

UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL

**THE IMPACT OF UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL
RESOLUTION 1325**

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DECLARATION

I, **Rose Theru Olupot** declare that:

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ABSTRACT

The changing nature of today's wars, shows that civilians have been involved in these wars as both victims and perpetrators. Since these are internal wars, many civilians are often displaced, and they end up becoming refugees. In the midst of all this, women and children suffer most in this transition, with women suffering from sexual violence. In this context of armed conflict, it is observed that women, men, girls and boys experience conflict differently and they also respond differently in times of peacekeeping, peacebuilding and also in post-conflict reconstruction. Women are not only the victims of war; they are also denied full participation in decision-making in areas of peace and security. Furthermore, their vital roles in conflict prevention, conflict resolution, peacekeeping and peacebuilding are rarely acknowledged.

The United Nations Security Council adopted Resolution 1325 in October 2000, with the theme "Women, Peace and Security". Although there are other forums that have addressed women in peace and security, there is none that has been more vocal, unanimous and holistic than Resolution 1325. The Resolution recognizes the need for women to be involved in conflict prevention, peacebuilding and post-conflict reconstruction. It also calls for the participation of women in decision making and peace processes. It further calls for the integration of gender perspectives in peacekeeping operations and the protection of women and girls from gender based violence in conflict zones.

Resolution 1325 refers to other various previously adopted resolutions and other policies and gives mandates to the different role players like the United Nations, member countries and all parties involved in conflicts. In its efforts to implement the Resolution, the United Nations developed a System-Wide Action Plan for 2005-2006 which was later reviewed and updated for 2008-2009 with performance indicators, monitoring and accountability procedures. The member states are under the obligation to ensure that the policy on peace and security is incorporated in their national policies. This study has cited Liberia being a country that has emerged from civil war and how the Resolution has been applicable in the reconstruction of that country. Though progress has been recorded in the implementation of the Resolution, there are still gaps and great challenges in the use of the action plans. However, the United Nations entities are working on the revised action plans and their report will only be given in 2010.

This study has compared Resolution 1325 with the landmines campaign which has been referred to as the most successful humanitarian advocacy ever in history. There are various lessons learnt from the landmines campaign which could be used for the successful implementation of Resolution 1325. This study has assessed the impact of Resolution 1325 since its adoption to date and found out that there has been little progress. The gender perspective in preventing armed conflict has not made it any easier for women to participate in decision making and peace processes.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

APL	Anti-Personnel Landmines
AU	African Union
CCF	Christian Children's Fund
CCW	Convention on Conventional Weapons
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women
DDR	Disarmament Demobilisation and Reintegration
DPA	Department of Political Affairs
DPKO	Department of Peacekeeping Organization
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
DRSG	Deputy Representative of the Secretary General
DSRSG	Deputy Secretary Representative of Secretary General
DSSG	Deputy Secretary to the Secretary General
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
ERW	Explosive Remnants of War
EU	European Union
GBV	Gender Based Violence
GDI	Gross Domestic Index
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HIV/AIDS	Human Immuno Virus / Acquired Immuno Deficiency Syndrome
IACWGE	Inter-Agency Committee on Women and Gender Equality
ICC	International Criminal Court
ICBL	International Campaign to Ban Landmines
ICRC	International Committee of Red Cross
IDP	Internally Displaced People
IGAD	Intergovernmental Authority on Development
LRA	Lord's Resistance Army
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
MONUC	Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations
OSAGI	Office of the Special Adviser on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women
PI	Performance Indicators
PR	Proportional Representative
SADC	South African Development Corporation
SGBV	Sexual Gender Based Violence
SRSR	Special Representative of the Secretary General
SSR	Security Sector Reform
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UNHCR	United Nations High Commission For Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Fund
UNIFEM	United Nations Development Fund for Women
UNIMIL	United Nations Mission In Liberia
UN-INSTRAW	United Nations International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women

UNMAS	United Nations Mine Action
UNMEE	United Nations Mission in Ethiopia and Eritrea
UNMISSET	United Nations Mission of Support in East Timor
UNO	United Nations Organization
UNOMIG	United Nations Observer Mission in Georgia
UNOMIK	United Nations Observer Mission in Kosovo
UNOMIL-OGA	United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia- Office of the General Advisor
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WHO	World Health Organization

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

The changing nature of today's wars has seen the involvement of civilians as both victims and perpetrators of violence. It has been observed that almost all these wars are fought internally causing the displacement of thousands of civilians within their country and/or becoming refugees in the neighboring countries. It is estimated that 90 percent of the casualties are civilians who suffer and die from hunger and disease. Further, it has also been noted that in the midst of these orgies, children and more especially women have continued to suffer severe atrocities from both warring parties. Besides sexual violence, women have been abducted when their villages are under attack and have suffered loss in terms of the killing of their husbands and sons (Date-Bah, 1998:1; Harris, 2004:5; Merry, 2009: 156).

Anderlini (2001:12) states that "women and children civilians and the innocent have become the strategic targets, with the frontlines of conflict more likely to be villages and agricultural fields than traditional battlefields." Literature on gender-based violence in armed conflicts also shows that women suffer disproportionately even in the post-conflict period. For example, women still suffer, from the heavy burden of taking care of their families by becoming bread-winners. Anderlini, (2001:12) states that, "In the aftermath of conflict, often over 50% of households are headed by women". She adds that "during or after conflict, women are left with the sole responsibility of raising and educating children, earning a living and caring for the wounded and maimed returning from war". Besides this, they also suffer from trauma of all the throes of war (Anderlini, 2001:12).

Women are not only the victims of war; they are also denied full participation in decision-making in areas of peace and security. Furthermore, their vital roles in conflict prevention, conflict resolution, peacekeeping and peacebuilding are rarely acknowledged (Valasek, 2006).

The empowerment of women can happen in various ways, such as advocacy, women platforms, laws and United Nations [UN] Resolutions. One of the UN Resolutions is the United Nations Security Council Resolution [UNSC] 1325, adopted in October 2000, and subsequent Resolutions such as 1612 (2005), 1674 (2006), 1820 (2008) and 1882 (2009). These Resolutions seek to protect women and civilians in general against various forms of abuses. The UN Resolutions also encourage the participation of women at all levels of decision-making and peacebuilding processes.

This study seeks to assess the impact of the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 on women, peace and security. The study presents and discusses the rationale, the aims and the implementation procedures of UNSC 1325. Many countries in the world, especially those recovering from war, are in the process of incorporating the Resolution in their policies and planning on women, peace and security. Liberia is an example discussed in this study as one of the countries that has emerged from civil wars that had a huge negative impact on women. The events that led to the conception, adoption and ratification of UNSC 1325 by member states of the United Nations are discussed in the section 1.2 below.

1.2 Historical Background to the Security Council Resolution 1325

According to the Inter-Agency Network on Women and Gender Equality (IANWGE), effort to focus on women's conditions in armed conflict started in 1969 when the Commission on the Status of Women did a survey aimed at deciding the necessity of having special protection of women and children in times of armed conflict and emergency situations. This survey was adopted by the General Assembly in 1974 (Internet 1).

IANWGE states that the work on women in conflict started to build up with the four United Nations World Conferences on Women bearing the theme of gender equality, development and peace. In 1975, the World Conference on the International Year of Women was held in Mexico City focusing on women's participation "against colonialism, racism, racial discrimination and foreign domination". An international treaty referred to as the "Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women" (CEDAW) was adopted by the General Assembly in 1979. The Copenhagen World Conference on Women

in 1980 reiterated women's key roles as the driving force of change (Internet 1).

In 1985, the Nairobi World Conference highlighted the active participation of women in decision-making and in peacebuilding initiatives. The Nairobi World Conference also reiterated how women can be used as agents of peace to end the arms race, nuclear wars and the protection of women against violence. The momentum of lobbying continued vigorously in the 1990s which saw the eventual adoption of the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women, acknowledging the special vulnerability of women in situations of conflict, which was signed in 1993 at the UN World Conference on Human Rights (Internet 1).

In 1995, the Fourth World Conference held in Beijing focused on women and armed conflict. The conference recognised that men, women, boys and girls experience peace, conflict and recovery of war differently. The delegates argued that women needed to be given the opportunity to participate in conflict resolution at decision making levels, the protection of women during armed conflict, demilitarization and encouragement of women in their endeavour to bring peace. It was at this Beijing World Conference that "gender mainstreaming" was introduced which later became a focal point in the UNSC 1325. The conference was hailed as a success, with rippling effects. After Beijing, women in civil society organisations all over the world began to engage with one another and new ideas were born. They felt recharged, empowered and ready to articulate women's issues to make a change in their countries and globally. This spirit of Beijing was felt all over the globe. "They were said to be Beijing-ed" (Schirch & Sewak, 2005:1). A study of the unique contributions that women make in peacekeeping, commissioned by the UN Division for the Advancement of Women was carried out.

Globally, several international organisations unanimously acknowledged the gender implications on armed conflict. These included the International Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia in 1993, International Tribunal of Rwanda in 1994, the Special Courts in Sierra Leone and the International Criminal Court (Whitworth, 2000:125). With the overwhelming support from civil societies, women's agendas became pronounced with the civil society organisations helping them at the community level and linking them to the

national and international policy-makers. Schirch & Sewak (2005:2) reported that “In 1999, the United Kingdom [UK] based organisation the International Alert launched a ‘Women Building Peace’ global campaign with the support of 100 civil society organisations around the world”. The campaign was aimed at addressing the lack of women’s inclusion in decision-making processes in peace, security and development. In the same year, the UN Security Council adopted Resolution 1265 dealing with the protection of civilians in armed conflict and highlighted vulnerable groups that include women and children (Schirch & Sewak, 2005:2).

The year 2000 saw Namibia serving as a non-permanent member of the council and hosting a conference on “Mainstreaming a Gender Perspective in Multidimensional Peace Support Operations”. This conference ended with the signing on May 31, 2000 of the “Windhoek Declaration.” This declaration, together with the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action in 1995, were adopted in May 2000 at the 23rd special session of the General Assembly entitled “Women 2000: Gender equality, development and peace for the twenty-first century” (Beijing+5) in June 2000 (King, 2001:1). This was a step forward towards sensitizing the United Nations view of both men and women in peace operations. Women, peace and security issues were discussed with the then Secretary General Kofi Annan reaffirming the contributions that women make towards peace and urging the council to ensure that women and girls are protected during conflict. Further, the Executive Director of the United Nations Fund for Women (UNIFEM), Noeleen Heyzer, pointed out that “peace processes suffer when women are not included if women are half of every community, are they therefore not half of every solution?” (Internet 2).

As Namibia took over the presidency of the UN Security Council in October 2000, it paved the way for UNSC 1325 to come into fruition. Nandi-Ndaitwah, Minister of Women Affairs in Namibia and Liyambo, first Secretary of the Namibian Mission to the UN, pushed to ensure that Namibia’s contribution should take the form of a resolution on Women, Peace and Security. “By the end of October 2000, with the successful lobbying efforts of dozens of women’s organisations and UNIFEM, the Resolution won unanimous approval” (Landsberg, 2003:1).

Schirch & Sewak (2005:2) confirm that Resolution 1325, which is an international law, recognizes that women and children are by far the most numerous part of the population who are adversely affected by war, which is a threat to peace and security and further endorses the full participation of women as key contributors to peace and security. Resolution 1325 urges all women to participate in conflict prevention and resolution initiatives, gender mainstreaming in peacebuilding and peacekeeping and the protection of women in areas of armed conflict. According to the United Nations, gender mainstreaming is construed as taking in to account of the perspectives of both women and men in any actions like programmes or policies so that both women and men can equally gain.

As Resolution 1325 supports women and peacebuilding, several other arms of the UN like the United Nations Fund for Women (UNIFEM) have been instrumental in taking an assertive role to help women at the community level, training and various researches on women. Not all the civil societies include women in their agendas. The challenge posed to the UN in respect of women is that the focus on direct violence is not enough. Women want to address the origins of both direct and structural violence (Schirch & Sewak 2005:2).

1.3 Problem Statement

“The adoption of Security Council Resolution 1325 marked a milestone in the process of elevating women’s role from a peace and security perspective to a high political agenda”. According to King (2001:1), the adoption of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action in 1995 set the pace. This was followed by the adoption of the Windhoek Declaration and the Namibia Plan of Action on Mainstreaming a Gender Perspective in Multidimensional Peace Support Operations in 2000. In the same year, the General Assembly held the twenty-third special session (Beijing+5). This session was entitled “Women 2000: Gender Equality, Development and Peace for the twenty-first century” (Internet 3).

According to Hunt and Posa (2001), women play an important role in peace-building. However, women are still victimized in armed conflicts. Nakaya (2003: 459) reiterates that the adoption of Resolution 1325 has given women the mandate to demand their rights, and calls for three issues to be resolved, namely:

- The increased representation of women in decision-making regarding peace and security including peace operations.
- Improved protection of women and girls under international humanitarian and human rights law; and,
- Special attention to women and their involvement in post-conflict justice and disarmament, demobilization and the reintegration of refugees.

It is of relevance to mention that there are important precedents to UNSC 1325 from the African perspective. The Liberian Women Initiative (LWI) is an example. LWI was instrumental in transforming what was known to be a male dominated political peace process to incorporate women in peace processes, including the 1994 Accra Clarifications Conference. In the Accra conference, the LWI demanded that all parties needed to disarm before the elections were held. They lobbied for women candidates whom they felt were qualified for the government's appointments. They did this through grassroots campaigns by having voter education programmes which emphasized the necessity for women to be involved in peace building efforts. The LWI can be credited in helping to bring peace and stability in Liberia (Fearon, 2000).

