Assessing the United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325 and a Gender Perspective in Peacebuilding Processes in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC)

MYP Selebogo

orcid.org/0000-0002-3429-5762

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Supervisor: Prof V Ojakorotu

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Student number: 20954492

DECLARATION

I, Mothepane Yaliwe Petunia Selebogo, student number 20954492, declare that:

1. The research that is reported in this thesis, except where otherwise indicated is my own work;
2. This thesis has not been submitted at any university for any degree or examination;
3. This thesis does not contain other persons' writing, unless specifically acknowledged as sourced from other researchers;
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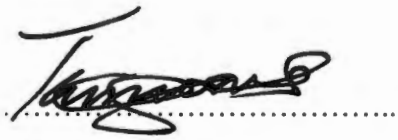
Mothepane Yaliwe Petunia Selebogo



Professor Victor Ojakorotu

2018/07/13

Date

2018/7/16

Date

DEDICATION

My Father in heaven, hallowed be thy holy name! Despite my frailties, you have come through for me once again. This time you have enabled me to attain an important degree in my life, and for this I am eternally grateful! This is your doing, and the least I can do is to dedicate it to you alone. I pledge to use it to glorify you always as you take me to the next level with it.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS/ ABBREVIATIONS

AFDL	Alliance of Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Congo-Zaire
BCPR	Bureau for Conflict Prevention and Recovery
CCRM	Centre for Conflict Resolution and Management
CEPGL	Economic Community of the Great Lakes Countries (Communauté économiquedes pays des Grands Lacs)
CGE	Commission on Gender Equality
CIAT	Comité Internationald' Appui à la Transition
COMESA	Common Market for East and Southern Africa
CWLU	Chicago Women's Liberation Union
DDR	Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration
DRC	Democratic Republic of the Congo
ECCAS	Economic Community of Central African States
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
FAS	Femmes Africa Solidarité
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
ICGLR	International Conference on the Great Lakes Region
IMF	International Monetary Fund
LAP	Local Action Plan
M4P	Mothers for Peace
MDRP	Multi-Country Demobilization and Reintegration Programme
MIRF	Moro Islamic Revolutionary Front
MLC	Movement for the Liberation of the Congo

MONUC	United Nations Organisation Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo
NAP	National Action Plan
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NYRW	New York Radical Women
OAU	Organization of African Unity
PPP	Prevention Protection Participation
PTSD	Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder
RAP	Regional Action Plan
RCD	Rassemblement Congolais pour la Democratie
RCD-G	Rally for Congolese Democracy–Goma
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SGBV	Sexual and Gender-Based Violence
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
UNSCR	United Nations Security Council Resolution
US	United States

ABSTRACT

The post-cold war era has witnessed a bewildering profusion of internal conflicts in the international system. During this period, Africa has become the most volatile amongst the regions of the world. Apart from the Horn of Africa, the Great Lakes Region has been emblematic of this post-cold war reality. The sources of the conflict can be located in the character of African states, as defined by historical and colonial legacies, personalization of power, ethnicization of politics and weak structures of governance and exclusion of women from decision-making process. In most cases, especially with regard to western-oriented discourses, the place of gender perspectives in peace process, in the trouble spots in the post-colonial Africa states, is ignored or de-emphasised. Therefore, unless women are supported to achieve political and economic empowerment and are represented equally at all levels of decision-making, including peace negotiations, planning and budget decisions and the security sector, attempts to address and redress the impact of conflict on women and the need to incorporate a gender perspective in peace building shall inevitably fail. However, a comprehension of the potency of this construct tends towards the understanding of the failure of series of peace agreements in African countries.

Therefore, this research, privileging gender perspectives, examines the ramifications of the UN resolution 1325 for the present situation in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). It is in apparent recognition of the impact of conflict on women and the significance of including them in decision-making structures of pre-conflict and post-conflict societies, the United Nations (UN) Security Council passed its first Resolution on women (Resolution 1325) in its 4213th meeting on 31 October 2000. Emphasis in this resolution was placed on the convulsions in the Eastern Region of the DRC and the role that external aggressors played in this combustion that has made this region the theatre of violent confrontations in recent times.

The research argues that Women could enhance the peace process if they are given equal opportunity to participate in the peace and security structures and internal political processes as outlined in the UNSC Resolution 1325. Secondly, the research argues that building capacity from above is not enough to bring about sustainable peace and lasting change aimed at building the capacity of women in line with the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325. Therefore, the research ends with recommendations that may serve as the

foundation for durable peace in this region and, if the resolution is effectively implemented, engineer sustainable development in the Great Lakes region.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION OF THE STUDY

1.1 Background of the study

International policymakers appear to be frustrated with the Congo issue. They are indeed tired of the Congo as they have over the last two decades, continuously tried to institute their toolkit of peaceful technologies ranging from constitutional reform, elections, transitional justice mechanisms, security sector reform as well as the provision of social services, to mention but a few. They increased funding and operational support when these things failed. They also deployed more peacekeepers, improved coordination and communication, as well as differentiated the timing and sequence of activities. When these also failed they had a rethink of their approaches, perhaps in real critical ways, so they could address critique of top-down, one-size-fits-all, together with exclusive practices they promoted in line with national ownership and engagement with the civil society organizations, local government, and women. Despite the foregoing efforts however, The DRC crises continues to defy permanent solution as it has up to date cost an estimated 5.4 million lives.

Why is peacebuilding in the Congo simply not working the way it was planned and at what point do we locate the disconnect, especially between policy rhetoric and practice by improving already existing policies as well as those claim to transform normative practices in practical ways. It is the issue confronting this project, as regards the improvements in terms of the manner through which the international community responds to failure especially when it comes to peacebuilding; the questions they raise as well as the bounds within which they lie.

Thus on 31st of October 2000, following an array of issues that border on war and crises around the world generally, and across the continent of Africa specifically, the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) agreed on a resolution that would go a long way in repositioning and privileging the issue of women, via-a-via peace and security around the world: Resolution 1325. The resolution makes a case for more significant involvement of women and girls in all initiatives concerning prevention and resolution of conflicts, as well as the protection of women and girls during conflict. The United Nations has since then promoted and propagated the Resolution 1325 as the most fundamental means of protecting

the rights of women and girls around the world, as well as guaranteeing their participation on an equal basis with men, especially when it comes to peace processes. The UNSC Resolution 1325 of 2008 gives high recognition to, as well as incorporates, the role that women play as peace builders, and in conflict prevention as well as resolution.

This Resolution appears to pioneer the enjoyment of a solid, global constituency and a women's movement that is vibrant. By implication and extension, we can also claim that the protection of women in war and crises and the central role the women play in preventing conflict, building and keeping peace was affirmed as a fundamental and categorical interest of the international community. A follow up special session of the Security Council in 2002 called for more work on the integration of a gender perspective into conflict resolution and reconstruction (UNESCO, 2005).

Peace-building involves the processes and activities involved in normalizing relations and reconciling the latent differences between the disputing sides in a conflict with a view to enabling sustainable peace. It is an overarching concept that includes conflict transformation, restorative justice, trauma healing, reconciliation, development, and good leadership, which all have implications for conflict prevention. Indeed, good leadership, underlain by spirituality and religion, is a proactive action that could prevent armed conflict and transform it positively when such perceived and actual conflict becomes inevitable. According to Amisi (2008:6), because conflict is motivated by the immediacy of hatred and prejudice, transforming it therefore requires focusing on the socio-psychological and spiritual aspects of conflict that are largely ignored by international diplomacy (Mazurana and McKay, 1999: 8 - 11).

Both studies acknowledge that relationships are central to conflict transformation and that when they are well managed, human relationships could avert and prevent future conflict. In this way, this thesis contends that if women, for instance, are mainstreamed into politics on an equal basis with men in ways that allow them to bring their femininity into the fold, their numbers and the relational values they represent could change the character of politics. These values: cooperativeness, non-confrontation, tolerance, empathy, love and care, could ensconce a more dialogic, collaborative and developmental approach to politics that could prevent conflict. In this integrative approach, conflict prevention becomes part of holistic peace building which in itself emphasizes viable socio-political relationships (Isike, 2009).

When the Cold War ended in 1991, the emergence of neo-liberal political and economic projects reignited hope that a worldwide era of peace and prosperity would finally be achieved in Africa. Events since the collapse of state socialism in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe as well as the demise of apartheid in South Africa, however, indicate that these conclusions were premature. Since 1989, several conflicts involving cases of genocide have been documented and recorded in various media formations in Africa. Between 1990 and 2002, there have been several cases of violent political conflicts in Africa. These conflicts have caused massive human suffering, including the loss of life, rape, torture and the forced recruitment of women and children as soldiers and caretakers (Ali, 1999).

According to international peace builders, the Congo is the epitome of a "failed state." It is everything the liberal state is not; there is no legitimate and effective centralized state authority, no political body making collective decisions, exercising the rule of law, respecting human rights, or providing social services, and (evidently) no resemblance of a social contract. This "vacuum of state authority" contributes to the illegal exploitation of natural resources that fuels an inconceivable humanitarian crisis where both the Congolese government and violent militia groups perpetuate widespread violence.

When these conflicts are investigated, one cannot overlook a transformation in their nature and the characteristic patterns. Emerging from and rooted in an interaction of national and international backgrounds of extreme struggle for accessing resources, economic crisis, weakening state structures, increasing militarization and global marginalisation, Africa's contemporary conflicts are intensely identity-based, less ideologically driven, and primarily intra-state. Millions have perished and many more have been physically and psychologically traumatized, the deadliest reported incident being the genocide in Rwanda that claimed over 800 000 lives in 1994 (Armed Conflict Reports, 2003).

Conflict accounts for a high percentage of threats and hindrances that have curtailed and truncated Africa's development. Conflicts account for huge loss of human lives, destruction of property, people's displacement both internally and otherwise and others. The diversion and misallocation of resources set aside for the promotion of sustainable development to the purchase of arms, have invariably resulted in peacekeeping support operations' funding that are quite expensive (Isaac, 2008: 31). This does not leave the Great Lakes as an exception, as a region. Border attacks by armed groups and communities straddling the national borders of the states in the Great Lakes region have affected it. There has been a discernible and

immediate rise in smuggling, motor vehicle thefts, drug trafficking, flow of small arms, landmines, and in recent times, threats of saboteur terror networks (ICGLR, 2013). These atrocities thrive and flourish due to the vulnerability of the settlements around the borders, and this is especially so because naturally the terrain is saturated with deep forests, desert and mountain terrains that often serve as barriers to accessibility.

It is recognized and appreciated that the attainment and sustenance of peace is a critical condition and crucial to socio-economic and political development in the Great Lakes Region. Increasingly, regional and sub-regional organizations of African origin are now called upon to lead international efforts, on their own or through collaboration, in order to provide security and conflict management in Africa (Schabel, 2002). Substantial strides have been taken by Africa's regional bodies towards the assumption of the major obligation of curbing the problem of insecurity, and subsequently ensuring that peace is prompted and promoted in the region (Berman 2000). The duo of the Charter of the United Nations and the African Union's Constitutive Act expressly contain the details the duties and responsibilities of these bodies.

It is difficult to understand as well as appreciate African peace controversies in isolation from the entire global environment. Galtung (1964: 59-119) defines peace as 'the absence of violence'. Every society requires peace to exist and function and no society can do without it. This is why, however, and rationally speaking too, every society desires peace (Isaac, 2008: 33). Galtung's kind of peace as defined in the foregoing often gets qualified as negative because it appears to be absolutely indifferent to the issue of resolving agitation and the nebulous disjuncture emanating from violence among persons and groups that resist or simply seek to address unfairness, oppression, repression and injustice provoked by certain domestic and international structures of politics and international policies (Uwazie, 2000: 28).

The reverse, however, that is positive peace, not only takes into consideration the phenomenon of violence prevention generally, it also thematically addresses what is often regarded as structural violence that might be embedded within the society. Protagonists of 'positive peace' (Burton, 1999) thus argue that sustaining peace demands fair allocation of resources while standing in defiance of anything, in the form of structure, practice, institution or idea, which may stand antithetical to the basic needs that can guarantee the existence, survival and dignity of man (Isaac, 2008: 34). Indeed, issues and problems catalysed by

globalisation have presented some three fundamental bases for pursuing peace objectives all over the world, and these range from but are not limited to, respect for human life and dignity (Harris, 1990: 4-7), universal responsibility (Reardon, 1988) and global cooperation (Fischer, 1996: 563-568).

The independence of the Democratic Republic of Congo of Belgium in June 1960, was the beginning of devastating socio political crises for the country. Belgium and United States supported a coup d'état of 1965, led and masterminded by Mobutu Sese Seko, and this complicity created a thirty-year period of repression, brutality, oppression and suppression of the people, which culminated in massive and unchecked theft of state resources that finally led to the collapse of state the institutions. This interregnum of political instability provoked the first and the second Congo Wars, the first of which started in 1996, with the second being sparked in 1998 (Policy Advisory Group Seminar Report, 2010).

In the period of the First Congo War, the rebel movement of Laurent Kabila's, called the Alliance of Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Congo-Zaire (AFDL), with the full backing and support of Rwanda, Uganda, Angola and Burundi, and launched an unprecedented attack against the despotic rule of Mobutu Sese Seko in 1997. In May 1997, the AFDL toppled Mobutu and brought the war to an uneasy end. This was followed by the immediate renaming of the country, which had been called Zaire by Mobutu, as the "Democratic Republic of the Congo." However, against a backdrop of social fragmentation and swelling internal opposition to the strong influence of Rwandan military advisers in Kinshasa, Kabila adopted punitive and repressive measures and expelled the Rwandan officers (Autesserre, 2009).

As a result of this came a new rebel movement, the Congolese Rally for Democracy (RCD), supported by the Rwandan and Ugandan governments. The Congolese Rally for Democracy (RCD), in August 1998, engaged in a failed military experimentation and exploration to overrun Kabila's government, and with that the Second Congo War began. Four countries: Angola, Zimbabwe, Chad and Namibia supported militarily the capacity of Laurent Kabila to resist and repel the Rwandan and Ugandan-backed rebellion for their own political and economic security reasons. All too soon afterwards, the Congolese Rally for Democracy broke into three factions (the RCD-Original, the RCD-National, and the RCD-Populaire), each of which was under the control of either Uganda or Rwanda. Meanwhile, the Movement for the Liberation of the Congo (MLC) which was Jean-Pierre Bemba's rebel offshoot, was

also backed by Uganda (Khadiagala, 2000). As the war continued, it got complicated seeing a proliferation of more than 20 armed groups, and by 2010, these battles had claimed he lives of more than three million people.

In 1999, precisely July, a peace deal was signed by the presidents and heads of state of the Angola, Rwanda, Zimbabwe, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Namibia, Uganda and Zambia, in Lusaka, Zambia, what has come to be known today as the Lusaka Agreement or Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement. It has been perceived as a frantic attempt to end the Second Congo War. The real idea behind the agreement was to ensure the stabilization of Congo,which represented an opportunity to stabilise the Congo, and in its details were tenuous agreements on troop redeployment, release of prisoners of war; all foreign troops withdrawal from the DRC and the a national dialogue that would lead to the disarming of all militias and armed groups so that state authorities could be re-established throughout the Congo with a new, unified army which was expected to work along with the United Nations peacekeeping Force (Swart, 2008).

It was in September 1999 that the United Nations gradually commenced the deployment of a small observation force into Rwanda for the purposes of monitoring the Lusaka ceasefire, the disarmament and repatriation of foreign forces. After the United Nations Security Council eventually approved the United Nations Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo in February 2000, the organ started to deploy soldiers in March 2001 but with a mere 4,386 out of 5,537 strength of peacekeepers initially authorised, had been deployed by February 2003. In spite of this, fighting continued unabated in the Congo (Policy Advisory Group Seminar Report, 2010).

An inter-Congolese dialogue began in October 2001, in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, and later in February 2000 relocated to Sun City, South Africa. Most of the factions, civilian oppositions and civil society organizations, armed groups and civilians were brought together by the dialogue which was at the insistence of Botswana's former president, Ketumile Masire. In the aftermath of the December 2002 intervention of former president of South Africa, Thabo Mbeki, the parties in Congo signed a global and all-inclusive agreement that was aimed at ending the war. The agreement outlined the framework for transitioning peacefully to a civilian political regime in the Democratic Republic of Congo. The accord provided for a two-year transitional government, outlining a "one-plus-four" model: President Joseph Kabila, who had succeeded his assassinated father in January 2001; as well as four vice-

presidents drawn from the RCD-Goma (RCD-G), the MLC, Kabila's former government, and a coalition of unarmed parties. It was in April 2003 that the last and final phase of the Inter-Congolese Dialogue agreement was signed in Sun City, South Africa, but that was after two other agreements, a July 2002 Pretoria Agreement between Kinshasa and Kigali mediated by South Africa, and a September 2002 Luanda Agreement between Kinshasa and Kampala negotiated by Angola, had been finalised as means of paving way for the withdrawal of foreign troops from the DRC (Adebajo, 2007; 141-161).

The transitional government of Congo came on board in June 2003, and, working along the path of the Global and All-Inclusive Agreement of 2002, it had the mandate of reunifying the Democratic Republic of Congo, drafting a new constitution that would be of the people and for the people, and that would promote national reconciliation. The mandates also included organising national elections, establish an integrated and a unified army, re-establishing state administration throughout the Congo and disarming combatants. The transitional government was able to organise a referendum on a proposed constitution for the Democratic Republic of Congo in December 2005, ensuring that the country's first national election was held on 30 July 2006 after a period of in 46years. From the statistics given by Adebajo (2007: 141-161), twenty-eight million Congolese registered to vote and president Kabila won the 29 October 2006 run-off presidential election with 58 percent of the vote to Jean-Pierre Bemba's 42 percent . President Kabila's inauguration in December 2006, which was done after the institutionalization of a new National Assembly in September of the same year, was the official end of the transition programme. This however did not stop the violence, armed conflict as well as general insecurity in the Kivus, Bas-Congo, and Equateur Province of the country; a situation that exacerbated the enormous peacebuilding challenges of the Congo (Country of Origin Information Report, 2012).

A lot of researchers and organizations involved in trying to resolve the conflict in the DRC have been concentrating on designing peace accords, whereas the collapse of the state has been a major cause of the escalating conflict witnessed in the country. Thus, the conflict surrounding the DRC has been caused by an internal collapse of legitimacy in the current and preceding government. External powers have both surreptitiously and openly influenced events in the DRC to suit their respective interests in the aftermath of the collapsed state (Kabemba, 1999).

Peace building and prevention of conflict have then become critical issues of priority in the Democratic Republic of Congo. The two wars of 1996–1997 and 1998–2003 both in the Congo can be considered the incorrigibly devastating disasters in human history since the Second World War (World War II) as close to 5.5 million people have since lost their lives either directly or due to the consequences and contradictions brought by these insurgency episodes. This was counting from August 1998 when the second Congo War broke out. Another 1.5 million people also died even after the peace accord that was signed in December 2002 to officially terminate the hostilities and end the war. The International Rescue Committee (2008) declared the war and conflict in the Democratic Republic of Congo as that which propelled the highest number of human deaths in one event since World War II.

It needs to be stressed that much of the death witnessed in the war ensued from a humanitarian crisis that was triggered by the war, not directly by the violence inflicted on people by the warring factions. The mortality rate (2.2 deaths per 1000 people per month, according to the UN) remains 57% higher than the sub-Saharan average (Human Security Report Project, 2009).

Protracted and prolonged insecurity still existed in certain parts of the provinces of Eastern Democratic Republic of Congo, which had been plagued by insecurity in respect of food, destabilization of social services, incessant displacement of local inhabitants and complete collapse of infrastructure all which arose as a result of the strikingly pervasive weakness of the structures of the state.

The conflict in the Democratic Republic of Congo and the instability it created, predominantly in the cities and villages, today still remains one of the most turbulent obstacles to socio- economic advancement of the state formation. Post-war poverty index is still very high, at least judging from the 2008 declaration of the United Nations Development Programmes, UNDP's Human Development Index ranking that positioned the Democratic Republic of Congo as the 168th out of 177 countries in the world. However, the Gross Domestic Product of the Democratic Republic of Congo after the major hostilities in 2002, per capita has risen: according to the International Monetary Fund (IMF's) 2009 country report, the Gross Domestic Product growth shot up from 2.8% in 2003 to 6.8% in 2008.

The growth recorded here is, however, not evenly distributed as it aligns with the advantage of a certain layer of urban populations first and foremost, before getting to the other parts. Ironically also, even with the increasing attraction of continental and international investors

created by the country's considerably high quantity of natural resources, especially in the energy and mining sectors, caution based on fear of reprisal has always been applied as the rule of the game; a situation that the Human Security Report Project (2009) carefully and appropriately called 'cautious investment behaviour.'

By the time 2010 ended, an estimated above 2 million persons were still displaced, with about 1.4 million of them trapped in the Kivu provinces. Not only that, 450,000 Congolese, also by estimate, were still trapped outside Congo as refugees seeking asylum in neighbouring countries as well as other east and southern African countries nations. There was a fresh crisis in the Province of Equateur which resulted in outright displacement of about 190,000 people in the year 2010 (Unefuitepermanente, 2010).

However, the most concerning aspect is the humanitarian toll on population displacements, which categorically goes with the attendant focus on the sexual violence against women who lack adequate access to transportation, as well as experiencing general violation and abuse of their human rights. The situation, generally, was exacerbated by a number of skirmishes in amongst Kinshasa, the provincial capitals, the villages connected by road or boat, and the villages located in remote and intractable terrain. In actual fact, a lot of locations in the country it is difficult to get ample reliable information ("Unefuitepermanente", 2010).

The Democratic Republic of Congo has attracted a lot of peace initiatives and efforts, and the first of them is the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement of July 1999 which made frantic attempts to officially end hostilities among nations, and was signed by Angola, Namibia, Rwanda, Uganda and Zimbabwe as well as the Democratic Republic of Congo. The agreement played host to a high number of peace-keeping forces, perhaps one of the largest in the world. The Sun City agreement in 2002 laid down the major peace conditions: sovereignty, democracy, checks and balances of political power through the territories, as well as the oversight of the entire armed groups operating on the ground. The donors, as well as the government of Democratic Republic of Congo, have upheld these principles since then, without any exception amongst the different political forces and principalities in the country. All these issues describe and determine in multiple ways, the larger picture of peace in the broader questions of peace and security in the Democratic Republic of Congo (African Union, 2010).

The United Nations' mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo, represented in French acronym as MONUC, gained an enhanced Chapter Seven mandate in 2003; the mandate which authorised the agents and institutions of the United States to deploy all necessary

measures at its disposal towards re-establishing peace. This provided for the right to use force is such a way that overrides approval seeking outside of the parties present in the defined mission under the UN Charter (UN, 2003). Although it has gradually concentrated over the years on security, the Mission was seen as a model for the integration of different dimensions of work in conflict environments. It included investigations on human rights allegations, the coordination of humanitarian action and a stabilisation strategy for the East.

The International Conference on the Great Lakes Region (ICGLR), brought forward by the World Bank Multi-Country Demobilization and Reintegration Programme (MDRP) was amongst the other initiatives of the international community towards supporting the implementation of the peace process, as well as promotion of stability within the region. This notes the expiry of the *Comité Internationald' Appui à la Transition* (CIAT) mandate at the end of the 2006 transition period (World Bank, 2010).

Launched in 2003, the national Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration (DDR) plan offered the combatants the choice of either returning to civilian life or joining the army. Those that opted to join the newly formed Armed Forces of the Democratic Republic of Congo (FARDC in the French acronym) were made to go through what was called "*brassage*", a mechanism for bringing together of the different groups in the Congolese armed forces under one combined command structure (Channel Research, 2011).

Furthermore, the Democratic Republic of Congo is on the membership of many structures of sub-regional cooperation bodies ranging from the Common Market for East and Southern Africa (COMESA), the Economic Community of the Great Lakes Countries (Communauté économiquedes pays des Grands Lacs, or CEPGL) the Southern African Development Community (SADC) and the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS) These entities and their efforts notwithstanding, there has not been adequate solution towards addressing the plethora of regional security problems facing the Democratic Republic of Congo.

The Amani peace process that was launched in Goma at the beginning of 2008, aimed at defining the necessary requirements for an inclusive peace, which notably includes the demobilisation of Kivu militias. That the DDR did not make progress created further problems towards integrating former rebel commanders (FARDC) into the command chain of the Congolese army. It also resulted in renewed mobilisation of militias, and at the end of 2010, the hitherto dormant revival of militias. The terms of the agreements that pushed to

recognise any person who could mobilise an armed force as a potential negotiator reinforced the phenomenon (Channel Research, 2011).

In July 1999, the government of the Democratic Republic of Congo under the umbrella of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), in conjunction with the Congolese armed opposition groups and foreign states signed the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement. In a bid to follow up the operation of this agreement accordingly, the UN deployed a peacekeeping operation, United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC). Also, in line with the agreement, the many foreign nationalities that got engaged in the conflict began withdrawing, with troops, Namibia, Angola, Rwanda, Uganda and Zimbabwe and Uganda disengaging in the year 2002. Specifically, withdrawal of Rwandan and Ugandan manifested from two different bilateral peace agreements signed with the government of the Democratic Republic of Congo. By that time, many of the signatories had not upheld the peace agreements, and conflict as well as violence endured in the Eastern part of the Democratic Republic of Congo especially the Ituri District and the Kivus (Watch list on Children and Armed Conflict, 2003).

The Inter-Congolese Dialogue (ICD) was first convened in 2001, with the sole focus of fashioning out means of addressing the internal dimensions to the conflicts in the Democratic Republic of Congo, then in 2002, December, the parties to the Inter-Congolese Dialogue signed the Global and Inclusive Accord for the Transition in DRC and that paved way for establishing a transitional government that was meant to come on board in the month of June, year 2003. This contained all the main belligerents in the Congolese crisis. Participants in the Inter-Congolese Dialogue took up 36 resolutions that were meant to serve the purpose of establishing sustainable peace, and these include a resolution that was meant to demobilize, disarm as well as reintegrate child soldiers and vulnerable persons into the society, as well as the resolution that addressed the emergency programmes in different social sectors that outlined specific policies for emergency social aid for children and youth (Watchlist on Children and Armed Conflict, 2003).

In October 2002, majority of the battalions of Uganda People's Defence Forces (UPDF) stepped down their positions in Democratic Republic of Congo, yet retained conspicuous presence in Bunia, in accordance with the bilateral agreement signed between Uganda and Democratic Republic of Congo. Many human rights groups, including Amnesty International

(AI) raised concerns about the partiality and partisanship of the UPDF and the violence still occurring in Ituri District because although UPDF forces formally left the Ituri District in April 2003, that in accordance with agreements, there resulted an outbreak of absolute insecurity and violence (New Vision, the Ugandan government-owned newspaper, 2003).

From the evidence of the crisis in Ituri District, withdrawing foreign troops from positions in DRC never ever led to peace and end of violence; it also lacked the capacity to stop economic exploitation as well as abuse of human rights. While the international community strongly supported the withdrawal of troops, the situation undoubtedly led to frustration of peace initiatives, dearth of security and continuous violence; a situation which undoubtedly cast a retrogressive shadow at the general progress made over the Lusaka Agreement; and that also jeopardized the sustainability of the positive results achieved thus far (Watchlist on Children and Armed Conflict, 2003).

Added in the Ituri District, the analysis of the International Crisis Group and others positioned the ongoing conflict in the Kivus as a serious and critical hindrance towards the achievement of sustainable peace. This circumstance was yet to be adequately addressed up till the date of negotiation. The Spring 2003 reports confirmed incessant attacks, looting, recruitment of child soldiers, pillaging and violence targeting social infrastructure in the Kivus, particularly by RCD-G. Similarly, humanitarian organizations gave reports of an increase in the number of victims of sexual abuse and rape of young girls by RCD-G in South Kivu (Watchlist on Children and Armed Conflict, 2003).

All these efforts have not prevented frequent clashes between armed groups, often a result of the absence of progress in security sector reform or from competing interests. These disconnections were also supported by cultural, physical and information divides, which fracture even more here than in other parts of the world, in this terrain of fluid armed movements. Since the signing of the peace accord, the conditions around conflict in eastern DRC have not considerably improved, with episodes of recurring violence, particularly on women and children. Large parts of the Kivu provinces, certain parts of Ituri, and parts of Maniema province, remain in the hands of foreign or local armed groups, independent of the Congo state (UN, 2012).

All over the world, women are victims not only of armed conflict but also its assorted social forms. In the worst of cases, they have been considered spoils of war and as a means of 'feminising' and degrading the enemy, the women are sexually assaulted, physically brutalized and raped in a strategy aimed at 'getting to the enemy' (Marshall, 2004:1; and McFadden, 1994). Indeed, as Rehn and Johnson-Sirleaf (2001:2) assert, "along with the deepening violence women experience during war, the long-term effects of conflict and militarization create a culture of violence that renders women especially vulnerable after war."

For instance, women and children are the main victims of warfare and its aftermath as they account for an estimated 80% of refugees and displaced persons worldwide. The same women and children are as mentally traumatised as combatants, in addition to their vulnerability to physical illnesses that are specific to their biology and social status (Rehn and Johnson-Sirleaf, 2001).

In the words of Puechguirbal (2004:1), "children and women helplessly pretend to endure armed conflicts the moment they have shelter, access to food and medical care, protection as shelter." In the same vein, the structures of governance, the rule of law and times of peace, as well as infrastructures get weakened and destabilised due to the conflict even as social fragmentations increasingly get pronounced and more conspicuous. In the same vein, in social conflicts that arose as a result of the inability of the state to secure its peoples from poverty and other human security problems, during or after conflict, many women took up new roles that do not subtract from their traditional roles in these societies. For instance, women find themselves having to strive to feed, cater for and nurture their families when the male breadwinners are unable to provide.

In Africa, the negative impact of armed conflict and poverty on women is particularly worse because it is a continent most ravaged by the scourges of war and poverty (Lalthapersad-Pillay, 2002:39-41). African women also remain extremely vulnerable to poverty occasioned by state weakness, which in itself is a potential source of state collapse. In assessing the feminisation of poverty in Africa, Lalthapersad-Pillay (2002:39-41) contends that women, who make up over 50% of the African population, constitute a bereft and doubly marginalised group, even among the poor.

According to Lalthapersad-Pillay (2002: 40), women in Africa earn lower wages than men, have lower literacy rates and limited access to social services, and encounter more difficulties

in obtaining employment. In this way, women in Africa fall into Hacker's (1951) classification of women as a 'minority group' when in reality they are the majority in the continent. In defining the term "minority group," discrimination is the marker of identity. As Louis Wirth (1945:347) has pointed out, "minority group" is not a statistical concept, nor need it denote an alien group. Indeed, for the present discussion I have adopted his definition: "A minority group is any group of people who because of their physical or cultural characteristics, are singled out from the others in the society in which they live for differential and unequal treatment, and who therefore regard themselves as objects of collective discrimination." It is apparent that this definition includes both objective and subjective characteristics of a minority group: the palpable fact of discrimination and the awareness of discrimination, with its attendant reactions to that awareness. A person who, on the basis of his group affiliation, is denied full participation in those opportunities which the value system of his culture extends to all members of the society satisfies the objective criterion, but there are various circumstances which may prevent him from fulfilling the subjective criterion (Wirth, 1945: 347).

As female in the economic sphere, women are largely confined to sedentary, monotonous work under the supervision of men, and are treated unequally with regard to pay, promotion, and responsibility. With the exception of teaching, nursing, social service, and library work, in which they do not hold a proportionate number of supervisory positions and are often occupationally segregated from men, women make a poor show in the professions. Although they own 80 percent of the nation's wealth, they do not sit on the boards of directors of national and multinational corporations; educational opportunities are likewise unequal. Professional schools, such as architecture and medicine, apply quotas. Women's colleges are frequently inferior to men's. In co-educational schools' women's participation in campus activities is limited. As citizens, women are often barred from jury service and public office. Even when they are admitted to the state apparatus of political parties, they are subordinated to men. Socially, women have less freedom of movement and are permitted fewer deviations in the proprieties of dress, speech, manners. In social intercourse, they are confined to a narrower range of personality expression and stylisations of identities (Hacker, 1951).

Arguably, Africa represents a fundamental challenge for peace and conflict studies due to its exposure to violent intrastate and inter-state conflicts of diverse forms, ever since the 1960s

when her countries attained independence (Patel, in Maloka: 2001:357). Recent examples from the 1990s include Rwanda, Burundi, Liberia, Sierra Leone, DRC Sudan and Ivory Coast. While it is not out of order to trace this to a multiplicity of factors, the key issue is the failure of the national political systems and the states to create institutions that could prevent crises by instituting such hegemonic order that would effectively manage symptoms of conflict and mediate in these when they occur. It is pertinent to note that the vast majority of world leaders, of governments and officials at all levels, of the presidents and boardrooms of transnational corporations are men (Brine, 1999: 16).

