



"Nicole"

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CHAPTER 8

Peace building and conflict resolution

Article 28



Women in the South African National Defence Force that are playing a key role in peacekeeping efforts in the SADC region. *Photo: GCIS*

KEY POINTS

- The security sector is shrouded in secrecy; information is scanty and data is generally not gender disaggregated.
- There are no special measures in place to ensure women's representation and participation in security services. The SADC Female Police Officers Network has a target of 50/50 representation in the National Police Services but all member countries are far from achieving this. Defence, police and correctional services are still a male domain.
- Where they are present, women occupy lower ranks.
- With 24% women in the defence force and 21% women in the police force, South Africa leads the way both in providing gender disaggregated data and showing that change is possible.
- Women are still way below the UN target of 10% women on peacekeeping missions, let alone the 50% parity target set by SADC at all levels of decision-making. Namibia has been most exemplary with 46% of its forces deployed in peace keeping missions in the period reviewed being women, but most of these are at junior levels.
- Lack of access to training and seminars and the existence of systematic barriers to their participation and integration into peace operations are the two greatest challenges facing female security officers.
- Gender does not feature prominently in the SADC Secretariat Security Organ yet this has huge bearing on the sub-region's human security decisions.
- Women do not feature as key players in peace negotiating processes.
- Violence against women, especially rape is used as a weapon in times of conflict.

“War is gendered” and peace and post-conflict reconstruction processes that do not include women and address their specific concerns “will fall short of delivering effective and sustainable peace and development dividends.”¹ The specific targeting of women during conflicts, their exclusion from peace processes and their differential treatment in disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration programs have all led to the perpetuation of gender inequality in the post-conflict phase.



A South African Police Service woman participates in International Women's Day.
Photo: Trevor Davies

Recognising the interconnection between gender, peace and security, the United Nations Security Council passed Resolution (UNSCR) 1325 in 2000. It calls for the prevention of gender based violence, the protection of women during conflict, their participation in peacemaking, peacekeeping and peace-building, as well as the promotion of a gender perspective within these processes.

According to the Secretary General's 2004 Report on Women, Peace and Security the “Resolution 1325 holds out a promise to women across the globe that their rights will be protected and that barriers to their equal participation and full involvement in the maintenance and promotion of sustainable peace will be removed. We must uphold this promise.”

In attempting to uphold the promise, many regional organisations have sought to redress gender inequality in the sphere of peace and security through legal frameworks. Article 28 of the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development on peace building and conflict resolution draws Member States attention to UNSCR 1325 as the reference point.

In collecting this baseline data, access to information proved to be a major limitation. The security sector, in general, is not one known for its transparency and openness. The cloak of national security also dubbed national interest is often used as a scapegoat to prohibit access

to basic information such as the number of personnel and their conditions of service.

This chapter has used a number of different sources to try and piece information together. But overall it was difficult to gain accurate data on the number of women employed in the defence sector. This poses a serious impediment to tracking women's participation in the security services in Southern Africa let alone their contribution to peace building in a holistic manner.

This should be read in tandem with the United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) International Campaign titled *The Power to Empower*, which aims at increasing the number of female police officers in peacekeeping missions from 8 to 20 % by 2014. This will help track whether SADC States will meet these targets. This campaign is directly linked to the need to implement UN Security Council Resolutions 1325, 1820, 1888 and 1889 on women, peace and security (Pearson training centre, seminar report, women in peacekeeping forces, October 12-13 2009, Zambia).

Structural visits and interviews with female police officers, conducted by the Pan African Capacity Building Program (PAPCBP) in the Southern African Development Community (SADC) region in March and April 2009, pointed to two specific challenges facing female police officers - lack of access to training and seminars and the existence of systematic barriers to their participation and integration into peace operations.

The baseline research is taking place when the SADC region is enjoying relative peace except for some sporadic unrest in the eastern Democratic Republic of Congo and fragile governments in Madagascar and Zimbabwe. In Angola the war is over. However media reports show that sexual violence remains rife in these countries, especially in Angola and the DRC.

¹ See the concept paper of the UN Security Council Open Debate on Women and Peace and Security, 5 October 2009.



The Protocol calls on State Parties to ensure that, by 2015, women have equal representation and participation in key decision-making positions in conflict resolution and peace building processes by 2015 in accordance with United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security.

Policy provisions for women's representation and participation

An emerging trend globally, including in SADC countries, is the shift away from a purely state-centric view of security towards a human security perspective in which the security needs of women are taken into account. Legislation governing state security service providers is an entry point

for examining the extent of governments' commitment to promoting gender sensitivity and gender equality in the security sector and protection of women and girls from a human security angle.

