Workshop 2: Women, Peace and Security (WPS) in Africa
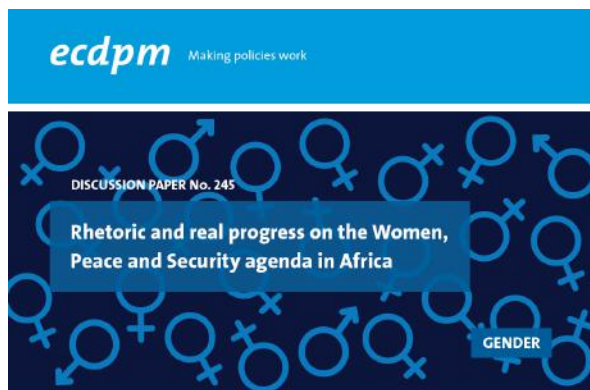
EMGS Winter School 2020, Ghent

Ulf Engel

Notice

Globally, the agenda „women, pace and security" has been adopted through UN Security Council resolution 1325 (31 October 2000). With a view to Africa, this workshop looks at how the topic is framed, who the norm entrepreneurs are and how they manage to make this a norm relevant to African countries. In particular attention will be paid to two issues:

(1) prevention and protection / sexual abuse and harassment in peace-keeping operations and within the institutions (#MeToo at the UN/AU), and

(2) participation / representation of women in conflict management and resolution.

ecdpm — Making policies work

DISCUSSION PAPER No. 245

Rhetoric and real progress on the Women, Peace and Security agenda in Africa

GENDER

By Sophie Desmidt and Laura Davis

March 2019

SUMMARY

This paper looks at how the European Union and the African Union promote the Women, Peace and Security agenda in Africa.

The Women, Peace and Security (WPS) agenda enjoys high visibility among African Union (AU) and European Union (EU) member states. Despite regional variations, many countries have adopted national action plans to promote UN Security Council resolution 1325.

In both regions, efforts and policies to promote gender and women's empowerment and the WPS agenda are not fully linked up. Although they are conceptually similar, implementation has taken place in parallel tracks, by different actors and institutions.

In the EU, for instance, the WPS agenda largely remains in the remit of the European External Action Service, while gender equality and women's empowerment fall under the European Commission's scope of action. Some recent initiatives such as the new EU Strategic Approach to Women, Peace, Security and joint reporting may remedy this disconnect.

The African Union Commission does not have a clear strategy on how to implement the WPS agenda, despite the laudable efforts of the AU Special Envoy on women, peace and security. The recently launched AU Strategy on Gender and Women's Empowerment could complement efforts to promote the WPS agenda and eventually improve the implementation across the AU.

Progress and Challenges in Implementing the Women, Peace and Security Agenda in the African Union's Peace and Security Architecture

Cheryl Hendricks*

Abstract

This article provides an initial overview of the African Union's progress and challenges in implementing the Women, Peace and Security (WPS) agenda in its peace and security architecture. It reviews implementation in relation to representation, programming and in peacekeeping. The article contends that the WPS agenda has strong roots in Africa and that progress has been made in relation to the development of frameworks, policies and strategies. Representation of women in the architecture has improved but the AU still has a long way to go to see this through at programmatic level (for example in peace negotiations and peace support operations). The programmes and activities implemented also appear to be rather ad hoc and attempts at quick-fix measurable exercises. The article argues that the WPS agenda has been narrowed to focus on the inclusion of women into peace and security institutions and processes without a deeper reflection of what their participation may mean for legitimizing post-conflict patriarchal and militarized orders.

Résumé

Cet article fournit un aperçu des progrès initiaux réalisés par l'Union africaine et des défis rencontrés dans la mise en œuvre du programme Femmes, Paix et Sécurité (FPS) dans son architecture de paix et de sécurité. Il passe en revue cette mise en œuvre en matière de représentation, de programmation et de maintien de la paix. Le travail montre que le programme FPS est bien enraciné en Afrique et que des progrès ont été réalisés en ce qui concerne

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Africa Spectrum

BIBLIOTHEK HAMBURG   ABI ARNOLD BERGSTRAESSER INSTITUT   GIGA

Programme

	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
10:00 am			Group presentations (max. 15 minutes)
1:30 – 2:45 pm	Introduction		
3:00 – 3:30 pm	Discussion		
3:30 – 4:30 pm	Group work	Group work (up to max. 7 pm)	

Talking points

Emerging norms and the WPS agenda
Doing WPS
Where is the African Union today?

Milestones in the development of the WPS agenda

4th World Conference on Women: Action for Equality, Development and Peace, Beijing

UNSC Res. 1325 on on the role of women in the prevention, management, and resolution of conflict

1993   **1995**   **2000**   **2014**   **2017**

OAU/UNECA "Kampala Action Plan on Women and Peace"

Office of the Special Envoy for WPS

FemWise-Africa

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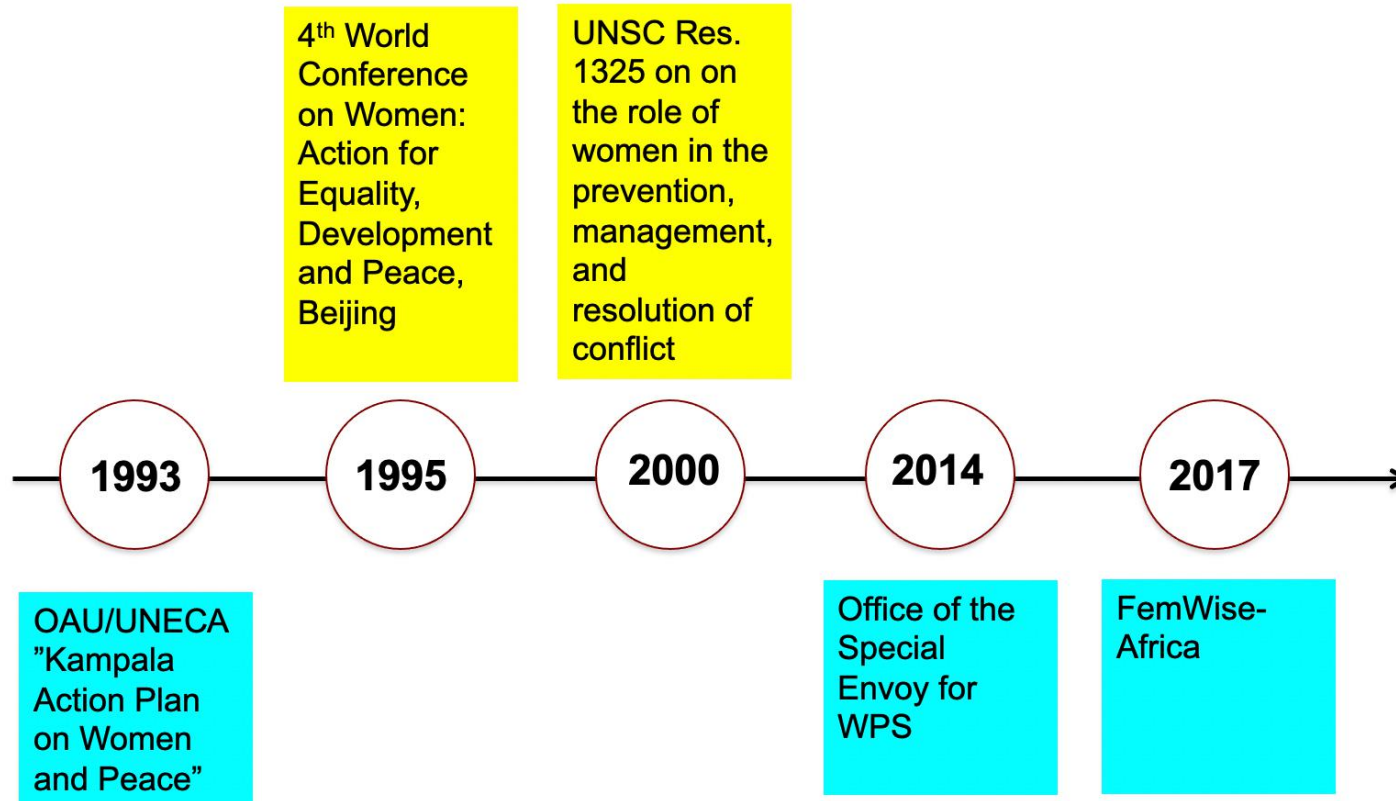
Opposing schools of thought