One can therefore, arrive at two major assumptions: socio political powers all around the world are gendered in favour of men. In addition, and as a result, conflict has a masculine character and the male gender choreographs the conflicts, at least in terms of causes since men are mostly in charge of the structures and mechanisms that spark conflicts in these states. These conflicts and low intensity wars are increasingly being fought in the continent's semi-urban and rural areas which provide space to the majority of the African population, the majority of whom are women. How have women fared in these conflicts? Have they been active participants in peace processes and post conflict re-construction efforts in these regions? If so, to what extent, and has such political participation enhanced their well-being as women? And if not, what factors inhibit their equal participation and effective representation in the political processes of their societies (Isike, 2009)?

In apparent recognition of the impact of conflict on women and the significance of including them in decision-making structures of pre-conflict and post-conflict societies, the United Nations (UN) Security Council passed its first Resolution on women (Resolution 1325) in its 4213th meeting on 31 October 2000. According to Rehn and Johnson-Sirleaf (2001: 3), "Resolution 1325 is a watershed political framework that makes women – and a gender perspective – relevant to negotiating peace agreements, planning refugee camps and peace keeping operations and reconstructing war-torn societies." It urges member states to ensure representation of women in all aspects of their local, national, regional and international life, both in pre-and post-conflict situations. Have member states of the UN, especially those who have ratified it, been implementing Resolution 1325? How do African states fare in mainstreaming a critical mass of 30% women into public decision-making structures and processes?

Arising from this stark and gloomy background, the focus of this study is to evaluate the impact of the UNSC Resolution 1325 on women in the peace process through active participation in formal structures. To determine this, this study uses one conflict prone region in Africa: The Democratic Republic of Congo.

This is against the backdrop that women in the Democratic Republic of Congo were not utilised to optimum capacity in terms of their potentialities to contribute to peace keeping and peace building.

After exploration of literature and engagement in fieldwork, the study ultimately establishes many things and presents them as contributions to knowledge: that women can enhance the peace process if they are given equal opportunity to participate in the peace and security structures as outlined in the UNSC Resolution 1325; that women have practically done so in cases of DRC put under assessment; that women have not been adequately involved in the peace processes in many parts of the world, and that UNSC Resolution 1325 is laden with areas of successes and challenges in its implementation. Other contributions are that building capacity from above is not sufficient enough to bring about sustainable peace and lasting change aimed at building the capacity of women in line with the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325; the UNSCR 1325 is a political framework, specifically to set an agenda for the long dragging issue of the vulnerability of women in war and peace situations.

In line with this, the study asserts that issues at stake are such ones as protecting women against gender-based violence, including more women in governmental decision-making processes and institutions, securing women in economic-cum-social activities, and reducing the vulnerability of girls and women in war and crisis situation. With the UNSCR 1325, policymakers and advocates now constantly address issues of gender inequality as a security one. The strategic language embedded in UNSCR 1325 has certainly increased awareness among international actors, opened new spaces for dialogue and partnerships from global to local levels and even created opportunities for new resources for women's rights.

1.2 Statement of the research problem

Peacebuilding is often intended to address fundamental causes of conflicts and prevent future occurrence. Many nations of the world and Africa in particular have utilised preventive and post-conflict peace building measures for prevention of violent conflicts, as well as for

management of conflict situations. They have also used such to address the root causes of conflict. Thus, peacebuilding is made up of the processes and elements of preventing, managing and transforming conflict; that is, to address, transform, as well as prevent imminent conflict situations. The above are pertinent since the general perception suggests that women are marginalised in both governance and the peace processes in the DRC (ACCORD, 2012).

Quite often, most formal roles allocated and played in the peacebuilding processes are dominated by men. For instance, and more specifically, politicians, peacekeepers, peace negotiators, and other key actors in conflict-ridden African countries are predominantly male. This unequal distribution of power between men and women often leaves the majority of women without a voice in local, national, regional and global decision-making processes. At most, women's contribution towards peace building goes unnoticed. This prompts Munro (2000) to suggest an underlying assumption in which the women's involvement in peace building processes could help design a lasting peace thereby promoting the inclusion, protection and general empowerment of women.

Coming from this background, a series of initiatives have been introduced to ensure that women are included in the processes of decision-making, and then empowerment to lead fellow actors in all aspects of peacebuilding, prominent amongst which is the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325. Apparently, the focus of this initiative tends towards sensitizing male actors about a peacekeeping curriculum that focuses on gender, as well as skills development with measures of discipline for soldiers and other actors in peacekeeping especially on of Gender Based Violence. Although a host of international organizations and agencies of the United Nations have had an array of programmes that engage peace processes, the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 endures as the pioneering instrument and foundation for any institutional framework targeted at including women in the processes of peace building and protecting them during conflict and war. "It recognizes for the first time the role of women in conflict, not as victims, but as actors in the prevention and resolution of conflict and in equal participation in peacebuilding and decision-making" (Leatherman, 2007). Women peace activists around the world have taken this as a historical decision in favour of women" (Anju, 2006 11) and, up to the moment, other international organizations and agencies have made other resolutions as well as declarations that emphasize the import of including women as key actors in peacebuilding processes.

It is against this background therefore that the current study raises such questions as where exactly does contemporary scholarship locate the woman in the engendering of peace processes; what is the background to the UNSC Resolution 1325; and what are its main highlights? Then, what were the challenges, as well as successes, faced during implementation of this resolution? These questions are worth asking in order in order to understand an array of issues surrounding women in different processes and aspects of the peace-making process; especially in relation to the United Nations Security Council's Resolution 1325, the background to it, its major highlights as well as the successes and challenges it faced during peace-making, especially in the Democratic Republic of Congo. The Democratic Republic of Congo is taken as a point of analysis because it was a hotspot of conflicts

1.3 Aim of the study

The ultimate aim of this study is to understand and explain an array of issues surrounding women in different processes and aspects of the peace-making process, especially in relation to the United Nations Security Council's Resolution 1325, the background to it, its major highlights as well as the successes and challenges it has faced during peace-making especially in the Democratic Republic of Congo and around the world. In order to achieve this, this study interrogates the importance of gender inequality with respect to peace, security and development using DRC as a unit of analysis. In this regard, the study discusses various policies put in place to address gender inequality within the peace and security domain and related commitment to this at the regional, continental and international level. The study also focuses on the nexus between peace building and peacekeeping, and the contribution of women to this process. In this process, the study argues that building capacity from above is not sufficient enough to bring about sustainable peace and lasting change aimed at building the capacity of women in line with the UNSC Resolution 1325.

This further supports the argument of transformative and empowering women in order to bring about gender equality in decision-making and sustainable peace, security and development processes in recognition of the impact of conflict on women and the significance of including them in decision-making structures of pre-conflict and post-conflict societies, the United Nations (UN) Security Council passed its first Resolution on women (Resolution 1325) in its 4213th meeting on 31 October 2000.

1.4 Rationale and significance of the study

This study is important because in 2000, the United Nations Security Council acknowledged through Resolution 1325, the changing nature of conflict, in which citizens in the DRC are increasingly targeted. Ironically, women continue to be excluded from participating in peace processes in this country. UNSC Resolution 1325 addresses not only the excessive impact of war on women, but also the crucial role women should play in conflict mediation, conflict management and conflict resolution leading to sustainable peace in the country. The study acknowledges the different experiences that men and women have in the period of conflicts, where women often present relatively more dynamic dispositions in conflict analysis. They also show such disposition in providing strategies for peace-building; such that its focus rests on uniting opposing factions through increased inclusiveness, transparency as well as sustainability of the different processes of peace.

One is tempted to ask about the logic that continues to undergird even the most "foundational fixes" to the construction and operationalisation of peacebuilding policies that appear failing, as well as the peculiarities of the logic that makes efforts of peacebuilding agents particularly problematic in the Congo? How also, can one readily describe international peace builders, policymakers - most of which are entities of the United Nations, governments of UN member states, and international Non-Governmental Organizations- as well as the entire international community synonymously as actors or systems driven by "Western"/prevailing peacebuilding norms.

Examination of this logic reveals stronger realities about the limitations of today's peacebuilding efforts by the international community, identifying a particular prevailing logic of governance that underlies all normative peacebuilding policy emerging from the consensus of liberal peacebuilding efforts. This logic understands the nation-state as the "principal organizational unit" exercising political authority, promotes the exercise of "good governance," and necessitates a resilient social contract to ground state legitimacy as in doing so, it attempts a construction or reconstruction of a particular liberal state as the ultimate peacebuilding objective. By examining liberal peacebuilding policy and its improvements in the Congo, I argue that this logic of governance delineates the bounds within which peacebuilding policy can develop and advance, precludes alternate understandings of power and authority, and ultimately limits prospects for sustainable peace.

Thus, except the world supports women towards achieving economic and political empowerment as well as equal representation at decision-making levels, ranging from but not exclusively peace negotiations, planning and budget decisions and the security sector, efforts towards addressing the effects of conflict on women; the incorporation of a gender perspective in peacebuilding may ultimately collapse (Council of the European Union, 2010).

1.5 Objectives of the study

The main objective of this research is to examine the extent to which the inclusion of women in peace building processes could enhance sustainable peace in DRC. Specific objectives are to:

- Locate the roles of women in engendering peace-making;
- Examine the background and the major highlights of the UNSC Resolution 1325;
- Explore the implementation of the UNSC Resolution 1325 in the DRC with a view to identifying the successes and challenges encountered.

1.6 Research hypothesis

- Women could enhance the peace process if given necessary opportunities;
- Resolution 1325 is a major institutional framework for women's contribution to peace-making.

1.7 Research Questions

- What are the roles of women in engendering peace-making?
- How does one place the background and the major highlights of the UNSC Resolution 1325?
- In what manner was the UNSC Resolution 1325 implemented in the DRC with a view to identifying the successes and challenges encountered?

1.8 Limitation and Delimitation of the study

A research work that aims at locating the roles of women in engendering peace-making, examining the background as well as the major highlights of the UNSC Resolution 1325 and, in the final analysis, exploring the implementation of the Resolution in the DRC with a view to identifying the successes and challenges encountered cannot but face some limitations in terms of certain influences that are beyond the control of the researcher and that are

encountered in the course of the research. The greatest limitation comes in the area of the third objective of the research, that is which examines the subjective issue of implementation and declaring successes and challenges. The researcher however overcomes this by adhering to the basic ethical considerations of research.

1.9 Research Methodology

The empirical nature of this study necessitates a combination of research methods. Therefore, this study adopts historical and qualitative approaches. It has been asserted that the historical approach to research methods involves "systematic collection of data which is preceded by the objective evaluation of information related to past events so as to test hypotheses with regards their causes and effects in order to explain the present trends and focus on the future" (Busha and Harter 1980: 90).

The approach enhances the understanding of trendy practices and enables prognostication or futuristic analysis of social phenomena through historical excursions into past trajectories. The examination and interpretation of evidence (Hancock and Algozzine 2006: 80) and the drawing of logical conclusions thereof are integral to historical research. The utility of the historical approach lies in its potency in exploring the possible trajectory of the DRC crisis.

In addition, the current research makes use of qualitative methods in line with its nature, as the study is exploratory and deductive. As Liebscher (1998: 669) notes, qualitative methods are apt wherever and whenever the phenomena being investigated is complex, as well as where they are social in such a way that make quantification irrelevant. This explains why Miles and Huberman (1994: 32-48) argue that "qualitative research is essentially exploratory and involves methods of data collection that are non-quantitative or non-numerical."

Qualitative analysis captures better, the complexities of human and social lives. Then, in the words of Payne & Payne (2004: 176), it treats actions as part of a holistic social process and context, rather than as something that can be extracted and studied in isolation." When qualitative methods are used, it is easier to investigate social phenomena - which are often complex in nature - without getting into the quagmire of prejudice, preconception and pre-deterministic generalizations.

Moreover, qualitative methods have an unassailable power of explanation and are capable of unearthing ample information on the research problem. This creates room for deep and comprehensive understanding of social and organisational behaviours to which the methods

are best applied. In line with the foregoing, qualitative methodology is apt when dealing with such intricacies with which social issues are often laden, especially when integrating a gender perspective into the peacebuilding processes in the DRC. The use of the qualitative method also informs the data collection protocols as discussed below.

1.9.1 Means of Data Collection

Modern days researches can rely on modern days technology in order to be more accurate in gathering and analysis of data and ultimately arrive at both generalization and serendipity (Martin 2009). It is in line with this that the current study utilised audio recorder to collect direct data from the population interviewed. This technology allowed the researcher to play over and over again, the information collected for proper verification, clarification and analysis.

1.9.2 Ethical Consideration:

The researcher informed all interviewees and obtained their consents as to the purpose of the interviews before they were conducted. Interviewees were also assured of the confidentiality of the information they gave, as well as the sanctity of the use of the information for the single and only purpose of this research. This is in line with the general rubrics and ethics of social research.

1.9.3 Sampling Method:

The random sampling method was used to determine the interviewee within the population. The sampling method refers to a subset of a statistical population in which every interviewee within the subset enjoys the probability of being chosen on an equal, non-manipulative basis. To arrive at this, every interviewee within the population has a number assigned. The numbers were then subjected to random selection. The researcher chose this method due to the ease of use, as this appears to be the greatest advantage that the random sampling has it is also less likely to, unlike some other sampling methods probability sampling and stratified random sampling, be pre-deterministic and subjective in outcomes. In other words, the simple random sampling is an unbiased representation of a population and it is considered a fair way of selecting a sample from a larger population, since every member of the population has an equal chance of getting selected.

1.9.4 Data Collection methods

Data for this study was generated through both primary and secondary sources.

1.9.4(a) Primary source

The primary source of data for this research was personal in-depth interviews, a technique that is of considerable utility in generating first-hand information in social science research. Interviews were conducted with a number of Congolese women who demonstrated a profound grasp of the dynamics of DR Congo politics, social realities, conflicting dynamics and challenges to peace building. The interviewees included civil society, NGOs representatives, government officials, academics, journalists, and community and youth leaders (whose communities have been impacted by conflict). The investigator here employed the structured and detailed interview techniques to provoke robust, incisive and illuminating reactions from those interviewed. That the researcher/interviewer was present and her technique was flexible enabled some actions in the direction of levelled, collaborative as well as inclusive research relationships that entailed equal standing between the researching personality and the participants in the research. Payne & Payne (2004: 90) accedes to this research opinion.

Besides, the use of this technique ameliorated the imminent challenges of limited administration/application, low rate of response and restricted options for clarification of issues that are often found when the question method is used. This technique elicited invaluable insights into the study. It is instructive to note that initial contacts were made with a number of academics and civil society actors, as well as NGOs in the DRC and that they assisted the researcher during the data collection process.

1.9.4 (b) Data Secondary Sources

This research utilised articles, books, magazines, government reports, newspapers, legislative documents, company reports and the internet as main sources of secondary data. The researcher utilized internet as a source of contemporary information needed for the subject matter of the research, and the melodramatic manner in which the DRC events have unfolded so far. These secondary sources provided extensive bibliographic and contextual information that complemented the primary source, thus illuminating the study.

1.9.5 Data Analysis Methods

Data obtained for this study - primary and secondary alike – was tested through content analysis which, as defined by Stone and Dunphy, et al (1966: 5) refers to "any technique for making inferences by systematically and objectively identifying specified characteristics within text." The content analysis, as a technique of qualitative analysis, involves summarizing data, with reliance on the scientificity which takes into consideration objectivity cum inter-subjectivity, a priori design, validity reliability, generalization, replicability, and hypothesis testing - and these are not restricted to the context of creating and presenting the message (Neuendorf 2002: 10).

An important element of content analysis is to delineate the object of inquiry (Altheide 1996: 14), thus situating the data in the context of the subject matter of one's research. On the basis of this technique, the study – drawing from qualitative insights –made inferences and isolated relevant and specific content from diverse data generated during fieldwork.

The data generated through interviews was analysed within the context of the operational hypothesis of this research. Analysis of data was done in the context of a gender perspective in peacebuilding processes as outlined in the UNSC Resolution 1325. The variables that informed the basis of content analysis were broadly conceptual, thematic and relational. Responses were coded into specific content categories for example, corporate social responsibility, corporate complicity, corporate peacebuilding, state deflation/failure, and local/international environmental activism. Moreover, the relationships between these content categories was analysed in order to show the trends in peacebuilding processes.

This research utilised content analysis in order to unpack the complexities associated with social phenomena such as the gender perspective in peacebuilding processes of conflict. In summary, the study synthesized data gathered from both primary and secondary sources to provide a holistic analysis of a gendered perspective in the DRC conflict and peace process.

1.10 Conceptual clarification of key words

This study utilised some key words which are hereunder explicated as they were deployed. These include conflict, feminise, peace, peace process and women reality.

1.10.1 Conflict

The way this study conceives conflict is that of an inevitable social saga; a host of clashes of interests, inflicted problems and challenges that are apparently inherent in human societies. It often comes as a manifestation of challenges faced in trying to manage economic, cultural, political and social relations.

According to CASS (2005:6-7), underlying all conflict is the issue of what constitutes and which necessitates competition among the available resources, and they both need certain levels of cooperation to resolve the crisis. So, as CASS asserts, although conflicts create structures for social relations by building intersecting channels for societal competition and cooperation at the level of the individual, collective and group, one needs to understand it within the spectrum of disagreement over the values as well as ideals which inform the socio-economic and political organisation of state and society. These include the social relations of production and the superstructure of culture, law and political relations, forms and systems of governance, structures and processes, including institutional ones, the distribution of and allocation of scarce resources and the direction and emphasis of public policies (CASS, 2005: 7).

Viewed this way, there are different forms of conflict such as social conflict defined by economic scarcity that manifests in poverty (human insecurity) which impairs human existence, and armed conflict defined by socio-political differences that manifests in political assassinations, violent confrontations and low-intensity warfare. Another form of conflict which this study concerns itself with is inter-gender conflict which manifests in male violence against women (rape, physical abuse, cultural labelling and properticisation).

All of these forms of conflict are undergirded by the breakdown of social relations between individuals (i.e. men and women) and groups in societies, between communities and between states. Concisely, conflict is inevitable and is rooted in relationships (see Lederach, 1997; CASS, 2005; Amisi, 2008).

1.10.2 Feminisation

Feminisation in this study means to equally involve women in the governance processes of their communities, localities, regions and nation-states as well as in the peace processes of peace making, peace keeping and peace building in conflict societies (Isike, 2009).

1.10.3 Peace

In this study, peace is conceptualised in a relational perspective. It is not taken as "absence of violence"; rather, it is a transformation and resolution that is constructive, and that operates on the criteria of mutuality of respect, tolerance for gender, as well as equality and respect of the two genders.

As a result of this, the study utilises a reworked version of Assefa's (1993) understanding of peace as involving three distinct issues, namely, first, transforming conflict-laden interactions that are destructive into some kind of relationship that is constructive and cooperative as well as reconciliation that leads to mature and healthy socio-ecological and personal relationships of justice as well as interdependence. Seen form this angle, peace connotes reconstruction of relationships, from the male perspective, in order not to promote war but advance peace.

The way the study has modified the conceptualisation of peace by Aseefa focuses on the connection between gender relations and justice. While it agrees with Assefa that "peace involves the constructive transformation of violence" (see Lederach, 1995), such peace needs to be premised upon through an institutionalization of gender justice and all the politics involved, and such include without limitation, mutuality of respect, tolerance as well as inclusiveness between genders. Men also have such values, no doubt, and this study is of the opinion that women most of the time exhibit them, and therefore women in politics can bring them to bear and make the difference between violent conflict and sustainable peace.

1.10.3 (a) Peace process

The peace process entails complex protocols of peace making, peace keeping and peace building and preventive diplomacy which lead to sustainable peace. These concepts are often confused and used interchangeably. However, each represents different stages of the whole peace process as discussed below.

1.10.3 (b). Peace-making is the process of mediating a cessation of violence and settlement between disputing parties to a conflict. It involves the use of varying conflict resolution techniques such as mediation, negotiation and diplomatic representation. It can be either formal or informal, or both. In formal peace making processes, professional negotiators and diplomats engage in direct negotiations with the main disputants with a view to agreeing on and drafting a workable peace accord. At the informal level, citizens, especially women, can also participate in the peace-making process through moral suasion, prayers, peace protests

and writing letters. Informal citizenship participation in peace-making is becoming an increasingly common way to kick-start the formal peace-making process.

1.10.3 (c) Peacekeeping involves maintaining law and order by keeping disputants from attacking each other. Peacekeeping, which is usually done by neutral forces (army, navy, police), can take place simultaneously with peace-making. The peacekeeping force(s) do nothing to settle the disputant's differences or help negotiate a peace agreement. Their task is often to prevent the escalation of violence by providing a buffer between the disputants.

1.10.3 (d) Conflict-prevention has metamorphosed into a distinctive dimension of peace-building that is now popularly referred to as preventive diplomacy, which, as it is employed here, refers to a combination of actions and inactions that can be relied on for the purpose of preventing disputes, or even conflicts, from taking up arms. These are in the political, economic and social fields, applicable especially to possible internal conflicts. According to the United Nations (1999), all the ranges of preventive actions such as preventive deployment of forces, preventive humanitarian action and preventive peace building share common characteristics. For instance, "all of them depend on early warning that alerts on the possibility or imminence of the conflict, they seek information on what causes the conflict, as well as what potential this conflict contains by nature, a means that assists in identifying appropriate preventive action while relying on the consent of the party or parties within whose jurisdiction the preventive action is to take place" (SG Report, 1999). This also applies to the more complex issue of preventing conflicts within the state.

1.10.4 Women's reality

The women's reality, as used in this study, is the reality of women's vulnerability and marginalisation in relation to conflict and post-conflict reconstruction respectively. It refers to the phenomenon of women's victimhood in conflict even though they are usually not part of the decision-making processes that led to such conflicts in the first place.

The realities women face in conflict also includes the fact that in spite of the disproportionate effects (compared to men) of such conflicts on them, they are conveniently excluded from peace negotiations and post-conflict reconstruction efforts and dividends. They are either treated as minors who should be represented by their husbands and sons or as victims to be represented by male heads and elders in communities.

Thus, their experiences and contributions towards peace making during conflict are never factored into the peace, security and post conflict reconstruction and transformation equations. This contributes in many ways to perpetuating the cycle of violence as the political approaches that led to conflict in the first place remain unmediated or counterbalanced by a different approach which women alone could bring. In the ensuing cycle of social and armed conflict, women and their children remain the most vulnerable.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Background

There is extant literature on African conflicts due to the multiplicity of internal wars and conflicts that have characterised the continent since the 1990s. Notable among these include the Angolan civil war, the Liberian crisis, the Somalia civil crisis, the Rwandan genocide, the civil war in Sierra Leone and the current DRC crisis which is directly the consequence of its independence from Portugal in 1975. The reason is that by the time the country was granted independence, there was a plethora factional groups (MPLA, FNLA and UNITA) involved in the struggle for independence and none of these was in firm control of the government. This created a power vacuum in the country at independence. The political mayhem that bedevils the country's independence persists to date and it is equally noticeable in some other African countries.

Bringing the legacy of armed conflict in Africa into focus, scholars including du Plessis (2000), Thom (1999), Sesay (1998), Thomas (1998), Heitman, among others, have outlined the general nature of these conflicts while Adebajo and Landsberg (2000), Ojakorotu and Adeola (2000), Bashir (1998), Oyebade and Alao (1998), Echezona (1998), Alao and Olonisakin (1998), Ayoob (1995), Young (1995), Copson (1994), Owolabi (1993), Gordon (1992), Holsti (1992), Chazan (1991) have explored some sources of the conflicts and offered interesting insights into these.

With regard to the crisis in the DRC, statesmen like Nkrumah (1967), scholars like Aske (1996), Ajibewa (1997), Nzongola-Ntalaja (1998), Afoaku (1999), Kabemba (1999), Wolpe (2000), Geldenhuys (2000), Paul Omach (2001) among others have traced the pedigree of events that have culminated in the deplorable state of the DRC.

Although the concern of this work is not about the nature, sources and pedigree of events that resulted in the intractable conflict and deplorable state of the DRC, highlighting these provides effective background knowledge to the situation, the effects and the implications of the conflict on the general political system of the country and the need to nip the problem in the bud through effective and all-inclusive conflict resolution mechanisms.

In doing this, observers and analysts have highlighted the implications of the persistent conflict both for the DRC and its neighbours. For instance, in June 1999, US Assistant Secretary for African Affairs, Condoleezza Rice, in her testimony before the US Senate

Foreign Relations Committee, lamented that if necessary actions were not taken on time in order to put a stop to the DRC conflict, the continuation of the conflict would have serious devastating effect on the political economy of the entire continent. As expressed by Rice, the conflict, if allowed to continue, would create an enormous drain on resources urgently needed for infrastructural and social development, reduce foreign investment and have negative spill-over effects on the events and political economies in the neighbouring countries. Thus, a DRC at peace with itself and its neighbours has the potential, in Rice's words, to serve as an engine and economic powerhouse for the entire central African region. This would materialise, according her, in that when the DRC is peaceful and stable, the manifest political and economic transformation would be consolidated and enlarged in a number of other states within the region.

A cursory look at the various arguments and positions above obviously shows bias against the inclusion of gender parity at explaining various factors concerning the nature, sources and pedigree of events as well as conflict resolution mechanisms in the intractable conflict, resolution and deplorable state of the DRC. This is against the backdrop of the fact that women who form the most significant proportion of world population as well as in African countries are not only the most vulnerable but their remarkable, unparalleled, contribution to the search for durable peace is palpably absent in any war or conflict situation through a deliberately patriarchal and masculinist exclusionary process.

It is a non-sequitir reality that on the African continent men and women are treated differently. In fact, the challenges, exemplified by the degree of extreme deprivation and poverty, violence and dehumanizing social status that are often inflicted on women and girls during war and violence, these acts are basically the extension of the discrimination women and girls experience even in times of peace and tranquillity. Worse still, as posited by Nduwimana (and), the lack of appropriate studies in conflict, investigation and analysis frequently foments particular stereotypes that are projected by the lacuna that exists between the causes and consequences of discrimination, such that transformative projects could be established towards ratifying the susceptibility of women and girls in terms of natural weaknesses, instead of social and cultural factors as well as ideologies. Dominant practices and established mind-sets that are responsible for the situation need to be reframed. This therefore makes it meet, at this point, to draw a thematic distinction between sex and gender; the former being a biological phenomenon and the latter, a social construct.

Providing an overview of the women in the DRC, they have not been place in equal dimensions with men but they continue struggling about this every day. They at least enjoy some rights as provided by the law of the land and President promised to do much in ensuring that women are seen as important in the society. Today, as it can be said that women and girls enjoy certain legal rights, especially in the areas of property ownership economic and political participation, there still a lot of limitations in the areas of laws, traditions and custom. Like any other women in sub-Sahara Africa, women in the DRC had been loose and free for s commercial prostitution.

In terms of physical security, and beyond the problems generated by the DRC crises, other threats there are to the physical well-being and security of the Republic's women. Some population of people in certain quarters still practise genital mutilation amongst women even though this is not rampant. In other words, the entrenchment of the United Nations' Resolutions 1325 addressed all these problems in the society of DRC.

It has been argued for a long time that gender should be seen and perceived from the platform of relation between the two sexes on the basis of biological characteristics. This relation is often coloured by allocation of duties, roles, classifications, responsibilities, perceptions, behaviours and aptitudes that the society has created, dichotomised and subsequently specifically assigned to boys and girls; men and women. Scholars who have argued in this direction include specifically but are not limited to Nduwimana et al. The responsibilities and roles dichotomised by the society often get influenced by an interpretation of male-female relationships that often tends towards concealing or underestimating the productive capacities of women even as men are rated and considered for higher productive role with women being restricted to their reproductive functions. For instance, when women are recognised only by their status as mothers and wives, there is a very high probability of limiting and restricting their social, political and economic roles in the society. It is on this note that Nyerere (1988 as cited in Femmes bâtisseurs d'Afrique (2000: 11) asserted that:

> All we need do is demand of our farmers that for a week and the four weeks in a month, how many hours of work they performed. As it happens, the women in the village are the ones who work for as high as 12 to 15 hours' a in a day, and their work knows neither weekends nor public holidays. Village women are more hardworking than their city counterparts

> or any other person at that in Tanzania, while their men are on holiday for half their lives.

One other belief that influences women's discrimination and limits their participation in the socio-economic and political activities of their societies is the patriarchal ideology rooted in cultural practices. This patriarchal belief is based upon and instituted from the notion of men's superiority over women. The belief builds a value system and social order of hierarchies and structures it in a way that it is eventually internalised, adopted and accepted as a hegemonic norm and standard by most, if not all, people of the society, including the women themselves (Nduwimana, nd).

The conception of gender as a socio-cultural phenomenon often points in the direction of culturally determined social relations that are not restricted to a particular period. Rather, this could be considered on the platform of construction, renovation, overhauling and deconstruction that are all determined through crises inflicted changes about knowledge, practices and evolving laws, as well as technological and economic advancements of a society. In these circumstances, the contributions and participation of women and their role in socio-economic development is restricted. Such discrimination, which evolves as discrimination between men and women on strategic issues such as access to resources and production inputs, political appointment opportunities, participation in political activities and decision-making, particularly in the process of peace-building has a serious detrimental effect. Thus, understanding and analysing gender as a socio-cultural construct and phenomenon makes it possible for us to discuss the ethical and moral foundations that nurture and sustain discrimination against women, especially when their role in peace-making and peace building is obvious and significant.

In typical African societies, women traditionally played vital roles in peace-making and peace building; they were involved in mediation, arbitration and prevention of conflict internally in their societies, and between their societies and others. The symbol of a peace agency, for which women stand in these societies, can be located in their socio-cultural cum political roles and responsibilities; as their own contributions to the overall wellbeing of their societies.

The roles often got reinforced by the idea that women are more naturally predisposed to making peace compared to men; they are also often considered as more morally conscious than men; some sort of sacred, good and tender beings. In many precolonial social formations

therefore, patience, humility, subtle persuasiveness and tolerance were often considered as attributes of women, and in the course of socialization from one generation to the other, they often get reinforced, and this promotes women primarily as child-bearers, good wives, caregivers, arbitrators of conflict and peace promoters in the family and community (UNESCO, 2003: 8).

Ntahobari and Ndayiziga (2003: 20) explore the debate surrounding this positioning of women in the traditional society of Burundi, where women were regarded as pillars of peace and unity as well as bridges among families in the communities and the ethnic nationalities through the institution of marriage. These scholars, further observe that the society socialises girls to be open-minded right from an early age; they also socialise them also to be tolerant and adaptable; and this form of socialization was dominant in many African societies such as in Cameroon, Namibia, Nigeria, Somalia and Tanzania (Awe, 1977; Ngongo-Mbede, 2003; Becker, 2003; Mohammed, 2003; and Lihamba, 2003).

While this narrative may have many elements of truth, how might its dramatic simplicity and finality relate to prevailing logic of governance and the peacebuilding-as-statebuilding project? How have peacebuilders come to *know* the Congo, and what end does that understanding serve? By laying out the dominant narrative of the Congo, I first argue that the liberal peacebuilding paradigm forcibly diagnoses failed governance as the cause of the Congolese conflict, thereby logically necessitating the strengthening and reinstatement of state authority as the primary peacebuilding objective. Secondly, a case study of an improvement to liberal peacebuilding policy, UN Security Council Resolution 1325, shows how this fixed dynamic reinforces dominant problematizations of the Congo, supports the continued re-deployment of (failed) peacebuilding policies, and produces the conditions of possibility for policy advancement.

Among such societies, it is expected that women should embody patience, virtue and compassion; meekness, a discerning mind, self-control and modesty. Although such virtues were regarded inherent in womanhood, these values also required reinforcement through socialization and acculturations that assist them in enhancing the palpability of these in the roles that women play and are expected to display in peace-making instances (Ntahobari and Ndayiziga, 2003: 20).

International policymakers appear to be frustrated with the Congo issue. They are indeed tired of the Congo as they have over the last two decades, continuously tried to institute their

toolkit of peaceful technologies ranging from constitutional reform, elections, transitional justice mechanisms, security sector reform as well as the provision of social services, to mention but a few. They increased funding and operational support when these things failed. They also deployed more peacekeepers, improved coordination and communication, as well as differentiated the timing and sequence of activities. When these also failed they had a rethink of their approaches, perhaps in real critical ways, so they could address critique of top-down, one-size-fits-all, together with exclusive practices they promoted in line with national ownership and engagement with the civil society organizations, local government, and women. Despite the foregoing efforts however, The DRC crises continues to defy permanent solution as it has up to date cost an estimated 5.4 million lives.

