

**South Africa's International Mediation Efforts:
Promoting the Participation of Women**

by

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**A mini-dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the
requirements for the degree**

Master in Diplomatic Studies

Department of Political Sciences

UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES

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December 2017

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

When I first started writing this mini-dissertation I was not sure about the direction it would take because I knew very little about feminist theories on conflict resolution. However, I have since learnt so much about myself as well as the area study, and have acquired new ideas and perspectives have opened up. I can now understand feminism as a lens of study in manner I did not before.

I would like to thank Ambassador Welile Nhlapo who introduced me to the subject of conflict resolution and mediation, during our lengthy conversations about conflicts in Africa. I would like to thank my supervisor Prof Sphamandla Zondi for his dedicated time, guidance and encouragement throughout my writing process, I would not have reached this stage without his help.

I would also like to thank Professor Edward Maloka for his consistent reminder to complete my masters. He encouraged me to finally enrol into the MDips Masters programme. I thank you, Prof Maloka, for believing in me and knowing that I am capable of completing this process.

I would like to thank my family and friends who all encouraged and gave me strength to carry on no matter how tough it became between balancing school and studies. Thank you very much, I would not have come this far without consistent support.

Finally, I would like to thank my class mates who were always ready for a debate and helped get a better understanding of my research. Thank you very much guys, I enjoyed going through this experience with you all.

Thank you to everyone else I have not mentioned above who also supported and encouraged me during this process

I thank you

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South Africa's International Mediation Efforts: Promoting participation of women

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ABSTRACT

Since the turn of the 21st century, the world has witnessed a change in conflict towards a greater incidence of intra-state conflict, while efforts to end it have also improved in a number of ways, at least in relation to conceptual and policy tools for resolution and peacebuilding. This applies to the situation in Africa as well. In response, on 31 October 2000, the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) adopted the Resolution 1325 that stressed the protection of women in conflict situations and called for and provided for a broad framework for empowering women to take part in the prevention and resolution of conflict including in peace building, post-conflict reconstruction and mediation. South Africa is considered one of the most progressive countries in the pursuit of empowerment of women evidenced in the large numbers of women in parliament, the passing of gender-sensitive policies that protect women from violence and prejudice, and the setting up of structures like SA Women in Dialogue to promote women involvement in peace-making. Whether the same progressive conduct can be found in relation to its implementation of the UNSCR 1325 on women, peace and security is uncertain. The literature is unclear about the implications of this failure to plan implementation as part of the discussion of the actual evidence of implementation of the resolution, if at all.

Of particular interest is that South Africa has also made a name for itself for championing peaceful resolution of conflict in line with the UN charter and the African Union's Constitutive Act. Its mediation efforts in countries like Burundi, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Lesotho and Zimbabwe have received a lot of attention from political dialogues and academic discussions alike. Yet, this literature is silent on the extent to which South Africa has included women in mediation and the reasons why this has not been a remarkable achievement in spite of South Africa's proud record in gender empowerment generally. Given the country's involvement in mediation efforts, this study analyses whether these efforts have complied with UNSCR 1325 requirements of equal opportunity for appointment and inclusion of women as lead mediators and Special Envoys. Employing a feminist conflict theory lens on available primary and secondary data, the study finds that,

indeed South Africa has not done enough consciously to implement the terms of the resolution and has performed poorly on the involvement of women in its sizeable list of mediation efforts, thus undermining the moral standing of its interventions. A number of reasons are offered to explain this including historical, institutional and societal ones. A few recommendations are outlined at the end.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACCORD	African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes
ACIRC	African Capacity for Immediate Response to Crisis
AFDB	African Development Bank
ANC	African National Congress
APSA	African Peace and security Architecture
ARCSS	Agreement on the Resolution of the Conflict in the Republic of South Sudan
ASC	African Standby Capacity
ASI	African Solidarity Initiative
AU	African Union
CAP	Common African Position
CAR	Central African Republic
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women
CCR	Centre for Conflict Resolution
CSO's	Civil Society Organisations
CSW	Commission on the Status of Women
COCAFEM/GL	<i>Concertation des collectifs des Associations féminines/Grands Lacs</i>
ECCAS	Economic Community of Central States
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African Countries
DoD	Department of Defence
DoW	Department of Women
DIRCO	Department of International Relations and Cooperation
DHA	Department of Home Affairs
FAS	<i>Femme Afrique Solidarite</i>
FDD	Forces for the Defence of Democracy
FPCT	Feminist Peace and Conflict Theory
IGAD	Intergovernmental Authority on Development

INSTRAW	International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women
ISS	Institute for Security Studies
MDC	Movement for Democratic Change
MRWN	Mano River Women's Peace Network
NAP	National Action Plan
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development
NGO's	Non-government Organisations
PAWO	Pan-African Women's Organisation
PBC	Peace Building Commission
PCRD	Post Conflict Reconstructive Development
RAPs	Regional Action Plans
RGPIP	Regional Gender Policy Implementation Plan
RECs	Regional Economic Communities
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SAWID	South African Women's in Dialogue
SAWMS	Southern African Women's Mediator Seminar
SPLM/A	South Sudan People Liberation Movement in Opposition
SSWGA	South Sudan Women's General Association
UN	United Nations
UNIFEM	United Nations Development for Women
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
UNSCR	United Nations Security Council Resolution
WCEE	Women's Charter of Effective Equality
WNC	Women's National Coalition
WOZA	Women of Zimbabwe Arise
WPS	Women Peace and Security
ZANU-PF	Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front

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CHAPTER 1

South Africa's International Mediation: Promoting participation of women

1.1 Background and rationale

The 21st century has seen a dramatic decrease in inter-state conflict, which has been replaced by continuous recurring conflicts within states. Since the 1990's, the African continent has been greatly affected, experiencing repeated outbreaks of civil conflict in countries such as the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), South Sudan, Central African Republic, Cote d'Ivoire, Burundi, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Rwanda and Lesotho. These conflicts have been linked to a system of fragile states and powerful warlords evolving to ethnic and political differences and lack of resources. They have left devastating consequences in most countries which have been affected directly and indirectly, leaving behind lack of economic, social and political development. This has led to more conflict, human right violations, death, migration and instability in the African continent.

Women and children have been the most victimised by these wars, facing issues such as brute force of sexual violence, loss of children and loved ones, forced to become combatants, and leaving personal belongings and becoming refugees. The manner in which women are affected by the wars has left the international community with no choice but to ensure that policies and resolutions are implemented that will empower and protect women during conflicts and in the peace-building processes (UN-Women, 2015, p. 20).

As a result of the constant conflicts and their impacts, peace and security issues have become a very important agenda for countries, regional bodies, civil society organisations and multilateral organisations such as the United Nations. It has become very clear that countries can no longer silence and marginalise the voices of women in search of conflict resolution and peace-building processes as traditionally done. This is especially important for the African continent that has cultural beliefs and patriarchal

societies that silence and marginalise women in conflict resolution and peace-building processes.

Traditional approaches of mediation, have fallen short and it has become clear that sustainable and creative ways of dealing with conflict are needed. Despite work done to implement and mediate peace agreements through international efforts, more than half of the civil wars still come back within five years (Collier, 2003).

It is against this backdrop that the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) realised a major need to establish United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 (UNSCR 1325) (see Annex 1) on women, peace and security in the year 2000 (Niyongabo, n.d.), which recognises the importance of women in conflict resolution and peace-building efforts. The resolution has four pillars, namely: prevention, participation, protection, and peace-building and recovery and has become the focal point for galvanising worldwide efforts to deal with many challenges that women face in conflict as well as post-conflict (UN-Women, 2015).

The Security Council recognised women as critical participants in peace-making, unlike the previous UN resolutions that treated women as victims of war and failed to affirm their important role and contributions to peace in conflict affected states. Since the year 2000 seven other resolutions have been adopted to support UNSCR 1325 which are Resolution 1820 (2008), Resolution 1888 (2009), Resolution 1889 (2009), Resolution 1960 (2010), Resolution 2106 (2013), Resolution 2122 (2013), and Resolution 2242 (2015) (see Table 1), which have taken women's equality, in the simplest of terms, it may be said that these resolutions and their intent now sit firm within global policy on peace and security (Swaine, 2015).

The resolution set a long-term agenda for the participation of women as well as their protection. Member-states, UN entities and civil society at the international, regional and national levels have formed partnerships that have moved forward the agenda of the normative framework that governs the issues. UNSCR 1325 reaffirms the "the important role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts and in peace-building, and stresses the importance of their equal participation and full involvement in all efforts for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security, and the need to increase their role in decision-making with regards to conflict and prevention resolution" (United Nations Security Council, 2000).

The resolution also urges member states to increase the representation of women at all decision-making levels, making specific reference to conflict resolution mechanisms. It emphasises the call by the Security Council on the UN Secretary-general to appoint women as special representatives and envoys to “pursue good offices on his behalf”. After a study by UN Women on women in conflict resolution, The results highlighted the fact that since 1992 until 2011, only 2.4 percent of women participated formally in peace processes as signatories (four percent) and part of a negotiating delegations (nine percent) and no woman had been appointed as lead mediator by the UN (Collier, 2003).

After the study, the Secretary General Ban Ki-Moon went further and established a seven point UN Resolution 1325 National Action Plan (NAP) for women’s participation in peace-building with more than twenty five measurable indicators of progress in 2010. The NAP was to help guide member states on how to implement action plans at national, provincial and local levels in order to better facilitate and implement the requirements of UNSCR 1325. In Africa, nineteen countries, have respectively developed national and regional action plans for the implementation of the UNSCR 1325 National Action Plans (UNSCR 1325 NAP).

However, fifteen years after the adoption of UNSCR 1325 and further the development of the NAPs, studies show that little progress has been achieved with regarding the involvement and participation of women in mediation and diplomacy, especially on the African continent. Many women have always been involved in mediation and diplomacy in community levels, however most of their work goes unseen and unheard of due to the lack of documentation in these levels (Mbwadzawo, 2013).

A study on women’s participation in thirty-one peace processes between 1992 and 2011 showed that of the sixteen African countries that have adopted the UNSCR 1325 NAPs, only five had women on their negotiating teams which was Uganda, Burundi, Sudan, Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and Kenya; five had women witnesses or observers (Liberia, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan and Uganda; two had women lead mediators (DRC and Kenya); and only one (DRC) had women signatories (UN-Women, 2015). Therefore, bridging the gap between formal and informal mediation and diplomacy processes remains a challenge in Africa as most of the mediation efforts take place through the formal channels which are still male dominated.

Women are still marginalised from the negotiation tables and mediation teams. Even though more than seventeen mediation efforts have taken place on the African continent, the representation of women paints a very dire picture of how much countries are actually contributing towards the implementation of Resolution 1325. While there is abundance of examples of women who are involved in community-based peace-building, their inclusion in formal peace processes remains very limited (UN-Women, 2015).

This is a very big challenge for advocates of the UNSCR 1325 agenda as well as the peace-building process. Better participation of women in mediation and diplomacy improves the negotiation process and contributes to a more comprehensive and sustainable peace, especially on the African continent.

Since 1994, the South African government has prioritised gender equality and empowerment of women in its formal policies and programmes. South Africa's progressive constitution as well as its various policy frameworks and implementation mechanisms have contributed towards the promotion of gender equality, making it one of the top countries in the world to empower and mainstream women (Safer World, 2016, p. 7). South Africa's constitution has created the basis for gender equality in the country's political representation ranking it at top ten in the world. The country has a population of more than fifty-one percent females, forty percent of female representation in parliament and forty-one percent in cabinet (Safer World, 2016, p. 8)

The country has taken steps to appoint women to a number of high-profile and strategic positions. These positions include Dr Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma as the African Union (AU) Commissioner, and female ministers in defence and international relations departments. Former Deputy President Phumzile Mlambo Ngcuka is the Executive Director of UN Women, Geraldine Fraser-Moleketi is the Special Envoy of the African Development Bank (AFDB).

In the security sector, South Africa have improved the number of women from twelve percent in 1994 up to thirty percent in 2015 (Hendricks, 2015). Currently the country has thirty-seven female brigadiers generals and is currently deploying female peacekeepers in countries such as the DRC (fifteen percent of females deployed) and Sudan (ten percent). It is the UN's largest contributor of peacekeepers who are trained on the UNSCRs on gender peace and security, it also has a partnership with Norway

on a programme to train mediators domestically and internationally through the Mediation Support Unit at the Department of International Relations and Cooperation (DIRCO) (Nations, 2014).

South Africa has shown commitment towards the inclusion of women especially in the security sector as well as peacekeeping missions on the continent. However not much is said about the inclusion of women in the country's international mediation efforts on both track one and track two international mediation processes.

South Africa has taken part in a number of international mediation efforts since becoming a democracy in 1994. Conflict resolution in Africa has been one of the country's foreign policy pillar and its soft diplomacy approach. The country has been involved in mediation in a number of countries including, the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Rwanda, Lesotho, Zimbabwe and South Sudan. The role of women in these efforts is not mentioned, with the exception of Ms Lindiwe Zulu who was one of the lead mediators in Zimbabwe in 2010.

The country's commitments towards UNSCR 1325 on the inclusion of women in high-level positions of lead mediators and Special envoys in conflict resolution is a bit unclear at this point. A closer analysis of South Africa's peace efforts on the continent is needed in order to determine the level of participation of women, especially as lead mediators or Special Envoys in both track one and track two mediation efforts.

Therefore the aim of the study is to analyse whether South Africa is in its international mediation efforts pursuing or implementing the terms of the UNSCR 1325 regarding the participation and involvement of women in peace process. The focus of this analysis is on both track one (which is the formal government to government process of mediation) and track two (which is an informal process involving ordinary citizens) international mediation of the country and analyse whether both methods have been able to comply with UNSCR 1325 on inclusion of women in leadership mediation roles.

1.2 Theoretical Framework

A theoretical framework is important because it provides guidance to the entire research or study process. It can determine what variables are studied and how they are studied. It provides the conceptual basis for the actual analysis of the variables and issues in the study. It also help provide a broad set of parameters within which the study is done scientifically. It can be made up of a single theory or a combination of theories or merely concepts derived from various theories selected on the basis that they provide the best conceptual guides to the study. In the past decade women, feminists and scholars in the field of conflict resolution have raised a number of questions regarding the absence of women in literature and experiences of peace and security issues. These questions led to the introduction of women perspectives and theories in the area of conflict and peace. The genealogy of Feminist Peace and Conflict Theory (FPCT), according to Anette Weber, is a hybrid phenomenon that is nurtured in an array of disciplines and methodologies (Weber, 2006). This family of theories and perspectives is not merely designed to add to the existing body of knowledge about war, but rather to challenge the existing normative standards of male domination. They seek to challenge the exclusion and marginalisation of women's voices, experiences and perspectives from conflict and peace scholarship.

The literature on gender, peace and security, uncovers diverse voices and perspectives on issues of historical, cultural and socio-political context in peace and security. Feminist peace scholars, activists and researchers insist that the role gender plays in both the escalation and de-escalation of conflicts depends on the above mentioned contexts. The body of scholarship on gender, peace and security, dates back to the 20th century when women first questioned the gender dynamics of the French Revolution (Wollstonecraft, 1972), when they questioned the exclusion of women from the new status of citizenship. The scholars explicitly expressed concerns on the plight of women from domestic violence to war and the continuity of private and public tyranny, as well as male domination in private and public spaces.

This makes patriarchy a very important component of the FPCT argument. According to this family of thought, patriarchy in both private and public spaces lies at the core of social systems and institutions that are male dominated, in which women are subordinate to men in terms of power and status, human relations and knowledge. It

is on this basis that women are excluded from decision-making in peace times and during conflict, though both particularly affect women. Secondly, women are not allowed in the military, which means they are implicitly barred from institutions which helps codify and constitute citizenship (D'Amico, 1996).

The FPCT's have since the twentieth century consisted of two strands that continue to underpin the feminist argument to this day. Early feminist arguments and theorising on gender were based on the question of "Where are the women", the question was meant to highlight the absence of women as well as subordination of women in all spheres of social and political life (Tickner, 1994). This strand had the patriotic movement at the vanguard arguing for equal participation and decision making for women. This is based on the concern that women are restricted from the public spaces and war.