"On the one hand, a largely optimistic feminist school of thought argues for the power of norm diffusion, maintaining that the WPS resolutions signify a major shift in the way the UN thinks about security … On the other hand, a critical feminist position maintains that the WPS architecture has left gendered power relations largely unchallenged ... ".

Heidi Hudson 2017. "The Power of Mixed Messages: Women, Peace, and Security Language in National Action Plans from Africa", *Africa Spectrum* 52 (3): 3–29 (here p. 4).

Opposing schools of thought

"At the heart of this contention lies the fact that despite a growing WPS normative agenda, there is an implementation gap – the lives of women in conflict-ridden areas remain unchanged, and women continue to play a marginal role in formal peace talks ...".

Heidi Hudson 2017. "The Power of Mixed Messages: Women, Peace, and Security Language in National Action Plans from Africa", *Africa Spectrum* 52 (3): 3–29 (here p. 4).

United Nations

S/RES/1325 (2000)

Security Council

Distr.: General
31 October 2000

Resolution 1325 (2000)

**Adopted by the Security Council at its 4213th meeting, on
31 October 2000**

The Security Council,

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

Recalling also the commitments of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (A/52/231) as well as those contained in the outcome document of the twenty-third Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly entitled "Women 2000: Gender Equality, Development and Peace for the Twenty-First Century" (A/S-23/10/Rev.1), in particular those concerning women and armed conflict,
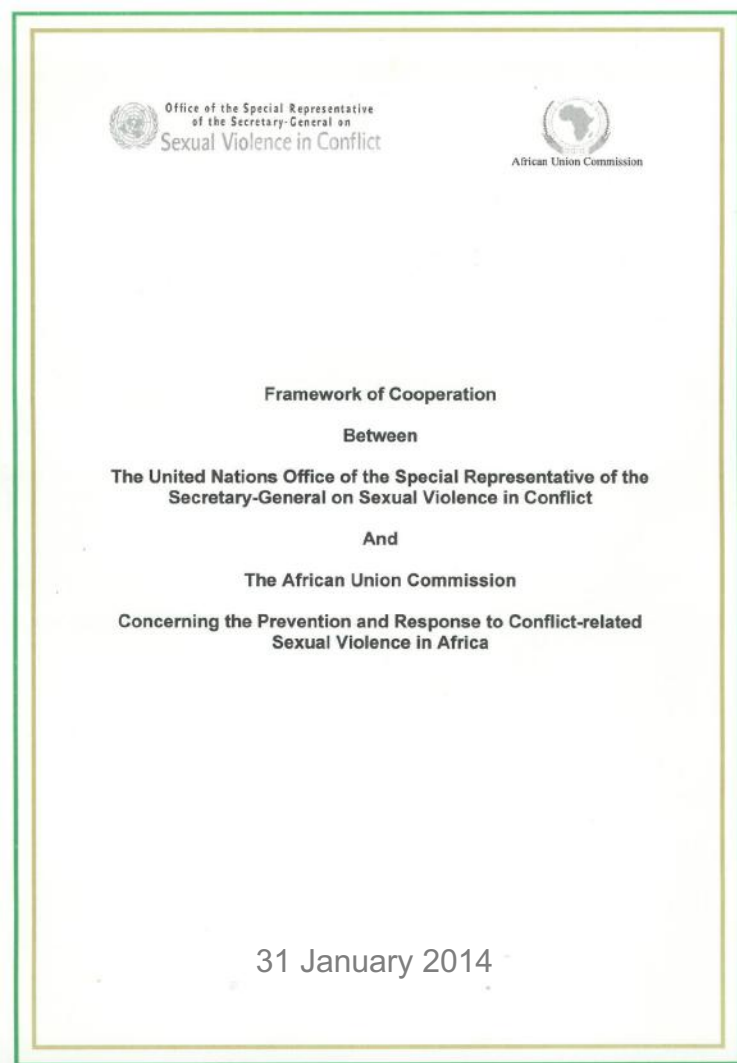
UNSC Resolution 1325 (2000)

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

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

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

UNSC Resolution 1325 (2000)

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

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

6. Requests the Secretary-General to provide to Member States training guidelines and materials on the protection, rights and the particular needs of women, as well as on the importance of involving women in all peacekeeping and peacebuilding measures …

UNSC resolutions on sexual violence

Resolution	Meeting	Content
S/RES/1820 (2008)	5916th meeting, 19 June	on violence against women and children in situations of armed conflict
S/RES/1888 (2009)	6195th meeting, 30 Sep	on the issue of sexual violence in situations of armed conflict in particular against women and children
S/RES/1960 (2010)	6453rd meeting, 16 Dec	on sexual violence in situations of armed conflict in particular against women and children
S/RES/2106 (2013)	6984th meeting, 24 June	on the prevention of sexual violence in armed conflict and post-conflict situations
S/RES/2272 (2016)	7643rd meeting, 11 Mar	on sexual exploitation and abuse by United Nations peacekeepers
S/RES/2467 (2019)	8514th meeting, 23 Apr	on the slow progress in addressing and eliminating sexual violence in situations of armed conflict in particular against women and children

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Office of the Special Representative
of the Secretary-General on
Sexual Violence in Conflict

African Union Commission

Framework of Cooperation

Between

The United Nations Office of the Special Representative of the
Secretary-General on Sexual Violence in Conflict

And

The African Union Commission

Concerning the Prevention and Response to Conflict-related
Sexual Violence in Africa

31 January 2014

UNSC Resolution 2467 (2019): Obstacles

- frequent under-representation of women in many formal processes and bodies related to the maintenance of international peace and security

- the relatively low number of women in senior positions

- the lack of adequate gender-sensitive humanitarian responses and support for women's leadership roles in these settings