Why is peacebuilding in the Congo simply not working the way it was planned and at what point do we locate the disconnect, especially between policy rhetoric and practice by improving already existing policies as well as those claim to transform normative practices in practical ways. It is the issue confronting this project, as regards the improvements in terms of the manner through which the international community responds to failure especially when it comes to peacebuilding; the questions they raise as well as the bounds within which they lie.

Mohammed (2003: 103) for instance, recalls that whenever there was conflict within the Somali communities, quite often women would intervene to broker the peace. An instance was given when some young spinsters, traditionally called Heerin, who hailed from a warring clan, secretly visited the opponent clans offering themselves for marriage as a way of mediating in the crisis and finding permanent solutions to it. Muhammad asserts that "due to the fact that this was a popular tradition, they welcomed the young women and made preparations for them to get married. This immediately stabilized the situation and set in motion a peace process that eventually resolved the conflict" (2003: 103).

Such an approach to peace-making was only possible in line with women and the aura of meekness around them. Indeed, women are special people whose lives are laden with certain neutralizing moral authority. Women, quite often use these same endowments and authority for mediation in conflicts or agitation amongst men, especially through ready advice given to their husband to toe the line of peace. One school of thought ironically advances that women often do this because they stand at the receiving end if there is crisis or conflict. It is the

power of this aura and authority that women in post-colonial Africa have also drawn from, and deployed towards achieving peace and tranquillity in the Democratic Republic of Congo, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Guinea, Burundi and South Africa.

In a comparative study of women and their role in peace making, for instance, Mazuarana and McKay (1999: 20) assert that women have consistently relied on the "moral authority" reposed in them by the virtues of humanity - as wives and mothers who are creators of lives, to call for peace throughout Africa. In pre-colonial African societies, women also got actively involved in making peace. Respect based on age was critical and crucial is such society, and was also considerably used as an important social base of political power.

Nwoye (2009) for example posits from findings obtained in her study of women and their role in making peace in six pre-colonial African states, that the aged women were highly "respected by all, and played a key role in crisis management and conflict resolution" (Nwoye, 2009). The Tuburs of Cameroon, for example, had this practice in place where old women were saddled with the responsibility of mediating in conflicts so there would not be problems that escalated to haunt the community as a whole (Ngongo-Mbede, 2003:32).

As Nwoye (2009) argues therefore, "whenever a conflict degenerated into the use of arms to inflict violence, the society often makes appeal to a mature third party to do whatever in its powers to reconcile the warring parts and combatants so that tension can be dowsed. Such an appeal for mediation was usually made to a woman who enjoyed the consideration and respect of all who knew her." Along the same lines, the sanctity associated with women and motherhood, women, especially the elderly ones, often played the role of peace envoys; they facilitated negotiations of peace most of the time (Mohammed, 2003; and Lihamba, 2003). This was only so due to the fact that only women were technically allowed to move across the conflicting zones with little or no danger, so, the warring parties utilised it to study situation, assess peace prospects and facilitate contact and communication amongst any warring parties.

In the words of Amadiume (1987: 119-143), colonialism, which led to the coercive suppression of traditional institutions and subsequent imposition of foreign gender ideas, also led to the gradual erosion of the power of women and ensured the introduction of masculinised Christianity - where God and angels are only men, and through Western education which, at first made women invisible. It also led to the enthronement of the warrant chief system of local administration which gave men a short cut to power.

UN Secretary General in 1992, Boutros Boutros-Ghali's report titled *An Agenda for Peace,* re-conceptualized contemporary peace operations to include post-conflict peacebuilding and "support structures that strengthen and solidify peace in order to avoid a relapse into conflict." Following a proliferation of documents in the form of addendums and UN Security Council Resolutions, the liberal peacebuilding consensus emerged, standardizing liberal governance, security, and economic models as the most effective way to address the root causes of conflict and build sustainable peace. A toolkit of universally deployable technologies became available to meet these goals, including support to peace processes, disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration (DDR), transitional justice, security sector reform (SSR), elections, constitutional and legal reform, financial reform, and administrative reform.

To understand the current foundational premise of the liberal peacebuilding which, as claimed here in the thesis, refers to the re-instatement of a particular liberal state, makes necessary to re-read the liberal peacebuilding policy development. After many failed early Peacebuilding efforts of the 1990s, there was a shift from interstate to intrastate wars, and the shift witnessed a fundamental collapse of state institutions" and "resulting paralysis of governance, a breakdown of law and order as well as general banditry and chaos. As peacebuilding policy already adopted an absolutists approach to peace operations, as against mere peacekeeping and peacemaking, the document *A Supplement to the Agenda for Peace* explicitly for attention.

Thus, for instance, the introduction of the modern state system effectively foreclosed all social (age) and cultural (female group rights) opportunities for women to access political power, as winning elections became the new catapult into political power. As the values of the Western world got entrenched in Africa during colonialism, many of the traditional rights of women got lost in the process, and women, for the most part, refused to take up challenges that can free them from this quagmire embedded in their male-dominated societies.

The women of Africa, in a host of different ways, reacted to these changes as well as the limitations inflicted upon their structural positions. It is on record that a lot of national political protests were held by women throughout parts of the country during colonialism, and the idea was to antagonize particular colonial policies and colonial rule. Ready and popular examples are the Aba women's riot of 1929 in Nigeria, the Abeokuta women's riot

led by Funmilayo Ransome Kuti, as well as other ones that occurred in countries such as Angola, Guinea-Bissau, Kenya, Namibia, South Africa, Zambia, and Zimbabwe (Campbell, 2003; Cutrufelli, 1983; and Coquery-Vidrovitch, 1997).

The manner in which these protests were planned and implemented are a testimony not only to women's organisational abilities but also of their commitment to peaceful methods of engagement as a means of conflict resolution. In the case of the Nigerian Aba women's riots where things turned violent leading to the death of over 50 women, it was due to the violent response of the colonial authorities than it was due to the women's plan to induce violence.

This did not in any way mean that women were not given to violence. In accordance with the Clausewitzian theory of war as a continuation of politics by other means, pre-colonial history is replete with African women who led and fought nationalist wars against colonialism and its imperial policies (Clausewitz, 1942).

The international peacebuilding community, exacerbated by post 9/11 counterterrorism policy and growing focus on the security threat of failed and weak states, came to prioritize the link between state failure and conflict thereby focusing on building *liberal states that have the capability to* sustain peace at both international and domestic levels. Even as technologies of peacebuilding remained constant, the toolkit transformed into a set of capacity building tactics for addressing weak state authority, of which "the deepest causes of conflict: economic despair, social injustice, and political oppression were now symptomatic.

With regards influencing change in political culture, policy processes and social values as well as addressing the broader concerns of women as a group, especially those of rural women, women's participation remains questionable. Most of the women in positions of political power are usually appointees of men and they, at best, struggle to balance their loyalty between their male patrons and the concerns of women they profess to represent. Otherwise, they get into power and simply carry on just as men, thus justifying the argument put forward by critics of gender equality in politics that women do not and cannot make any difference in politics

At the economic level, women in Africa do not participate in economic decision-making even when they constitute some 60% of the informal economic sector, provide some 70% of the entire labour and output of agriculture and food (Food and Agriculture Organisation, 2011). Indeed, women made their economic contribution via both formerly paid and unpaid work at

their homes, communities and work places but are either absent from or poorly represented in economic decision-making fora. According to the South African Commission on Gender Equality (CGE, 2000:25), this is due to a number of reasons some of which include the following:

a. Economic frameworks hardly take into consideration the needs of women in line with their economic status. Domestic labour, for instance, is not among the issues given consideration in the Gross Domestic Product, and women constitute majority of domestic labourers.
b. The full time domestic responsibilities bestowed on women often prevent them from playing significant roles outside home economics.
c. Women are hardly seen as main breadwinners.
d. Women often lack the exposure and skills to understand macro-economics.

Gender balancing in this regard becomes more imperative because gender inequalities hinder productivity, efficiency and economic progress. By hampering the accumulation of human capital in the private space and the labour market and systematically excluding women from access to the public space (political marginalisation), the capacity of the economy to grow and provide for all is greatly diminished. When this happens, everyone in society suffers as there is more poverty, which, in itself, breeds social conflict.

Contemporary peacebuilding operations, therefore, I assert, largely function as vehicles for state building, forwarding a peaceful liberal state through prevailing logic of governance which valorises that the nation-state is the basic platform political authority, a strong social contract as well as the exercise of "good governance. Thus, despite what a range of contemporary forces, especially globalization, technology and so on have done to undermine the state peacebuilding policy remains bound to the state as the prevailing form of intelligible political authority and fundamental analytical framework in the field of International Relations. The centrality of the nation-state in peacebuilding is two-fold. First, peacebuilding depends on the nation-state for policy construction and operationalisation.

Consequently, it becomes very critical to fight against and reject, in all manner, the many crimes and violations against women. This is against the fact that women's contributions to the survival of families and communities, to peacebuilding and to social unity are significant

but at the same time denied. These contributions are too often submerged in the same all-encompassing analysis. Indeed, it was in recognition of the potential of women as global agents of positive change, peace, security and development that the United Nations Security Council passed Resolution 1325 in 2000. The resolution has been described as a landmark and watershed political framework in gender mainstreaming in politics, peace and security issues (Rehn and Johnson-Sirleaf, 2002).

In the first instance, in Africa it is the responsibility of the heads of State and governments to implement the resolution at the national and regional levels while all the key stakeholders and partners, including the United Nations system, international development agencies, women's groups and civil society organizations, which are equally enjoined to play their roles in its effective implementation. This specifically calls on member states to, apart from other established mandates; ensure that women are represented in decision structures at all levels of life to a very high degree as this will assist in preventing, managing and resolving conflicts.

The view of Rehn and Johnson-Sirleaf above notwithstanding, the complexities of challenge as well as chances that are open to the agenda of Women, Peace and Security, based on the dictates of the United National Security Council Resolution 1325 of year 2000, as well as many important resolutions that followed it; says Miller, Pournik, and Swaine (2014), give in to "cup half full" and a "cup half empty" interpretation. In their exact words:

> The very phrase, the agenda of the Women, Peace, and Security Agenda WPS, in itself represents a symbol of individuals and groups dedicated to the progress of works on gender policy and programmes around the world, as this is continuously acknowledged as a critical mandate all within the different institutions at the public and private realms. In the not too good aspect, the agenda of the Women, Peace, and Security is clearly not a household term (widely known outside activist and policy circles), nor is its foundational policy, United Nations Security Resolution 1325 (UNSCR 1325) (Miller, Pournik, and Swaine, 2014).

At this juncture, it is important to bring into the limelight and address what is UNSCR 1325, as UN Initiatives for Peace in Africa and the position of the behavioural sciences and related literature ever since the adoption of the scheme in year 2000, what do we get out of the content analysis of the National Action Plans (NAPs) in support of UNSCR 1325, especially

in terms of the effectiveness of such plans? Also, what are the illustrative examples of implementation of 1325 principles with and beyond 1325 NAPs?

The Security Council Resolution 1325 of 2000 represents a summation of ideas which protect the basic rights of women through the use of frameworks of international human rights law, the international humanitarian law as well as the international criminal law. Specifically, the Resolution concerns itself with how to protect the rights of women through the mechanisms of transitional criminal justice.

Miller, Pournik, and Swaine (2014) argued that UNSCR 1325 (2000) advocates for the three Ps, that is participation of women in politics and administration, protection of women from all negative impact that their gender might have hitherto inflicted upon them through the society, and, prevention of the eruption of violence in the society due to the fact that the women are often ate the receiving end. These the Ps often comes along with gender mainstreaming as a third overarching principle. UNSCR 1325 pre-eminently foregrounds the following:

- Participation: Involvement of the women folks in all levels where decisions are made; and amongst institutions and structures of domestic-national, national, regional and international standards, and in all mechanisms drawn for preventing, managing and resolving conflict; in negotiating peace and for peace operations; ex combatants, soldiers, policemen or, and civilians, as well as special workforces representing the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

- Protection: Protection of girls as well as women against sexual and gender-based violence, involving rape, harassment and torture, under all circumstances including emergency and humanitarian situations, in all places with no exception of refugee camps and emergency centres for victims of violence, through developing and delivering pre-deployment and in-theatre training to peace operations personnel on the rights of women and girls and effective protection measures.

- Prevention: Prevention of violence against women by promoting women's rights, accountability and enforcement of laws that have been made to protect women. This implies ensuring the prosecution of those involved in war crimes, genocide, crimes against humanity and others that violate international law and principles; refugee

camps with civilian and humanitarian peculiarities, entire removal of sexual violence crimes from the list of amnesty agreements since such crimes have anti-humanity texture. There is also need to strengthen the rights of women under national cum domestic laws, and support peace initiatives and conflict resolution participation by local women.

- Mainstreaming gender perspectives: Mainstreaming gender perspectives in peace operations through the appointment of Gender Advisors to all peacekeeping operations of the United Nations Organization, taking into consideration girls' and women's peculiar needs in designing and developing policies in all areas, and incorporating the perspectives, contributions and experiences of women's organizations in policy and programme development (Miller, Pournik, and Swaine, 2014).

The resolution that was adopted by the United Nations Security Council at its 4213th meeting on 31st of October 2000 re-echoes the importance of the role of women in preventing and resolving conflicts; in peace negotiations, peace building and peacekeeping; in humanitarian response as well as post-conflict reconstruction. It also stresses the importance of equal participation and full involvement of women in all efforts and at all levels, for the purpose of maintaining and promoting security as well as peace. Resolution 1325 urges member-states of the United Nations, the Organization itself and other stakeholders across the globe, to increasingly ensure women participation incorporates gender perspectives in all UN peace and security efforts. It also calls on all parties to conflict to take special measures to protect women and girl children from gender-based violence, particularly rape and other forms of sexual abuse, in situations of armed conflict (UN year book, 2002).

The expected transformation includes the building state structures as well as the provision of tools to assist women and girls strengthen themselves during peace building and under a particular model. Today, however, it is important that such a model is linked to the institutionalization of good governance which is defined as the "exercise of economic, political, and administrative authority" by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), and in ways and manners that encourage participation, responsiveness, transparency and accountability. The peacebuilding agenda is often driven by service provision, democracy and the rule of law. There are other components. It is through "free and fair elections," that peace builders support democracy; they through strengthen constitutional

reform, legislative processes, and the rule of law through judicial and legal reform while promoting service provision and human rights and reconstructing physical infrastructure as they improve basic security, healthcare and education. International actors provide initial financial and operational support to assist national actors towards sustaining the foregoing activities and strengthening governmental institutions under the label 'capacity building.'

As lofty as the focus and objectives of SCR 1325 are, it has been argued that it has not transformed the position of women in terms of women and girls' protection during conflicts (Bosetti and Copper, 2015, Nduwimana, [nd], Boehme, [nd]). This is typified by the continuous, protracted and intractable conflicts which continue to significantly affect women and girls, and the unlimited forms of discrimination against them to which no adequate attention has been paid.

Besides, although the number of 1325 National Action Plan (NAPs) has doubled to 42 at the end of 2013, it nonetheless indicates that fewer than 25 percent of the 13 UN member countries have adopted resolution 1325 NAP (Pournik and Swaine, 2014). This is identifiable within the several number of 1325 NAPs under discussion and in progress in some countries including Jordan, Iraq, Japan, Argentina, and South Sudan (http://www.peacewomen.org). In this regard, some countries including Nigeria for example became the most recent country to adopt a 1325 NAP in August 2013. This centrality of the state and model of governance are important, but international peacebuilders stress that their legitimacy is rooted in a strong and resilient social contract, by which government derives its power from the "consent of the governed." This contract between a government and its citizens is only strong when it adequately reflects citizens' expectations and the state's capacity to meet those expectations. Because violence and conflict often erodes "the social contract between a state and its people," peacebuilding efforts must focus on rebuilding and stabilizing these relations.

At the national level, building state capacity and promoting "good governance" intends to secure this contract by giving the population restored faith in the government to uphold its responsibilities. However, in 2000 the *Brahimi Report* first recognized that while elections help boost the idea of democracy they are "successfully held only in an environment in which a population recovering from war comes to accept the ballot over the bullet as an appropriate and credible mechanism through which their views on government are represented."

Therefore, to strengthen the social contract peacebuilders must manoeuvre this dynamic by simultaneously engaging in "strategic upstream investment in central state institutions" and "early, rapid, and bottom-up support" of civil society and "local" actors.24 The most recent literature has "innovatively" addressed this challenge by emphasizing decentralization to strengthen local governmental capacity and "localize" national policy measures. This intends to facilitate platforms for state-society dialogue and inspire popular trust in the state through visibility and accessibility to improved government structures and state authority. In all efforts to strengthen the social contract it is most important to note the attachment to a fixed binary between the governmental state and non-governmental society.

This prevailing logic of governance and its normative understandings and approaches to the state, governance, and state-society relations remain constant in all peacebuilding policy. In the Congo this continuity helps to uncover its power to both drive particularly framings of conflict and bound the possibilities for policy development and advancement.

In addition, if the issue of judicial reform and protection with respect to women's rights protection is anything to go by, this is yet to be achieved as many countries that have reviewed and amended their Constitution in this regard have not made the revision all-inclusive and all-encompassing to ensure adequate conformity to the new Constitution. This is particularly more pronounced with respect to women's inheritance rights. In the same vein, reliance on customary law rather than constitutional law has rendered the principle of equality entrenched in some African states' Constitution ineffective and non-implementable.

The issue of participation and representation in democratic institutions and state structures with respect to women is only cosmetic and window-dressing going by the lip-service attention paid to it by African policy makers. The right of participation and decision-making has to do with much more than merely having access to visible political posts; rather, it also emphasizes modification of gender interactions and relations at the levels of the grassroots and local administration (Bosetti and Copper, 2015, Nduwimana, nd), given the fact that democracy includes two aspects: representation and participation.

It should be equally noted that peace processes are not restricted to peace agreements and judicial reforms as portrayed by the contents of UNSCR 1325 (2000). There is need for attention to be paid to recovery from poverty among women and girls who are most vulnerable to violence. Augmenting the socio-economic potency of women by recovery

measures and provision of access to such primary services as protection against HIV/AIDS, food security, literacy, training, education and maternal health are important determinants of their human security (Nduwimana, nd). It is disheartening to discover that not only are women and girls affected by conflicts. The majority are exposed to sexual violence and deliberately infected by or exposed to HIV. Examples of this situation are found in Rwanda, Sierra Leone and North Uganda.

On the other hand, the above examples should not blindfold analysts from some modest achievements that have been recorded against the SCR 1325 (2000) which presents hope of an improved situation, as long as all necessary actions are ensured by national, regional and international decision-makers, as well as civil society and the women's movement in Africa. It has been variously argued, for example, that the Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) has advanced women's right to participate in peace and security initiatives. This was synoptically put into perspective by Nduwimana (nd), given cognisance to varying results from country to country when he asserted that the application of SCR 1325 (2000) by peace missions, the United Nations system, sub-regional agencies and nongovernmental organizations has allowed women to achieve some positive results thus:

1. Women should participate in negotiations of, and for peace;

2. Grievances of women should form a critical part of peace agreements;

3. Reforming the constitution should be done according to the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women and SCR 1325 (2000);

4. Electoral reforms should be done in line with the SCR 1325 (2000);

5. Women should be elected and appointed into the positions of power;

6. Security sector should be reformed, with critical inclusion of the police and gendarmerie;

7. The justice system should be reformed, and] such reform should include family codes, inheritance and succession regimes, labour codes, and prevention of sexual violence;

8. Support for national caucuses and common platforms presented by women should be enhanced; and

9. Support for regional and sub-regional women's networks ought to be strengthened; and

10. Support for women's participation in civil society ought to receive high attention (Nduwimana, [nd], Nduwimana, 2006, UNIFEM, 2005, Centre for Conflict Resolution (CCRM) /UNIFEM, 2005, Nalwa, 2011, Miller, Pournik, and Swaine, 2014).

Consequent on the above, researchers have investigated the roles that women play in peace processes and make reference to the existing protocols that promote the inclusion of women in peacebuilding processes. A platform has been created for the implementation of the UNSC Resolution in DRC, yet there is no specific study that demonstrates successful implementation of the Resolution 1325 in the DRC. It is on this note that this study presents an analysis of the implementation of the UNSC Resolution 1325 in the DRC with a view to discussing the important issues at stake for peace and security in the country and Africa in general. The study privileges gender in order to offer an update on implementation of Women, Peace, and Security goals in a wider context. This is done to indicate that what Africa needs now is lasting peace in order to develop and sustain it and for this to be attained it must, among other things, be all-encompassing and all-inclusive. To effectively do this, it must be understood that women must form part of the solution.

2.2 Theoretical framework

A few different theoretical approaches that build on feminist theory more generally are used in most cases by international relations feminists. However, Landsberg, le Pere and van Nieuwkerk (1995: 15) argue that in contrast to many other scholarly fields, there is no single paradigm or theory in sociology that provides the basis for understanding global phenomena.

This implies that social theories are quite dynamic, and they are readily available for deployment into versatile social issues. It is in line with this logic that the current study employs intersectionality and the social conflict theories for the assessment of the resolution in the DRC.

2.2.1 Intersectionality Theory

The study adopts intersectional and constructs theories to analyse the issue in the DRC. Intersectionality as a theory is a tool of analysis. According to a study by Women's Right and Economic Change, "intersectionality is an analytical tool for studying, understanding and responding to the ways in which gender intersects with other identities and how these intersections contribute to unique experiences of oppression and privileges" (Women's Right

and Economic Change 2004). While emphasizing that multiple layered identities are derived from social relationships, history and the operation of structure of powers, the study also underscores that simultaneous experience of oppression and privileges based on their existence as members of more than one community. Thus, by the virtues of possessing multiple communal identities, some people become vulnerable to divergent extreme experiences of profound discrimination and oppression, while others enjoy more privileges. Therefore, intersectionality as a methodology looks holistically at categories of characteristics which identify and expose members of a social relationship to distinctive experiences of oppression and privileges. It is an analytical tool for studying, understanding and responding to the ways in which gender intersects with other identities and how these intersections contribute to unique experiences of oppression and privilege. Thus, as a framework, intersectionality recognizes that the lives of individuals are prejudiced by multiple social classifications, such as gender, race and sexual orientation (Mitchell 2013). By implication, intersectionality discourses the discrimination of women broadly along the lines of racism and sexism.

Intesectionality actually sprang up from a collective group of black America lesbians around the late 1970's as a response to erroneous idea of the universal women (Volcano & Rogue 2012). On this premise they argued that the intersection, interaction and overlap of categories and social location such as gender, race and class, produce social inequalities based on false premise. Although intersectionality was originally centered on race, gender and class, the theory was later expanded by Patricia Hills Collins to include other social location factors which also contribute to produce social inequality such as nation, age, sexuality, ability and ethnicity (Crenshaw 1991). Collins argues that these are factors are mutually constituting categories which depend on each other to inform people's everyday lives in a complex manner (Wiltshire 2012). In other words, what this study does is, among other ones, identify the plight of the women in DRC, in terms of how they are discriminated against and excluded from both peace-making and peace building. The intersectionality theoretical method is involved because, as stated above, it looks holistically at categories of characteristics which identify and expose members of a social relationship to distinctive experiences of oppression and privileges. In this case the oppression goes to women while privileges go to men.

2.2.2 Intersectional feminism

Intersectional feminism is that aspect of intersectionality theory which focus is on the recognition and analysis of the institutional discrimination experienced by different strata of minority classes across the globe. Intersectional feminism as a branch of feminism extends its concentration to how societal discrimination is differently experienced by minority of women according to their class stratification. Intersectional feminism as propounded by Kimberly Crenshaw and Collins in 1989 studies the coinciding relationship between the modalities of social relationships and subject formation multi-dimensionally (Crenshaw 1989). In other words, intersectional feminism seeks to analyse the commonalities associated with various sensitive aspects of human existence particularly of women. The framework identifies that the distinctive but overlapping social categories and explore them to analyse the experiences of women. The framework argues that because women are divers in nature, they do belong to one group of people with same ideology and thinking. Therefore, women become vulnerable discrimination on account of their social relations and stratification.

Across the globe women have experienced social inequality on account of their gender. In America for instance, Crenshaw (1989) while criticizing the feminist theory for seldom exclusion of black women in its analytical scope admonishes the efficacy of intersectional feminism in handling the interaction of race, gender and class. This postulation highlights the inadequacy of the feminist theory to take into account a comprehensive recognition and address of the social diversities leading to oppression (Mitchell 2013). To this end Crenshaw argues that intersectionality captures the essence of the black women and the social experience they had to face daily arising from their race, gender and class. In other words, intersectional feminism represents a radical movement that takes all forms of operation into account. It recognizes the distinction in experiences of women from divergent identities of race and gender. Therefore, intersectional feminism becomes a framework to analytically address significant issues including the exclusion of diversity in discussion of discrimination within the feminist movements.

From a legal perspective Crenshaw argues that black American women were discriminated upon when they were unjustly handed unfair judgment in courts. She pointed out that black women encountered combined discrimination based on race and gender because the court failed to understand their claims of discriminatory experiences at their places of work. Although Shields (2008) agrees that feminist theory failed to capture essentially the

discriminatory experiences of black based on their social categories, her argument further demonstrate that intersectionality transformed discussion about gender by shifting focus from experiences of the general (women) to those of the specific (black women). In other words, intersectionality views feminism from the perspective of experiences of black women discriminated against by virtue of their social identities of gender and race. Shields argues that intersectionallity is not only an empirical research perspective but also a methodological change to explain mutual constitutive relations among social identities as it affect black women.

The study conducted by the Canadian Research Institute for the Advancement of Women (CRIAW) in Canada in 2006 uses intersectional feminism as a framework to analyse the experiences of women in that country. The study identify that social categories such as being an aboriginal woman, a lone mother, a senior woman, a woman with disability, a recialized or an immigrant woman disproportionately locate such women among the very poor within the Canadian society (CRIWA 2006). This study shows that poverty is more evident and endemic among women with social identities such as these in Canada. The study emphasised that although these social identities stand distinctively, they are however intersected to inform the social the social experiences of discrimination and privileges by women. These intersectional social identities are in essence the social contributors of social and increased poverty among this minority group of people in that country. Ostensibly, one could argue that poverty is increased among the socially ostracized and discriminated women in Canada.

2.2.3 The Social Conflict Theory

The social conflict theory generally posit that inequalities and social classes exist emerges because the social structure in any social formation is based on contradictions. Marx & Engels (1848) are of the opinion that the foundation of every society is laden with conflicts of interests and competition over scarce resources among groups and this is the thesis of the l conflict theory. Breaking down, the theory posits that one class or group will try to maintain its power, privileges, status as well as social positioning by making frantic and sometimes desperate plans to influence education, politics and other social institutions which determine access to capital and resources. As the conflict theorists often advance, the lower class - in contradiction to the higher class is of an entirely different interests: no capital to protect, but ever targeting the capital and other resources of the higher class. This is why *Haralambos and Holborn (1995) asserts that* the lower class will, in the area of education for instance,

do everything to gain access to the higher class resources based on democratizing and liberalizing systems because these forms of capital are thought to be of value for future success. They also assert that the political, the legal as well as other numerous social institutions constitute mere instruments in the hands of the ruling class and that the class use them to dominate and further its interests. The conflict theory applies to this research in two ways. First, it was conflict, social conflict for that matter that leads to the issue of women in peacekeeping, which the United Nations Resolution 1325 attempts to address with particular reference to the issue of the Democratic Republic of Congo. Secondly, conflicts refer to contradictions and all aspects of the DRC case: the violence against women and girls, the involvement of soldiers locally and across the international community, as well as the issues of claims and counter claims amongst actors in the conflict all have to do with conflicts.

Finally, the chapter examined various literature that examined the issues of conflicts and feminist perspective in building peace/. This has effectively laid foundation for the relevance of engendering peace in the DRC as the main thrust of the research.

CHAPTER THREE: THE RELEVANCE OF ENGENDERING THE PEACE PROCESS

3.1 Introduction

This part of the thesis explores various approaches to the phenomenon of gender equality and how it intersects with discourses about peace. It offers a history to the burning issues and importance of gender in the process of peacebuilding.

As far as gender and peacebuilding are concerned, and especially when they are both combined, intellectuals and activists - or practitioners as the case may be, often have different ways of thinking and this is readily revealed by the various guidelines and reports that they have produced in the last twenty years. As argued by Munro (2000), while the differences are exclusive, they however focus on different elements of gender.

An array of insufficient understandings bedevils a lot of formalized peace-making efforts or acknowledgment of the different environments where they exist. Apparently, analysis of gender is capable of bringing forth men's, as well as women's experiences of war, crisis and peace. It can also do needs assessment and indicate changes in gender relations during war and peace.

Also, brought to light by such analysis are the serious worries about sex- related, gender and sexual violations that occur while conflicts last, during their resolution, as well as after conflicts. If this form of violence continues after war, it often has enduring negative effects impact on other peacebuilding sectors. One possibility is to remove schooling from girls' minds, while older girls and women may be dissuaded from acquiring properties and business ventures. Other possible impacts are in the areas of food and water collection, participation in politics at the three levels of subjective, spectatorial and gladiative; even to the extent of negatively impacting on the private sphere of the family. All sectors in the field should promote intensive reforms in the judicial and security sectors in such a way that certain practices of impunity could be interrogated from an ameliorative perspective. The issue of how to frame out a gender based means of traditional justice also attracted special recommendations.

In line with earlier declarations, women are often dominated by men in terms of formal role allocation in the process of peacebuilding. More often than not, peace negotiators, peacekeepers, politicians, political appointees and general office holders are predominantly male. In fact, Eesuola (2017:1) contends that "...as the world stands today, even with the age long agitation for gender equality complemented by some global institutional efforts such as the United Nations Resolution 1325, things still hang largely in the dominant hands of men." Eesuola adds that "for example, of about 197 countries of the world out of which 173 are members of the United Nations, only 22 are led by women. Most professions in the world are still male dominated: medical, educational, engineering, and journalistic and even at the level of religion, very few women are clergies who lay claim to spiritual leadership in the world.

Indeed, there is hardly any form of fairness in terms of power distribution between men and women. The power is unequally distributed, making it difficult for the voice of women to be listened to and given prominent recognition in the society, yet, it has been severally noted that in spite of the non-recognition, women still play key roles in the processes of making and keeping peace. What is majorly assumed here is that women help to arrive at enduring peace and tranquillity when they are involved in these processes and such enduring peace and tranquillity is ultimately beneficial towards empowering and protecting women? Arriving from this premise, we have the approaches of including women in decision-making processes, as well as empowering them to become makers and actors in all peacebuilding aspects and activities to sensitize men peacekeepers through curriculum reform and training, codes of conduct, and disciplinary measures that focus on gender for response of military and peacekeeping actors in gender based violence, GBV.

On another direction, gender equality and involvement of women in peacebuilding could be seen as achievements. Ultimately, the use of the analytical tools and taking a gendered approach to peacebuilding could lead towards gender equality and peace. There are two general theories regarding this topic: the first is that the attainment of peace that leads to greater gender equality, and the second is that the establishment of gender equality leads to peace.

3.2 Interventions

The content of policies and programmes made on peacebuilding at international level has significantly evolved since the middle of the 1990s. In the evolution, there reveals the changing dimension of conflicts and emergencies that are complex.

This also includes the manner and method through which many of the nation states and international bodies continually re-define the roles played by different participating actors in the conflict or those affected by it. This is also a coincidence with major shifts in thought that are connected directly to international developments. One is "an evolving understanding of the role of gender and its meaning as well as the relationship amongst them in terms of development, reflected in a popularly accepted focus change from women in development (WID) to 'gender and development' (GAD); and the notion of complementarity on the issue of empowerment. From this higher attention is given to power relations between men and women in all walks of life; and spheres ranging from development-focused projects to homes and the places of work. It also recognizes that institutions themselves often inadequately represent the interests of women, and this obstructs the women's interests and obstructing progress toward gender equality" (Richard, 2003:17).

The formulation of new policies and mechanisms accompanied this, though many assessments arrived at late in the recalibration show the limitations of these approaches. As part of the challenges and failures were evaluated, it was realised that there was need to engender the developmental processes. Therefore, as the Asian Development Bank's Policy on Gender and Development, (2003: 41-49) puts it "... welfare-oriented, 'add women and stir' approaches that treated women as passive recipients of development were replaced by approaches that attempt to engender development, empower women, and perceive women as active agents in their own right." It has also been overtly recognised that men need to be committed and involved actively in order to significantly change women's socio economic status. With this recognition came a shift from the exclusive focus from woman as a sexual construct, to woman as a gendered being and this provoked the equation of male and female in the social and cultural contexts.