Within this strand are equality and liberal feminists who argue that women have a right to hold any position that was traditionally restricted to men. This includes traditional positions such as mediator and special envoys in conflict resolution which have been dominated by males (Weber, 2006). This argument was based on the fact that more than fifty one percent of the world's population is female and yet women continue to be excluded from official policymaking circles, or confined to the margins of political debates on peace and security issues (Denemark, 2010).

The second strand is the pacifist movement which argued that women have a vital role and contribution to make in conflict resolution and peace. Their argument is based on the notion that women have an inherent peacefulness enacted by motherhood simply because of their gender (Weber, 2006). They argue that women are essentially different in that they have an alternative way of making sense of situations as well problem solving (Chodorow, 1978). On conflict resolution, pacifists argue that women have a different perspective on questions of war and peace and therefore have unique contributions on conflict resolution issues, based on their experiences and a better understanding of the impact of war as well as initiatives that are needed in order to contribute towards conflict resolution.

FPCT theories have helped to bring to the surface women's realities during war and conflict, as well as generate literature on women's realities, encountered during conflict

and wars. These realities were highlighted firstly as, women who are innocent victims affected during the wars and conflicts, which became a moral mobilising fact against wars. Secondly, for women to be seen actively during war in order to mobilise more capacities during war and conflict. However both perspectives argue the plight of the innocent, as women suffering in the hands of the enemy and the war in general. The patriotic faction on equality forms the basis of this mini-dissertation, where the argument is based on inclusion and equal opportunities for women to occupy high-level positions of lead mediator and Special envoy in conflict resolution.

What this study takes from this is the following. Conceptually speaking, the UNSCR 1325 is an outcome of the drawn out push by feminists for recognition of the impact of violence on women as being disproportionate with the contribution to the generation and execution of violence. They suffer greater ill than the small role they often play in generating and conducting conflict. Therefore, the question at the heart of the resolution is one of limited role of women in the generation of the theatres of conflict and violence. Instead, violence and conflict express the logic and tendencies of patriarchy as an underlying social structure of modern society. Men dominate the theatre of war, not because of their biology or physical predisposition only but more importantly because the underlying structure of society requires that. The domination of men in the post-conflict processes demonstrates most vividly that biology, physical strength and other gender differences do not matter much as the psychology, sociology and ethics of patriarchy. The absence of women in peace processes is not a choice women make, but a choice patriarchal systems of society pre-dispose them to. Therefore, a study of this nature must consider how systematic conditions explain the choices made regarding the inclusion or exclusion of women in peace processes.

This mini-dissertation moves from the premise that it has been established in theoretical discussion that women remain largely marginalised and excluded in international mediation both in the appointment of mediators and the use of Special Envoys. That this is not an outcome of incidental conditions in particular conflicts but is facilitated by underlying conditions in society that are patriarchal in nature. But how these manifest themselves may differ from situation to the next, and the reasons for this may also differ. Therefore the purposes of this study is to establish the level of inclusion of women in South Africa's international mediation efforts by both Government and civil society organisations with a view to underlying the intervening factors that explain this

in the particular context of a South Africa with a strong commitment to gender equity and women empowerment. Outcomes that contradict this commitment are interrogated with a view to understand how this difference come out about in reality.

1.3 Women in Mediation in Africa

1.3.1 Mediation

Mediation is a process that involves a third party that assists two conflicting parties to be able to come to a satisfactory resolution that will bring about sustainable peace. It is a peaceful way of resolving conflict and is based on the idea that the conflicting parties should have ownership of the outcome. The process needs to involve a mediator who is willing to help the parties find a solution that they can live with and the conflicting parties need to be able to accept the mediator as someone that will be able to bring about a good resolution that benefits both parties (Mbwadzawo, 2013).

Track one mediation is a process whereby governments are able to communicate directly with decision-makers that are in conflict. This process is mostly used by African governments and is a process that is carried out by distinguished diplomats, government officials and heads of state. This type of mediation is used to influence the structures of political power within states, also included are actors from Regional Economic Communities (RECs), the African Union (AU) European Union (EU) and UN (Mbwadzawo, 2013, p. 3).

According to UN Women in their report on Women's Participation in Peace Processes in Africa in 2012 (see table 2), out of sixteen mediation processes in Africa that happened from 1992 to 2011, only three mediation processes had lead female mediators representing their constituencies. These include the mediation process in the DRC in North Kivu as well as South Kivu, which both had a twenty percent representation of lead female mediators. The other country is Kenya in Nairobi which had thirty three percent of lead female representatives during its mediation processes in 2008. Other countries included, Sierra Leone, Burundi, Somalia, Liberia, Darfur, Uganda, Zimbabwe, and Somalia, which did not have female representatives as lead mediators.

Track two is the unofficial interaction and intervention of non-state actors such as non-governmental organisations, business, civil society organisations, religious communities and local leaders. It generally seeks to support efforts of track one diplomacy through methods such as facilitation of dialogue mechanisms and meetings that include participants from both government and non-government institutions focusing on ordinary unarmed citizens and public officials. Civil society organisations have played an important role in peace and security in Africa, mobilising from the grassroots levels through capacity building programmes, dialogues, seminars and workshops in communities affected by conflict.

For example, civil society movements such as the South Sudan Women's General Association (SSWGA) and the Law Society of South Sudan have played a very important role in advocating for the full implementation of the Agreement on the Resolution of the Conflict in the Republic of South Sudan (ARCSS), which contains commitments towards women in peace and security issues in the country (SALO, 2016). In Zimbabwe Women of Zimbabwe Arise (WOZA) led a movement putting pressure on the government to implement non-violent solutions for the country's political crisis in 2008 (Safer World, 2016).

For instance, in the Somali peace-process led by Kenya in 2001 to 2005, six reconciliation committees were established tasked and tasked with identifying and presenting recommendations on key causes of conflict. Although there was a representation of women in all six committees, their overall impact in the peace process was very limited, all decisions arrived at by the committee required authorisation of leadership committee which was dominated by men (UN-Women, 2015).

In the peace process in Mali, there were more than ten co-mediators including the UN, AU and EU, however according to 2015 Global study report by UN Women, the lead mediator together with some co-mediators did not prioritise the participation of representatives of women in the peace process, in spite of the substantive mobilisation of women by civil society organisations. The reluctance was justified by cultural arguments and fears that it would delay negotiations (UN-Women, 2015, p. 48).

Their argument was based on the idea that women's inclusion should be left to the reconciliation phase once an agreement had been reached. Of the one hundred

delegates that were involved in the mediation process, only five were women and their presence was neglected by the males dominating the room (UN-Women, 2015).

During a seminar on enhancing the role of women in mediation peace hosted by ACCORD on 20-21 November 2012 in Pretoria, some women argued that, despite an understanding of the impact of conflict on women, there is currently very little information or data about the role they play as agents of change in peace talks across the continent. This according to the women at the conference, also reflects a lack of recognition by those involved in track one mediation processes and research of the amount of work women have achieved as track two mediators on the continent (Mbwadzawo, 2013)

1.3.2 The African Union (AU)

The appointment in 2012 of South Africa's cabinet minister, Dr Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma, as the AU Commission Chair, brought a bit of hope towards a better and high-level involvement of women in mediation issues. This is because she made women empowerment a key part of her agenda, because of her track record as a key voice in the women's movement and for her involvement in promoting women empowerment in international relations. Her powerful position gave her the opportunity to live up to the ideals she professes.

However, analysis shows that this has not been the case. The African Union has since then only appointed one female Special Envoy, Special Representative for Women, Children and Armed conflict, Ms Bineta Diop of Senegal. This is a representation of one out of thirteen special envoy positions and the rest have been occupied by males (see table 3) (AU, 2015). The appointment of Ms Graca Machel from Mozambique as one of the three mediators for the post-election crisis in Kenya in 2008 happened before this period. Also Ms Liberata Mulamula who formed part of the a five member international facilitators in the peace conference in Kivus in Goma, eastern DRC in her capacity as Executive Secretary of the International Conference on the Great Lakes Region happened before Dlamini-Zuma. This means this study must go beyond expectation that the empowerment of some women will lead to empowerment of others, either because, as feminist conflict theory shows, to do so would be place on the shoulders of individual women was is a huge societal responsibility. This feminist

lens cautions against bean counting and assuming individuals can do miracle and instead it focuses studies on systemic problems and systemic solutions.

Among strategies that have been put in place towards supporting the resolution include the Peace and Security Programme (2015-2020), launched within the African Peace and security Architecture (APSA) by the Security Department (PSD). This is a programme aimed at developing effective strategies for gender mainstreaming into Peace and Security to take into account men's and women's experiences and potentialities in building secure and stable societies (AU, www.peaceau.org, 2016).

Also The African Union Gender architecture, enshrined in the AU Gender Policy (2009), includes policies and legal instruments that address the issue of women, peace and security that have paved the way for an increase in the number of women in senior level position within the Commission; the nomination of women Special Representative in countries in conflict or emerging from conflict; women mediators and Special Envoys (AU, www.peaceau.org, 2016).

Is there perhaps a gap that exists between the strategies that have been put in place and the implementation processes? More research would need to be conducted in order to understand some of the challenges encountered during the implementation of these strategies and how they lead to changes towards gender mainstreaming.

1.3.3 Southern African Development Community (SADC)

The increasing need for mediation on the continent, and especially in the SADC region, has also led the regional body to realise the importance of involving women in peace processes and the acknowledgement of the need for inclusivity in mediation teams. The Southern African Development Community (SADC) Protocol on Gender and development (2008), was established in order to support implementation towards UNSCR 1325.

The SADC Protocol promotes the mainstreaming of gender considerations within policymaking and outlines an implementation framework for mainstreaming gender equality and equity. It provides for the empowerment of women by encouraging and harmonising the development and implementation of gender responsive legislation, policies and programmes. At the same time, member-states are signatories to the

Maputo Protocol (2003) which provides both a policy framework document and an implementation platform for gender mainstreaming. It was also meant to accelerate timelines for all member states to have improved women's ability to access and enjoy their rights by the year 2015 (SADC, n.d.).

However, this has been a major challenge due to political, cultural and socio-economic reasons. Despite efforts mentioned above, SADC has achieved a relatively low percentage of women appointed as either lead or part of mediation teams in the region and other parts of the continent. On average, SADC women make up less than ten percent of mediation teams.

In the DRC in 2003 only forty women out of three hundred and forty people formed the negotiating team, there were no female lead mediators as well as witnesses and women made up only five percent of negotiators. In 2008, the number slightly increased during the Goma negotiations with five percent of women as negotiators and twenty percent of women as lead mediators (which was mostly from the track one, which is community and local organisations) (Safer World, 2016, p. 15).

According to (Mbwadzawo, 2013, p. 5), part of the reason for such low numbers of women negotiators and mediators in track one mediation is due to cultural perceptions of peace and security issues. The leaders of these groups were predominantly men who came from backgrounds where involvement and participation of women in mediation is not commonly accepted. In the DRC men strongly opposed the participation of women in the process, for them negotiating for peace was entirely the business of men.

This shows some of the challenges that still exist in formal mediation and diplomacy processes. Cultural differences in how women are perceived, still plays a huge role in the number of women forming part and leading mediation teams in the track one mediation processes.

1.4 Problem statement and research aim

The problem identified is the lack of women in high-level positions such as lead mediators and Special Envoys in Africa. This is a problem in that UNSCR 1325 was unanimously adopted by all countries in the year 2000, yet when a global study was

conducted under the mandate of the UN Secretary-general by UN Women, results indicated a lack of visibility of women in international mediation efforts conducted in Africa. From this also arises a research problem, which is the inadequate account in the literature for the similar situation with countries like South Africa that pride themselves as champions of women empowerment and key actors in mediation. The literature is silent on conditions that give rise to this and even more silent on feminist perspective may explain the underlying factors for this neglect.

Careful reading of literature suggests that mediation efforts in Africa favour males over females and sees men as more capable mediators than women. This implies that there still exists certain social constructs and patriarchy within the peace and security sector, which has resulted in a lack of opportunities for women to participate in international conflict mediation processes, especially in high-level positions such as lead mediators and Special Envoys. The reasons for this problem need to be explored and better understood through more extensive research in the subject area.

Therefore, this study has the following as the primary research question: does the evidence on the inclusion of women in its international mediation on both track one and track two efforts suggest that South Africa complied with UNSCR 1325? And to what extent? This question is important in that, South Africa has been very active in peace and security on the continent, especially on international conflict mediation. The country is known for its progressive constitution and policies that promote gender equality in different political and social sectors.

In peace and security, South Africa has made efforts in including women in peace missions in the DRC, CAR and South Sudan. It has also implemented policies and frameworks that have promoted gender equality and inclusion in the security sector such as the military and police. But literature suggests that very little is known on the involvement of women in its international mediation efforts. Therefore, in order to answer this question, it will be further broken down into the following subsidiary questions:

1. What has the literature said about women in conflict mediation in general and in Africa in particular?

A general understanding of challenges that women encounter during conflict mediation is important. Further narrowing the focus to Africa, will help readers understand some of the challenges women exposed to conflict in Africa have to go through, which will give an indication of some of the challenges South Africa faces during mediation efforts on the continent. This will also help in understanding the progress African countries have made regarding the inclusion of women in mediation efforts in compliance with UNSCR 1325. In order to understand these challenges, this study will explore what experts and scholars have said about women in mediation in general and in Africa and what progress has been made with regards to UNSCR 1325.

2. What has South Africa done in its mediation efforts to implement the participation of women in these processes?

This will help understand South Africa's approach towards mediation in Africa. Secondly, it will help identify policies and frameworks that are gender sensitive that have been put in place in the countries mediation processes in order to comply with UNSCR 1325 on the inclusion of women. The study will therefore explore South Africa's mediation efforts and the different structures if any, that South Africa has put in place in order to work towards achieving its national priorities with regards to the resolution and what policies and institutions were put in place to work towards this goal.

3. What progress has been made with regards to SA's compliance with UNSCR 1325? And what gaps have been identified during the analysis?

An analysis of the progress with regards to implementation is important for our understanding of the main subject of this study (inclusion of women as implementation of the resolution) because we need to understand the country's progress with regards to the number of women who have taken part in the country's international mediation efforts in leadership positions. Secondly, we need to identify some of the challenges and achievements that have been encountered in the country's international mediation efforts with regards to the inclusion of women, as well as identify some of the gaps that still exist with implementation processes on gender sensitive policies for UNSCR 1325, and the progress will be assessed according to what was supposed to be achieved

and the realities on the ground with regards to women in peace and security, as well as the gaps that have been identified.

4. What are the implications of the insights desired from the questions above for the study of women and mediation?

Establishing and understanding the implications of the results for the study of women and mediation is very important to understand the gaps that still exist. This will also help identify lessons learnt that can help come up recommendations for the study of women and international mediation. Here the study will analyse the results and attempt to understand the reasons behind the findings by exploring contributing factors towards the results.

1.5 Demarcation of study

A study of this nature runs the risk of being too broad, allowing a number of variables to sneak into the study thus weakening its research design and analytical quality. The demarcation of the study is specific and narrow enough to enable the researcher to understand the problems the research questions point to and provide some answers to the question. It is as follows. The key study variables are South Africa's international mediation efforts at both track one and two levels and the extent to which they constitute compliance with the UNSCR 1325 on equal participation and inclusion of women. The international conflict and mediation efforts are studied in the context of South Africa, and the mediation processes the country has been part of on the African continent after the implementation of the UNSCR 1325 after the year 2000. The geopolitical units under investigation are mediation efforts in Africa that South Africa has mediated in, including both track one and track two mediation. The reason for selecting mediation efforts in Africa is because South Africa has done extensive mediation efforts on the continent. This is important to provide context to the analysis of the SA experience.

The time period under scrutiny is significant in that this study is in part based on a broad survey of tendencies spread over a period since the passing of the UNSCR 1325 in the year 2000. It is also a period when South Africa was most active in peace diplomacy in Africa. Though the period is long in number of years, the cases being studies are actually a few scattered over that period. So, the study is not overly

ambitious not being a study of what happened every year, but in a few years spread over that entire period. For instance, the mediation in the DRC intensifies in 2003-5, in Zimbabwe in 2008-2013 and so forth.

1.6 Methodology

The mini-dissertation takes a critical analytical approach in that it uses critical theoretical insights from the feminist theories of conflict resolution and critical research questions to analyse if women inclusion in conflict resolution/mediation is happening, to what extent and to what effect. This means the study tests the experience of South Africa against the implications of the resolution as well as ideas on what the literature on the inclusion of women in mediation in order to identify points of convergence and areas where there are gaps. Critical is necessary because of the sceptical attitude of the feminist schools of thought that are foregrounded as a theoretical framework, employing historicised understanding of the broader gender question of the 21st century to understand the women's role in mediation today.

