

**UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI**

**INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES (IDIS)**

**MA INTERNATIONAL STUDIES**

**RESEARCH PROJECT:**

**TITLE: "THE ROLE OF THE LEGISLATURE IN IMPLEMENTATION OF  
UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION (UNSCR)  
1325/2000 - A CASE STUDY OF KENYA**

**SUSAN CHEROTICH MARITIM**

**R50/64301/2010**

**2016**

## **DECLARATION AND RECOMMENDATION**

### **Declaration**

This Masters Project is my original work and has not been presented for award of a degree or diploma in this or any other award in any university. Any thoughts from others or literal quotations are clearly acknowledged.

Sign. \_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_\_

**SUSAN CHEROTICH MARITIM**

**R50/64301/2010**

### **Recommendation**

This work has been submitted with my approval as University Supervisor.

Sign. \_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_\_

**DR. ANITA KIAMBA**

LECTURER,

INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

**DEDICATION**

This work is dedicated to my parents; Maj. (Rtd.) Philip Maritim Matingwony and Mrs Rebecca Kabwos, my children; Emmanuel Kibet and Imani Chebet and my siblings; Robinson, Angela, Anthony and Hillary whose sacrifice and encouragement instilled in me a sense of determination during the preparation and eventual production of this work. Thanks for your support.

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENT**

I am most grateful to the teaching staff of the Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies of the University of Nairobi, my Supervisor, Dr. Anita Kiamba for her support, guidance and patience during the research period. I am also grateful to my family, friends, employer and colleagues for their support and assistance in the completion of this work.

I am also most grateful to God, to whom all things work for the good of those who love Him, who have been called according to His purpose.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>DECLARATION AND RECOMMENDATION .....</b>	<b>I</b>
<b>DEDICATION.....</b>	<b>II</b>
<b>ACKNOWLEDGEMENT.....</b>	<b>III</b>
<b>ABBREVIATIONS.....</b>	<b>VIII</b>
<b>CHAPTER ONE .....</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>INTRODUCTION.....</b>	<b>1</b>
1.1 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY .....	1
1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM .....	3
1.3 OBJECTIVES TO THE STUDY.....	4
1.4 LITERATURE REVIEW .....	5
1.5 JUSTIFICATION OF THE STUDY.....	18
1.5.1 <i>Academic Justification</i> .....	18
1.5.2 <i>Policy Justification</i> .....	18
1.6 HYPOTHESES OF THE STUDY .....	19
1.7 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK.....	19
1.8 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY .....	22
1.9 CHAPTER OUTLINE.....	23
<b>CHAPTER TWO .....</b>	<b>25</b>
<b>WOMEN’S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN IMPLEMENTATION OF UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION (UNSCR) 1325/2000 .....</b>	<b>25</b>
2.0 INTRODUCTION.....	25

2.1 IMPLEMENTATION OF UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION (UNSCR) 1325/2000.....	25
2.2 GENDER AND THE UNITED NATIONS .....	29
2.3 POLITICAL PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN THE UN .....	32
2.4 WOMEN’S PARTICIPATION IN PEACE NEGOTIATIONS AND PEACE AGREEMENTS ...	35
2.5 ACHIEVEMENT OF WOMEN’S PARTICIPATION IN PEACE NEGOTIATIONS AND PEACE AGREEMENTS .....	37
2.6 CHALLENGES FACING WOMEN’S PARTICIPATION IN IMPLEMENTING UNSCR 1325 .....	39
2.7 PROMOTING WOMEN’S LEADERSHIP AS A SPECIFIC FOCUS: ADOPTION OF RESOLUTION 1325/2000 .....	42
2.8 PREDICAMENT OF MEMBER STATES IN IMPLEMENTING UNSCR 1325 .....	44
2.8.1 <i>Integration Issues</i> .....	44
2.8.2 <i>Positioning Dilemmas</i> .....	45
2.8.3 <i>Participation Problems</i> .....	46
2.9 NATIONAL ACTION PLAN TO IMPLEMENT UNSCR 1325 - WOMEN, PEACE AND SECURITY.....	47
2.9.1 <i>Women's participation in decision-making and peace processes</i> .....	48
2.9.2 <i>The protection of women and girls</i> .....	50
2.9.3 <i>Gender Training</i> .....	51
<b>CHAPTER THREE .....</b>	<b>53</b>
<b>WOMEN IN DECISION MAKING IN KENYA.....</b>	<b>53</b>
3.1 INTRODUCTION.....	53
3.2 WOMEN ENGAGEMENT WITH THE STATE AND POLITICAL PARTIES .....	55
3.3 WOMEN ACCESS TO KEY DECISION-MAKING POSITIONS .....	57