Table 8.1: Analysis of gender provisions in relevant security services legislation

	Constitution Reflects gender equality clause	Defence White paper / Act	Police Act	Correctional Services/Prisons Act	Special Unit for rape victims at police stations
Angola	Yes	-	-	-	-
Botswana	No	Defence Act chapter 21:05 No specific mention of gender equality. Refers only to he/him. Women only entered the defence force in 2008.	Police Act chapter 21:01 No gender equality specific clause.	Prisons Act Chapter 21:03 No gender specific equality clauses though refers to the treatment of women prisoners.	Yes
DRC	Yes	In process of developing White Paper on Defence.	Establishing a legislative framework for police reform.	Formulating a Strategic Plan on Prison Reform and Training - addresses the issue of sexual violence within prisons and gender employment equity.	No
Lesotho	Yes	National Security Service Act 11 of 1998. No mention of gender equality.	Police Act no 7 of 1998 (cannot access).	-	Yes
Madagascar	No	-	-	-	-
Malawi	Yes	Malawi Defence Force Act of 2004. Commits itself to maintaining a healthy well trained equipped disciplined and gender sensitive ready force.	Malawi Police Service Act - (cannot access).	Prisons Act of 1966 - commits itself to a responsive and equitable service. Strategic Plan commits itself to mainstreaming cross cutting issues such as HIV, Gender and Environment.	-
Mauritius	No	No Defence Force.	-	-	-
Mozambique	Yes	Defence and Security Act 17 of 1997 (cannot access).	No Act.	No Act.	Yes
Namibia	No	Defence Act of 2002 (cannot access).	Police Act no 19 of 1990. No mention of gender.	-	Yes
Seychelles	No	-	-	-	-
South Africa	Yes	White Paper Article 11:14 - 'the SANDF shall develop a non-racial, non-sexist and non-discriminatory institutional culture'. It acknowledges the right of women to serve in all ranks and positions, including combat roles.	SA Police Services Act, 1995 (no specific gender clause) The White Paper on Security and Safety of 1998 notes that 'The White Paper on Affirmative Action outlines the additional corrective steps which must be taken in order to ensure that those who have been historically disadvantaged by unfair discrimination are able to derive full benefit from an equitable employment environment. Also notes that Specific guidelines for use at station level should be developed to ensure that in cases in which women have been victims of sexual offences, rape or domestic violence, they are treated with extra dignity, compassion and care.	Correctional Services Act 111 of 1998 chapter 7 states 'the assessment of persons shall be based on level of training, relevant skills, competence and the need to redress the imbalances of the past in order to achieve a dept broadly representative of the SA population, including representation according to race, gender and disability.	Yes
Swaziland	Yes	-	Police Act No. 29 of 1957 (cannot access).	Prisons Act of 1964 (cannot access).	-
Tanzania	No	National Defence Act of 1966. Code of service discipline indicates that 'In its application to female persons may be limited or modified by defence forces regulations.	Police Force and Auxillary Services Act of 2002 (cannot access).	Prisons Act of 1967. Says nothing about gender equality in employment of staff but refers to prisoners noting that Women prisoners shall only be employed on labour which is suitable for women.	-
Zambia	No	Defence Act [Vol 8 Chapter 108] - no gender equality specific clause. Only refers to he/him in the ACT.	Police Act [Vol 8 Chapter 107] - no gender specific clause - but does say that women are eligible for pension if they resign or get marry.	Prisons Act [Vol 7 Chapter 97] Section 75 states that women prisoners shall not be employed outside of prison except on the recommendation of the medical officer.	Yes
Zimbabwe	No	-	Police Act Chapter 11:10 - no gender equality mentioned.	Zimbabwe Prisons Act Chapter 7:11 does not indicate specific gender equality clauses but section 76 no.2 refers to female prisoners 'shall not be employed outside a prison except on the recommendation of a medical officer only on such labour as may be proscribed.	Yes

Sources: 1. On constitutions - SADC Gender Protocol Baseline Barometer, Chapter 1 on 'Constitutional and legal rights' 2009
 2. Defence White papers/Acts for Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, SA, Tanzania and Zambia retrieved from online sources.
 3. Police White Papers/Acts - Botswana, Malawi, Namibia, SA, Zambia and Zimbabwe from police websites of respective countries and the African Police Resource Network www.aprn.org.za
 4. Correctional Services White Papers/Acts - Botswana, Malawi, South Africa, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe from the respective department websites.
 5. Information for the rape victims units sourced from the respective countries police websites. Accessed July 2010
 6. Additionally The World Law Guide 2009: legislation <http://www.lexadin.nl/wlg/legis/nofr/legis.php>, accessed in July 2010 for legislation

Table 8.1 shows that, where data could be obtained, most countries are silent on the inclusion and or recognition of the need for special legal provisions to bring more women into the defence, police and prison services. This is a strong indicator of the need to redress gender imbalance in a predominantly male environment.

Defence Act/White paper: Only Malawi, South Africa and Tanzania either recognise women's special needs or their right to participate in the defence sector. Malawi commits itself to "maintaining a healthy well trained, equipped disciplined and gender sensitive ready force". South Africa on the other hand acknowledges "the right of women to serve in all ranks and positions, including combat roles". Tanzania takes women into account in its Code of Service where application of discipline measures to women may be limited or modified to suit their needs. The DRC however, presents an opportunity to mainstream gender because the country is in the process of developing a white paper on defence.