The focus is on South Africa as a member of the UN Security Council and as a country that has been involved in a couple of international conflict and negotiation efforts in Africa. This study seeks an understanding of South Africa's efforts with regards to the inclusion of women in its international conflict mediation in Africa since the implementation of the UNSCR 1325 in the year 2000.

A qualitative method through content analysis has been conducted in order to explore and analyse extensive literature to help understand the theoretical perspectives on women in international conflict mediation as well as to help analyse, describe and explain certain concepts in the area of study. It will also be used to analyse the mediation efforts that South Africa has been involved in. It will also analyse the policies and frameworks that South Africa has put in place regarding the implementation of UNSCR 1325.

In respect of data, the study relies on both primary and secondary sources of data. Primary data to be used include resolutions, protocols, statistical tables, and speeches. These are in the public domain and so required no permission or clearance in order to use. Secondary sources of data include books, case studies, research

reports, newspaper articles, policy briefs, journals, and dialogues. Primary sources are important for the purpose of this study in that the theories and literature on women in mediation is relatively new, and some of the information found on women's experiences in conflict mediation comes from written interviews of personal accounts and experiences. Dialogues have helped with understanding personal accounts of women who were involved in conflict resolution issues, as well as to understand some of the common challenges encountered by most women during conflict resolution issues. Primary sources have also helped to spark more interest in issues for further research and understating from other perspectives on the same topic.

Secondary sources such as policy briefs, journals and secondary books were specifically chosen that they were less time consuming and costly. The sources have provided hindsight to historical events, providing the context and missing pieces of narratives by relating each event to others happening regarding the debates on women in conflict mediation.

1.7 Study limitations

There were, however, limitations that were encountered while conducting research include limited literature on South Africa's effort with regards to women in track one mediation; and the inability to conduct interviews with former mediators who took part in some of South Africa's mediation process due to accessibility and time frame to write mini-dissertation.

Secondly, during the study, The Presidency, DIRCO, and Defence Department were contacted to request for names of the people who formed part of the mediation teams in order to establish the presence of women and their roles. But this was unsuccessful due to either lack of records in the instance of DIRCO and confidentiality in the instance of DoD. Therefore the study focused on the publicly available literature on South Africa's mediation efforts from journals, books, media reports as well non-confidential information from relevant desks at DIRCO.

1.8 Structure of study

The structure of the report is as follows:

Chapter 1 provides a background on women in international mediation and negotiation in general as well as in Africa. It also provide a comprehensive understanding of what the resolution is all about, what it is meant to achieve, and how it is meant to be implemented by the respective member states. It describes in brief the background of South Africa's progress with regards to UNSCR 1325 in its international mediation and negotiation. Finally the problem statement, methodology and demarcation of study are outlined.

Chapter 2 gives an extensive account of the literature review on the debates, theories and concepts around women in conflict mediation from experts. It also focus on women in mediation in Africa, UNSCR 1325 and the catalytic role of women in international mediation and negotiation on the African continent.

Chapter 3 discusses South Africa's international conflict mediation efforts in both track one and track two mediation streams. It identifies the policies and frameworks that South Africa has put in place in order to achieve its objectives towards implementing UNSCR 1325 on women in mediation.

Chapter 4 concludes with the analysis of the efficiency and effectiveness of the frameworks and policies that have been put place for the participation of women in South Africa's mediation efforts. It identify gaps that exist with the mediation efforts and provide possible recommendations and conclusion.

CHAPTER 2

Women in mediation: a literature review

2.1 Impact of conflict

Since the turn of the 21st century, conflict has evolved from inter-state to intra-state (civil) conflict amongst communities, ethnic and religious groups thus becoming religious, political or ethnic in origin. Coalition rebel groups control communities and fight against each other and the government of the day. It has become asymmetrical and rebel groups with rudimentary weapons and explosives, fighting larger powers with state-of-the-art weaponry. In many parts of the world, especially the Middle East and Africa, conflicts have become protracted, violence is the new normal, warlords are role models in communities, and economies are unregulated.

Conflicts have taken their most extreme form which is conservative and reactionary towards women, children and their rights. Many of the fighters in these rebel groups are drawn from the communities and their own children, as a result women often find themselves in an ambivalent position, torn between a need to protect the community and their children, and to fight off extremist rebel groups (UN-Women, 2015).

In a survey undertaken amongst civil society organisations around the world for the Global Study, eighty four percent of the respondents stated that emerging issues of concern were violent extremism and counter-terrorism (UN-Women, 2015). In the 1990's most of the conflicts were in Africa, in Sudan, South Sudan, Cote d'Ivoire, Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Central African Republic (CAR), Burundi, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Chad and Nigeria. Most of the above mentioned countries have experienced a resurgence of the conflicts every few years caused by terrorist attacks and a series of coup de tats. This led to the African continent being characterised as conflict ridden and unstable by the rest of the world.

Despite work done to implement and mediate peace agreements through international efforts, a quarter and a half of the conflicts still recur within five years of mediation (InternationalPeaceInstitute, 2013). Traditional approaches to mediation have fallen short and more creative ways of dealing with conflicts are needed. Women and children have been most affected by these conflicts, which has created a need for more comprehensive approaches to conflict resolution on the continent.

This has according to feminist theorist means stepping away from the traditional methods of having male mediators and negotiators alone, towards a more inclusive solution that includes voices and experiences of women who and have been previously excluded from participating.

Women's participation in peace and security has become more prominent in international debate in recent years. The prioritisation of conflict-affected countries by international actors has re-focused attention on the role and rights of women in such contexts, even if 'hard' security concerns still dominate. Sustained advocacy by the global women's movement has resulted in UN Security Council Resolutions (UNSCR) on women, peace and security (Pillar Domingo, 2014).

It is against this backdrop that the United Nations Security Council established the United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325 on women, peace and security in the year 2000. The UN recognised the importance of women in resolving conflict and peace-building, as they are mostly affected and bring about a unique perspective and understanding to the overall peace process.

This chapter reviews the debates, contestations and discussions in the literature available on women, peace and conflict as well as on mediation and conflict resolution with a view to outline the state of the debate on these issues and what this says about this study. This chapters also aims to give a sense what the literature finds about the implementation of UNSCR 1325 and with what implications for this study.

2.2 United Nation's Security Council Resolution 1325

In October 2000, the United Nations adopted the UNSCR 1325 on Women, Peace and Security. This is an eighteen-point resolution with an agenda for women, peace and security that was unanimously adopted under article twenty-five of the UN Charter. UNSCR 1325 is a landmark international legal framework that addresses not only the inordinate impact of war on women, but also acknowledges the critical role of women in conflict management, resolution, as well as peace building (Akter, 2013).

The resolution is a result of persistent advocacy initiated by a group of scholars, NGO'S, civil society and academia around the world. This is an attempt to address the disproportionate impact of all forms of armed conflict on women (Akter, 2013). The

resolution has a number of appeals for action to the United Nations in general and the Security Council, its member states and parties to armed conflict. The actions include the following (Haq, 2004):

- a. UN Secretary-General must;
 - Increase the number of women working on all levels of decision making in national, regional and international institutions as well as the field.
 - Include a gender perspective into conflict prevention, conflict resolution and post conflict reconstruction; peacekeeping personnel have to be trained accordingly.
- b. States must;
 - Provide Training to relevant actors on gender and conflict
 - Address gender dimensions in Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration programmes
- c. Parties to armed conflict must;
 - Respect existing international laws protecting women and girls- especially from gender-based violence. Where violations have been committed, states have to end impunity.
 - Respect the civilian and humanitarian character of refugee camps and settlements.
- d. Security Council must;
 - Consider the different needs of women when planning refugee camps, dealing with ex-combatants and taking measures like sanctions which affect the general population.

This means ensuring that a gender component has been included in the mandates of the UN peace keeping and conflict resolution programs when dealing with countries in conflict. Secondly, the resolution advocates for the reinforcement of existing protection mechanisms for women and bringing gender perspectives into issues such as disarmament, demobilisation, reintegration programmes and conflict prevention in order to ensure that women's voices are heard (Akter, 2013)

It is an internationally recognised legal framework for promoting gender equality, but not a treaty, as a result there are no mechanisms for ratification, compliance or verification for countries (Willet, 2010). However, the implementation and follow-up of

the resolution are limited to: a) development of a code of conduct for peacekeeping forces; b) appointment of a gender advisor to counsel UN peacekeeping operations; c) development of thirty-four countries' National Action plans to achieve the goal of UNSCR 1325 at the country level (Akter, 2013).

The resolution has four pillars of prevention, participation, protection, and peace-building and recovery. It has become the central point for stimulating worldwide efforts to deal with many challenges that women face during conflict as well as post-conflict (UN-Women, 2015). For the purposes of this study, the pillar in focus is conflict resolution.

2.2.1 Participation of women in conflict resolution

The UNSCR 1325 resolution calls on all governments to increase the participation and representation of women in conflict resolution initiatives, which is supposed to be binding to all UN members states. It recognises women as critical participants in peace-making, unlike the previous UN resolutions that depicted women as victims of war instead of affirming their important role and contributions to conflict resolution and peace-building in conflict affected areas (UN-Women, 2015).

The resolution set a long-term agenda for the participation of women as well as their protection. Member-states, UN entities and civil society at the international, regional and national levels have formed partnerships that have moved forward the agenda of the normative framework that governs the issues.

UNSCR 1325 reaffirms the *“the important role of women in the prevention, resolution of conflicts and peace-building, and stresses the importance of their equal participation and full involvement in all efforts for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security, and the need to increase their role in decision-making with regards to conflict and prevention resolution”* (United Nations Security Council, 2000).

The resolution also urges member states to increase the representation and participation of women at all decision-making levels, making specific reference to conflict resolution mechanisms. It emphasises the call by the Security Council on the UN Secretary-General to appoint women as Special Representatives and Envoys to *“pursue good offices on his behalf”*. After the adoption of UNSCR 1325, more work still needs to be done to ensure progress towards better implementation by member

states. This has resulted in the adoption of three more resolutions on women and peace and security that are meant to continue supporting the UNSCR 1325 resolution.

The first is Resolution 1820, adopted in 2008, and urges the Secretary-General and his Special envoys to invite women to participate in discussions pertinent to the prevention and resolution of conflict, the maintenance of peace and security and post-conflict peacebuilding (UN-Women, 2015).

The second Resolution 1889, adopted in the year 2009, urges Member States, international and regional organisations to take further measures to improve women's participation and leadership role during all stages of peace processes. This includes enhancing their engagement in political and economic decision-making at early stages of recovery processes. This should be achieved through the promotion of women's leadership and capacity to engage in aid management and planning, supporting women's organisations and countering negative societal attitudes about women's capacity to participate equally (UN-Women, 2015).

The previous two resolutions were followed by the adoption of Resolution 2122 in the year 2013. The resolution requests the Secretary-General and his Special Envoys and Special Representatives to United Nations missions, as part of their regular briefings, to update the Council on progress in inviting women to participate. Through consultations with civil society, women's organisations, in discussions pertinent to the prevention and resolution of conflict, the maintenance of peace and security and post-conflict peacebuilding (UN-Women, 2015).

It further expresses its intention to include provisions to facilitate women's full participation and protection in: election preparation and political processes, disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration programmes, security sector and judicial reforms, and wider post conflict reconstruction processes where these are mandated tasks within mission (UN-Women, 2015).

These three resolutions have taken women's equality, in the simplest of terms, it may be said that these resolutions and their intent now sit firm within global policy on peace and security (Swaine, 2015).

UN agencies such as the UN Women, United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) and the UN International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women

(INSTRAW), have established programmes with a strong focus on security and access to justice that provide assistance to women in conflict around the world.

UN adopted a system wide strategy and action plan which was developed by the Inter-Agency Task Force on women, peace and security. The strategy aims to coordinate the different initiatives implemented by various UN implementing agencies. The UN furthermore calls for implementation of methods that include a monitoring system and a set of indicators on UNSCR 1325. It mandated the production of a set of twenty-six indicators on UNSCR 1325 for its use on the global level, which were produced in an inter-agency process by UNIFEM in March 2010 (Akter, 2013).

In April 10, the Security Council published twenty-six global indicators (UNSC, 2010) (see Table 4) for the implementation of UNSCR 1325 which are organised into United Nations pillars of prevention, protection, participation, and relief and recovery. The strategy for implementation takes on a six-track approach: 1) mainstreaming UNSCR 1325 into policies, programmes and documentation; 2) cooperating with international organisations, NGO's and civil society; 3) operations; 4) education and training; 5) public diplomacy; and 6) national initiatives.

All those activities are carried out by different actors and different stages, which relies on affective coordination, collaboration and information sharing between the different actors in order too effectively implement and monitor UNSCR 1325. Even though much progress has been made in the recognition of women and adoption of resolutions that empower them, the implementation by member states provides a different scenario on the progress, proving to be slow in certain states and faster in others depending on the different sectors.

For example, the United Nations Women organisation underwent a study to analyse the progress with regards to the implementation towards achieving the goals of UNSCR 1325. The report found, that since 1992 until 2011, only 2.4 percent of women participated formally in peace processes as signatories; part of a negotiating delegations only made up nine percent and no woman had been appointed as lead mediator by the UN (Collier, 2003).

After the study, the UN Secretary General Ban Ki-Moon went further and established a seven point UNSCR 1325 National Action Plan (NAP) for women's participation in peace-building with more than twenty five measurable indicators of progress in 2010.

The NAPs are meant to help member states to be able to implement action plans on national, provincial and local levels in order to better facilitate and implement the requirements of UNSCR 1325. The resolution does not only refer to countries that are in conflict but to all countries who are member states of the United Nations.

2.3 National Action Plans in Africa

During the 25th African Union (AU) Summit in June 2015, the AU resolved to “develop, implement, and report on National and Regional Action Plans on UNSCR 1325 to accelerate the Women, Peace and Security (WPS) Agenda” on the African continent in order to accelerate the implementation of UNSCR 1325 on the continent (AU Commission, 2016). The WPS agenda is a programme that serves as a continental framework for the AU, Regional Economic Communities (RECs), member states and civil society organisations’ to work collaboratively towards the implementation of UNSCR 1325 NAPs on the continent, as well as to ensure that gender perspectives are included in peace and security issues on the on regional and national agendas of AU member-states.

The WPS agenda has developed an elaborate architecture at the global, continental, regional and national levels. This comprises of a variety of normative frameworks on policy and legal frameworks such as UNSCR 1325, which have been embedded and developed further at a continental, regional and national levels. This includes implementation frameworks such as the NAPs and Regional Action Plans (RAPs).

During the course of this study on the Regional level and mechanisms, only the Economic Community of West African Countries (ECOWAS), and the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), have adopted UNSCR 1325 Regional Action Plans (RAPs). In these regions, ECOWAS has thirteen member states that have adopted of the nineteen in the whole continent (AU Commission, 2016) (see Table 5). SADC has developed and adopted a Regional Gender Policy Implementation Plan (RGPIP), based on the SADC Protocol on Gender development which has a chapter on peacebuilding and conflict resolution and all SADC member-states have developed NAPs in this regard.

On the national level, nineteen African countries have respectively developed national and regional action plans for the implementation of the UNSCR 1325. Some of these countries include; Burkina Faso which launched in December 2012, Burundi in August 2011, Central African Republic (CAR) in 2014, Democratic Republic of Congo in 2010 and Nigeria in 2013 (AU Commission, 2016).

Other countries such as Sudan have developed a NAP but have not yet adopted, while others have considered a different approach of integrating their gender policies with UNSCR 1325. Namibia has chosen to have a National Gender Policy and Action Plan that has a specific component on peace and security.

A third approach that other countries have considered is to mainstream a gender perspective into wider national policies, for example, national security and defence strategies. These efforts to mainstream, according to the AU Commission, need to be acknowledged and looked into, in order to be able to do a proper assessment of what is working and not, as well as how outcomes under mainstreaming approached compare with stand-alone NAPs (AU Commission, 2016). There is a great diversity in approaches and prioritisation in the NAPs for each country depending on context from countries emerging from conflict and those that are stable (AU Commission, 2016).