There are many examples in which women's groups have been effective in promoting dialogue and rebuilding societies that have been destroyed by armed conflicts. For instance, the women of Somalia, referred to as "The Sixth Clan", were instrumental in bringing the leaders of the five main clans of Southern Somalia to come together to sit and talk. This was after the civil war in the 1980s which brought instability in the country. The Mudug Region Peace Agreement is clear evidence of women participating in conflict resolution. In some instances, women used traditional methods to make peace between belligerents (Gardener & El Bushra 2004:5).

There is evidence that some women participate in peacebuilding processes. However, the majority of women remain absent in peace agreements. The Dayton Peace on the Bosnian conflict in 1995 is a plausible example. In Sierra Leone, women were invisible in peace talks. In Tajikistan, out of twenty six people in the National Reconciliation Commission, only one was a woman. In East Timor, the National Council of Timorese Resistance

consisted of only two women out of the fifteen representatives (Anderlini, 2000:29). In Kosovo, there was an electoral quota of 30 percent for women but only 8.2 percent were elected to the Municipal Assemblies in October 2000. Another example is Burundi, where the All-Party Women's Conference in July 2000 debated on women's recommendations and suggested women's representation in the final signing of the agreement (Nakaya, 2003:460).

The participation of women in peace deals is reinforced by UNSC 1325 that reaffirms the role of women in conflict prevention and resolution. UNSC 1325 urges the member states to take steps to increase the number of women participating in peace, decision-making, integration of gender perspectives, training in peace keeping operations and protection of women from gender based violence in conflict zones. Many activities have taken place within the UN system together with numerous human rights and women organizations publishing reports (Anderlini, 2000:29).

Although much has been done to incorporate UNSC 1325 in all state institutions, its implementation is still lacking. Various explanations have been put forward. For example, on the status of women in the developing world, the bottom-of the stack priority accorded to women issues, lack of funding for UNSC 1325 implementation, and the fact that there is no unified UN agency looking after women's interests (Internet 4).

The question remains as to why UNSC 1325 has been only given lip service. The former UN Secretary General, Kofi Annan affirmed that "women, knowing the price of conflict often are better equipped than men to prevent or resolve it" He wondered why women were inadequately underrepresented in decision making in peace processes. Statistically by 2000, only 10 out of the 189 UN ambassadors were women, and there was no woman who held the position of special and personal representatives and envoys. It was further noted that out of the 15 Security Council representatives, there was only one woman (Davis 2001:1).

There is a growing awareness that women should be allowed to participate in decision-making processes, politics and various support mechanisms. However, the evidence above shows that little has been done to give equal participation to break the male dominance. Women and girls continue to experience sexual violence in the conflict zones like Somalia, Columbia, and Democratic Republic of Congo. There have been just a handful of national action plans that have been formulated. There is great concern that, eight years later, the promise of UNSC 1325 is largely unfulfilled (Abugre, 2008). Anderlini (2007:632) states that while women are absent or marginalized from the negotiating tables, political decision-making opportunities and senior advisory positions, they are active in the informal peacebuilding.

There is a rich literature in terms of the importance and potential contribution of Resolution 1325, but this does not translate into actions. For example, out of the 27 current (2009) peace operations, there is only one woman who has been appointed as head of mission or special representative [to the United Nations Observer Mission in Georgia (UNOMIG)]. The UN can only boast of three women out of the fourteen positions of the Deputy Special Representative of the Secretary General. Out of the fifteen current peacekeeping missions, only four have designated gender units (UNMIK, MONUC, UNMISSET and UNMIL). Out of the 264 thematic reports of the Secretary General from 2000-2003, 67% had no reference to women and gender matters. So the question remains, where are the women? (OSAGI, 2003 & 2004 as cited by Dyfan, Haver & Piccirilli undated).

It is the responsibility of the UN body to prove to the world that what is on paper can be practiced. This must involve: ensuring that all forms of gender-based violence, including rape and other atrocities, are punished, increasing the number of women in peacekeeping missions and finally, allowing a conducive environment that will facilitate the disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration of women combatants in their respective communities. It is against this background that this study will reach its overall and specific objectives.

1.4 Overall Objective and Specific Aims

The overall objective of this study is to present and discuss the UN Resolution 1325, its rationale, aims and implementation procedures. The specific aims of this study include devising appropriate performance indicators and assessing the possible impacts of Resolution 1325 on the following areas:

- The participation of women in decision-making and peace processes.
- The prevention of armed conflicts by integrating a gender perspective in peace keeping operations.
- The obligation to protect women from gender-based violence in conflict zones.
- To compare the impact of Resolution 1325 with the broadly successful landmines campaign.

1.5 Overview

The research report consists of five chapters. The introductory chapter has presented the background of the UN Resolution 1325, problem statement and explained the research questions to be addressed in the study. Chapter two discusses the contents of the Resolution, its rationale, aims and the implementation procedures. Chapter three focuses on the impact of Resolution 1325 using appropriate performance indicators. Chapter four compares the experience of Resolution 1325 with the successful landmines campaign. Lastly, chapter five draws the conclusions from the research findings.

1.6 Summary

In summary, chapter one of this research report has given a brief introduction of the study and the historical background of UNSC 1325. The problem statement, objectives and the structure of the study is discussed in this chapter. Despite the rich literature on the importance of UN Resolution 1325, women's participation on peace and security remains absent or marginalized from the negotiating tables, political decision-making opportunities and senior advisory positions.

CHAPTER TWO: UNITED NATIONS RESOLUTION 1325: RATIONALE, AIMS AND IMPLEMENTATION PROCEDURES

2.1 The Content of Resolution 1325

The adoption of the Security Council Resolution 1325 marks “a watershed political framework that makes women and a gender perspective relevant to negotiating peace agreements, planning refugee camps and peacekeeping operations and reconstructing war-torn societies” (Internet 5). It focuses on securing equality and engendering peace through the 18 points that have provision for many of the operational modalities which aims at making a difference for both individual countries and the whole UN body (Valasek, 2006). Furthermore, the Resolution builds on various global policies and documents which had already been previously adopted. These global policies and documents refer to issues related to refugees, children, civilians in armed conflicts and their protection. Some of them are the Geneva conventions, such as the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women [CEDAW] and the Conventions on the Rights of the Child [CRC]. The UN Resolution 1325 also elaborates on the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court, Presidential statements, and UN Charter which gives the Security Council mandate to uphold peace security and other UN documents (S/RES/1325/2000).

Resolution 1325 is a product of several decades of lobbying and great struggles for women’s rights and how women issues can be acknowledged in times of conflict and in peace. International, regional and national bodies lobbied for a large representation of women in decision-making spheres with regard to the prevention, management and resolution of conflict processes at all levels of conflicts requiring decision-making (Valasek, 2006).

The main topics in the Resolution are the disproportionate impact of armed conflict on women and girls and the importance of increasing the number of women in peace processes. Article 1 of the Resolution calls for support to increase women’s representation at all levels of decision-making.

The Security Council urged the Secretary General to ensure that a strategic Plan of Action (A/49/587) is implemented. The latter plan calls for an increase in the participation of women in the decision-making at all levels nationally, regionally as well as internationally. According to Article 2 of the Resolution, the main goal of this plan is to ensure gender equality in all spheres of life. In Article 3, the Council requests the Secretary General to appoint more women to be his special representatives and envoys in peacekeeping missions. This should be done in connection with member states with regard to the selection of candidates. In other words, the Council specifies that the Secretary General has the prerogative to appoint those women his/ her Special Representatives and envoys. However, it is the responsibility of the member states to furnish the Secretary General with the names of women candidates for eventual appointments (S/RES/1325/2000).

In Article 4, the Council calls the Secretary General to expand women's role and contributions in the United Nations in field operations as military observers, civilian police, human rights and humanitarian personnel. The field operations have always been male dominated tasks, thus the Resolution takes into consideration all the UN job requirements for equitable geographical balance (S/RES/1325/2000).

Articles 5 and 6 of the Resolution calls for the incorporation of gender perspectives in every peace operations and points out the importance of training of all peacekeepers in the rights of women (S/RES/1325/2000). It further urges the Secretary General should provide and offer gender sensitive training materials and guidelines for HIV/AIDS awareness programmes, particularly looking at how gender sensitivity can be applied in training programmes together with the relevant materials on protection, rights and particular needs of women. And also, as was noted above the importance of involving women in all peacekeeping and peacebuilding operations should receive attention from the Secretary General. On the other hand, member states are also urged to incorporate gender issues in their national training programmes, covering the military and civilian police personnel ready to be deployed in peacekeeping operations. The Security Council would like to see the whole UN body assisting member states with technical expertise so that the personnel are fully prepared and skilled to be deployed in conflict zones (Abugre, 2008: 13, S/RES/1325/2000).

Resolution 1325 calls for the protection of women and the respect of human rights and the prosecution of all perpetrators of gender-based violence. For example, Article 9 and 10 of the Resolution basically urge all warring parties to ensure the protection of women and girls against rape, sexual abuse and any other related forms of violence in armed conflict situations. In other words, warring parties are required to fully adhere and respect international laws stipulating the rights and protection of women and girls as civilians in accordance to the following laws: the 1949 Geneva Conventions, 1977 Protocols, 1951 Refugee Convention, the 1967 Protocol, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) of 1979 with the Optional Protocol of 1999. Other laws include the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child of 1989 together with two Optional Protocols of 25 May 2000 and the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court (Abugre, 2008).

In addition, Article 11 calls for all the States to take responsibility and end impunity. States should take responsibility to prosecute perpetrators of crimes against humanity, genocide, sexual violence and deal accordingly with those who fall under the amnesty. Article 12 calls on all parties to armed conflict to respect the civilian and humanitarian aspect of refugee camps and settlements, especially taking into account of the needs of women and girls in accordance with Resolution 1208 (1998) of 19 November 1998. Furthermore, UNSC 1325 urges governments dealing with refugees to apply the provisions stipulated in the UNHCR's Handbook for emergencies. One of the provisions states that refugees should be settled at a reasonable distance from international borders as well as other potentially sensitive areas such as military installations" (Chapter 12, Para. 31). The aim of this is to guarantee the safety women and children who are more vulnerable. The Security Council reaffirms that women should be allowed to make an input in the way the camps should be designed, taking into consideration the protection of refugee women, adolescents and children.

Article 13 calls for all warring parties to halt atrocities on women and also peace building actors to support women in disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of the latter into civilian life. Considering that women have got different needs from men. It is also important to take into account the families of the ex-combatants, the communities too are

also affected by the DDR.

2.2 The Rationale for Resolution 1325

The role of women in the areas of peace building, peacekeeping and conflict resolution has been highlighted in various UN Resolutions including Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) (1979) and the 1995 Beijing Platform for Action. The latter called for an increased participation of women in conflict resolutions and decision making. However the adoption of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 was the first time that the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) recognized the unique roles and the experiences of women in situations of “armed conflict, peacebuilding, peacekeeping and conflict resolution” (Valasek, 2006:3).

Studies on civil wars state that all conflicts are unique in their own way but are seen to have similar characteristics. For example, when war breaks out, the majority of men are mobilized and recruited to fight against the enemies ‘defending our territory against invaders’. In the case of secessionist war, men are demanded to fight for their land and resources or any injustices from the dominant group, be they political, religious or ethnic based. In this process, studies show that civilians, especially women, are attacked in a particular way that involves degrading and humiliating acts perpetrated on their bodies. In most cases, after being sexually abused they are killed or even buried alive. The majority of those fleeing from violence are women, children and the elderly who end up in the Internally Displaced Peoples’ (IDPs) Camps. As they flee they also face attacks on their way or in the IDPs camps (Merry, 2009; Ferris, 2004:20-21). For example statistics confirm that in 2005, 90% of the casualties of the ongoing conflicts were civilians (Whitman 2005:34).

Women have got a right to participate equally with men, as per the United Nations Charter and the international law. Nakaya (2003: 460) notes that when women are included in conflict resolution and peacebuilding, it makes the process legitimate and acceptable by the society since this is an indicator for equality. It is also argued that women make half of the population hence they should be actively involved in conflict resolution. Heyzer of UNIFEM acknowledges that women have been very active in conflict resolutions in

various countries like Sudan, Burundi, Northern Ireland and former Yugoslavia. Hunt & Posa (2005) as cited by Whitman (2005:33) reiterate that “the Sudanese Women’s Voice for Peace met with the military leaders of various rebel groups and secured access to areas where men could not venture to deliver humanitarian aid”. Therefore Resolution 1325 emphasizes the increased measures for women in all the levels of peace processes.

Despite the international pressure and women’s organizations worldwide, women continue to suffer. It is in this context that the Resolution 1325 was born in 2000 with the aims of protecting women against the above mentioned orgies to ensure that women are not left out in any decision making and the prevention of conflicts in which women suffer the most untold consequences. It is imperative that any peacebuilding process undertaken should include women, therefore the underpinning principle of Resolution 1325. Elise Boulding, a prominent peace activist notes that the United Nations and other peace organisations that deal with peace issues “have long known that peacemaking efforts coordinated by women are much more effective than those headed by men, but it has taken many years to turn this knowledge into the effective action embodied by the UN Resolution 1325” (Internet 6).

2.3 The Aims of Resolution 1325

It can be acknowledged that despite other previous forums in the UN that have addressed women issues, peace and security, there has been none that has been more vocal, unanimous and holistic than Resolution 1325 (Valasek, 2006). It is a potential advocacy tool to engender peacemaking processes and acts like an instrument of international law which binds all the UN member states that agree to accept and carry out the decisions of the Security Council. The main aims of this Resolution can be summarized as follows: participation of women in decision making processes, integrating gender perspectives and training in peacekeeping operations and the protection of women from gender based violence in conflict zones.

