working towards common objectives. Women activists served in various capacities in the six reconciliation committees, and two were part of the influential Leaders' Committee.²⁰⁴ This included one of the two founders of the Sixth clan, Asha Hagi Elmi who was the first Somali woman to officially be a signatory to a peace agreement.²⁰⁵ Coalitions of women's CSOs supported the women delegates and worked with women activists in Mogadishu to pressure faction and political leaders through protests and demonstrations.²⁰⁶

The Sixth Clan pushed for various gender agenda and the majority (70 percent) voted on the provisions of the Transitional Federal Charter as a single bloc.²⁰⁷ The Transitional Federal Charter established the Transitional Parliament of 275 members, of which at least 12 percent were to be women.²⁰⁸ The Charter also reflected provisions on equality of the sexes and a positive environment for women to participate effectively in economic, social and political life of the society.

c) Rights of Refugees, IDPs and vulnerable women

There is a dedicated objective with specific indicators on the rights of IDPs and refugees within the APRM tool which guides all DPG assessments. The tool examines the extent to which countries are protecting the rights of refugees and IDPs and the vulnerable groups within the population, which is often women and girls. Aspects such as enabling human rights laws, institutional mechanisms, resources allocated to services, social welfare, security and assistance come under scrutiny as well as the adequacy of response mechanisms. The APRM uses the review process

²⁰³ *ibid.*

²⁰⁴ Inclusive Peace and Transition 'Women in Peace and Transition Process' Case Study Series April 2019

²⁰⁵ The United Nations International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women 'Women, Peace and Security in Somalia: Implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1325. A UN-INSTRAW Background Paper, 2008

²⁰⁶ Inclusive Peace and Transition 'Women in Peace and Transition Process' Case Study Series April 2019

²⁰⁷ Timons D 'The Sixth Clan -Women Organize for Peace in Somalia.

²⁰⁸ African Union 'Report of The Chairperson of the Commission on the Situation in Somalia' Peace and Security Council, PSC/PR/2(VI) 29 April 2004

and reports to encourage governments who have not signed the Kampala Convention and the OAU Refugee Convention to do so as a means of strengthening protection mechanisms. As a way of building support for host countries that are usually strained in terms of capacity and resources, the APRM engages with various partners involved in humanitarian assistance with a view to strengthening collaboration areas with the host country.

The review process also undertakes hearings where possible with IDPs and comprehensively analyses policies and programmes in place. Targeted recommendations around the peace and security concerns of women are factored into the recommendations to countries and entities involved in humanitarian assistance. The NPoAs of many countries reveal that countries are responding to highlighted gaps by integrating them as outcome areas and seeking to fund these as priority areas. APRM continually refers to the need for statistics of IDPs and refugees to facilitate planning for the various categories within these populations.

The major issues under this section have already been considered under section 2 of the report

d) Prevention and Management of Intra and Inter-State Conflicts

One of the objectives of this pillar is to encourage countries to formulate strategies for preventing and reducing intra- and inter-state conflicts and promoting sustained peace and security among countries. The APRM works with member states to analyse circumstances that may give rise to conflict and to resolve conflict where it occurs. The reviews probe issues of inequality among groups and/or regions, competition for natural resources and their unfair exploitation, ethnic, religious and other diversities; illicit arms trade, and refugees and IDPs. The reviews also focus on the effectiveness of national and regional mechanisms for conflict prevention and management and the associated roles and capacities. A number of NPoAs indicate responses by countries to APRM recommendations in the area of establishing early warning systems to detect potential sources of conflicts and address underlying causes and respond to these challenges. However, these are mostly not reflective of UNSCR 1325 themes.

The APRM has focused its on long term strategies to build enabling conditions for peace as well as short term interventions where violence is imminent. In fact, it is in these areas that APRM has been acclaimed as having diagnostic value as an early warning system. By listening to diverse social groups, communities and political actors, APRM has been able to detect areas of structural violence that require immediate or longer term interventions. In the review of South Africa and Kenya for example, the APRM picked up indications of tension and of pending and actual violence in both countries that were communicated to various stakeholders.

Strategies that focus on preventing the immediate outbreak of violence and managing structural governance deficits that build up to violence are critical. Gender responsive early warning systems and gender analyses that include women and gender issues as part of early warning efforts are recommended the UN.²⁰⁹ In their various roles of preserving 'social order'²¹⁰ and as primary care givers and in their domestic roles, women can gather significant information on social unrest and provide critical inputs into information gathering and conflict early warning systems. As such, a gender-blind early warning system is of little value in the detection gender violence. All regions and most countries have developed early warning systems for conflict with different capabilities and focus but not all have integrated gender aspects in these systems.

Women's inclusion in peace processes is not limited to the negotiation table and women can participate at various levels.²¹¹ Women's social capital and the multiple networks they bring to the negotiating table makes them an invaluable part of the solution to peacebuilding.²¹² However, these networks and capabilities remain largely untapped in formal peace processes. Whether formally or informally, women have organised and constituted networks of influencers to promote peacebuilding processes, although facing constraints at each level. The example below illustrates the value of women and men involved in conflict resolution and peacebuilding initiatives that can also serve as early warning mechanisms. These are in many

²⁰⁹ UN Commission on the Status of Women 'Women's equal participation in conflict prevention, management and conflict resolution and in post-conflict peace-building' Forty-eighth session 1-12 March 2004

²¹⁰ Beijing Declaration and Platform of Action, 1995

²¹¹ 'Making Women Count: Women's Inclusion in Peace Processes at a Glance', Geneva: Inclusive Peace and Transition Initiative (Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies), January 2016.

²¹² Gizelis T I 'Gender Empowerment and United Nations Peacebuilding' Journal of Peace Research vol. 46, no. 4, 2009 (Sage Publications)

instances linked to formal governance structures and processes and show the value returns of citizen-state collaborations in peacebuilding.

Local Peace Committees

Local Peace Committees (LPCs) are gaining currency in several African countries as grassroots peacebuilding architecture. They are established at sub national level mostly by men and women community members that voluntarily seek to promote intra-communal reconciliation and dispute resolution. The structures also serve as early warning systems within and even across states borders in some instances, when they are able to monitor disruptive or violent contentions at the communal level or across communities.

In 1993 in Wajir, Kenya, the remarkable efforts of a women's group (Wajir Peace and Development Committee) in reconciling three conflicting clan communities through a seven day dialogue process became renowned for the peace dividends both the warring parties and the communities reaped.²¹³ Thereafter, this the model was replicated in other volatile districts and ultimately integrated in the Kenya National Dialogue and Reconciliation Agreement that created the District Peace Committees and Peace monitors.²¹⁴ Their work is overseen by the National Steering Committee on Peace Building and Conflict Management.²¹⁵

LPCs are mostly citizen driven with the support of development partners and NGOs that provide mediation skills and knowledge on appropriate human rights standards. There are country iterations such as Zimbabwe where women or men chair LPCs and make decisions, but this is not uniform in all communities and many LPCs reflect wider characteristics of patriarchal decision making.²¹⁶ LPCs respond to community needs and vary in their formalisation or composition; Kenya has nationalized the implementation of the programme,²¹⁷ in Somalia, committee members are elected

²¹³ Conflict Dynamics International District Peace Committee Assessment-Conducted by Conflict Dynamics in partnership with the Somali Youth and Development Network, July 2015

²¹⁴ Odendaal A 'An Architecture for Building Peace at the Local Level: Comparative Study of Local Peace Committees December 2010, UNDP

²¹⁵ National Steering Committee on Peace Building and Conflict Management 'Peace Committees in Kenya: A mapping report on existing peace building structures September 2010

²¹⁶ Chivasa N 'Efficacy of informal peace committees to peacebuilding: Evidence from Seke district, Zimbabwe' African Evaluation Journal' 2017 University of Kwazulu Natal

²¹⁷ Conflict Dynamics International District Peace Committee Assessment 2015

and in Sudan, some of the peacebuilding Committees are run by internally displaced women.²¹⁸ Integrating police representatives into the South African peace committees added a layer of security to this model.²¹⁹

Studies on the impact of the LPC model validate its ability to mitigate violence, sometimes even in the middle of violent conflict²²⁰ In Ghana, the national peace architecture of LPCs and the traditional mediation mechanisms were associated with peaceful elections transitions in December 2008.²²¹ Observers note that in the 2008 election related violence Kenya, district peace committees were key in checking violence in the Northern and Coast provinces.²²²

e) Elections and managing diversity

Agenda 2063 points to the critical need to manage Africa's diversity as a source of wealth, harmony and social and economic transformation rather than of conflict. The APRM since 2006 has been addressing the management of diversity as a special or cross cutting theme. Within 2 years of the APRM country reviews commencing, managing diversity was identified as a cross cutting issue in 4 out of 5 countries that had been reviewed.²²³ In 2008, Africa's leaders considered the concept of managing diversity as fundamental nation building ²²⁴ APRM emphasis on gender equality and gender mainstreaming takes into account the differing experiential perspectives of men and women and the heterogeneity of women.

The prevalent model where election winners take all has bred discontent particularly along ethnic lines and is a potential trigger for conflict as has been evidenced on the continent. The APRM examines countries' capacities to administer elections in a

²¹⁸ Kezie-Nwoha H and Were J 'Women's informal peace efforts: Grassroots activism in South Sudan' Number 7 CMI Brief November 2018

²¹⁹ Peace Infrastructures.org 'Infrastructure for Peace' . Available at <https://peaceinfrastructures.org/SitePages/home.aspx>

²²⁰ Issifu A K 'Local Peace Committees in Africa: The Unseen Role in Conflict Resolution and Peacebuilding Africology: The Journal of Pan African Studies, vol.9, no.1, March 2016

²²¹ UNDP Kenya 'District Peace Committees'. Available at <https://www.ke.undp.org/content/kenya/en/home/operations/projects/peacebuilding/districtpeace.html>

²²² UNDP Kenya 'District Peace Committees' <https://www.ke.undp.org/content/kenya/en/home/operations/projects/peacebuilding/districtpeace.html>

²²³ Ghana, Kenya, Uganda, Algeria and South Africa

²²⁴ Africa Peer Review Mechanism 'Emerging governance issues in Africa: Perspectives from the APRM process, November 15, 2008, 11th meeting of the Africa Partnership Forum (APF), Thematic Paper, 17-18 2008

manner that allows for fair competition and delivers democratic leaders. APRM looks at the adequacy of institutional and regulatory frameworks to protect the exercise of voting rights. In Lesotho for example, the APRM identified as a good practice electoral system reforms that allowed broader inclusiveness and representation of the legislature which had led to relative peace.²²⁵ However APRM country review reports do not cover this issue from a gender perspective in depth.