Research shows that SADC and the Economic Community of Central States (ECCAS), which have gone for the adoption of gender policies approach instead, seem to have less coverage of NAPs from their member-states (AU Commission, 2016). There seems to be a relationship between the existence of a RAP and the enthusiasm for the adoption and implementation of NAPs from member-states in the same region, as well as the outcomes and synergies between the two (AU Commission, 2016).

The WPS Agenda was further strengthened by the declaration of member states to make the year 2015 the Year of Women's Empowerment and Development towards Africa's Agenda 2063, followed by 2016 as the Year of Human Rights with Particular Focus on the Rights of Women (AU Commission, 2016). According to the AU commission report, there is a low coverage of the UNSCR 1325 NAPs in the Southern, Central and Northern Africa.

October 2015 presented a critical milestone for the Women, Peace, and Security Agenda globally. It marked the 15th year anniversary of UNSCR 1325, and the launch

of the High Level Review and Global Study on Implementation of UNSCR 1325. However fifteen years after the establishment of UNSCR1325 and further establishment of the NAPs, studies have shown that little progress has been achieved regarding the involvement and participation of women in mediation in Africa (UN-Women, 2015).

A study on women's participation in thirty one peace processes between 1992 and 2011 showed that of the twenty African countries that have adopted the UNSCR 1325 NAPs, only five had women on their negotiating teams which was Uganda, Burundi, Sudan, Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and Kenya; five had women witnesses or observers (Liberia, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan and Uganda; two had women lead mediators (DRC and Kenya); and only one (DRC) had women signatories (UN-Women, 2015).

The AU has also compiled a report on women currently holding senior leadership positions as lead mediators in Africa since 1992 until 2011. During this period only two countries had lead women mediators, the DRC in 2008 with twenty percent in Goma, North of Kivu as well as twenty percent in Goma, South of Kivu in 2008. The second country is Kenya in Nairobi also in 2008 with a representation of thirty-three percent (AU Commission, 2016).

These results reflect that much more still needs to be done in order to enhance the participation of women in leadership mediation positions in Africa as well as to reach the fifty percent milestone in mediation (AU Commission, 2016). There has been a lot of advocacy to increase the numbers of women participating, and civil society plays an important role outside of the formal sector to influence participation and influence. Therefore, bridging the gap between formal and informal mediation processes remains a challenge in Africa as most of the mediation efforts take place through the formal channels which are still male dominated.

2.3.1 The role of Civil Society Organisations in National Action Plans

While there is abundance of examples of women who are involved in community-based peace-building, their inclusion in formal peace processes remains very limited (UN-Women, 2015). In addition to being part of multi-stakeholder/inclusive steering

committees and other 'formalized' roles within government-led spaces, civil society have played a significant and proactive role in 1325 implementation.

Governments are the ultimate duty bearers as signatories to global and regional commitments, and need to demonstrate greater responsibility and accountability for performance on this agenda, it is critical to document civil society initiatives and good practice in the area of 1325 implementation. In addition to advocacy and support for the development and formulation of 1325 NAPs by governments, civil society have themselves initiated activities in support of 1325 implementation.

Civil society and women's groups in Africa have demonstrated that they can convene, mobilize, and organize to ensure their active participation in a wide range of conflict prevention, resolution, and peacebuilding activities. This recognition of the importance of strategic and collective agency has resulted in the formation of more permanent and formal platforms for promoting women's participation in the process of preventing and managing conflicts, at various levels (AU Commission, 2016). For example, in 2000, the Mano River Women's Peace Network (MRWN) was launched to complement nationally-driven activities to consolidate peace in the sub-region. COCAFEM, also established in 2000, is a regional coalition of women's groups and associations in the Great Lakes that was borne out of the acknowledgement of the regional cause and consequences of conflict in the thirty-four region, and the desire of women in the sub-region to play a visible role in conflict management and advocate with national and sub-regional policy makers to address the impact of insecurity on women (AU Commission, 2016).

These regional networks and platforms are then uniquely positioned to engage with regional institutions who are leading conflict resolution and management processes in the region, as well as engage in cross-border solidarity and action. At a national level, platforms such as Planete Femme in Central African Republic, the South Sudan National Platform for Peace, and the Platform for Women Leaders in Mali, are examples of how women have organized to build consensus on key issues, priorities, and asks and push for their greater participation during the process of peace negotiations, as well as strategize and engage in monitoring and implementation post-agreement.

To complement a number of capacity building measures for women in leadership, mediation, negotiation, and election observation, rosters are being developed at national, regional, and continental level to ensure that Member States, RECs, and the AU have access to qualified women that they can deploy as part of their conflict prevention, management, and resolution efforts.

In June 2015, the African Standby Capacity (ASC) Roster was launched to facilitate the identification, recruitment, and regular training of civilian experts in peace support operations, mediation processes and post-conflict reconstruction and development. The mediation pool has three sub-categories: high-level special envoys; process mediators and thematic mediation experts (AU Commission, 2016).

- a. There are efforts to have a gender consideration of fifty percent women's representation in the roster selection guidelines whenever possible. This is complemented by various capacity building measures for women in mediation and negotiation.
- b. Delivery of high level training to over thirty-five women leaders in electoral observation and dispute mediation over the course of 2015, through the collaboration of the Office of the Special Envoy with two centres of excellence, the Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre and the Pan-Africa Centre on Gender and Development.
- c. Pledge to increase the number of women leading election observer missions during International Women's Day 2016
- d. Holding of seven Annual Open Sessions of the Peace and Security Council on Women in Armed Conflict/ UNSCR 1325 since 2010

A number of centres of excellence, training centres, and research institutes have been established, or added WPS initiatives to their programming. These entities, and both national and regional level, have been involved in WPS research, capacity building, and documentation. The Pan Africa Centre for Gender and Development in Senegal, the Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre's Women, Peace, and Security Institute in Ghana are examples.

These institutions may or may not have a formalized or systematic partnership with government and RECs, but nevertheless have a critical contribution to make in the promotion of UNSCR 1325 both the national and regional levels.

2.4 Catalytic role of women in conflict resolution

The importance of participation of women in conflict resolution, specifically mediation in Africa is not truly understood due to prevailing patriarchal attitudes, lack of documentation of both government and civil society efforts. However feminist scholars and academics mostly seem to agree that the participation of women in conflict resolution brings about an enlarged scope for agreements to cater for the critical societal priorities that carry potential to guarantee lasting peace.

With continuous recurring conflicts globally, especially in Africa and the Middle east, governments, CSO's and REC's have realised the importance of more creative and sustainable solutions in order to move towards better programmes and methods of peace-building for longer lasting peace processes. According to an analysis by Laurel Stone, peace processes that include women as mediators, signatories and witnesses have demonstrated a twenty percent probability of a lasting peace which in turn translates to a peace agreement that lasts up to fifteen years (Stone, 2015).

Formal peace processes offer an important opportunity to set an agenda for sustainable peace that includes the needs of an often excluded half of the population which is women and children. The participation of a senior female mediator grants an opportunity for a gender perspective of issues to be considered during negotiations, which in brings about another opportunity to consider recommendations that will not disadvantage women and children.

This can be witnessed in the approach of Ms Mary Robinson as Special Envoy to the Great Lakes in March 2013, when she ensured that women's critical role in peace-building is recognised in the region (InternationalPeaceInstitute, 2013). This is a milestone and an example of contributions of females in mediation in Africa.

Secondly, women have the ability to mobilise communities either through civil society organisations or individually. They are able to mobilise other women and their children through a common cause, pain or understanding, which is an advantage for mediation purposes. Women's unique understanding of the dynamics of conflict and its impact on society as a whole is important and contributes towards reconciliation and reconstruction of a more inclusive social fabric for post-conflict development. This

reduces the likelihood of the majority feeling left out and excluded from negotiating tables which increases the chances of endorsing the peace agreement by the majority.

Third an inclusive peace agreement is more likely to lead towards a more sustainable peace than one that does not include the participation of women. This is because it can better identify and address the root causes of conflict, possible potential solutions, as well as addressing issues those who have been affected constructively. Peace processes that only includes the conflicted parties, only addresses the priorities of those in conflict at the expense of the rest of the population.

They also run the risk of being seen as rewarding violence over peace while failing to acknowledge the critical role played by CSO's that contribute towards mobilising support and greater buy-in from the rest of the public. Data shows that peace negotiations with high levels of civil society involvement which bring about the majority of participation of women are less likely to result in resumed warfare (Willet, 2010)

Lastly, women leaders from civil society organisation groups forming part of the mediation process, help create a buy-in especially from communities where women still feel marginalised and excluded. The chief mediator whether male or female can play an active role in engaging directly with the women leaders of civil societies negotiating towards a peace process and get to understand their needs and priorities. This helps to understand the needs of women collectively creating a holistic approach towards understanding as many perspectives as possible on the conflict issues.

2.5 Conclusion

Conflict has evolved into civil conflict between ethnic, religious, political and social groups in the 21st century. Not only has it impacted states and communities but women and children have been impacted the most. UNSCR 1325 has been established by the UNSC to address the disproportionate impact of conflicts towards women. It focuses on four pillars of prevention, participation, protection, and peace-building and recovery and calls on all its member states to address gender issues on national and regional levels. In Africa nineteen countries and two regional groupings (ECOWAS and IGAD) have adopted the UNSCR 1325. Other countries such as Namibia and South Africa, as well as regions such as SADC and EAC have chosen a different approach by

adopting and mainstreaming policies and frameworks on a regional and national levels without necessarily adopting UNSCR 1325 NAPs.

This seems to have impacted on the countries that have adopted NAPs which are mostly from the ECOWAS region. SADC countries have adopted a gender policy instead which has been mainstreamed in national policies. However the efficiency and effectiveness of the different approaches needs to be assessed to determine the level of implementation as well as impact as a stand-alone UNSCR 1325 NAP or as a gender policy that has been mainstreamed in national policies.

However, fifteen years after the adoption of UNSCR 1325, little progress has been made with regards to implementation of the UNCR 1325 NAPs or gender policies that have incorporated it in conflict resolution issues and participation. Civil society organisations such as MRWN and *Planete Femme* from CAR have implemented programmes to lobby for the participation of women in conflict resolution issues. However, there seems to be a gap between work done by civil society on mediation and government efforts on mediation and the participation of women.

At the same time, very little literature has also been found on women who have been involved in international mediation as lead mediators and Special Envoys. Most of the literature found focuses on the inclusion of women in domestic mediation teams that form part of the negotiations towards peace agreements. Literature shows that very few women make up the numbers of mediation teams on the African continent. Even though a Female Special Envoy has been appointed to steer the WPS agenda on the continent, sadly she is the only African female Special Envoy ever appointed thus far by the AU and RECs. There has never been a female lead mediator thus far, and less than thirty five percent of women to make up mediation teams.

The literature suggests that perhaps there is a relationship between the regions such as ECOWAS that have implemented UNSCR 1352 RAPS and the countries within the same region to also implement UNSCR 1325 NAPs. At the same there has been a slow implementation of the NAPs in other regions. The question then becomes: Has the slow progress of implementation of the UNSCR 1325 NAPS in regions such as SADC by member countries, affected their performance in complying with UNSCR 1325 regarding the inclusion of women in conflict resolution?

This is what the next chapter will be analysing by looking at South Africa's conflict mediation efforts as a member of the SADC community.

CHAPTER 3

Participation of women in South Africa's mediation efforts

3.1 South Africa and conflict resolution in Africa

Since the beginning of its democratic dispensation and successful, peaceful negotiations in 1994, South Africa's foreign policy has been centred on reintegrating the state with the rest of the international community, especially the African continent. The country's foreign policy highly emphasises its commitment towards the African continent through the promotion of a peaceful, prosperous and integrated Africa. Becoming a respected member of the world community came with numerous calls by individual countries as well as a plethora of international organisations and stakeholders to get involved in conflict resolution in the rest of Africa. The successful South African negotiated transition from an Apartheid state to a democracy, led international players to believe that South Africa had "the recipe" for conflict resolution.

With its new membership in multilateral forums such as the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) in 2006-2007 and again in 2009-2010, its membership in the United Nations Peace-Building Council (PBC), the G20 and its chairmanship in the African Union, and being one of the architects of the Peace and Security Architecture (APSA) and the African Capacity for Immediate Response to Crisis (ACIRC), South Africa positioned itself as a key player in African international conflict and peacebuilding issues on the continent (Sphamandla Zondi, 2016).

For South Africa, peace and security is important to the African Agenda for without it there could never be sustainable development on the continent. South African leaders recognise that the country's development is inextricably linked to the peace and security as well as the development of the rest of the continent, therefore, promoting peace and security, stability, democratisation and economic growth on the continent, has become the cornerstone of the country's foreign policy.

3.2 South Africa's model of international mediation

South Africa's approach to its own conflict resolution since attaining freedom is no different from its approach to contributing to conflict resolution elsewhere. South Africa believes that its foreign policy of "Ubuntu" compels it not to define its foreign policy in

terms of narrow self-interest. It cannot look the other way when its brothers and sisters elsewhere on the Continent are suffering conflict and their economic development is stunted as a consequence. A detached posture to the rest of Africa would ultimately not be in the best interests of South Africa because no country can develop to its full potential if its region is being held back by conflict, peace and stability on the continent is a pre-requisite for development and prosperity (Nkoana-Mashabanae, 2017)

This approach has been the driving force behind democratic South Africa's engagement in Africa from the start and remains the core principle of the country's participation in peacekeeping, capacity building projects, peace building and mediation efforts on the continent and elsewhere. From its own experience, South Africa has long understood that conflict prevention, management and resolution are not a linear process. They have to involve different processes that should occur concurrently. Its role of conflict resolution in Africa has been diverse, that being said all interventions have common features including preference of negotiations that involve all relevant stakeholders in a conflict resolution settlement; inclusive political arrangements during the transition phase of a conflict and national unity; emphasising the importance of nation building and reconciliation efforts that include establishment of structures for human rights and reconciliation; the preference of transitional justice mechanisms such as truth commissions instead of punitive justice approaches; the establishment of international support through donors and international contact groups for overseeing of implementation processes; and peacekeeping for the protection of agreed upon agreements by all parties involved in the negotiations and mediation processes (Zondi S. , 2016).

While there have been some questions about its motives and interests in mediation cases it has been involved in (Kagwanja, 2009), South Africa's efforts throughout the continent are also seen as necessary (Kagwanja, 2009). Scholars highlight the need for South Africa to continue lending a hand and supporting the African Solidarity Initiative (ASI) and Post-Conflict Reconstruction and Development PCRD initiatives in support of the Regional Economic Communities (RECs) and the African Union (AU) (Gida, 2014). South Africa's contribution to strengthen the recovery of African states after protracted conflicts and wars is recognised, particularly in terms of capacity building, support to implementation of agreements, economic development and information sharing programmes.

However, very little seems to be written about South African women who have been involved in these mediation efforts on the track one level. According to the outcome report of women participating in the Southern African Women Mediators Seminar, hosted by ACCORD in Pretoria in 2015 women have always worked and lobbied extensively for women inclusion and empowerment in peace and security issues on the continent,, yet their work is hardly written about (ACCORD, 2013).

3.3 South Africa promoting gender empowerment

Gender equality and empowerment have always been a very important part of South Africa's constitution, the country's progressive constitution has created a bases for gender equality in all social and political spheres (Safer World, 2016) This has been due to the significant advocacy and lobbying role that women played during the transition towards democracy in 1994, as a result South Africa became a model for women's inclusion in peace processes for many African countries (DIRCO, 2017, p. 6). During the negotiations, the country saw more than seventy organisations come together under the Women's National Coalition (WNC) to create the Women's Charter of Effective Equality (WCEE) (Kuumba, 2001). The charter outlined the fundamental rights of women and resulted in the development and adoption of a constitution that protects the rights of women as well as emphasises for equality for all. South Africa's constitution emphasises a free, non-sexist, non-discriminating and equal society that should ensure the empowerment of both male and female in all spheres.

According to one study in 2016. South Africa is currently considered one of the top countries in the world when it comes to women empowerment and gender mainstreaming policies, especially in politics with forty percent of women making up parliament (Safer World, 2016). In its various national policy and implementation frameworks, the government has ensured that the efforts contribute towards the creation of an architecture for the promotion of gender equality and empowerment within government institutions and the private sector.