- insufficient financing for women, peace and security

- women and girls are particularly at risk and are often specifically targeted
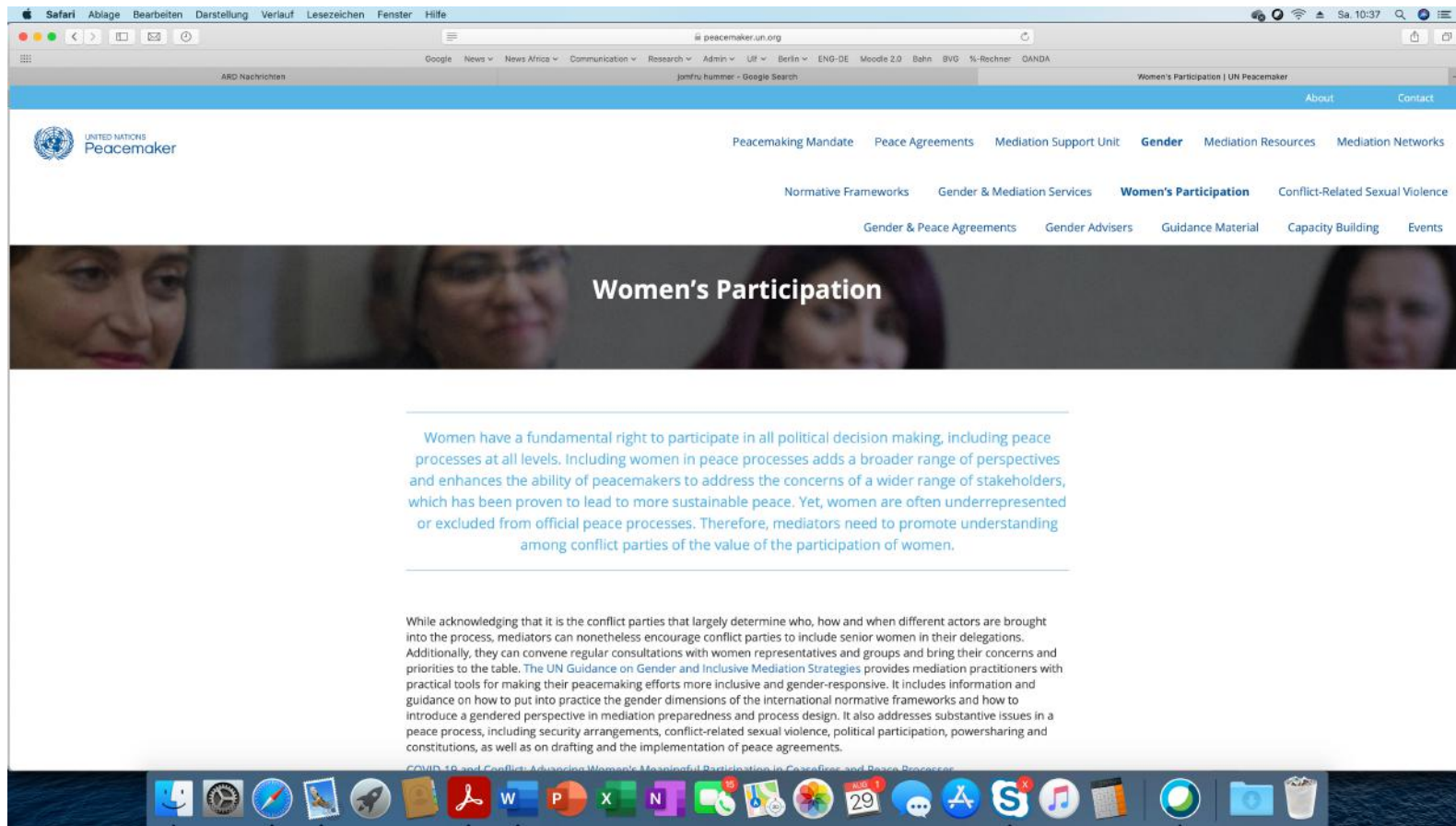
S/RES/2467 (2019), 23 April.

UNSC Resolution 2467 (2019): Obstacles

"Recognizing that the disproportionate impact of sexual violence in armed conflict and post-conflict situations on women and girls is exacerbated by discrimination against women and girls and by the under-representation of women in decision-making and leadership roles, the impact of discriminatory laws, the gender-biased enforcement and application of existing laws, harmful social norms and practices, structural inequalities, and discriminatory views on women or gender roles in society, and lack of availability of services for survivors, and further affirming the importance of promoting gender equality by addressing these and other root causes of sexual violence against all women and girls as part of conflict prevention, conflict resolution and peacebuilding"

S/RES/2467 (2019), 23 April.

UNSC resolutions on women participation in PS

Resolution	Meeting	Content
S/RES/1889 (2009)	6196th meeting, 5 Oct	on the full, equal and effective participation of women at all stages of peace processes
S/RES/2122 (2013)	7044th meeting, 18 Oct	on persisting barriers to full implementation of resolution 1325 (2000)
S/RES/2242 (2015)	7533rd meeting, 13 Oct	on the implementation of resolution 1325
S/RES/2493 (2019)	8649th meeting, 29 Oct	on persisting barriers to the full implementation of resolution 1325 (2000)

Women, Peace and Security (WPS, *see children, gender equality*)

PSC 2014: 476 (16.12.)

community level **PSC** 2018: 803 (19.10.)

Continental Results Framework for Monitoring and Reporting **PSC** 2018: 772 (16.05.)

human rights **A** 2003: 19 (II)

Kampala Action Plan **C** 1994: 1546 (LX)

media **PSC** 2016: 635 (20.10.)

peace-building **PSC** 2019: 887 (17.10.)

preventing and countering violent extremism **PSC** 2017: 728 (31.10.)

protecting lives, role of women **PSC** 2017: 659 (16.02.)

UNSC Res. 1325 **PSC** 2016: 600 (18.05.)

10th anniversary **PSC** 2015: 555 (05.11.)

women and children in conflict (*see children*) **C** 1990: 1292 (LII) | **PSC** 2010: 223 (30.03.), 2011: 269 (28.03.), 2013: 364 (26.03.), 407 (05.12.), 2015: 491 (09.03.), 2018: 757 (13.03.)

women and girls, violence against **C** 2016: 928 (XXIX)

women, peace and development **C** 1979: 711 (XXXII), 1981: 876 (XXXVII), 1997: 337 (LXVI)

women, refugees and IDPs **PSC** 2019: 833 (19.03.)

© Inventory of key OAU/AU decisions, with a special emphasis on peace and security. U. Engel, 2020.

Kampala Declaration 1993

The deliberations of the Conference focused attention on four areas of concern: the nature and effects of conflict and underdevelopment, women in the struggle for peace, the empowerment of women in the peace process, and peace education.

UNESC and UNECA 1994. "Kampala Action Plan on Women and Peace: Adopted by the Regional Conference on Women, Peace and Development (jointly organised by OAU, UNECA and the government of Uganda, Kampala, 22–25 November 1993)." Addis Ababa: UN Economic and Social Council and UN Economic Commission for Africa. ULR: <http://repository.uneca.org/handle/10855/14879> (accessed: 3 May 2020).