Democratic rights come with the responsibility to vote for leaders, but for many countries, elections evoke fear of chaos and conflict, and for women, violence in the public and private spheres. Violent conflict in Africa has a positive relationship with elections. By 2010, it was estimated that if one person killed due to electoral violence constitutes electoral violence, between 19 percent to 25 percent of countries that held elections in sub-Saharan Africa had experienced violence.²²⁶ A recent 30 country study in Africa finds a positive association between gender equality and lower electoral violence and surmises that this can reduce the probability of electoral violence in Africa by around 4.2 percent.²²⁷

Women peacebuilders have identified elections as a lightning rod and galvanised action around this process to address the gender concerns that are associated with electoral violence. African women's civil society has innovated ways to intergrade peacebuilding in the electoral process. The Women's Situation Room (WSR) has emerged as a major tool in preventing, responding to and mitigating electoral related violence as a peace building tool. The WSR was created by Councillor Yvette Chesson to monitor elections and prevent the eruption of violence during highly charged electoral periods in Liberia. This practice was hailed by the 2012 Gender is My Agenda Campaign (GIMAC) of the AU as a best practice²²⁸ and has been replicated in countries such as Kenya, Ghana, Uganda, Liberia, Nigeria, Sierra Leone and Senegal.

²²⁵ Africa Peer Review Mechanism 'Kingdom of Lesotho' 2012 Country Review Report No 12

²²⁶ Bekoe, D 'Trends in Electoral Violence in Sub-Saharan Africa. (2010) USIP Peace brief (13)

²²⁷ Ouedraogo R, Ouedraogo I, 'Gender Equality and Electoral Violence in Africa: Unlocking the Peacemaking Potential of Women' IMF, July 2019

²²⁸ Limo I 'The Women's Situation Room in Africa: An Initiative for Peaceful and Inclusive Elections' 16 FEB 2017. Available at <https://www.accord.org.za/conflict-trends/womens-situation-room-africa/>

Women's Situation Rooms

The first Women's Situation Room (WSR) was first evidenced in the 2011 elections in Liberia and has become institutionalised in several African countries. (WSR) are outcomes of women's concerns and interests in ensuring smooth election processes, often as part of conflict resolution practices, particularly in countries where elections are potential triggers to the eruption of violence. WSRs are used to mobilise various stakeholders to adopt pro-peace advocacy, coordinate election processes and monitor and report incidences of election malpractices and violence against women. They have served as an early warning system for potential outbreaks of violence. These secretariats are operated by eminent women from the national and regional level, civil society organisations and actors and work with legal, media and political analysts as the situation warrants.

Most countries' women situation rooms train and deploy female observers to monitor electoral constituencies. Yvette Chesson-Wureh hailed the WSR for averting violence in Liberia's 2017 elections as politicians resorted to court processes rather than violent demonstrations that tend to characterise elections protests.²²⁹ A talking bus initiative of the Situation Room that travelled to 9 hotspots inspired conversations around the rule of law and the need to abide by the Supreme Court's decision for a run off.²³⁰ In Uganda the WSR established for the 2016 elections uniquely resulted in the Military setting up a new help desk in the WSR.

ACCORD notes that WSRs have facilitated the timely reporting of violence, resolution of electoral related complaints including gender violence, the quick identification of triggers of violence and strategies to counter this, improved electoral security and safety especially in electoral hotspots.²³¹

²²⁹ United Nations Peace Keeping 'The story of UNMIL [Book]: Women's Situation Room prepares ground for calm elections. Available at <https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/story-of-unmil-book-womens-situation-room-prepares-ground-calm-elections>

²³⁰ Women's Situation Room 'Statement by the Women's Situation Room-Liberia on the Presidential Run-off Election, 2017' December 29, 2017. Available at <https://angiebrooksintlcentre.org/statement-by-the-womens-situation-room-liberia-on-the-presidential-run-off-elections-2017/>

²³¹ Limo I 'The Women's Situation Room in Africa: An Initiative for Peaceful and Inclusive Elections'

f) Security sector governance

The APRM assessment tool does not focus specifically on security sector governance but it is a running theme across the pillar. In fact, it is often identified as a special or cross cutting issue during country reviews, requiring special attention. In several countries APRM



recommendations to reform security sectors towards gender responsiveness have featured prominently in NPoAs, resulting in governments integrating them in their NPoA. There is evidence that women activists have used these recommendations in countries like Uganda, Mozambique, Kenya, Zambia and Ghana to lobby for stronger laws on security to combat SGBV, resulting in more effective laws being enacted.²³²

Women require strong security sectors to protect them in times of peace and even more so during conflict. In the post conflict phase the restoration of law and order for civilian and demobilised populations becomes even more critical. Circumstances in which women have been exposed to violence in any of these phases requires effective, inclusive and gender responsive justice and transitional justice systems. It is important that peace agreements touch on post conflict arrangements for strengthened security sector reforms with increased recruitment of women who are gender sensitive.

Demobilisation, Disarmament and Rehabilitation (DDR) programs that do not draw on women's participation or experiences constrain effective disarmament, as women are not always passive or unwilling players in a conflict. Women may join violent conflicts as combatants or serve as proxies, supporters and providers of supplies and information to belligerents for cause, status or profit. The motivations for such participation and the experiences of these women may relay changing gender roles where women seek to equalise the power relations at a wider societal level and benefit from the increased agency, economic gain and influence that such roles provide.

²³² UNECA 'Gender Equality and the APRM' UNECA 2016

Women may also have critical information about that could benefit the withdrawal of weaponry and ammunition from society. Unsuccessful DDR exercises frustrate efforts to remove ammunition from the public and risk resurrecting disgruntled ex-combatants into taking up arms again, igniting renewed instability.²³³

The case study below illustrates how countries can implement successful DDR programmes while integrating gender responsive approaches to promote sustainable peace.

Female ex combatants in peace building

Rwanda has undertaken intensive work in rehabilitating and reintegrating ex combatants to serve as peacebuilders. Rwanda government recognised that female combatants during conflict situations were considered secondary group members and victimized through physical and sexual abuse while living in the bush.²³⁴ The Rwanda Demobilization and Reintegration Commission (RDRC) embarked on training male ex- combatants on gender as part of their reintegration process at Mutobo Demobilization Centre, as well as in communities where they are based, in order for them to adopt new gender equality approaches that shun violence and subjugation of women.

In 2001, about 200 female ex-combatants from all over Rwanda formed an association known as Ndabaga to promote peace and reconciliation. It eventually transformed into an NGO with a membership of over 700 women across the country.²³⁵

Ndabaga was able to use this forum to highlight the challenges faced by female ex combatants in DDR ²³⁶ and Government undertook to work with the association. The Ministry of Gender worked to support the association with financial support as did the

²³³ Progress report of the Secretary-General 'Implementation of the recommendations contained in the report of the Secretary-General on the causes of conflict and promotion of durable peace and sustainable development in Africa' UN General Assembly August 2005 A/60/182

²³⁴ Rwanda Demobilization and Reintegration Commission 'Demob Rwanda No 05 March 2016

²³⁵ Ibid

²³⁶ UN General Assembly 'Implementation of the recommendations contained in the report of the Secretary-General on the causes of conflict and promotion of durable peace and sustainable development in Africa' A/60/182 December 2005

Minister of Labour, Vocational Training and Public Service in the areas of vocational training for three years with a view to improving their employment opportunities.²³⁷

In 2004, the female ex combatants in Ndabaga expressed an interest in being part of peacekeeping missions in Africa, based on their first-hand experience of conflict and the special needs of women who could be helped by fellow women.²³⁸ Supported by UNIFEM, Ndabaga Association also contributed to the DDR process in the Sudan by participating in the training for the South Sudanese DDR authorities.²³⁹ Over the years, female ex combatants have participated in Rwanda's peace keeping missions in conflict affected countries like Mali, South Sudan, Central Africa Republic.²⁴⁰

g) Accountability and rule of law

Accountability and rule of law are major themes in DPG, indicative of democratic practices in which societies are governed by rules and sanctions as a means of managing social relations. Aside from examining the responsiveness of laws to women's rights, the capabilities and attitudes of the institutions to dispense justice with equity and responsiveness to men and women's justice needs is scrutinised in review processes.

Governments draw legitimacy from administering the law equitably and ensuring equal protection of the law to men and women, of which rule of law and access to justice is critical. Obligations to increase women's participation in peacebuilding cannot be delinked from the need to address the consequences of conflict on women.²⁴¹ Men and women have different outlooks on conflict because they experience conflict differently. The justice versus peace debates in post conflict countries tends to reflect masculine experiences of ex-combatants, military and government leaders often

²³⁷ Reliefweb 'Rwandan female ex-combatants can play important role in peacekeeping.' September 2004, Available at <https://reliefweb.int/report/rwanda/rwandan-female-ex-combatants-can-play-important-role-peacekeeping>

²³⁸ UN News 'Rwanda women ex-combatants want role in African peacekeeping forces. Available at <https://news.un.org/en/story/2004/09/113952-rwanda-women-ex-combatants-want-role-african-peacekeeping-forces> 2 September 2004

²³⁹ Nakamura F'Gender and Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration (DDR): The Role of UNIFEM in the Implementation of Gender-Responsive DDR Programs' Monterey Institute of International Studies December 2005

²⁴⁰ Rwanda Demobilization and Reintegration Commission 'Demob Rwanda No 05 March 2016

²⁴¹ UN General Assembly 'Women's participation in peacebuilding: Report of the Secretary-General' A/65/354-S/2010/466, 7 September 2010

without substantively involving civil society, female decision makers in the executive, legislature and judiciary as well as female survivors of violent conflict. When women's voices and experiences do not inform transitional justice, mechanisms designed to deal with the legacy of violence, the result can be processes that exclude women from attaining meaningful justice for violations committed against them. While blanket amnesties for perpetrators have been utilised in some countries in the interest of peacebuilding, this can deny women from obtaining justice, psychosocial and socioeconomic support and other forms of redress, including reparations.

Vulnerabilities faced at the communal and state level by women in times of peace, however fragile, become aggravated by breakdown in law and order, insecurity and a climate of impunity that has a deleterious effect on the bodily integrity of women and girls. The use of sexual violence as a warfare tactic has become prevalent, in addition to the socio-economic harm's women suffer. A formal acknowledgement of the harms they suffer is not enough if it doesn't result in equal rights to seat at the negotiating table and negotiate terms that include reparations, transitional justice and transformative political representation in post conflict situations. Women's participation in peacebuilding is an issue of accountability and beyond that, women are their best spokespersons. The 2010 Report of the Panel of the Wise on *Mitigating Vulnerabilities of Women and Children in Armed Conflicts* illustrated the targeted use of rape as a war strategy , while in Sierra Leone, women were forcefully conscripted as combatants, and sex slaves.²⁴²These unfortunate trends have been evidenced in other conflict affected countries including Uganda, Nigeria, Chad and Niger.