Police: Of the seven countries where data could be obtained, no country has gender specific clauses in the Police Act that promotes women's representation or participation. Zambia's only reference to women is that they are eligible for pension if they resign or get married. The South Africa's white paper provides for affirmative action and outlines the additional corrective steps to address historically disadvantaged groups to derive full benefit from an equitable employment environment. The DRC is in the process of establishing a legislative framework for police reform. This provides the opportunity to mainstream gender in the forthcoming Police Services Act.

Correctional Services Act: Only Malawi's 1966 Prison's Act commits itself to a responsive and equitable service and has a strategic plan aimed at mainstreaming cross-cutting issues such as HIV, Gender and the Environment. South African legislation mentions gender in the context of redressing historical imbalances. Botswana, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe have specific provisions on the treatment of women prisoners.

Special unit for rape victims at police stations: Seven of the 15 SADC countries - Angola, Lesotho, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Zambia and Zimbabwe have special units for rape at police stations.

Representation

The security sector is shrouded in secrecy, information is scanty and data is not gender disaggregated: The defence forces have been reluctant to reveal the number of women working in the sector. Very little data was obtained through formal enquiries by the ISS to the region's defence attachés based in South Africa in 2008 and to the human resources department of the respective defence forces. Data for overall personnel is reflected in the 2010 military balance but not disaggregated by gender. With gender disaggregated data from only five of the fifteen SADC countries, Table 8.2 highlights the need for access to accurate gender disaggregated data in a sector meant to serve the public.

Countries with a history of liberation struggle tend to have a higher proportion of women: From the data available, it would appear that countries with a history of liberation struggle have a higher proportion of women in the defence forces.



Few policy provisions for women in the police force.

Photo: GCIS



Amongst the five countries where gender disaggregated data could be obtained **South Africa** leads the way with 24% women in the South African National Defence Force. South Africa also has 25 women Brigadier Generals.

Zimbabwe is also doing relatively well, second to South Africa, with an estimated 20% women in the defence force. The country has a relatively high number of women ex-combatants, some of whom went on to serve in the army.



Malawi's defence force opened its doors to women in 1999 and now has approximately 5% women.

Botswana only admitted women into their Defence force in 2008, hence the tiny proportion (0.1%).



The statistics from **Madagascar** show that women have only just entered this domain. They occupy the lower ranks and "soft skills" sector in the human resources and soft skills sector.

Table 8.2: Representation of women in the defence sector within Southern Africa

Country	Number of males	as %	Number of females	as %	Total
Angola	-	-	-	-	107000
Botswana	8991	99.9%	9	0.1%	9000
DRC	-	-	-	-	140000
Lesotho	-	-	-	-	2000
Madagascar	13482	99.87%	18	0.13%	13500
Malawi	5035	95%	265	5%	5300
Mauritius	-	-	-	-	No defence force
Mozambique	-	-	-	-	11200
Namibia	-	-	-	-	9200
Seychelles	-	-	-	-	200
South Africa	47182	76%	14900	24%	62082
Tanzania	-	-	-	-	27000
Zambia	-	-	-	-	15100
Zimbabwe	23200	80%	5 800	20%	29 000

Source: Total force size from the International Institute for Strategic Studies, 'Military Balance 2010 : The annual assessment of global military capabilities and defence economics.' Routledge 2010. Number of women in the Defence Forces from Malawi field research in 2008 and for Madagascar and Botswana responses from human resource departments to inquiries in 2008. The number of women in SA defence calculated at 24% of total from the military balance.

Women occupy lower ranks: The highest ranking woman in the Defence forces in Southern Africa is Major General Memela-Motumi in the SANDF. In Southern Africa as a whole, there needs to be much more concerted effort to attract women to the defence force and to make this a more enabling environment for women. In the last ten years Southern Africa has only had three women ministers of defence: Joyce Mujuru (for two months in 2001 in Zimbabwe), Cecile Manorohanta (2007-2009 in Madagascar) and Lindiwe Nonceba-Sisulu (since 2009 in South Africa).

Police services

Information is scanty but police women are organised: Not much is publicly known about the number of women in the respective police forces in Southern Africa. But police women in SADC appear to be better organised than their counterparts in the defence forces. There is a SADC Female Police Officers Network which is linked to the Southern African Regional Police Chiefs Co-operation Organization (SARPCCO). It aims to unite all female police officers from the SADC member countries. They gathered in Angola in March 2010 for the first SADC women police officers training. SARPCCO has also been instrumental in providing police officers in the region courses on human rights, HIV/AIDS and sexual violence. Some countries, most notably South Africa and Angola have police women's associations.



To the extent that gender disaggregated data could be obtained, **South Africa** leads the way, with 21% women in the police force. Four of the 26 (15%)

of the top management positions in the police are occupied by women while 132 out of 601 (22%) women occupy senior management positions. The police form a core component in peace-keeping missions. SANDF has hosted a series of women's peace talks to discuss the issues affecting women in the defence forces in the region.

Women constitute 18% of the police force in **Botswana**, second to South Africa. Of the 13 top police managers in the country, three (20%) are women. Eight of the 28 senior managers (28.5%) are women.