3.4 WOMEN’S AGENDA SETTING THROUGH NON FORMAL STRATEGIES .....	59
3.5 WOMEN ENGAGEMENT INSIDE THE STATE .....	60
3.5.1 <i>The Kenya Women Parliamentarian Association</i> .....	60
3.5.2 <i>National Gender and Equality Commission</i> .....	61
3.6 BEYOND DEBATE ON ACCESS DECISION MAKING POSITIONS .....	62
<b>CHAPTER FOUR.....</b>	<b>65</b>
<b>INSTITUTIONAL MONITORING AND EVALUATION PROCESS IN THE</b>	
<b>IMPLEMENTATION OF UNSCR 1325/2000.....</b>	<b>65</b>
4.1 INTRODUCTION.....	65
4.2 KENYA’S SECURITY SETTING.....	65
4.3 KENYA NATIONAL ACTION PLAN .....	70
4.4 THE INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK .....	75
4.5 IMPLEMENTATION, ACCOUNTABILITY, AND REPORTING STRUCTURE OF THE	
KNAP.....	76
4.5.1 <i>Coordination Mechanism</i> .....	77
4.5.2 <i>KNAP Secretariat</i> .....	77
4.5.3 <i>The National Steering Technical Committee</i> .....	78
4.5.4 <i>Pillar Working Groups</i> .....	78
4.5.5 <i>County and Sub-County Level Coordination</i> .....	79
4.5.6 <i>Monitoring and Evaluation</i> .....	79
<b>CHAPTER FIVE .....</b>	<b>81</b>
<b>SUMMARY CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS .....</b>	<b>81</b>
5.1 INTRODUCTION.....	81
5.2 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS .....	81

5.3 CONCLUSIONS .....	84
5.4 RECOMMENDATIONS .....	86
<b>BIBLIOGRAPHY .....</b>	<b>89</b>



## **ABBREVIATIONS**

AA	Affirmative Action
AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
AU	African Union
BPfA	Beijing Platform for Action
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women
CSW	Commission on the Status of Women
DEVAW	Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women
DFS	Department for Field Support
DIC	Inter-Congolese Dialogue
DPKO	Department of Peacekeeping Operations
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
G10	Group of Ten
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
IDP	Internally Displaced Person
IGAD	Intergovernmental Authority on Development

INSTRAW	International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women
INSTRAW	United Nations' International Research and Training Institute for Women UN-
KANU	Kenya African National Union
KEWOPA	Kenyan Women Parliamentary Association
KIIs	Key informant interviews
KNCHR	Kenya National Commission on Human Rights
TJRC	Truth, Justice and Reconciliation Commission
MONUSCO	United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo
MP	Member of Parliament
MYWO	<i>Maendeleo ya Wanawake</i>
NAP	National Action Plan
NAPs	National Action Plans
NCWK	National Council of Women of Kenya
NGEC	National Gender and Equality Commission
FGM	Female Genital Mutilation
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation

ONUCI	United Nations Operation in Côte d'Ivoire
SRSB	Special Representatives of the Secretary-General
STAREC	Stabilization and Reconstruction Plan for Eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo
SUNY	State University of New York
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNAMA	United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan
UNAMID	United Nations Mission in Darfur
UNIFEM	United Nations Development Fund for Women
UNMIK	United Nations Mission in Kosovo
UNMIL	United Nations Mission in Liberia
UNMIT	United Nations Integration Mission in Timor-Leste
UNSCR	United Nations Security Council Resolution
WGWPS	Working Groups on Women, Peace and Security
WPS	Women, Peace and Security

## **CHAPTER ONE**

### **INTRODUCTION**

#### **1.1 Background to the Study**

The United Nations (UN) was formed on 26 June 1945 and was ratified shortly after on 24<sup>th</sup> October 1945. The global agency was ratified by countries that later came to be known as the permanent member states, namely China, France, the Soviet Union (now Russia), the United Kingdom and the United States, among others. Since its inception, the UN has been called upon to intervene in security and peace initiatives around the world.

Since the ratification of the UNSCR 1325 in 2000, the UN Security Council has adopted. The UN agency has ratified more resolution over the past 15 years. The resolution is the UNSC 1820, 1888, 1889, 1960, 2106 and 2122. The resolution highlights the challenges of women and girls in conflict zones, with a guide on how to address their needs. The agency calls for key stakeholders which include government and international entities to intervene and provide the necessary resources to empower women and girls while promoting their participation in peace building process. Central to that resolution is the Beijing Platform for Action and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, another call for government and another stakeholder to intervene ion the empowerment of women in conflict zones.

The ruling regimes through the legislature, nongovernment organizations through various actions continue to appreciate the essence of women empowerment. As a result, they have been leaders in efforts to achieve gender equality while recognizing

the contribution of women at a national and international level as they are brought to the decision-making table. The common goal is the call for involved agents, which are governments and civil entities to consider the needs of women and girls after the war. The consideration should look at their needs as victims of war, and the role they can play in resolving their issues. These will enable the agencies and other stakeholders to respond adequately to the needs of these women and children in a bid to promote social justice, gender equality and peace building. The changes of peacebuilding have been changing the views of legislatures, which have now continued to appreciate new developments especially the inclusion of women in senior positions to resolve issues affecting them and children<sup>2</sup>.

There is a concern is the response to situations of insecurity and violent conflict. Most actors have been disregarding important factors like human rights, gender equality, good governance and diversity. The dynamics related to the current processes of peace and security has triggered a shift of focus from national security to human security, a shift to a more dynamic and broader approach to the resolution of conflicts. On top of that is the acceptance of women as important players while formulating policy frameworks related to peace and security. There has been a compound effort from national authorities and the United Nation to see the full implementation of the resolution. However, the national government have been tasked with the main duty of developing National Action Plans (NAPs), to guides the rest of the local players.

In order to advance women's security issues, the Kenyan Parliament has formulated action plans on the topic of conflict and social justice which focus on inclusion of

women in peace and security issues in affected areas<sup>1</sup>. There is also the development of an Inter-Agency Task Force to guide on the inclusion of women in peace and security processes. Those agencies exist to add strength to already existing UN agencies doing similar tasks in the country. The collaboration has led to various initiatives which can be credited for the success of three core objectives which the UNSC Resolution 1325 aims to achieve. The UN demands implementation guides which have monitoring mechanism as a way of tracking progress<sup>2</sup>. These monitoring indicators are also critical for us to see the overall global progress.

The UN released a statement in 2005 calling for member states and other activist groups to develop proactive strategies to implement the Resolution 1325<sup>2</sup>. This, it emphasised had to continue through NAPs to ensure there a precedence on how it was implemented. This was to be complemented by local level strategies developed by either the government or other stakeholders. This call was to address the slow progress of the implementation process, something member parties have been experiencing.