The Kampala Convention obligates states to put in place measures for IDPS to have access to psychosocial assistance and social services, where required. Psychosocial support is a critical aspect of health care that is often overlooked due to lack of appropriate emphasis, services and resources. Without dealing with past legacies of survivors and ex-combatants as well as relatives of victims, troubled pasts can reignite tensions that underwrite conflicts. In some countries, women have found a way to deal with their troubled pasts and engage in reconciliatory practices as illustrated below

²⁴² AU Peace and Security Council 'Programme on Women, Gender, Peace and Security' May 2016. Available at <http://www.peaceau.org/en/page/80-women-gender-peace-and-security-1>

Peace, talking circles - women promoting reconciliation

Women's Talking Circles also referred to as Peace Circles. These refer to meetings held where women from different religious, cultural and social backgrounds share experiences and talk to each to promote post conflict forgiveness, reconciliation and peace in various regions.

These initiatives are being undertaken by different actors across the board, including women, youths and NGOs in areas that are volatile or prone to violence, to influence peace at the individual, familial and communal level. For example, Initiatives of Change Africa, started by Women in Law and Development in Africa (WILDAF),²⁴³ is using this model through small community gatherings of women to deepen their peace creating capabilities in countries like Mali, South Africa, Burundi, Kenya, Rwanda, Uganda, South Sudan, Sudan, Cameroon, Nigeria, Tanzania.²⁴⁴ The organisation has utilised the Peace Circles in Eldoret that suffered from post electoral ethnic clashes and violence 2007/2008 and in the Baringo county that is prone to cattle rustling and in the slum areas of Nairobi for example. In South Sudan, high level government offices have associated with the promotion of the circles.²⁴⁵

In Central African Republic, women leaders committed to promoting dialogue and reconciliation between communities established six Circles of Peace in the city.²⁴⁶

h) Access to justice for women

SDG 16 has as one of its targets the promotion of the rule of law and ensuring equal access to justice for all, an important tenet for conflict management and dispute

²⁴³ Initiatives of Change, Switzerland 'Forgiveness, Listening and dialogue at the heart of Peace Circles in Mali'. Available at <https://www.iofc.ch/stories/forgiveness-listening-and-dialogue-heart-peace-circles-mali>

²⁴⁴ Initiatives of Change 'Creators of Peace'. Available at <https://www.iofcafrica.org/en/creators-of-peace>

²⁴⁵ Women's peace circles spread in Africa. Available at <https://www.iofc.org/es/node/2237>

²⁴⁶ MINUSCA 'Women, Peace and Security'. Available at <https://minusca.unmissions.org/en/gender>

resolution. Women's experiences show that women in conflict and in post conflict situations face fundamental challenges in accessing institutions of justice and obtaining meaningful remedies. This is due to various factors such as limited law and order institutional infrastructure, personnel and lack of gender responsive procedures, processes and orientation of officials. Even where traditional justice mechanisms exist, these may reinforce gender stereotypes and norms that may be harmful to women, survivors and communities, as the adjudicators often lack human rights awareness. The African Union Transitional Justice Policy Framework that was adopted in February 2019 calls for transformative transitional justice mechanisms and provides benchmarks and indicators on gender justice and accountability.

In post conflict situations, the preventative, protection and response capacities of states is compromised. Similarly, the capacities of survivors to claim redress is challenged by various constraints at the personal and familial level. Many weakened states or states that are faced with competing development challenges are yet to establish national legal aid schemes and in many countries civil society and women's organisations are working alongside government legal services to deliver free legal aid to victims.

Justice and rule of law institutions that are gender blind cannot deliver justice for women who have been victims of violent conflict, neither can it provide effective sanctions to prevent impunity. It is critical that justice mechanisms not only integrate procedural and legal aspects of gender justice but also reflect these norms in the services and personnel that administer cases. Rwanda has actively promoted women adjudicators in conflict resolution and peacebuilding, having appointed female judges constituting 30 percent of the over 160,000 Gacaca judges. This is notable because traditionally the gacaca were patriarchal structures that excluded women.²⁴⁷ Furthermore, the national women councils mobilised women to participate in witnessing the trials of the Gacaca courts,²⁴⁸ in itself a notable feature of gender justice. The Abunzi- Community Mediators- of Rwanda²⁴⁹ facilitate peacebuilding , of

²⁴⁷ Republic of Rwanda 'Role of Women in Peace Building and Conflict Resolution in Rwanda: Evaluation of the Implementation of the 2009-2012 National Action Plan for UNSCR 1325' Gender Monitoring Unit, 2015

²⁴⁸ The National Unity and Reconciliation Commission 'The Role of Women in Reconciliation and Peace Building in Rwanda: Ten Years After Genocide 1994-2004

²⁴⁹ *ibid*

whom 45 percent were female by 2015.²⁵⁰ However most APRM country reviews indicate a paucity of women adjudicators especially in the higher echelons of justice institutions.²⁵¹

In the absence of effective transitional justice institutions, many countries have looked to alternative dispute resolutions as a means of restorative justice and reconciliation. Drawing on traditional conflict resolution methods was a theme of the Zanzibar Declaration, which stressed the need to harmonise conflict resolution with traditional African mediation strategies.²⁵² The Palava hut system is widely known in Liberia as a forum in which parties to a dispute submit their case or grievance before elders or local leaders who strive to reach a reconciliatory and fair outcome with a view to promoting peace as a form of alternative dispute resolution mechanism. Seen as a predominantly patriarchal structure, there were fears that the palava hut could diminish the gravity of sexual violence offences,²⁵³ The example below of the Peace huts modelled along the palava hut demonstrate that women led mechanisms can genderise dispute processes with high value returns.

Peace Huts of Liberia- new dimensions to timeless values

In recognition of its value addition to formal justice systems, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Liberia of 2009 recommended that the palava hut, a 'peacebuilding mechanism' be utilised to foster peace, reconciliation and healing, and it was integrated in Liberia's Roadmap for National Healing, Peacebuilding and Reconciliation.²⁵⁴ From this model evolved the grassroot women centric Peace Huts which became a best practice; the Peace Hut Women of Liberia won the 2019 UN Population Award.²⁵⁵

²⁵⁰ *ibid*

²⁵¹ UNECA 'Gender Equality and the APRM' UNECA 2017

²⁵² Zanzibar Declaration on Women and a Culture of Peace, adopted by a Pan-African conference in Zanzibar on 17-20 May 1999

²⁵³ M'Cormack 'Prospects for Accessing Justice for Sexual Violence in Liberia's Hybrid System' : International Journal of Security & Development,

²⁵⁴ M'Cormack F 'Final Research Report: Gender, transitional justice and justice sector reform in Liberia' August 2017. Available at <https://idl-bnc-idrc.dspacedirect.org/bitstream/handle/10625/56894/IDL-56894.pdf?sequence=2&isAllowed=y>

²⁵⁵ UN Women 'Statement: Peace Hut Women of Liberia wins 2019 UN Population Award' June 20 2019. Available at <https://www.unwomen.org/en/news/stories/2019/6/statement-ed-phumzile-peace-hut-women-of-liberia-wins-2019-un-population-award>

Peace huts evolved from Palava huts as peacebuilding hubs in Liberia to deal with women's problems. Initially focused on counselling former child soldiers after the civil war or women in grief, from 2006 the Peace Hut women embarked on becoming change agents for peace.²⁵⁶ Rural women resorted to this community-based mechanism to raise socio-legal issues that affected them, working with fellow women since 2011.²⁵⁷ The Peace Huts in many instances are a continuum of women's struggles to resolve conflict at the personal and communal level, and address SGBV with communities and justice and security sectors.²⁵⁸ Peace Huts offer powerful platforms and spaces for female leadership, peacebuilding initiatives and economic empowerment.²⁵⁹

By meaningfully promoting peace through these initiatives, women increased their relevance in reconciliation. The Peace huts also foster practices like counselling, referrals and conflict resolution. UN Women supports these Peace Huts, which are linking up with formal law enforcement institutions; the Police in some regions linked up with the women of the Peace Huts, providing them with mobile phones and later on a toll-free line as part of a referral pathway to report cases of violence against women.²⁶⁰ UN Women integrated training for women and sensitization of communities for peacebuilding and offering support for or micro-credits schemes as part of an economic empowerment initiative.²⁶¹

i) National Programme of Action

The APRM National Programme of Action (NPoA) is the outcome document of governments' commitment to undertake governance objectives that have been

²⁵⁶ UNFPA 'Liberian women's organization, Gambian minister, selected as 2019 UN Population Award laureates' 23 May 2019. Available at <https://www.unfpa.org/fr/node/19886>

²⁵⁷ UN Women 'From conflict resolution to prevention: connecting Peace Huts to the police in Liberia' September 19, 2012

²⁵⁸ Rights and Rice Foundation 'Women Peace Huts' Available at <http://rightsriceliberia.com/program/conflict/peace-huts>

²⁵⁹ Medium 'Peace Huts: Building a sustainable and peaceful future for Liberia' April 2019. Available at https://medium.com/@UN_Liberia/peace-huts-building-a-sustainable-and-peaceful-future-for-liberia-8004b7ca22f6

²⁶⁰ Wild L and Brown B C 'Evaluation of UN Women's Contribution to Increasing Women's Leadership and Participation in Peace and Security and Humanitarian Response: Liberia case study ODI 2013

²⁶¹ UN Women 'From conflict resolution to prevention: connecting Peace Huts to the police in Liberia' September 19, 2012

identified in the review process across the four pillars. The NPoAs' successful implementation focuses as much on processes as outcomes. Broad participation by citizens, civil society and the private sector in areas where they can make meaningful contributions is key to ensuring inclusive democratic processes.

Good practices in the NPoA implementation phase have been identified in countries that integrate NPoAs in national development and planning frameworks. Just like NPoAs, unless NAPs on UNSCR 1325 are mainstreamed across relevant sectors, implementation programmes and monitoring mechanisms they do not fulfil their potential.

At the 25th Summit of the African Union Summit, 2015, the AU Heads of State and Government resolved to “develop, implement, and report on National and Regional Action Plans on United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 (UNSCR 1325) to accelerate the Women, Peace and Security Agenda”.²⁶² There were 25 African countries with NAPs by March 2019.²⁶³ Even then, many countries are challenged by poor implementation of important commitments made in the NAPs due to limited resources, inadequate mainstreaming of issues across different sectors and weak monitoring. Weaknesses have been noted in the turnaround time of renewing lapsed NAPs and RAPs, which also lack implementation monitoring mechanisms.