3.2.1 Platform for Action

It was the Fourth Women World Conference of 1995 that was, according to press release, an agenda for women's empowerment, and it clearly brings forth, under the section that addresses women during armed conflict, six strategic objectives that are meant to advance what was phrased "the participation of women in conflict resolution at decision-making levels." The section also implored governments of all nations, and concerned international, cross-national and regional organizations, to ensure that they "integrate gender perspectives in the resolution of armed or other conflicts and foreign occupation" (Fourth World Conference on Women, Beijing, China 1995).

3.2.2 The Millennium Development Goals

The Millennium Development Goals, (MDGs) third goal (3) focuses on the empowerment of the women folk and enthronement of equality of gender. The main focus is to fashion frameworks of including women and girls in education and giving them equal access to work, and posts in workplaces that offer decision-making capacity. In addition, most heads of states, in recognition that positive interventions post conflict and post disaster are essential for the progress and attainment of the MDGs, and that the roles of women are all important in this direction, the MDG did not address specifically the issues of conflicts and violence. In all these, the declaration of the Millennium +5 Summit remains that

"*We stress the important role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts and in peacebuilding. We also underline the importance of the integration of gender perspectives and women's equal participation and full involvement in all efforts to maintain and promote peace and security, as well as the need to increase their role in decision-making at all levels*" (UNDP, 2007:8).

3.2.3 United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security

The United Nations Security Council, on the 31st of October 2000, held a unique and special session to discuss the peaceful existence and security of life from the viewpoint of women and girls. This is where and when Resolution 1325 was unanimously passed into what has come to be known today as the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325, UNSC 1325. The resolution was going to become the first of its kind that would address women directly, and in terms of their interests in war and peace. The resolution advocates

that women and children be protected after conflict, and urged that parties should take special care to avoid gender-based violence. Similarly, it urges states to eliminate impunity and bring to the hand of the law, anyone responsible for such heavy crimes against humanity such as genocide, terrorism, mass massacre and other crimes, not excluding those related to sexual violence and abuse against women and girls. It equally promotes that women should be listed and included in post conflict reforms not only at the level of negotiation, but also in terms of constitutional and electoral proceedings, disarmament, security, and judicial engagements.

UNSC Resolution 1325 still remains the foundation for all peace-building efforts targeted towards including and protecting women and girls, even as many international and UN organizations continually develop new strategies and programmes aimed at engaging in peace processes. "It recognizes for the first time the role of women in conflict - not as victims, but as actors in the prevention and resolution of conflict and equal participation in peacebuilding and decision-making" (Janie, 2007:53). Women peace activists all over the globe have accepted this as a historical decision in favour of women (Chhetri, 2006). Other international organizations have since then, considered resolutions and declarations that emphasize the critical participation of women in the process of peacebuilding.

3.2.4 Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW)

CEDAW, which stands for the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women, is the international framework that established the legal guidelines for protecting and promoting gender equality with the focus of eliminating every kind of all discrimination against the women folk (UN, 1979). Its legal requirement is that governments across the world must institute means to ensure that women are protected in every socio-economic and political, as well as cultural sphere of life.

The Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women fits welll with Resolution 1325 being the premier institutional frameworks that provide some form of overarching legal structure for the inclusion and protection of women, as the latter stands to enforce gender mainstreaming in peace-building, as well as extending the mainstreaming towards a sustainable structure can advance the cause of womanhood. "The

Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women, adds colour to the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 by providing normative directions that are substantive interventions that are related to the resolution of conflict. The United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 has the capacity of expanding the horizon of the application of the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women; and this is by clarifying the standards of human rights of women, even in conflict-engulfed states that are not parties to the relevance of women, or in relation to non-state actors and international organizations" (UNIFEM, 2006).

3.2.5 United Nations Security Council Resolution 1820

The United Nations Security Council (UNSC) in 2008, adopted yet another resolution that would specifically focus on protecting women and girls from sexual and gender-based violence, especially during the period of conflict, and afterwards (UNSC RES/1820, 2008). Specifically noted by the Security Council is the case of rape, making the world body urge states to do all possible for the purpose of protecting women against a gender- oriented crime, via different processes of peace-building that include listening to women in efforts towards resolving as well as preventing conflicts; then enforcing judicial frameworks for the prevention of impunity, as well as increasing the population of women involved in general security outfits, especially those deployed to keep peace. This resolution builds on the provisions of both the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 and the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women, emphasizing the specific import of judicial reforms that are based on gender, and that create an environment conducive for women to access justice as well as legal protection from gender based crimes.

Apart from the international agreements mentioned in the foregoing, some other regional conventions support the many international frameworks that agitate women to fight their ordeals. A few amongst such agreements are the Punishment and Eradication of Violence Against Women (or the Convention of Belem do Para), the Inter-American Convention on the Prevention, as well as the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and People's Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa.

3.3 The impact of Armed Conflicts on Women

It has been established that women as well as children, despite being civilians, have consistently become the targets and victims of attacks during war. In addition, sexual violence appears to be a method with which wars are waged against a people so that their families and communities are destabilised. When this happens, women are most often victimised, dehumanized and humiliated, in addition to the physical assaults they receive. Women and girls become so vulnerable during war and crisis that they become the least documented casualties physically and psychologically. The myriad reports from human rights advocacy groups have amply documented claims that as they flew, women and girls in refugee camps become internally displaced persons. The same victims experience and face general insecurity and sexual exploitation, especially when they find themselves I homogenous groups without men who could ward off the assailants or where for any socio-cultural reasons, women are heads of the groups.

This, broadly taken, opens women to poverty, depression, marginalization, and all sorts of armed conflict engendered sufferings especially when they are already victims of discrimination in peacetime (Focus Group Interview in Kinshasha: April, 2015). More so, there are times when women are held up as symbolic bearers of ethno-cultural identities and the producers of the future generations of the community; a situation which makes them more particularly vulnerable.

Apart from that, it is also important to clearly recognise men as vulnerable because in most of the conflicts, those who are detained and are missing often attract more than 90 percent men. Because they are, in most cases, funded as members of armed forces or groups, men are also more liable to get killed or injured as targets, those that are still largely recruited amongst the populations are male. It should also be noted that women too often fight alongside men, and "Whether they are combatants or as victims, women are often saddled with other responsibilities emanating from traditional gender roles: their strength, labour and determination maintain their families and communities during war and throughout the long, slow, process of rebuilding the peace" (UNIFEM, 2005:1). Indeed, ensuring that women's interests and needs are addressed, and acknowledging their full status as peace builders are the two main aspects that the processes of engendering peace entail.

3.3.1 Acknowledging the Role of Women as Peacemakers and Peace Builders in their Communities

The dominant occurrence was that women were fenced away from peacebuilding and peacekeeping. They were war victims in most cases, and most of the time they have suffered "a backlash against any new-found freedoms, and they are forced 'back' into kitchens and fields," whereas they may have seen their role expanded significantly during the war period. Their work in rebuilding communities, building peace and overcoming trauma has often been ignored and remained invisible (UNDP, 2006:10). From this background, women have however, persistently agitated to be recognised as key role players towards preventing war, rehabilitating victims and reconstructing physical structures (Chhetri, 2006).

They have also been conspicuously under-represented, if not completely unrepresented at all, in the formal negotiations of peace, whether as participants locally representing the factions in wars, or, as agents of cross-national and regional organizations that mediate in war (United Nations, 2002). Even where leaders of women and certain associations appear active in track-two mechanisms and the civil society fora, such mechanisms may not ultimately get to the formal peace processes. Thus, not only do women advocate issues specific to them as a group and gender, they also are concerned by matters affecting the collective society; issues ranging from access to loans and capacity-building as well as land reform "(United Nations, 2002:74). It is the belief of many, that women have the capacity and capability of presenting a unique perspective to the catalysts of conflict, how it affects the day to day lives of the common people, and what exactly the future offers the nation. Indeed, acknowledgement is now more readily accorded to women participation when it comes to peacebuilding processes as exemplified in the Burundi case where the Peacebuilding Fund Priority Plan was instituted, giving opportunities to women ad youngsters to become peace strengthening and social cohesion actors. In practice however, general concrete improvements may take a while more.

3.3.2 Addressing Women's Collective Needs

The implication of not involving women and girls in the process of decision-making is that

the community may ignore their concerns, yearnings and aspirations within the overall community spectrum; and that other groups or organizations or institutions would do it for them. This accounts for why women and girls face an array of problems regarding their security and access to services (UNHCR, 20).

Issues of protecting and promoting the rights of women as human, especially in terms of socio economic matters, might get omitted, as may be references to international and regional human rights instruments guaranteeing the rights of women. The Agreement 9 of the Division on the Advancement of Women and Peace asserts that "dearth of such concerns or to the role and place of such instruments in the future domestic legal order also constitutes an obstacle to the effectiveness of any agreement as a tool for the promotion of gender equality. Also quite vital is giving attention towards ensuring that women participate in politics and policies, and their gender reflects in peace agreements towards ensuring that agreements that are signed support equal participation of women in the reconstruction of post-conflict societies and how to prevent conflicts in the future.

When women are not included in peace processes, and peace agreements fail to promote gender equality, the rendition can perpetuate continuing discrimination and marginalization of women in the post-conflict efforts aimed at rebuilding society. Conversely, "*robust language in a peace agreement to promote gender equality and women's participation, backed by specific allocation of resources and responsibility for its fulfilment can facilitate proactive implementation, including work with local women. Some consider the inclusion of a few women delegates in Afghan peace negotiations to have had an important impact of the political developments there*" (United Nations 2002:76).

This process is what some organizations refer to as inclusive security. It means a rights-oriented approach that includes certain rights innate in the involvement of women in peacebuilding, that is, the right to meaningfully get involved in making of policies and allocation of resources; to equally benefit from resources of the public and private, and to build a society that is gender-equitable, and that ensures enduring prosperity and peace (Zuckerman and Marcia, 2004:70).

3.4 Post Conflict Protection of Needs and Interests of Women

This part of the thesis focuses on the dominant protection risks and concerns of women after conflicts, and how the society is expected to address them. In emphatic terms:

- What protects women and girls from violence, especially hose based on gender
- What engenders de-mining and small arms programmes, thereby protecting women and girls from further violence and injuries?
- What better addresses the exact situations of former girls and women combatants?
- What proactively supports inclusion of women's inclusion in leadership and general political spheres?
- What prevents continuity of gender injustice?
- What prevents re-victimization of women and girls?
- What addresses the specific economic reintegration programmes needs of women and girls?
- What factors influence the mainstreaming of women needs into macro and microeconomic programmes?

These issues, together with how programmes of peacebuilding address them are developed in further detail by other sub-sections of this study, and are developed for each specific topic.

3.4.1 Violence

Usually after the end of any conflict, violence based on gender is often persistent, and might even aggravate at the domestic levels, just as has been asserted that "increased domestic violence and crime in the private sphere is a direct and continuing result of conflict and accompanying social upheaval" (UNDPA, 27). Prevention efforts such as awareness campaigns are particularly necessary in that context, in conjunction with local women's movements, United Nations peace operations gender units, and local police. Equally essential in this is the role and commitment of youth and men to issues of gender and gender equality.

In Timor Leste was a special civilian police station established to handle issues of domestic violence, rape, and other gender-based assaults. The station was predominantly manned by female police and this assisted in creating a situation in which women and girls felt more

confident to report cases of abuse or violation, compared if the station had been manned by men. This corroborates why the case of only few women as peacekeepers and international civil police officers becomes a real limitation in the long and ambitious journey towards empowering and protecting women (Rehn and Johnson 2002). Thus, practitioners often also recommend the application of "a gender analysis to police reform processes, ensuring gender equality principles are systematically integrated at all stages of police reform planning, design, implementation and evaluation" (UNIFEM, UNDP 2007), all in order to confront the conflict situations.

But forces keeping peace have themselves also been guilty of committing sexual and gender based violence, in many instances. Thus, in a lot of countries, issues such as women and child trafficking, rape, child abuse as well as sexual enslavement usually co-exist with peacekeeping operations" (Sirleaf and Rehn, 2002:71). In fact, many resolutions of the United Nations Security Council have expressed worries on how the blue helmets personnel get involved in sexual abuse of women, girls and even and children; and have consequently thrown their weight behind the policy of zero tolerance for such abuse made by the Secretary General. The many reports of the Secretary-General have also identified and underscored this situation, in line with transitional justice and the rule of law in conflict as well as post-conflict societies. The United Nations is now systematically conducting an array of official investigations through the United Nations code of personal conduct for blue helmets. Similar steps are being taken by the United Nations Human Rights Commission which has followed the scenario for many years.

Ultimately, however, that the discipline of a soldier caught in the above unprofessional conduct rests on member states has somehow resulted de facto impunity because, among other reasons, military personnel are not the only group involved in it. In fact, humanitarian workers in different countries, that is those who work for international organizations and non-governmental organizations, have been found guilty of same or similar misconduct and more particularly for exchanging sex for food or services even when children are involved.

Apparently, to incorporate a gender perspective in mine action operations and initiatives appears similarly important as girls and women are often considered to constitute a very high and essential proportion of the victims. Protection of women and inculcation of a

gender perspective into a monitoring system for the protection of civilians is now a central concern of the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UNSC, 2007).

Even for the problem associated with proliferation of small arms and light weapons, (SALW), children, girls and women are also victims. In particular, some gender-specific violence: rape, domestic and other sex based abuse, are committed by men, with no exception of law enforcement personnel, using Small Arms and Light Weapons. The lethality of violence can be increased by the affordability, utility and probability of small arms and light weapons and may dramatically increase. Ditto for the violence perpetrated on domestic terrain, as has been well observed and reported in most post-conflict situations. It is therefore crucial to deploy effective disarmament strategies at the levels of communities in order to improve the physical security of women and girls. The strategies also need to consider the situation of girls and women who are associated with and play multiple roles in criminal gangs using SALW and perpetrating some of the starkest violence against women (Jackson, Marsh, and Thurin, 2005).

It is also critical to note that not only are women victims of conflict and war, they also may be seriously involved in violence against men and even fellow women, though, as adduced by Harsch (2005), "women combatants are often invisible and their needs are overlooked" Often, the focus of the DDR programmes falls on the 'young men with guns', so called...they are seen as the powder keg that must be diffused and tend to be the most visible." Earlier, DDR programmes gave little attention to the plight of women and girls, both under enforced and voluntary circumstances. In spite of this, the women who participate in fighting have been reported to be constantly increasing in population, and this is true of nearly all conflicts. Indeed, as the USAID (10) reveals, women remain the significant percentage of combatants and combat support operations in conflicts in Eritrea, Mozambique, Vietnam, Cambodia, Sri Lanka, Nepal, Liberia, Uganda, and Rwanda, Sierra Leone and Zimbabwe." Women combatants are often abducted, but sometimes they voluntarily join armed groups serving as cooks, nurses, massagers, messengers, sex workers, administrative or logistical personnel, as well as spies. (Harsch, (2005):17).

Women, during the DDR programmes are categorized as 'vulnerable groups,' the same category in which the wounded or disabled male combatants and all women and children

who accompany warring factions fall (Harsch, 2005:17). In some other cases, they attract the greatest social opprobrium in the post-war period because they do not fit social stereotypes of what makes a 'good woman.' Most likely, such women often slip through the net of DDR processes, and eventually become social outcasts who could hardly survive on the margins of society; or on an increased threat of security through subsequent months and years. In Sierra Leone, the 2002 riots and female militia activities have indicated that some young mothers had little to lose from resorting to violence as a means of survival (Pouligny, 2004).

As the example of the Ugandan case shows, not only do the DSS programmes fail to specifically address the predicaments of girls and women, it also somewhat encouraged discrimination against them. Consequently, there seems to be absence of programmes conceived to address the issue of female combatants. Such programmes, if at all they exist, are quite misconceived and misinformed (McKay and Mazurana, 2004:18). Considerations given to the different kinds of traumas that the women experienced during and after the war, just as to the inherent modifications in their status and position in society, is also not sufficient (Pouligny, 2004: 9).

Once they are neglected during the period of identifying ex-combatants, women and girls could be disregarded by assistance programmes which they ought to benefit from. It has also been shown from past experiences, that if there is no close attention towards the specificities of their various needs and roles, "DDR activities stand the risk of expanding inequalities between the genders. For instance, in the state of Lebanon, women combatants were at great disadvantage because they could not be re-integrated into the army. In Sierra Leone and Angola, girl and all female fighters were considered merely as 'dependents' without their real experiences being recognised, and they were precluded from receiving the benefits provided to "combatants."

In the case of the Democratic Republic of Congo, and Burundi, women who served as porters were excluded by the national DDR programmes; including sex slaves and cooks found in the armed groups. In Liberia, for instance, a case arose where "the change in the criteria for eligibility used for women that were associated with warring groups, for the first time provided greater accessibility to the disarmament by women, as well as to the

reintegration and demobilization programme. This ensured that over 20,000 women were included.

3.4.2 Inclusion of Women in Politics

The number keeps increasing, of states that have made moves to rely on constitutional regulations and provisions to incorporate women into the institutions of government. Through, particularly surrounding quotas. An array of actions that include and affirm gender mechanisms can be utilised to assist women and girls in overcoming the obstacles standing against them from participating in politics at the same level that their male counterparts do, or even ensure, more conspicuously, that women are elected into legislative posts such as quotas and reserved seats within parliament or for party candidate selection, and other affirmative action inducements or requirements (Reynolds, 2006:25).

The major distinction among the various forms of quotas, comes between voluntary party quotas on the one hand, and the constitutional and legislative quotas on the other (Larserud and Taphorn 2007). The quotas intend making it easier for women to be strategically placed on the list of a candidate's party so they can be give equal--or close to equal--opportunities to be elected to the legislative body, when applied during the nomination process, This is notably essential within the spectrum of patronage and other undemocratic characteristics pervading preventing women from naturally acquiring positions of leadership within the party structure. Assistance of the international community is now actively available to encourage the training and recruitment of women candidates. For instance, the United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations (UNDPKO), has put in place some consultations for civil society organizations within the nation, and this was done in order to make way for the political role that women play, and more recently in Haiti, Liberia, Burundi and the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Based on these meetings, the DPKO and the Electoral Assistance Division are jointly pre-guidelines on enhancing the role of women in post-conflict electoral processes.

Some institutions have sponsored many projects in order to lend help to women candidates in politics, or blow up the coverage given to them by the press. Such organizations include the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) and others. In relation to how elections were organised, international organizations (such as UNIFEM) and local

NGOs are seriously involved in the projects that train election commissioners on the voting rights of women and girls, in the process of organizing dialogues, meetings and discussions amongst political candidates and women activists, and also in raising the awareness of women towards the important nature of their vote. The media remains yet another area in which attention on gender since they often face specific gender challenges. Even in the media, the portrayal of victims. Women also generally find it difficult to access media outlets and this apparently implies a very serious antithetical wind to their full inclusion in politics.

3.4.3 Preventing the Perpetuation of Gender Violence and Injustice

Within the spectrum of the judicial process, women and girls are often considered invisible, and they are marginalized. Such judicial processes include war tribunals, especially as they cry for justice based on gender-specific violence. In the aftermath of armed conflicts, "gender injustice perpetuates inequality, violates fundamental human rights, hinders healing and psychological restoration, and prevents societies from developing their full potential" (McKay 2004:157). A major challenge is the overt dearth of access to justice for women who managed to survive sexual assault and violence. Violence against private women in particular homes and schools is of grossly under-reported, even in countries with high level of movements of women. (International Crisis Group Africa Report 112, 2006).

The rule of law, therefore, and justice structures in the society that recovers must lay the foundations for long-term protection of women, and ensure retribution for any wrongs addressed b done to them. Issues of gender equality and gender-based violence must be addressed by truth commissions. In order to encourage women towards the attitude of seeking justice, there should be gender balance in the composition of such truth commissions. Judicial panels must also be gender balanced, and police and judiciary personnel should be properly and appropriately trained, with the provision of safe space for testimony and evidence"(UNDP, 2007: 27). Literature is growing on engendering transitional justice and more particularly truth commissions but still insufficient practical experience in this regard. Furthermore, customary or traditional justice mechanisms often play a significant role in local justice. However, these structures may not provide adequate protection and justice to women survivors.

The vitality of engendered justice programmes is also of serious importance. Scholar and practitioner Nahla Valji notes the need to advance beyond a focus on individual incidents of sexual violence in conflict to addressing the context of inequality which facilitate these violations as well as the continuum of violence from conflict to post-conflict which becomes visible through a gendered analysis. Such a process of engendering justice systems can entail a fundamental rethinking of the goals, structures and foundational assumptions upon which the field is built as well as the future incorporation of a gendered perspective in all levels of planning and implementation.

3.4.4 Post Crisis Protection of Women and Girls

There is the risk of being re- victimised faced by the female gender, by dearth of good healthcare and support structures towards assisting girls and women that fall victim of sexual and other types of violence. "The psycho-social discrimination and shame that rape survivors often face appears to be another, if not greater form of re-victimization, and it is problematic to reach out for help. Programmes designed to help sexual violence victims need be designed so that women and girls can access them without that very help serving as another marker of victimization" (Janie 2007:53). Women and girls also face additional health threats that stem from biological differences. "The spread of HIV is fuelled by gender inequalities, with women making up the majority of newly infected young people. Violence severely impacts on physical and psychological health of many women (DIFD, 2007).

There are some other health challenges that specifically have to do with roles and identities of gender. Stunted development and growth in adolescent girls and girl-children, for instance, can emanate from gender-based discrimination and malnutrition combined, and ultimately contribute to further health hazards for pregnant or lactating mothers which may also lead to death in some cases (UN 2002:2). Re-victimization of girls may also arise from their remaining disproportionately disadvantaged due to dearth opportunities to get optimally educated, and this is often much worse whenever there is conflict. The challenges and obstacles to recruit and retain women teachers post conflict are equally vast; and they tend to feed into each other. However, post-conflict contexts can present as an opportune time for the introduction of radical changes towards gender equality in education (Kirk 2003).

3.4.5 Needs of Women and Girls during and in Reintegration Programmes

A host of economic reintegration programmes, which include public works programmes and land reform initiatives, have virtually ignored women and girls. Where women and men have been included in training initiatives, the relevance they have towards the experiences of individuals in the conflict, or, for that matter, consideration of gender-differentiated access to assets and markets is often limited. In like manner, customary practices that hinder the rights of women to land and other property are quite often not addressed by resettlement and reintegration programmes" (Strickland Duvvury and Nata 2003:35), and in cases of informal titles to land and property, women often may encounter problems making claims. The UNHCR further explains women returnees may suffer setbacks in access to equal rights when they go back to traditional social structures. They may also be vulnerable to a backlash from traditional elements within the community. Indeed, there has been very little progress on altering and understanding those norms policies and practices governing the economic reintegration of women in spite of the greater awareness through which the lives of women are fundamentally affected by reintegration activities.

3.4.6 Mainstreaming Women Needs into Macro and Microeconomic Programmes

Whenever there is war as well as conflict, social and economic responsibilities often disproportionately get shifted onto the shoulders of women who then become breadwinners of their homes, whereas recovery efforts may not put the realities and needs of women and girls as priority; needs relating to domestic responsibilities, skills acquisition, credit, and health (United Nations, 2006). In addition, structural barriers, discriminatory policies and cultural prejudices may confront women in the labour market. Even when post-conflict legislations forbid gender discrimination, it has been observed that "employers frequently ignore laws while enforcement mechanisms are weak" (Zuckerman and Greenberg, 2004:4).

As a result of constraints that often greet the employment of women, the economy at informal level is often of particular importance to women who often try to support their families. Restricted economic opportunities as well as vulnerability also has the capacity to induce women towards damaging, illegal, illicit and hazardous activities such as smuggling,

trafficking, laundering, and even prostitution. " Means of providing remedy to gender inequalities include equal accessibility of men and women to credit, ensuring that men and women are equally trained for fresh appointments in banks-with the use of non-property collateral methods, and maintaining sex-disaggregated records to identify and remove gender disparities" (Zuckerman and Greenberg 2004:6). Indeed, women constantly are endowed with the resourcefulness and drive to become successful entrepreneurs, however, they need a host of supports which includes but is not limited to micro-credit programmes, especially such women who, by virtue of the socio-cultural and legal limitations that the society has placed on them, are denied financial support by banks or government projects.

This has nevertheless not grown in dramatic perception changes by the latter institutions. It has also not been accommodative to women and girls that do not have business skills and orientation that could be used to attract financial support" (Zuckerman and Greenberg 2004:6). In general, the needs of women and the issues of gender must have themselves mainstreamed into the entirety of all micro and macroeconomic policies and activities. But the concepts of macro-economics and strategies underpinning Peacebuilding Frameworks drawing largely from the Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers and United Nations Development Assistance Frameworks - may inadvertently undermine national strategies for gender equality.

"That women suffer disproportionately from the stringent macro-economic policies usually instituted in the course of a transiting a country to peace is a known fact. This consisted of more than 75 percent of the workshops amongst rural agricultural, women who usually experience serious effects of commercializing and privatizing arable land used for agriculture. For the reason of the unequal positions occupied by women in the homes and workplaces, policies and practices that privatize basic service provision often have a more negative impact on women. Such services are common in communications, energy, health care, education and transportation "(Klotz 2007).

3.4.7 Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration in the Democratic Republic of the Congo

The disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration (DDR) programme of the Democratic Republic of the Congo was, from the outset hailed as a key process capable of restoring

security and peace to the eastern part of the DRC, and, by extension, sustainable stability in the Great Lakes region of Africa. The United Nations Security Council (UNSC) through its resolutions 2098[1] and 2147[2] declared support for the development of a comprehensive DDR and disarmament, demobilisation, repatriation, reintegration and resettlement (DDRRR) programme. The UN also enjoined the government of the DRC to uphold its commitment towards the security sector reform (SSR) that was initiated, and that the UN Organization Stabilization Mission in the DRC (MONUSCO) needed to make advice and support available for the programme's implementation.

On 28th of May 2013, the Force Intervention Brigade (FIB) troops arrived in Goma, DRC as a deployment mandate within the United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo RC (MONUSCO) in order to create neutrality and disarmament among armed groups that threaten peace in the eastern DRC. (UN PHOTO/CLARA PADOVAN).

The new force of MONUSCO, in 2003, the new Force Intervention Brigade (FIB) and the DRC national army, *Forces armées de la République Démocratique du Congo* (FARDC), all organised an attack on the armed group, *Mouvement du 23 Mars* (M23), forcing the group and others to surrender, disarm and align with the DDR III, third phase of the DDR programme which was established by the DRC government in 2013 and was officially launched in 2015. About 5000 ex-combatants were captured in the demobilisation camps, out of the 12 205 combatants targeted. The *unité d'exécution du programme national de désarmement, démobilisation et reinsertion managed the programme w*ith a total budget of US$85 million.

In 2004–2007 and 2008–2011 respectively, two other programmes – DDR I and DDR II – had taken place, and the UEPN-DDR was preceded by several other institutions that were in charge of the DDR programme. Such institutions include but are not limited to the National Commission for Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (CONADER) in 2003 and the National Programme for Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (PNDDR) in 2004. In 2007 the UEPN-DDR was established to replace CONADER. The main aim of the programme is therefore to ensure that the security situation in the eastern DRC stabilises by disarming and reintegrating foreign and local armed rebel groups that remained active on the soil of Congo. The World Bank, the European Union (EU), the

Institut National de Préparation Professionnelle (INPP), the UN Children's Fund (UNICEF), the UN Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO), Caritas Congo, the Swedish government and MONUSCO all partnered with and provided assistance to DDR III. These organisations and partners play a significant role in ensuring the continued implementation of the SSR programmes and the demobilisation and reunification of children associated with armed forces or armed groups (CAAFAG) with their families.

3.5 Role of Women in the Specific Components of Peacebuilding

This part of the thesis explores how women and girls have over the years asserted themselves as significant actors in peace-building, and how they provide significant illustrations in various areas such as their roles in matters of security, psycho social recovery, justice and fairness, among others.

Women's roles in political activities have been made crystal clear, with constitutional development and reform appearing as the first aspects, especially due to the fact that "the constitution of a country makes disparate and different impact in line with gender, even when it appears neutral." The role of women is no doubt a key characteristic of constitutional engineering. The roles of women are particularly critical and crucial when it comes to constitution building. Quite often, practitioners underscore how vital it is to incorporate the voices of women into bodies that build constitutions, so that they too can participate at every level and process of constitution building and development (civic education, public consultations and drafting). Women are positioned to most likely ever play important parts in making sure that the clause of equality reflects in all aspects of the constitution; in spirit and in letter. This is reflected in the language of the constitution as well. Shoonmaker (2005:9) concludes that "inclusion of this principle through the constitution is sometimes referred to as engendering the constitution."

Representation of women in legislature and political institutions remains yet another issue that has increasingly attracted civic and institutional attention. A host of international legal instruments advocate for the rights of women to be included in institutions and bodies of governance. Recently, some governments have made attempts to incorporate women in the institutions of governance, especially around quotas and this has been meticulously done through regulation of the corporate constitutions. The achievements as well as the definition

of women equality are complex issues that do not necessarily include the interest, yearnings and aspirations of all women in their diverse realms. Women's organizations are often at the forefront of this effort, the issue of increasing the women's presence as administrators, political candidates and voters is generally valued for its own sake, that is, the purpose of equating gender representation.

A few studies have forwarded the possibility of extremely important spinoffs emanating from increased representation of females, and that if girls and women are less likely to be as opportunistic as men, then the society generally could reap some significant benefits for bringing more women into the public sphere of government (Dollar et al, 199:8). Women, as parliamentarians, are capable of playing significant roles towards demanding transparency and accountability at various levels of governance.

Generally speaking, progress has been quite slow for women in the public administration sector through which government policies are implemented. In this area women have experienced relatively greater representation without this reality necessarily translating into their actual empowerment. Even when they hold positions of power, in many instances women defer to husbands and other overlord decision-makers, and this indicates the presence of other factors, aside opportunity such as norms, which need to be considered when dealing with the roles of women. This is particularly key and concrete in local governance, and it suggests the need to direct efforts at the national level in working with political parties and local civil society, so that improved understandings of the specificities of the context are considered seriously and more adequate mechanisms are put in place. An important intermediary step towards achieving this remains the formation of partnerships with existing current women organizations and associations whose significant structures and contacts can be used by the community during war and post-war period.

As far as election is concerned, women have also augmented the roles they play both as candidates at the gladiatorial level of participation, and as voters; either at subjective or supportive level. Women's organizations have made frantic efforts towards increasing the turnout of women voters. Women's campaigns towards political, civic and voter's education, from message formulation, media choice, to the organization of electoral workshops essentially target the participation of women and the specific hindrances that

may confront them.

The voting environment may be particularly intimidating for women candidates and potential candidates during elections. In order to confront that specific challenge, cross-party caucuses are now developing networks of mutual support and women-only training so that women's participation is essentially not encumbered by palpable distortions in the voting environment.

Organizations of women often fall within the highly active components of local civil society organizations, playing critical roles in mobilizing for, and participating in popular protests and, or demonstrations over different forms of citizen-empowering movements. They have also pushed for a higher consideration of their yearnings, aspirations as well as participation in international discussions. For example, international actors have enhanced the engagement of women women's in the work of the commission. United Nations Peacebuilding Commission (UNPBC), (in particular UNIFEM and the UN Peacebuilding Support Office) but also by women leaders themselves. (Klot 2007: 4).

Women are also increasing at the forefront of the media, and with this they have ensured raising their voice, and that the media operates through a more gendered perspective. Many women organizations at the local levels have also been engaging in efforts to create "cyber centre" that give access to women and girls to use internet resources under a safe atmosphere.

3.5.1 Women and Security

The police and other popular security services have the tendency to reproduce their society's stereotypes and prejudices with regards the issue of women and their links to men. This is also true of many other public institutions. As a result of this, merely incorporating security sector reforms that are gender sensitive is not sufficient; some further steps need to be taken. Most policies also recommend what can be termed "*the recruitment of more female police officers and women in decision-making positions within the police units, ensure for safe and supportive work environments for these women, build special units dedicated to gender sensitive crimes, and overhaul the previous training and operating practices that may have discriminated against women*" (UNDP, 2007:5).

As a result, women have begun to progressively play an increasing role in security sector agencies, though the way this evolves may not be as fast as many could have hoped. It should also be registered that security services at local levels are not the only sectors facing difficulty in increasing the percentage of female personnel; others too do exist. The peace operations of the United Nations continually get haunted by serious deficit, with the inclusion of the police, and this is in spite of extensive official recommendations and directives made to avoid such (Sirleaf, 2002).