2.3.1 Participation of Women in Decision Making Processes

Resolution 1325 aims at increasing the participation of women at all levels of decision making and peace processes, such as conflict prevention, conflict resolution and peacebuilding. This means that women or women's organizations must be present in political decision making, political negotiations, peace table negotiation or every effort for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security. In this context, at the Beijing Platform for Action, participants agreed that governments will ensure that a quota of 30 percent of women should take part in decision making levels. Unfortunately, this has never been fulfilled, except a few countries, such as Sweden and Rwanda. Many governments have been challenged to increase the participation of women in these areas. It has been the case that many of them have appointed women to fulfill the obligation of Resolution 1325 but men still control and hold the power of making decisions.

Another element is that for the government to be able to do so, they must set up conditions conducive to the empowerment of women and girls. In many cultures, especially in Africa and some parts in Asia, women's potential was limited to household and domestic chores. In those cultures, it was believed that educating a woman was a waste of resources as they will not use their education or they will benefit more their in-laws rather than their parents. In other words, it has been noticed that many African countries practice a patriarchal system by holding discriminatory norms which consider a woman as inferior and reduce her to the level of children so that she is excluded from taking charge over children in the event of the death of a husband and also from benefiting from the ownership of property. This is a hindrance to the development of a woman and it is among the underlying reasons why women are badly treated during violence.

It has been noted that peace tables are often reserved for males in both armed groups and governments sides; shutting out women even when they are fully implicated in civil wars. Most of the time, men take women's seats and negotiate for them. This has been the greatest hurdle to overcome to ensure that women are represented adequately so as to make an impact on these processes. Participation of women in decision making at the UN level is still under represented. In this regard, the UN Security Council, through Resolution 1325 wishes to increase the representation of women in UN institutions and mechanisms of conflict resolution regionally, internationally and also supports local women's peace

initiatives. In this regard, the Security Council described the participation of women in decision making processes in the Strategic Plan of Action (A/49/587) that should be implemented by the United Nations.

The Strategic Plan of Action (A/49/587) was passed in 1999. Its main goal was to ensure that there is gender equality within the United Nations and the target date set was to be the beginning of the twenty first century. As mentioned earlier in Article 3, of the Resolution, the Secretary General is urged to appoint more women to be his special representatives and envoys on his behalf. Therefore member States are to forward candidates to the Secretary General so that they can be included in his roster for consideration for any appointments. It is the Secretary General's prerogative to appoint special representatives and envoys. However, it is the responsibility of the member states to furnish the Secretary General with the women candidates for the UN appointments. Women's role is to be expanded in field based operations as military observers, civilian police and also humanitarian workers, where traditionally it has been male dominated.

The Council is calling the member states to involve these local women's groups in their endeavours to achieve peace. It urges the governments to recognize women's contributions by ensuring that democratic processes are fully put in place so that these women's groups are represented from the start of the peace processes. This means that all those participating women's peace activist groups and their organizations are included in decisions concerning peace and conflict resolution. An example is the Mano River Union Women Peace Network, established in 2000 by women from Liberia, Sierra Leone and Guinea, which recognized that there was no way that peace could be realized in Liberia unless there was peace in the region. This group has collaborated with ECOWAS and the UN to broker peace in Liberia (Kvitashvili, 2007:14).

The Resolution calls for the equal participation and full involvement of women in every effort for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security. It could thus be used to demand women's inclusion in all Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW)-related initiatives including Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration (DDR), and increased representation of women in all decision making levels nationally, regionally and in the international forums. This is in line with the 1995 Platform for Action which invokes

the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which the world governments ratified and agreed that women deserve to be given their rightful place. Women are to be empowered so that they are able to reach their potential and to be given equal opportunities to participate in political decision making processes so that a full reintegration of equality can be realized. This is necessary since it is seen to be democracy at work and it shows that women's interests are also considered (Anderlini, 2000:45).

It is important to mention that, in the quest of empowering women, local and international women's groups need to be involved in DDR processes in order to cater for the special needs of women and girls (Anderlini, 2001:40). This gives women opportunities to get involved and participate in matters that concern them, so that they do not feel that issues are imposed on them. It is observed that promoting women in decision making should be accompanied by the transformation of institutions to embrace gender issues.

2.3.2 Integrating Gender Perspectives and Training in Peacekeeping Operations

According to UNSC 1325, the Secretary General is called upon to offer training guidelines together with the relevant materials on protection, rights and particular needs of women. The member states are also urged to incorporate HIV/AIDS awareness, including handling gender issues. These training programmes should be designed for the military and civilian police personnel who are ready to be deployed, including handling gender issues. In Africa, for example, where the majority of the UN peacekeepers are deployed, peacekeepers, humanitarian aid workers and other UN personnel face serious challenges with regard to what civilians undergo during hostilities, women and girls being the most affected. In this essence, the Resolution suggests that both men and women should be included in the ceasefire process up to the post-conflict reconstruction while making sure that all needs are reviewed accordingly so that policies are formulated to address them (Internet 7).

Having women as peacekeepers makes a difference in decision making in the peacekeeping missions. The difference that women make is most notable in terms of content, priorities, management style, organizational culture and group dynamics (Ogunsanya & Mngqibisa, 2000:1).

It is vital that all the levels of the peace support operations are monitored to ensure that they are gender sensitive. These include the political, military, civilian police, electoral assistance, human rights support, humanitarian assistance, peacebuilding activities and the public information. The troops and the civilian police need to be trained on gender issues which will help them to understand and be aware of how to treat the female staff and civilians.

The Secretary General is charged with the responsibility of conducting a study on the impact of armed conflict on women and girls, the role of women in peacebuilding activities and also the gender dimensions of peace processes. The study questions how far they are covered by the international laws and why women and girls' potential in both formal and informal peace processes are never highlighted however minimal they are. Further, the Resolution would like to stress out that a gender dimension in peace keeping and humanitarian operations is necessary. This helps to sustain peace, since women have the opportunity to voice their concerns and bring out gender equality. This is very important since any sustainable peacebuilding solutions have to be locally owned, meeting those specific needs of the region. Otherwise any move to impose changes will be unacceptable and will face protests. For instance, in Afghanistan a school built to receive girls was destroyed, because local people did not approve of the project (Karame, 2004:19).

Helland & Kristensen as cited in Ogunsanya & Mngqibisa (2000:4) are of the opinion that women should be integrated into peace issues as they are known to bring in a unique dimension from what men are used to. They argue that when there is gender equality prevailing in the peace missions, chances are that gender relations in the host communities will also follow suit. Thus the missions and their mandates stand to benefit when gender equality is maintained.

Various reports of the UN highlight the failure of peacekeepers with regard to gender based violence resulting in a strenuous relationship between locals and peacekeepers. In the DRC for example, many accusations have been leveled at MONUC peacekeepers of raping girls and women instead of protecting them. The Resolution urges all peacekeepers who are about to be deployed to the field to receive some form of training, with respect to

gender based violence. This tends to normalize relations between the international personnel or peacekeepers and the host country (Karamé, 2004: 25).

2.3.3 Protection of Women from Gender Based Violence in Conflict Zones

In situations of war, women and girls are vulnerable. As men go to war, women are left alone to raise children and sometimes extended families and the elderly. Women are left needy and uneducated with a lack of skills to be employed, thus they find themselves in a vulnerable situation that opens doors to sexual exploitation. Gardam & Charlesworth (2000:154) argue that “there are increased reports of sexual exploitation in the Internally Displaced People’s (IDPs) camps against women and girls, especially those households with no male heads.” As basic needs are scarce in camps, these women have to leave the camps and travel long distances to look for basic needs at such times, they are vulnerable.

Another problem that many women face in camps is the lack of proper documentation. For example, when it comes to food distribution, these women are led to exchange sex for food. This situation happened in Burundi, Liberia, Congo and East Timor (Gardam & Charlesworth 2000:154). The Resolution would be applicable in preventing and responding to the gender based violence in these situations by enhancing the necessary legal frameworks, education and by having awareness programmes to sensitize women and girls to their rights and the dangers of HIV/AIDS. Protective measures should also be taken to ensure that the women are economically empowered so that they can be able to support themselves.

The UN Resolution 1325 spells out clearly that host governments have the responsibility to ensure that the special needs of women and girls in refugee camps and other forms of settlements are well taken care of. For example, there should be provision of medical treatment, reliable birth control and sanitary towels which seem to pose problems in the camps. It has been reported that often male relief workers and other officials ignore these issues seriously. The Resolution demands that women should be treated with the respect they deserve and it is the responsibility of the UN entities to ensure that they act accordingly (Gardam & Charlesworth, 2000:154).

In this regard, the Resolution demands that all parties to armed conflict should adhere to the international law governing the rights of women and girls in such environments. This is a critical point of the Resolution since it is calling on all member states to ensure that they take special measures to protect women and children and consequently it charges all the states to end impunity and to prosecute all those responsible for gender based violence.

Some progress has been made, especially in the protection of women and girls in camps. For example, in the Western Darfur region of Sudan, women constitute an estimated 80 percent of the refugees and in many cases have suffered from gender based violence. However, measures have been taken in that there are regular patrols by the Sudanese police and the African Union forces that have been protecting the women especially when they go out of the camps to fetch firewood. Furthermore, there has been an introduction of a fuel efficient stove which consumes less firewood and so the women have to go out of the camp less regularly searching for firewood. Other measures are by creating awareness-raising campaigns to sensitize people to the idea that any gender based violence is unacceptable, and that if it happens it should be reported since there are mechanisms that have been put in place to deal with such issues (Kvitashvili, 2007:18).

Gender based violence has also been recognized as a crime against humanity and a crime of war by the International Criminal Court. In this regard, governments are urged to cooperate with the latter court to bring the perpetrators to book. This can only be effective if cases of gender based violence are reported and recorded for accountability purposes and this will help to formulate protective measures to respond to such violence. The aim is to ensure that governments and parties in conflict are held accountable for any violations against women and to inform them that they have an obligation to protect women. For instance, if the United Nations and other humanitarian agencies are to provide assistance to IDPs, they must take into account all aspects that respond to the special needs of women. In case these special needs are not addressed, there is high risk that women and girls remain sexually exploited. This happened in Rwanda after the genocide where the traditions barred women from inheriting any property from their husbands. This situation left many women desolate and in abject poverty since they could not claim anything legally (Rahman, Lee, Contini and Schlieben, 2006).

There is also a link between conflict and gender-based exploitation by the peacekeeping staff and other UN personnel. In response to this, the UN has developed codes of conduct establishing “zero tolerance” for all UN staff who violate women sexually. This has been a commendable step to show that no one is above the law, since the codes came into use, over a hundred offenders in some countries like DRC are waiting to be tried. Since 2004, the UN has aggressively investigated with an aim to prosecute UN peacekeepers who are found guilty of sexual misconduct (S/2006/770).

2.4 Implementation Procedures to Security Council Resolution 1325

Two major themes that come out from the Resolution are preventative and remedial. The preventative strategies concern all member countries that are vulnerable and prone to conflicts especially those nations that are involved in high level of corruption and bad governance. The remedial strategies, however, are applicable to all countries whether in conflict or not. The Resolution calls on either the Secretary General or the member states to act on global issues, such as civil wars or armed conflicts, sexual violence perpetrated on women among others. The Resolution calls upon wealthier countries to offer both financial and technical resources to poor countries in order to curb the underlying causes of violence. These resources should be geared towards engendering peacekeeping missions, police and civilian forces that will be deployed to the troubled fields to ensure that civilians are protected. The resources are also meant to support peacebuilding processes and to ensure the prosecution of the perpetrators of war crimes (Abugre, 2008:24). Furthermore, countries that offer troops or civilian personnel have the obligation to train the latter before embarking on peacekeeping missions and to ensure that those found guilty of misconduct are severely punished.

In terms of implementation, two major studies were conducted, the first one focusing on women, peace and security while the second looked at women, war and peace. The former was in accordance with paragraph 16 of the Resolution which urged the Secretary General to conduct a study on the impact of armed conflict on women and girls, the role of women in peacebuilding and also the gender perspective of peace processes and conflict Resolution. It was conducted under the Inter-Agency Committee on Women and Gender Equality [IACWGE] headed by the Special Adviser to the Secretary General (Internet 7).

The latter study “Women, War and Peace” was conducted under the independent experts’ assessment on the impacts of armed conflict and women’s role in Peacebuilding (UNIFEM, 2004). The study focused on women not only as victims but also as potential contributors towards peace (Internet 8). The findings concluded that, while women are widely recognized as effective agents of peace, they still have little access to power and peace negotiations. The study also revealed that in today’s conflicts, women and girls suffer the worst violence since they are female and more so they are affected differently compared to men. Worse still, the perpetrators are never brought to justice since judicial systems are lacking in these conflict regions (Internet 9).

More recently, there has been a growing interest where the Security Council seeks to meet with women’s groups and civil societies in a bid to be updated on the progress of women and girls in conflict regions like Sierra Leone, Democratic Republic of Congo and Kosovo. In other cases, senior officials in the governments of member states have submitted their report detailing the various roles women are involved in like the peace processes and peacebuilding efforts. One such report was given in 2002 by the Minister for Women Affairs in Afghanistan. By 2009, 16 nations had developed their National Action Plans (NAPs) to help in the implementation of the Resolution. This is seen as a strategy to involve the national governments in this endeavour (Internet 10). The irony of the whole matter is that the Resolution is hardly known outside the UN Headquarters in New York and Brussels. The majority of women who are supposed to benefit and understand it are not aware of its existence. Peace talks continue to exclude women, peacekeepers, militaries and rebel groups continue to exploit women sexually during and post-conflict period (Anderlini, 2007:192).