Involvement of CSOs working in various areas of peacebuilding is key when developing the NAP. Governments in some countries are working more closely with CSOs as partners in peacebuilding in recognition of their contributions, expertise and legitimacy in governance processes but this is not always guaranteed. In Uganda, the involvement of CSOs in the first NAP of 2008 was negligible although in the drafting of the second NAP, CSOs were key contributors.²⁶⁴ Furthermore, efforts to implement the NAP are stronger and more discernible at the national level than at the subnational level.²⁶⁵ In Uganda and Sierra Leone, efforts of CSOs focusing on localising NAPs at

²⁶² African Union Commission ‘Implementation of the Women, Peace, and Security Agenda in Africa’ Office of the Special Envoy on Women, Peace and Security 2016

²⁶³ AU Peace and Security Council Press Statement 19 March PSC/PR/BR. (DCCCXXXIII)

²⁶⁴ Global Network of Women Peacebuilders ‘Implementing Locally, Inspiring Globally: Localizing UNSCR 1325 in Colombia, Nepal, the Philippines, Sierra Leone, and Uganda, October 2013,

²⁶⁵ African Union Commission ‘Implementation of the Women, Peace, and Security Agenda in Africa’ Office of the Special Envoy on Women, Peace and Security of the Chairperson of the African Union Commission

district level in 2012 started paying dividends for the local appropriation of the NAP, improving collaborations between national and subnational levels.²⁶⁶

Some countries have merged various frameworks on peace and security to achieve better protection for women. For example, Uganda's NAP encompasses national implementation of three critical instruments; UNSCR 1325 and UNSCR 1820 as well as the Goma Declaration on Eradicating Sexual Violence and Ending Impunity in the Great Lakes Region (Goma Declaration) in 2008. Burkina Faso implemented UNSCR 1325 and UNSCR 1820. Such approaches have benefits in improving implementation and monitoring coordination, avoiding duplication as well as optimally and effectively utilising scarce resources.²⁶⁷

Globally, by 2016 there were 55 NAPs with significant divergences and variations.²⁶⁸ A 26 country study on implementation of NAPS carried out in 2014 showed that most countries do not adequately allocate funds for NAP 1325 nor focus on the four UNSCR pillars and they lack monitoring frameworks.²⁶⁹ Compartmentalised approaches to implementing the women, peace and security agenda cannot yield much, since gender cuts across all fields of governance. NAPs being government commitments on UNSCR 1325, they should be mainstreamed in national planning frameworks such as poverty reduction strategy papers, national development plans and action plans on peacebuilding²⁷⁰ as well as gender budgeting.²⁷¹

²⁶⁶ Global Network of Women Peacebuilders 'Implementing Locally, Inspiring Globally: Localizing UNSCR 1325 in Colombia, Nepal, the Philippines, Sierra Leone, and Uganda, October 2013,

²⁶⁷ Republic of Uganda 'The Uganda Action Plan on UN Security Council Resolutions 1325 & 1820 and the Goma Declaration' 2008.

²⁶⁸ Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. Available at <https://www.wilpf.org/national-action-plans-localising-implementation-of-unscr-1325/>

²⁶⁹ CORDAID 'Financing for the Implementation of National Action Plans on UN Security Council Resolution 1325 October', 2014

²⁷⁰ Civil society advisory group to the UN on Women, Peace and Security ` Working Paper on Advancing National Action Plans, Regional Action Plans, and Twinning on Women, Peace, and Security. Available at https://www.peacewomen.org/sites/default/files/cso_advisory_group_naps_raps_and_twinning_0.pdf

²⁷¹ Office of the Special Envoy on Women, Peace and Security of the Chairperson of the African Union Commission 'Consultative Meeting of Member States and Regional Economic Communities that have Developed Action Plans on UNSCR 1325: Reviewing and Sharing Experiences Towards Enhanced Implementation and Monitoring' December 14-15, 2015

The Pillar of Economic Governance and Management

The Pillar of Economic Governance and Management (EGM) builds on the various pronouncements of the Declaration on Democracy, Political and Economic Governance and the NEPAD Framework Document. Under the Declaration, African countries recognise that ‘good economic governance including transparency in financial management are all essential prerequisites for promoting economic growth and reducing poverty.’ The NEPAD Framework posits that political and social vulnerabilities have an antithetical relationship with peace and security on the continent.

By consolidating democracy and sound economic management, the essential conditions and foundation for people-centred development can potentially foster peace and security. Good governance entails identifying and implementing the enabling conditions required to increase economic growth and reduce poverty.²⁷² Conflict thrives when poverty and inequality arising from weak economies causes significant inequalities in the dividends of economic growth and rampant corruption. The NEPAD Framework Document notes the imperative of peace and security, underwritten by sound political and economic governance conditions that can address social inequalities.

This pillar overall addresses various objectives of economic management such as implementation of economic policies for sustainable development, ownership and participation of key stakeholders in policy formulation and implementation, Sound public finance management, anti, corruption and money laundering, deepening and accelerating regional integration and trade and investment policies that promote economic growth. This section focuses on some of the APRM objectives in this pillar.

Priority EGM issues relating to gender and peacebuilding

a) Implementing economic policies for sustainable development

The APRM reviews the strategies developed by countries to create sustainable development and the opportunities that have been established to create wealth,

²⁷² AHG/235 (XXXVIII)

generate employment and raise living standards for the long term. Within the indicators of this section is gender empowerment and employment creation. An overview of country analyses on this objective reveal that only a few states delve into gender empowerment analyses. Many countries' corresponding NPOAs indicate countries' desire to move towards more bottom up planning, increased stakeholders participation in policy, planning and budgeting but do not integrate gender perspectives in particular.

Economic Governance and Management (EGM) encompasses the broad national economic policy framework; the institutions, processes and practices for enabling economic growth and poverty reduction. The Positive Peace Report tracks improvements in macroeconomic indicators as indicative of changes in peace,²⁷³ some of which are tracked by the APRM review processes albeit not tied to peace analyses.

Economic factors may not solely cause conflict but can affect peace and in the event of violent conflict could sustain and exacerbate conflict. A number of violent conflicts in African have been tied to economic decline that fuel aggrieved groups that feel economically exploited or neglected to violence. A UNDP study in 2017 concluded that most countries with 60 percent citizens living under the poverty line are likely to suffer from severe conflicts.²⁷⁴ Lack of rainfall resulting in shocks has been linked to the likelihood of civil conflict; economists noted that between 1981 and 1999 when 41 sub Saharan states experienced shortfalls in economic growth of 5 percent, this increased the increased the prospects of conflict by half in the subsequent year.²⁷⁵ Despite this gloomy outlook, it is notable that several of the world's economies that evidenced remarkable growth in the past 50 years rose from the ashes of conflict, their success stemming in part from women's increased role in production, trade and entrepreneurship.²⁷⁶

²⁷³ Institute for Economics and Peace 'Positive Peace Report 2018'. Analysing the factors that sustain peace 2018, Sydney.

²⁷⁴ UNDP 'Income Inequality Trends in sub-Saharan Africa: Divergence, Determinants and Consequences' UNDP 2017, UN NY

²⁷⁵ Shanker S, Edward Miguel R, Sergenti E 'Economic Shocks and Civil Conflict: An Instrumental Variables Approach.' Journal of Political Economy, 2004

²⁷⁶ Luchsinger, Gretchen, ed., Power, Voice and Rights: A Turning Point for Gender Equality in Asia and the Pacific (United Nations Development Programme, 2010).

The UN Security Council has stressed the need to invest in the economic capacities of women for stable post-conflict recovery²⁷⁷ and to participate in economic decision-making at early stages of recovery processes²⁷⁸ as they are key stakeholders in this area. Without appropriate gender responsive policy and programmatic frameworks to target women in the economy, economic frameworks and interventions may not adequately promote inclusive and sustainable economic development. The Government of Liberia in 2007 conducted a Gender Needs Assessment on Women's economic empowerment with a view developing strategies to transition from relief to development.²⁷⁹ The assessment emphasised the need for women to benefit on an equal basis with men in the reconstruction process and for the government to integrate gender responsive programming and targets into poverty reduction and economic growth processes.

The African Gender Equality Index 2015²⁸⁰ and the Global Gender Report 2018 indicate persistent gender disparities in women's economic participation and opportunities in Africa. For the most part, women comprise the poorer sections of populations and tend to be overly represented in the informal commercial, agricultural or production sector. According to the Africa Human Development Report 2016 gender disparities encompass access to economic assets, participation in the workplace, entrepreneurship opportunities, and use of and benefits from natural resources and the environment.²⁸¹ The entrepreneurial spirit of African women is highly visible in the multitude of small-scale businesses that proliferate most countries' informal economies.

During the economic reconstruction phase, the status quo may require stronger government interventionist roles including protective laws and security reforms. There is potential nonetheless for women to renegotiate their status beyond narrow gender

²⁷⁷ UN Security Council 'Building Peace Can Take a Generation, but Together We Can Get It Right', Says Secretary-General in Security Council Debate on Mending War-torn States' SC/10868 20 December 2012. Available at <https://www.un.org/press/en/2012/sc10868.doc.htm>

²⁷⁸ Resolution 1889 (2000) S/RES/1889 (2009)

²⁷⁹ Republic of Liberia 'Toward Women's Economic Empowerment: A Gender Needs Assessment Prepared by the World Bank's Gender and Development Group in collaboration with the Ministry of Gender and Development (MOGAD) August 2007

²⁸⁰ Africa Development Bank 'Africa Gender Equality Index 2015: Empowering African Women: An Agenda for Action

²⁸¹ UNDP 'Africa Human Development Report 2016: Accelerating Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment in Africa' UNDP, UN NY

confines and participate in socio-economic activities in the reconstruction phase.²⁸² Progressive governments can also extend opportunities for women's increased roles in economic development. In Somalia, despite the breakdown of formal institutions to drive economic development, women provided much needed support to the local economy through agricultural and small business by investing in agriculture and small businesses.²⁸³ In Burundi, small scale micro business projects had a peacebuilding effect when former refugees, IDPs and combatants from all sides were involved in economic recovery projects together.²⁸⁴

b) Facilitating the participation of key stakeholders in policy and programme discussion and implementation

Participation of citizens in policy formulation and implementation is important for delivering inclusive, equitable growth. APRM Reviews assess the extent to which citizens as social stakeholders participate in conceptualising, designing and implementing actions, programmes and policies for economic management. In the NPoA phase, APRM works with governments to identify entry points to concretise this central principle that promotes shared ownership of the economy to integrate social justice with growth. Promoting social justice in economic development is essential for ensuring equitable growth. An argument is made that when networks of men and women are targeted for economic empowerment, this contributes towards political capital in important areas of governance.²⁸⁵

Political economy analyses of post conflict states caution that treating economic processes as purely technical processes without regard to the historical and political context misses the opportunity to address pre-existing inequalities and to create economies of peace.²⁸⁶ The term peace economy connotes a deliberate strategy to analyse the economic dimensions of peace, make befitting investments in peace with

²⁸² Kanjarawi R 'Participation of Women in Post Conflict processes. The example of Bosnia and Herzegovina' Humanities and Social Sciences, 2015.