South African women such as former AU Commissioner Dr Dlamini-Zuma has played a significant role in the establishment of the Agenda 2063 as well as appointing the first AU's Special Envoy (Ms Benita Diop) on Women, Peace and Security in 2014. South Africa's former Vice President Ms Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka is the Executive

Director of UN Women, Geraldine Fraser is the Special Envoy of the African Development Bank (AfDB) and Former first lady Ms Graca Machel formed part of the lead mediators in Namibia. However these are the only prominent South African women that seem to have been involved in high-level positions of peace and security.

A study shows that South Africa has also included women in the security sector, and according to the Institute for Security Studies, is ranking amongst the top in the world when it comes to the deployment of women in peacekeeping missions (Institute for security studies, 2015). South Africa's defence force has been increased from twelve percent to thirty-seven percent in 2015, it has deployed fifty one percent of women in the DRC's peacekeepers, and ten percent in Sudan. The country has also put in place gender sensitive policies in the department of defence that address, equality, sexual harassment and retention, as well as training programmes.

3.4 South Africa and United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325

South Africa has also adopted UNSCR 1325, which seeks to prevent violence against women, protect, and facilitate greater participation for women in peace and security structures and processes. The country has since then been in the frontline in supporting the resolution as well as other gender related resolutions and frameworks by the UN, AU and SADC in peace and security, that seek to provide equal opportunities for both genders in peace and security, such as the Resolution 1889, Agenda 2063, Agenda 2030 and the SADC Protocol on Gender.

UNSCR 1325 "*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*". The resolution emphasises equal participation and empowerment of women in all processes of conflict resolution, especially in leadership positions of mediation, negotiations and Special Envoy by UN member states.

South Africa believes UNSCR 1325 on Women, Peace and Security provides a comprehensive framework for issues and role of women in conflict situations. According to Ambassador Nkosi in his speech at the Getrude Shope Annual Dialogue in 2016, the resolution reaffirms the importance of women in conflict resolution and the

importance of their equal participation and full involvement in all mediation efforts (DIRCO, 2017, p. 36).

3.4.1 South Africa's National Action Plan

In the year 2010, UN Secretary-General Ban-ki Moon established a seven point UNSCR 1325 NAP for women's participation in conflict mediation and peace building. The NAP's are meant to assist member states in ensuring that gender sensitive policies and frameworks have been included in national policies on peace and security. They are meant to increase visibility and accountability of national efforts to implement policies, assist with implementation challenges, coordination of all gender sensitive policies as well as developing monitoring and evaluation processes.

National Action Plans (NAPs) are one critical part of localising commitments in UNSCR 1325 into concrete action. Put simply, NAPs are documents outlining domestic and/ or foreign course of policy of a country to meet the Women, Peace and Security objectives: women's participation, protection from sexual violence, conflict prevention and post-conflict peacebuilding (Trojanowska and Rahmanpanah, 2016).

The UN Secretary-General initiated NAPs after receiving a report that had been produced by UN Women on mediation and diplomacy, whom he had commissioned to conduct a study to help identify gaps and challenges in the implementation of UNSCR 1325, as well as emerging trends and future actions. The final report (UN-Women, 2015), highlighted very disappointing results on the progress of member states in the implementation of the resolution in their respective countries. The results showed that since 1992 until 2011 only two point four percent of women participated formally in peace processes. Only four percent had been signatories, and nine percent had formed part of mediation teams, no country had a female lead mediator or Special Envoy (Collier, 2003). According to the report on the implementation of women, peace and security agenda in Africa, while there has been advocacy to increase the numbers of women in mediation, research has indicated that in influence and sequencing or timing of participation and not just presence of women is very critical in affecting the outcomes and provisions of the peace agreement (AU Commission, 2016)

As much as South Africa has played an important role towards peace and security on the continent as well as women empowerment, it has rather been extremely slow towards developing the UNSCR 1325 NAP. After the adoption of UNSCR 1325, South Africa announced its ambition to implement UNSCR 1325 in 2007. But, it was not until 2015 that Department of Defence and Military Veterans (DoD) organised a preliminary key multi-stakeholder meeting to discuss the development of the NAP in the country.

The meeting organised by DoD in 2015, was attended by government and civil society organisations and a draft was produced, however according to Ms Lobe (Chief Director of Transformation Programmes and Organisational Development at DIRCO), during a capacity building workshop on “Women in Mediation” held at DIRCO on the 4th of August 2017, However, according to Ms Lobe the draft was not made official due to a lack of proper consultations done with the relevant stakeholders such as civil society, communities, labour and business who were supposed to contribute towards the draft. Secondly, debates had been sparked on the relevance of producing a UNSCR NAP for South Africa since the country was not experiencing conflict at the time. The information provided above instantly raises concerns as to why other relevant stakeholders were not consulted in the first place like they should have been? Did this process only involve government or were there a few hand-picked stakeholders that were also involved?

To further contribute towards consultations for the development of the NAPs, on 12 August 2015, a civil society organisation (ACCORD) participated in a follow up meeting that brought together other civil society organisations working on gender, peace and security in the country (ACCORD, 2016).

Civil society organisations discussed the important role of civil society in the development of the NAPs and how the process needed to be inclusive of all voices, from communities up to government going forward (ACCORD, 2016). This meant communities, civil society, academia, business, men, women and children. Since then not much has been achieved with regards to the development of the NAPs by both civil society and government. Nothing has been reported on the progress of UNSCR 1325 NAPs by the country.

The consultation process was once again re-ignited by the DoD as the focal point. The DoD formed the secretariat including the following stakeholders: DIRCO, DoW,

Department of Police (DoP), Department of Home Affairs (DHA), UN Women (South Africa), civil society and academia. The secretariat was tasked to plan towards a consultative conference for the contents of the NAP, which will include voices from government, civil society, NGO's, business, labour and academia. The NAP will not only focus on conflict resolution alone, but issues of peace and security as a whole, therefore no longer about UNSCR 1325 only, as a result has been termed an "Implementation Framework". The main theme of the conference is meant to focus on "creating a sustainable peace and secure South Africa that will lead towards the development of an implementation framework". The conference is supposed to be high-level in nature and was initially supposed to be held on 24 to 26 October 2017, according to the conference invites initially sent out however was postponed due to unforeseen circumstances.

The idea behind the implementation framework instead of UNSCR 1325 NAP is that South Africa prefers to produce a framework that will address all issues of peace and security with and without conflict. The understanding is that South Africa acknowledges that women's human security is not only threatened or violated only during times of armed conflict, but that women and girls are also confronted by threats and violation to their security in their daily lives in both public and private spheres. South Africa's interpretation of UNSCR 1325 like many other countries, interpreted according to its own domestic gender challenges. According to the global study, the resolution has been interpreted differently around the world with different meanings, expectation and application (UN-Women, 2015).

According to the study, consultations clearly brought out differences in interpretation by member-states, in the western and European Union countries, the resolution was understood to address issues of representation of women in the security sector and the prevention of sexual violence. In Africa and Asia, many countries emphasised the need to deal with impunity and sexual violence as well as reparations, livelihoods and economic development (UN-Women, 2015).

However UNSCR 1325 places great emphasises on women in conflict situations which include prevention, participation, protection and peacebuilding. These are all related to the security of women in both public and private spaces. Therefore South Africa's interpretation of UNSCR 1325 NAPs covers all four of these pillars by not only

concentrating conflict issues, but rather security issues that form part of prevention of conflict and peace-building post conflict.

South Africa is currently in the consultation stages of the Implementation Framework. The stakeholders to be consulted during this process will include, government departments, civil society, business, NGO's, academia, labour unions, chapter nine institutions and South African communities.

With the absence of a dedicated UNSCR 1325 NAP in South Africa, the next best thing is to analyse existing policies and frameworks that South Africa has implemented on gender peace and security issues. These policies and frameworks include South Africa's Constitution of 1996, National Policy Framework for Women's Empowerment and Gender Equality, SADC Gender Protocol, Maputo Protocol, Agenda 2063, and Agenda 2030. The policies and frameworks mentioned above all emphasise the importance of women empowerment and equal opportunities in all spheres including conflict mediation issues.

3.4.2 Policies that complement UNSCR 1325

Even though South Africa has not yet implemented a UNSCR 1325 NAP, it has gender mainstreaming policies already in place that complement UNSCR 1325 on issues of inclusion and empowerment for women in peace and security issues. This begins with a very progressive South African Constitution of 1996 with its world acclaimed bill of rights, has created a basis for a number of gender policies and frameworks for South Africa. Section 9(1) on Equality in chapter two, emphasises a South Africa that non-discriminatory, non-sexist, and equal opportunity for both male and female in all spheres of society (See Annex 2 on Equality).

South Africa has introduced affirmative action policies that have promoted inclusion, gender equality and empowerment of women in management and director positions in private companies and public institutions. It has created the basis for gender equality in political representation which has accounted to forty percent of women in parliament and forty-one percent in cabinet (Parliament, 2015).

The Women's Empowerment and Gender Equality (2000) is a national policy that has been implemented according to the constitution on gender equality. This policy is meant to promote equality and empowerment of women in work places. Section 2.12.4

and Section 2.14.3 of this (see Annex 3) clearly states that women have increased in the legislatures, executive branches and other structures of government. This has opened doors for women to lobby for new legislature that addresses women issues and transform male-dominated institutional norms, values and culture. However, it says, little improvement has been made regarding power sharing in South African institutions between men and women in government and corporate institutions, the persistence of a predominantly male culture in most organisations and government institutions. The purpose of the policy framework is thus to close these gaps by ensuring that women are awarded equal opportunities in leadership positions in both government and corporate institutions by removing patriarchal structures that inhibit progress in this regard (Monitoring Improvement of Quality of Life and Status of Women, 2001).

Internationally, South Africa has played an important role in peace and security. The country has been in the forefront of conflict management on the African continent, creating increased security for women both locally and internationally through conflict resolution and peace building mechanisms. South Africa subscribes to a number of international and regional frameworks that address gender, peace and security which includes the SADC Gender Protocol, Maputo Protocol, the 2030 Agenda, and Agenda 2063 (Safer World, 2016). In the UN, South Africa has expressed major support for gender, peace and security issues, has co-sponsored UNSCR 1820 on sexual violence against women in conflict of 2008, and participates on the annual meetings of the Commission on the Status of Women (CSW). The different policies and frameworks mentioned above, emphasise the importance of equal opportunities and empowerment for women in peace and security issues, as well as equal opportunities in high level decision making positions. Part eight, article 28 of the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development framework (See Annex 4) urges all member states to ensure that measures are put in place to promote equal representation and participation for women in key decision-making positions in conflict resolution in accordance with UNSCR 1325 on women peace and security for SADC member states. Secondly, member states should go a step further and ensure that steps are taken during armed or any other conflict to eliminate and prevent incidences of human rights abuses especially for women and children, and ensure that the perpetrators are brought to justice.

Agenda 2030 urges for women's full and effective participation and equal opportunities at all levels of decision making in political, economic, and public life. It further emphasises the importance of Social, economic and political inclusion of all irrespective of age, sex, disability, race, ethnicity, origin, religion or economic or other status (See Annex 5). Goal five on gender equality and empowerment of women provides an opportunity for South Africa to integrate gender into its peace and development policies. Agenda 2063 emphasises on the elimination of exclusion of all on the basis of gender, class, and political background in respect of human rights (See Annex 6).

South Africa has also committed to the Common African Position on the 2030 Agenda CAP, which includes peace and security as the sixth key pillar (Safer World, 2016). The CAP focuses strongly on gender equality an affiliation, religion, ethnic affiliation, locality, age or other factors. It further urges member states to practice a universal culture of good governance, democratic values, gender equality and respond women's empowerment as a cross-cutting issue and commits to supporting the inclusion of women in political, economic and public decision making, conflict resolution and peacebuilding efforts. The CAP has become an integral part of Agenda 2063 which is an action plan for Africa's development over the next fifty years. However it is yet to find expression in the post 2015 sustainable development goals.

The policies and frameworks mentioned above all support, inclusion, equal participation and empowerment for women. They all have slightly different end goals and targets, however, speak the same language when it comes to the inclusion, equal opportunities and participation of women in social, economic and political institutions of the country. The question remains, has South Africa been able to promote the appointment of women in high-level positions as lead mediators and Special Envoys in its international mediation efforts with the policies mentioned above in line with UNSCR 1325?

This question remains very important to pose in that the information above has highlighted the fact that South Africa has not yet produced and a country NAP for the country. However, policies such as Agenda 2063, Agenda 2030, SADC Protocol on Gender and Development, and the Women's Empowerment and Gender Framework have been put in place in order to ensure that women are awarded equal opportunities

in areas such as mediation as well. These policies complement UNSCR 1325 on equal opportunities for the inclusion and participation of women in high-level positions such as Special Envoys and lead mediators.

Therefore, even though there is no dedicated UNSCR 1325 NAP in place, there are policies that speak the same language on issues of inclusion of women in peace and security issues. However it's a matter of finding out whether this policies have indeed been able to bring about change and progress with regards to the inclusion of women in high-level positions in South Africa's international mediation processes as required by UNSCR 1325.

3.5 South Africa's international mediation efforts

Since the adoption of UNSCR 1325 in the year 2000 by member states of the UN, South Africa as one of the member states has been involved in a number of very important mediation efforts on the continent as government, through SADC, AU and IGAD. In a media briefing on International Relations Peace and Security at the, Sefako Makgatho Presidential Guest House, Pretoria, 15 September 2015 (The Presidency, 2015), President Jacob Zuma, emphasised the fact that South Africa's foreign policy principles are based on the directive in the Freedom Charter which stipulates that "There shall be peace and friendship". As a result one of the visions for South Africa is building a better Africa and a better world, therefore promoting peace and security on the African continent.

3.5.1 Government mediation efforts

During this period, South Africa as government has mediated in countries such as Burundi by President Zuma who was a Deputy President at the time after taking over from Nelson Mandela in the year 2000, DRC, Cote d'Ivoire, Zimbabwe, South Sudan and Lesotho.

In the year 2000, President Zuma, then Deputy-President took over from Former President Nelson Mandela in Burundi as a mediator, with the full backing of South Africa. He was tasked with dealing with resolving the outstanding issues of the Arusha Agreement signed under the Mandela mediation which had started in 1993. He finally managed to mediate a power-sharing agreement between the two parties in conflict

(Rebel Forces for the Defence of Democracy (FDD) and Burundi Transitional Government) which lead to the signing of the Protocol on Political Defence and Security Power Sharing in October 2003, and the Protocol on Outstanding Political Defence and Security Power Sharing in November 2003, which finally led to elections in 2005.

South Africa through the administration of Thabo Mbeki got involved in the mediation in DRC in 2001. The lead mediator in this process was former President Thabo Mbeki, who was the sitting president for South Africa at the time. He helped broker and agreement between DRC and Rwanda in 2002, which created the Pretoria Agreement of 2002 that led to the withdrawal of Rwanda (Safer World, 2016). He then went on to deal with the Inter-Congolese Dialogue that produced the Global and Inclusive Agreement on Transition in the DRC in July 2003. Throughout this process, Former President Thabo Mbeki is the lead mediator.

In 2004 former President Mbeki was again a mediator in the Ivorian conflict in Cote d'Ivoire under the appointment of the AU. His success in the DRC as well as his distance from the conflict were the reasons he was appointed mediator in the country. His distance was seen as a strength to bring about neutrality to the mediation process. He later withdrew ten months later in August 2005, due to a number reasons which include being accused of bias towards one side while trying to restore a legal constitutional order.

Mediation in Zimbabwe involved two time periods during Thabo Mbeki's term in 2002, when he was appointed as mediator by the Commonwealth Triad (Australia, Nigeria and South Africa). He went on to mediate again in 2005 after clashes between ZANU-PF and MDC broke out after the 2005 elections. President Jacob Zuma carried on where Thabo Mbeki had left off after leaving office. President Zuma had to oversee the implementation of the Global Political Agreement that had been signed under Thabo Mbeki by the ZANU-PF government and MDC opposition factions.

Since 2014 until currently, Deputy President Cyril Ramaphosa has been appointed mediator by SADC to facilitate dialogue between conflicting parties in Lesotho since an attempted *coup d'état* in 2014. He is also currently the Special Envoy to South Sudan while mediating intra-party conflict within the SPLM/A since 2011 under the authority of IGAD.