Correctional/Prison services

There is very little information on correctional services in Southern Africa, an area of neglect in security studies. Human rights organisations have paid some attention to the issue, most notably from the perspective of human rights abuses within prisons. Correctional services personnel are also deployed to peace-keeping missions and there is therefore a need to keep a close eye on what is transpiring within our prison systems both from the point of view of employment, training and the treatment of

Table 8.3: Women representation in the police force in SADC

Country	Male	Female	Total	% women
Angola	-		9472	
Botswana		1169	6497	18%
DRC			38 000	
Lesotho			2 404	
Madagascar			3000	
Malawi				
Mauritius		650		
Mozambique		1400	20 000	7%
Namibia		3 500*	11 323	
Seychelles				
South Africa	113 990	31 180	145 170	21%
Swaziland	-	-	-	
Tanzania			29 204	
Zambia	10 685*	2 187	12 872	17%
Zimbabwe			25 000	

Source: "The Security Sector in Southern Africa" C, Hendricks and T, Musavengana- Unpublished ISS Monograph; SAPS Annual Report 2008/2009;

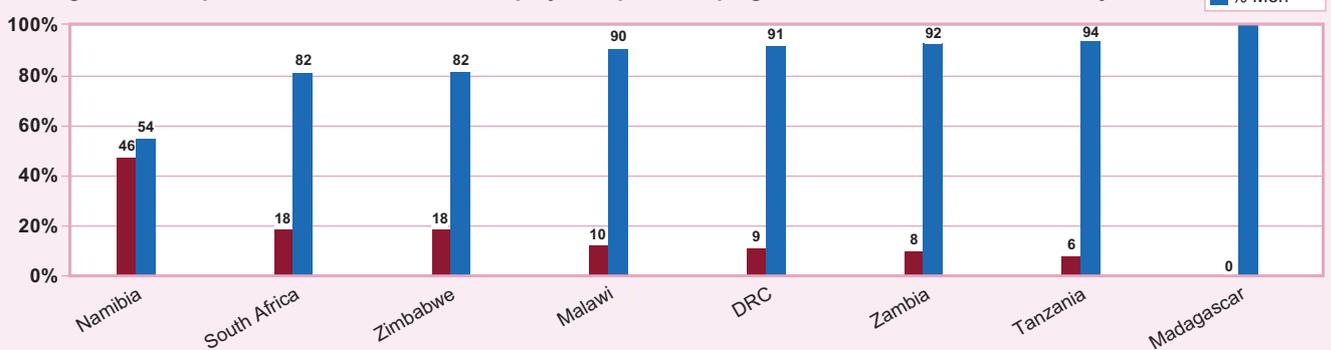
*The Zambia Inspector General of Police aims to have 30% women in the Zambia Police Service by end of 2010.

prisoners. With 27% females in the service, South Africa is the only country that was able to provide gender disaggregated data for this survey.

Peace keeping missions deployed from SADC

The disaggregation of gender statistics for UN missions is a relatively recent phenomenon. The Barometer tracked a six-month period starting in November 2009 and ending in May 2010. Troops usually rotate every six months and UNDPKO tracks presence on a monthly basis.

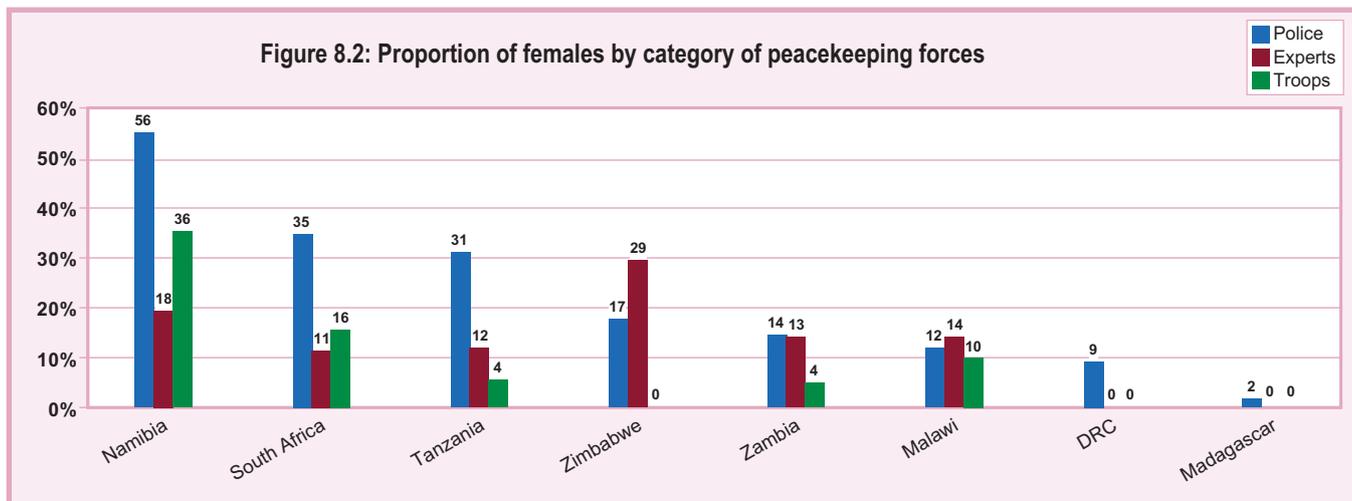
Figure 8.1: Proportion of women and men deployed in peacekeeping missions between Nov 2009-May 2010



Source: UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations: Monthly Summary of Contributors of Military and Police Personnel. Retrieved June-July 2010. <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/contributors/>

In most countries, women still way below the UN 10% target for peacekeeping missions: Of the nine countries where data could be obtained, only four countries (Malawi, Namibia, South Africa and Zimbabwe) exceeded

the UNDPKO recommendation of at least 10% female representation when deploying peace keepers. This falls far short of the SADC Gender Protocol target of at least 50% target of women in the peacekeeping forces.