It is imperative to ensure that all the details in every level of the peace support operations are monitored to ensure that they are gender sensitive. These include the political, military, civilian police, electoral assistance, human rights support, humanitarian assistance, peace building activities and public information. As was mentioned above, it will be necessary that the troops and the civilian police be trained on gender issues which will help them to understand and make them aware of how to treat the female staff and civilians.

2.4.1 Implementation at the United Nations Level

The implementation of the Resolution has also affected the United Nations Organization [UNO]. In an effort to implement UNSC 1325, the UN developed a System-Wide Action Plan for 2005-2006 which would help to have an inclusive and coherent approach. This plan was in line with the objectives of the Resolution, and again it was reviewed and updated for 2008-2009 with an aim of being more specific to the aims and having performance indicators, monitoring and also accountability which were lacking in the previous action plan. Performance indicators review for 2008-2009 will only be done in 2010 (Mayanja, 2009:1).

Other UN entities that are charged with implementation are the Office of the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) and the Office for Disarmament Affairs (ODA) which have developed their own action plans. UN-INSTRAW is also instrumental in giving technical advice and assisting governments in formulating their National Action Plans ensuring that the Resolution is implemented at the UN level and at the level of member countries and non-state entities (Internet 9).

In Article 2 of the Resolution, the Secretary General has set up a strategic plan to increase the participation of women in decision making with special reference to conflict resolution and peace processes. One of the strategies to incorporate more women in UNO is to target vacant posts and attribute them to competent women. This should be done gradually and systematically. In order to correct the existing imbalances in the organization, new measures will be introduced, such as career development, new performance appraisal system management training, culture change, reviewing of recruitment procedures and increased usage of technology so as to reach out more women who are qualified in all frontiers of the world. This will prepare and empower women as they take over important decision making posts at the UN level. Provisions have been made for those women who are married so as to allow their spouses to work in situations of relocation. This action helps to avoid sexual harassment which is known to be rife especially where a spouse lives apart from his/her partner (S/RES/1325/2000).

2.4.2 Implementation at a Country Level: Liberia

Member states have an obligation to implement Resolution 1325 both at the national and local levels. After fourteen years of civil war in Liberia (1989-2003) which utterly destroyed all major institutions and tore apart the social fabric and community cohesiveness, Liberia has now established a democratically elected government that is focused towards human development, equality and sustainable peace. Liberia can boast of itself as the only African country with a female president. Ellen Johnson Sirleaf was elected in 2005 after the end of the civil war, having been supported mostly by women voters. The government has the challenges of rebuilding the country and reconciliation. She is committed to fostering women rights (Popovic, 2009:3).

During the conflict years, there were serious human rights abuses including rape and gender based violence. Liberia's new government seeks to improve the national security and safety. It has also become an international center for women empowerment. In March 2008, Liberia was a host to an International Colloquium on Women's Empowerment, Leadership, Development, Peace and Security. The national action plan for implementing Resolution 1325 was also launched then. The main aim of the colloquium was to see how women can be empowered in all levels so that they can be effective leaders in governance at national and international levels. This is in line with the UNSC Resolution 1325 on participation by increasing the representation of women in all levels of decision making in both national and international institutions, encouraging the Secretary General to appoint more women and implementing the strategic plan of action (A/49/587). (Popovic, 2009:3; Liberia: Pre-Report, 2008).

Liberia has integrated many women's rights and advocacy into the government's mechanisms. It has also appointed many women into various senior leadership positions. The creation of Ministry of Gender is a clear step forward to confirm that women's issues are well taken care of, as it helps to empower women. Furthermore, there are five women who have been appointed as cabinet ministers who are heading very strategic departments like Foreign affairs, Justice, Finance, Commerce and Industry. Other women in leadership positions include foreign envoys. Currently there are a total of 5 women ambassadors holding key missions, namely China, Belgium, Germany, Ivory Coast and South Africa.

Other Liberian sectors that have incorporated women include the Supreme Court where 2 out of the 5 positions have been given to women, and even in the various courts nationally, women have been appointed as judges. It is also confirmed that out of the 30 Senators 5 are women with 8 representatives out of 64 (Popovic, 2009).

As Liberia continues to reconstruct, it is trying to ensure that both men and women are included so that effective peace can be realized. It is necessary to devise and put the necessary policies, programmes and institutions in place so that they can accommodate these post-conflict developments which ensures that the needs of women and girls are taken into consideration from the beginning. This includes the reintegration and rehabilitation of both male and female ex-combatants (approximately 40 percent of combatants were girl-soldiers). This will entail having a gender perspective approach for any sustainable peace (Popovic, 2009).

Liberia can be credited for good practice, for example in the United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL) there has been a high number of women peacekeepers. In February 2007, an exclusively women police unit from India was deployed to work with the Liberian blue helmets, and this was an extremely successful operation to the conflict resolution and peacekeeping mission, which acts as a role model to other local security sectors. By its presence, it has motivated many Liberian women to join the national security forces. The security sector, which is among those areas that are targeted for reform under the Security Sector Reform (SSR) hopes to achieve a 20 percent quota for women in both police and the army. According to President Johnson Sirleaf, the use of gender sensitive recruitment measures will be employed in these initiatives (Popovic, 2009). The equal inclusion of both men and women will help to adequately address the needs of the survivors of gender based violence, particularly focusing on the most vulnerable group. Although there has been a great challenge in the office of Gender Advisor of UNMIL (UNMIL-OGA), there has been a great positive contribution. For example, UNMIL-OGA has included 22,000 women in the DDR programme with funding from the international community. It is confirmed that, more than 13000 women have been reintegrated to various economic sectors, while, 11780 child soldiers have been demobilized (Popovic, 2009:10).

Sexual and gender based violence are viewed as one of the greatest violations of international humanitarian and human rights law in Liberia. Research done by the Ministry of Gender and Development in collaboration with the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare and the World Health Organization confirms that “rape accounted for 73.9 per cent of cases of sexual violence of those sampled during the years of civil war in Liberia, with members of the fighting forces viewed as the main perpetrators” (WHO, 2005-2006). There is still a wide scale of this violence that has continued to be reported on a daily basis although the figures are never accurate which means that it is of great concern to the government. Women are the most vulnerable group to HIV/AIDS and sexually transmitted diseases which means that more focused attention needs to be given to countering these problems. With HIV/AIDS being a security issue, it means that it can negatively impact on the social and economic welfare of the country. Further, the peacekeeping forces and the humanitarian workers are also accused of sexual exploitation of the local women living in the location of their operation. Some of the women and girls are led to give in due to the hard economic conditions they find themselves in some lack skills to get employment so for their survival they exchange sex for money.

UN Resolution 1325 has the relevant authority to be able to deal with all these violations. By invoking the articles on protection of women and girls against gender based violence and also by ensuring that perpetrators are prosecuted, Resolution 1325 can be made to work. With the support of various NGOs and UN agencies, Liberia has committed itself to implementing Resolution 1325. UN-INSTRAW has been instrumental in ensuring that the Ministry of Gender and Development formulates the National Action Plan which will assist in implementing the Resolution. In support of this, in 2006 the UN-INSTRAW published a Security, Equality, Engendering Peace Guide to Policy and Planning on Women, Peace and Security. This process is participatory and inclusive. The National Action Plan’s framework was initiated in 2007 and consulted widely from Government agencies, women’s groups, civil societies and key stakeholders and UN agencies.

There are many programmes that are being implemented by the NGOs, one example being the Christian Children's Fund (CCF). The latter has made efforts to assist in reintegrating the women and girls who were involved in armed conflict through psychosocial care, skills training, educational and livelihood grants. Girls who are willing to go to school are also assisted with school fees, books and uniforms (Ward & Marsh, 2006:20).

2.5 Summary

This chapter discussed the rationale, the aims and the implementation procedures of the UN Resolution 1325 which deals with matters pertaining to the prevention and protection of women against violence. Discussion of these matters was preceded by an explanation of the content of Resolution 1325. It was stated that the Resolution came into effect as a consequence of what women and girls undergo during armed conflicts. This chapter gave details of the accounts and forums that took place before this Resolution found core values among the UN member states to ratify its inception. It was argued that this Resolution had three aims, which included the participation of women in decision making; the integration of gender perspectives and training in peacekeeping operations and finally the protection of women from gender based violence in conflict zones. This chapter also discussed the implementation of UN Resolution 1325 and the role that governments of member states such as Liberia can play to allow a full implementation of the Resolution in their national plans.

CHAPTER THREE: THE IMPACT OF RESOLUTION 1325

3.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the impact that Resolution 1325 has brought globally in respect of reducing gender based violence, with special reference to what women and girls undergo in times of war. The Resolution was unanimously adopted on October 31, 2000. The Council suggested that the UN system, the national, regional and non-state actors have the obligation to adopt the Resolution in their action plans. This calls for all UN entities, especially those whose mandates fall under peace and security:

- To develop gender actions plans that will encapsulate gender perspectives.
- To facilitate the participation of women in decision making levels in conflict resolutions and peace processes.
- To provide systems that will gather information related to the situation of women in armed conflict.
- To look at the role of women in conflict prevention and peacebuilding and for the member states to be committed to follow and apply the Resolution in their action plans on gender issues.

It also calls for the UN Secretary-General to appoint as many women as possible as his Special Representatives or Special Envoys.

This chapter will first define performance indicators against which operative measures will be evaluated. The performance indicators will show the extent of participation by women in decision making processes, the integration of gender perspectives in peacekeeping operations and the protection of women from gender based violence in conflict zones. Lastly the chapter gives a summary of the key findings emerging from the chapter.

In order to properly assess the impact of Resolution 1325, there is a need for a number of widely-accepted performance indicators (PIs) which are measurable, year by year, in quantitative terms. This research will rely largely on qualitative data, supplemented by quantitative data where data are available.

3.2 Performance Indicators

Performance Indicators (PIs) are quantifiable measurements agreed to beforehand, that reflect the critical success factors of an organization (Reh, undated:1). According to Bullen, PIs measure a piece of important and useful information about the performance of a programme or are a comparison of facts to one or many criteria which are monitored at regular intervals (Bullen 1991:1). PIs help to answer the many questions of performance of an institution, organisation, programme, project or action plan and to devise strategies for improvement.

Visitask, (2004-2009) states that, “before any selection of Performance Indicators, it is critical to ensure that the organization’s goals are clearly set out and by devising criteria to gauge how well the organization is achieving the set goals, the organization is able to know its position”. Collins (2009) adds that PIs should be measurable and should reflect organizational goals.

According to the United Nations Statistics Commission (2008:92), PIs can be described as a measure of quantity which reflects the conditions and the functioning of an organization, including the distributive trade sector or its units. PIs can also be used in various fields in peacebuilding. Hochfeld & Bassadien, (2007:217) define Gender Indicators (GIs) as those instruments that examine the impact of related peacebuilding projects on gender related issues. According to the UNDP (2007), GIs measure those indicators that are sex-aggregated, meaning those that have separate indicators for men and women.

In order for PIs to be valuable, it is necessary for them to be defined in a very specific way and be measured accurately. Hence, it is determined in advance how the indicator will be valued whether in weights or units. This will help in devising clear targets that are carefully communicated to the entire organization. For example, the World Bank, International Monetary Fund and Governments use Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per capita and its rate of growth to measure economic growth and economic development. This comprises the normal average standard of living in a country (Walby, 2005:373).

3.3 Gender Performance Indicators

According to Lorber (1994) in Moghadam & Senftova (2005:390), gender can be defined as “structural or social relationships in which economic, political and cultural resources are distributed unequally”. Gender performance indicators consist of sex-disaggregated measurements showing separate data for men and women for the various activities being considered (Moser, 2007).

However, as far as gender perspectives are concerned, there are various debates on how to devise gender indicators. For example, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the Millennium Development Goals (MDG) and the European Union (EU) have attempted to develop gender indicators. The UNDP has developed indices describing the level of human development with regard to longevity which is an indicator of health and education (UNDP, 1999). It has also developed the Gender-related Development Index (GDI) and Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM). The latter measures female empowerment and comprises three indicators that are the proportion of women in parliament, the proportion of women in top jobs (professional, technical, administrative and managerial) and the female share of earned income (UNDP, 1999). Furthermore, the MDG aims at developing indicators that have data to measure progress on development. It comprises 18 initiatives which include the eradication of poverty and hunger, achievement of universal primary education and basic health among others (MDG, 2004).

Lopez-Claros & Zahidi (2005:2) confirm that women have great potential as active participants in the affairs of the nations. Hence gender-sensitive indicators are important as they help governments to plan better gender mainstream programmes, identify the gaps that occur and revise projects so that greater gender equality can be achieved. For instance, by looking at gender sensitive budgets, governments will benefit from better planning and reallocating funds to the relevant places. In Mongolia, the UNDP conducted a study whose findings showed that women had been denied their rightful share in government allocated projects, which became the basis of launching a national wide lobby into developing gender sensitive policies. This has been embraced by the Ministry of Finance which agreed to integrate gender budgeting and equality. The government of Mongolia has appointed a gender specialist in the Ministry of Finance (Moser 2007). Gender indicators can be used

to hold governments accountable to their commitments. They can identify the gaps that occur and this offers an opportunity for any expression of dissatisfaction of inequality to be voiced.

There are different forms of conceptualizing how to harmonize gender equality. Walby (2005:374) suggests three types of gender equality to include: equality through sameness, equal valuation of difference and lastly the transformation of gender practices and standards of evaluation. Among the three approaches, the last one is seen as the most likely concept that qualifies for gender mainstreaming (Walby, 2005). Rees (1998) concurs in that this is the only concept that is potentially able to bring about gender equality.