Even as ordinary citizens' women and the many movements that they form often play a significant role in security issues and concerns. For example, "as those who hold knowledge in their different communities, as communities which receive demobilized combatants and as ex combatants themselves, women often have particular insights and skills that are relevant to DDR." They also need particular services, outputs and provisions from the DDR. Organizations of women and civil society are fond of providing alternatives to combatants; they also catalyse new, more peaceful, codes of conduct in society. Such initiatives could include counselling over psychological depression and other issues, provide medical and general health help; assist with skills acquisition and education. Generally speaking, many researchers and academics have acknowledged that women have the capacity to be a crucial component of successful DDR.

Usually before the process of official disarmament commences, women quite often would have begun the unofficial form; the grassroots disarmament. In Albania for example, "many groups of local women collaborated with UNDP and UNIFEM to work on disarmament. They did this by at first organizing capacity building workshops and public awareness rallies for women's organisations, in order to address the specific challenges and concerns that the presence and availability of weapons and their proliferation may pose to women. Subsequently, they succeeded in appealing to the general public to *Stop Guns*. They also sponsored tapestry design competitions under the slogan *Life is better without guns*. These were also done through local rallies and conferences.

In those towns and villages where the project was implemented, it is recorded that about six thousand weapons and one hundred and fifty tons of ammunition were collected in

exchange for community-based development and public works projects. As a result of the two level of success attached to the programme, two other Albanian districts launched similar projects, making a total of twelve thousand weapons and two hundred tons of ammunition that got destroyed. (International Alert, Inclusive Security 2004: 6).

More generally, women play a critical role in preventing violent conflict in their communities. In the view of the 2004 Report of the Secretary General on Women, Peace and Security, women can draw society's attention to tensions before they erupt into open hostilities, and they are capable of doing this through collection and analysis of early warning information on potential armed conflicts. Women play a crucial role in capacity building of communities so that new or recurrent violence can be prevented. Organization of women can often make contact with parties to conflict and interface with Governments and the United Nations.

3.5.2 Fairness and Justice

In the same direction, women organizations are often very active towards promoting and protecting human rights, and they do this particularly through advocacy, public awareness and education functions, monitoring, advocacy and public awareness.

Because of the possibility of women having relatively more difficulty towards accessing justice, women organizations are also often very active in the domain of advocating and providing direct social, legal and financial support to women who may so need. As traditional and informal justice mechanisms have attracted increasing interest, women also get mobilised increasingly in raising awareness about potential bias against them since the majority of traditional justice systems and mechanisms are structured to promote and reinforce patriarchal power establishment. Last, but by no means the least, transitional justice is an area in which organizations of women have increasingly got involved for the purpose of making the voices of the women heard, push a gender perspective in the work of the truth commissions, and, among other dimensions, support women victims in the process of trials. Mobilizing women organizations in order to obtain the success of qualifying rape as a war crime has been crucial to the case of the International Criminal Tribunal; and the case of former Yugoslavia is a handy reference.

3.5.3 Psycho-social Recovery

A lot of women's groups have taken the lead to address a key, though not always emphasized negative impact of war and violent conflict - deep-rooted trauma. "In addition to providing psychosocial services, therefore, many women's groups and organizations are continually involved in research and training and research so that they can foreground the role of trauma in sustenance of social conflict" (Schirch and Sewak, 2006:13).

Empowerment and participation do not only go to improve self-esteem, it also improves on matters that directly relate to living conditions that underlie improved mental health. Quite often major women protagonists that ensure that people's psycho-social well-being and general mental health are seriously considered and that such intervention stand as part of larger processes of political and social change. Women often hold different key roles as actors of change in their community. The role of women teachers is particularly important in that perspective.

3.5.4 Allied issues.

It has also been established that through entrepreneurship, women can also play an essential role in economic recovery and peace-building. In poor countries women typically engage in the labour market at the grassroots, informal level, doing what might be called micro-level businesses because of their low social status inflicted by low capital and restricted access to formal education. The rather low side of this, as earlier adduced, is the possibility of women being dragged into dangerous, damaging or illegal activities such as prostitution or smuggling of contraband articles because they are economically vulnerable and have restricted economic opportunities. In another dimension, women quite often have both the resourcefulness and the drive towards making successful entrepreneurs"(Goovaerts, et al.2005:5).

Women empowerment, as it relates to the economics of the peacebuilding agenda, represents one useful investment to the entire community and the society at large. In the first instance, extending participation of women in employment and entrepreneurship potentially strengthens the economy and can help create societal stability. Second, when

women are economically independent, they contribute much better towards social emancipation that is often regarded a key condition for an equitable and just. On the third dimension, a training of such potentially builds the confidence and capacity of women to confront the traditional social structures that hold them down, and subsequently mount pressure on the processes of making decisions; something that leads a full role playing role in the reconstruction of society. Finally, greater recognition of available resources and leadership potentiality in civil society is guaranteed by the empowerment of women in the community (Potter 2004:31). There is, quite apparently, a lot of women issues and concerns as regards to building, making and engendering peace at any level, time and aspect.

CHAPTER FOUR: INITIATIVES INTRODUCED IN PROMOTING PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN PEACEBUILDING PROCESSES

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, we shall attempt an epistemological exploration of the war in DRC, the atrocities committed therein against women and girls particularly and humanity in general. The chapter examines the overall effects of these atrocities from a variety of ways, ranging from medical, psychological and social, as well as how they all combine to create a background to the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325. This prepares a strong foundation to the major highlights of the Resolution, as well as providing an explanation on why the Resolution takes the form it currently does.

4.2 The DRC Crisis in Perspective

Several factors, complex though, provide background to the crisis in the Democratic Republic of Congo. These factors include conflicts that emanated from the control and access over rich minerals; water as well as other resources via various conflicting inter group political agendas. Described by some as Africa's First World War, the conflict in the former Zaire involved seven nations, and was fuelled and backed by many national and international corporations as well as other regimes that are apparently have vested interest in the fall out of the conflict (Shah 2010)

The DRC crises is very well connected to the legacy of colonialism as well as complications and contradictions of post colonialism. Millions of people have died in the nation, similar to what obtains in most African countries, and that came from the violence that King Leopold 11 of Belgium inflicted on Congo Free State by imposing colonial rule and regarding the formation as his personal fiefdom.

There is new and irrefutable evidence that by the time President Dwight Eisenhower of the United States of America had a meeting with his security advisers for discussing the situation in Congo, precisely two months after the political independence of June 196, he recommended that the first Prime Minister of the country, Patrick Lumumba, be eliminated.

Ingram (2000:11) recalled that "only a few months of Lumumba's assumption of office as head of state, he told the Cold War Allies to overthrow him with the backing of the United

States and Europe. The coalition then installed Mobutu Sese Seko, apparently due to their interest in the vast resources; so that they would be able to utilise them for their external purposes instead of the people of the Congo and the development of their state.

Indeed, and as Ingram would argue, right from the period of the Belgian colonial administration over Congo, those who lived in the region cannot claim to have derived any tangible reward from its natural wealth. In place of reward, the people have an interregnum of obsolete and repressive military dictatorships, abusive political administrations, with armed militias that have committed devastating human rights abuses while looting economic and national resources with impunity. King Leopold II amassed a vast amount of resources for himself even without stepping upon the soil of Congo for one second. The Belgian rulers of Congo under Belgium colonialism that lasted between 1905 and 1960 utilised slave labour to plunder the region's ivory, timber and rubber.

Ingram further argues that the policy of the United States toward Mobutu Sese Seko was justified on the basis of fighting "communism" and the influence of the Soviet Union in Africa. But that was all a ruse. The United States was more apparently interested in protecting its own vested interest across the region, being a late comer into the game of colonialism. The idea was neither to help achieve stability nor security of the lives and property for the people of Central Africa. Zaire, being located at the very nucleus of Africa, had and still has the capacity to provide the United States with access to important resources, including routes for transportation as well as a host of political benefits. Over the years, the position and disposition of the United States changed slightly, and it placed greater focus on democratizing the administration and increasing attention on human rights, but in reality, policy continued to focus on promoting narrowly defined strategic economic interests of the United State of America. Perhaps it is as a result of this that Hartung and Moi (2000: 18) conclude that...

> The United States deliberately elongated the dictatorial administration of Mobutu Sese Seko through the provision of three hundred million dollars or more and another one hundred million dollars for war and the training of soldiers. Arsenal supplied by the United States was, for thirty years, used by Mobutu to suppress his kinsmen and saturate the economy of his country, until his administration was taken over brutally by a coup planned by Laurent Kabila's forces in 1997.

> Immediately Kabila took power, the United States government under Bill Clinton offered military support by developing a plan for new training operations with the armed forces.

In an exploratory breakdown, therefore, the struggle for political power was top on the list of the causes of the crisis in the DRC. Dictator Mobutu, supported by the United States, ousted Patrice Lumumba in 1960, primarily because the latter was non-aligned in the geopolitical and cold-war sense, not seen favourably by the United States. Mobutu Sese Seko, after independence in 1960, plunged Zaire into corruption, institutionalizing it along with misappropriation of state resources; and created a situation where a greater percentage of funds generated by state owned corporations ended up in the private pockets of the president and his cronies. "Today, Mobutu is dead and deposed, but his legacies live on. His family holds his fortune, and his country holds his $12 billion debt. In a nation with an annual income of $110 per capita, each resident theoretically owes foreign creditors $236" (Roodman, 2001).

From that period, internal conflicts have abounded and rebounded, where all sides have been supported from various quarters of interest. Also escalating the conflict is the sale of weapon and military training. The conflict has also been escalated by weapon sales and by military training coming from the United States and one of the former Soviet countries, which also, in order to protect their interests in the war, provided military training.

Kakande (2001) asserts that "the military of the United States of America has been overtly involved in the Democratic Republic of Congo's war," a parliamentary subcommittee of the United States had been told. Wayne Madsen, a specialist on intelligence matters, appearing before the US House subcommittee on International Operations and Human Rights, also said that companies linked to the United States of America, with the exception of a particular one linked to former President George Bush Senior, are stoking the Congo conflict for monetary gains.

Rwanda, Uganda, Angola, Burundi and Eritrea eventually teamed up to support Laurent Kabila to overthrow Mobutu in May 1997, but rather than that causing a revolution in the region as hoped by many, the condition aggravated. Also supported by the United States of America, Lawrence Kabila had severally been accused by rebels (made up of Congolese soldiers, Congolese Tutsi Banyamulenge, Rwandan, Ugandan and some Burundian

government troops) of getting dictatorial, as well as being involved in corruption and mismanagement, as well as offering support to various paramilitary groups that antagonize his former allies. As the antagonism continued, rebels were in control of close to 1/3 of the entire country (the eastern parts). Laurent Kabila had received support from Angolan, Zimbabwean and Namibian troops. Kakande (2001) then concludes that "up to the assassination of Laurent Kabila in January 2001, Angola, Zimbabwe, and Namibia supported the Congolese government, while the rebels were backed by the governments of Uganda, Rwanda, and Burundi."

4.2.1 Effect of the DRC Crisis on Women and Girls

The Unites Nations Economic Commission for Africa (2015) assesses the impact of the DRC crisis on vulnerable groups, of all women and girls are quite central, and Amnesty International (2008) as well as Human Rights Watch (2009) declared that women and girls were the most vulnerable in the protracted armed conflicts

Both rebels and government troops targeted women for sexual pleasure, and did it through violence and rape. Death and physical injuries and a series of traumatic psychological situations were suffered by women and girls who are victims of war-related atrocities. Sometimes their own communities, families and even siblings rejected them across communities due to the stereotypes attached to rape. Moreover, given the importance of women for household welfare and domestic production of conflicts on women, they have far-reaching effects on the economy and society as a whole. This section provides some illustrations of the various dimensions in which conflicts have affected girls and women.

	Number	Percentage
Experienced sexual assault:*		
Yes	193	75.7
No	62	24.3
No response	0	0.0
Total	255	100

	Number	Percentage
Assailant classification:		
Stranger	169	87.6
Acquaintance	7	3.6
A friend	1	0.5
A family member	3	1.6
Husband	6	3.1
Other	1	0.5
No response	6	3.1
Total	193	100
Military vs. Civilian:		
Civilian	23	11.9
Military	161	83.4
Other	4	2.1
No response	5	2.6
Total	193	100
Gang:		
Gang rape	133	68.9
Rape by 1 person	45	23.3
No response	15	7.8
Total	193	100
Abduction:		
Abducted	89	46.1
Not abducted	71	36.8
Other	27	14.0

	Number	Percentage
No response	6	3.1
Total	193	100
Time elapsed between Attack and Accessing Services:		
Within 72 hours	8	4.1
Within 1 month	20	10.4
Between 2 - 11 months	75	38.8
One year or more	86	44.6
No response	4	2.1
Total	193	100

Source: Kelly, J T and Betancourt, T S (2011)

Many a time, when women report that they are raped, they lose reputation and bring their families to shame. Whilst it is difficult to sweepingly declare that being raped has a direct link with gross loss of reputation, it is noteworthy that there is a statistically significant difference in the percentage of women who reported losing their reputation based on whether or not they reported having been raped. Quite often, the two genders and sexes spoke the loss of a man's manhood and masculine esteem." A few men exhibited the feelings of coping with inflicted injuries and injuries inflicted through sexual impotence. Specifically, soldiers concluded that the government was not acknowledging their efforts as an insult on their manhood, especially against the background of inadequate remuneration and health plans after giving everything they had in defence of their country (Authors Interview with Women Group in the DRC).

According to the Draft Convention Against Sexual Exploitation of January 1994, "sexual exploitation refers to the situation whereby someone enjoys financial rewards, advancement or sexual gratification by abusing another person's impugning upon another person's dignity, autonomy, equality, physical well-being, mental steadfastness as well as sexuality. The Congolese military armed rebel groups, despite this Convention, continues to use rape or sexual violence on the women, sometimes as a revenge towards suspected collaboration with rival groups. Rebels from Uganda, Burundi, Rwanda and Congo all engaged in systematic

rape of women, with the worst case located in the Interland who committed the genocide in Rwanda. Indeed, more than fifty percent of the rebels who engaged in rape and sexual abuse of women were of Rwandan origin.

A survey conducted by the US Government Accountability Office (GAO) in the Eastern Congo, in March 2010, arrived at the conclusion that some 10 percent of the people had been involved in one form of sexual violence or the other in the period of one year spanning from March 2009 to March and 2010 (Freedman 2012). Other statistics abound, sometimes contradictory, making uncertain the exact number of rapes. Rape had, in the past, been categorised as a war crime but never had it been explored in the current state. Aside the rebel, officially recognised actors such as policemen, as well as non-official ones such as bandits and criminals seized opportunity offered by the cacophony and chaos to engage in rape and assault of women and girls. This position was also confirmed by the author when she visited DRC in 2015 for on the spot assessment in the country.

The incidence of rape has recently aggravated 17-fold inside the country, based on the 112th Congressional Subcommittee on Africa, Global Health and Human Rights (Baaz and Stern 2010) public inquiry and hearing of 8th of March 2011. Women and girls victimized during the crisis in the Democratic Republic of Congo were of ages ranging from as young as 2 years to as old as 80; the majority of whom were either heads of their households or farmers. Their rapes, assault and violence often came in the presence of people, mostly of their households, and this was often followed by dehumanising violence on the women, and that ranged from setting them ablaze, severing parts of their bodies, simple beating, and insertion of sticks and guns into their vaginas, inflicting such painful injuries such as fistulas. On the whole, the violence and rape visited on women has invariably indelible impact, and according to Dettke (2012), such violence occurs on a variety of issues.

4.2.2 Psycho Medical Impact

In the words of Zonge (2012), rape refers to a collision between "human vulnerability in the natural world" and "the capacity for evil in human nature." Examining it from a "psychological" point of view, Zonge continues to argue that fundamentally, rape and sexual assault annuls a woman's sense of dignity as well as security, and in the short, medium and even long term, can symptomise depression, lack of confidence, extreme anxiety, paranoia,

hyper vigilance, nightmares, difficulty sleeping, flashback syndrome, a foreshortened sense of one's future, and general lack of concentrating.

It has been frequently asserted that women who have been sexually abused feel like they are "in the middle of a battlefield." This is made worse by the fact that the victims, rather than perpetrators, are often put to blame by many societies in Africa and elsewhere. In the final analysis, because they already lose self-trust and self-esteem, rape victims hardly ever gather enough courage to for further self-protection. Responses to rape vary from one individual to another, and while some are deeply immersed in the post traumatic contradictions of rape, a few others would consider it part of life and simply move on. Such victims would prefer to live over the situation the same way a soldier will underplay a serious injury in the middle of the battlefield. However, long term responses could be more complex, depending on the level of assistance and support that a victim gets. This also has to do with one victim's cultural environment and social situation in which the rape occurred.

Rape Survivors' Experiences with Rejection

	Number	Percentage
Experienced rejection from family		
Yes	55	28.5
No	116	60.1
No response	22	11.4
Total	193	100
Experienced rejection from community		
Yes	12	6.20
No	116	60.1
No response	65	33.7
Total	193	100

Source: Kelly, J T and Betancourt, T S (2011)

Also viewing it from a broader physiological perspective, Dr. Kaplan, the director of the University of Virginia's Sexual and Domestic Violence Services explains that the degree of seriousness of rapes amidst warfare or conflict may expose a woman to rape trauma syndrome, a subset of the lifelong and incapacitating post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), a psycho medical phenomenon that first got deeply researched into in the post Vietnamese war eras of the 1970s. Neither a service association nor an advocacy group for post-traumatic stress disorder existed prior to the Vietnam War, but many of the women who survived rape were checked and net the criteria for PTSD, and this is the case with an average of 50 percent of all rape victims.

So, as far as the issue of sexual violence during conflicts is concerned, some situation that has attracted generalization all over the DRC country since the onset of the wars, estimate had it that

> ...between 40,000 and 60,000 women were raped in Eastern DRC between 1996 and 2002 (Sow, 2006). All the 25,000 cases of rape reported in 2005 occurred in the eastern regions. The resurgence of conflict in North Kivu in September 2007 was accompanied by a surge in the number of reported cases of sexual violence in the province. Sexual violence and rape are commonly used as a weapon of war in Eastern DRC by all armed groups and government forces (Goodwin, 2003; Nolen, 2005).

4.3 Summarised overview of the views from the field.

In this part of the study, we present an overview of the responses provided by those interviewed in the field. The responses are assorted, ranging from key informant interviews, focused groups discussions to in-dept interviews. For the purpose of ethics, responded were re assured of the protection of their identities and privacy, especially regarding issues that had to do with sex and rape.

Up to 73 percent of respondents tend to believe that women and girls that were attacked by combatants did not receive the required medical treatment. Respondents to the tune of (88%)

expressed the need for health workers to give equal treatment to wounded women and girls civilians from all sides in the conflict.

All respondents agreed with the need for medical attention to be given to all wounded in the conflict, irrespective of their ages, gender and status. About 73.1% of the respondents agreed that all the foregoing are in tandem with the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325

Two-fifths of respondents, specifically 41% confessed to have heard about the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325. Their views however differ of its effectiveness in terms of peace making and peace building performance during the time of crisis and, by extension, the peacemaking/peacebuilding period. In specific terms, 53% of the 41 percent declared that the UNSC Resolution 1325 did not have a marked impact while 42% of the 41 declared that it did have some.

4.3.1 Summary of the In-dept Interview

Respondents spoke extensively about women's sense of disempowerment during conflict. They declared that women and girls were not respected and protected, and their survival on a daily basis was a key issue, even after the conflict. This complicated the process of peacebuilding as civilians. They confessed that the frequency of the in-peace making attacks reduced their shocks as the time passed by.

4.3.2 Expression of personal experiences during the armed conflict

Women and children were affected in a number of ways that include loss of personal relations and friends, displacement, loss of source of income and livelihood as well as vulnerability to sexual violence which often led to emotional and psychological trauma.

The main cause of displacement was damage inflicted on property during conflict; where and when women and children were forced to flee as weapon bearers who attacked them and looted their homes. Respondents confessed to recurrent displacement as conflict would break out in areas they initially flee to for safety. They revealed that such unending displacement had a detrimental effect on their family lives, children's education and means of livelihood.

Families and friends disappeared and got killed during the crisis and this did not exempt women and girls. In fact, the number of young women and girls was high amongst the

missing, compared to the dead, and the suspicion expressed by the respondents was that some men, including some peacekeepers had gone to enslaved them sexually.

Interviewee's loss of their homes often resulted in loss of livelihood if their fields were part of the same dwelling. Some of them are, in fact no longer able-bodied due to injuries in landmines or attacks. Consequently, they needed to rely on family members and friends because it had become difficult to work for themselves.

The raped women experienced severe pshyco-physical traumas such as fear, shock, anxiety and depression, and were subsequently rejected by their husbands and, in most cases, the communities at large. The husbands in most cases hid under the fear of contracting HIV/AIDS to abandon the raped women for younger and prettier girls who had not been raped. .

4.3.3 The needs of women and girls

The major physical needs for the women and girls interviewed had to do with the basic ones of life: food, water, security- especially against rape and death; then shelter. Majority of them ultimately opine that all these needs would be met as soon as full peace returned.

But for their concern about the lack of adequate food that would prevent them receiving their rations in the camp, the women and girls who were internally displaced desperately wanted to return home.

These women and girls who had been displaced felt the sense of belonging in the peacemaking process, and agreed that they were taking a hand in shaping their own destiny. They however expected more participation of women and girls in the peacemaking process as promised by the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325.

The women and girls expressed frequently, the need for more access to medicine and health care, especially for those who had been physically injured; and for those who had suffered sexual violence they expressed the need for psycho-social and psychological supports that would enable them manage their relationship with people while recovering.

4.3.4 How they saw the issues of social and humanitarian assistance

In the area of humanitarian assistance, all women and girls respondents appreciated the efforts of all the humanitarian organizations working in the Democratic Republic of Congo, expressing that the complexity of supports which they gave would have been made dependent on family members and parents who in most cases, deliberately or otherwise would not be forthcoming.

Not all of them were however so overwhelming. While the ICRC and DRC Red Cross were particularly much appreciated in terms of perceptions of assistance from humanitarian organizations first because they were perceived to have reunited families who had been separated by the conflict and, second, because of the counselling support they provided for victims of sexual violence. The research discovers some form of confusion over the roles played by some humanitarian organizations as well as where they took place. Some women and girls who expected that the organizations to provide security in the event of attack and bring peace to the region declared not receiving such because those who were supposed to assist them were, as they claimed, not in a central location or are not properly registered for the purpose.

Respondents saw the improvements to their expected assistance in two forms: the first is to clarify the exact role and intention of humanitarian organizations to avoid disappointment amongst the population, and, second, to make available larger food and medical rations that could reach all areas of conflict in the country.

They acknowledged the humanitarian gestures and acts of kindness displayed by some individuals in the community. They believed that such behaviour was to be internalised in the cultural and religious practices of the people in order to continually provide women and girls with the essentials they needed to survive while the peacemaking and peacebuilding lasted; even beyond. Providing shelter to internally displaced families or individuals was the most frequent gesture received; others were food sharing and emotional support.

4.3.5 Conflict Rules

Respondents generally believe that women and girls particularly, and civilians in particular must never be the target of armed groups nor be affected by armed conflicts. Foe emphasis, they asserted the need to spare them from attack and sexual violence, and that their personal belongings and property should not be stolen. Some respondents however felt that those who went against these rules were neither educated nor trained as peacemakers, that was why they would perverse the e rules of conflict

4.3.6 Health care right

Respondents reinforced their belief in the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 and held that t everybody be entitled to health care irrespective of their status: civilians or combatants, and irrespective of their gender: women and girls Because of this, the protection of health-care workers is believed to be essential.

4.3.7 The Geneva Conventions

With the exception of first responders, few are aware of the Geneva Conventions and what their remit is. When the Geneva Conventions are explained, all respondents suggest that efforts ought to be made to ensure that knowledge and awareness of the Geneva Convention increased even as that of the United Nations Security Council Resolution did. Discussing them with participants however revealed some level of scepticism about the effective enforcement of the resolutions.

Conclusions:

Women and girls respondents in the DRC gave some lines of action in forms of messages they would like to communicate to the rest of the world: The first is that the international community should compel local and neighbouring governments to find a peaceful settlement. The second is that in spite of the long continuity of the armed peacemakers, despite the fact that the armed conflict has continued for so long, women and girls still needed the most basic assistance they could get as this would help their survival and life renewal.

4.4 The UNSC Resolution 1325

This part of the chapter provides the major highlights of the resolution, as well as discusses the background to it as a means of establishing why it is important to war and peace in the global system. An attempt is made to first establish the wider thrusts of the resolution: Participation, Protection, Prevention, then, Relief and Recovery; what Carol (2003) calls the four pillars, as a prelude to an elaborate explanation.

When the United Nations Security Council unanimously adopted Resolution 1325, specifically in October 2000, there came a fundamental signal, perhaps the first of its kind, towards a fundamental revolution in the way and manner that the world perceives women as well as all issues relating to them. More important in this is the issue of women and the roles they play during war and peace. Through the Resolution 1325, the United Nations Security Council currently addresses the plight of girls and women during armed conflict and the need for women to be involved at all levels and stages of decision-making in regard to peace keeping and conflict resolution.

Member States of the United Nations and the Organization itself are now obliged to take seriously the protection of women and girls and offer necessary assistance to them during conflict and post conflict periods. This is in line with UNSCR 1325's recognition of the disproportionate consequences of conflict on girls and, while it is equally noted very little if any effort was channelled towards addressing the needs of women and girls during or after conflict; or to make stronger the way they participate in the process of building peace. The United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 thus formulated some three foundations, (often referred to as three "Ps") in relation to women and armed conflict: Prevention, Protection and Participation; then, in the same vein, the resolution sought to enhance support for the participation of women in preventing conflict, building peace and all the processing stages of construction and reconstruction after war.

4.4.1 Resolutions of the Security Council Since 1945

Mostly, resolutions of the United Nations represent official expressions, wills, and aspirations of the several organs that work for her, and traditionally, resolutions are organised in The Preamble, which gives a general overview and background to the issue under address, then the operative segment which often reveals the action plan and strategies on the issue. Put

differently, while the preamble represents the basic considerations of the issue about which a resolution is about to be drawn, the operative section spells out the position of the organs and actions that would be taken.

Resolutions adopted by the Security Council since 1946

2010s *2010 2011 2012 2013 2014 2015 2016*

2000s *2000 2001 2002 2003 2004 2005 2006 2007 2008 2009*

1990s *1990 1991 1992 1993 1994 1995 1996 1997 1998 1999*

1980s *1980 1981 1982 1983 1984 1985 1986 1987 1988 1989*

1970s *1970 1971 1972 1973 1974 1975 1976 1977 1978 1979*

1960s *1960 1961 1962 1963 1964 1965 1966 1967 1968 1969*

1950s *1950 1951 1952 1953 1954 1955 1956 1957 1958 1959*

1940s *1946 1947 1948 1949*

Resolutions adopted by the Security Council in 2000

S/RES/1334 (2000)	Sierra Leone
S/RES/1333 (2000)	Afghanistan
S/RES/1332 (2000)	Democratic Republic of the Congo
S/RES/1331 2000)	Cyprus
S/RES/1330 (2000)	Iraq and Kuwait
S/RES/1329	International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) and

(2000)	International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR)
S/RES/1328 (2000)	Middle East
S/RES/1327 (2000)	Implementation of the report of the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations (S/2000/809)
S/RES/1326 (2000)	Admission of new Members
S/RES/1325 (2000)	Women and Peace and Security
S/RES/1324 (2000)	Western Sahara
S/RES/1323 (2000)	Democratic Republic of the Congo
S/RES/1322 (2000)	Middle East, including the Palestinian question
S/RES/1321 (2000)	Sierra Leone
S/RES/1320 (2000)	Eritrea and Ethiopia
S/RES/1319 (2000)	East Timor
S/RES/1318 (2000)	Effective role for the Security Council in the maintenance of international peace and security, particularly in Africa
S/RES/1317 (2000)	Sierra Leone
S/RES/1316 (2000)	Democratic Republic of the Congo
S/RES/1315 (2000)	Sierra Leone
S/RES/1314 (2000)	Children and Armed Conflict

S/RES/1313 (2000)	Sierra Leone
S/RES/1312 (2000)	Eritrea and Ethiopia
S/RES/1311 (2000)	Georgia
S/RES/1310 (2000)	Middle East
S/RES/1309 (2000)	Western Sahara
S/RES/1308 (2000)	HIV/AIDS and International Peacekeeping Operations
S/RES/1307 (2000)	Croatia
S/RES/1306 (2000)	Sierra Leone
S/RES/1305 (2000)	Bosnia and Herzegovina
S/RES/1304 (2000)	Democratic Republic of the Congo
S/RES/1303 (2000)	Cyprus
S/RES/1302 (2000)	Iraq and Kuwait
S/RES/1301 (2000)	Western Sahara
S/RES/1300 (2000)	Middle East
S/RES/1299 (2000)	Sierra Leone
S/RES/1298	Eritrea and Ethiopia

(2000)	
S/RES/1297 (2000)	Eritrea and Ethiopia
S/RES/1296 (2000)	Protection of Civilians in Armed Conflict
S/RES/1295 (2000)	Angola
S/RES/1294 (2000)	Angola
S/RES/1293 (2000)	Iraq and Kuwait
S/RES/1292 (2000)	Western Sahara
S/RES/1291 (2000)	Democratic Republic of the Congo
S/RES/1290 (2000)	Admission of a new Member: Tuvalu
S/RES/1289 (2000)	Sierra Leone
S/RES/1288 (2000)	Middle East
S/RES/1287 (2000)	Georgia
S/RES/1286 (2000)	Burundi
S/RES/1285 (2000)	Croatia

Source: www.un.org/en/sc/documents/resolutions/

The United States Institute of Peace (USIP) gives a definition of the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325, expressly as "a landmark international legal framework that addresses not only the inordinate impact of war on women, but also the pivotal role women

should and do play in conflict management, conflict resolution and sustainable peace" (http://www.usip.org/gender_peacebuilding/about_UNSCR_1325). Unanimously adopted by the United Nations Security Council on 31 October 2000 as an overall alternative to earlier passed resolutions 1261, 1265, 1296 and 1314, Resolution 1325 "appreciates the disproportionate and special effects of war, and violent conflicts on girls and women, and subsequently moves towards adopting a gender perspective for the consideration of the special needs of girls and women in the periods of war and conflict; rehabilitation, resettlement, reconstruction and general post war, or post conflict rehabilitation (Tryggestad, 2009).

This is simply because whereas "men and women experience different traumas in the time of war and conflict; in the differences, women present a vital analytical perspective and also provide strategies for peacebuilding, such that focus on having links amongst warring groups and increasing the transparency, sustainability inclusiveness, and transparency of peace processes" (http://www.usip.org/gender_peacebuilding/about_UNSCR_1325), wars are constantly changing, and women, their children as well as other civilians are increasingly targeted, making it extremely difficult for women to be excluded from participation in the different stages and levels of peace making and peacebuilding.

Participation is the first pillar, and, as the name implies, it advocated that women increasingly and actively participate at the national, regional, international and indeed, all levels of decision-making. This extends to preventive, management and resolution mechanisms of conflict, and while operating and negotiating peace as policemen, civilians or soldiers; as well as those representing the United Nations and its organs in certain positions and on certain issues. The United Nations Security Council believes that when women participate fully in the foregoing ways and others not mentioned, wars can be better managed and engendering peace could be made easier. This is in line with the position being held by the CMI, that "women are the largest group to be systematically affected by violent conflict and yet to have the least participation in its resolution."

Although change and critical action towards the foregoing has been slow and sometimes episodic, the reality is no doubt appreciated by the credibility of the sources is not in doubt. For instance, the CMI now has as its fundamental operating principles, the equality of gender and inclusiveness of women in operations. Thus, in the words of the CMI, "everywhere we work we strive to highlight the importance of women's participation in building and

sustaining peace and to carve out greater roles for women in peace processes" (http://cmi.fi/our-work/regions-and-themes/women-in-peacemaking). Also, as adduced by O' Reilly, et al, (2015), participation of women brings a quandary about the ultimate achievement of peace-making: does the end of violence signify peace process or is the act of instituting sustainable peace be the centre point of action? Apologists of stabilization usually have the opinion that only the real legitimate participants are the parties in violence, state or non-state and since women do not often directly get involved in the infliction of violence, it reduces the possibilities of inviting them to participate in peace processes. "In life, as in mediation, we often have our most important conversations in a small room," said one mediator. Given the need for prioritization that this implies, "stabilization wins the day," said another (p.4). *These were the views expressed by the women interview based on the above subject.*

O' Reilly, et al, (2015) however observe that while the achievement of broad participation may be very difficult following the strict sense of the phrase, they see the models and short case studies presented in their work as that which demonstrates that women's inclusion has been advanced in many creative ways in a variety of contexts. They then ultimately conclude after a wide variety of examples and case studies, that in spite of some practitioners' perception that women and girls' participation in the peace process exposes them to an array of hazards as in war time, and has little to do with the ultimate idea of arriving at consensus, emerging indications reveals that the reverse is the case.