South Africa has also had a number of Special Envoys that have mediated conflict outside of South African borders such as Ambassador Welile Nhlapo, Ambassador Kingsley Mamabolo and Ambassador Dumisani Khumalo, who were appointed in the Great Lakes Region. Ambassador Nhlapo has also served as Special Envoy in Burundi. Ambassador Ebrahim Saley was also the Special Envoy of the Secretary General in Western Sahara

In the Asia Middle East Region, there were three Special Envoys, Former Deputy Minister of DIRCO, Mr Aziz Pahad, Former Minister, Ambassador Zola Skweyiya and Ambassador Mhammed Dangor. Other Special Envoys include Ambassador Abdul Samad Minty for Disarmament and New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD). As well as the Deputy President as Special Envoy to South Sudan.

The Zimbabwe mediation during President Jacob Zuma, was the only time during any mediation efforts that a women was seen and active at a high-level position in the mediation team. This was Ambassador Lindiwe Zulu who was the spokesperson for the mediation team and president Zuma's adviser on international relations. The team also consisted of Mr Charles Nqakula and Mr Mac Maharaj.

According to a media briefing released by the South African Presidency in 15 November 2017,, South Africa as the SADC Chair appointed Defence Minister, Ms Nosiviwe Mapisa-Nqakula, and State Security Minister, Mr Bongani Bongo, as Special envoys to Zimbabwe to meet with President Robert Mugabe and the Zimbabwean Defence Force (The Presidency, 2017). This was after a military intervention by the Zimbabwean Defence Force against then President Robert Mugabe, which later ended with the resignation of President and a formation of a new ZANU-PF government in Zimbabwe. Minister Mapisa-Nqakula is the first ever female Special Envoy appointed by South Africa under the mandate of SADC, in a situation akin to mediation, though the special envoys did not actually facilitate dialogue among parties, but simply had exploratory discussions before the Zimbabwean concluded the transition of government on their own. This is a great milestone as she is the first female envoy ever to be appointed by SADC to lead a mediation team during conflict in Africa.

However, it is also very disappointing that South Africa has only ever had one female mediator and one female Special Envoy in more than sixteen years of being heavily

involved in peace diplomacy in Africa after the adoption of UNSCR 1325 by the UN. This is also after mainstreaming gender sensitive policies and frameworks such as Agenda 2063, SADC Protocol on Gender as well as the Agenda 2030 were integrated into the national policies.

From the information provided above, it is very clear that women have not been afforded an equal opportunity to be included in the Government's international mediation efforts as mediators. These numbers should definitely be higher considering the gender policies and frameworks in place for South Africa. The research indicates that there might be challenges of implementation when it comes to the inclusion of women in government's efforts of international mediation.

During the study, The Presidency, DIRCO, and Defence Department were contacted to request for names of the people who formed part of the mediation teams in order to establish the presence of women and their roles. But this was unsuccessful due to either lack of records in the instance of DIRCO or due to confidentiality in the instance of DoD. The only option for the researcher was to rely on the information published publicly, such as journals, books, media reports, speeches and unclassified information from relevant desks at DIRCO, which did not provide any contribution made by females who formed part of the mediation teams in almost all of the processes mentioned above except for Ms Zulu and Ms Mapisa-Nqakula.

Lastly, while conducting an online research on the DRC mediation initiative by South Africa, Advocate Mujanku Gumbi's name came up. An article published online by *BuaNews* Tshwane reported on an a story involving two senior officials that had to be sent to DRC urgently by the presidency in June 2003, to help broker an impasse in the country's new transitional government by the Presidency (Sebelebele, 2003). The two senior officials included Advocate Mujanku Gumbi. When probing further, there seems to be no other literature written on her involvement in the DRC mediation or any other one. It is not clear at this point whether she was playing the role of support in the DRC when urgently flown, or she was key during the mediation process. More research would need to be conducted through interviews on her role in the process.

In 2008, former first lady Ms Graca Machel took part in the AU led mediation in Kenya as one of the three mediators, together with President Benjamin Mkapa of Tanzania

and former UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan as Chairperson. However there is no record of her appointment as a lead mediator or Special Envoy by South Africa.

Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma is another prominent woman that has been involved in mediation in the DRC during her term as Minister of Foreign Affairs in South Africa. Her contributions towards mediation include support for mediation that led to the Pretoria Accord and the Sun City Agreement in 2004 (Electoral Institute for Sustainable Democracy in Africa, 2007). She also became the first female Commissioner for the AU in 2012, which resulted in the appointment of the first female Special Envoy on Women Peace and Security, Ms Benita Diop. However, not much has been published on her actual role in the mediation process in the DRC as well.

The women mentioned above still constitute a fraction of high-level positions of lead mediators and Special Envoys for South Africa. The above information shows a lack of equal opportunities for women to be appointed lead mediators or Special Envoys within the mediation teams that South Africa has formed during its mediation processes.

3.5.1.1 Capacity building programmes by Government

DIRCO, under the leadership of Minister Maite Nkoana-Mashabane has been involved in issues of women in mediation both domestically and internationally. The department has been involved in Norway-funded initiatives such as the Women's Capacity Building Programme on Conflict Resolution, Negotiation and Mediation, which provided training for sixty senior South African women leaders, in August 2016 (DIRCO, 2017). The programme also involved participants from forty six countries made up of diplomats and senior government officials globally. The main objective of the initiative is to contribute to the development and capacity of the "next generation" of mediators, especially for DIRCO female officials, other South African government institutions, civil society, as well as NGO's (DIRCO, 2017).

The Department also hosts the Getrude Shope Annual Dialogue on women in mediation, also financially supported by the Government of Norway, where women are given an opportunity to share their experiences, share ideas, reflect on existing policies and challenges and make recommendations to national, regional and international institutions. It also provides an opportunity for DIRCO sections to interact with civil society and other national departments on conflict resolution issues.

South Africa is part of the Nordic Women's Mediator Network formed in November 2015 which took on the model of the Getrude Shope Annual Dialogue. The other members include, Finland, Iceland, Norway, Sweden and Denmark. The network is aimed at identifying gaps and finding ways forward on how to effectively create platforms for women to participate in mediation, at the same time exchanging views, sharing experiences on the wider participation of these women in mediation and peace processes (DIRCO, 2017). These capacity building projects show a level of commitment for DIRCO to capacitate and involve women in mediation. Secondly it is a great way of recording institutional memory on the experiences of women involved in conflict mediation in other countries for research purposes going forward.

The Women's Capacity Building Programme officially began in 2003 and more than sixty women have been trained in this programme that are considered senior mediators in their own right. However, there is very little information about any of these women after the training being involved in government mediation initiatives, especially from the South African database.

Most of the women that have been trained take part in domestic mediation in their communities. The lack of information at this point seems to be caused by lack of recording of mediation events or the women have not taken part in formal mediation efforts, therefore there is nothing to record.

Following the Special Agency Status given to Pan-African Women's organisation (PAWO) in January 2017 at the 28th AU summit, the ANC 5th National Policy Conference report recommended that PAWO be recognised within government structures of AU members with all the necessary support and resources. Secondly a special Envoy to be appointed at AU level to enable the organisation to implement its mandate of gender empowerment and equality on the continent (ANC, 2017, p. 64). Following these recommendations DIRCO held a PAWO Dialogue on 31 July 2017 at the OR Tambo building. The focus was to bring together civil society organisations, NGO's, academia, and other relevant government departments to discuss what the mandate of PAWO should be. An outcomes document of the process regarding the discussions and way forward is not yet public. Hopefully this process will also spark interest for the South African government, especially DIRCO to establish an office of

the Special Envoy on Gender issues on the continent that will be supported by the Gender Unit in the department.

There was a couple of mediation initiatives by government as mentioned above after the commencement of the capacity building, and none of these trained women have formed part of the mediation teams, even as understudies for the lead mediators. There is no record of a trickle up to track one government mediation effect of female mediators that have gone through the capacity building programme. This reasons for this are unclear at this point, more studies would need to be conducted regarding this challenge.

According to Minister Nkoana-Mashabane in her speech at the Getrude Shope Annual Dialogue in August 2016, male mediators should be accompanied by women mediators every time mediation is conducted. If the reasons behind the exclusion is that there are no women that are experienced enough to become lead mediators currently, then going as understudies and understanding the different conflict context would be a great way to expose them and capacitating them into lead mediator “ready” (DIRCO, 2017).

Following the previous point, there seems to be a gap that exists between the work done by DIRCO to capacitate women in mediation and the processes that are undertaken to pick lead mediators in the Presidency to mediate internationally. This can be caused by a number of reasons, firstly there might be a lack of coordination between DIRCO and office in charge of mediation processes in the Presidency. Secondly, there might be a lack of a consolidated database between presidency and DIRCO of the women who have been trained. Third the women might not have enough experience to be entrusted with forming part of the international mediation teams. Lastly they might be simply excluded on purpose from the mediation processes.

3.5.2 Civil Society initiatives and international track two mediation

Civil society organisations are a very important stakeholder in the work towards peace and security issues in South Africa. Their role as lobbyists and advocates of women empowerment and equality cannot be underestimated. Civil society have played an important role in lobbying for the adoption of UNSCR 1325, this has been a very important international agenda that has placed civil society organisations at its centre (UN-Women, 2015, p. 302). As a result, preparations for the studies by the Global

Studies Report of 2015 by UN Women were centred on consultations with women's civil society groups globally.

This was important in that these groups have the ability to push for real change from the ground up on conflict issues affecting women. They are able to push for the highest body on peace and security to heed women's voices as well as to mobilise on the grassroots level. Therefore are able to shape public and government agendas and create a positive political will for action (UN-Women, 2015, p. 303)

Civil society organisations focus on a track two method of conflict resolution. This is an unarmed people to people dialogue, on issues contributing to conflict in communities as well as between parties in conflict. The term was initially used by Joseph Montville in 1981, when he was defining alternative efforts outside of the formal government to government (Track one) efforts conducted by states. According to him, Track two approach to conflict resolution refers to "private citizens discussing issues that are usually reserved for official negotiations" (Lee, 1997), these discussions include dialogues, conferences, and public meetings amongst unarmed citizens about conflict issues and possible solutions. Track two mediation focuses on groups on the grassroots level in order to understand the root causes of conflict from ordinary people, civil society organisations and sometimes involves senior level government officials to share different insights about the conflict and to find alternative solutions towards an end to the conflict.

Therefore, international mediation should not be about track one of two mediation, but how these two processes can complement each other. Equal participation is also equally important in this type of mediation process, especially since most of the lobbying for gender issues in peace and security is initiated by non-government institutions. ACCORD has been involved in conflict resolution issues across the African continent including promoting an understanding and use of the role of gender in peace and security on the continent. ACCORD has initiated numerous capacity building programmes on women in conflict resolution for women in South Africa and the rest of Africa. These programmes are meant to build capacity of African women leaders on conflict resolution through training, facilitation and research. The organisation has partnered with the United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and

Women's Empowerment (UN Women), AU, SADC, and other civil society organisations such as *Femme Afrique Solidarite* (FAS).

With Ms Graca Machel sitting as Chair of ACCORD's Board of Trustees, and advocating for the prominence of gender equality on the Agenda of the organisations' programming, ACCORD's knowledge production unit is involved with various calls for gender mainstreaming issues, as well as solutions focusing on the increase of women in leadership positions.

Some of the capacity building programmes that have been initiated in recent years include (see Table 3) (ACCORD, 2016);

- The South African Women in Dialogue (SAWID) in July 2007;
- High-Level Seminar: "Resolution 1325 in 2020: Looking forward...Looking back", October 2010;
- Conference on Women Mediators in Africa in July 2011; and
- Southern African Women Mediators Seminar in November 2012.

There is a lot more that the organisation is involved with, regarding empowering and capacitating women in mediation in South Africa, as well as across the continent (see website). The organisation has trained more than twenty thousand people in conflict resolution issues, some within South Africa (ACCORD, 2016). ACCORD has also been involved in enhancing the institutional capability of the AU and RECs, to help prevent and peacefully resolve conflict through the AU Mediation Support Capacity Project. This has included the development of the AU Mediation Support Handbook, capacity building programmes and peace-making efforts in the DRC, Madagascar, Somalia, South Sudan, CAR and Zimbabwe.

However, when conducting research on their involvement of women in their track two mediation efforts, nothing could be found from the work they have published or reports written. The main focus of their work on mediation that has been published is on capacity building programmes and training that have been done across the continent, as well as dialogues on conflict issues.

Even though the organisation has done well in the training and development of women mediators across the continent, their success stories as lead mediators in international track two mediation are not published on the website. ACCORD is very strong on

issues of women in conflict mediation even lobbying for the UNSCR 1325 across the continent. It has also done a lot in ensuring that women form part of dialogues and mediation teams in countries such as South Sudan and Somalia, however there is no record of a single women leading their track two mediation processes in the countries mentioned above. Perhaps there are women that have led in these mediation teams, however at this point, there is no public record of this information. This also seems to be a problem when analysing other South African based civil society organisations focusing on gender peace and security issues on the continent.

The South African Women in Dialogue (SAWID), which was founded in July 2003 by a group of one thousand women gathered at the University of Pretoria, initially facilitated by former first lady, Ms Zanele Mbeki. The organisation has also been involved in women in mediation issue both within and outside of South Africa. SAWID together with UNIFEM played a key role in assisting the women of DRC to mobilise for participation during the peace process in 2003. The organisation together with ACCORD held a dialogue on for Burundian women to share experiences on gender equality in 2004 (Safer World, 2016). Again when looking for the women who took part in the initiatives mentioned, no names come up, and not much information can be found on the website.

The two organisations mentioned above including the Centre for Conflict Resolution (CCR), Institute for Security Studies (ISS) and the Southern Africa Women's Mediator Network do not have anything about women in their mediation processes published, as well as the lead women who took part in these efforts. This is alarming that civil society organisations such as Accord and SAWID do not have any records on women's participation in international mediation efforts. These two civil society organisations have been involved in a couple of international mediation efforts, yet do not have "a good story to tell" of the contribution of women in those efforts. The reasons due to the lack of information from the South African civil societies are unclear at this point, and would need further studies.

This obviously has led to success stories of women's experiences in international mediation to be silenced, and indirectly has an effect towards accountability for participation of women in high-level positions as lead mediators or Special Envoys in the track two mediation efforts. Therefore it has come to light that civil society

organisations in South Africa are also lagging behind when it comes to the participation of women in track two international mediation efforts. A lot of names and work can be identified on their websites when it comes to domestic mediation, however no names come up on international mediation efforts.

3.6 Equality theory and the inclusion of women

The research above indicates that South Africa has not yet provided an equal footing for the inclusion of women in both track one and track two mediation efforts. One question immediately follows this statement, and that is “Why is this the case since South Africa has put in place a number of policies and frameworks that are meant to address the issue of inequality and inclusion in different political and social sectors?”

At this point, there could be a number of reasons that could contribute to this challenge, which include:

- a) Challenges in the interpretation of women in peace and security policies, which affect the overall implementation processes.
- b) Patriarchal structures that still exist on gender and its relation to conflict resolution issues.

Analysing these two reasons, option “b” stands as the one most likely to be the problem,

Option “a”, would be ruled out in that, literature in the beginning of this study indicates that South Africa’s contributions and inclusion of women in other areas of peace and security such as peacekeeping and security sector is making progress. Therefore there is an understanding of the need to include women in peace and security issues. This automatically rules out challenges on interpretation on the policies addressing women in peace and security.

The next question then becomes “Why has South Africa not prioritised equal inclusion of women in its international mediation efforts, like it is doing with the security sector and peacekeeping missions?” This brings us back to option “b”, the existence of patriarchal structures when it comes to women and conflict resolution. Patriarchy can be described as a social structure that is based on male control of power (Uvelius, 2009). Power is related to privilege, in a system in which men have more power than

women and men have some level of privilege to which women are not entitled based on their gender (Napikoski, 2017).

According to Equality feminist gender and patriarchy do not allow women equal access to power positions in the world (Riuz, 2004). In this case South Africa's mediation processes have not yet given women equal opportunities to be appointed as lead mediators and Special Envoys. This trend is especially observed in the track one mediation and Special Envoy efforts where only one female lead mediator, Ms Lindiwe Zulu and one Special Envoy Ms Maphisa-Ngakula have been recorded. There is a gap between opportunities awarded to men and the opportunities awarded to women in conflict resolution.

A couple of capacity building programmes have been established in order to close this gap, however women that have been trained through these programmes do not seem to be getting opportunities to mediate internationally through either track one or track two mediation efforts. They too have been excluded from the processes, is it due to experience levels?