Gender mainstreaming is highlighted as a key component in developing policies to advance women. Karame (2004:14) defines gender mainstreaming as *“a strategy for making women as well as men’s concerns and experiences an integral dimension of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programmes in all political, economic and societal spheres so that women and men benefit equally, thus avoiding perpetuation of inequality”*. The ultimate goal is to achieve gender equality. In order to evaluate gender inequality, it is necessary to devise gendered indicators which are linked to gender disaggregated statistics. In order for gender mainstreaming and the gender equality policies to be implemented, certain instruments that are specifically developed for that purpose need to be applied such as “gender impact assessment” and “gender budgeting” together with “indicators”, “benchmarking” “targets” and “gender disaggregated statistics” (Walby, 2005:376).

Gender impact assessment is considered as an important component as it evaluates the level of the gender repercussion of a certain project. On the other hand, gender budgeting reverses the belief that financial matters do not concern women and will ensure that there is gender equality right in the high echelons of decision making levels. This constitutes disaggregation of the budget by gender which will portray how gendered projects are funded differently (Walby, 2005). There is the emphasis of equality and transparency which have been recommended by the Organisation of Economic Co-operation and Development [OECD] as a good practice (Walby, 2005:376).

In order to develop measures of progress of women, key objectives and goals need to be created. The desired changes need to be pointed out in order to reach the goals and finally choose those indicators that will allow those changes to be achieved. There are various methods that can be used to produce data showing gender inequalities. However, researchers have resorted to combining both quantitative and qualitative methods and using participatory approaches so that the respondents are part and parcel of the research (Moser, 2007:11). Moser & Moser (2005) state that despite the efforts that have been made by various organizations to get gender mainstreaming findings, there is a significant lack of indicators to measure the outcomes and impacts.

As far as gender empowerment is concerned, this takes a different course since the term empowerment has different meanings for various people. For example, Kabeer, (2001:19) defines gender empowerment as “the expansion in people’s ability to make strategic life choices in a context where this ability was previously denied to them”. This means that there are different issues that comprise empowerment that indicators may not be able to measure. However, there are three approaches that have been in use so far and they include: access to resources, agency and achievements (Moser, 2007:26).

Measuring gender-based violence is another aspect. Gender-based violence can be defined as “physical, sexual or psychological abuse inflicted on the basis of a person’s gender” (Moser 2007:27). This definition varies depending on different regions of the world; therefore it is difficult to have a uniform measurement. This is also compounded by the lack of data and low level of reporting. Gender based violence is also considered a sensitive issue as it does not allow women and girls to open up for fear of further violence. Therefore, it is important to address this fear, and assure the confidentiality of any information given. The World Health Organisation has made efforts by devising ethical and safety guidelines applicable for researchers involved in GBV and also offer specialized training (WHO, 2001). Approaches to measuring GBV can be expensive; however, the alternative ways would be to incorporate it with other programmes like sexual and reproductive health programmes, as was done in Venezuela.

Walby (2005) states that the UN Resolution on women is a platform where women's lives can be improved. This has posed a challenge to the world countries to see the full implementation of the issues agreed upon at the 1995 Beijing Platform for Action. Since then, several meetings have been held such as the one held in 2005 to review the progress of the implementation. Finding a mechanism of reliable measurement of progress is a highly contested issue by the UNDP, for example the question as to whether to use the usual measurements for economic growth or to replace them with another measure.

3.4 Devising Appropriate Indicators for Resolution 1325

The system-wide Action Plan was developed first in 2005 for the purpose of enhancing commitment and accountability and to have a better mechanism to monitor and report back on the implementation of the Resolution (S/2005/636).

The Secretary General is mandated to update, monitor and review the implementation of the Resolution and then report back to the Security Council annually. The first report was given in October 2006. In total there were 269 actions considered. In the 2006 report, it was noted that as much as there was progress in the implementation, there were gaps and challenges that needed to be filled in terms of the action plans which needed to be revised to include essential elements like "baseline data, performance indicators and timelines as effective tools for measuring performance as required" (S/2006/770 para12).

The Secretary General delegated the office of Special Adviser on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women to undertake the assessment of this implementation of system-wide action plan in collaboration with all the relevant stakeholders and the United Nations entities. The aim was to check on implementation in the UN entities in terms of monitoring, reporting, accountability procedures and integration of gender perspectives. In order to reach the objectives, the above information was sought on three critical areas, which include the achievements, the gaps or challenges experienced in implementation and suggestions for action in future. Twelve areas of action were defined and divided according to the UN entities. These areas include: conflict prevention, peacebuilding and peacemaking, humanitarian responses, post-conflict reconstruction and rehabilitation, disarmament, demobilization and reintegration, gender balance, monitoring and reporting

among others. The second review covered the years 2005-2007, and planning for the 2008-2009 Action Plan was also finalised (S/2007/567).

3.4.1 Participation of Women in Decision Making Processes

The first initiative on participation of women in decision making focuses on having a gender balance in every sphere of decision making. This is in accordance with the spirit of the Resolution which calls on every member state to include women in decision making and in all peace processes starting from negotiations to post-conflict activities. They are also urged to increase the number of women at all decision making levels. Member states are also required to support those local peace initiatives for women and to consult with the international women's groups. Further, they are to forward suitable candidates for consideration by the Secretary General as special representatives and envoys, military observers, civilian police and humanitarian personnel, in order to ensure that a gender balance prevails in these initiatives. This also applies to the judiciary, prosecutors and peacekeepers.

Women's capacity to be involved in post-conflict recovery efforts will depend on both the physical security and to a larger extent, how they are exposed to economic and political opportunities. But many times, due to the male dominance, women feel incapacitated to push for these opportunities. Thus, it is necessary to ensure that both women and men have positive influence in decision making and in resource allocations. It would be futile to have larger numbers of parliamentarians whose influence is not felt. In some countries, it has become necessary to take measures, for example to have quotas to ensure that women are included in those key posts. Many countries that have managed the 30% women representation have done so through the measures of a proportional representation electoral system or electoral quotas. Quotas are integrated in peace negotiations and in the constitutions. The quota system has worked successfully in some countries propelling women into high political and public offices. Relevant performance indicators would be the number of women who are present in the peace talks or those who are in the cabinet posts. This indicator for participation can be equated by looking at the percentage of women who have been recruited in the relevant positions, which also includes the special representatives and envoys, military observers, civilian police, human rights and

humanitarian personnel. (UNIFEM, 2008:1, Open Debate).

It is not easy to obtain such information from the negotiations and peace processes due to their sensitivity. It can be confirmed that since 2000, out of the five peace agreements that were held (namely Afghanistan, Burundi, DRC, Darfur and Uganda), women averaged 7% of the negotiators. In about 14 peace talks, women were 2.7% of the signatories. In Liberia (2003), Darfur (2008) and in Uganda (2008), more women participated as observers. This has given women opportunities to get involved in the maintenance of peace and security. It is reported that women have also been involved in those informal briefings using their peace groups and the negotiators which have been quite influential in bringing positive changes in Uganda, Burundi, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Nepal, Timor and Somalia (UNIFEM, 2008:1, Open Debate).

According to the Beijing Platform for Action Plan, the benchmark for women in positions of decision making is 30%. This goal is also in the Millennium Development Goal 3, referred to as “critical mass”. Critical Mass ensures that women in cabinet occupy a third of the seats in the legislatures globally as a strategy to achieve gender equality. Unfortunately records indicate that this mark is far from being achieved. Cool (2008:2) reveals that “as of 31 July 2008, the proportion of women in parliaments around the world stood at 18.2%”. This is an eight percentage point increase since 1998. Rwanda has more women parliamentarians (56 %) than men and the government of Rwanda has nominated women in key positions, such as the Speaker of Parliament, the Foreign Minister, Supreme Court Chief and the Police Commissioner General (Cool, 2008:2). By July 2008, twenty one countries in the world had reached the 30% bench mark and among these countries, a quarter of them are from Nordic countries. As countries emerge from post-conflict, such as Burundi, Mozambique, Rwanda and South Africa, a number have taken advantage of the reconciliation and peacebuilding efforts to support a more inclusive decision making processes and also by implementing new electoral and political party practices (Cool, 2008:2).

3.4.2 The Integration of Gender Perspectives and Training in Peacekeeping Operations

The UN peacekeeping mission's mandate is to create sustainable peace. Peacekeepers work under difficult circumstances which include rampant gender based violence, cultural beliefs which dictate gender roles and the prevalent inequality of power relations between them and the local population. It is therefore important to ensure that these issues are addressed. This can only be possible by the integration of gender perspectives into every phase of the peacekeeping mission operations. One way in which this is possible is to incorporate a gender perspective in all the aspects of peacekeeping training.

The Security Council is very explicit on the mandate to mainstream gender perspectives in peacekeeping operations. For gender mainstreaming to be successful, it will require that the process is introduced from the initial stages of cease fire to post-conflict. It needs to be monitored and reviewed so as to check if it is achieving the objectives that have been formulated. Hence the policies and the interventions need to be analysed often to confirm that the gender equality prevails and to ensure that the host population is also fully integrated into the functions of the missions (UNDPKO, 2005).

The system-wide Action Plan emphasis here is on gender mainstreaming. The Department of Peacekeeping Operations has made efforts to ensure that there is gender equality in the peacekeeping operations. There is also a positive development in the area of integrating gender expertise in the peacekeeping directives resulting in an increase in the gender advisers employed. In total, there are 13 full time gender advisers in the UN whose duty is to give technical advice to the field missions on matters related to gender mainstreaming. Gender advisers are stationed in missions in Liberia, Burundi, Chad, Democratic Republic of Congo, Lebanon, Nepal and Sudan. Records indicate that "as of July 2005, 3,190 women were serving in UN peacekeeping missions out of 12,869 civilian personnel or 25 per cent of the total" (Abugre, 2008:32).

3.4.3 Protection from Gender Based Violence

Violence against women originates from unequal power relations between men and women. In order for this to be reversed, women need to be empowered. National Governments are working towards institutional legal reforms which are aimed at ending gender based violence. In this context, the United Nations Secretary General has launched the Unite to End Violence against Women Campaign in 2008 “calling on governments, civil society, private sectors and the entire United Nations system to meet this challenge by 2015, the deadline for achieving the Millennium Development Goals” (UNIFEM, 2008: 10).

How to monitor and evaluate GBV has been a challenge. How then, do you create relevant indicators that will be able to measure the output desired? Looking at the issue of ending impunity with regard to GBV, UNIFEM and UNFPA organized training for the police in Southern Sudan on gender. The international Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda conducted training for the Rwandese practitioners to improve their skills on their duties as the prosecutors of the genocide perpetrators. At present “33 judgements have been handed down, comprising of 28 convictions, including 4 rape charges” (S/2007/567:10).

In the initiative of protection, UNHCR provides sanitary materials for those women and girls of reproductive age that are living in refugee camps or receiving assistance. As it was pointed out earlier, women and girls are often at risk since they are economically needy with no means of survival so they easily fall prey to men and are ready to exchange sex for food or cash to buy their necessities. In order to ensure that girls are empowered by going to school, it is necessary that they are provided with the sanitary towels to give them dignity. For the women too, they will be able to feel dignified and therefore to participate in other activities if they feel comfortable. In this regard, indicators can be measured by looking at the number of country operations that have been able to supply and meet this need 100 per cent in accordance with the UNHCR guidelines. In this respect, the UNHCR has responded by ensuring that sanitary towels are provided with the normal supplies to women (Gardam & Charlesworth, 2000:154).

UNHCR in collaboration with other partners are seeking other alternative means of cooking and also to support the gathering of firewood. Other NGOs are willing to assist in this initiative which is expected to enhance the protection of women. If women and girls are provided with other alternative means of fuel for cooking, it will reduce their exposure to violence as they will avoid going out to the forests to search for firewood. This will also allow women to have more time to engage in other productive activities and allow girls to attend schools. Here the developed indicator by the UNHCR is the number of country operations that are providing fuel or firewood so that the women and girls are not exposed to the SGBV (Gardam & Charlesworth, 2000:154).

In Western Darfur region of Sudan camps, women constitute an estimated 80 percent of the refugees who in most cases have suffered from gender based violence. However, measures have been taken in that there are regular patrols by the Sudanese police and the African Union forces that have been protecting women, especially when they go out of the camps to fetch firewood. Moreover, there has been an introduction of a fuel efficient stove which consumes less firewood and so the women do not have to go out of the camp as frequently searching for firewood (Kvitashvili 2007:18).

3.5 The Impact of Resolution 1325

Taking stock of what has been accomplished, the Resolution has been translated into 60 languages including the indigenous languages. It has also been distributed widely through various mediums making it known broadly. Undoubtedly, Resolution 1325 has seen itself affecting the operating procedures of both the UN system and its entities on issues of women, peace and security. Other various global bodies have reviewed their policies to accommodate and focus on women participation and gender perspectives in peacekeeping operations. It has also been entrenched into the legal and political frameworks of regional bodies, such as the European Union and the African Union. The latter has mainstreamed gender in its initiatives. In Latin America, there are several legal and policy initiatives on women, peace and security like the Inter-American Convention on the Prevention, Punishment and Eradication of Violence against Women (Internet 10).

To the UN, this is a time bomb that has not been seen. *“As feminists know, consciousness-raising is not just talk; it is powerful action in itself and Resolution 1325 is virtual consciousness-raising on a global scale. Furthermore, it was the creation primarily of the African women, putting a lie to the old slander about feminism being a strictly North American imposition; more significantly still, the Resolution has been taken to heart, used and advanced by grassroots women around the world”* (Landsberg, 2003).