Source: UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations: UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations: Monthly Summary of Contributors of Military and Police Personnel. Retrieved June- July 2010. <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/contributors/>



Namibia is the best performer with women comprising 46% of its deployed forces. A closer analysis shows that more women are deployed in the lower ranks of the peace

keeping forces. For example, of the 67 police officers deployed 56% were female. This is above the 50% parity target but of the three categories it is the lowest of the ranks. In contrast, of the 22 expert officers deployed there were only 18% females and of the 11 troops sent off only 36% were females.

South Africa has the largest absolute numbers of women in the security services and peacekeeping in Southern Africa (second in the world), but only 18.7% women were deployed in peacekeeping over the six-month period under consideration.



Mozambique was the worst performer with a 100% male deployment in the six months

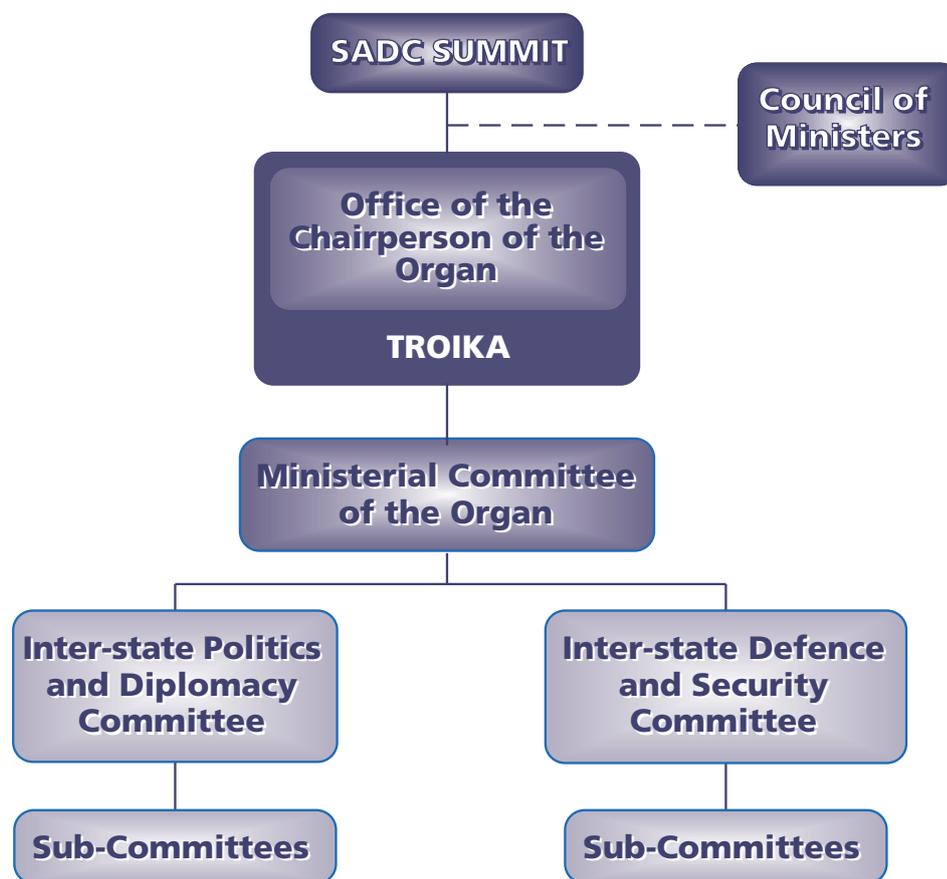
under review. Overall, its contingent of peacekeepers was small.

Corrective measures to be taken: The Regional Peacekeeping Training Centre based in Harare has indicated that for 2010 it will have a 30% uptake of women in its training courses. This is an important area for monitoring and evaluation over the coming year.

Representation and participation of women in the SADC security structures

The Protocol on Politics, Defence and Security co-operation establishing the Organ does not mention of the promotion of gender equality by the Organ, nor is it specifically reflected in the Strategic Plan of the Organ. The SADC Organs objectives, however, do indicate the need to promote overall human rights in line with other existing continental and international human rights agreement and to promote the development of democratic institutions and practices within the territories of State Parties.