Participation of women, flowing from the findings of quantitative and qualitative studies here presented had the great capability to influence the peacebuilding process. It could also increase the possibility of reaching a short-term consensus with indications of sustainability. This also implies that participation of women should not be equated to the inclusion of gender-sensitive language in a peace agreement. That women are included and involved is no guarantee that issues of gender would be addressed and women can bring far more than gender-related issues to a peace process. Nonetheless, influential women's groups have tended to push for both peace and gender-sensitive provisions (O' Reilly, et al, 2015:31).

Apart from ensuring participation of women in war and peacekeeping, another pillar of the Resolution 1325 is the issue of protection. The resolution specifically advocates that women and girls be protected against sex and gender based violence in all places with no exception of refugee camps, or any place of emergency for that matter.

Kelly (2010) compiled a special report for the United Nations Institute of Peace in 2010. Kelly revealed that research on sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV) makes the victims of violence its focus, and provided an improved assessment of the roots of SGBV in conflict. The submission was that this t could only be gained by examining the experiences and motivations of perpetrators. Particular mention was made of soldiers from the Mai Mai militia group, one of many armed groups operating in this conflict, who had a complex and sometimes contradictory relationship with women, ranging from liking, emotional attachment, sexual slavery, rape and forceful adoption. This, according to Kelly, raised high levels of concern about contracting HIV/AIDS and other sexually transmitted infections as well as complications.

A report specially compiled in the year 2013 by an organization called 'Learning On Gender and Conflict in Africa' submits the need to understand the nature of sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV) in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) within the spectrum of violence inflicted on civilians in the course of armed conflict, when compared to those conflicts in other places and in terms of violence perpetrated in conflicts on a general note. Sex and Gender Based Violence, in this context, refers to gender-based torture and rape, mass rape, as well as other sex-cum-gender based pain inflicting actions that appears to be closely associated with the armed conflict in the DRC.

Sex and Gender Based Violence also needs to be understood within the framework of a range of violent activities arbitrarily and indiscriminately embarked upon by diverse armed groups who change their loyalties as well as identities too often in a bid to prevent recognition. This creates the need to explore the motivations of individuals and external causes of Sex and Gender Based Violence, with the aid of data gathered through interview of suspected perpetrators in the Democratic Republic of Congo in the year 2011.

Elbert et al. (2013:4) declared in that report, that the context of violence draws attention to the commission of sexual violence, and is justified by such motivation of individuals for fulfilling the perpetrators of their sexual urge. Moreover, some underlying strategic (e.g., gain of political attention), tactical (e.g., facilitating lootings), as well as overlapping strategic and tactical (e.g., control of civilians) dimensions to Sex and Gender Based Violence in Eastern DRC. The extent to which these justifications are presented as an acceptable excuse for violent sexual relationships are quite unclear. Ex-combatants of the FDLR, CNDP, and Maï-Maï often revealed that soldiers participated in sexual violence based on the order they

received it from the above. More so, a smaller population of them confessed that a dearth of sanctions to serve as deterrent increased the perpetration of Sex and Gender Based Violence.

Adequate protection, especially against sexual violence, is therefore necessary for women, during war and peace-keeping process as its absence could spell complicated disasters manifest in street children, social crisis and health challenges around the world, as indicated in the case of the Democratic Republic of Congo. Protection of women obviously ensures a proactive measure towards resolving the problem, and this is why the third main thrust of the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 borders on the issue of Protection.

By protection the UN resolution means a deliberate institutionalization of measures and structures as well as strategies that seek to ensure that violence against women does not predominantly occur in the first place, except where it infinitesimally does. This suggests why Resolution 1325 advocates continuous improvement of intervention strategies towards preventing violence against girls and women; and this should include prosecution of violators, using international law; backing the peace moves and initiatives of local women towards the process of resolving conflicts, upholding the rights women in different domestic laws. Included in the protection clause are issues of improving the safety of girls and women, protecting their mental and physical health, their economic security, and overall well-being. Focus is also on improvement of legal protection made available for women and girls.

Majiwa (2014) posits that what is involved in the prevention of, and quick response to sexual violence during war and conflict is not limited to appropriate regulatory and legal frameworks; rather it should extend to the manner and point at which violence is located and addressed by the frameworks especially during the period of conflicts. This primarily has to do with political will, then, "amnesty and how it is ascertained, reconciliation, accountability, access to justice and requisite medical and psycho-social services, national, regional and international institutions budget allocation, reintegration of the victims and survivors, implementation and enforcement of laws, as well as mechanisms of justice which include the manner in which the judicial officers interpret laws and frameworks, as well as factors that influence their adjudication, the role and capacity of health and law enforcement institutions to address sexual violence."

Mojiwa (2014) further adds that the moment a frame work developed is targeted at drastically reducing or even exterminating sexual violence, and speed up how to implement the quick

reactions to the scourge of sexual violence - all which are needed to prevent, protect and give access to justice and health care for the victims," a better result promises to arrive from the battle against the increasing spate of sex related violence during war and conflict all over the world. (2014:5).

Last on the main thrust of the Resolution is relief and recovery. Resolution 1325 advocates the privileging of relief as well as recovery mechanisms towards addressing crises in the international community with a gendered framework. This includes thorough representation of the humanitarian and civilian recognition of the women in camps hosting asylum seekers, and considering critically, the interests of girls and women in the design and layout of refugee settlements and camps.

In the event of any social crisis, including sexually based violence, along with natural disasters, failure of critical technology systems, disease, or terrorism, the international system and the society at large are often expected to respond to the needs of peoples, groups and communities who have been negatively affected. Recovery needs to be initiated towards addressing the physical destruction, socio economic damage and disruption, as well as diverting a catastrophe. This is why this Resolution addresses humanitarian relief so managed as food, medical aid and shelter, most especially for girls and women who have been assaulted sexually and physically; then restoring basic socio-economic activities and essential public services immediately after rescue efforts have been made to provide relief from the disaster; and it looks at the dynamics of community recovery in the aftermath of major disasters.

These processes, however, do not necessarily belong to the realm of post-disaster events, rather, some preventive and proactive steps should be taken by the society in order to be prepared for rapid provision of relief that make recovery as speedy and complete as possible. This suggests why recovery here discussed is linked to that of protection in the foregoing chapter. Through intensive study of cases of actual disasters and of conceptual frameworks about relief and recovery, the course looks at examples in the United States and in other countries and considers the provision and coordination of international aid in disaster settings (Howitt, 2016). On a general note, Resolution 1325 underscores the importance of women in all process peace-making and also emphasises the need to constantly include them in all processes and mechanisms of decision-making, especially international.

Empowerment of women is also key to the Resolution. The overriding logic is that if the woman is empowered, she is less vulnerable to sexually based violence and such other complex relationship that the DRC women shared with the soldiers who went there to keep peace. According to Duflo (2012), there are three dimensions to the empowerment of women, namely participation in politics and the process of making policy and political decisions, full participation in economic activities and functional education. Duflo considers education as the foremost and fundamental approach to empowerment while the other two can come after. Bloom et al., (2001) equally opines that the high level of a woman's education makes better the chances of her enlightenment and consciousness, and determines the kind of decisions she makes for herself and people around her.

Women who are educated can easily understand the advantage of antenatal care, and are thus expected to make the best and most effective use of it. Such women are also often better informed on the functionality of the healthcare system so they can have improved access to it. Moreover, women who are educated find it more convenient to interact and communicate with ease, especially whist dealing with getting some form of care from health service providers (Housia 2015: 5).

In most of the underdeveloped third world nations, it has been revealed that headship of the family still solely rests on the men who literally make monarchical and patriarchal decisions with the wives merely obeying; the wife enjoys not even involvement in decision-making; let alone equity (Holland and Hogg, 2001). In more specific terms, control of finances often solely rests on men, even when the woman earns the cash; the woman still has to be instructed on an array of issues including but not limited to making major purchases for the household. The practice is a dearth of autonomy, and financial dependence on the making her more dependent on the husband. A woman in need of antenatal attention under such circumstance must essentially depend solely on the judgment and discretion of the husband to make money available.

It is therefore worthy of hypothesizing that the more a woman participates in the process of family decision-making, the more the chances that her antenatal attention period is utilised in developed countries (Housia 2015). This suggests why it was emphasised by Melanne Verveer, a United States Ambassador-at-Large for Global Women's Issues; right at the United States Department of State, that "on a host of occasions, the roles of women come under marginalization because such roles are hardly perceived in the perspectives of

leadership." It is then suggested as one good idea for the world, that if women are seen as leaders and mates, instead of followers and subordinates, considering their involvement not as a favour, but as necessary for global peace, tranquillity and security."

Indeed, this responsibility has for long been the role played by women. Such responsibility remains the most controversial and contentious of others that raises concern within the United States contemporary armed forces; and even controversy of homosexual practices cannot be said to be so weighty because an open gay or lesbian still cannot serve in the United States Armed Forces (Moskos: 1995: 336). The Resolution 1325 is very comfortable with the inclusion of women in the military, especially because "strength does not refer to mere helicopters as well as tanks and guns, but lies in the human hands handling them; with adequate respect for teamwork and ability to push for a common goal" (Duckworth 2002). The belief is that beyond the naked use of force, women included in the army can serve in many logistical position in ways comparable to their male counterparts.

Women have even been found to demonstrate more resilience during war, as exemplified by Americans who served in Iraq and Afghanistan. The women soldiers therein, according to Murnane (2007), demonstrated tremendous resilience, adaptability and capacity for innovation, giving a competitive advantage, and demonstrating time and time again, that courage and leadership recognize no gender." Indeed, Resolution 1325 has significantly altered, by way of improvement, the perceptions of the entire world about security and peace; and the "Women and War" Conference, held November 3-5, 2010, by the United States Institute of Peace and other collaborators specifically emphasised the critical importance of the Resolution and the effects it has had on empowerment of women, the military, global security as well as international law.

CHAPTER FIVE: THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE UNSC RESOLUTION 1325 IN THE DRC- SUCCESSES AND CHALLENGES

5.1 Introduction

This chapter assesses the successes and challenges of Resolution 1325 towards resolving the contradictions that in the first place, provoked it; especially, in line with the crisis in the Democratic Republic of Congo. In doing this, it commences with the issue of awareness and consciousness of women and other groups towards the UNSC Resolution 1325, as a prelude to exploring its successes, failure-cum-challenges; preparing the premise for some generalizations that follow.

As earlier stated, the first in the four pillars of implementing Resolution 1325 is participation, which, as the name implies, advocated higher women's participation across all platforms of making socio, political and economic decisions, and at all spheres of the globe, family, community, national, regional, continental and global. Such should include the platform for preventing, managing and resolving conflicts, as well as during negotiation and operation of peace, and among a diversified array of actors that include policemen, soldiers, and civilians; and as special representatives of the UN Secretary-General.

The United Nations Security Council believes that when women participate fully in the foregoing ways and others not mentioned, wars can be better managed and peace can be more easily achieved. This is in line with the position being held by the CMI, that "Women remain the heaviest population affected by violent conflicts, but they often have the least representation in the resolution. The international community recognises this fact quite alright, but moving away from it has been very slow." Thus, it is stressed, "equality and inclusiveness of gender should be the basic standard operating procedures of CMI. Thus, everywhere they work, they strive to highlight the importance of women's participation in building and sustaining peace and to carve out greater roles for women in peace processes (http://cmi.fi/our-work/regions-and-themes/women-in-peacemaking). Also, as adduced by O' Reilly et al (2015),

> Women's participation creates a quandary about the end goals of peace-making: is a peace process primarily a forum for ending the violence, or should its focus be on building sustainable peace? Those who prioritize

> stabilization often think that the violent parties - whether state or non-state actors - are the only legitimate participants, making women's participation less likely. In life, as in mediation, we often have our most important conversations in a small room.... Given the need for prioritization that this implies, "stabilization wins the day," said another (p.4).

O' Reilly, et al observe further that "Although it may be difficult to achieve broad participation in practice", the scholars see the models and short case studies presented in their work as that which demonstrates that women's inclusion has been advanced in many creative ways in a variety of contexts. They then ultimately conclude after a wide variety of examples and case studies that,

> In spite of perceptions within the cult of practitioners that too many risks are involved in women participating in peace processes; and as much as it does not necessarily stand as a guarantee for reaching some form of agreement, emergent evidence shows that the reverse is the case, as indicated by the findings of cross methodological research earlier referred to.

In addition

> The issue stressed is that participation of women enhances the probability of reaching a consensus both in the short term to break conflicts and violence, and the long run agenda of achieving sustainable peace. It also showed that participation of women should not be confused with representation of gender and its basic problems, as merely including women does not guarantee that gender focused issues will be treated... (O' Reilly, et al, 2015:31)

Apart from ensuring participation of women in war and peacekeeping, another pillar of the Resolution 1325 is protection. The resolution specifically aspires towards protecting girls and women against gender-based and sexual violence, even in refugee camps and other places of human disaster management.

Kelly (2010) compiled a special report for the United Nations Institute of Peace in 2010. In that report, it was revealed that research on sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV), which predominantly focused on victims and survivors of rape, provided a better understanding of the roots of SGBV in conflict, but could only be gained by examining the experiences and motivations of perpetrators. As Oshotimehin (2015:33) insists therefore,

> "In times of crisis, all women worry about the future and whether they will even survive. Many women become heads of the household with the sole responsibility of caring for their children. Pregnant women fear for their health and wonder if they will deliver safely. Women and girls who are raped are often confronted with the blame and shame instead of the loving care and support they desperately need. And these hardships are compounded for women who are pregnant as a result of rape" (p1). In a way, therefore, one may assert that addressing sexual violence in armed conflict and increasing women's participation in peace processes constitute the two main thrusts of the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325. It is from these two that other sub thrusts, such as protection and empowerment of women, derive.

However, accessing the impact of the UNSC Resolution 1325 is better initiated by examining issues of awareness and consciousness, since the duo are often the first step towards measuring the failure or otherwise of any policy, law or resolution. In other words, how much of awareness of themselves and others have women around the world got of the resolution 1325?

Harper (2015:2) asserts that "to be aware presupposes a substantive tangible, physically held expression. One is aware that consumption of excess sugar, for instance, causes obesity, diabetes and other diseases; and also, awareness that one's actions and inaction has implications for the feelings and emotions of one's friends and relatives. The same goes for one's realities, primarily because of factors like sensations, perceptions, cognitive abilities, and knowledge. Harper adds that awareness of something is like those announcements you hear on media. For instance, a hurricane is headed towards the city. While you know, what is out there and you are factually aware that it exists, there is little you can do to explain where it is, whether it will strike or not, how much damage it will cause, and so on and so forth. So, if awareness is all about knowing what it is without necessarily how it relates to your life, it then becomes the first step towards internalizing any policy or plan, upon which other steps

will stand. To restate the question, therefore, how, did Resolution 1325 create awareness in women about their roles in peace and war?

There is no doubt that the United Nations widely publicised Resolution 1325 through conventional and social media, domestic governments, Non-Government Organizations, special projects and all means possible. This, on its own, created awareness as well as knowledge of the problems that women face in war and peace as well as why Resolution 1325 was made and how it addresses the problems. It seems therefore, that better and informed decisions are made on the condition that there is awareness; being aware; the best ones are made based on consciousness. If you wilfully chose to give up your abilities, you unconsciously choose to be a part of someone else's purpose. You share your fate will all those who consciously renounce their rights, eventually becoming a part of someone else's journey! So, with awareness and knowledge of the Resolution, women are now more likely to take better decisions in war and peace based on their gender. We may suggest therefore that awareness and consciousness influence people's lives in three major ways, as adduced to by Harper (2015), and this can be directly related to women in war and peace.

First, consciousness and awareness lead to application of knowledge, assisting people in actively deciding the particulars of intervention. People know what is good or bad, and are in a better position to decide whether or not they should integrate it in life. For instance, the Resolution 1325 and its thrusts have made many African women and men alike know the aggravated implications of rape and sexual slavery, in terms of the level of seriousness that the state and non-state actors attach to them and the health hazards they can cause to whoever is involved at any level.

Awareness and consciousness also assist people in discernment. Based on what one knows, one can judge what is and is not, enabling one to discover and pursue options. If for instance, rape and sexual slavery are war crimes, perpetuators who claim they engage in it due to sexual pleasure derived can then begin to seek alternatives to them. In other words, this is where people use awareness to become responsible, being on the verge of consciousness, and questioning your knowledge and judgment. Finally, questioning gets people closer to consciousness, and people begin to see the reason behind everything, a situation which assists them connect with their purpose of existence. In other words, it is a level of complete awareness.

As one's awareness increases, one's vibrational frequency equally does increase, and that enables one to protect oneself from undesired consequences and also see beyond typical boundaries. Indeed, it is the point at which one becomes conscious – about oneself, realities, one's purpose, and the higher calling. Need it be said more here when applying the analysis to the case of women in war and conflicts? It is safe to conclude therefore, that in spite of the scepticism of many scholars and actors in international relations on the level of awareness of women and other vulnerable group - most claiming it is very low, the issues of awareness, combined with knowledge and consciousness as in the foregoing discussion remain a fundamental point of success of the Resolution 1325. The awareness may be low, but, as observed by Hermoso and Sugawara (2016) the knowledge exists and the consciousness endures all over the world.

Then we arrive at the issue of participation. Of the many objectives of the UNSCR 1325, two appear to be the main foci: tackling the contradictions confronting women as victims or survivors of war and crisis, and ensuring that women are positioned as promoters of peace. For the latter to manifest, among other things, the world must ensure full participation of women in all processes of politics and peace-making. According to Lyman (2013), UNSCR 1325 is

> a step towards illuminating the largely unseen, non-formalised and somewhat unappreciated roles of women and girls towards the prevention and resolution of conflicts. Women and girls apparently remain under represented in peace negotiation compared to other places, positions and careers where the gap has been steadily narrowing. Indeed, the international community is yet to clearly explain how essential and critical the use of quota systems is as a mechanism for increasing the population of girls and women in elective offices; or put them under pressure of instituting such a system.

Lyman goes further to exemplify situations that make involvement of women an all important factor, claiming that "countless examples can be located where an array of reasons has led to the breaking down of peace-making processes. Such reasons include but are not limited to, internal dissension within armed groups, lack of agreement on personalities slated for negotiation, violation of ceasefire agreements, delays in implementation, and, sometimes, inability to reconcile differences over substantively critical issues such as self-government.

Of all, not a single case of derailment due to rigidity of women in negotiation has been established to date (2013:12).

The ultimate conclusion reached by Lyman (2013) is that the research about the women of United Nations into representations in parliament after conflict reveals that in the days of quota-based systems, thirty-four percent of women were among those elected unlike in countries without electoral quotas where the percentage struggles to reach twelve in the population of parliamentarians. Post conflict countries that, in 2011, held elections without the use of quotas elected women only on average of 7 percent into their parliaments; whereas in countries that used quotas, the average was in the neighbourhood of 30 percent. In the recent elections of 26 post-conflict countries, political representation of women leaped after gender quotas were used, achieving and even exceeding quota levels in elections afterward. The reverse is, however, the case in countries that never have electoral quotas, where women's participation stayed flat.

It has also been asserted in another assessment of Resolution 1325, which consists of the yearly reports of Secretary-General of 2013 and 2014, administered some review of the implementation of Resolution 1325 for a period covering ten years. This was done in collaboration with the Department of Peacekeeping Operations with a focus on the United Nations peacekeeping missions and outcomes reported across the components of the resolution. What follows are some crucial findings in the assessment.

1. Political participation of women has been greeted largely with expected results, where host countries increasingly witness higher levels of political participation at the subjective and gladiatorial levels, with improved legal assistance for issues of gender and redress on the plight of women.

2. The involvement of women and girls in peace building processes continues to be low, specifically to the backward level with women comprising less than 10% of personalities officially involved in negotiations across all missions.

3. Research conducted by academics discovered that women were significantly more likely to be mentioned in peace processes and agreements after Resolution 1325.

4. Majority of the peace processes supported by the United Nations between 2011 and 2013 engaged directly and regularly in consultations with many organizations representing women, and, in the two years of 2012 and 2013, all the support teams of the United Nations included women.

5. Institutions of the security sector witnessed restricted rewards from uniformed female personnel, despite increases in the number of uniformed women in peacekeeping missions.

6. By the year 2014, there were more administrators to more peacekeeping operations missions have gender advisors - as of 2014, nine of the sixteen missions have gender advisors.

7. Gender mainstreaming in the DDR generated mixed results: a number of augmented personalities saw the population of women who are demobilized, although the gains were uneven among the missions and it remains a serious challenge at reintegrating.

8. Violence related to sex and gender continues to escalate with malice aforethought and devastating impunity by the committers, even with the increased tempo in legislation and training.

9. There is a rise in the number of reports of sexual exploitation and abuse in spite of the increasing attention that the United Nations has given to the saga.

10. Quite often, victims of violence and vulnerability include activists and women peace-builders.

11. Missions take pains and exert serious efforts towards protecting women in refugee camps and settings of intentionally displaced persons, and they have done this through consistent efforts towards escorts and patrols although resources for these protections were limited.

Similarly, a report by the Secretary-General of the United Nations in 2014, on how the UNSC Resolution 1325 had been implemented thus reveals

> While gender appears to be consistently inculcated into the operations of the United Nations, problems still endure in the area of full implementation of the

resolution at the operational level. Within the United Nations, women, peace, and security remain a strong part of the rhetoric on peace and security. While the United Nations Security Council prefer the diction of 'gender', the reports of United States Mission often mention women, peace, and security, and there is increased reporting on these issues in United Nations and its affiliated bodies. However, peacekeeping operators continued to be accused by widespread reports of sexual abuse and exploitation, in spite of the increased attention on the mater within the United Nations. http://www.un.org/en/ 25.11/2016*)*.

In honour of the 15 years of the United Nations Resolution 1325, the United Nations on 30th January 2015, held a very high-powered review of the resolution in order to "to assess progress and accelerate action", right at the Open Debate on Women, Peace, and Security, organised by the United Nations on October 13th, 2015. Following the debate was the publication of *Preventing Conflict, Transforming Justice, Securing the Peace: A Global Study on the Implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325* by the UN women, a report that encapsulates progress made and problems faced so far. This was followed by recommendations for the advancement of the aims and objectives of the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325, across all sectors of the society. (http://www.un.org/en/ 25.11/2016).

However, assessing the Resolution from the other hand that is, looking at the areas of challenges and seeming failure there would also be a lot of issues at stake. In a quantitative assessment of the issue, it has been found that "just a tiny 16 per cent peace-making agreements ever signed make adequate references to women. Such references have however significantly improved in mention, since Security Council Resolution 1325 was passed from 11 to 27 per cent of agreements. This increase appears more dramatic for agreements in which the UN had a third-party role (from 4 to 12 per cent), than for agreements which did not have the UN in such a role (from 7 to 14 per cent) (Bell and O'Rourke, 2010).

Observation was then made that prior to, as well after the emergence of the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325, women were more probable to get referenced in such agreements that did not mention the United Nations as a third party. The increase in references to women in the many agreements of the United Nations must therefore be understood in a context where such agreements were less likely to reference women prior to

SCR 1325. It is argued that references to women's participation in peace agreements are often poor in quality, constituting a highly-dispersed lot, and sometimes contravening the provisions of CEDAW and, on rare occasions, illustrating good practice (Darby, 2003).

In their comments on the textual contents of the agreement, Christine Bell and Catherine O'Rourke (2010) express the opinion that the letters of the peace agreements were analyzed and provisions were made of detailed reference to 'women'. Moreover, many references were made to 'gender': 'gender balance' or 'gender sensitivity' (for example in new institutions established by the agreement) or 'gender-based violence', and they were all coded. Specific references to 'widows' or 'girls' and to 'sexual violence', or named forms of sexual violence such as 'rape', also received coding in reference to women and girls. In particular cases in which peace agreements make reference in the direction of women focused legal instruments of international status, the CEDAW and the1957 Convention on the Nationality of married Women, for instance, a record was also taken. The only known reference to women, throughout the two agreements, is that they had been signed by a women's organization. The reason this agreement was coded as that which made reference to women is that the focus and principal advocacy of the United States Security Council Resolution 1325 is its call for increased involvement as well as greater participation of women and girls in the all the stages and levels of processes of making and keeping peace, as well as among all spectrums of organizations from the local, community, national to international levels. This has always been the sole and major demand of women's organizations in peace processes (Martin (2006).

It is then reasoned that these agreements reflected a specific reference to women in having been included in the peace negotiations 'as' women. Commitment statements of equal rights of all human beings were generally not included except where the issue of gender or, and sex based discrimination attracted specific reference. Similarly, provisions that address immanently 'disadvantaged' or generically 'under-represented' organizations did not satisfy the classification, except there were specific attachments of the terms 'gender' or 'women'.

Including women's yearnings and aspirations in peace agreements is considered a critical goal, so, it is suggested that further thought must be given to the strategies and barriers to effective implementation of SCR 1325. Concerning the effectiveness of the resolution, especially in line with peace negotiations and peace agreement texts, what our finding suggests is that there is need for continuous thinking and conceptual re-engineering of what

expressly constitutes or thematically implies a 'gender perspective' in a peace agreement. Apart from this, the way in which organizations other than the United Nations put forward the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325, especially as the roles that such organizations play get on the increase is also there. Whether there is the existence of a 'gender justice versus peace dilemma, where gender-specific concerns of women are left off the table for reasons not traceable to an oversight, mediocrity and dearth of expertise, non-committal attitude; but due to belief that including it would further frustrate negotiating parties towards reaching agreement on other matters or destabilise any agreement reached; what can be considered 'good practice' by virtue of the insertion of 'a gender perspective' in the tests and contexts of peace agreement; and, the way in which space for women can be retained for the purpose of re-envisioning transformative peace processes while influencing texts in the way they emerge within the processes through which women, as members of mediation teams or even mediators are engaged. Never has a woman been appointed by the United Nations, as the chief mediator of a peace process (Jarstad and Nilsson 2008).

Coming from the views from another country, it should be on record that in recent decades, some women have acted in the position of mediators. A good example is the personnel in the position of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General in the Republic of Angola in the early 1990s, Dame Margaret Anstee, who also occupied the position of senior mediator during part of the peace processes that was led by the United Nations. In like manner, the same Dame Ann Hercus, a few years later as the Special Advisor of the Secretary-General, led the conduct of some shuttle talks in the Republic of Cyprus. A member of The Elders, Graça Machel, in 2008 was included in the number of the three mediators as one of three peace mediation cum negotiations team led by the African Union.

Based simply on self-initiatives, Betty Bigombe, in 2004, assisted as an unofficial volunteer in the mediation between the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) the Government of the Republic of Uganda. That efforts of hers laid the foundation and prepared background for the peace talks that were officially held in Juba, making it possible for the delegates of the negotiating party to tie a peace accord a few years later. The way the peace negotiation delegates were composed and chosen was quite fluid, as well as variable, and thus making it difficult to track strict numbers. However, should such information be available, participation of women as delegates in peace talks and mediation vary from zero to 25, in terms of percentage. A good example of strong representation of women can be seen in the peace

talks held in Kenya in the year 2008, in which women were two out of the eight delegates selected for the post-election peace talks, and the Government's negotiating team was led by Martha Karua. In other situations, peace talks involved multiple parties and bigger population of delegates. 40 were women out of the total of 340 delegates in the talks held in 2003, and that led to the Sun City Agreement in the Democratic Republic of Congo.

The 132 delegates who took part in the Abuja talks leading to the Darfur Peace Agreement were women, and the influence they had on the outcome differs. In the 2006/2008 peace talks between the Government of Uganda and the Lord Resistance Army, in Juba, for instance, women were involved in all spectrums and strata of negotiations up to the resolution point of the conflict between South and North Sudan. It was however reported that the three female delegates in Juba, wield a larger and more powerful influence towards introducing and inculcating gender-related language in the agreements; much more than the few women found who posed as delegates in the case of the Sudanese People's Liberation Movement. Such women were often co-opted on short notice, and later ignored. Indeed, organizations of Sudanese women were at one stage reduced to pushing their position papers and recommendations under the closed doors of the negotiation room.

A Measure of Success

The United Nations identifies as another key challenge, in this flurry of improved implementation, member states' absence of constant reporting and monitoring. As the Congolese National Government records improvements, the Global Network of Women Peacebuilders has developed Civil Society Monitoring Reports with a set of temporary pointers. Particularly pertaining to pillars of better governance, some pointers are: percentages of women who participate in public offices; that is who engage in security/justice sector reform, legislative reform and constitutional review; the number of reported, investigated, prosecuted, and penalized offences rape, harassment, sexual slavery and other forms of sexual and gender based violence, as well as the quality and quantity of gender responsive laws and policies. What obtains in the Democratic Republic of Congo can best be described as a mixture of slight progress and no progress.

These metrics to gauge success drive the ways by which international peacebuilders conceptualize policy options for improvement. For instance, if the metrics reveal a low percentage of women and girls in the congress of Congo, the question to be prompted will be

what to do to raise the quota. Dearth of progress in the number of committees, laws, civic engagement and National Actions Plans created in line with the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 strengthens the civil society and National Action Plans, prompts more laws, and calls for increased capacity building and funding. The clear mismatch between the abundance of existing laws and policies and the lack of actual change for women and peace in Congo should shed suspicion on the relevance of these metrics as measurements of success. Perhaps they prompt the wrong questions. What if a quota and the inclusion of women in Congress will not materialize in change for women on the ground?

Critique of quantitative metrics is found in some liberal feminist critiques of The United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325. They challenge the "add women and stir approach" and the assumption that increasing the percentage of women in governance will automatically increase peace dividends for women writ- large. They emphasize structural inequalities that limit women's access to the political sphere related to economic and social status and cultural masculinity that illegitimates women's participation. However, while these critiques try to overcome structural barriers and boost inclusion in a more substantial way, they fall short of calling into question the governmental structures of "legitimate authority" within which these women are stirred. Driven by prevailing logic of governance in the Congo, fixed assumptions regarding the actors and processes of governance (and where women fit in this nexus) render this line of questioning inconceivable to policy makers.

The United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 demonstrates how improved liberal peacebuilding policy, improvements to the implementation tactics of said policy, and measurements of success only reinforce these "structures" driven by prevailing logic governance. In the next section, I take these structures as my object of inquiry, arguing that their incompatibility with Congolese realities limits the ability of liberal peacebuilding and its allegedly radical improvements, such as The United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325, to contribute to sustainable peace.

Congolese Realities: Challenging Liberal Peacebuilding and The United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325

Returning to Scott's idea of legibility, peacebuilding policy seeks to craft "visibility out of obscurity,"61 making sense of complex conflict in order to prescribe certain technical solutions that fall within a certain framework and consensus of what "works." As demonstrated, this framework and consensus is rooted in a logic of governance that understands international peace and security as fundamentally linked to the construction and strengthening of democratic and well-functioning states. An examination of The United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 in the Congo makes clear that peacebuilding policy, regardless of progression, intends to reinforce the central authority of the sovereign state, and legitimacy through the exercise of "good governance" and a strong social contract.

Like peacebuilders, this section also intends to create visibility and make sense of the complex Congolese conflict, but in a way not crafted to match preconfigured peacebuilding solutions. It seeks to rationalize the often incomprehensible realities deemed irrational, and to uncover the complexities that are often misapprehended or disregarded by international policymakers. An examination and synthesis of African state theory and ethnographic research on the exercise of sovereignty in the Congo reveals a reconfiguration and re-appropriation of state power and multi-sited locations of sovereignty, superimposed on Congolese state structures. This finding strongly departs from prevailing conceptualizations of governance in the aftermath of conflict, the role and capacity of the Congolese state, and ascribed binaries such as state-society, governmental-nongovernmental, and formal-informal sectors. Further, it challenges both the possibility and appropriate nature of rebuilding the Congolese state as the key to sustainable peace. The United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 implementation serves as a case study to demonstrate the ways in which the logic of governance and state-centric framework of liberal peacebuilding misapprehend the Congolese state as a legitimate form of political authority, foreclose accurate depictions of power and authority, and jeopardize the imagination of alternate forms of engagement that may lead to sustainable peace.