3.5.1 Participation of Women in Decision Making Processes

At least 16 countries have been able to formulate National Action Plans, and this is a step forward to helping in the implementation of the Resolution S/2009/465. A number of member states are working to ensure that they increase the number of women in parliament, judiciary, military and the police force. There has been inclusion of women in matters of development and revision of constitutions and electoral laws; this will help to ensure that gender issues are included since these are opportunities that involve women through public hearings and consultations which make them part and parcel of the whole process. With voter education and making the population aware of the details of whole process; in a country like Eritrea, women have been actively involved in the constitution drafting through songs, dances, poems, radio and thereafter shows using the local languages. In Rwanda, women were at the forefront, creating awareness programmes throughout the country. Today, data confirm that the number of women in public offices has increased although this does not translate into influencing public policy and resource allocation. Most of the positions that the women are given are those dealing with social welfare issues which are not really critical decision making positions to change policies like the security, budget and foreign policies (UNIFEM, 2008).

Although a study conducted by the Inter-Parliamentary Union has found out that women bring a difference in politics, they also are careful to prioritize women issues. For example a study done in 2008 on UK politics shows that with the increase of women representation to 18.2 percent, women’s issues have also been mainstreamed into policy and political debate. It also confirms that when women occupy public offices, they become accountable to women and keep a close contact as they socialize with grassroots women. If there are local women who are decision makers, they tend to have an impact on how services are

delivered especially to the women and children. For example, Brazil's Congress managed to secure various laws advancing women's rights, domestic violence, sexual harassment and also legislation on women's health and maternity benefits (UNIFEM, 2008:27).

Recent significant measures where Resolution 1325 has had an impact have been noted in Africa in regard to the participation of women in decision making where it has been fully incorporated and is contained in both the African Union's 2005 Protocol, the African Charter on Human and People's Rights on the rights of women, the 2004 Heads of State Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa where the signatories are committed to increase women participation in decision making positions. This regional commitment supports efforts made to implement Resolution 1325. This can be confirmed as a great step in that women occupy 50 per cent of the commissioners in the AU. The AU has created a new post of Directorate on Women, Gender and Development based at the offices of the AU's then chairperson Alpha Konare, with the responsibility of attending to all issues pertaining to gender. The AU is committed to see that gender equity prevails in all its offices and this has been ingrained in its constitution. Thus, the Gender Directorate at the AU Commission in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia has committed itself to gender mainstreaming in every AU policy and programme. This is a great step towards women's involvement in participation and it is greatly welcomed. An envoy was also appointed charged with the responsibility of investigating GBV in the Darfur region. Other regional organizations have followed suit to ensure that gender disparity is reduced (UNIFEM, 2005:7).

Other positive developments are that the post-conflict countries have a great potential for more increased political participation of women; in this regard, one can look at the example of Liberia, which made history by electing Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf its president (the first African woman president) in the year 2005. Other examples of participation of women in politics are v Burundi, Mozambique and Sao Tome where women are vice presidents and Principe where there is a woman Prime Minister. Rwanda has the world's highest number of women in parliament. The parliaments of Rwanda, South Africa and Mozambique are ranked among the 17 top parliaments in the world in the area of women representation (UNIFEM, 2005:7).

Resolution 1325 has also been embraced by other regional bodies in Africa like the Southern African Development Community (SADC), the Economic Community of West Africa (ECOWAS) and the Inter Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD). IGAD and SADC have integrated their policies and programmes with a gender perspective (S/2008/622).

UNIFEM has been at the forefront of championing the implementation of the Resolution. With the collaboration of the UN Department of Political Affairs, they have focused on supporting women's involvement in the peace processes like in Uganda for a period of 18 months. This has been made possible by seconding a gender advisor in the Secretary General's Special Envoy to Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) areas. This has been very beneficial in that the Uganda Women's Coalition for Peace has been strengthened and motivated so they had a chance to brief the negotiators (UNIFEM, 2008:1Open Debate).

In the peace process, progress has been made, for example in Cote d'Ivoire, the Framework for women participation in the implementation of political agreement of Ouagadougou is charged with women affairs of organizations signatories to the peace agreement to ensure their full participation(S/2008/622 para.39). Landsberg confirms that "In Burundi, an all party Women's conference, organized in part by UNIFEM, led to a 50-woman delegation proposing their vision for peace and reconciliation to mediator Nelson Mandela". This proved fruitful in that, 19 of the recommendations put forward were adopted (Landsberg, 2003:1).

In the UNO, the Secretary General has appointed women in various senior positions in peacekeeping missions. By July 2009, 3 women became Head of Mission (Nepal, Liberia and Central African Republic). There were also six deputies to Head of Mission (Burundi, Chad, the DRC, Lebanon, Liberia and Sudan). Others were in the DPKO, 5 women occupied positions of Under-Secretary General and Assistant Secretary General, while more than 20 others served at the level of directors. There has been a 13 percent increment from 2007 to 2009 on women in key position in the field missions (S/2009/465 para.56).

In the course of its mission, the Security Council (SC) has engaged with the local women's groups, networks, women parliamentarians and ministers to chart the way forward for the inclusion of women to participate in the political and electoral processes and how women and girls can be protected from gender based violence. We see this happening in Djibouti on matters concerning Somalia in 2008 where the SC supported the successful participation of women engaging with the Somali parties in the peace process (S/2008/622). This serves to confirm that the SC is ready to work closely with the civil society at the grassroots level which is important as it helps in gathering information and get feedback from them.

There is a concern that women are continually left out from the peace tables and are under-represented or never appointed as representatives of United Nations in the conflict areas. This occurs even where opportunities arise, for example, women's rights group activists who sought to be part of peace talks from DRC were excluded from the peace process. UNIFEM as cited in UNSC (S/2009/465) has confirmed that in a sample of the 21 major peace agreements since 1992, only 2.4 per cent women were signatories. There has been no woman who has ever been appointed as a chief mediator in any of the United Nations sponsored peace talks. A positive example is that of Graca Machel, appointed by the African Union as one of the mediators in the post election Kenyan violence in 2008.

3.5.2 Integration of Gender Perspectives and Training in Peacekeeping

From the time of the adoption of Resolution 1325, the Department of Peacekeeping Operations has taken it upon itself to reinforce institutional mechanisms for gender mainstreaming in all areas of peacekeeping including: the development of gender units in all peacekeeping operations and the engagement of a gender adviser at the headquarters. By 2008, 13 full-time gender advisers were serving in the UN peacekeeping operations. These advisers are able to monitor and give technical advice to the mission heads on the progress of gender mainstreaming in the mission. They support and ensure that they integrate those issues that are important to the promotion of women rights in the communities they are based in, and they are also at hand to guide the other staff who are deployed in the other departments within the UN, like the DDR, police personnel, election officials, military and all the human rights. There has also been the development of gender resource package and training materials to assist in sensitizing the peacekeepers and the

UN staff. The United Nations Volunteers programme (UNV) has a total of 19 gender specialists. This is a great improvement on women information and gender issues in both the mission fields and in the offices (S/2008/622).

For missions that lack full-time Gender Advisers, arrangements have been made which establish gender focal points charged with the responsibility of acting as gender advisers since they are full time employees. On training, a manual has been produced which will assist in training peacekeeping personnel prior to deployment. This will help them to know how to interact with the females in the mission and the population that they are serving in the field (S/2008/622).

Abugre (2008:8) reported that 15 women special advisors have been appointed, which shows a great commitment and that since February 2007, about 40 percent women are serving in senior civilian positions. The Secretary General's report (2004) confirms that "The peacekeeping and humanitarian arenas have seen the most dramatic improvement in terms of new policies, gender expertise and training initiatives" (It is further indicated that there is no other area of peace and security where gender perspectives are entrenched systematically in issues of planning, implementing monitoring and also in reporting.

In the field of training policies, all the UN organisations agreed to follow training policies that were developed by the UN System Staff College in 2006 and were agreed upon by all the executive heads. The resulting manual will go a long way towards bringing coordination and coherence within the UN systems. Furthermore, the Secretary General's High-Level Panel on the System-wide Coherence (2006) made various recommendations aimed at bringing adjustments and gender coherence (Landsberg, 2003:1).

Member countries like Argentina, Croatia, Slovakia, Mexico, Romania and South Africa have sought to revise certain policies that are discriminatory. Member countries have also taken steps to improve access to services and equal opportunities like the armed forces to advance women professionally in a bid to increase their representation in those sectors that are male dominated (S/2008/622).

Other positive impacts according to Lynes and Torry (2005:20) include:

- Germany, has committed itself to select more personnel who have gender expertise while recruiting.
- India, which has the highest number of peacekeeping troops in the UN, has worked towards incorporating gender training, prior to any troops being deployed for any mission.
- Namibia has been very active in ensuring that gender perspectives including HIV/AIDS are integrated in the training manuals of all its uniformed personnel.

3.5.3 Protection of Women from Gender Based Violence

On prosecution of and amnesty for the perpetrators of war crimes, the onus is on the respective governments to prosecute the perpetrators of war crimes against humanity, genocide and sexual violence. The United Nations Tribunal for Rwanda and former Yugoslavia together with the International Criminal Court have been created to try to reconcile, on one hand, the peace agreements where an amnesty clause is applicable; and, on the other hand, the goal of ending impunity. A case where Resolution 1325 has been successfully implemented is the 1999 Lome Peace Agreement, ending the war in Sierra Leone which nullified the blanket amnesty that had been granted to those perpetrators of crimes against humanity, genocide and other gross violations of international humanitarian law (S/RES/1325/2000 para.11).

Reports continue to confirm that sexual violence has continued to escalate in areas like Eastern DRC and Darfur region in Sudan. Statistics confirm that “South Kivu in Eastern DRC, there were 27,000 reported rapes in 2006. In Liberia levels of sexual violence in the IDP’s camps were so high that almost 80 percent of women and girls had been subjected to attacks” (WHO: 2005). The report notes that these rapes are so brutal such that most of the victims are left with permanent injuries; the ‘destruction of the vagina’ has been referred to as “an officially recorded war injury in Congo” (UNIFEM, 2008:2 Open debate).

Despite the effort that has been made to address social-economic needs in the conflict areas, the nature of conflicts limits what can be done. This means that unless those basic needs of women are adequately addressed and taken into account, gender mainstreaming will not be effective. In response to the escalation of rape and sexual violence in the conflict areas, Resolution 1820 was adopted on 19th June 2008 to specifically deal with this violence. Resolution 1820 will come a long way to assist in implementing Resolution 1325 on the issue of protection of women against GBV (UNIFEM, 2008:2; Popovic, 2009).

UNIFEM continues to advocate for the full implementation of Resolution 1325. In May 2008, UNIFEM together with the DPKO engaged with the ex-force commanders (and police commissioners) from peacekeeping missions and passed specific guidelines and incentives for peacekeepers to use in their field operations. These guidelines will be useful in improving women's threats to security and also strategising on the means used by the peacekeepers, police and civilians to respond. (UNIFEM 2008:2; Merry, 2009).

3.6 Summary

All the efforts by the UN through Resolution 1325 acknowledge that there cannot be any security without security for women both in public and in private areas, especially where post-conflict violence against women does not stop. In some circumstances, violence against women increases, hence the situation cannot be referred to be stable or secure. It is also imperative that perpetrators of war crimes against women need to be prosecuted especially for those states emerging from war. By doing so, they will be sending strong messages that there is no room for impunity and it will be a strong indicator for zero tolerance for any perpetrator.

Although the UN Secretary General has come under heavy criticisms for limited GBV protection of women and girls, the Secretary General continues to strategise moves on how to address this violence. In 2008 he launched a campaign dubbed "Unite to End Violence against Women". This is a deliberate move to sensitize the masses and to condemn strongly this crime of sexual violence as a tactic of war. The United Nations is urged to support this campaign whole heartedly and for the member states, it is expected that this will lead to the prosecution of all the perpetrators of the GBV against women and girls.

Therefore, there is need for a paradigm shift which means a transformation needs to take place in accordance with the particular situation and addressing it accordingly. This has happened in India whereby an all-female police contingent was deployed in Liberia. This has made a positive impact to Liberia that has seen an increased number of women applicants in the police force (Mayanja, 2009:4).

It is a fact that Resolution 1325 has been entrenched into the international law as mentioned earlier. In the Rwandan case of Akayesu, this will be quoted and used on all cases of GBV as it has paved the way for sexual violence against women and girls to be treated as a war crime.

In the African context, the Protocol on the Rights of Women which is a supplement of the African Charter on Human and People's Rights has already been ratified by 30 countries. Its broad legal framework seeks to advance African human rights. Its incorporation and reference to Resolution 1325 gives it synergy to advance women issues. For example, a breakthrough that has come about is that, "for the first time in the International law, it spells out explicitly the reproductive rights of women to medical abortion when pregnancy results from rape or incest, or when the continuation of the pregnancy calls for the legal prohibition of female genital mutilation" (Abugre, 2008:35). The protocol is also credited for instituting a law to curb female genital mutilation.

This chapter has tried to expound on the performance indicators, their definitions and their purposes. It went on to show the System-wide Action Plans that were developed to be used by all the United Nations entities to help in implementation of Resolution 1325 in line with its aims of participation of women, integration of gender perspectives and training in peacekeeping operations and finally in the protection of women and girls from gender based violence. Finally the chapter has also enumerated the impact that Resolution 1325 has had both internationally, regionally and at the national level of the member countries.