Figure 8.3: Structure of the SADC Security Organ



Women are scarce in the official SADC security structures: Figure 8.3 illustrates the structure of the Organ created by SADC to oversee security matters. The key structures and their gendered components are as follows:

- **Summit:** This consists of Heads of State and Government and is the supreme policy-making institution of SADC. It meets twice a year and elects a Chairperson and a Deputy Chairperson on a rotating basis for one year. The Summit also elects the Chairperson and Deputy Chairperson of the Organ. Because there are no female Heads of State in SADC, no woman is part of the Summit.
- **Chairperson of the Organ:** The Chairperson, in consultation with the Troika, is responsible

for overall policy direction and for the achievements and objectives of the Organ during its one year tenure. Again there has been no female chairperson by virtue of the fact that there has been no female Head of State in SADC in the 30 year history of SADC.

- **Troika:** This consists of the incoming, current and outgoing chairpersons of the Organ form the Troika. It functions as a steering committee. There has been no female representation in the SADC Troika to date since 1980.
- **Ministerial Committee (MCO) and Sub-Committees:** The MCO consists of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Defence, Public Security and State Security from each of the state parties. It is responsible for the co-ordination of the



South Africa's Nkosazana Dhlamini Zuma. Photo: GCIS

work of the Organ and its structures and reports to the Chairperson. The Inter-state Politics and Diplomacy Committee (ISPDC) consists of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs from each of the state parties. The ISPDC reports to the MCO and meets at least once a year. Ministers from the same country as the chair

of the MCO and ISPDC serve for a one year period on a rotational basis. These ministries are traditionally male dominated. Exceptions are the ministers of foreign affairs in Malawi and South Africa; the defence minister in South Africa; and ministers of public security in Malawi, Madagascar and Zimbabwe. South Africa's Nkosazana Dhlamini-Zuma, now Minister of Home Affairs, was one of the longest serving women foreign ministers in the region.

- **The Directorate of the Organ on Politics, Defence and Security, no commitments to gender equality:** The directorate acts as the secretariat for the Organ. Within the Directorate of the five sectors namely; Politics and Diplomacy, Defence, Public Security, State Security and Policing there are two women, one responsible for Public Security and one for Politics and Diplomacy. The Ministers of Defence, Police and Foreign Affairs would make up the various ministerial committees.

Women identified as a vulnerable group and not part of the structures that promote peace in the region: The Memorandum of Understanding for the establishment of the SADC Standby Brigade, also



Graca Machel. Photo: Nonqaba Msimang

has no particular focus on gender in peace keeping, save to refer to "humanitarian assistance to alleviate the suffering of civilian population in conflict areas and support". Article 5 of the MoU regarding the role of the civilian component of the brigade refers to the need for the "protection of human rights including women and children." The MOU therefore only addresses women as part of a vulnerable group: not their role in promoting peace-keeping throughout the region. On a positive note South Africa's Brigalia Bam is a member of the African Union (AU) Panel of the Wise and Graca Machel was part of the Kenya mediation.

No gender and peace keeping training offer: There are currently no courses on gender and peacekeeping being offered at the RTPC, although they indicate that they will be introducing a one week course towards the end of 2010.

Women missing from peace negotiations: As illustrated in the case studies below, the upshot of the gender blindness in policies and structures for promoting peace in the region is that women are missing from the negotiations that have been taking place in the region.

After a lengthy mediation process conducted by SADC, **Zimbabwe's** main political parties, the Zimbabwe African National Union/Patriotic



Front (ZANU-PF), Movement for Democratic Change led by Morgan Tsvangirai (MDC-T), and MDC led by Arthur Mutambara (MDC-M) finally signed the Global Peace Agreement in 2008. The three leaders of the respective parties who signed the agreement were men: Robert Gabriel Mugabe (ZANU PF), Tsvangirai (MDC-T) and Mutambara (MDC-M). Figure 8.3 shows that of the Zimbabwe delegates, only two (18%) were women with one having only observer status.

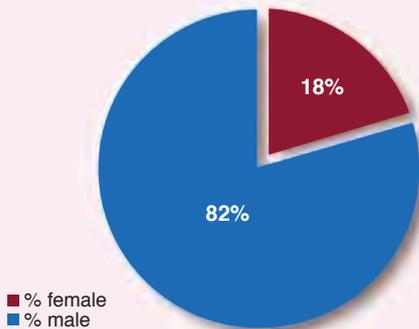
There were two mediation teams sent by the SADC Secretariat. The first, led by former South Africa President Thabo

Mbeki, resulted in the signing of the agreement. This comprised one woman out of a six member team (17%). Current South African President Jacob Zuma led the second team constituted following difficulties in implementing the agreement. The four member team included one woman (25%).

Four male leaders of political parties in Madagascar signed a peace agreement dubbed the Maputo Accord in 2009. All of the witnesses were also all men.