## **1.2 Statement of the Problem**

Since the adoption of UNSCR 1325, several national and international NGOs have reported slow implementation progress. In a shadow report made by one local NGO, the body noted that most of those who were supposed to implement the resolution were unaware of its existence. This was made worse by lack of recognition of the role played by other stakeholders not just by the government, but even from the United Nations. In spite of increased attention, there is still a lack of a goal-oriented approach to the execution of the UNSCR 1325. In Kenya, research on this field is still in its

---

infancy. Most reports on issues of women, resolving conflict and bringing peace are done by activists or parts of the significant lobby-segment surrounding UNSCR 1325. These are important contributions creating attention and political goodwill for the execution of the resolution. Still, it is necessary with a more scientific approach to the field. A successful implementation is important on at least two levels, a rights-based and an efficiency-based. First, both nationally and internationally there are calls for more focus on gender equality and addressing issues affect women and children, and especially so in areas of conflict where a violation of these rights are increasing and often extreme.

In 2010, UNDP's Human Development Report reported that women hold only 13% of parliamentary seats. This reflective of Kenya's patriarchal culture with string gender discriminative beliefs. The culture has played a significant role in denying men a chance to sit at decision-making organs particularly in the legislature, where most of the important policies are developed. The Kenyan parliament central role is to ensure that the national development process in Kenya is gender responsive. Among its responsibilities is the monitoring of various policy implementations. However, in spite of this commitment by the Kenyan government to gender equality, there are still several obstacles at the political legislative level. The is a weak framework which provides women with funding and overall support to ensure their full participation in national issues, including political participation, peace negotiation and security processes.

### **1.3 The Objectives of the Research**

The overall goal of this study is to evaluate the role of the legislature in the implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325/2000

The following are some of the specific objectives;

- i. To establish the extent of women's involvement in politics in compliance with the implementation of the UNSCR 1325/2000
- ii. To determine the influence of the legislature political will in the implementation of the UNSCR 1325/2000
- iii. To ascertain the institutional monitoring and evaluation process in the implementation of UNSCR 1325/2000

#### **1.4 Literature Review**

This section seeks to review the available literature on UN Security Resolution 1325 and contains other global scholarly work done on the same study area which the study will build on as it tries to fill the gaps that will be identified on the implementation of USCR 1325 in Kenya.

Taylor argues that the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operation in gender resource package for peacekeeping operations has provided guidelines for incorporating gender issues into peacekeeping.<sup>2</sup> The literature discloses that peacekeeping efforts from the UN ca ease tension from warring parties, given the perception of the agency's neutrality on the conflicts. This can create an ample environment for peace negotiations, which often the ultimate goal of the agency. According to Nzomo, UN Security Council Resolution 1325, calls for parties to the conflict and peace negotiations to approach the process from gender perspective which considers the protection of human rights and needs of women and children. The approach should not be limited to addressing the needs of victims, built also looking at women n who can contribute to the overall process in the judiciary, the police and other entities. This

---



will be complying not just to the implementation of the resolution, but also meet the needs of the electoral laws, the constitution and other relevant laws and treaties which seek to promote women empowerment in conflict zones. These mandates the national level governments, and other international organization to feel the mandate to move from the political rhetoric to providing financial and material support to aid women participation in important national issues.<sup>3</sup>

McClain points out the important role of women in creating a better society. He postulates that for the country to benefit, then it must prioritise women participation in political discourses as required in the UNSCR 1325<sup>4</sup>. Karam and Lovenduski study shows that women need up to 30 per cent of participants in legislative and policy-making bodies if their influence is to be felt<sup>4</sup>. The Beijing Platform for Action (BPfA) showed that lack of equal power in important decision-making organs between men and women, as well as lack of mechanisms to promote their involvement in decision making in all levels, were major areas of concern. The platform called for deliberate action plans from participants to ensure women participation in policy and legislative bodies increase and efforts are initiated to promote their participation. The need was extending to a call to involve more women in state building after conflicts, which is equally anchored in the UNSCR 1325<sup>5</sup>.