Kampala Declaration 1993

Action Plan

The Action Plan urges the following courses of action:

(1) The articulation by national Governments of meaningful policies on women that ensures the full involvement of women in political and economic issues, and those of social and human development.
(2) The establishment of institutional mechanisms for enhancing and coordinating interventions and strategies for such policy implementation.
(3) The provision of legal protection and special assistance for women to ensure their participation.
(4) Affirmative action to ensure the representation of women at all levels of decision-making.

UNESC and UNECA 1994. "Kampala Action Plan on Women and Peace: Adopted by the Regional Conference on Women, Peace and Development (jointly organised by OAU, UNECA and the government of Uganda, Kampala, 22–25 November 1993)." Addis Ababa: UN Economic and Social Council and UN Economic Commission for Africa.

Norm entrepreneurs

Norm life cycle model

	Stage 1 Norm emergence	Stage 2 Norm cascade	Stage 3 Internalization
Actors	Norm entrepreneurs with organizational platforms	States, international organizations, networks	Law, professions, bureaucracy
Motives	Altruism, empathy, ideational, commitment	Legitimacy, reputation, esteem	Conformity
Dominant mechanisms	Persuasion	Socialization, institutionalization, demonstration	Habit, institutionalization

Martha Finnemore and Kathryn Sikkink 1998. "International Norm Dynamics and Political Change", *International Organization* 52 (4): 887-917 (here p. 898).

NGO founded in Dec. 1996 in Geneva to prevent and resolve conflicts in Africa and to empower woman for leadership in peace building.

African women norm entrepreneurs

Christiana A. George 2001. "Engendering the Peace Process in Africa". In F. Reysoo (dir.) Hommes armés, femmes aguerries. Rapports de genre en situations de conflit armé. Geneva: Graduate Institute Publications, 223–234.

Bineta Diop 2002. "Engendering the Peace Process in Africa: Women at the Negotiating Table", *Refugee Survey Quarterly* 21 (special issue): 142–154.

African Union points of reference

- African Union 2003. *Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa*. Maputo: African Union.

- African Union 2003. "The Maputo Declaration on Gender Mainstreaming and the Effective Participation of Women in the African Union". Maputo: African Union.

- AU Assembly 2004. "Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa", adopted at the 33rd Ordinary AU Assembly held in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, 6–8 July. Assembly/AU/Decl. 12 (III). Addis Ababa: African Union.

- African Union 2009. "African Union Gender Policy". Addis Ababa: African Union.

- African Union 2010. "Nairobi Declaration on the African Women's Decade 2010–2020", 14 October. Nairobi: African Union.

- AU Commission 2015 [2013]. *Agenda 2063. The Africa We Want*. Addis Ababa: AU Commission.

- African Union 2018. *AU Strategy for Gender Equality & Women's Empowerment 2018–2028*. Addis Ababa: African Union.

Peace and Security Council communiqués

	Communiqué
… on sexual harassment and exploitation	223 (2010), 757 (2018), 862 (2019)
… on WPS	223 (2010), 476 (2014), 600 (2015), 728 (2017), 772 (2018), 833 (2019), 877 (2019)

DOING WPS

1 Panel of the Wise: Thematic choices

"The Panel also agreed to focus its thematic reflection for 2010–2011 on an issue relevant to conflict prevention in Africa and in this case decided to focus on the problem of women and children in armed conflicts. … Women are often subjected to gender based violence, often becoming the single heads of households, displaced/refugees in dehumanizing camps. A clear commitment to the objectives of the UNSC Resolution 1325 (2000) was reiterated in this context."

AU Panel of the Wise 2009. "Communiqué of the 7th meeting of the Panel of the Wise held on 9–10 November in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia", § 20.

Panel of the Wise: Thematic choices

Recommendations of the report on "Eliminating Vulnerabilities of Women and Children in Armed Conflicts" (2014)

1. to establish an Office of the Special Envoy on Women, Peace and Security (2014)

2. to launch an AU five-year Gender Peace and Security Programme (GPSP) (2015–2020)

3. have an Open Session of the PSC on WPS (4 March 2015 ff.)

4. to launch an African Network of Women in Conflict Prevention and Peace Mediation (FemWise) (see below)

AU PSD: Gender, Peace and Security Programme

- launched on 2 June 2014 for the period 2015–2020
- designed to serve as a framework for the development of effective strategies and mechanisms for women's increased participation in the promotion of peace and security
- also designed to enhance protection of women in conflict and post-conflict situations in Africa
- financed by the Govt of Austria

ULR: <http://www.peaceau.org/en/article/african-union-launches-five-year-gender-peace-and-security-programme-2015-2020> (accessed: 25 August 2020).

Special Envoy on Women, Peace and security

Bineta Diop is the Founder and President of Femmes Africa Solidarité (FAS), an international NGO) that seeks to foster, strengthen and promote the leadership role of women in conflict prevention, management and resolution in Africa. She played an instrumental role in achieving gender parity within the African Union Commission's leadership and in the adoption of the Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa as well as the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and People's Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa. She has led peace building programs as well as many women' peace and security initiatives.

In January 2014, she was appointed by the Chairperson of the African Union Commission as Special Envoy on Women, Peace and Security. Mme Diop was named one of the 100 most influential people in the world by Time Magazine in 2011. She was co-chair of the World Economic Forum on Africa in 2014.

AUC website, ULR: <http://www.peaceau.org/en/page/40-5676-static-bineta-diop> (accessed: 24 August 2020)

2 AU Special Envoy WPS

⊗ What we stand for

The Special Envoy's work aims to **close the gap between policy and implementation**. The mandate is anchored on the priority pillars of the landmark United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325, subsequent related UN resolutions and African Union instruments and policies. It is hence articulated around four main strands:

- ⊕ The prevention of violence against women and girls in conflict, situations of insecurity and in times of peace;
- ⊕ The protection of women and girls from sexual and gender-based violence, including in humanitarian situations;
- ⊕ The participation of women at all levels of decision-making in the prevention, management, resolution of conflict and peacebuilding processes;
- ⊕ The recognition and incorporation of gender perspectives in relief and recovery efforts.

Office of the Special Envoy WPS

- organizational platform for norm cascade

- strategies:

  - high-level advocacy and support to women (solidarity missions, high-level meetings and conferences)

  - policy implementation (see Roadmap on Continental Results Framework)