Eric Blanchard refers to a catch 22 situation that women sometimes find themselves faced with which is based on experience (Blanchard, 2003). According to him, employment opportunities in peace and security sectors highly depend of past military service as a qualification for a high-level position, which will generally disadvantage women since they generally have less experience.

The capacity building programmes provide theoretical training on issues of conflict resolution, women from this training usually take part in domestic conflict resolution, which might be contributing towards being side-lined from international mediation opportunities due to "lack" of experience. In her speech at the Getrude Shope annual dialogue, Minister Nkoana-Mashabane highlights this problem and suggests that women from these training programmes be given an opportunity to shadow the mediators and Special Envoys. On the other hand, one could also say, instead of being given an opportunity to shadow, why are they not given an opportunity to co-lead with someone who has more experience, thus giving them an equal opportunity to be included in the process.

According to Equality theorists gender differences should not be based on biology, and their roles in society should not be according to cultural social constructs that

discriminates women for solely on their biological construction. According the school of thought, women and men are not that different from each other, their common humanity supersedes their proactive differentiation. Therefore women and men should not be treated differently from the law. Therefore women should have the same rights to hold any position traditionally restricted to men.

Formal peace processes offer important opportunity to set an agenda for sustainable peace that includes the needs of an often excluded half of the population which is women and children. A female chief mediator can have a better opportunity to ensure that gender expertise at a senior level of negotiations is included as well invest in strategies for the inclusion of more women in negotiating parties than men, and not just to include but to ensure that their recommendations are taken seriously and equally important as those that come from men.

More work still needs to be done to ensure equal participation of women in mediation processes on the continent, especially as lead mediators and Special Envoys. CSO's, governments, RECs as well as multilateral institutions need to work together to speed up implementation of UNSCR 1325 in member states to ensure full and proper participation of women in conflict resolution and mediation issues.

3.7 Conclusion

Even though South Africa has prioritised women empowerment and equality it's in national policies, the country has not done any justice on the participation of women in international mediation issues. The policies are either not implemented properly in this area, or there is a culture of patriarchy that still exists within the institutions that are entrusted with the implementation of women empowerment in South Africa's formal international mediation processes.

Much still needs to be done in terms of gender mainstreaming when it comes to international mediation issues in the country. It can no longer be about the number of women that participate in mediation and peacekeeping missions, but rather the impact they contribute in high-level decision making delegations. Unfortunately, this study still shows that South Africa is still struggling with the inclusion of women in international mediation, therefore still have a long way to get to the influence and impact of women.

Civil society organisations have criticised South Africa on the slow progress of women empowerment in peace and security issues. There has been an uneven implementation of policies on women in peace and security and reporting has been a great challenge for South Africa, failing to submit a report on the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) in 2001 and 2005 (Safer World, 2016). The country was also criticised by the Gender Equality commission for Gender Equality for failing to demonstrate the effectiveness of adopted laws and policies and the positive impact they had on women (Commission for Equality, 2010).

The biggest criticism has been on the implementation of UNSCR 1325 in the country. Progress in terms of developing the UNSCR 1325 NAP has been extremely slow, which has affected the implementation process on the gender mainstreaming policies in place on peace and security. South Africa had announced its ambition to implement the NAPs in 2007 (ACCORD, 2016), however did not live up to its commitments.

However South African civil society as well is guilty of not living up to the policies and frameworks that they promote inclusion of women in terms of gender equality and empowerment in international mediation efforts. They have not also not lived up to UNSCR1325 on equality and empowerment of women in high-level positions such as Special Envoy and lead mediators.

Not taking away from other achievements that South Africa has made with regards to participation of women in areas such as peacekeeping, parliament and security sector, however South Africa seems to be ignoring the importance of participation of women in international mediation efforts as government.

The African Union also announced the year 2010 to 2020 as the decade of women empowerment, especially on peace and security issues which works hand in hand with UNSCR 1325. South African government needs to work very hard in order to ensure that equal participation of women in leadership positions has been achieved in international mediation by the year 2020.

South Africa still has a long way to go when it comes to women empowerment and equal participation of women in mediation processes, especially as lead mediators and Special Envoys. It's a bit alarming that South African policies are as progressive

as they are in women empowerment and participation of women in other political areas such Parliament and government institutions.

Or is it perhaps an issue of good policies that have been adopted, but the implementation process is a bit of a challenge. This also calls for another area of study, to understand some of the challenges when it comes implementation of peace and security policies, especially when it comes to women empowerment.

However what is also evident is the level of patriarchy that still exists within South African institutions in both government and civil society structures when it comes conflict mediation issues. Males are still preferred in important positions on conflict resolution, especially on international matters. Secondly, this could also be caused by the manner in which female mediators are viewed by the countries in which the mediation processes have taken place. Most African countries still do not accept women as part of mediation teams, and see the place of a woman in the kitchen and looking after the children. The idea of seeing a woman on the negotiating table leading, is still seen as taboo by most African cultures.

The Equality feminist theory on equal participation of women in conflict resolutions, highlights the importance of women not being excluded based on their biological construct. Rather they should be viewed as having the same capabilities as men, therefore should then be treated the same when it comes to equal work opportunities. In this case being appointed as lead mediators and Special Envoys.

However, South Africa has been very progressive in its policies and should have been an example to other African countries by ensuring that women are given equal opportunity to participate as lead mediators and Special Envoys. The same way that Ms Zulu and Ms Mapisa-Nqakula could be given an opportunity, it's the same way all other women can be considered equally.

Also acknowledging that the lack of information is due to confidential records of processes that are not publicly published due to security reasons. However the information mostly published about South Africa's mediation processes identifies the lead mediator in all the mediation processes as well as the appointment of Special Envoys. Therefore from that perspective women have not been included equally when it comes to their appointment as Special Envoys and lead mediators.

CHAPTER FOUR
Women, Mediation and UNSCR 1325

4.1 Introduction

Since the start of liberation of African countries in the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, has left dire consequences for development of states socially, politically and economically. Most affected by these conflicts have been women and children through acts of sexual violence, human rights violations, economic deprivation and loss of loved ones including partners and children.

Due to these developments, the UNSC passed the UNSCR 1325 on women peace and security, which was endorsed by all UN member-states in the year 2000. The resolution urges member-states to implement UNSCR 1325 in their respective countries, which involves integrating the resolution in their domestic policies on women. However, there seems to be a gap between adopting the resolution on the African continent and implementation.

More than sixteen years later, Africa is still treading behind when it comes to the involvement of women in mediation processes. Women continue to be side-lined from the official mediation processes, their voices are not being heard and their wellbeing is not being considered in the agreements formed during negotiations. The continent is also lagging behind when it comes to the participation of women as lead mediators as well as Special Envoys. The implementation of the NAPs is also problematic in Africa, only seventeen countries which are mostly situated in the ECOWAS region have implemented the NAPs in their domestic policies. Other countries have opted to use a gender mainstreaming approach towards gender policies in the region. Such countries include countries in the SADC region with the exception of Namibia which recently adopted a NAP in 2017. This chapter provides a summary of South Africa's progress regarding the inclusion of women in its international mediation efforts on both track one and track two processes. It will highlight findings during the study, as well as recommendations.

4.2 South Africa and the implementation of the UNSCR 1325

South Africa is one of the countries that have not implemented the UNSCR 1325 NAP for the country. The country has rather opted to implement an Implementation framework that focuses on peace and security issues of women as a whole instead

of focusing only on conflict situations. The understanding from this is that South Africa believes that women's every day security should be protected instead of mainly focusing on armed conflict situations. Even though the country has not opted for the implementation of a UNSCR 1325 NAPs, it has other policies and frameworks such as the Agenda 2063, Agenda 2030, SADC Protocol on Gender and Development, South Africa's National Policy Framework for Women's Empowerment and Gender Equity and the South African Constitution on 1996. These policies and frameworks, all emphasise the importance of women empowerment and equality in leadership positions in all social and political spheres of society in South Africa.

It has always been in the forefront of issues of woman empowerment and is currently considered one of the best countries when it comes to the empowerment of women. But the country appears, on the basis of this study, not to have made much progress in the involvement of women in its peace and security efforts, especially on international mediation.

South Africa has also prioritised issues of conflict resolution on the continent, which form the sixth pillar of its foreign policy. It has been involved in a number of mediation efforts on the continent, including the DRC, Zimbabwe and South Sudan, as a government as well as through SADC, IGAD and AU. Even though the country has included women in its peacekeeping strides on the inclusion of women in peacekeeping missions in Cote d'Ivoire, DRC and South Sudan, the country has made minute progress in the inclusion of women in both track one and track two international mediation efforts.

The track one mediation efforts are run from The Presidency, and have all been male dominated so far, with the exception of the Zimbabwe mediation efforts by President Zuma, which included Ms Lindiwe Zulu as the mediation spokesperson and mediator. Nothing has been published to show if women formed part of other mediation teams such as the DRC, Zimbabwe during Former President Thabo Mbeki's term and South Sudan.

South Africa has recently appointed its first female Special Envoy who was sent to Zimbabwe in November 2017 to get an understanding on the potential threat of conflict in Zimbabwe at the time. South African civil society organisations such as ACCORD and SAWID have also been involved in women in mediation issues, initiated capacity

building and training programmes South African women. However a lot has been published about the number of women who have been trained in these initiatives, but there is nothing said about these women being involved in their track two international mediation efforts conducted by them.

Secondly, there is a lack of co-operation between empowering women from civil society capacity building initiatives and the presidency. There is also lack of co-operation between the capacity building programmes from DIRCO and the Presidency. There is no upward mobility for the women who have been trained to for part of the mediation teams or even to shadow during the processes in order to gain experience.

International mediation efforts have continued to side line women from both track one and track two. If they have been involved, even though there is no record of this, their role and importance in the mediation processes have been silenced through a lack of this information being recorded publicly. This gives an impression that both government and civil society structures are still patriarchal with regards to the participation of women in mediation efforts. More studies are needed to understand the reasons behind the continued lack of women in international mediation processes conducted by both government and civil societies in South Africa.

Since the implementation of UNSCR 1325 in the year 2000, South African international mediation efforts have continued to side-line women as lead mediators as well as Special Envoys. A lot still needs to be done to close the gap between the policies that are put in place in order to include women in high-level position and the actual implementation of those policies. Such as ensuring that more women are included in upcoming mediation efforts, as well as seeing women as equals when it comes to the appointment of lead mediators and Special Envoys. Lastly the country needs to speed up its processes of implementing UNSCR 1325 NAPs in the country in order to move towards closing this gap.

4.3 Findings during the study

After conducting research on both track one and two international mediation efforts, the following are the gaps findings that have been identified during the study:

Government

The South African Government has been involved in a number of mediation efforts on the African continent. There is a clear pattern that shows that all of them have been led by president's or deputy presidents of the country since 1994. Since 1994, South Africa has only ever had male presidents starting from Former President Mandela, to Former President Mbeki, and currently President Zuma.

The Deputy President position has had two three male deputy presidents and one female deputy president Ms Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka. Since the country has never had a female president, this may have automatically ruled them out of all the previous mediation efforts. Ms Phumzile Mlambo Ngcuka was Deputy President during Former President Thabo Mbeki's term, there is no evidence that she was involved in any mediation efforts. This could also be seen as exclusion from participation in international mediation since all other deputy presidents had an opportunity to be lead mediators. Was it because she was a woman? Secondly, South Africa has ever only appointed one Special Envoy Ms Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka, which was under the mandate of SADC. The country itself has never had a female Special Envoy representing it in conflict issues internationally. However, it has had Special Envoys in the Great Lakes region, Middle East, South Sudan, Sudan and Burundi who have all been males. This area has been male dominated. There is also a lack of public records that are available of women that also formed part of the mediation efforts as well as the roles they played other than the lead mediators.

There is a clear imbalance of opportunities for women to be equally considered as lead mediators and Special Envoys by government selection processes. This indicates the possibility of patriarchy and unequal opportunities based on gender that still exists within government institutions. There is a clear imbalance of scale and bias towards males on issues of conflict resolution.

The Getrude Shope Annual Dialogue and the Mediation Capacity building Programme have trained women in conflict mediation issues in South Africa. However there are no public records of these women forming part of international mediation efforts as either tack one or track two after their mediation efforts. There seems to be a lack of coordination between the capacity building programmes and the institution in charge of selecting mediation teams, which in this case is the Presidency. This also has

resulted in a lack of upward mobility of training to opportunities for experience in international mediation for the women trained in the capacity building programmes.

Also the capacity building programmes seems to be focused on training women for domestic conflict resolution. For a department that is dealing with international relations, DIRCO, one would have thought the primary focus of the programme would be on international mediation. This would help form part of the country's soft diplomacy through conflict resolution efforts internationally.

Lastly the policies and frameworks that have been put in place by government seem to only be addressing inclusion in the security sector which is the military, police and peacekeeping missions and international mediation is side-lined. The inclusion of women seems not to be prioritised in government's efforts of international conflict mediation. The statistic's found in literature on South Africa's contributions towards peace and security in Africa only focus on the numbers of women who are participating in peacekeeping missions, military, police and peace-building initiatives.

These policies are either not sufficient to address the issue of inclusion for women in the appointment of Special Envoys and lead mediators in accordance to UNSCR 1325 or they encounter the challenge of patriarchy.

Civil Society

Civil Society organisations such as ACCORD, SAWID, are all involved in gender peace and security issues on the continent. However, there is no record of female mediators that have been involved in any of their international mediation efforts. When doing research on activities the organisations have taken part in, their work on capacity building programmes and the number of women trained in mediation is easily accessible. The little that has been written about their mediation efforts only talks about the countries they have been involved in, the programmes initiated and the impact thereof.

This has led to a lack of public documentation on the success stories of women who have taken part in international conflict mediation. For example the study highlighted that SAWID, which is an organisation of women, took part in mediation in the DRC. However the women that have been involved in this process are not documented,

therefore their success story is not known. This gives an impression that women are not actively involved in international mediation efforts on the track two level.

There also seems to be a lack of coordination between track one and track two levels. For example ACCORD and the South African government both took part in conflict resolution in the DRC. There are no records that talk about coordination and information sharing between the mediators at the senior level of discussions and the grassroots level where dialogue was taking place on the issues affecting ordinary people on the ground. This could have been helpful to both tracks in order to come up with creative ways of addressing issues with a better understanding of what is happening on both levels of mediation. Perhaps this could have also yielded different results regarding the negotiations towards an inclusive peace agreement.

4.4 Recommendations

Arising from the problem identified and discussed above, the following sets of recommendations are put forward, one for government and another for non-governmental sectors:

Government

- South Africa's mediation processes should start being more inclusive of women going forward. An inclusive system that promotes equal opportunities for both males and females needs to be adopted for future conflict resolution efforts. This can be achieved by firstly drawing up a database of women who have experience in conflict resolution both domestically and internationally from both public and private sectors. Secondly the selection processes need to be gender sensitive on the bases of equal assessment of abilities and capabilities of resolving conflict.
- DIRCO and the Presidency should establish a working relationship based on demand and supply. This means a number of women that are trained during the capacity building programme, who have done well and have a potential to become a good mediator, should form part of the mediation as an understudy for future conflict resolution efforts depending on the numbers that presidency is able to accommodate during a mediation process.

- DIRCO should focus the mandate of the capacity building programmes more on International mediation. This means, the relevant stakeholders should come up with programmes that focus on international mediation on the continent. These programmes should focus on the different conflicts happening in Africa and their contexts, diplomacy and negotiation skills needed for high-level international mediation processes. DIRCO should work with the Presidency and former mediators to understand the different challenges encountered during mediation, as well as the possible programmes that can be put in place.
- DoD should ensure that the Implementation Framework is as inclusive as possible of the different voices and stakeholders. Therefore a series of consultations between stakeholders is very important in order to promote buy in and ownership of the final document from the different stakeholders involved. This can be done by ensuring that, civil society, business, academia, labour unions, NGO's, chapter nine institutions and communities are sufficiently consulted and their voices are taken into consideration in the final Implementation Framework Document.