²⁸³ The United Nations International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women 'Women, Peace and Security in Somalia: Implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1325. A UN-INSTRAW Background Paper, 2008

²⁸⁴ Myrntinen H, Naujoks and El-Bushra Judy 'Re-thinking gender in peacebuilding (2014) International Alert

²⁸⁵ Wai JS , 2018. "Post-Conflict Reconstruction, Microfinance and Democratic Engagement," Peace Economics, Peace Science, and Public Policy, De Gruyter, vol. 24(3), 2018

²⁸⁶ Distler W, Stavrevska E & Vogel B 'Economies of Peace: Economy Formation Processes and Outcomes in Conflict-Affected Societies' (2018). Available at <https://www.tandfonline.com/loi/fciv20>

a view to addressing post conflict economic recovery.²⁸⁷ This concept can apply to times of peace as well as post conflict periods. Relatedly, the phenomenon of war economies²⁸⁸ in which war lords or other entities profiteer from political instability and conflict add a layer of instability in the economic recovery phase, requiring expeditious restoration of civilian governance.

Peace economies that confront systemic economic and social inequalities which predated the conflict and post conflict phases are particularly critical as part of transitional justice measures.²⁸⁹ After cessation of hostilities by the LRA in Northern Uganda in 2005, economic recovery for the region was prioritised with a strong focus on social inclusion. Various projects were established by government, aimed at consolidating peace, resettlement and economic re-integration.²⁹⁰ In 2018, the government established the Development Initiative of Northern Uganda to address poverty reduction and sustainable and inclusive socio-economic development in five sub-regions of Northern Uganda. While the majority of these strategies maintained a gender neutral tone, the Northern Uganda Social Action Fund currently in its third implementation phase since 2003 stands out for integrating gender mainstreaming and women's entrepreneurship across all key components of all project activities.²⁹¹ This includes decision making, implementation and monitoring structures; over 50 percent of Improved Household Investment Support Programs beneficiaries are required to be women.

Economic justice from a gender perspective envisions women benefitting on an equal basis with men from the right to earn a livelihood, to access production inputs, labour and financial markets.²⁹² Gender and equity responsive budgeting frameworks can assist states in mainstreaming social justice across economic reconstruction. For example, an assessment of Northern Uganda in 2012 found that gender inequality

²⁸⁷ International Alert 'Building a Peace Economy in Northern Uganda' Investing in Peace Issue No. 1 September 2008

²⁸⁸ International Alert 'Building a Peace Economy in Northern Uganda' Investing in Peace Issue No. 1 September 2008

²⁸⁹ Distler W, Stavrevska E & Vogel B 'Economies of Peace: Economy Formation Processes and Outcomes in Conflict-Affected Societies' (2018). Available at <https://www.tandfonline.com/loi/fciv20>

²⁹⁰ Included the Northern Uganda Rehabilitation Programme, the Northern Uganda Social Action Fund and the Northern Uganda Reconstruction Programme as well as the Peace, Recovery and Development Programme (PRDP)

²⁹² Centre for Justice Inputs 'Defining Economic Justice and Social Justice'. Available at <https://www.cesj.org/learn/definitions/defining-economic-justice-and-social-justice/>

was higher there than in other regions and widening, leading to increased support for gender budgeting in the region.²⁹³ One year after the support, results were demonstrated in increased financial allocations for women related education and health programs. Although gender budgeting is increasingly being adopted in



economic policy frameworks by many African states, gender analytical tools, skills and resources are not yet well developed, leading to uneven approaches and results.

c) Fight corruption and money laundering

Corruption as a theme is designed to cut across all APRM analytical parameters as outlined in the four pillars. Specifically, the APRM emphasises the erosive effect of corruption on effectiveness of policy and programme effectiveness and public trust as well as depletion of scarce resources of the economy. Corruption depletes resources meant to promote reconstruction projects and programmes in the recovery phase, at a time when all resource streams count, affecting women and girls needs for critical services.

Corruption as a theme is designed to cut across all APRM analytical

Corruption has a deleterious effect on economic growth as it depletes much needed resources to develop services and enterprise. War economies rely on corruption as a survival mechanism and post conflict governments may perpetuate this practice. Corruption is a structural issue that is at the heart of dissension and combined with factors such as poverty, inequality and division in social groups, can trigger or retrigger violence. Corruption robs a government of its legitimacy and can affect its ability to manage critical phases of state building and provision of services in crucial social sectors, risking fragile peace agreements and arrangements.²⁹⁴

²⁹³ Stotsky J et al ‘Sub-Saharan Africa: A Survey of Gender Budgeting Efforts’ IMF Working Paper 2016

²⁹⁴ World Bank, Anticorruption in Transition: A Contribution to the Policy Debate, Washington, D.C, 2000.

Corruption is highly patriarchal largely in part due to male patronage systems and access to networks of power and influence which women lack.²⁹⁵ When resources meant for services are misappropriated, the quality of services also deteriorates while costs rise, affecting those who are economically constrained, particularly women and children. Opportunistic corruption in conditions of hardship exposes vulnerable women to opportunistic and exploitative practices at important service delivery points.

The Pillar of Corporate Governance

As described in the APRM Questionnaire, good corporation citizenship assumes responsibility for the impact of its activities on the public by intentionally factoring in public interest and people in decision-making. This standard guides the objectives of the corporate governance which are; Promoting an Enabling Environment and Effective Regulatory Framework for Business organisations and other entities; Ensuring Effective Leadership and Accountability of Organisations Ensuring, Ethical Conduct Within Organisations; Ensuring that Organisations Treat Stakeholders Fairly and Equitably Ensuring that Organizations Act as Good Corporate Citizens.

Because this Pillar addresses corporate governance issues more narrowly than is applicable to a gender and peacebuilding analysis, the section below raises issues relating to the role of the private sector in general, it's function in promoting economic development in the reconstruction phase and areas of good corporate responsibility relevant for peace building.

Priority Corporate Governance issues relating to gender and peacebuilding

Assistance programmes for refugees are affected often by donor funding and thus inherently time bound, given the circumstances of ever growing numbers of refugees and asylum seekers. Prolonged displacement periods become unviable in the face of limited funding, making it important for refugees and IDPs to obtain sustainable livelihoods. In the economic reconstruction and recovery phase the role of the private

²⁹⁵ Sida Brief 'Gender and Corruption' March 2015

sector comes more sharply into focus, and it's propensity to create enabling or disabling environments for enterprise.

Traditionally in peacebuilding, few roles have been envisaged for the private outside of corporate social responsibility investments. Recognising the value that the private sector can add, development institutions are increasingly referencing the private sector as relevant if not indispensable partners in peacebuilding and conflict resolution as well as post conflict recovery.²⁹⁶ The AU sees the utility of working with the private sector as reflected in the AU Regional Strategy for the Stabilization, Recovery & Resilience of the Boko Haram affected Areas of the Lake Chad Basin Region. In this strategy the AU identifies the private sector as having a role in vocational training curricula, providing apprenticeships and work placements, and value-chain development. The UN too envisages a role not only for CSOs but private sector in post conflict peacebuilding, particularly in the employment sector and corporate social responsibility initiatives to reduce the incidence of violence by working with community members.²⁹⁷

Under the NEPAD African Post Conflict reconstruction Framework, the private sector is strategic for Africa's vision for economic development. Not only can the private sector promote local entrepreneurship and good corporate citizenship, but it can also develop important public private partnerships. The private sector is an important partner in creating employment and revitalising struggling economies. Motivated by self-interest and profit, corporations can engage in peacebuilding activities as a way of creating an enabling and secure legal and physical environment for business, contributing to the rule of law.²⁹⁸

A mutually reinforcing relationship exists between the business community and peacebuilding as successfully businesses require peace and security and can create a demand for it, and peacebuilding creates enabling conditions for business.²⁹⁹

²⁹⁶ Ford J 'Engaging the private sector in post-conflict recovery: Perspectives for SADPA' ISS paper 269, 2014

²⁹⁶ Gatter K 'How the Private Sector Helped Make Tijuana Safe Again'. 12 November 2015. Available at <https://medium.com/@CIPE/how-the-private-sector-helped-make-tijuana-safe-again-fb86c429a205>

²⁹⁷ Peacebuilding in the aftermath of conflict - Report of the Secretary-General A/67/499*-S/2012/746* 8 October 2012

²⁹⁸ Gerson, A. 'Peace-building: The Private Sector's Role', The American Journal of International Law, Vol. 95 2001

²⁹⁹ Ford J 'Engaging the private sector in post-conflict recovery: Perspectives for SADPA' ISS paper 269, 2014

Experiences from other continents bear witness to successful cooperation between the private sector governments, and security forces towards combating insecurity.³⁰⁰

The private sector can fill important gaps in developing infrastructure to promote investment in war torn regions, particularly where natural resources are concentrated.³⁰¹ Due to the political neutrality of private sector entities, they can be useful carriers of messages of peace to all sides of conflict. The private sector can carry out dialogue and consultations with conflicting parties with a view to obtaining minimum guarantees on security and reciprocally beneficial enabling environments in the realm of economic development.³⁰²

The private sector has a role to play in supporting DDR around the economic reintegration of ex combatants. ILO has identified various employment opportunities designed by the private sector as alternative forms of livelihood for ex-combatants which include apprenticeship as a form of corporate social responsibility,³⁰³ and the engagement of security firms that employ ex-combatants for example.

Private sector corporations can and have integrated women in rural populations and plugged them into critical value chains.³⁰⁴ A 2019 study by the International Finance Corporation shows that private corporations in Africa are adapting business models, goods and services to cater to refugee needs as well as looping refugees through the value chain as employees.³⁰⁵ Development entities view the complementary role of the private sector as requiring strategic engagement as it boosts the agency of refugees to improve their livelihoods, which as a long term measure is viable.³⁰⁶

However, corporations are not inherently benevolent neither do they have self-ascribed stated goals in peacebuilding for the most part. Outside the realm of

³⁰⁰ Gatter K 'How the Private Sector Helped Make Tijuana Safe Again'. 12 November 2015. Available at <https://medium.com/@CIPE/how-the-private-sector-helped-make-tijuana-safe-again-fb86c429a205>

³⁰¹ Private Sector and Peacebuilding Processes. June 2009. Available at http://www.peacebuildinginitiative.org/indexa3ab.html?fuseaction=cmc_printall.print&pageId=2087&printview=true

³⁰² Andersson et al 'Private Sector Actors and Peacebuilding: A Framework for Analysis' Swedish Institute of International Affairs, 2011

³⁰³ ILO 'Private sector actors & peacebuilding: A framework for analysis' Intl. Council of Swedish Industry, Swedish Institute of Intl. Affairs, 1 January 2011

³⁰⁴ Peschka 'The Role of the Private Sector in Fragile and Conflict-Affected States' World Development Report 2011

³⁰⁵ World Economic Forum 'What can the private sector do to alleviate the refugee crisis' Available at https://www.ifc.org/wps/wcm/connect/region_ext_content/ifc_external_corporate_site/sub-saharan+afrika/resources/psr-pathways-to-scale

³⁰⁶ *ibid*

corporate social responsibility private companies prefer to be politically neutral and may be averse to peacebuilding work which may bear political connotations.³⁰⁷ They can also fuel conflict in cases of natural resources exploitation or in war economies and side with whoever can advance their profit margins. If private companies are not conflict sensitive, they can retrigger conflict through unfair and exploitative practices, take sides with oppressive factions or seek to maintain unconscionable status quo.³⁰⁸

The Pillar of Socio-Economic Development

The NEPAD Declaration states that democratic governance is the key to creating the conditions for attaining socio-economic development. Within that, the promotion of gender equality is fundamental. APRM focuses on reviewing the standard of living of people, income, health, education, environment and freedoms.³⁰⁹ The integration of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) is part of APRM's analytical framework. The APRM's mandate was extended by the 28th AU Assembly of Heads of States and Government to include tracking of the implementation of the continent's key governance initiatives and monitoring of the implementation of the AU Agenda 2063 and (SDGs) and Agenda 2030.³¹⁰

Four objectives constitute the focus of the country review processes and implementation targets in the socio-economic development (SED) pillar; Promoting and accelerating broad-based sustainable socio-economic development; Encouraging broad-based participation in development; Poverty, unemployment and inequality; and; Progress towards gender equality, particularly equal access to education for girls at all levels. The next sections focus on two of these; Promoting and accelerating broad-based sustainable socio-economic development and progress towards gender equality.