  - building synergy within the AUC

  - building partnerships and resource mobilization (supporting the creation of networks of WPS; empowering women as election observers and mediators; towards a network of centres of excellence; strategising with partners to enhance the WPS agenda)
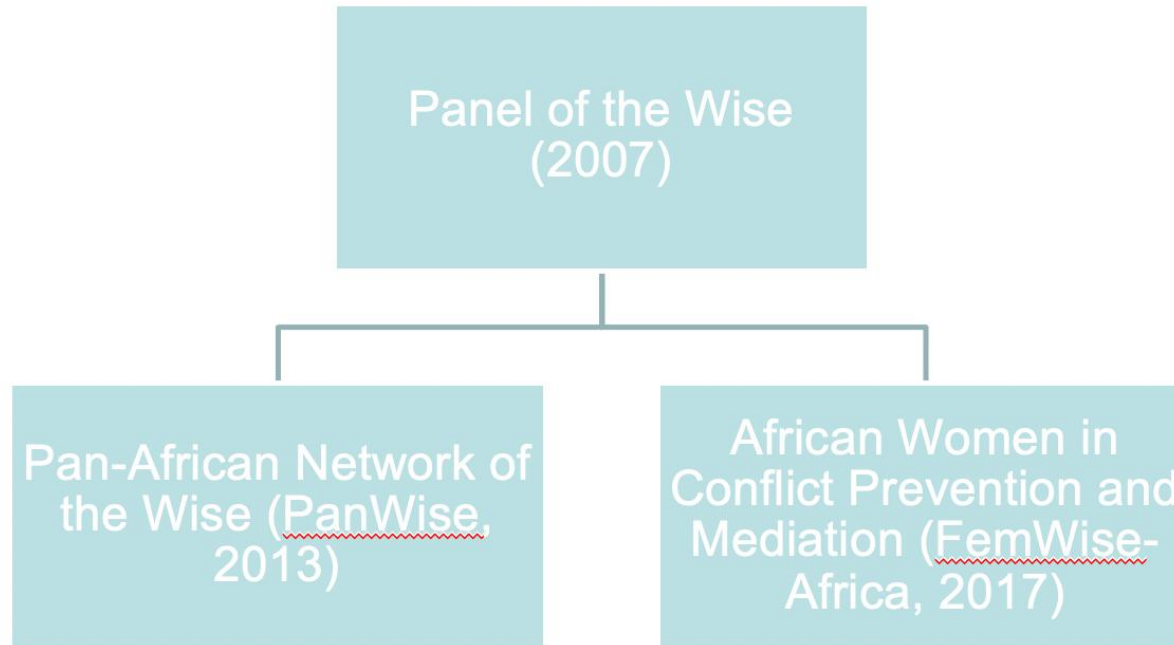
3 FemWise-Africa timeline

date	event
2016, 12–13 Dec	The African Mediation Workshop "Silencing the Guns by 2020: Women's Inclusion in Pre-Conflict Mediation, at the Peace table and in Social Cohesion Mechanisms", Constantine, Algeria invited by The Pan African Network of the Wise (PanWise) and the Special Envoy WPS
2017, 13 Mar	PSC communiqué 665: endorsement of FemWise-Africa
2017, 27 Mar	UNSC endorsement (Arria formula meeting)
2017, 4 July	officially established through AU Assembly decision, Assembly/AU/Draft/Dec.21 (XXIX)

FemWise-Africa governance 1

- co-chairs:
  - H.E. Dr Speciosa Wandira Kazibwe, f. Vice-Pres Uganda & member of the Panel of the Wise
  - H.E. Catherine Samba Panza, former President CAR
- under the auspices/tutelage of the Commissioner Peace and Security, H.E. Amb. Smaïl Chergui (as of late: PSD Special Projects)

FemWise-Africa governance 2

date	event
2017, 5–6 Oct	Steering Cttee 1, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia
2017, 13–14 Dec	General Assembly 1, Constantine, Algeria: "Silencing the Guns by 2020: Women Mediating & Promoting Cross-Border Cooperation"
2018, 29 May	Steering Cttee 2, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia
2018, 27 Oct	Steering Cttee 3, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia
2018, 29–30 Nov	GA 2, Constantine, Algeria: "Women's Role in Preventing and Resolving. Natural Resource-Related Conflicts"
2019, 30 April	Steering Cttee 4, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia
2019, 25–26 Nov	Steering Cttee 5, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia
2019, 26–27 Nov	GA 3, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia: "Ensuring that no girl or women will be left behind in our efforts to Silence the Guns in Africa"
2020, 25 April	Steering Cttee 6, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

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│ Advisory Council to P/W │──────│ Panel of the Wise│──────│ Secretariat to the P/W│
└─────────────────────────┘      └──────────────────┘      └──────────────────────┘
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| Advisory Council to the P/W | Panel of the Wise | Secretariat to the P/W |

| PanWise | FemWise |

PanWise Steering		FemWise Steering Committee
PanWise annual retreat		FemWise General Assembly
Board of advisors	
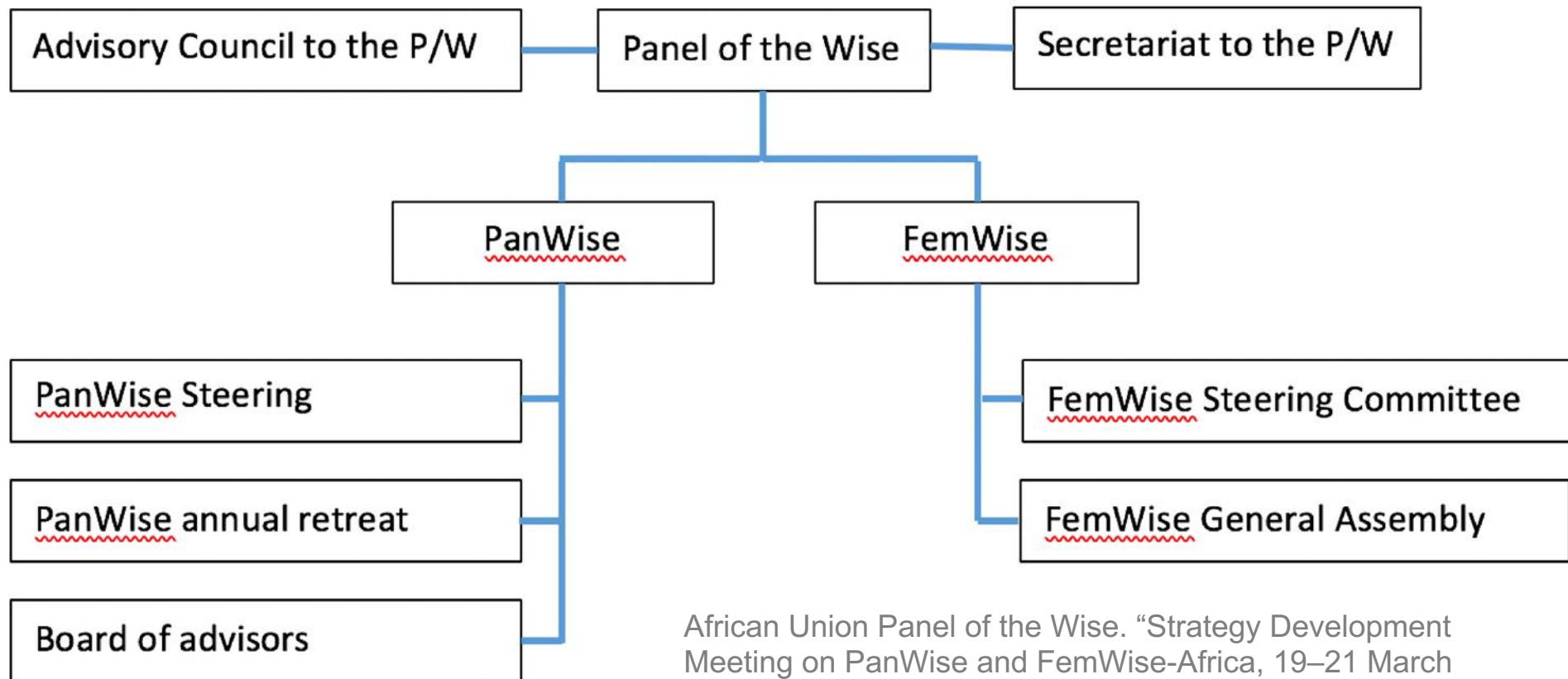
African Union Panel of the Wise. "Strategy Development Meeting on PanWise and FemWise-Africa, 19–21 March 2019, Addis Ababa". Draft report (mimeo).