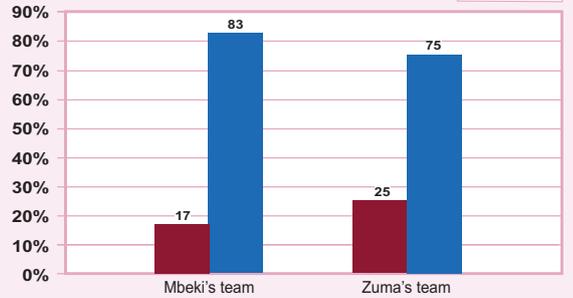


Figure 8.4: Proportion of women and men in Zimbabwe Global Peace Agreement negotiations



Source: NewsZimbabwe.com: MDC, Zanu PF talks enter second day <http://www.newzimbabwe.com/pages/mbeki97.18477.html>. Retrieved: 2 August 2010

Figure 8.5: Proportion of women and men in SADC mediation team to Zimbabwe



Sources: All Africa.com: Zimbabwe: Zuma Mediation Team to Pressure GNU Partners. 26 November 2009. <http://allafrica.com/stories/200911270901.html> ; Retrieved 2 August 2010 (Mbeki team) The Zimbabwe Situation: Mbeki races against time: http://www.zimbabwesituation.com/may27b_2007.html Retrieved: 2 August 2010

A Charter of the Transition as well as a Charter of Values were signed by the four camps and stipulated that the following institutions must be set up:

- 1 president of the transition
- 1 deputy president of the transition
- 1 prime minister
- 3 deputy prime ministers
- 28 ministers
- 65 members of the High Transition Council
- 258 members of the Congress of the Transition
- 72 members of the Economic and Social Transition Council
- 9 members of the National Reconciliation Council

Table 8.4: Signatories to the Madagascar Maputo accord

Signatories	Witnesses
Andry Rajoelina	Joaquim Chissano (SADC)
Didier Ratsiraka	Tiebile Drame (UN)
Marc Ravalomanana	Edem Kodjo (AU)
Albert Zafy	Ablasse Ouedraogo (Pour l'Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie)

Accord politique de Maputo <http://www.madagascar-tribune.com/Accord-politique-de-Maputo,12484.html>

Madagascar: Women activists call for 30% women in transitional government

Women activists made a mark during the transitional phase by demanding women's representation and providing names of possible candidates that could be nominated to key decision-making positions so that it is not used as an excuse.

The National Malagasy Women Movement "Vondrona Miralenta ho an'i fampandrosoana VMLF" mobilised women to press for inclusion of women in the transitional government. The group of women demand that:

- 30 % of the posts are occupied by women during the transition, for each political camp. If need be, the Women Group has the bio data of potential candidates.
- The voices of women should count and be listened to.
- Women should occupy 30% in the National reconciliation Council.
- Women should be 30% of all the executive and legislative bodies to be formed.

At the time of going to press, the new Constitution was being debated at district level.



Women in Madagascar seek meaningful involvement in the country's future. Photo: Colleen Lowe Morna

During the **Democratic Republic of Congo** Dialogue in 2002, women comprised 30 of the 300 delegates (10%). But a group of 40 women "experts" assisted the delegates. They were not part of the formal processes but drafted a declaration by women read out at the Dialogue. Article 51 of the DRC peace agreement specifically addresses the needs of women.



Women are often not recognised in demobilisation processes: Examples below show that women are still treated as minors even when they contribute equally in the security forces. Very few have been officially recorded.

Angola went through several demobilisation phases (1992; 1997 and 2003). Women were classified as 'dependents' and therefore needed to be



linked to a soldier (as a wife or a daughter) in order to benefit from family packages.

Of the 90,000 troops demobilised in **Mozambique** from 1992 - 1994 only 482 (0.5%) were recorded as female ex-combatants.



In South Africa (1994 - 1996) all former combatants were first integrated into the army and then given the option to be demobilised.

A total of 11 575 men and 1830 women were integrated. A further 7081 were demobilised but there are no statistics as to how many of these were women.

Of the 94 000 demobilised armed forces in the DRC from 2004 - 2009 women constituted only 2600 (2.9%) of the ex-combatants.



Human rights abuses during time of armed and other forms of conflict



The Protocol states that State Parties shall, during times of armed and other forms of conflict, take such steps as are necessary to prevent and eliminate incidences of human rights abuses especially of women and children, and ensure that the perpetrators of such abuses are brought to justice before a court of competent jurisdiction.

Human rights abuses, especially of women and children, are rife during periods of conflict. This is because women usually stay at home with children on their own while male family members go to the battle front or seek employment in safer cities. Empirical evidence shows that rape and other forms of sexual violence are used as weapons of war. Recent civil wars that have taken place in SADC in countries such as the DRC bear testimony to this.

Sexual violation of women erodes the fabric of a community in a way that few weapons can.

- The State of the World's children, 1996. UNICEF report

Although the war in the **Democratic Republic of the Congo** is formally over, women and girls remain targets for violence. The threat of and the use of violence are constants. As before the war, discrimination against women and girls underlies the violence perpetrated against them. The current climate of impunity allows the many forms of gender-based violence, including sexual violence, to flourish.



All armed groups involved in the conflict have perpetrated sexual violence. Today, several armed

groups still use sexual violence as a weapon of war in the DRC. Further, international actors, including UN personnel, have been implicated in perpetrating sexual violence in the DRC. Armed actors systematically violate women and girls in the streets, fields, and homes. The armed actors in the DRC have perpetrated gender-based violence through various forms, including sexual slavery, kidnapping, forced recruitment, forced prostitution, and rape. The Congolese victims of sexual violence include men and boys, who have also suffered rape, sexual humiliation, and genital mutilation.