Re-Reading the Congolese Conflict

As noted, the international peacebuilding community has dealt with the seeming incomprehensibility of the Congolese conflict through a streamlined and simplified narrative

of a failed state overrun by militia groups who are fuelled by conflict minerals and perpetuate horrific violence. The ethnographic record complicates this vision, offering an alternate account of the conflict that challenges the appropriate nature of dominant peacebuilding solutions. Congolese scholar Severine Autessere argues that the Congolese conflict is rooted in the colonial era when Belgian authorities strategically fuelled ethnic tensions by privileging certain groups with access to political and economic power in order to consolidate their authority and weaken resistance movements. This exploitation of ethnic tensions continued into independence under General Mobutu, who divided potential rival groups and intentionally provoked competition among them to defend their access to resources. His 32-year dictatorial reign was defined by human rights abuses, particular neglect of the Eastern provinces, and the proliferation of patronage networks. This created a system of indirect rule through local power holders that long used the state as an instrument of private gain rather than public benefit.63 Mobutu was overthrown in 1996 and the simultaneous spill over of fleeing Hutus from the Rwandan genocide served as a catalyst for conflict, magnifying ethnic tensions, battles over land and resources, and political violence and corruption. The years that followed saw a multitude of support by various international actors for anti-government coalitions and the Congolese government, contributing to the seemingly incessant splintering and coalescing of different armed groups. While today a post-conflict national government appears to exist in Kinshasa, conflict continues to define the Eastern Congo, sustained by a multifaceted combination of local, national, regional, and international dynamics that refuse both a simple explanation and definitive solution. This complication of Congolese history and conflict displays large parts of the population existing in a prolonged entanglement of social, political, and economic forces largely apart from the state or effective state governance. I lay out this narrative to emphasize the long-term tensions surrounding state authority and its consistent role as a source of distrust and instability for the Congolese people. This narrative supports the observation by many African scholars that the Congolese state has never approached a Weberian ideal, thus challenging international efforts to (re) build a state that never existed.

One cannot expressly declare that once you have women in negotiation teams, you are guaranteed of having gender sensitive language, or looking at issues dispassionately from a gender perspective, or, in the text and contexts of agreement, advocate positions that necessarily improve the condition of women. However, the case of Luz Méndez delegates sent forward for the Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity party (URNG) during the

Guatemala peace talks in the mid-1990s, reveals how a delegate can negotiate on behalf of her own party, and, not only that, but on behalf of all women. Mendez made important strides for her country's women by asserting an array of gender equality issues and ensuring that they were addressed in the agreements as all-female negotiating parties representing a women's agenda. This was at the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995 apparently; and was also due to her strong ties to civil society (Jarstad, A and Nilsson, D. 2008).

The foregoing method is acknowledged for its successful use in Northern Ireland, though replication it in other contexts may be difficult as a result of the very particular situations of the Northern Ireland peace talks of 1998. The way the electoral system was particularly designed in such a way that determined how the multi-party peace negotiations was made, afforded Monica McWilliams and May Blood the chance to represent the cross-community Northern Ireland Women's Coalition, at the 20-member negotiating table. Elections were held to distribute seats in the 110-member Northern Ireland Forum for Political Dialogue, and two seats were reserved for representatives of the top ten parties. This was the case despite the relatively low number of votes obtained (Otto, 2009).

It has even been adduced by Scully (2009) that women who have ever been signatory to the text of accords have a strikingly low population. The Chapultepec Agreement was actually signed by two women, Ana Guadalupe Martínez and María Marta Valladares, which deflated the conflict in El Salvador in the early 1990s. This clearly represents the sign that comparatively, there was a high level of women's representation and participation in the leadership of the FLMN. The Bonn Agreement of 2001 was also signed by Sema Wali and Amena Afzali, both of whom are women who were invited into the delegation of Mohammad Zahir Shah, the former monarch, in contrast with the all-male delegations representing the Tajiks, Uzbeks and Hazaras of the Northern Alliance, on one hand, and the Pashtuns on the other. At times, an individual who is no female can sign on behalf of women in the general sense, but they may not be part of the delegates. The first female who was ever a signatory to a peace agreement in Somalia in 2004, Asha Hagi Elmi, is a case in reference. Asha Hagi Elmi's reputation in peace talks and negotiation can be traced back to two years earlier when she represented her state and women in the Sixth Clan, created in 2000 out of a network of women with cross-clan marriages; something that grew to alter representation of the pan-Somali women's movement. The Sixth Clan sought representation at the talks in

response to the fact that none of the five traditional Somali clans had included women in the negotiations.

Quite often, peace negotiations are witnessed by an individual or group of individuals who participate in signing procedures and processes even when they do not necessarily attend the other parts of the talks. Also, such individuals will in most cases sign the agreement on behalf of the nations or nation that sponsors or facilitates the talks. The case in recall is that of Heidi Johansen representing Norway and Anna Sundström as European Union representative for the Great Lakes region. They both were involved in the capacity of official witness throughout the different stages of the Juba peace talks. Given the ostensible representationality of their role, as well as the restricted contributions they can make in the contents, processes and procedures of the agreement, it can be concluded that this category is significantly not as relevant as the others.

As mere observers representing civil society organizations of women, this represents a key and often demanding kind of engagement by women during peace-making and peace talks, yet, it also remains that which makes out the most uneven results. Some eight-woman representing the Liberian chapter of the Mano River Women's Peace Network in Liberia formed a delegation team to participate in the 2003 peace talks. In 2003, as official observers without the power to speak or vote. Led by Ruth Sando Perry and Theresa Leigh-Sherman, members of this delegation had only observer status; they could neither vote not talk to contribute in any way to the talks. Later on, in Ghana, Accra specifically, the organization called the Liberian Women in Peace-building Programme (WIPNET) also won a similar observer status, but, unlike the foregoing, were permitted to have a greater impact as agitators for peace. However, this was not achieved on a platter of gold, but through months of consistent mobilization for and actualization of rallies, protests, sit-ins, vigils and demonstrations which sometimes involved direct stampeding of the delegates and preventing them from leaving the venue of the agreement; without signing the peace agreement, as powerfully depicted in the 2008 documentary, *Pray The Devil Back To Hell*.

Shortly before the signing, an all-day meeting of the different observer women organizations had convened and came out with what they called the 'Golden Tulip Declaration'- Golden Tulip was the hotel in which the meeting was held. The Golden Tulip Declaration provided a summary of the yearnings, aspirations and demands of women, crucial amongst which was

advocacy for peace instead of demand for particular provisions on the issue of gender justice, which they feared could have derailed the process. In a similar vein, two other different Ugandan organizations cum coalitions of women had formal observer status granted them in Juba, though this was at the end of the entire process, so, they had neither speaking nor consultative role to play. The previous tabling of women's implementation protocols to complement the agreements made their influence much greater; it was also facilitated by their regular contact with the UNIFEM gender adviser to the UN Special Envoy to the talks, the legal experts in the mediation team and the women who were part of the negotiating delegations.

Seven women were, during the 2000 Burundi talks, given the status of observer after they had been excluded for many months even with their consistent pressure and lobbying. Although observer status had been granted other civil society organizations before then, no organization was ready to openly claim to represent or speak on behalf of women and this was tabled as were reasons given to exclude them, especially on the grounds that they could not speak on behalf of all Burundian women. During the sessions, women saturated the corridors and lobbied members of the international community, regional leaders, donor nations and African women's rights organizations. However, it was only after they managed to meet the chief mediator, Mwalimu Julius Nyerere that they were able to hold a special session with the heads of the 19 negotiating parties, present their case and, after initial rejection, finally be allowed into the negotiating room. Nyerere's successor, Nelson Mandela, continued to engage women's groups and facilitate their inclusion in the talks. In the end, all the female delegates and observers held a four-day All-Party Burundi Women's Peace Conference in July 2000 and drafted a declaration with proposals for the final agreement. These were submitted to Mandela, and most were incorporated into the comprehensive peace agreement.

Despite the attention to implementing Resolution 1325 and developing indicators, there is little evidence of its tangible impact in conflict-affected countries. The evaluation of the United Nations reveals very little progress; and even that is limited to a few areas, especially the political participation of women. Moreover, there are an array of non-empirical and unproven assumptions upon which the Resolution depends. Such assumptions include the potentiality of women's participation towards a transformational effect on peace and security. Recent initiatives have however, underscored that more information is needed to track results,

including the upcoming High-Level Review of the resolution, which is likely to provide more thorough analysis of its implementation and effects.

Holding an alternative peace conference in an alternative forum or movement is a critical method that women often employed, usually not as a result of design or choice, but in response to exclusion of women from the formal peace talks. In year 2000, about 500 women converged at the All Acehnese Women's Congress, the first of its kind, and distributed their 22 recommendations to the various parties, including the President, and lobbied for the involvement of women in the negotiations and peace talks, which were then being facilitated by the Henry Dunant Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue. In spite of those efforts they made, the five-year process culminating in the 2005 Memorandum of Understanding between the Government and the Free Aceh Movement (Gerakan Aceh Merdeka/ GAM) remains striking due to the complete absence of women. There were a set of critical consequences to this, and they include extremely little representation of women among the bodies that handle implementation after agreement. In the first list of those who receive compensation, getting to three thousand (3,000) names of individuals, not even one woman was included, in spite of the ubiquitous photos of the women's wing of the GAM being used extensively during the media campaigns.

In June 2005, the second All Acehnese Women's Congress was held, financially and technically supported by UNIFEM. Following many meetings held in preparations geared towards helping local women to articulate their interests, more than 350 women publicly declared and spoke of their aspirations, priorities and concerns, and those issues include them not being consulted in critical decision taking such as ownership of land, relocation, distribution of relief materials and inappropriate protection for girls and women who are displaced and kept in makeshift housing. Many countries have adopted a similar approach, and they used it for purposes including donor conferences in which the international community pledges its financial support to peace agreements: drawing up an agreed list of interests, concerns and demands, calling attention to the lack of representation of women in the official process, as well as, occasionally though, seemingly arm-twisting official participants into giving one of their representatives an opportunity to speak or introduce these declarations of priorities in the record of the proceedings. Then finally, as exemplified through social mobilization, the Uganda Women's Peace Coalition, right there in Uganda, formed what was called the Women's Peace Caravan in 2006. They took the UNIFEM

women's peace torch from Kampala through Uganda all the way to the site of the peace talks in Juba, Sudan, to protest the underrepresentation of women in the peace negotiations (Arnault, 2010).

As those who advised on gender related issues for the peace negotiators and mediators, delegates or facilitators, this remains one of the most effective, workable, practicable and pragmatic strategies, especially if the ultimate aim is fashioned towards ensuring that appropriate gender-related provisions are included in the text of the agreement. In Uganda, the gender adviser representing UNIFEM in the United Nations' Secretary-General's Special Envoy to the LRA-Affected Areas in Uganda, was able to play the double role of influencing the Special Envoy and the other parties so that they could recognize it on the one hand and, on the other, aid the peace coalition of women to conduct consultations and develop women's protocols so that each subject can accompany the accords. The multiple agreements yielded by the Juba peace talks contain a number of gender-equality provisions. There is a striking difference in the language of the agreements between the earlier accords and the later ones, dating from the point at which the women's coalition had begun to articulate and communicate their views to the parties.

Ironically, the Lord Resistance Army never signed the final peace agreement, but the network of women's organizations has continued to act in accord by tracking the implementation of the Peace and Reconstruction Development Plan for Northern Uganda. Similarly, for Darfur in 2006, the UNIFEM seconded a specialist on gender to the mediation group in the Abuja peace talks. Also, in order to facilitate the formation of a Gender Expert and Support Team (GEST) and the inclusion of the female delegates in the drafting of women's interests, the gender specialist assisted in concretizing a common gender platform that was largely represented in the text of the Darfur Peace Agreement, including gender-responsive provisions on the sharing of wealth sharing and rights to ownership of land; physical security, affirmative action and special measures, participation of women in disarmament, as well as demobilization and reintegration (DDR) programme.

As a separate committee or working group with great devotion to, or members of technical committees, having the chance to fashion out the technical modalities for how agreements will be implemented usually remains one of the most desirable modalities of participation for women. This is based on the assumption that engagement in such technical committees or

fora implies an avenue for official reporting to the peace table. In Sri Lanka in 2002, women got the opportunity to establish a sub-committee on gender, which was formed by women appointed by the negotiating parties. This sub-committee was one of several thematic groups put together for addressing areas of specific interest, and its remit included the right to address the negotiators in plenary session so that, in this case, they could transmit the recommendations, demands and interests of women. In the early part of the 1990s, in El Salvador all post-accord technical tables witnessed the presence and participation of women that worked out the details of implementation of the agreement. This made a critical difference and enabled them to refine technical details towards facilitating the implementation of their priorities. In Guatemala in 1996, women were part of a much broader consultative Assembly of Civil Society with consistent means and avenues of communication with the participants in the peace talks, and with the right to review and comment on the contents of the peace accords in step with the drafting process.

This method is better used under the circumstances in which women occupy a relatively high post in the civil society, and has the capacity to hold their own for the purpose of competing with other civil society interests. In situations where some more powerful interest groups suppress their voice or members of civil society, it is perhaps advisable to have a separate gender expert group with an advisory function, as in Sri Lanka or Darfur.

It is quite difficult to ascertain the method that works most effectively for a certain situation. Every peace process is unique, and what shapes the methods and opportunities of women's engagement are how strong or coherent the women's peace movement is, the political culture, the extent of exhaustion that war has inflicted on the movement of the women, the form and degree of support as well as supplies secured from the international community, the nature and extent of the war and so on. Moreover, some exceptional individuals can make a lot of difference - that is difficult to deny - from the mediators that took it upon themselves to facilitate women's access to peace talks (Arnault in Guatemala, Nyerere or Mandela in Burundi, Annan in Kenya - to the women who charted their own path, like Anne Itto in South Sudan, Pampha Bhusal in Nepal, Teresita 'Ging' Deles in the Republic of the Philippines, or Asha Hagi Elmi in Somalia.. Strategy of choice or circumstances not withstanding therefore, it is important and helpful to have some standard practice in mediation; such that this ensures that mediators work in consultation with women in such a way that assists them ascertain the ideal way of engaging civil society groups, and intermittently explain to delegates that are

negotiating, the advantage of ensuring that women are included, and giving them encouragement to do so.

In addition, in spite of the contextual differences, women of various backgrounds are increasingly articulating some requests and demands during various conflict situations. Even when they fail to achieve this aim, that is to force their input into the text of a peace agreement or persuade donor countries to pay attention to gender issues during the implementation of the accords, they stand in as forceful reminder of women's distinct concerns and stand as moving testimony to women's right to represent their interests in peace processes, precisely because if women do not represent their concerns, others do not, and an important set of issues remains neglected.

A Peace Builder's Perspective of the DRC Conflict

Those in positions of political power often are unable to understand complex and confusing realities of governance, and blame such inability to on the perceived irrationality of said realities while simplify codifying those realities to the levels of rationality and legibility. James Scott, a political theorist has identified the relevant idea of state legibility, and when this is applied o the case of women and girls in the peacemaking phenomenon of the Democratic Republic of Congo, the nation is forced into a legible truism and perhaps oversimplified of a failed illiberal state due to the compulsion of policymakers to get an analytical dalliance on this conflict that has been exceptionally confusing and complex, and that has been compatible with existing peacebuilding tools and objectives, that is, rebuilding the liberal state .

International peacebuilders often adopt the narrative in what follows quite roughly. At the end of the Cold War, an unstable, already deeply divided as well as insecure nation groaning under the unparalleled 32 years old patrimonial dictatorship of General Mobutu Seko, faced economic downturn and political unrest due to the withdrawal of assistance programs from the West. After the Rwanda genocide of 1994 that saw above one million Rwandan Hutus fleeing to the eastern Congo and forming an armed group (FDLR) against the Congolese Tutsis'. Unable to be defeated by the government of Congo, Rwanda intervention ultimately ended the threat with support for the1996 overthrow of Mobutu Seko Seko.

The result was a war between 1998 and 2003, with government forces supported by fighting rebel groups from Namibia, Zimbabwe and Angola with backing of "The Eastern Congo." Decentralized insecurity and conflict are yet to be over, adding to the estimated 5.4 million deaths and two million reported rapes of women and girls since 1994. This is in addition to the more than one million internally displaced living under extreme poverty, and the decimation of national infrastructure. Weak, illegitimate and corrupt institutions of the state contribute to the operation of armed groups operating in the East (primarily the Rwandan Hutu FDLR, the Rwanda and Uganda backed M23, and various local armed "Mai Mai" groups). These armed groups constantly terrorize civilians and conduct widespread human rights violations while engaging in their illegal exploitation of conflict minerals, They rape, murder, torture, and abduct people at will; especially women and girls.

Séverine Autessere has argued that this particular framing of the Congolese conflict, "authorizes, enables, and justifies" specific policy responses. And, in line with other discourse analysis, these policy responses "reproduce and reinforce both the dominant practices and the meanings upon which (they are) predicated" coming to be taken as "natural, granted, and the only conceivable" option overtime. The understanding in the Congo, of a chaotic conflict perpetuated by failed and illiberal statehood authorizes the reinstatement of a stable, liberal, and central state and the expansion of state authority to the East as the best, if not only, way to restore social order. Large-scale interventions are therefore supported by peacebuilders for the purpose of a new "successful" democratic national election in 2006 as well as new transitional "government of national unity" in 2003, where nearly 25 million potential voters registered.

These capacity building measures intending to fill the empty void of the rule of law, democracy as well as service provision while reinforcing the problematization of a failed state. This over the time establishes the singular framing and response as the only conceivable one. "While it is no secret that these capacity building measures largely failed, it is the way international peacebuilders address these failures that truly reveal the strength of dominant framings", argued Arpah (2012: 12). The claim by Congo that she operates "under constitutional law, followed by the "trappings of a functioning democracy" make the USAID note a continued and severe lack of "good governance," as power is concentrated in the executive which deploys it for damaged state legitimacy and widespread impunity resulting from an unwillingness or, and inability to carry out essential functions. While

these failures could prompt a challenge to the diagnosis of state failure or the utility of capacity building, self reinforcing problematizations and solutions preclude the possibility of this line of inquiry. What occurs actually remains a push for the amplified and continued deployment of the same measure for capacity building, even when improved.

United Nations and Conflict Management in DRC: case of women in conflict management

Women in general are not seen qualified to participate in political decision-making processes. The UN attempted to create a more comprehensive practice through the Beijing Platform for Action (1995). As outlined by the Beijing +5 Reviews, women advancement is restricted. Cultural prejudice justifies women's omission from negotiating tables. Therefore, UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on 'Women, Peace and Security' is of great importance. Irrespective of the fact that restrictions to its operation remain, women outside the UN play active parts in peace-building in civil society. Accordingly, they magnify the factors of peace-building amazingly to consist of all processes that nurture peace (https://doi.org/10.1080/0951274032000124965).

DRC women in conflict management

Though some women have started to perform significant roles in conflict resolution, peacekeeping and peace building, they are yet to be fully represented in policymaking when it comes to conflict. In the Great Lakes Region, for example, the DRC have been included in peace talks, but the potential for change are restricted by the general political climate and the level of democratization (Karin Koen, 2006).

Before the conflict started in Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), according to Human Rights Watch "women and girls were classified as second class citizen" (Human Rights watch, 2002). As explained by MONUC, the activities of women in Democratic Republic of Congo degenerated from total involvement before annexation to that of incapacitation during the days of imperial occupation and that of near complete isolation on attaining self - determination (UNIFEM, 2004). In DRC, the question of gender is extremely low and is widespread with instances of legal battles for women.

Beijing platform for Action of 1995 did stipulate that gender awareness is an important phenomenon for promoting gender equality. Therefore considering this as an edge breaking,

the platform for Action highlighted the importance and need of women in conflict zones giving motivation for the input of women in conflict management decision making.. An example of local women action and in many instances across border in search of peace, is the case of Congolese women who against all odds overcame partisan, ethnic and other social and sectional hurdles to pursue peace in DRC. Before the United Nations security initiated formal peace conference (Inter- Congolese dialogue) in South Africa that was comprised of 40 women (about 12%) of the delegates among 340 delegates, women across the length and breadth of Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) with different groups from warring factions, government, and civil organization gathered in Nairobe to articulate a common roadmap for peace. At the end of the assemble, it was done on the women that " no matter how deep their differences may be, they shared an overriding desire for peace, a general commitment to the Lusaka accord and importantly, a common demonstration to remove constitutional and legislative obstacles to women's equality after the war" (Fleshman, 2003: 15). This was well articulated in the joint declaration and plan of action that projected gender matter to the dialogue issued by the women (Rehn and Johnson- Sirleaf, 2002). More importantly, the communiqué and plan of action advocated for 'an immediate ceasefire and their concerns in all aspects of the peace process, and adoption of a 30% quota for women at all levels of government in any final settlement" (Fleshman, 2003; 15).

Critical of the fact that there few women in the early actual peace talks in sun city, the women decided to elected an additional 33 women to boost their level of representation to be part of the initial official delegates of 40 women to the peace negotiations as advisers (Isike and Uzodike, 2009). According to Isike and Uzodike (2009), having not been included in the formal peace negotiations, the 33 women advisers elected but concretely acted as facilitators of the peace process having prepared technical documents and situation report papers for the official representatives, apply pressure on the men for peace and generally acted as intermediary between the people's quest for peace at home and the peace delegates in sun city.

It is important to note in this regards the women adopted what is called the traditional African women's weapon of drama, poetry and appeal to motherly inviolability involving in some cases civil disobedience in order to express their presence and sway the talks to peace. This is the typical of African pre-colonial traditional women power of withdrawing matrimonial privileges from men if men refuse to concur to women's plea for peace in conflict with neighbouring communities (Amadiume, 1987; 1997; Nzeogwu, 2000). The Congolese

women delegates also threatened to denounce and bring the men before the people's court at home 'if they went back home without peace the people would beat them' (Fleshman, 2003; 16). When the peace seems not to be in sight during the negotiations and consensus not reached, the women delegates prevented the delegates from leaving by blocking the entrance of the conference hall and told the media present that the delegates would never leave until a peace consensus is reached (Fleshman, :2003:16).

This went down very perfectly, as the women exhibited the capacity to go beyond daily bonds of human affairs that is based on ethnic, partisan or gender bias by providing positive response and ingenuity that, while embedded in the daily obstacles of the Congolese conflicts would ultimately eliminate the holds of damaging patterns and circles within which the conflict is perpetuated and prolonged (Lederach, 2005).

This women in this manner laid down the necessary groundwork for the much needed peace as they displayed we can attitude in a conflict of over 50 years which people thought that peace could never be achieved (Isike and Uzodike, 2010).

The United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325: Something Less than a Radical Improvement

The problem solving pattern of increased funding, advanced coordination, more operational support, usually present in some ways towards improving the efficacy of the peacebuilding tool kit. The unending failure to build the peace has however prompted more attempts to go beyond these superficial improvements, with the attempt offering solutions based on more critical approaches that can challenge the status quo of peacebuilding frameworks and operations. One important example of this approach is United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace, and Security, unanimously adopted on October 31, 2000 and generally called the UNSCR 1325.

This landmark contribution to the development of the global peace and security agenda demarcated gender inclusivity as imperative to attaining sustainable peace. Understood as a radical advancement and structural change, 1325 was *the* "missing link" in lagging peace operations.38 However, upon closer examination, I observe that this powerful rhetoric in fact obfuscates the reality that gender equity is nothing more than a "technical fix" to the liberal peacebuilding consensus, its policies undergird to the fullest extent by prevailing logic of governance.39 In line with the phenomena of implementing the same policy but "better,"

1325 pillars, implementation strategies, and metrics serve only to reinforce said logic. They demonstrate its power to pervade even the most cutting-edge and "critical" approaches to peacebuilding and to delineate the bounds within which peacebuilding policy can develop and advance.

The UNSCR 1325: A Better Statebuilding?

As an improvement to the peacebuilding-as-statebuilding project, the United Nations Security Council Resolution together with its inclusive politics agenda can be understood as a contribution towards constructing a better state that enjoys better internal accountability, legitimacy and progress. The policy of peacebuilding understands 1325's inclusion of a neglected category of peacemakers and social rebuilders as a means for supporting stronger good governance and a much better social contract.

The United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 enjoins member states to prompt more equitable peace dividends by including women in 'formal politics' and implement the policy of women participating up to quota in decision-making bodies.41 For better rule of law it calls for the strengthening of 30 percent in national jurisdictions as this would adequately protect women from sexual and gender-based violence, guarantee them their rights under national law, and enhance successful prosecution of international law violators. For better service provision it also calls for special attention to the rights of women to education, health, property ownership and inheritance, as well as general forms of livelihoods that will enhance their better participation in governance and the operations of peacebuilding in the DRC.

Although the policies of the UNSCR 1325 seem some groundbreaking measures for gender transformations and equity to "business as usual," it serves primarily to advance pillars of good governance that previously failed. In addition, it assists in proving greater accountability through the upholding of international norms and human rights law, greater legitimacy through increased participation, as well as greater responsiveness by meeting the needs of a higher percentage of the population. It also strengthens the social contract by broadening the number of stakeholders with an investment in the new system of governance.

5.2 Overall Summary of Challenges to Implementation

Resolution 1325 NAPs ought to contain a monitoring and evaluation framework that earmarks specific progress indicators and clearly specify duties and obligations for monitoring and reporting activities, at least, in order to hold implementers accountable. In addition, actual allocated funding for development or implementation was available for few NAPs. In fact, a survey conducted in 2014 about NAPs revealed that usually, sexual and gender-based violence, as well as addressing and increasing the involvement of women in peace processes got the larger chunk of funding, while security reform by sectoral stand and then access to justice are two areas that funding hardly ever get to.

5.2.1 Local Action Plans and Regional Action Plans

Local Action Plans (LAPs) refer to some dimension of making the United Nations resolutions operational at the grassroots levels. Serbia, the Philippines and Sierra Leone, among other countries have implemented local level mechanisms for implementing the resolution and NAPs. Many regional organizations have followed the Regional Action Plans (RAPs), including the European Union, North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), Economic Community Of West African States (ECOWAS), and the Pacific Island Forum. The Regional Action Plans coordinate regional interests of women, peace, and security; they also assist in directing and prioritizing the funding and programme of regional organizations. NATO has used Resolution 1325 to increase the levels of women in the military and has influenced seven NATO member states to have increasing women's participation in the military as a goal in implementing the resolution.

5.2.2 Non-governmental organizations

As far as the implementation of the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 is concerned, Non-Governmental Organizations play a critical role. Non-Governmental Organizations have often pressurised and sometimes lobbied their domestic governments to assist in the National Action Plans and many National Action Plans have an oversight body of the Non-Governmental Organizations. Its sole duty is to hold governments accountable and responsible to their commitments. Grassroots NGOs, particularly women's organizations, also use UNSCR 1325 in conflict-affected countries to lobby their governments to comply with the resolution on the issues of including women in conflict negotiations or holding peacekeeping missions accountable for sexual abuse and exploitation.

Established international NGOs play a critical role in disseminating information on the resolution to grassroots organizations and training local actors on the resolution and how to use it. Indeed, what motivates the world towards increasing the women peacekeeping population is the assumption that the enhancement of local women's access to services, community relations improvement , reduction in the incidences of sexual and gender-based violence among other things can easily be achieved by having increasing number of women peacekeepers. To be interrogated also is the extent to which women can perform the necessary functions as such hardly reflects the realities faced on ground by women. This was a challenge for the implementation of the UNSC Resolution 1325.

Another challenge is that the claim that people generally hold that women peacekeepers interact better with the local communities, most especially their fellow women and their kids is context-specific in most cases and cannot be relied upon for generalization. In the DRC for instance, women peacekeepers interacted freely with women and children but the case in Darfur, Sudan did not go in that direction. In fact, the local women in Darfur and Sudan were seriously afraid of interacting with peacekeepers, whether men or women. A reliable inference from this point is that race, gender, language and familiarity with local culture are key determinants of peacekeeping as they are used to foster long and short term relationships with specific local communities.

It was also commonplace for female peacekeepers to feel that the people in the local communities trust male soldiers more as protectors and soldiers while having problems judging and placing the roles and perhaps authenticity of female soldiers. This has a serious implication towards improving the security of local women and children. Then, it was also reported by some Female peacekeepers that the specific security concerns of women were quit unclear due to the little attention being paid to gender in the ' mission-readiness training of peacekeepers; a situation which implies a weak understanding of the underlying gender power relations in the communities.

5.3 Recognition and Scope

Countries the world over often utilise the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 as a policy framework for implementing gender-sensitive and conflict-related policies. They

also deploy it as an organizing framework for non-United Nations actors - such as states, NGOs, and researchers - and no other Security Council resolution has been used in such a way. For example, it remains the only resolution of the United Nations that presents reports, organises conferences, and commands special sessions of the Security Council during its anniversary celebration. It is also the only UNSC resolution with NGOs dedicated to its implementation.

Better Policy and Better Practice

The United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 may be a mechanism of improved statecraft, it has not in any means improved the situation or mitigated conflict more broadly in the Congo as far as the interest of women and girls is concerned. For instance although articles 14 and 15 of the DRC constitution encourage gender equality in all institutions and sectors of national life, yet only 7.2% of the positions in currently occupied at the highest level of national decision making. There is increasing still, and systemic spread of sexual and gender-based violence even as there was a coordination of a national strategy on Sexual and Gender-based Violence in 2013, though gender has been tied to Land, Labor, Forest, Family and Agricultural Code, service provision to the state remains virtually non-existent.

Only one example of many, continued violence and gender inequality in the Congo often serve as global evidence for severe 1325 "implementation deficits." The 2015 High Level Review emphasizes the "struggle to bridge the declared intent of international policymaking and the reality of domestic action in the many corners of the world where resolution 1325 is most needed.", and this focuses towards translating policy to practice mirrors larger liberal peacebuilding policy inquiries, resulting in advanced implementation strategies claiming to critically address dominant frameworks. However this part of the thesis considers the implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 in evaluative form, attempts to diagnose its shortcomings while proposing improvements, as sites of intervention.

Because member states are the primary implementing actor, failed implementation often lies decisively in a lack of political will and commitment of national actors. This is perceived as a symptom of lacking national ownership, stemming from an aversion to international policy and norms imposed *upon* them. In response, the Security Council called upon member states

in 2005 to implement the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 through the development of National Action Plans (NAP). Policymakers hope the NAP process, which assists countries in "identifying priorities and resources, determining their responsibilities, and committing to action" regarding the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325, will incite greater national ownership and responsibility, and create a platform for policies and implementation strategies better tailored to diverse post-conflict environments. Whether or not this occurs, National Action Plans serve as a tool for states to strengthen their adherence to the liberal state model and reinforce the centrality and responsibility of the state in peacebuilding operations. On a broader level, National Action Plans explicitly prove political will and capacity of an accountable and legitimate government willing to implement global norms to both the international community and its own populace. Ordinarily, the National Action Plan of DRC that was adopted in year 2010 is an exemplary document that actualises international desires to improve the implementation of the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325. A breakthrough in slow progress, and, as the government of Congo states, "the development of this NAP reflects the commitment and political will closed [sic] of the Government for the implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 in our country."

Widespread and cross-sector involvements that were spearheaded by the Ministry of Gender, Family, and Children in cooperation with the Ministries of Defence, Security, Justice, Human Rights, Public Health, and Social Affairs, were largely considered successful even with the reservation that the National Action Plan had not been implemented effectively with failure being credited to a dearth technical know-how, funding, and monitoring cum evaluation frameworks. Without challenging the relevance of National Action Plans as an effective means of implementing the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 or build state capacity, the United Nations continues to assert that the shortcomings of the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 necessitate the acceleration of the development and adoption of National Action Plans by more states, and increased support for those that already exist.

Women, peace, and security have become some important topics in international politics since 2000, and this undoubtedly triggered the passage of the resolution and advocacy and subsequent advocacy for its implementation. It also increased attention to sexual violence in armed conflict. Another major landmark was the 2011 Nobel Peace Prize, awarded to Ellen

Johnson Sirleaf, Leymah Gbowee, and Tawakkol Karman "for their non-violent struggle for the safety of women and for women's rights to full participation in peace-building work." As the topic of women and war became more prominent, more policy-making bodies turned to the resolution and supported it (Osotimehin 2015).

Within the United Nations, the resolution precipitated redirected attention to the issue of women and conflict. Prior to the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325, it was rare for the Security Council to consider women, aside for the tradition of occasionally direction of reference to women and children as vulnerable groups in war and conflict, and identifying them as some groups that need to be protected. Since the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 has been passed, six other resolutions that addressed the issues of women in armed conflicts have been passed by the Security Council. Moreover, rhetoric has significantly changed, and United Nations representatives, member states and agencies now discuss how the gender inequality has an on peace and security. However, it has been suggested that these changes have been limited, with only 33 out of 225 Security Council resolutions passed in the three years after the passage of Resolution 1325 mentioning the words "gender" or "women."