FemWise-Africa activities 1

1. professionalizing the role of women in preventive diplomacy and mediation at Track 1, 2 and 3 levels

2. ensuring a channel for women's meaningful and effective participation in peace processes, including as heads of official high-level mediation missions
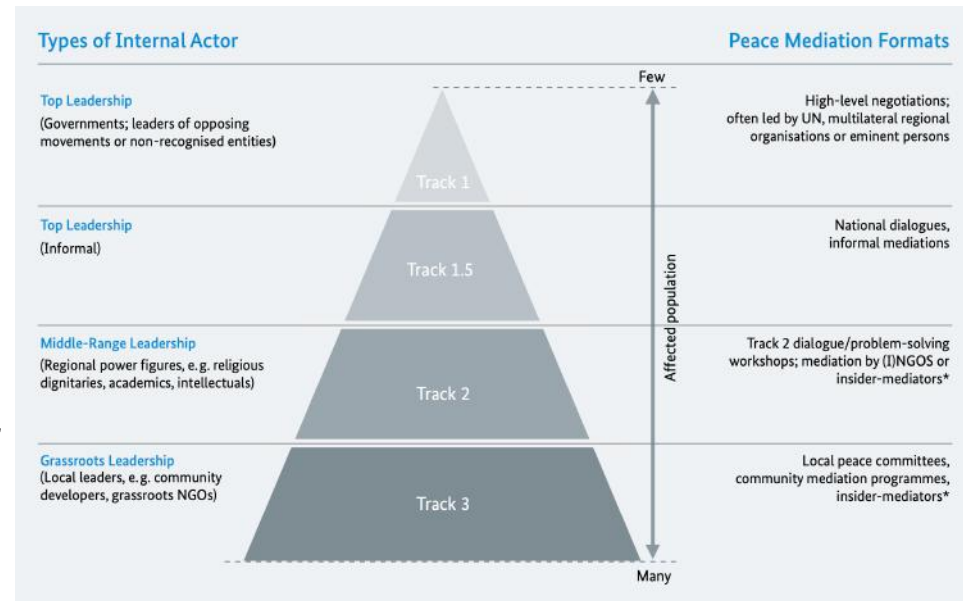
FemWise-Africa activities 2

3. initiating women's action that will catalyse and mainstream the engagement of women in mediation in line with the African Union's "Agenda 2063" and the United Nation's SDGs

4. bridging the gap between Track 1, 2 and 3 mediation and synergizing efforts towards inclusive peace processes with sustainable outcomes

5. strengthening mediation interventions with the facilitation of Quick Impact Projects (QUIPs) and the establishment of local and national peace infrastructures as foundations and launchpad for medium and longer term initiatives

"Conclusions". FemWise-Africa 1st General Assembly, Constantine, Algeria, 13–14 December 2017.

FemWise-Africa challenges

- implementation gap

- governance (MSU)

- not fully utilizing its potential (horizontically re Panel of the Wise and PanWise; vertically re RECs and member states)

- "deployment policy"

- post-2018 lack of visibility

- no independent budget, under-staffed

- narrow traditional feminist agenda (representation, yet not challenging patriarchal structures)

4 Continental Results Framework

- "decides to adopt the Continental Results Framework for Monitoring and Reporting on the Implementation of the Women Peace and Security agenda in Africa; …

- in order to monitor the implementation by AU Member States and other relevant stakeholders of the various African and international instruments and other commitments on women, peace and security in Africa"

AU PSC 2018. "Communique issued after the 772nd PSC meeting on the 'Continental Results Framework for Monitoring and Reporting on the Implementation of the Women, Peace and Security Agenda in Africa', held in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, 16 May". PSC/PR/COMM. (DCCLXXII).

Continental Results Framework

monitoring 41 indicators on:

- prevention

- protection

- participation

- relief and recovery

AU 2019. "Continental Results Framework. Monitoring and Reporting on the Implementation of the Women, Peace and Security Agenda In Africa (2018–2028)." Addis Ababa: OSE WPS, based on the CRF validation workshop held on 29 March 2018 in Addis Ababa.
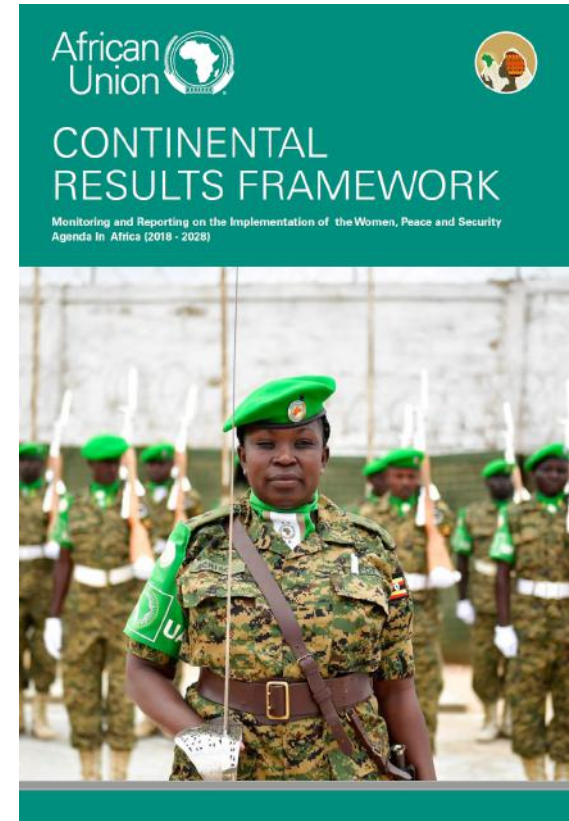
National Action Plans

	By June 2018
NAPs (23)	Angola, Burundi, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, CAR, Côte d'Ivoire, DRC, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea-Bissau, Guinea, Kenya, Liberia, Mali, Mozambique, Niger, Nigeria, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Senegal, South Sudan, Togo, Uganda
RAPs (4)	ECOWAS, IGAD, Mano River Union, Great Lakes region

AU 2019. "Continental Results Framework. Monitoring and Reporting on the Implementation of the Women, Peace and Security Agenda In Africa (2018–2028)." Addis Ababa: OSE WPS, p. 1.
In addition: Tunisia (2018) and Namibia (2019).

National Action Plans

"Of the 84 NAPs adopted [worldwide] to date, only 28 (33%) include an allocated budget for implementation. Furthermore, only 26 NAPs (31%) include references to disarmament and provide specific actions to disarm society. Although civil society has always been at the forefront of efforts to strengthen the implementation of the WPS Agenda, only 63 NAPs (75%) allocate a specific role to civil society in the different stages of the NAP implementation process, with this role often limited to an 'advisory' position."