Many survivors of sexual violence suffer from grave long-term psychological and physical health consequences, such as traumatic fistula and HIV. However, health infrastructure in the DRC is almost entirely absent. Shortage of medical services is particularly critical given the prevalence of sexually-transmitted infections and HIV among soldiers and irregular combatants.

Survivors of sexual violence face enormous barriers in securing justice through the courts or more informal, community-based mechanisms. At the community level, survivors usually suffer in silence, fearing stigma and ostracism if their ordeal is made public. Following her visit to the Great Lakes Region, the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights noted that "while victims (of sexual and gender-based violence) were stigmatised and socially ostracised, there was virtually no stigmatisation of perpetrators."



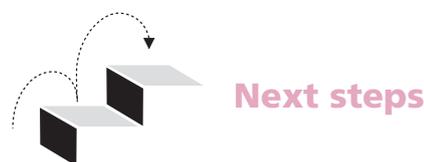
WFP distribution to IDPs at Mugunga camp, 15 km west of Goma, eastern DRC, The Democratic Republic of Congo, September 2007.
Photo: Copyright: WFP/Marcus Prior

Corrupt, under-capacitated justice systems hamper survivors' attempts to bring perpetrators to justice through formal legal processes.

The extent of gender-based violence in the DRC can only be estimated, though sexual violence is understood to be widespread. In the province of South Kivu alone, local health centres report that averages of 40 women are raped daily. Sexual violence in Congo is vastly underreported due to insecurity in or inaccessibility to many areas and the physical or material inability of some victims to travel. Further, survivors may fear reprisals by perpetrators if they were to come forward.

"Sexual violence is regarded as the most widespread form of criminality in Congo... The government that is elected will be challenged to implement the principles of the constitution and address discrimination against women, in particular sexual violence."

Source: VDAY until the violence stops: <http://www.vday.org/drcongo/about>



From this first gender audit of the security sector for the Barometer it is commendable that the discourse is beginning to shift from the state-centric view of security and guarding national interests to foregrounding human security. However women continue to be viewed as a vulnerable group rather than part of the solution to peace building and conflict resolution. For this to be achieved by 2015, a number of steps need to be taken including:

- **Review legislation to ensure that it is gender sensitive and does not discriminate against women:** States must ensure that the Police, Defence and Correctional or Prison Services Acts are gender sensitive and in particular provide for women's special needs.
- **Countries undergoing transitional politics to use opportunity:** Countries like the DRC have an opportunity to mainstream gender into new laws and White Papers for the security

services sector. For example South Africa has affirmative action to bring in more women and other previously disadvantaged groups.

- **The laws must be accompanied by special measures and incentives to attract women to join the security services sector:** Unless there are incentives and retention packages for women to join and stay the course, this sector will remain male dominated. To achieve this, an enabling environment has to be created. For example women should be able to balance time spent on peace missions or combat roles with family responsibilities particularly where young children are involved.
- **Record keeping should be gender disaggregated:** It should be the mandate of all SADC States to keep gender disaggregated data for the sector so that it is easier to monitor whether by 2015, progress would have made towards equal representation and participation in key decision making positions in conflict resolution and peace building processes. Currently data is scarce or officials are reluctant to release the information.
- **A SADC plan for mainstreaming gender in the SADC Organ:** A key step is to ensure that women are incorporated in the higher levels of decision-making at the SADC Organ level. Gender equality needs to be included in the new strategic plan of the organ. Women must form part of the SADC Brigade and the envisaged mediation unit.
- **Women to be regarded as part of the solution in peace building processes and appointed as mediators:** The population is affected differently by conflict and there are differences between the way men and women experience and cope with conflict. It is therefore important for Member States to ensure equal representation of women and men in key decision- making positions during peace building. More women should be appointed as mediators as they bring a different



Balancing army and family responsibilities in Swaziland.

Photo: UNDP

perspective to the table. In many instances these positions are appointees rather than elected so there are no excuses for not including women. The three cases studies (DRC, Madagascar and Zimbabwe) show that women are often in the minority of peace missions yet these are the very structures that determine the fate of citizens, the majority of whom are women. Women have proven themselves to be good negotiators in difficult circumstances. It is vital for these skills to be used.

- **Increasing access to training:** The SADC Female Police Officers Network should facilitate ongoing training for females in the security sector to sharpen women's knowledge and skills and build self esteem so that they can be equipped to move up the ranks to the higher levels of decision making. For example a simple issue identified during a training session for women in peace operations held in Zambia in October 2009 identified women's inability to drive as one of the hindrances to their deployment in peace keeping missions. A sector skills audit to identify women's needs would be a practical exercise that could be conducted by the Network.
- **Making gender training compulsory:** All levels of personnel including senior management should receive gender training to challenge those cultural stereotypes that perpetuate gender discrimination.
- **Sharing good practices:** Countries that are doing well across the sector such as South Africa (even though they are nowhere near achieving gender parity) should share knowledge on how to bring more women into the sector and be more gender responsive in practice.
- **Enhancing sector coordination:** The security sector has received little attention. Civil society needs to be organised to support gender mainstreaming in the security sector across the region, for example by creating a gender, peace building and conflict resolution cluster under the Southern Africa Gender Protocol Alliance.