CHAPTER FOUR: COMPARING THE UN RESOLUTION 1325 WITH THE SUCCESSFUL LANDMINES CAMPAIGN

4.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the landmines campaign which is celebrated as one of the most successful campaigns in the world in order to see what lessons can be learned for Resolution 1325 on women, peace and security. The landmine campaign is stipulated in the United Nations Resolution 52/38 A, which deals with the Convention on the Prohibition of the Use, Stockpiling, Production and Transfer of Anti-personnel mines and their destruction.

There are many kinds of landmines that still exist and are still killing people in post-conflict zones. Most of the time, warring parties use anti-personnel mines, targeting people and cluster munitions that are destined to blast heavy vehicles or military tanks. According to Landmines monitor, “Landmines are victim-activated and indiscriminate, whoever triggers the mine, whether a child or a soldier, becomes its victim”. Cluster Munitions “consist of containers and sub-munitions launched from the ground or the air, the containers open and disperse sub-munitions over a wide area, putting civilians at risk” (Landmines Monitor, 2009:i).

The attempt to ban the use of landmines can be traced back in the 1970s when several attempts were made to curb the use of mines. It is only after the fall of Berlin Wall and the end of the Cold War that this was a success (Hubert, 2000). Several NGOs acknowledged that there were millions of landmines that polluted many countries all over the world and that they were a threat to humankind. It was becoming very clear that in order to remove the scourge, it was necessary to do away with the weapons completely. There was also an attempt by the International Committee of Red Cross (ICRC) to revive the old humanitarian law which saw the UN adopting the Convention on Certain Conventional Weapons (CCW). However, this Convention which came into effect in 1980 had shortcomings in that it only controlled certain weapons like the landmines but had no power for a total ban of anti-personnel mines. Hence there was a need to have the CCW reviewed and to have a comprehensive international accord which was able to specifically ban the weapon (English, 1998:122).

In October 1992, six non-governmental organizations namely Handicap International, Human Rights Watch, Medico International, Mines Advisory Group, Physicians for Human Rights and Vietnam Veterans of America Foundation joined together and formed the International Campaign to Ban Landmines (ICBL) with a “joint call to ban anti-personnel landmines” (Williams, 1998:35). With concerted efforts, these NGOs demanded for an end to the use, the production, the trade and the stockpiling of mines. The campaign gained support and there was a growing pressure to the governments to ban landmines with the famous Jody Williams, an NGO activist who was hired to take on this campaign. By 1996, there was global support whereby, 50 governments convened in Ottawa (Canada) and unanimously acknowledged that to ban anti-personnel landmines was eminent. Shortly in 14 months, a treaty was drafted by Austria with the backing of 50 governments, NGOs affiliated to the ICBL, the United Nations and international organizations like the ICRC (Hansen, 2004:366).

The landmine treaty, which is also known as the Ottawa Treaty was drawn up in December 1997. It was signed by 121 state parties and became effective in March 1999. Thus, this is the fastest treaty to come into force in history. Although few countries like United States refused to sign the treaty, the United States continued to make generous contributions towards the implementation of the treaty. The treaty prohibits all state parties from exporting, using or transferring landmines. It further states that all the existing landmines stockpiles are to be destroyed within four years and in addition all the mine fields were to be cleared from the member states’ regions within a period of ten years (Hansen, 2004:366).

4.2 The Rationale of the Landmines Campaign

While landmines have been used for a long time, it is only until the mid-1980s that countries like Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos brought to the attention of the world the increased use of landmines and the impact they had on civilians in the aftermath of war (McGrath, 2000).

Baxter (1997) and Hubert (2000) state that there was a global increased concern over the indiscriminate use of anti-personnel landmines in countries like Mozambique, Cambodia, and Angola. Landmines pose a great danger and lead to many deaths and loss of limbs. As Baxter and Hubert have stated, this calamity involves the unjustifiable use of more than 110 million inexpensive but usable landmines planted in 65 countries by semi skilled combatants. The landmines have proved to be highly damaging long after the wars have ended. Unlike other weapons of war, landmines remain active for many years. They remain hidden in the ground in such a way that it is difficult to even notice them long after the conflicts have ended. As was mentioned above, landmines are seen to be different from other weapons of war and are indiscriminate between a soldier and a civilian. This was thought to be unnecessary suffering that could be avoided.

By the 1990s, humanitarian organizations which worked in the mine-affected communities, offering assistance to the injured contended that mines were a threat and that something needed to be done. The ICRC (2007:1) has labeled them in medical terms as an “epidemic of exceptionally severe injury, death and suffering”. It was found out that the human costs were far much more than the military gains, that is, whether the landmines could be a beneficial tool to the military but the long term socioeconomic side effects could not be equated to such benefits. Besides, landmines were viewed as illegal weapons and therefore needed to be banned. In addition, landmines injuries can be serious and war surgeons consider them to be the most difficult to treat for the survivors who end up living with amputated limbs and that medical attention can be overwhelmed with continuous physical rehabilitation (English, 1998:122).

4.3 The Aims

The adoption of the 1997 Ottawa Treaty marked the first time in history that States unanimously resolved completely the kind of weapons that were still in use widely. They did this under the humanitarian law’s motivation whose aim is to alleviate suffering resulting from armed conflicts (ICRC, 2007:1). The Ottawa Treaty aimed to eradicate all the anti-personnel and landmines as weapons of war. The Treaty stipulates that all state parties are prohibited from using the antipersonnel mines under any circumstances, be it in

intra state or interstate conflicts, or in any self defense and also any circumstances of protecting borders from any attack. The Treaty confirms that landmines were no longer legitimate weapons of war (ICRC, 1998:6).

The Treaty forbids the development and productions of any anti-personnel mines. In other words, a country cannot create nor can it make any innovation to the existing gadgets or plan to develop any in the future. Besides, the Treaty forbids countries from storing, buying or acquiring mines (Mine Ban Treaty, Art.1). In addition, States in possession of previous stocks were to destroy them within four years from 1st March 1999, the date when the Treaty was enforced into application (Mine Ban Treaty, Art 4).

Another aim of the campaign through the Ottawa Treaty was the ban on any form of transporting of mines unless it is for the purpose of destruction or simulation training. The Treaty also prohibits countries from assisting, encouraging or inducing anyone whether signatories to the treaty or not (ICRC, 1998). The Treaty recognizes that prohibiting the use of the mines will not be effective unless other preventative measures are put in place to ensure that there will not be any future deployment of mines (Art, 2). The State parties are also urged to clear all mines that are under their control and destroy them within 10 years of the Convention's entry into force of that country. Although there has been notable progress in the mine clearance, there still remains a challenge of making sure that this becomes a reality (Mine Ban Treaty).

There is provision for the thousands of men, women and children who have fallen victim of landmines, the survivors who are either amputees and are in dire need of care in their lifetime. These are people who are unable to make any contribution or even to improve their socioeconomic conditions. The Treaty recognizes all these provisions are made for these victims by calling upon countries to take care, rehabilitate and reintegrate them fully back to their communities. Victim assistance is a core component of mine action as laid out in (Art 6, Para 3) of the Anti-Personnel Mine Ban Treaty. These are specific commitments both short and long term that State parties are bound to (Mine Ban Treaty).

The United Nations Mine Action Service (UNMAS) is the coordinating forum through which all issues related to mines are channeled. It has partners like UNICEF, WHO and ICRC which assist with the humanitarian programmes. The ICRC and the Red Crescent organizations assisting the wounded victims have specifically been charged with this role and are actively involved in three areas. These areas include: first medical care and physical rehabilitation, mine awareness and finally the training of legal advisers and advocacy. Other agencies involved in the landmines ban include the UN system, international, regional or national organizations (ICRC, 2004).

4.4 Implementing Procedures

The Ottawa Treaty came into force on 1 March 1999. The treaty has got provisions on the procedures to implement. In order to enforce the compliance of the anti-personnel and cluster munitions weapons, there are various prohibitions and obligations that are outlined, ranging from disarmament and humanitarian. The State Parties agreed on full support towards the implementation of the Treaty. They will endeavor to make the Treaty universal to comprise all the nations of the world to join the convention so that it can be a global Treaty. This will give it a framework that will make it more effective to accomplish its aims expeditiously (Landmines Monitor, 2009).

In order to ensure that there is compliance, the Treaty has laid down certain mechanisms that will help speed up the implementation and resolve any conflicts arising. Countries are supposed to report frequently to the UN on the actions so far taken on implementing the Treaty (Articles 7 to 13). State parties are also required to prosecute and punish those who default on any of the rules laid down. Article 7 of the Treaty provides for the types of reports that need to be prepared. Furthermore, it was agreed under Article 9 of the Treaty that States are supposed to formulate legislative laws to assist in implementing the Treaty locally. For this to take place, they are urged to develop National Action Plans which are in line with their responsibilities (Mine Ban Treaty).

Taking into account the implementation procedures, for example, Angola took an exemplary stand. Angola became a State Party to the Mine Ban Treaty on 1 January 2003. Literature on Angola civil war states that anti-personnel, anti-vehicle mines and cluster-munitions were the most used weapons that have affected the lives of thousand civilians (Landmine Monitor 2009:158). In Compliance with Article 5 on mine clearance whose deadline is January 2013, Angola has made a big and significant progress. For four decades, Angola was under armed conflict which only ended in 2002 leaving behind Explosive Remnants of War (ERW) and other types of mines in an estimated area of almost one third of the country (Landmine Monitor 2009:158).

Though Angola was a signatory of the Treaty and has made progress in mine reduction; the Landmine Report 2009 indicates that Angola has violated the Treaty by using Anti-Personnel Landmines (APL) between 1997 and 2002, but the report mentions again that Angola has completed the destruction of its stockpiles totaling to 88,117 by December 2006 and has reportedly remained with 2 512 mines for training purposes under Article 3. There has been collaboration of both the national and international de-miners all doing the de-mining work in the contaminated 18 provinces (Landmine Monitor 2009:158).

In order to show commitment, Angola has incorporated a strategic mine action plan over a five year period from 2006 to 2011. The government of Angola has taken ownership of the mine action plan, integrating it alongside with its development plan. Plans are underway to clear mines to make land more accessible for agriculture and infrastructure as they look forward to building more houses and hosting Africa Cup of Nations in 2010. Currently Angola does not have any National legislation Standards as yet and the de-mining programmes have not been assessed to see their impact (Landmine Monitor, 2009:170).

4.5 The Impact of the Landmines Treaty

It has been ten years since the Treaty was signed and many governments have acknowledged that there has been a great achievement. Even countries which did not sign the Treaty like the United States have made progress in terms of reducing the production of mines. In this regard, Collins (2009:1) affirms that the landmines Treaty “undeniably led to reductions in the humanitarian hazards generated by indiscriminately used anti-personnel

landmines”. It is ironical that US is the highest funder of mine action. Furthermore, the Treaty continues to be active, significant and is celebrated as a practical solution to humanitarian crises. It has helped to change the face of the earth and especially in Africa which was considered as the highest mined continent. Their impact being very pronounced and having been carefully designed to accomplish certain aims, the landmine treaty has brought reprieve over the face of adversity. In the third African Experts Conference on Landmines held recently in Pretoria, South Africa, Robert McCarthy from UNDP affirmed that “more than ten years, some of terrifying images injuries caused by landmines have begun to fade” (IRIN, 2009).

Due to the work of the ICBL, Jody Williams won the Nobel Peace Prize for her work which the committee recognized like “as a model for similar processes in the future, the campaign could prove of decisive importance to the international effort for disarmament and peace” (Williams 1998:35).

There have been changes globally in the transfer and the manufacture of landmines. Countries have stopped trading in these weapons and there has been a universal stigma that has been attached to it. There is also very negligible usage of landmines which is a proof that there is a significant decrease in their usage. By 1999, there were about 13 countries that were known to use the mines. By 2004, there were only about four countries that are suspected to have used landmines including Russia, Myanmar, Georgia and Nepal. In 2008, there were nine countries, while in the latest report of 2009; there are seven countries that are believed to have used landmines. Records indicate that there are about 40 million landmines that have been destroyed (ICRC, 2007; Lint, 2003).

The production of landmines has dropped significantly, that is, over 50 countries that are known as manufacturers of landmines, 33 have since stopped the production and have already ratified the landmine convention. The global trade has also been affected in a positive way in that since landmines are considered illegal weapons, hence countries like United States of America, China, Poland and others that have not ratified the Treaty are not allowed to trade in landmines as they have signed a moratorium which is binding (ICRC, 2007). Despite the positive development, Ethiopia and Eritrea, though signatories of the

Treaty continued to sell landmines to Somalia.

There has been a significant decrease in the number of casualties that have been reported since the signing of the Treaty, compared to the 1990s when the figures stood at an overwhelming figure of 26,000 per year. In 2008, only about 5000 casualties were reported. In countries like Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia and Cambodia where the treaty obligations are taken seriously and are implemented the ICRC has noted a two-thirds decrease in comparison to the 1990's. The numbers of victims have also decreased (Landmine Monitor, 2009; Collins, 2009).

There have been great tangible results that can be outlined towards the total eradication of landmines in the world. However, for this dream to be realized there is still a lot to be done. The ICBL continues to strive to ensure that the implementation is fully realized. The Landmines Summit was held in Cartagena in Colombia on 30th November 2009. The theme of the summit was: "Towards a Mine-Free World". The Summit has contributed a lot where policy-makers and governments' experts evaluated the progress of the Ottawa Treaty. By 2009, records indicated that 3200 square kilometres of land has been cleared of landmines and explosive remnants of War. Of the 156 State Parties 146 confirmed that they do not have any stock piles while 86 have indicated that they have complied with the Treaty to destroy the stockpiles of landmines. In total, there are about 44 million stockpiled landmines. Despite the positive development, challenges continue to emerge in various areas like the victim assistance which is in dire need of funds. In total, there are still about 70 countries that are still landmine affected and are yet to be de-mined (Landmine Monitor, 2009; Internet 11).