³⁰⁷ Issue Paper: The Role of Business in Conflict Resolution and Peace Building" (Cambridge: Collaborative Learning Projects, Corporate Engagement Project, February 2003).

³⁰⁸ Andersson et al 'Private Sector Actors and Peacebuilding: A Framework for Analysis' Swedish Institute of International Affairs, 2011

³⁰⁹ APRM Revised Questionnaire 2012

³¹⁰ AU 'African Peer Review Mechanism'. Available at <https://au.int/en/organs/aprm>

Priority SED issues relating to gender and peacebuilding

a) Promoting and accelerating broad-based sustainable socio-economic development

One of the indicators that the APRM examine under this objective is the obligation of states to strengthen the capacities of the poor to undertake income generating activities. Member states under review are encouraged to demonstrate results areas in services relating to water, sanitation, social protection, education, health, information and communication technologies. Furthermore, environmental management and sustainability is integrated as a key feature of sustainable socio-economic development in the promotion of social welfare.

A causal effect link exists between inequality (including gender inequality), multidimensional poverty and conflicts in sub-Saharan Africa. In 2017, 11 out of 20 African countries were identified as having the highest likelihood of conflict globally, driven by poverty and inequality.³¹¹ By 2011, no conflict affected country had attained a single millennium development goal.³¹² In times of peace, women's security often hinges on the distribution of resources at the familial, community and state level. This may offer social protections of sorts, depending on the status of the women and the resilience of the state in equitable distribution of services. However, conflict disrupts human and financial resources and service delivery, affecting women's socio-economic status negatively.

Target 5(a) of SDG 5 calls on states to undertake reforms to give women equal rights to economic resources and access to ownership and control over land and other forms of property, financial services, inheritance and natural resources, in accordance with national laws. These rights are critical for women's empowerment, livelihoods and social status, particularly in the recovery period where women may face challenges in struggling economies. In the recovery phase, governments are looking to rebuild socio-economic frameworks, but the reality is often that of destroyed physical and service infrastructures.

³¹¹ UNDP 'Income Inequality Trends in sub-Saharan Africa: Divergence, Determinants and Consequences' UNDP 2017, UN NY

³¹² The World Bank 'World Development Report 2011; Conflict, Security and Development' The World Bank, 2011, Washington DC

Harnessing women's participation in post conflict economic recovery can yield positive results.³¹³ Extreme post conflict socio-economic hardships can propel women into new terrain and to acquire regenerative attitudes, but this requires government to play a strong leadership and facilitatory role. In Rwanda for example, women took on new roles in constructing houses after the conflict³¹⁴ and became heads of households and primary agricultural producers, with increased responsibility for livelihoods.³¹⁵ This prompted the government of Rwanda to support women's economic productivity. Channelling efforts through traditionally male economic domains in projects like "Cows of Peace" in 2001, government helped boost livelihoods of widows of genocide, spouses of incarcerated genocide suspects and demobilised soldiers.³¹⁶

In recovery processes, government's capacities to plan extensively for women and men can be constrained by lack of data, personnel and resources, leaving women to fend for themselves in highly constrained socio-economic contexts. Article 14 of CEDAW calls attention to the specific challenges that rural women face vis a vis their significant role in the economic survival of their families. Rural women tend to form the bulk of citizens living below the poverty headcount and conflict affects the capacity of governments to implement the required government interventions for them to break out of multidimensional poverty. Various countries have put in place programmes and funds to facilitate rural women's development with mixed results. Unless governments can transition from war economies to build robust rural development programmes, women will remain locked in poverty.

Women who become heads of households as a result of conflict related widowhood or separation find themselves saddled with high dependency ratios of dependence which places burdens on them as economic providers and primary care givers. After the war, the dependency ratio in Uganda for districts under the peace, development and recovery programme was at 112.7 in the severely affected areas compared to the rest of the country at 92.5. Women who take on breadwinning roles in the absence of their male partners risk offending patriarchal norms and may incur the wrath of male

³¹³ Luchsinger, Gretchen, ed., *Power, Voice and Rights: A Turning Point for Gender Equality in Asia and the Pacific*, United Nations Development Programme, 2010.

³¹⁴ The National Unity and Reconciliation Commission 'The Role of Women in Reconciliation and Peace Building in Rwanda: Ten Years After Genocide 1994-2004

³¹⁵ Hamilton, Heather. "Rwanda's Women: The Key to Reconciliation." *Journal of Humanitarian Assistance*, 2000

³¹⁶ The National Unity and Reconciliation Commission 'The Role of Women in Reconciliation and Peace Building in Rwanda: Ten Years After Genocide 1994-2004

relations or returning partners. This can manifest in domestic violence and property and inheritance disputes. Without addressing inequalities in land ownership, inheritance laws, access to finance and personal status laws, women risk reversals into economic decline. One of the earlier legal reforms in Rwanda was to respond to the plight of widows who could not obtain access to their deceased spouse's property, leading the drafting of laws on inheritance.³¹⁷

Strategies that target women's post conflict livelihoods are critical to their survival and dependents. In communities where ex-combatant return, such as Liberia and Uganda, reintegration into society can be difficult. In the recovery period of Liberia, various government, development partners and NGOs during the reintegration processes provided female specific microcredit opportunities initiatives for war affected women to encourage livelihood productivity and reinvigorate the rural economy.³¹⁸ Support to female ex combatants resulted in women receiving training in vocational skills, agriculture and apprenticeship for work.³¹⁹ However those that feared stigmatisation and shunned the rehabilitation and reintegration processes fell into poverty, sexual exploitation and gender based violence.³²⁰

The Kampala Convention, reinforced by the AU Model Law for the Implementation of the AU Convention for the Protection of and Assistance to IDPs in Africa, provides comprehensive guidance on the rights based approaches for meeting the socio-economic rights of women and girls. The Model Law contains standards that are reflective of regional good practice and human rights norms to give effect to the Kampala Convention. It locates the primary duty and responsibility of preventing internal displacement, protecting and assisting IDPs and creating conditions conducive to durable solutions in the state. It provides for priority access and specific protection and assistance activities that take into account specific circumstances and needs of marginalized/vulnerable including women and communities with special attachment to land, and single-headed household and the elderly.

³¹⁷ The National Unity and Reconciliation Commission 'The Role of Women in Reconciliation and Peace Building in Rwanda: Ten Years After Genocide 1994-2004

³¹⁸ Abu Sheriff 'Reintegration of female War-affected and ex-combatants in Liberia' National Commission on Disarmament, Demobilisation, Rehabilitation and Reintegration, Liberia

³¹⁹ Ibid

³²⁰ ibid

b) Progress towards gender equality

APRM assessments in this section examine the efforts of governments to combat gender inequalities in the socio-economic sector. Reviews of country policies, programmes are designed to determine the extent of progress towards gender equality commitments of governments in the socio-economic arena, the participation of women in all sectors and .proportion of women occupying decision-making positions.

The women, peace and security agenda reinforces the centrality of gender equality and women's empowerment approaches in governance and peace building. SDG 5 on gender equality draws from a long history of women's struggles to address systemic and patriarchal institutions that subordinate the status of women and affect their civil and socio-economic rights. Arguably, SDG 5 is a cross cutting issue that is pivotal to the attainment of all other SDGs,³²¹ also referred to as an enabler,³²² catalyst and accelerator for achieving all other SDGs (as reflected in 45 targets and 54 SDG indicators), with a multiplier effect.³²³ Hence SDG 5 is undeniably essential to the attainment of SDG 16.

SDG 16 focuses on promoting peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development. Inclusive societies requires that women and men are integrated on an equal basis in institutions of decision making in the legislature, executive and judiciary. One of this goal's targets requires states to ensure responsive, inclusive, participatory and representative decision-making at all levels. UN Security Council Resolution 2242 (2015) reiterates the need to engage men and boys as partners in promoting women's participation in order to resolve and prevent armed conflict, peacebuilding and to address post-conflict situations.³²⁴

One of the SDG 16 targets is to ensure responsive, inclusive, participatory and representative decision-making at all levels. The UN Committee on the Status of

³²¹ UN Women 'SDG 5: Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls. Available at <https://www.unwomen.org/en/news/in-focus/women-and-the-sdgs/sdg-5-gender-equality>

³²² SDG Knowledge Hub 'Achieve Gender Equality to Deliver the SDGs.' Available at <http://sdg.iisd.org/commentary/policy-briefs/achieve-gender-equality-to-deliver-the-sdgs/>

³²³ UN Women 'Gender equality as an accelerator for achieving the sustainable development goals' Discussion Paper UNDP New York

³²⁴ UN Security Council Resolutions like 2242, S/RES/2242

Women emphasises the importance building the capacity of women and women's groups, so that they can participate fully in peace processes.³²⁵ One study posits that societies which are more gender equal are less likely move away from peace to civil war and more likely to return to peace in the event of a civil war, relating this to the 'pacifying impact of gender equality'.³²⁶ A marker of this is the proportion of female representatives in parliament who can influence anti-war actions and whose influence may be exponentially linked to the level or norms of institutional democracy in a country.³²⁷ Such influence can also best be wielded when there is a critical mass of female representatives, bringing into play the Beijing recommended minimum threshold of 30% women representatives. A correlation between women's empowerment and gender equality and successful countering of violent extremism strategies has been evidenced in Morocco.³²⁸

The opportunities that governance processes offer in undertaking necessary reforms for peacebuilding cannot be overemphasized. In the process of promoting gender equality, some significant reforms have been undertaken in pre-conflict and post-conflict situations, underpinned by women's strong advocacy in peace processes. One of UNIFEM's successful approaches involved focusing on legal reforms on discriminatory laws, leading to a gender equality bill in Sierra Leone.³²⁹ UNIFEM also linked up with women's organization to support women during 2004 elections in Rwanda, leading to a female presidential candidate being fielded an increase in the number of women in the executive and legislature.