PeaceWomen "WPS Implementation" (as of May 2020), ULR: <https://www.peacewomen.org/member-states> (accessed: 26 August 2020).

WHERE IS THE AFRICAN UNION TODAY?

Commissioners

	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020
Peace and Security	Said Djinnit					Ramtane Lamamra					Smaïl Chergui							
Political Affairs	Julia Dolly Joiner										Aisha Abdullahi					Minata Samate-Cessouma		
Social Affairs	Gawanas Bience Philomina										Mustapha Sidiki Kaloko				Amira El Fadil			

Note: Positions of Commissioners are allocated on a gender-parity basis.

Panel of the Wise

	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020
Central Africa	Miguel Trovoada				*Marie Madeleine Kalala-Ngoy*			*Albina Faria Assis Pereira Africano*				*Honorine Nzet Bitéghé*		
Eastern Africa	Salim Ahmed Salim							*Speciosa Wandira Kazibwe*						
Northern Africa	Ahmed Ben Bella							Lakhdar Brahimi				Amr Moussa		
Southern Africa	*Brigalia Bam*				Kenneth Kaunda			*Luisa Diogo*				Hifikepunye Pohamba		
Western Africa	*Elisabeth K. Pognon*				*Mary Chinery Hesse*			Edem Kodjo				*Ellen Johnson Sirleaf*		

Sources: AU Assembly decisions 152 (2007, VIII), 310 (2010, XV), 543 (2014, XXIII) and 663 (2017, XXIX). Women in italics.

AUC Chairperson's Representatives and Envoys
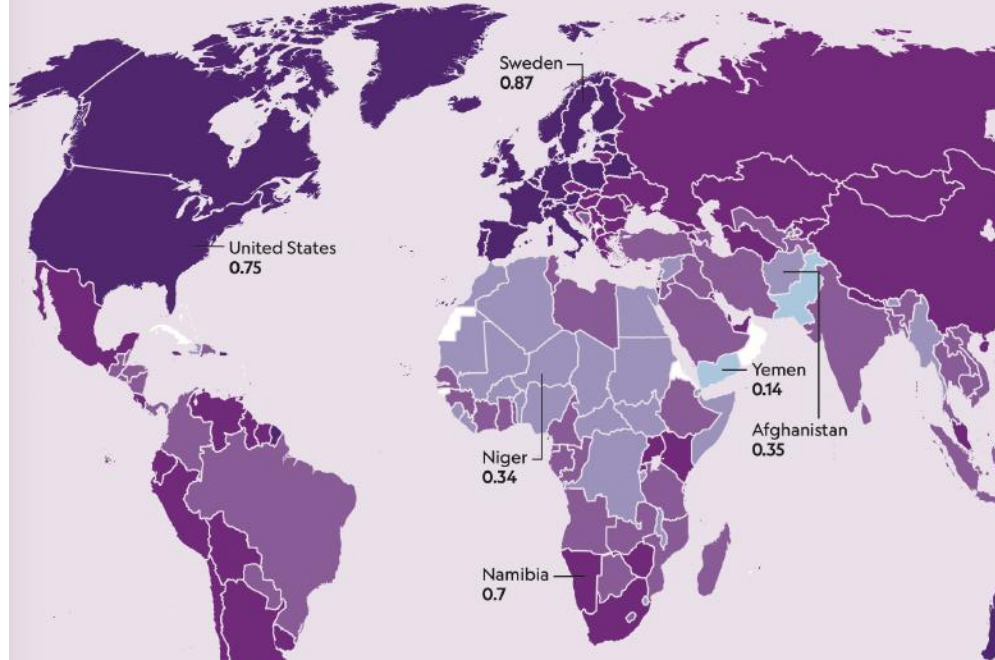
	number
High Representatives	0 out of 8
Special Envoys	2* out of 5
Special Representatives	0 out of 5

Source: AU website (accessed: 23 August 2020).
* Note: Bineta Diop (WPS) and Aya Chebbi (Youth).

AUC Directors (9* out of 20)

- Administration and Human Resources Management (AHRM): (Acting) Rekia Tidjani Mahamoudou, Niger *
- Citizens and Diaspora Directorate (CIDO): Ahmed EL-Basheer, Sudan
- Conference Management and Publications (DCMP): Khellaf Lamouchi Nedjat, Algeria *
- Department of Economic Affairs: René N'Guettia Kouassi, Côte d'Ivoire
- Human Resources, Science and Technology (HRST): (Acting) Mahama Ouedraogo, Burkina Faso
- Information and Communication (DIC): Leslie Richer, Kenya *
- Infrastructure and Energy: Cheikh Bedda, Mauritania
- Internal Audit (OIA): Regina Maambo Muzamai, Zambia *
- Legal Counsel: Namira N Negm, Egypt *
- Medical and Health Services: Yankuba Kassama, Gambia
- Peace and Security: (Acting) Admore Mupoki Kambudzi, Zimbabwe
- Political Affairs (DPA): Khabele Matlosa, Lesotho
- Programming, Budget, Finance and Accounting (PBFA): Assietou Sylla Diouf, Senegal *
- Protocol Services Directorate: Simone Abala, Gabon
- Rural Economy and Agriculture (DREA): Godfrey Bahiigwa, Uganda
- Secretary-General of the Commission: Mourad Ben Dhiab, Tunisia
- Social Affairs: (Acting) Cisse Mariama Mohamed, Niger *
- Strategic Planning, Policy, Monitoring, Evaluation and Resource Mobilisation (SPPMERM): Mesfin Tessema, Ethiopia
- Trade and Industry (DTI): Treasure Thembisile Maphanga, ESwatini *
- Women, Gender and Development (WGDD): Mahawa Kaba Wheeler, Guinea *

AIMING FOR INCLUSION

MAKING THEIR VOICES HEARD

Women's level of inclusion in economic, social, and political spheres is a critical measure of a country's basic human rights. Countries such as Rwanda, Moldova, Turkmenistan, Armenia, and Benin have recently made notable gains in women's education, financial access, or representation in the national legislature.

Inclusion index

Best — Worst
0.9 ▮▮▮▮▯ 0.1

Sweden
0.87

United States
0.75

Yemen
0.14

Niger
0.34

Afghanistan
0.35

Namibia
0.7

Women's participation in selected African peace processes (1992–2011)	women signatories (in %)	women lead mediators (in %)	women witnesses (in %)	women in negotiating teams (in %)
Sierra Leone (1999), Lomé agreement	0	0	20	0
Burundi (1999), Arusha agreement	0	0	--	2
Somalia (2002), Eldoret declaration	0	0	0	--
Côte d'Ivoire (2003), Linas-Marcoussis accords	0	0	0	--
DRC (2003), Sun City accords	5	0	0	12
Liberia (2003), Accra agreement	0	0	17	--
Sudan (2005), Naivasha agreement	0	0	9	--
Darfur (2006), Abuja agreement	0	0	7	8
Uganda (2008), Juba agreement	0	0	20	9
Kenya (2008), Nairobi agreement	0	33*	0	25
Zimbabwe (2008)	0	0	0	--
Somalia (2008)	0	0	10	--
CAR (2011)	0	0	0	0

UN Women 2012 [2010]. "Women's Participation in Peace Negotiations: Connections between Presence and Influence". 2nd ed., New York NY: UN Women, 4-5. *Graça Machel.