According to Blackmore, legislatures can be of different types and there are up to six informal legislatures based on their membership criteria.<sup>5</sup> The authors posit that legislatures are formed based on issues like parties, shared interests, regional representation among others. Legislatures are widely viewed as bodies which bring people from different backgrounds, especially differing political parties to have a

---

single platform where they can deliberate on important national issues which affect people across the board. They share information, discuss policy issues and even pass legislation regarding key common interest issues<sup>6</sup>.

International instruments have been on the forefront in the promotion and involvement of women in matters related to peace and security processes. More than ten years after the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) was passed, there is a resounding absence of women from the peace and security processes. It must troubling local and international agencies whose aim has been to bring women into the fore in peace and security process.<sup>16</sup> Areas of concern, based on the problems experienced by other countries, are the extent to which the legislature has been part of the development, proposed implementation and proposed monitoring of the UNSCR 1325/2000; whether there is adequate financial backing for implementation; the plan's priorities examined in relation to the country's needs; and whether monitoring is expected to take place.<sup>6</sup> Likewise, women also have a low participation rate in the political scene.

Various kinds of parliamentary legislatures have existed around the world. The diversity is reflected in the names, membership, jurisdictions, advocacy agendas, and network widths. In most developing countries women are rarely available in the formal legislation bodies. Most are left to contribute in the informal legislative bodies only.<sup>7</sup> Even informal legislations entities do not follow strict codes laid out formal, they are good cross-party avenue to seek for consensus with people likely to be affected by the policies being deliberated and passed. It also has some form of flexibility which has facilitated coming up with more functional models. For example, the bicameral parliament in Uruguay includes all female legislators in either house.

---

This body runs without any formal office and informally appointed people to act as spokespersons. On the other hand, legislators can be formal like in Malawi where the Women Parliamentary Legislators is led by the president and his deputy, and other programme officers in each subcommittee<sup>7</sup>.

### **The Role of Women in Parliament**

This section will review the literature on the role of women in parliament.

According to the Darren, in several countries legislative assemblies have a key role in policy formulation, improving women welfare and amplifying the voices of women in society.<sup>7</sup> By coming together in the form of legislators, women can shape the agenda at parliament in any country. For instance, in Brazil women vote as a bloc, something which gives them more power in vetoing decisions in parliament subject to their minimum numbers. This has enabled equal and proportional over in decision making in the country<sup>8</sup>. This situation forces the Treasury to allocate sufficient fund to programs which support women empowerment and social causes which affect women most.

That point to one of the existing several stories about women legislatures around the globe<sup>8</sup>. For instance, Rwanda has Women Parliamentary Forum which works on issues related to women, including but not limited to legislation on gender policies. Rwanda is marked as one of Africa's success stories where women have taken a sizeable number of seats in parliament owing to their strong political goodwill and support to women. In Malawi, the parliament work on issues which affect women most like divorce, windows and inheritance. Women legislators have been assigned

this role and have demonstrated exemplary work, coming closer to what Rwanda is doing in terms of promoting and empowering women. The association of women parliamentarian in Uganda has been key in introducing gender equality clauses in the law. The same trend has been seen in Afghanistan, where the network for women parliamentarians refused the abolition of the ministry of women affairs, which has been set aside to attend to issues affecting women in the country<sup>9</sup>. The Kenyan Women Parliamentary Association (KEWOP), a group of female legislators in Kenya came into being in 2001, then having been formed by eight women legislators. That was either Kenyan post-independence parliament, whose total membership stood at 210. However, that number has increased following the constitution required of more than a third of legislators to be women. That associate has thus grown in number and now includes every elected and nominated female parliamentarian, irrespective of the part that sponsored her to parliament. The group came into being as a strategy of influencing house business committee not just through voting, but also through negotiation to stress out key issues concerning women. The group has been fairly successful. Other than the need to influence the house business agenda, the group also enhances the individual collective legislative and oversight role, develop necessary leadership skills to improve their influence on legislative matters.