c) Climate change

Traditionally, peacebuilding strategies did not always necessarily take into account climate change. However with intrastate wars on the rise, while there is no research to conclusively establish causal linkages between conflict and climate change, climate

³²⁵ UN Commission on the Status of Women 'Women's equal participation in conflict prevention, management and conflict resolution and in post-conflict peace-building' Forty-eighth session 1-12 March 2004

³²⁶ Melander, E 'Gender Equality and Intrastate Armed Conflict. 2005 International Studies Quarterly 49 (4)

³²⁷ *ibid*

³²⁸ Couture K L 'A Gendered Approach to Countering Violent Extremism Lessons Learned from Women in Peacebuilding and Conflict Prevention Applied Successfully in Bangladesh and Morocco' 2014 Center for 21st Century Security and Intelligence at Brookings

³²⁹ Progress report of the Secretary-General 'Implementation of the recommendations contained in the report of the Secretary-General on the causes of conflict and promotion of durable peace and sustainable development in Africa' UN General Assembly August 2005 A/60/182

change is increasingly accepted as a ‘threat multiplier’.³³⁰ Conversely, it has been found that conflict militates against countries’ adaptive capacity to deal with the debilitating effects of climate change and environmental degradation, requiring a double pronged approach that embraces adaption and peacebuilding.³³¹ A 2007, United Nations Environment Programme post conflict environmental assessment of Sudan found connections between the environmental risks and conflict in Darfur, emphasising the need for peacebuilding within environmental management.³³²

Climate change and environmental degradation by themselves do not necessarily cause conflict but can accelerate structural violence. This is more so where inadequate governance responses, structures and processes to adapt to climate change feed into or reinforce perceptions of exclusion or injustice at local levels.³³³ It has been posited that violence can erupt and persist when situations such as drought encounter adverse social and political conditions, that are predisposed towards fostering ‘more radical attitudes’ or ‘violent interventions against the government.’³³⁴ Countries that face any of these conditions and have not successfully built resilience to climate change stresses are at greater risk of triggering conflict.³³⁵ Climate change has been escalated in the UN Security Council to the level of national security, with scarcity of or competition for natural resources increasingly referred as a potential threat multiplier for human disaster and a driver of conflict.³³⁶

Violence can erupt and persist when situations such as drought encounter adverse social and political conditions.³³⁷ Radicalism or violent extremism in the Lake Chad Basin by Boko is attributed to forces taking advantage of the adverse effects of climate change on the stability of the region. The Lake Chad Basin has shrunk more than 90 percent since the 1960s resulting in multi-layered crises that combine political, socio-

³³⁰ Climate Change & Environment: Fragility and Conflict , Nexus Brief, Nr. 5, July 2018

³³¹ Urmilla B, Bronkhorst S. and Salsa S ‘Climate change and conflict: conflict-sensitive adaption in Africa. In: Urmilla B, Bronkhorst S. and Salsa S. (eds.): Conflict-sensitive adaptation in Africa. . (2014). Berlin: Berliner Wissenschaftsverlag.

³³² UNEP ‘Sudan Post-Conflict Environmental Assessment’ 2007 UN

³³³ Huntjens P, Nachbar K ‘Climate Change as a Threat Multiplier for Human Disaster and Conflict’ Hague Institute for Global Justice Working Paper 9 May 2015

³³⁴ Detges A ‘Climate and conflict: reviewing the statistical evidence’ Berlin: Adelphi, 2017

³³⁵ Inter Governmental Panel on Climate Change ‘Climate Change 2007: Impacts, Adaptation and Vulnerability’ Working Group II Contribution to the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, Fourth Assessment Report WMO, UNEP, 2007

³³⁶ Huntjens P, Nachbar K ‘Climate Change as a Threat Multiplier for Human Disaster and Conflict’ Hague Institute for Global Justice Working Paper 9 May 2015

³³⁷ Detges A ‘Climate and conflict: reviewing the statistical evidence’ Berlin: Adelphi, 2017

economic, humanitarian and environmental factors, affecting 45 million people.³³⁸ In March 2017, the UN Security Council adopted Resolution 2349 on the need to address climate-related risks in order to tackle the conflict in the Lake Chad basin.³³⁹ The Deputy Secretary General in July 2018 recognised the unfavourable effects of climate change on stability in West Africa, the Sahel and the Horn of Africa.³⁴⁰

Women tend to have deeper interactions with natural based resources and activates for food, water, health, subsistence farming in their provident, occupational or caregiving roles.. When conflict results in displacement, women refugees of IDPs face hazards when looking for food and water and many fall prey to abductions and sexual violence. Situations of drought, famine affect women disproportionately as they are primarily involved in agriculture and subsistence farming and where water management program do not practice equity, they are greatly disadvantaged. The UN Special Rapporteur on the human rights to safe drinking water and sanitation points to the gendered differences in enjoyment of this human right as a function of socio-economic differences between men and women³⁴¹ and emphasises that without women's involvement in decision making, these situations cannot be resolved.³⁴² Without deliberate efforts to improve women's leadership and participation in water management structures, policies and plans, women's priority user needs will not be met.³⁴³

Adaptative capacities that build resilience to conflict are largely linked to governance mechanisms such as early warning systems. Some of the constraints to adaptive capacity of communities relate to marginalisation on the political front, poverty and bad governance. Developing early warning systems that are gender inclusive is important as without integrating gender priorities in governance systems, women risk being further marginalised by climate change. The growing body of literature on climate

³³⁸ United Nations 'Fragile countries risk being 'stuck in a cycle of conflict and climate disaster,' Security Council told'. Available at <https://news.un.org/en/story/2018/07/1014411>, 11 July 2018

³³⁹ UNSCR Resolution 2349 (2017) 31 March 2017

³⁴⁰ United Nations 'Fragile countries risk being 'stuck in a cycle of conflict and climate disaster,' Security Council told'. Available at <https://news.un.org/en/story/2018/07/1014411>, 11 July 2018

³⁴¹ United Nations Human Rights 'Gender Equality'. Available at <https://www.ohchr.org/EN/Issues/WaterAndSanitation/SRWater/Pages/GenderEquality.aspx>

³⁴² UN Human Rights 'Statement by the Special Rapporteur on the human rights to safe drinking water and sanitation at the 33rd session of the Human Rights Council' 6 September 2016. Available at <https://www.ohchr.org/en/NewsEvents/Pages/DisplayNews.aspx?NewsID=20877&LangID=E>

³⁴³ UNDP, Water Governance Facility 'Gender Practice in Water Governance Programmes' Water Governance Facility Report No 4

change governance points to the necessity of participatory climate governance is a multi-stakeholder response by the state, communities, CSOs and the private sector, in information sharing, planning, decision making and resource mobilisation around adaptation strategies.³⁴⁴ In this regard, recognising the rights of different categories of women to participation in all these efforts through a gender mainstreaming and gender responsive budgeting approach is key.



7.0 CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Conclusions

This report establishes three important findings. First, structural violence that builds up to violent conflict affects women in multiple forms based on their various identities as females, and as members of affected populations afflicted by poverty, regional inequality, climate change, social injustice, ethnic targeting etcetera. Women are specifically targeted for victimisation, explaining why in violent conflict they are overrepresented as refugees and IDPs. The more their sociological and biological

³⁴⁴ GSDRC ‘National Climate Change Governance’ January 2017 University of Birmingham. Available at <https://gsdrc.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/08/NatCCGov.pdf>

predisposing factors expose them to disadvantage, discrimination and marginalisation, the greater the magnitude of suffering women endure. It stands to reason that with such high social costs of conflict, women should have a substantive voice and agency to participate in peace processes from a preventative, managing and remedial standpoint.

The second conclusion relates to the essentiality of continental, regional and national frameworks for women, peace and security in mobilising action, resources and commitments, many of which are ensconced in governance contexts. With more countries adopting UNSCR 1325 and AU women, peace and security standards, more attention is being paid to gender responsive peacebuilding. However, there is more acknowledgement of this in principle than in practice as shown by the paucity of women in formal peace processes and decision making processes. Patriarchal social norms and constructions that reinforce the roles of men as natural decisionmakers and women as observers marginalise women's participation in formal peace processes .

The last finding relates to the centrality of governance in providing structures and processes of engagement for women and men in peacebuilding. Where women through strong lobbying in coalitions and working with grassroots movements successfully influence governance structures for formal peace processes with gender equality considerations, the ensuing positions and reforms reflected a wider benefit to society through focusing on social justice concerns. In circumstances where women were involved nominally, the ensuing frameworks more often than not omitted a comprehensive analysis of gender equality and gender justice concerns. Governance processes that fully integrate equal participation of men and decision making in form and substance provide the necessary platform to engender gender responsive peace processes.

The UN asserts that obstacles to effectively and fully implementing resolution 1325 (2000) can only be overcome if member states show dedicated commitment to women's participation, human rights and concerted leadership and build women's engagement in all levels of decision making.³⁴⁵ Governance mechanisms and

³⁴⁵ UN Security Council Resolution S/RES/2242

processes that women can leverage as entry points for peacebuilding are critical. Peacebuilding actions before, during and after conflict have relevance in elections management, strengthening justice and rule of law systems and laws, security sector governance and in human rights standards.³⁴⁶

The Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action 1995 views women as ‘a fundamental force for leadership and conflict resolution’ and gender equality between men and women parallel to peace. Women have legitimate vested interests in participating in peacebuilding processes before, during and after the outbreak of violent conflict. As recognised in the Beijing Declaration, women should be accorded equal access to decision-making and power structures. The gendered differences evident in the impact of conflict on men and women call for the different gender perspectives to be integrated into peace building processes, in order to improve the chances of a fair, inclusive and sustainable peace.

Recommendations

The following section provides recommendations on areas of gender, peacebuilding and governance that require strengthening.

Continental Level

Given the coherence between the mandates of AGA, APSA and APRM, the collaboration platform recommended by the AU Heads of State and Government is strategic to link the regional level peacebuilding efforts with the national level measures. Strengthening common objectives and identifying priority actions of the respective mandates of AGA, APSA and APRM will help to build convergence towards gender, peacebuilding and democratic governance synergistically. The APRM has a diagnostic value and its reports or engagement processes at country level can feed into the agenda setting and monitoring work of AGA and APSA in their various activities.