4.6 Lessons Learnt from the Landmines Campaign

The Landmines advocacy shows that agencies can be effective in humanitarian action and politics without taking any sides and yet manage to bring changes in the face of warring factions. Its success signals a new paradigm change in diplomacy and its relevance in to other campaigns. In 1997, the ICBL was the proud recipient of the Nobel Prize for peace and was recognized for the skill "to express and mediate a broad range of popular commitment in an unprecedented way" (Williams, 2000:87).

One of the things that made the campaign successful was that, the goals of the campaign were made clear and simple. People understood them clearly as they were relayed in a simple way. Landmines were causing untold suffering to human kind and something needed to be done. Consistency and commitment continued all through the campaign without giving up. One action led to another even when one State signed, the next step continued for ratification and implementation. The coordinators were also credible people who were experts in their fields, for example, the ICRC field surgeons who knew the details of the scourge and ICBL members who had researched the issues and were able to defend it to both the government and the population. This advocacy was portrayed as a humanitarian issue which became a matter that could not be ignored (ICBL 2004; Hubert, 2000).

Hubert (2000:41) argues that having the State as a partner is essential since it will involve the State to accept changes in policies to accommodate any new laws they need to accept in terms of producing and/or using. Another lesson is that the campaign took a global perspective and had a network all over the world. Landmines became a global matter in such a way that world states were sensitized about the campaign. Hubert has compared the ingredients for the success of the campaign with other campaigns that gave different outcomes like this one. Cameron, Lawson and Tomlin (1998:10) note of the important role played by the regional blocks which helped to support countries to adhere to anti-personnel mine position as part of a cohesive movement.

The Landmines campaign is one of hope and the benefits that are received are articulated when there is a well organized advocacy. It has been a model for other international humanitarian advocacy like the International Criminal Court, the banning of child soldiers and the proliferation of small arms. Some elements that were applied from the landmines campaign is like the building partnerships with the states, that of having prominent NGOs on board and having provisions that are adhered to and employing strategic consultations (Hubert, 2000:41).

4.7 Relevance of the Landmines Campaign to Resolution 1325

One of the similarities that can be pointed out in both the Resolution 1325 and the landmines campaign is that they were both humanitarian motivated. It was due to the impact of war on civilians that both were launched after the Cold War era.

However, the question remains; why has the landmines campaign been so successfully implemented relative to Resolution 1325? Several issues explain why this is so:

- Resolution 1325 was passed by the Security Council, arguably the most powerful UN body rather than the General Assembly or the Economic and Social Council as might have been expected, while the Resolution on landmines was passed by the General Assembly (Moore, undated:3)
- Resolution 1325 was signed under the Chapter VI of the UN Charter “Pacific Settlement of Disputes” which are not binding since they are recommendations as opposed to Chapter VII “Actions with Respect to Threats to the Peace, Breaches of Peace and Aggression” these fall under international law and therefore they are binding (Abugre, 2008:41).
- The flexible structure gave the landmines campaign an enabling environment without a central operating structure or headquarters, making the campaigners to develop their own structures according to their own circumstances unlike the Resolution 1325 which had to operate on the UNSC mandate with the open debates strictly held at the New York headquarters following a chain of bureaucracy. This causes decisions to delay and also the NGOs or other affiliates cannot take any independent decisions as they see fit until they wait for the headquarters (Williams, 1998; 2000; Hansen, 2004:366; Abugre, 2008).
- Another lesson that can be learnt towards humanitarian advocacy leading to the landmines campaign to success is for example having favorable negotiating conditions and courageous leaders at the helm. This makes the negotiation and also the campaign to be well organized. Additionally, NGOs pressurizing governments and the former were not barred from the negotiations and had unlimited access to

any organization. Similarly, the ICCs case which was a humanitarian advocacy was successful as it had a strong leadership that was able to steer the campaign. (Hubert, 2000:58). The campaign messaging is also relevant when it comes to success. In contrast, the Resolution 1325 message, although framed in gender mainstreaming, lacks clarity. According to Hubert, the landmines case had no gender connotation. It also avoided the terms “arms control” and “disarmament” which could have been an uphill task to break through. The emphasis was a humanitarian cause for all the people, which gave it strong weight to advance their cause that is the human suffering. There were no political affiliations and the meeting venues were neutral. The other advantage is that they had gathered enough expertise knowledge to challenge any government. Resolution 1325 supports women, mostly in developing countries where women are given low status; advocating in this context is challenging. The lack of funding for the implementation of projects has hampered the continuity of the Resolution advocacy (Abugre, 2008:41).

- The way campaigns originate affects the outcomes. With the landmines, there was a lot of thorough research that was undertaken. Pamphlets were written and distributed to the grassroots. Unlike Resolution 1325, which had no prior research and accountability procedures are not clear. Besides, Resolution 1325 has no monitoring procedures and it has weak language such as “requests” and “urges”, unlike other resolutions that use strong language such as “directs”, declares” “decides” On the other hand, the landmines Treaty has legislations which every State party signed with prohibitions and offences (Abugre, 2009:3; ICRC, Undated). Landmines have got watchdog plan which comprises of the Human Rights Watch, Handicap International Belgium, The Kenya Coalition against Landmines, Mines Action Canada and the Norwegian’s Peoples Aid working together to ensure that there is compliance of the Treaty. Cameron *et., al* (1998) note that due to the way landmines were stigmatised, there was a moral norm that was created clearly indicating that landmines were illegal weapons. Resolution 1325 lacks monitoring, accountability and enforcement mechanisms. It only has an annual open debate for formal review. It is only now that they have managed to

develop the 2008-2009 action plans which seem to be in line with the Resolution objectives and these will only be reported back in 2010 (S/2007/567:19).

- There is an annual report that The Landmines Monitor which documents the progress of each country with each country with respect to landmine use, production, stockpiling and so on. There is no such equivalent in the Resolution 1325, partly because the PI has not been fully implemented.

4.8 Summary

This chapter has discussed the Landmines Campaign (Ottawa Treaty), its background, aims, motivation and also what impact it has had. The impact of landmines on individuals and communities ranges from physical, psychological, social and economic factors. Landmines have been used indiscriminately to target civilians long after wars have ended, this is what has made landmines to be referred to as illegal weapons of war and hence the ban. Landmines are known to be a threat to peace and security. The study has pointed out the lessons learnt from the ban movement in comparison with the United Nations Resolution 1325.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION

5.1 Main Findings

The overall objective of this study is to present and discuss the UN Resolution 1325, its rationale, aims and implementation procedures. The specific aims of this study include devising appropriate performance indicators and assessing the possible impacts of Resolution 1325 in the aspects discussed below:

- In the area of participation of women in decision-making and peace process, this study has found out (in section 3.5) that Resolution 1325 has made an impact in women's lives. It has been an eye-opener resulting into an increase in the number of women holding parliamentary and public seats globally. Women have found a voice in the national constitutional reviews and development. These are the platforms that can help women influence gender issues. When women are involved in decision making processes, they are able to influence policy to favour women issues. However, as much as there has been an increase in women decision makers, there have been very little tangible changes in policies that affect women. This can be attributed to the lack of "critical mass" which advocates that women in cabinet occupy a third of the seats in the legislatures globally as a strategy to achieve gender equality. Women are not present in the peace tables and are grossly under-represented in the peace processes. Despite their activism in the grassroots, this is never acknowledged and their roles as peacemakers and peace-builders are never recognized.
- The prevention of armed conflicts by integrating a gender perspective in peace keeping operations is a critical aspect. The study has found out that, there has been great progress that has occurred in the peacekeeping area, especially in the gender mainstreaming in the UN peacekeeping operations. This mandate is regarded as important if the post-conflict interventions are to have an impact in the societies they are working in. Section 3.4.2 of this study highlights this mandate as one of the most important areas of Resolution 1325 which can bring about gender equality. It is also noted that gender mainstreaming within the peacekeeping operations ensures that gender issues are incorporated in every aspect of the

mission, from the initial stages of ceasefire, all the way up to post-conflict which eventually affects the communities around.

- The obligation to protect women from gender-based violence in conflict zones is paramount. In chapter 3.5.3, the study has found out that sexual and gender based violence continue to be one of the greatest problems being experienced in armed conflict. Even though there has been great efforts by the UNSC to stop or reduce gender based violence (with the adoption of Resolution 1820 which specifically deals with GBV), evidence shows that violence has continued to escalate against women and girls especially in those areas that are experiencing conflicts, like DRC, Haiti, Darfur and Liberia. One of the attributing factors is the culture of impunity which has thrived where the perpetrators have continued to walk free without being prosecuted since there is lack of justice mechanism to deal with these issues.
- The comparison between the impacts of Resolution 1325 with the broadly successful landmines campaign has been made in this study. As per section 4.7, the study has found out that Resolution 1325 and the landmines campaign were both humanitarian motivated due to the impact of war on civilians. However, they differ in various ways, for example, the way they were adopted and their impact. Resolution 1325 is limited, and lacks accountability mechanisms both within the UN itself and also with the member states. Resolution 1325 only supports women, mostly in developing countries where women are given low status thus advocating in this context is challenging. There is lack of funding for the implementation and advocacy of Resolution 1325 projects. Resolution 1325 has no monitoring procedures and it has weak language such as “requests” and “urges”, unlike other resolutions that use strong language such as “directs”, declares” “decides”. The only formal review process for Resolution 1325 is the annual open-debate. The system-wide action plans do not have the indicators that are necessary for monitoring impact.
- On the other hand, the landmines campaign resulted in proper accountability mechanisms within the UN and the member countries. There is an annual report called the *Landmines Monitor*, which documents the processes that all countries

must adhere to, in terms of the Ottawa Treaty objectives, use, production and stockpiling of landmines. The landmines Treaty has legislations which every State party signed with prohibitions and offences. There is no such equivalent in the Resolution 1325, partly because the performance indicators have not been fully implemented.

5.2 Policy Implication

Resolution 1325 has good intentions for women. However, it cannot be a 'one size fit all' situation. The Resolution faces a number of challenges in its implementation especially in Africa, where patriarchy is enshrined in the African culture. Even when efforts have been made to translate the Resolution to various indigenous languages, there are some terms that are technical and are difficult to translate in the indigenous languages without changing their meanings. It will be necessary that the Resolution is interpreted clearly so that, it will be well understood by the local population whom it is intended for, so that it can meet their needs. This study highlights the following policy implications for the success of Resolution 1325:

- The system wide action plans need to have simple clear objectives. This is important so that the objectives are easily understood to produce the expected results. The objectives need to cover the major aims of the Resolution in order to give the desired results. If the objectives are too broad, then there will be a problem of how to devise the correct performance indicators. It is vital to shorten the statements and clarify them to avoid any confusion of what is being addressed. The action plans and performance indicators need to be circulated to all the UN entities and other partners. Hence all the concerned parties are to be part and parcel of the selection process and to understand what exactly is being sought.
- When selecting performance indicators, clarity is needed on the type of change needed so that the indicators devised will be relevant to that change. Thus defining common set of goals and articulating clear roles for the various participating entities. A performance indicator needs to be selected carefully by assessing its merit, so that it can meet the need that it is being sought. For example if the action plan is participation, the indicator should be the number or percentage of women who have been appointed in various decision making positions.

- There is need to have good implementation guidelines in order for the action plan to produce the desired results, the UN requires devising strategies to help in implementation. These guidelines are necessary and can be in form of policy development that will entail rules and regulations to be followed by the implementing entities. It is necessary to create partnerships especially with the civil societies and the governments. Training and creating awareness of the Resolution especially with the grassroots' women. The guidelines will require a strategic implementation framework which will assist the United Nations to realise results both in the international and the member countries levels.
- It is also important to ensure that the action plans have provisions for planning, monitoring, reporting and evaluation instruments if they are to be effective. The action plans guidelines will include what progress has been made so far in each of the initiatives and what the expected results are. Baseline data which were lacking in the previous 2005/2007 action plan are vital since it is against this data that progress will be measured.
- Resolution 1325 needs to have a good monitoring mechanism. One of the weaknesses of the previous UN system-wide action plan is the lack of monitoring and reporting procedures to bring about the required results. Thus it will be necessary to devise an efficient monitoring and reporting mechanism that is accountable with feedback from the UN entities and the member countries. In order to accomplish this it there is need to develop strategic actions that will enhance them. For example have time frames, whereby each entity is aware that they need to report at a given time with deadlines. In case of any defaults then there should be a consequences and alternative measures. One of the reasons why the landmines treaty has been so successfully implemented is that at the time of adoption, the treaty contained all the implementation requirements like time frames, consequences, accountability and reporting procedures. Every signatory member to the treaty signed the treaty binding them to all the regulations. Resolution 1325, language is also very weak which makes the missions unable to punish those violating any of the articles.

- As reported earlier, the *Landmines Monitor* documents all countries' progress as per the aims of the treaty on an annual basis. If Resolution 1325 would develop such an annual report country-wise and having responsible field staff to be accountable, there could be great progress.

In light of the above study, Resolution 1325 has good intentions, it has all that it takes to empower and equip women so that they can take their rightful place in the society. However, on evaluating its impact since its adoption to date, there has been little progress. The gender perspective in preventing armed conflict has not made it any easier for women to participate in decision making and peace processes. The obligation to protect women from gender –based violence in conflict zones may require totally a different approach with Resolution 1325 having a new focus and learning from the broadly successful landmines campaign.

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