Civil Society

- Civil Society should start recording the success stories of South African women who have taken part in track two mediation processes internationally. Understanding that some of the information may be sensitive due to ongoing processes. However it is important to create visibility of women who are actively involved in conflict resolution issues, for both research purposes as well creation of a database for both track one and track two purposes.
- There should be better coordination between track one and track two mediation efforts when involved in mediation in the same country on the same conflict. This will provide a better understanding of some of the issues from the ground up. Reasons for this is that, track one mediation is only focused on senior officials and leaders involved in the conflict, and track two is focused of ordinary citizens who are mostly impacted by the conflict. By working together, both government and civil society are able to understand the challenges of both levels, therefore able to come up with well-informed programmes of action. This

type of approach is called the Track three approach. With the continuously recurring conflicts on the continent, African leaders should realise that more creative and sustainable solutions are required in order to achieve a more sustainable peace-building process on the continent.

- Civil society organisations should consider creating a data-base of all the women it has trained during capacity building programmes and the work they have been involved since the training and share this information with DIRCO. This will contribute towards better coordination of identifying potential women to form also part of the data-base between DIRCO and the Presidency. This will also help bring to light women are not known but are actively involved in issues of conflict resolutions in the country and continent.

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TABLE 1: RESOLUTIONS ON WOMEN PEACE AND SECURITY

RESOLUTION	DATE ADOPTED	OVERVIEW
1325	31 October 2000	<p>First time the Security Council addressed the disproportionate and unique impact of armed conflict on women;</p> <p>Recognises the under-valued and under-utilised contributions women make to conflict prevention, peacekeeping, conflict resolution and peacebuilding;</p> <p>Stresses the importance of women's equal and full participation as active agents in peace and security</p>
1820	19 June 2008	<p>Recognises sexual violence as a weapon and tactic of war;</p> <p>Notes that rape and other forms of sexual violence can constitute a war crime, crime against humanity, or a constitutive act with respect to genocide;</p> <p>Calls for training of troops on preventing and responding to sexual violence;</p> <p>Calls for more deployment of women in peace operations.</p>
1888	30 September 2009	<p>Reiterates that sexual violence exacerbates armed conflict and impedes international peace and security;</p> <p>Calls for leadership to address conflict-related sexual violence;</p> <p>Calls for deployment of Team of Experts where cases of sexual violence occurs.</p>
1889	5 October 2009	<p>Focuses on post-conflict peacebuilding and on women's participation in all stages of peace processes;</p> <p>Calls for the development of indicators to measure the implementation of UNSCR1325 (2000).</p>
1960	16 December 2010	<p>Focuses on operationalising current obligations rather than on creating new structures/initiatives;</p> <p>Includes language on women's participation in combating sexual violence;</p> <p>Supports recourse to avenues of justice.</p>
2106	24 June 2013	<p>Focuses on operationalising current obligations rather than on creating new structures/initiatives;</p>

		Includes language on women’s participation in combating sexual violence; Supports recourse to avenues of justice
2122	18 October 2013	Explicitly affirms an “integrated approach” to sustainable peace; Sets out concrete methods for combating women's participation deficit; Recognises the need to address root causes of armed conflict and security risks faced by women; Calls for the provision of multi-sectoral services to women affected by conflict; Links disarmament and gender equality by mentioning ATT twice.
2242	13 October 2015	Encourages assessment of strategies and resources in regards to the implementation of the WPS Agenda; Highlights the importance of collaboration with civil society; Calls for increased funding for gender-responsive training, analysis and programmes; Urges gender as a cross-cutting issue within the CVE/CT Agendas; Recognises the importance of integrating WPS across all country situations.

Table 2: Women’s participation in peace processes in Africa (1992-2011)

<http://www.un.org/en/africa/osaa/pdf/pubs/2016womenpeacesecurity-auc.pdf>

Country	Women Signatories	Women Lead Mediators	Women Witnesses	Women in negotiating teams
Sierra Leone (1999)	0%	0%	20%	0%
Burundi (2000)-Arusha	0%	0%	-	2%
Somalia (2002)- Eldoret	0%	0%	0%	-
Cote D'Ivoire (2003)	0%	0%	0%	-
DRC (2003)	5%	0%	0%	12%
Liberia (2003)- Accra	0%	0%	17%	-
Sudan (2005) - Naivasha	0%	0%	9%	-
Darfur (2006) - Abuja	0%	0%	7%	8%
DRC (2008) -North Kivu	5%	20%	0%	-
DRC (2008) – South Kivu	0%	20%	0%	-

Uganda (2008)	0%	0%	20%	9%
Kenya (2008) - Nairobi	0%	33%	0%	25%
Central African Republic (2008)	0%	0%	0%	-
Zimbabwe (2008)	0%	0%	0%	-
Somalia (2008)	0%	0%	10%	-
Central African Republic (2011)	0%	0%	0%	-

Table 3: Special Envoys of the Chairperson of the Commission.

<https://au.int/en/cpauc/envoys>

NAME	COUNTRY	DESIGNATION	YEAR APPOINTED
Abdoulaye Bathily	Senegal	Envoy on Migrations of Mbororo Nomadic Pastoralists	2007
Thabo Mbeki	South Africa	Chairperson of the High-Level Implementation Panel for Sudan and South Sudan (AUHIP)	2008
Ibrahima Fall	Senegal	Special Envoy of the Chairperson of the Commission to Guinea	2009
Teferra Shiawl-Kidanekal	Ethiopia	AU Representative on the tripartite team for Humanitarian Assistance to South Kordofan and Blue Nile State	2012
Pierre Buyoya,	Burundi	AU High Representative for Mali and the Sahel	2012
Boubacar G Diarra	Mali	Special Representative for the Great Lakes Region	2012
Mohamed Ibn Chambas,	Ghana	African Union–United Nations Joint Special Representative for Darfur	2012
Sekouba Konate	Guinea	High Representative of the Chairperson of the Commission for the Operationalisation of the African Standby Force (ASF)	2012
Bineta Diop	Senegal	Special Representative for Women, Children and Armed Conflicts	2013

Pedro Pires	Cabo Verde	Special Envoy for Tunisia	2013
Joaquim Alberto Chissano	Mozambique	Special Envoy for Western Sahara	2014
Jackson Kiprono Tuwei,	Kenya	Special Envoy of the African Union for the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) Issue	2014
Dileita Mohamed Dileita	Djibouti	Special Envoy for Libya	2014

Table 4: Twenty-six Global Indicators on UNSCR 1325

United Nations Security Council: Women Peace and Security

PREVENTION	PARTICIPATION	PROTECTION	RELIEF AND RECOVERY
<p>1) Incidence of sexual violence in conflict-affected countries.</p> <p>2) Extent to which United Nations peacekeeping and special political missions include information on violations of women's and girls' human rights in their periodic reporting.</p> <p>3) (a): Number of violations of women's and girls' human rights that are reported, referred and investigated by human rights bodies. (b): Inclusion of representatives of women's and civil society organizations in the governance and leadership of human rights bodies.</p> <p>4) Percentage of reported cases of sexual exploitation and abuse allegedly perpetrated by</p>	<p>1) Number and percentage of peace agreements with specific provisions to improve the security and status of women and girls.</p> <p>2) Number and percentage of women in senior United Nations decision-making positions in conflict-affected countries.</p> <p>10) Level of gender expertise in United Nations decision making in conflict-affected countries.</p> <p>(a): Level of participation of women in formal peace negotiations.</p> <p>(b): Presence of women in a formal observer or consultative status at the beginning and the</p>	<p>1) Index of women's and girls' physical security.</p> <p>2) Extent to which national laws protect women's and girls' human rights in line with international standards.</p> <p>3) Level of women's participation in the justice and security sector in conflict-affected countries.</p> <p>4) Existence of national mechanisms for control of small arms and light weapons.</p> <p>5) Women as a percentage of the adults employed in early economic recovery programmes.</p> <p>6) Number and percentage of</p>	<p>1) Maternal mortality.</p> <p>2) Primary and secondary education enrolment rates disaggregated by sex.</p> <p>3) Extent to which strategic planning frameworks in conflict-affected countries incorporate gender analysis, targets, indicators and budgets.</p> <p>4) Proportion of the allocated and disbursed funding to civil society organizations, including women's groups that is spent on gender issues in conflict-affected countries.</p> <p>5) Actual allocated and disbursed</p>

<p>uniformed and civilian peacekeepers and humanitarian workers that are referred, investigated and acted upon.</p> <p>5) (a): Number and percentage of directives for peacekeepers issued by heads of military components and standard operating procedures that include measures to protect women's and girls' human rights.</p> <p>(b): Number and percentage of military manuals, national security policy frameworks, codes of conduct and standard operating procedures/ protocols of national security forces that include measures to protect women's and girls' human rights.</p> <p>6) Number and type of actions taken by the Security Council related to resolution 1325 (2000), including those that prevent and address violations of the human rights of women and girls in conflict-affected situations.</p> <p>7) Number and proportion of women in decision making roles in relevant regional organizations involved in preventing conflict</p>	<p>end of peace negotiations.</p> <p>12) Level of women's political participation in conflict affected countries.</p> <p>13) Number and percentage of Security Council missions that address specific issues affecting women and girls in their terms of reference and the mission reports.</p>	<p>cases of sexual violence against women and girls that are referred, investigated and sentenced.</p> <p>7) Number and percentage of courts equipped to try cases of violations of women's and girls' human rights, with due attention to victims' security.</p>	<p>Funding in support of programmes that address gender sensitive relief, recovery, peace and security programmes in conflict-affected countries.</p> <p>6): Number and percentage of transitional justice mechanisms called for by peace processes that include provisions to address the rights and participation of women and girls in their mandates.</p> <p>7): Number and percentage of women and girls receiving benefits through reparation programmes, and types of benefits received.</p> <p>8) Number and percentage of female ex-combatants, women and girls associated with armed forces or groups that receive benefits from disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programmes.</p>
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Table 5: African countries that have adopted UNSCR 1325 NAPs

<http://iknowpolitics.org/en/knowledge-library/website-database/list-national-action-plans-implementation-unscr-1325>.

	Country	Year Adopted
1	Cote D'Ivoire	2007
2	Uganda	2008
3	Liberia	2009
4	DRC	2010
5	Sierra Leone	2010
6	Ghana	2010
7	Rwanda	2010
8	Guinea Bissau	2010
9	Burundi	2011
10	Guinea	2011
11	Burundi	2011
12	Senegal	2011
13	Burkina Faso	2012
14	Gambia	2012
15	Mali	2012/5*
16	Togo	2012
17	Nigeria	2013
18	Central African Republic	2014
19	Kenya	2016
20	South Sudan	2016

Table 6: Chronology of ACCORD's engagement in women, peace & conflict initiatives from 1995-2016.

<http://www.accord.org.za/women-programme/>.

1. **1995-1996** – ACCORD Conflict Management Training and Exchange Programme for Somali Women
2. **1996-1998** – ACCORD/UNIFEM partnership for Conflict Management Training for Women
3. **July 1998** – Burundian and Rwandese Women Parliamentarians Study Tour to South African
4. **July 1998** – Conflict Resolution and Sport
5. **1999-2000** – Engendering the Peace Process in the Sudan
6. **2000** – Provision of 3 Facilitators for the International Conference in Maastricht
7. **October-December 2000** – Women Waging Peace Global Initiative

8. **February 2001** – Local Delegation Meeting of Women Waging Peace, South Africa
9. **March 2001** – Tulane Symposium on Women and HIV/AIDS
10. **July 2001** – Africa Regional Meeting of Women Waging Peace, Kigali Rwanda
11. **March 2002** – Conflict Management Training for Women from the DRC
12. **June 2002** – Durban Declaration – Gender Mainstreaming in the AU and NEPAD
13. **July 2002** – Advanced Negotiations and Mediation Course for IGAD Member States
14. **November 2002 & January 2003** – Capacity Building for Women in Burundi: A Collaborative Initiative with CAFOB, Burundi
15. **March 2003** – Capacity Building and Institutional Support for Women in the DRC in collaboration with the Spousal Office of Mrs. Mbeki, Cape Town
16. **July 2003** – Capacity Building for Women in Peacemaking, Leadership and Development for Ministers in IGAD Member States
17. **June 2004** – Facilitating Gender Mainstreaming Advocacy AU pre-summit meeting
18. **July 2004** – Conflict Mediation Training for Women Leaders in Bujumbura
19. **July 2005** – South African Women in Dialogue (SAWID) Training
20. **2005** – Gender Task Force of NEPAD
21. **June 2006** – ACCORD Awarded the Tombouctou Award
22. **December 2006** – CIMIC Course for Female Peacekeepers (CCFP)
23. **February 2007** – Strategy Workshop with Women Constituencies from Troop and Police Contributing Countries
24. **June 2007** – 10th AU Consultative Meeting on Gender Mainstreaming
25. **November 2007** – Women in Dialogue for Peace in Africa
26. **October 2010** – Training in Conflict Management for Women from Darfur
27. **October 2010** – High Level Seminar: “Resolution 1325 in 2020: Looking Forward...Looking Back”
28. **January 2011** – Gender is My Agenda Campaign (GIMAC)
29. **March 2011** – African Gender Forum and Award selection committee
30. **July 2011** – Conference on Women Mediators in Africa
31. **August 2011** – Mediation Training for South African women
32. **October 2011 – March 2012** – Study on Implementation of UNSCR 1325 in South Sudan
33. **November 2011** – Regional Experts’ meeting for the Summit Special Session on SGBV
34. **March 2012** – Progressive Women’s Movement South Africa (PWMSA) Mediation Training
35. **May 2012** – High Level Conference on Women in Mediation
36. **May 2012** – Stakeholders’ Roundtable on Gender and Development
37. **2012** – African Women Mediators Seminar
38. **June 2012** – Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict (GPPAC) Learning Exchange on Gender
39. **November 2012** – Southern African Women Mediators Seminar

40. **2012** – AMISOM Gender Action Plan (GAP)
41. **2013** – Southern African Women Mediators Database
42. **August 2013** – AMISOM Gender Workshop
43. **August 2013** – Building Regional and International Consensus Workshop
44. **September 2013** – South Sudan Conflict Analysis Skills Enhancement (CASE)
45. **October 2013** – AMISOM Gender Strategy Workshop
46. **March 2014** – Gender and Peacebuilding Workshop
47. **April 2014** – Somalia Study Tour and Dialogue
48. **April 2014** – UN Women Seminar in Mozambique
49. **June 2014** – AU Gender, Peace and Security Programme
50. **2014** – Woman's Peacebuilding Training in Juba, South Sudan
51. **February 2015** – Conflict Analysis and Peacebuilding Training for Civil Society Woman Activist from Lake State, South Sudan
52. **May-June 2015** – Women's Empowerment in Negotiation and Mediation Towards Agenda 2063: Women Training in Negotiation and Mediation
53. **May 2015** – Publication: The Training for Peace Programme's (TfP) Contribution to Gender Mainstreaming in Africa's Peace Operations.
54. **August 2015** – UN Women Gender Mainstreaming Training
55. **September 2015** – ACCORD/TfP supports AMISOM's commitments on gender mainstreaming in Somalia's peace processes
56. **October 2015** – ACCORD participates in Great Lakes Project following up on use of applied skills by women peacebuilders
57. **October 2015** – ACCORD/TfP strengthens UN initiative to attract and retain senior female peacekeepers
58. **November 2015** – ACCORD/TfP participated in a gender advisor course in Sandö, Sweden
59. **December 2015** – ACCORD/TfP supports the launch of the IGAD women and peace forum board
60. **December 2015** – Publication: Conflict, Peace and Patriarchy: Female Combatants in Africa and Elsewhere
61. **December 2015** – ACCORD facilitates a mediation and negotiation workshop for women leaders in Central African Republic
62. **December 2015** – UN Women, in partnership with the SADC Secretariat held a Symposium on Gender, Peace and Security
63. **January 2016** – ACCORD participated in the 27th Pre-Summit Consultative Meeting on Gender Mainstreaming in the African Union (AU)
64. **April 2016** – UN initiative increases representation and retention of women within UN field operations
65. **March 2016** – Publication: Deconstructing Women, Peace and Security: A Critical Review of Approaches to Gender and Empowerment
66. **May 2016** – Publication: *Protecting the rights of women through community-focused approaches to strengthening gender in African peace support operations in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Central African Republic.*

67. **May 2016** – Publication: *Prevention of and Response to Conflict-related Sexual Violence, Exploitation and Abuse by Peacekeepers in the Great Lakes Region of Africa – Lessons from Central Africa Republic*
68. **June 2016** – IGAD Workshop for South Sudanese Women on Peace Building and Reconciliation
69. **August 2016** – Gertrude Shope Annual Dialogue Forum on Conflict Resolution and Peace-Making