The APRM’s strength lies in the voluntary assumption of a cohort of the willing. As such, member states commit to APRM values and to adopt appropriate policy and

³⁴⁶ McCarthy, M K ‘Women's Participation in Peacebuilding: A Missing Piece of the Puzzle?’ 08 April 2011. CUREJ: College Undergraduate Research Electronic Journal, University of Pennsylvania. Available at <http://repository.upenn.edu/curej/132>

regulatory as well as monitoring frameworks and human and institutional capacities.³⁴⁷ The APRM is well placed to work with national institutions to focus on strengthening AU and UN frameworks that promote the women peace and security agenda and safeguards the rights of IDPs and refugees. Ensuring that gender and peacebuilding considerations are mainstreamed in its work with states, citizens and the private sector is important and the APRM can provide country level entry points for adoption and domestication of the standards of APSA and AGA.

Given the important role of RECs/RMs in women, peace and security, adopting Regional Action Plans at this level can help to expedite the adoption of respective members states' action plans. Together with member states, the RECs/RMs can develop monitoring frameworks to track implementation of the NAPs' convergence towards the objectives of the women. peace and security agenda. RECs can furthermore encourage more member states to join the APRM governance mechanisms and undertake reviews with a view to converging on governance standards.

The African Union Gender Strategy (2018-2028) raises the dilemma of women affected by forced migration due to conflict, who are at risk of not only of rape and violence but also being trafficked. By RECs/RMs strengthening their cooperation modalities within and across their configurations, as has been done in the COMESA, EAC and IGAD project for example or the Lake Chad Regional Strategy, increased oversight over proliferation and trading in arms, transnational crime can help to combat these crimes through sharing of cooperation security and jurisdiction powers.

National level

What governance processes need to be prioritised and strengthened? All the 8 resolutions following UNSCR 1325 (2000) reaffirm the international community's concern that member states should transcend the mould of women being cast as merely victims to endow women with agency and leadership to make decisions around conflict prevention, peacebuilding and conflict resolution. The processes through which decisions are made, particularly through elective and appointment office, need to be targeted for redistribution of power and decision making. It is essential that

³⁴⁷ NEPAD/HSGIC-03-2003/APRM/Guideline/OSCI 9 March 2003

governance systems integrate conflict management in their structures, policies and processes through democratic principles of inclusive participation. This requires the capacities of government to appropriately respond to these exigencies.

Governance processes that promote women's participation at all levels of governance in the realms of the executive, legislature and judicature are critical. Conflict management systems should be modified to be gender inclusive. A study of the Panel of the Wise on "Eliminating violence against women and children in armed conflict through accelerated implementation of existing frameworks" recommended an increment of women in mediation by 50 percent at all levels, in electoral bodies and constitutional courts among others.³⁴⁸ The study also recommended systematic gender responsive implementation of Disarmament, Demobilisation, Rehabilitation and Reintegration programmes.³⁴⁹ Women's participation in election processes as candidates, monitors and peace advocates will improve their competencies in conflict management. Women's appointments to the judiciary and other public office on an equal or affirmative action basis improves their participation in a decision making processes. Other key entry points include constitutional making processes, political parties and leadership structures including in cultural institutions where possible.

Vibrant civil societies and peacebuilders should be supported to continue their work in implementation and monitoring of NAPs. Enabling laws that allow civil society to operate should be enacted and those that restrict freedoms required for peacebuilding activism removed. Women as individuals and as a collective have a legitimate and legal claim to work in grassroots and community peace building initiatives, participate in preventative diplomacy, influence peace negotiations and mediations and to be included as signatories to peace agreements. State-society dialogue platforms for peacebuilding should be encouraged as good practices of strategic engagement. For example, Uganda has a National Peace Platform and a national Peacebuilding and Conflict Transformation policy is being developed which involves CSOs working on women, peace and security.

Capacitating CSOs at local, national and continental levels in conflict prevention and peace building objectives is integrated within the strategies of Agenda 2063's First

³⁴⁸ AU Peace and Security Council Communique August 2019 PSC/PR/COMM.(DCCCLXVI)

³⁴⁹ Peace and Security Council 'African Union perspectives on Women, Peace and Security' March 2015

Ten-Year Implementation Plan 2014-2023. Alongside FemWise capacitating women mediators, countries and RECs are well placed to provide opportunities for CSOs and peacebuilders to access information, engage in lobbying and advocacy and networking and where possible, access resources and joint programme implementation. CSOs monitor government performance of peace and security targets and when provided accreditation to the processes of intergovernmental frameworks like the AU, RECs or RMs, their value addition is notable. Because NAPs have no continental tracking system, CSOs at country level can establish monitoring systems for the implementation of UNSCR 1325 and link up with treaty monitoring mechanisms.

As recommended in UNSCR 1889, civil society and states should build capacities to collect data to develop evidenced protective and assistive interventions as part of a systemic approach to planning for the needs of women. More often than not, data on affected populations such as IDPs, ex-combatants, survivors and various other categories of women and men is non-existent. Access to information and statistical data is important in facilitating databases for implementation and monitoring. The capabilities of government institutions charged with governance, gender mainstreaming and peacebuilding should be enhanced in order for functionaries to provide meaningful engagement and leadership in the search for durable solutions.

Peacebuilding requires a progressive strategy as part of 'peace engineering' solutions.³⁵⁰ There is need to look beyond the numbers of women who participate in formal peace processes to ensure substantive participation as opposed to descriptive participation or tokenism. The need to integrate women's perspectives call for highly consultative and participatory planning processes involving women from all walks of life.³⁵¹ The FemWise initiative of building women's capacities is laudable as it speaks to some of the capacity deficiencies faced by women in peacebuilding. Such successful models of capacity building should be replicated at the national level through mentorship and linking experienced women mediators with women at the national and local level to foster a multiplier effect in the peacebuilding movement.

³⁵⁰ Brauer J Paul Dunne JP . 'Peace economics: A macroeconomic primer for violence-afflicted states' (2013), Canada's Journal of Global Policy Analysis.

³⁵¹ Women's International League for Peace and Freedom . Available at <https://www.wilpf.org/national-action-plans-localising-implementation-of-unscr-1325/>

Gender budgeting is a critical tool of analysis, planning and resource allocation in mainstreaming women, peace and security goals. However, it is an emerging area and slowly gaining traction in a number of countries. Governments' capacities to undertake gender analyses and mainstream gender across the various sectors requires boosting. The APRM already conducts comprehensive governance reviews; building gender analyses for planning and budgeting into its analytical tools can enrich country level implementation of gender mainstreaming.

Gender sensitive sector security governance can help to respond to the security needs of women before, during and after conflict. Resolution 2151 (2014) calls for an increase of trained women in the security sector to improve effectiveness of accountability and gender responsiveness. It is important to infuse gender goals in national laws and in public service recruitment policies. Screening processes to ensure that perpetrators of sexual violence are not recycled into the security forces is key when undertaking security reforms. Involving parliament and civil society to monitor the robustness of these practices adds an extra layer of vigilance.

The AUC has raised concerns around low reporting on the SDGEA; in 2011 only 9 country reports on SDGEA were received³⁵² and by 2014 only 13 country reports had been submitted by member states.³⁵³ Ratification of the Maputo Protocol and reporting also reveals low country responses. In addition to reporting on the two fundamental frameworks on women's rights in Africa, countries should domesticate the Kampala Convention and the AU model law which contains important, gender responsive standards. The APRM can play a role in monitoring country implementation of these standards. It is the role of the APRM to ensure that countries sign and ratify these regional and international instruments but furthermore , translate them into programmes, practices and budgets.

Certain economic policies carry risks associated either with troubled legacies or new risks. In some instances, economic policies pursuing economic liberalization programmes in the reconstruction phase have triggered tensions and economic insecurities in recovering communities returnees, socially vulnerable groups or

³⁵² Decision on the Report of the Chairperson on the Implementation of the Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa (SDGEA) Doc EX.CL/729(XXI)

³⁵³ 'African Union Commission Implementation of the Women, Peace, and Security Agenda in Africa' July 2016 African Union Commission

political elites if not managed, and retrigger tensions.³⁵⁴ Economic policies, frameworks and programmes that take into account Agenda 2016 and SDG's emphasis on equitable and inclusive growth and development are the best model for delivery of services and welfare as a peace building strategy. In the recovery phase, economic reconstruction should entail policies to take into account participation and inclusion of men and women.



Economic policies and frameworks that integrate gender responsive economic empowerment are important, more so during economic reconstruction phases. Strategies that promote women's effective participation in the informal sector are important. Furthermore, sustained measures aimed at transitioning women into the formal economy will help to build their resilience in recovery phases. In that regard, the APRM should encourage governments to adopt programmes that enable women, including rural women, to access

production inputs, labour and financial markets on an equal footing with men.

Involving the private sector in peacebuilding activities through effective partnerships with key populations, including men and women from conflict affected areas is strategic. The private sector can provide entry points economic reconstruction projects to improve livelihoods, entrepreneurship and skills building. The involvement of men and women in such programmes should be encouraged by governments and integrated in development and recovery plans. The APRM should amplify the value returns of such good practices and encourage countries to provide spaces and direction for private corporations to build on such good practices. Corporations practice corporate social responsibility as a form of good citizenship that is recommended by APRM. Countries should provide corporations with development

³⁵⁴ Crisis States Programme 'Governance and Conflict Management: Implications for donor intervention' Working Paper No 9, Benedict Latto 2002

priorities to guide their philanthropy and include projects that speak to social sectors of concern to women and men.

In its monitoring role, the APRM is well placed to encourage countries to implement and monitor SDG 5 and 16 to fully realise women's equal rights to economic resources, access to ownership and control over land and other forms of property, financial services, as well as inheritance and natural resources. These rights should be secured in accordance with national laws and where these laws are lacking, legal reforms should be encouraged.

Conflict has the propensity to change gender roles as men and women confront new realities and challenges caused by forced displacement, socio-economic hardships and loss of government services. The positive aspects of societal transformation where women's increased agency emerges should be protected by government. Laws should be made that take into account women's transformed gender roles to protect the rights of women and girls, widows and female headed households in the area of land, property, business and succession rights.

The APRM reviews regularly identify the need to address climate change as an overarching issue, although the analyses do not necessarily integrate gender analyses. Women's adaptative capacities should be enhanced through principles of inclusive natural resource governance. By including women's increased leadership in water and natural resource governance, decisions made over access and control can take into account women's specific needs. Involving communities in developing adaptive capacities and peacebuilding strategies for competing use of natural resources will contribute to sustainable peace.

Increasingly attention is being paid to the manner in which conflict, especially violent or armed conflict affects women and men. The narrative of victimhood of women is shifting to view more broadly women's experiences as a heterogeneous group. The experiences of women as peacebuilders, survivors, combatants and returnees require a reconfiguration of societal constructions.³⁵⁵ The state's role in facilitating society dialogues around peacebuilding and reconstruction can provide the basis for a renewed vision of peace for Africa's citizens

³⁵⁵ Bouta T, Frerks J 'Women's roles in conflict prevention, conflict resolution and post conflict reconstruction' Netherlands Institute of International Relations, The Hague 2002



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Publication of the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM)
230 15th Road | Randjespark, Midrand, South Africa

www.aprm-au.org