The Issues of Decentralization *and Localization*

The international community has though not ruled out the efficacy and necessity of National Action Plans, nations and other political actors have increasingly called upon them to address the conspicuous disconnection between national politics and local realities as well as peculiarities. At present, the term policy localization appears a buzzword, functioning in line with broader peacebuilding efforts to decentralize governance and extend the authorities and legitimacy of government by promoting smaller local governmental structures that can connect the state better and faster to the society. The Congolese government, in order to translate national policies, laws and frameworks to the local level as dictated by the 2015 High Level Review recommendations, recently evolved "A Practical Guide: For the Integration of United Nations Security Council Resolutions 1325 and 1820 into the Local Development Plans of the Democratic Republic of Congo.

A civil society organization, the Global Network of Women Peacebuilders also launched a program of Localization along the efforts made by the national government. This is in order to map the actual reality of the locality, the nature of the market and the skills available, and

the "type of places to be developed by the government. This focus on the "local" attempts to address criticism of a one-size-fits-all strategy but remains complacent in the larger agenda of extending state authority, and is seen as the much needed bottom-up approach to peacebuilding, The state is more accessible and responsive to society due to improvements to local governance and this can assist in establishing a greater foundation of loyalty and trust for a stronger social contract. It also ultimately in the long run supports the legitimacy of the national government.

The puzzle of failed international peacebuilding efforts in the Congo can now be explained, at least in part, by the fundamental disconnect between prevailing understandings of governance that drive all policy development, and the reality of how power and authority actually operate. This disconnect though, does not arise from an inability to see alternate forms of power and authority, rather, a state-centric problematization of peacebuilding in the Congo produces the inability to comprehend them as rational forms of social order.

I suggest that the ability to see them, as noted by increasing international acknowledgement of power and authority wielded by non-state actors, offers a potential window of opportunity to negotiate dominant logic. Currently, these non-state actors are characterized by"logic of poverty, predation, and provincialism," and considered a threat to the formation of the state and sustainable peace. They are regarded simply as temporary shifts of power during conflict, placeholders in a process of state reconstruction. Therefore, informal economies and plural legal systems need to be "brought in line" with internationally recognized forms of legitimate authority. It is this framework classifying alternate forms of authority as illegitimate and temporary that I deem problematic and limiting. While I acknowledge the instigation of widespread violence by the non-state actor, militias, I call for problematizing assumptions regarding *all* alternate forms of authority and assessing them without preconceived notions, in order to open up the possibility for radical and more effective alternatives for achieving sustainable peace.

While a prescription for the future of peace operations in the Congo is clearly beyond the scope of this project, I do propose radical forms of engagement outside of the nation-state framework to include a formal rationalization of alternate arrangements of power. This would include not only active engagement with alternate forms of authority but also a valorisation and legitimatization of them, imagining their potential as more permanent structures capable

of wielding representative politics, rule of law, and service provision. Importantly, given the potentially permanent blend of state and non-state authority in the Congo, this approach does not work without the state, rather it works beyond the state, re-conceptualizing the way governance can and should be practiced.

What though would peacebuilding policy beyond the state *really* look like? Applied to 1325 in the Congo, I first affirm the continued importance of participatory decision-making, protection for women, and equitable service provision as vital components of sustainable peace irrespective of state-centric policy frameworks. The trajectory then becomes a matter of finding what is working, allowing it to keep working, and strengthening it under a flexible definition of successful peacebuilding. Peacebuilders are then open to question, where and how is power operating? What function does the state serve if not to govern? By whom are meaningful decisions made, rules enforced, and services provided? Which actors have the loyalty and trust of the people? Secondly, instead of working to rebuild the Congolese state, peacebuilders would strengthen already existing constellations of power and authority, with an eye towards the permanence and financial stability of these structures. The state would be While I propose alternate approaches specifically for the Congo, the challenge to liberal peacebuilding policy and proposed shifts in approach may prove useful for other sites that continue to elude international peacebuilders.

Lastly, there would need to be a paradigmatic shift conceptualizing success. Metrics concerning participation quotas, laws, and most importantly the reinstatement of the state would be replaced by questions such as, do women have a voice in decision-making bodies that they feel are representative and accountable? Do they feel protected? Are they receiving quality services? The structures, actors, and percentages would only matter insofar as they materialized into actual change on the ground. This would be *real* contextualization, *real* refutation of one-size-fits-all policy, and a *real* measurement of sustainable peace. This imagined trajectory of 1325 outside of the nation-state framework is notably idealistic. The entirety of this project is founded upon the fixity and self-reinforcing nature of the frames within which peacebuilding develops. However, at some point pervasive norms will need to face interrogation, particularly amidst the horrific costs of failed peace efforts in the Congo.

The Congo can no longer afford a misapprehension or negation of its constellations of power that are too complicated to apprehend and that do not fit pre-set templates. The full

reinstatement of the Congolese state may not be possible or the best option for peace, and peacebuilders can no longer impose a new structure of power and authority (the liberal state) that has never functionally existed. The Congo operates under its *own* fixed logic of governance that cannot be "brought in line." Argue for a progressive agenda of "re-norming" peacebuilding in the Congo, slowly and successfully engaging with structures of power as they *actually* operate until they can effectively challenge and over code the policy, practice, and objectives of liberal peace building's prevailing logic of governance.

The Civil Society

In recognition of the often weak nature of local and national governance, the civil society, an all-embracing concept for people and organizations that are not inside the formal structures and institutions of governance, has over the years emerged as an inestimable partner towards implementing fully the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 in the Democratic Republic of Congo. Civil society organizations often educate, and in doing so they raise awareness of as well as disseminate information about the rights of women and girls as captured by the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325, building women and girls' capacity to drive forward the Resolution while mobilizing girls and women towards participating in the electoral processes of the "Preventing Conflict " and UN Women, as advocates, and due to their strong relationship with the ordinary people in the grassroots, the civil society organizations act as a platform for articulate public opinion, and call on their "democratic" governments to reflect the desires of the people they represent.

The CSOs also play the watchdog role, holding the government accountable to follow through on essential international documents such as the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325. The United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 explicitly calls for national engagement with civil society, creating a better dialogue between the two through what it coined as 'sustained consultation and dialogue between women and national decision makers' and the development of funding mechanisms for organizations that support women's leadership development. This "innovative" engagement with civil society, often propelled by a desire to "go around the government," and create accountability from below, explicitly reflects normative conceptualizations of state-society relations, and the fixed binaries regarding the role and responsibilities of the governmental and the non-governmental.

5.3.1 Gender Essentialism

A set of feminists have come up with criticism of the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325, dismissing it as portraying women in an essentialist manner. The essentialist portrayals of women, according to them, earn the look of perpetual victims, ignoring women's agency to bring about both violence and peace. For instance, reports of violence against civilians appear to underscore "women and children" as victims does imply that men are victims, to illustrate the brutal nature of violence. Conversely, this framing also implies that men are not victims, despite there being male victims of sexual violence or the gender-based violence of killing men because they are men.

Another assumption of gender essentialism is that which summarises women as people with innate peace and empathy in their character; something often attributed to their nature and experience as mothers and caregivers. This is the reason people often use in making cases for women's membership in peacekeeping teams and processes. That women naturally have the capacity to build coalitions and work with others in a team to achieve their particular purposes is another frequently cited gender essentialist argument. The United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 readily incorporates these assumptions, and quite frequently, they are referred to in the reports of the Secretary-General Reports, National Action Plans as well as advocacy movements. The result is that women often feel the need to conform to certain standards and that women who do not fit these ideals are marginalized in politics and policy.

5.3.2 Gender Mainstreaming

The United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 backs the idea of gender mainstreaming and incorporation of a gender perspective into evolving programmes and policies, in all United Nations programmes related to peace and security, but especially in peacekeeping missions. Critics have contended that the clause of the Resolution that calls for Senior Gender Advisor, as well as some other parts, may result in the act of segregating the rights of women from all other issues of peace and security; making it possible and easy to side-line some other gender issues and interests, throwing them into what is called "gender ghetto", and ensuring that they remain outside of the mainstream (Young, 2000; Tirma, 2011). Indeed, and however, Frameworks used for security issues continually perceive this

differently and render it as a 'niche topic', for the reason of restricting issues of women to 'Gender Advisers' office, and the rendition remains with a plethora of institutions and systems that are dominated by males.

CHAPTER SIX: SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Summary and Conclusion

In this research, we have examined the several socio political and economic contradictions that conflicts at all levels inflict on women, viz a viz the significance of including women themselves in decision-making structures of pre-conflict and post-conflict societies in order to address the contradictions. This was done with a specific focus on the UN resolution 1325 and the implications it has for the situation in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC).

The African State

An important body of scholarship calls into question the viability of the state as the locus of authority in postcolonial Africa, some diagnosing conflict as a direct result of the failure of the postcolonial nation-state system. They veer away from emphasis on collapsed, corrupt, failed, or patrimonial African states and offer new analytical tools for comprehending "how public authority actually works," in places where the state is "failing to perform most of the tasks… that they are supposed to do." James Ferguson argues that states have not disappeared, but rather that they have simply "gotten out of the business of governing." Expanding on an understanding of the "governance for private gain" model under Mobutu, formal institutions of government in the Congo today are little more than empty shells for the operation of other forms of authority. Christian Lund conceptualizes this phenomenon with the term "twilight institutions," where state institutions appear to exercise public authority, but power is actually wielded by non- state actors. He proposes that these actors challenge traditional state authority but depend on the idea of statehood and the formality of (however weak) state institutions to do so.

This theory helps explain governance in the Congo where a multiplicity of actors exercise governance, but their frequent dependence on varied aspects of "statehood" supports the persistence of the Congolese state (whether or not it governs). This complicated relationship between state and non-state actors is further explained by Ferguson's challenge to "self-evident vertical topographies of power". These topographies assume fixed analytical categories of the "state" and "society" whereby the state exercises governance *upon* and *in contrast* to the local, informal, and nongovernmental parts of society. Refuting the primacy of the nation-state frame of analysis, he calls for a more lateral understanding of governance

that recognizes alternate locations of sovereignty and governance that do not replace or usurp state power but overlay and co-exist with it.

These challenges to international "fetishism with state sovereignty," support a conceptualization of sovereignty detached from the state. Timothy Raeymakers reimagines sovereign rule systems as "bodies of relations, which effectively structure practices and agency in a given area of social life," and emphasizes sovereignty's nature as a tentative and always emergent form of authority, capable of being exercised by non-state actors. The state itself can also be understood as a form of social relations, not found in "any of the things that appear to reify it" but rather through the "relays of claims and recognition that insinuate state power."

In the Congo this helps to conceptualize the state as one component of a constellation of actors and structures that help to collectively form the "effect of sovereignty." These alternate ways of understanding arrangements of governance help rationalize the realities that peacebuilders often misapprehend, simplify, or negate. Most importantly for the Congo, they explain that the absence of (legitimate and internationally recognized) Congolese state authority does not necessarily equate with either the absence of governance or the Congolese state.

Congolese Realities

Timothy Raeymakers' and Patience Kabamba's ethnographic work on the emergence of alternate forms of governance and multi-sited locations of sovereignty in the Nande region of the Eastern Congo, further challenges normative conceptions of the centrality of the state, its exercise of governance, and relationship to society. Raeymakers and Kabamba unveil a constellation of three non-state actors exercising power and authority in the Nande region: economic traders, militia groups, and the Catholic Church. Economic traders wield authority over economic production, taxes on the border, and land appropriation, local militia groups are paid to provide security and exercise coercive power, and the Catholic Church has authority over the development sector and the provision of social services.

These forces come together through the *Comité des Sages* (Noble Committee), a platform for political discussion, negotiation, allocation of responsibility, and conflict mediation between these parties. This assemblage of competing actors engaging in practices of governance has

arguably come to be seen as a legitimate regulatory authority, maker of the law, and known system which Raeymakers states "prove(s) the effect of sovereignty." While this evidence demonstrates pluralities of governance and multi-sited sovereignty, Lund's idea of a "twilight state" helps identify how these dynamics exist amidst a backdrop of a "particular fiction of the (Congolese) state." In other words, the Congolese state *does* persist but not in the manner we might envision.

Laura Seay who conducts similar work with a focus on the Catholic Church and the provision of social services, observes the continued presence of state traffic police, customs officials, and taxation, as well as government run schools and hospitals. However, individuals in these positions of state authority typically do not receive a government salary, carry any state authority, or have the capacity to deliver services. The real power behind these state structures and operations lies with other actors.

Thus, rather than a system of informality running counter to formal governance, these actors use the language of state bureaucracy and the shell of state institutions to foster power and legitimacy through the active transformation of dominant registers and conventions of government. Instead of an erasure of state sovereignty, state power is transposed onto other parties and re-configured in order to constitute its own known system of "formalized informality." While the state is essentially "overtaken by its own shadow," it is important to recognize both the emergence of alternate configurations of power and the continuation of the "fiction" of the Congolese state. I propose that it is this fictional body, the existence of state structures with no state authority that international policymakers latch on to and seek to strengthen in their quest to build peace, blind to the actual functioning of power within and alongside the state by other actors.

Challenging 1325 in the Congo

This understanding of how power and authority works in the Congo serves as a specific lens for demonstrating the limits of normative logic of governance regarding the Congolese state, its capacity for "good governance," and the strengthening of a state-society relationship that would lend legitimacy to this (re) built state. Converging 1325, an exemplification of this logic, with the ethnographic record, illuminates fixed engagement with a fictitious understanding of Congolese state and the preclusion of engagement with alternate power

constellations, which both ultimately undermine its success and relevance as a peacebuilding strategy.

By supporting better governance and a stronger social contract through an inclusive and representative democracy, stronger allegiance to the rule of law, and more equitable service provision, 1325 misconceives the existence of state structures as governing bodies to be expanded upon and strengthened. It stirs women into shells of government structures, apprehending them as the only possible body of authority that can and should make important decisions and laws, and provide services. This failure to recognize or understand the actual operation of both the Congolese state and governance undermines the relevance of 1325 as a strategy to build a better state and better peace.

For example, a 30% quota of female participation in decision-making bodies is irrelevant if the decisions that matter are being made by the Church, militias, and transnational traders through other platforms outside of "formal politics." Legal reform is irrelevant if there has been a "fundamental reinterpretation of institutionalized legal practice" by that same agents.85 Gender sensitized service delivery is irrelevant, if the services are poor to begin with or are better provided by an actor ignored by these engagements.

Even if peacebuilders could fully implement gender sensitized peacebuilding policy with Congolese state structures, its strict compatibility with a singular and governing state authority (that does not exist in the Congo) would make policy only rhetorically significant, unable to translate to meaningful change for women on the ground. This would also undermine 1325's claim to strengthen governmental accountability and the social contract through a broadening of stakeholders in the new system of government.

Likewise, 1325 implementation strategies misapprehend state structures, solidifying normative understandings of national responsibilities and flows of power between the state and society, governmental and non-governmental actors, and national and local governance that do not exist in the Congo. While National Action Plans intend to fix 1325 implementation gaps by translating international commitments into national policies and inspiring national ownership and political will, the NAP is an inappropriate implementation technology for the Congo because the state is not the locus of authority in many parts of the country.

In the Congo NAPs serve only reinforce the nation-state as the primary actor in peacebuilding operations, affirm the illusion of the Congolese state, and present false material progress to the international community through progressive rhetoric and "widespread involvement" of various government Ministries. NAPs also wrongly assume a vertical relationship between the national and the local, where policies can be translated to local governance structures through localization. Because local governance structures are even less conventionally "state-like" than the central government, further entwined with other networks of authority, this misconception is particularly problematic and unrealistic.

The other most heavily promoted implementation strategy, civil society engagement, demonstrates international identification of a crucial non-governmental body outside of formal politics. Peacebuilders call upon them to represent the views of society, advocate for the implementation of National Action Plans, popularize 1325, and act as watchdog for governmental shortcomings. Engaging with civil society is often seen as an entry point for peacebuilders that bypasses the state and strengthens the social contract and state legitimacy from the "ground up." What this logic is in fact bypassing, is the reality that the government is not in a position of authority to be called upon to implement policy, falsely assuming a state-society dichotomy where calling upon the government is a relevant capacity building tactic.

Further, the fixed understanding of the roles and responsibilities of civil society negates the idea that they may be exercising components of traditionally conceptualized state governance, precluding international support of their governmental activities. Beyond the idea of "society" replacing "state" governance, Seay's discussion of church authority over schools and hospitals, under the language of state formality, demonstrates the problematic fusion of the state-society binary into one analytical unit that is especially incomprehensible to international peacebuilders. Lastly, the metrics that peacebuilders use to measure success drive a surface level understanding of failed policy implementation that prevents any substantial challenge to prevailing conceptualizations of what governance should look like.

Marking success through the fulfilment of gender quotas, the number of sexual based violence prosecutions, and the number of gender responsive laws prompts the addition of women to structures of irrelevant decision making, prosecutions and laws unable to be

enforced, and increased funding that will not lead to effective administrative structures or service provision. Further, by measuring the success of NAP implementation and civic engagement, peacebuilders continue to reify a false state-society binary and focus on technologies that will not incite greater political will or a stronger social contract. Without reframing measurements of success, approaches to improvements under presumptive ideas of where effective power and authority *can* and *should* operate, are over determined to fail in the Congo.

Challenging Reinstating the State

These challenges to 1325 implementation may be refuted by the claim that even though the state is an irrelevant body of authority *right now*, 1325 is helping to eventually reinstate a state that will reinvigorate life into these policies. However, Raeymakers, Kabamba, and Seay, all call into question both the viability of and value in reinstating the central state as the prevailing form of authority, arguing for the potentially permanent effects of power structures that emerge from conflict. Because of the layered network of power and authority that exists both long side and within state structures, Raeymakers asserts the increasing difficulties state authority will have in controlling "such networks through classic territorial and infrastructural power," having to "mediate their way through all sorts of trans-local alliances in order to claim even the most minimal level of political legitimacy."

While international peacebuilders argue that these networks of power are temporary and situational adaptations to state absence, Raeymakers would refute that state power has been transposed onto other sources of political authority that are increasingly recognized as dominant and respected regulatory institutions. Similarly, Seay argues that the long term effects of contracting out state functions and regulatory authority, and the entrenchment of these systems of service provision (to which the Congolese ascribe more legitimacy than the government), may make it almost impossible for the Congolese state to "truly reassert its claim to legitimate governing authority."

She also emphasizes the loyalty of the population to other forms of authority, such as the Catholic Church, that has remained a source of stability amidst continued violence and insecurity. This potentially permanent "radical transposition of sovereign practice" and existence of varied and entrenched political loyalties run "counter to the liberal democratic rule proponents of the current transition would like to realize." Whether or not rebuilding the

state is a possibility, it may not be the best outcome. Scholars suggest that renewed state authority in the economic, legal, and administrative spheres may actually lead to a sharp decrease in the quality of services provided.

They do not however envision an elimination of the Congolese state as an actor, nor a takeover by non-state forms of governance. In the twilight state there are too many actors with a stake in its continuity, and they envision a permanent mixture of between state and non-state forms of governance. Beyond hybrid governance, this "mixture," the enmeshing of state and non-state authority, creates a new governmental reality resistant to simplified binaries and not able to be accommodated by current international peacebuilding policy. It is important to note the challenges to 1325 and liberal peace building's goal of re-instating the state because if this objective is challenged, all policy that develops in its wake faces difficulty not only translating from policy to practice, but also making any meaningful contribution towards sustainable peace.

An emergence of alternate forms of governance, the superimposition of alternate forms of authority on government structures, and entrenched loyalties to parties other than the state greatly complicate peacebuilder's assumption of a certain blank slate of chaos onto which they can impose 'better' state authority. Because international peacebuilders do not have the tools to comprehend these complex realities as legitimate forms of governance, or because the objective of reinstating the state precludes engagement with them through a prioritization of state structures, peacebuilding failures are seen simply as failures to translate policy to practice.

I conclude that these "invisible" or irrational dynamics, cast aside in pursuit of a comprehensible reality suitable to re-building the liberal state, will continue to undermine normative peacebuilding efforts and limit the ability to build sustainable peace.

Problematizing the study, we raised certain critical questions such as what women often do and can do in peace process, what the major highlights of the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 are, as a global institutional response to women in war and peace, as well as how the UNSC Resolution 1325 was implemented. These questions prepared background for the three objectives set by the study, namely, to locate the roles of women in engendering peace-making; to examine the backgrounds major highlights of the UNSC

Resolution 1325; and, to explore the implementation of the UNSC Resolution 1325 in the DRC with a view to identifying the successes and challenges encountered.

Extant literature, from textbooks, scholarly journals, newspapers and magazine articles, institutional official papers as well as government documents came under review, and in the research engaged different sources critically with a view to arriving at some form of bridging the lacunae in this principal legislation. The lacuna was the need to, among other things, actually locate what the women, as direct and indirect actors in war and peace, can do to prevent and resolve conflict, and the research actually explored it using empirical means, and adopting a historical approach which, according to Busha and Harter (1980: 90), entails the "systematic collection of data which is preceded by the objective evaluation of information related to past events so as to test hypotheses in regard to their causes and effects in order to explain the present trends and have focus on the future."

This approach enhances the understanding of current trends and enables prognostication or futuristic analysis of social phenomena through historical incursion into past trajectories, so, the approach became central towards understanding the historical basis of the crisis in the DRC. The study also utilised the emergent, exploratory and inductive qualitative methods, which often are "appropriate when the phenomena under study are complex, are social in nature, and do not lend themselves to quantification" Liebscher (1998: 669). This allows the study capture the intricacies of social life and "treats actions as part of holistic social process and context, rather than as something that can be extracted and studied in isolation" (Payne & Payne, 2004: 176).

Ultimately, the study established the following:

- Women can enhance the peace process if they are given equal opportunity to participate in the peace and security structures and internal political process as outlined in the UNSC Resolution 1325.
- Women have practically done so in cases put under assessment.
- Women have not been adequately involved in the peace processes.
- UNSC Resolution 1325 is laden with areas of successes and challenges in its implementation.

- Building capacity from above is not sufficient enough to bring about sustainable peace and lasting change aimed at building the capacity of women in line with the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325.
- The UNSCR 1325 is a political framework, specifically to set an agenda for the long dragging issue of the vulnerability of women in war and peace situations. Issues at stake are such ones as protecting women against gender-based violence, including more women in governmental decision-making processes and institutions, securing women in economic-cum-social activities, and reducing the vulnerability of girls and women in war and crisis situation. With the UNSCR 1325, policymakers and advocates now constantly address issues of gender inequality as a security one. The strategic language embedded in UNSCR 1325 has certainly increased awareness among international actors, opened new spaces for dialogue and partnerships from global to local levels and even created opportunities for new resources for women's rights.

It is based upon these findings that the research makes recommendations that may serve as a catalyst of ensuring durable peace across the globe, and through involvement and participation of women especially.

6.2 Recommendations

The author's recommendations were based on a visit to the DRC and extensive review of literature during the research. Although the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 is high global relevance, it has been confronted with specific socio-cultural hindrances in certain regions of the world. This is because the constructions of femininity and masculinity in most societies still impose practical obstacles to the effective implementation of the UNSCR 1325. There is a wide acceptance that certain constructions of masculinity are closely tied to power and the use of force, especially within very patriarchal institutions such as the Army, Navy, Air Force, the Police and other security forces.

In many societies, these institutions have hidden under culture to justify restriction in the recruitment of women, and have also been portrayed as if inclusion of women will reduce the capacity of the troops' performances in operational effectiveness. In fact, comments regarding women's physical capacity to be in the front line and how their demise would impact the morale of the troops are constantly cited as impediments to their effective

integration in combat positions. As such, the construction of masculinity itself within the society remains a primary challenge to the implementation of the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325.

Arguing that the demise of female officers has a bigger impact than that of a male counterpart, for example, may indicate that female officers are quickly and often associated with wives, sisters, and mothers, rather than colleagues. In fact, women's image is commonly associated with vulnerability and thus the need for protection. Having women in combatant positions is an inversion of this logic and entails certain challenges for its overall acceptance. This is true of Brazil as well as Asia.

Mentalities therefore need to change, especially those guided by socio cultural practices that affect the full appreciation of the UNSCR 21325. Apart of mentality change, success of the UNSCR 1325 also require logistical changes, as well as the time and financial investments to implement them. Similarly, infrastructure needs to be adapted, at a very basic level, in such a way that will enable women play roles all-male occupations and roles, especially is such areas as military schools and ships. This is quite germane and central to the full utilization of the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 especially in the area of women in peace studies and peacemaking which this study is interested in.

In a bid to address these problems, the society has to immediately embark on a long-term process of socio- cultural change, and reorientation within the military especially and other sectors of the society. A generalized reconstruction of the role women can play socially is needed so that, on the one hand, more women consider themselves as an absolutely fundamental part of peace and security processes and of their countries and the entire international community.

Hudson (2013) gives an interesting scenario in Asia where the National Action Plan of the UNSC Resolution 1325 operates at a slow rate of adoption all across the region; a situation that relates to the reluctance on the part of Asian states to transplant universal norms into domestic contexts. In this same Asia, as Hudson argues, the role and effectiveness of National Action Plans remains to be seen. Many first-generation plans lacked adequate monitoring and evaluation mechanisms, repeating UNSCR 1325's own flaws. To this extent, continents and member states of the United Nations need to make the women, peace and

security agenda relevant to national contexts by linking UNSCR 1325 with broader developmental goals and gender equality.

In line with the foregoing, there must be adequate financial resources to implement UNSCR 1325 across the world, without such, not more can be achieved. Countries of the Third world are the least developed and poorest. Ironically, they are the most inflicted with wars and conflicts too; what requires participation of their women as now being advocated. If they have to rely on their local budgets to fund peacemaking and peacekeeping, nothing much will move and the women who had not been participating much before, will be the worse for it. The United Nations should therefore delegate one of its affiliated agents to adequately fund peacemaking and peacekeeping and in such a way that will create remuneration that can attract women.

Similarly, political will is quite important towards the implementation of the Resolution in such a way that will be women involvement friendly. Politics is everything. It is the authoritative allocation of values and it controls every activity of men. Decisions taken and policies formulated need political will in order to work, else, they remain in the beauty of the shelves. This means that countries have to carefully apply their local politics to the major thrusts and dictates of the UNSCR 1325, and the disposition of their political leaders have to be positive towards it. It is when this permeates the political system that it is socialized into peoples across the world, and the UNSCR 1325 begins to take real global effect.

The United Nations needs to inaugurate a special monitoring committee, and deploy to member states around the world in order to oversee the implementation, as well as regressive acculturation of the resolution over the years. Most nations may underplay the implementation due to overwhelming effect of other domestic problems. Inauguration of such committee will most likely help countries to balance the situation.

The United Nations needs also to set up special offices in countries and continents that have been involved in wars, and conflicts, especially those that involved high levels of violence and abuse against women. Researches have shown that such countries appear more vulnerable to the repetition of such hence the urgent call for the attention that ought to be proffered in such historical cases.

International attention needs to be focused on how women activists in conflict areas utilize the themes and thrusts of the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325, in line with how reconciliations are made, in the case of any, how universal the resolution is in terms with the peculiar nature of different situations of conflicts.

It is necessary for the world to also device very effective mechanisms to measure whether the privileging of a universal gender identity serves in any way as hindrance to the activism of women, especially in an attempt to understand the experiences of women and how they respond to conflict, beyond other social categories class, religion, nationality, class, ethnicity or nationality.

For the plight of women to be reduced in war and conflict, especially in the area of Gender Based violence and general harassment, there is need to determine what the adoption, preparation as well as implementation of the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 reveals concerning the character of the post-Cold War global governance. Global governance has to do with movement towards political cooperation among powerful actors across the globe, in such a way that can enable them respond to negotiations on socio political problems and challenges that affect more than one country. Because the United Nations is one of the institutions of this system of global governance, with the inclusion of the World Bank as well as the International Criminal al court and others, she should ensure that she utilise all available structures of global governance to ensure full implementation of the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 across nations of the world.

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United Nations S/RES/1325 (2000)

Security Council

Distr.: General
31 October 2000

Resolution 1325 (2000)

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

The Security Council,

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

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

Bearing in mind the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the primary responsibility of the Security Council under the Charter for the maintenance of international peace and security,

Expressing concern that civilians, particularly women and children, account for the vast majority of those adversely affected by armed conflict, including as refugees and internally displaced persons, and increasingly are targeted by combatants and armed elements, and *recognizing* the consequent impact this has on durable peace and reconciliation,

Reaffirming the important role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts and in peace-building, and *stressing* 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 regard to conflict prevention and resolution,

Reaffirming also the need to implement fully international humanitarian and human rights law that protects the rights of women and girls during and after conflicts,

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Emphasizing the need for all parties to ensure that mine clearance and mine awareness programmes take into account the special needs of women and girls,

Recognizing the urgent need to mainstream a gender perspective into peacekeeping operations, and in this regard *noting* the Windhoek Declaration and the Namibia Plan of Action on Mainstreaming a Gender Perspective in Multidimensional Peace Support Operations (S/2000/693),

Recognizing also the importance of the recommendation contained in the statement of its President to the press of 8 March 2000 for specialized training for all peacekeeping personnel on the protection, special needs and human rights of women and children in conflict situations,

Recognizing that an understanding of the impact of armed conflict on women and girls, effective institutional arrangements to guarantee their protection and full participation in the peace process can significantly contribute to the maintenance and promotion of international peace and security,

Noting the need to consolidate data on the impact of armed conflict on women and girls,

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

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

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

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

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

6. *Requests* the Secretary-General to provide to Member States training guidelines and materials on the protection, rights and the particular needs of women, as well as on the importance of involving women in all peacekeeping and peace-building measures, *invites* Member States to incorporate these elements as well as HIV/AIDS awareness training into their national training programmes for military and civilian police personnel in preparation for deployment, and *further requests* the Secretary-General to ensure that civilian personnel of peacekeeping operations receive similar training;

7. *Urges* Member States to increase their voluntary financial, technical and logistical support for gender-sensitive training efforts, including those undertaken by relevant funds and programmes, inter alia, the United Nations Fund for Women and United Nations Children's Fund, and by the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and other relevant bodies;

8. *Calls on* all actors involved, when negotiating and implementing peace agreements, to adopt a gender perspective, including, inter alia:

(a) The special needs of women and girls during repatriation and resettlement and for rehabilitation, reintegration and post-conflict reconstruction;

(b) Measures that support local women's peace initiatives and indigenous processes for conflict resolution, and that involve women in all of the implementation mechanisms of the peace agreements;

(c) Measures that ensure the protection of and respect for human rights of women and girls, particularly as they relate to the constitution, the electoral system, the police and the judiciary;

9. *Calls upon* all parties to armed conflict to respect fully international law applicable to the rights and protection of women and girls, especially as civilians, in particular the obligations applicable to them under the Geneva Conventions of 1949 and the Additional Protocols thereto of 1977, the Refugee Convention of 1951 and the Protocol thereto of 1967, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women of 1979 and the Optional Protocol thereto of 1999 and the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child of 1989 and the two Optional Protocols thereto of 25 May 2000, and to bear in mind the relevant provisions of the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court;

10. *Calls on* all parties to armed conflict to take special measures to protect women and girls from gender-based violence, particularly rape and other forms of sexual abuse, and all other forms of violence in situations of armed conflict;

11. *Emphasizes* the responsibility of all States to put an end to impunity and to prosecute those responsible for genocide, crimes against humanity, and war crimes including those relating to sexual and other violence against women and girls, and in this regard *stresses* the need to exclude these crimes, where feasible from amnesty provisions;

12. *Calls upon* all parties to armed conflict to respect the civilian and humanitarian character of refugee camps and settlements, and to take into account the particular needs of women and girls, including in their design, and recalls its resolutions 1208 (1998) of 19 November 1998 and 1296 (2000) of 19 April 2000;

13. *Encourages* all those involved in the planning for disarmament, demobilization and reintegration to consider the different needs of female and male ex-combatants and to take into account the needs of their dependants;

14. *Reaffirms* its readiness, whenever measures are adopted under Article 41 of the Charter of the United Nations, to give consideration to their potential impact on the civilian population, bearing in mind the special needs of women and girls, in order to consider appropriate humanitarian exemptions;

15. *Expresses* its willingness to ensure that Security Council missions take into account gender considerations and the rights of women, including through consultation with local and international women's groups;

16. *Invites* the Secretary-General to carry out a study on the impact of armed conflict on women and girls, the role of women in peace-building and the gender dimensions of peace processes and conflict resolution, and *further invites* him to

submit a report to the Security Council on the results of this study and to make this available to all Member States of the United Nations;

17. *Requests* the Secretary-General, where appropriate, to include in his reporting to the Security Council progress on gender mainstreaming throughout peacekeeping missions and all other aspects relating to women and girls;

18. *Decides* to remain actively seized of the matter.

APPENDIX TWO