Table 1: Troop and Police Contributing Countries in AMISOM[7]

Country	Number of troops in 2016	Number of police in 2016	Percentage (%) of females in 2015
Uganda	6,223	402	2.57
Burundi	5,432		1.4
Kenya	3,664	27	0.08
Sierra Leone	850	47	
Ethiopia	4,395		2.9
Djibouti	960		0.7
Ghana		56	
Nigeria		140	

Cheryl Hendricks 2017. "Progress and Challenges in Implementing the Women, Peace and Security Agenda in the African Union's Peace and Security Architecture", *Africa Development / Afrique Et Développement* 42 (3): 73–98 (here p. 87).

Representation

"Representation of women in the architecture has improved but the AU still has a long way to go to see this through at programmatic level (for example in peace negotiations and peace support operations). The programmes and activities implemented also appear to be rather ad hoc and attempts at quick-fix measurable exercises. The article argues that the WPS agenda has been narrowed to focus on the inclusion of women into peace and security institutions and processes without a deeper reflection of what their participation may mean for legitimizing post-conflict patriarchal and militarized orders."

Cheryl Hendricks 2017. "Progress and Challenges in Implementing the Women, Peace and Security Agenda in the African Union's Peace and Security Architecture", *Africa Development / Afrique Et Développement* 42 (3): 73–98 (here p. 73).

National Action Plans

- identity: there is a large-scale conflation of constructs such as gender and women as well as "womenandgirls"

- participation: security discourses display a civilising intent through the participation of women in the security sector ("making war civil for and through women")

- protection: violence is seen through a sexualised lens which privileges women's protection yet still makes women responsible for preventing sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV)

Heidi Hudson 2017. "The Power of Mixed Messages: Women, Peace, and Security Language in National Action Plans from Africa", Africa Spectrum 52 (3): 3–29 (here p. 5, based on an analysis of the NAPs of Kenya, Liberia, Nigeria and Uganda).

- Gender inequality in mainstream peace and security processes in Africa is treated as a side issue, or linked to peace and security only tangentially and in segments.
- Those leading or facilitating peace processes and missions lack conviction about the need to transform gender relations in their areas of operation. They see related policies as separate from mainstream security policy.
- Peace missions' staff and staff of peace and security institutions' continue to resist the notion of gender equality (this is related to the above point). Their attitudes arguably derive from the norms, values and culture that have shaped their own understanding of gender issues. Training programmes have not managed to effectively respond to this challenge.
- The relative ease with which those managing peace processes and peace missions retreat to the provision of technical solutions. There is no real interest in a deep examination of gender issues except as a technical problem requiring a technical approach and solution. It is therefore unlikely that real change can occur without a corresponding commitment that goes beyond ticking checklists aimed at meeting institutional reporting directives or donor reporting requirements.
- Women leaders and activists have, even if inadvertently, reinforced the status quo. This is not least due to a lack of capacity. In an overwhelming number of cases women activists, in their narratives and practice, are unable to take a strategic approach that would enable them to engage in holistic thinking about peace and security. Understandably, they restrict themselves to their vantage points, which can be narrow and invariably relegate them to the periphery of strategic conversations. Excluding them from mainstream peace and security processes then becomes relatively easy – either by mainstream policy actors' design or omission.

'Funmi Olonisakin 2016. "Bringing Gender Dimensions Back from Obscurity: Governance, Peace and Security in Africa". Accra: African Women's Development Fund, v.

"The Power These Men Have Over Us"

September 8, 2014

"The Power These Men Have Over Us"

Sexual Exploitation and Abuse by African Union Forces in Somalia

Available In   English   Français

AMISOM troops patrolling the Zona-K camp for displaced people in Mogadishu's Hodan district in June 2012. ©2012 Clar Ni Chonghaile

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PRESS RELEASE

THE AFRICAN UNION STRONGLY REJECTS THE CONCLUSIONS CONTAINED IN THE REPORT OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH ON ALLEGATIONS ON SEXUAL EXPLOITATION AND ABUSE BY AMISOM

The AU reiterates its zero tolerance policy on misconduct and abuses in peace support operations

Addis Ababa, 8 September 2014: The Commission of the African Union (AU) is concerned by the report entitled "The Power These Men Have Over Us: Sexual Exploitation and Abuse (SEA) by African Union Forces in Somalia", issued today by Human Rights Watch (HRW). The Commission takes note of the allegations contained therein. These allegations will be thoroughly investigated, and appropriate measures will be taken if they are found to be true, through the relevant mechanisms that have been developed by the AU to prevent and respond to issues of misconduct and abuse in peace support operations, in accordance with the AU's zero-tolerance policy on this matter.

What is the debate like in the AUC?

- 25 January 2018 petition signed by 37 AUC women that alleged "professional apartheid" against women in the Commission

  Mail & Guardian [Johannesburg], 4 May 2018, and *The East African* [Nairobi], 12 May 2018.

- 2018 inquiry led by AUC Special Envoy Bineta Diop; mandate: to look at cases of gender discrimination and sexual harassment

- November 2018 final report, based on 88 interviews with AU staffers, went much further than that, outlining 40 cases of sexual harassment, gender discrimination, nepotism and corruption

What is the debate like in the AUC?

Interoffice Memorandum from the AUC Chairperson, 22 November 2018, responding to the following allegations raised by staff:

1. Malpractices in Human Resource functions;
2. Cases of harassment, bullying and intimidation;
3. Governance challenges;
4. Gender discrimination;
5. Fraud and corruption;
6. Impunity;
7. Sexual harassment.

Sexual harassment at the AU

"It is the finding of the committee that incidents of sexual harassment exist in the commission. This is established by the almost unanimous confirmation of the prevalence of this occurrence by interviewees appearing before the committee. Evidence presented [suggests] that this form of harassment is perpetuated by supervisors over female employees in their charge, especially, but not exclusively, during official missions outside work stations … senior departmental staff, who position themselves as 'gatekeepers' and 'kingmakers', are well-positioned to make believable promises to young women that they will be offered contracts … according to interviewees, the young women are exploited for sex in exchange for jobs." *Mail & Guardian* [Johannesburg], 17 May 2019 – citing from IOM No. BC/B100/2774/11.18, 22 November 2018

Policies discussed now

- accountability throughout the system (training, monitoring, reporting, inquiries, criminal accountability)

- prioritizing victims' rights and dignity

- proactive risk management

READINGS

Aoláin, Fionnuala Ní et al. (eds.) 2018. *The Oxford Handbook of Gender and Conflict*. New York NY: Oxford University Press.

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Questions

1. How is the framing of WPS working? Who are the norm entrepreneurs? What are their communicative strategies? Why is it comparatively easy to mobilize international support for the WPS in Africa agenda?

2. How does implementation of the WPS agenda compare between the UN and the African Union? (re prevention and protection / sexual abuse and harrassment in peace-keeping operations and within the institutions / #MeToo at the UN/AU & participation / representation of women in conflict management and resolution)?

3. Who or what is the elephant in the room? What's missing in these debates?

4. Any generalising conclusions re SDGs?