It also ensures institutional strengthening, where the legislators seek to improve the capacity for the parliamentary group to handle its primary roles, including political and legislative duties, as well as representation functions<sup>8</sup>. Women empowerment, through politics and legislation, has several positive results, including improved standard of living, more infrastructural development among other things. The participation of women in policies, policy-making and implementation has a direct bearing on communities and projects, bringing positive impact direct to not just

women, but also other members of the society. It is a way of improving democracy. Reardon sees the involvement of women in politics has to have tangible results on democracy and governance, extending to making the entire population more responsive to issue which affect them most. The overall effect of all these is sustainable peace in communities, which is the overall goal. <sup>26</sup>

Piza-Lopez suggests the state building, peace agreements and better governance structures out in place have a higher chance of succeeding after some time if women are involved in the negotiation process, and their needs are considered<sup>8</sup>. Women, unlike their male counterparts, are often committed to each building process, the state reconstruction and the suitability of peace. This is the kind of perception they bring to the table. Furthermore, studies show that levelling power in society has a huge impact on peacebuilding and reconstruction after conflict. That call for the transformation of power structures, most of which have been dominated by men. Noddings postulates that the gender of a legislator has a huge bearing on the state of negotiations in peace process.<sup>8</sup> this is further supported through analysis of women priorities once elected. Most of their priorities focus on children, divorce, families, ethnic and racial minorities, many of which are side-lined by male legislators.

Involvement of women in politics and governance should be prioritised to bring into the fore issue of gender equity and the rights of the marginalized. Their participation will bring alternative policies into parliament, which can be beneficial to many minority and marginal groups. Naraghi suggests that closer look at parliaments, women legislators' styles of approach to issues are more democratic, participatory and women do not often work in structured, hierarchical styles, but rather in a more horizontally collaborative nature. That is a different style from male styles in

legislation<sup>28</sup>. Even in highly polarized and politicised environments, women are likely to work on common interests' things without problems and build consensus where necessary<sup>30</sup>.

McKay asserts that lawmakers should legislate on issues like health care, environmental conservation and gender-based violence as broadly as it does when it comes to other social concerns. He says that women majorly see their representation as a way of serving the interests of the underrepresented at the legislative level<sup>31</sup>.

Women are more sensitive to social issues compared to men, and hence their political participation will likely drive them to set an agenda which drives the issues which they see as most concerning. They are also close to people at the grass root level, where they listen more to the citizens, determining what they should introduce at the legislature. They act as a channel through which communication asses from the grassroots to parliament and higher policy-making institutions. They also act as a watchdog for certain issues, like ensuring proper allocation and disbursement of funds for women empowerment, the compliance of the political class with constitutional clauses and other issues. They are agents of the underrepresented and do whatever they can to relay information to the highest level of governance. That is what the UNSCR 1325 envisions them to do<sup>32</sup>.

Allvesson and Willmott say there are different actors responsible for the advancement of the UN goals on women empowerment, especially regarding peace and security issues. Whereas the resolutions pass by the UN are binding to all member states, there are no mechanisms in place to enforce compliance, making it one of the agency's biggest undoing. It is thus the member's own will to ensure the resolutions are implemented. There also no mechanisms for monitoring and evaluation. Everything

from implementation, evaluation and monitoring is done at the description of the member states. Unfortunately, there are also no plans to introduce such measure into the agency. Lack of such measures means the UNSC cannot hold anyone accountable for failing to meet the needs of the UNSCR 1325.<sup>34</sup>

### **Role of women legislators in Peace and Security**

The security council has made it a duty to call on legislators in different jurisdiction to make sure women are embraced in peace and security process in their countries. However, in comparison with the expectations of the UNSCR 1325, there are glaring gaps among legislative assemblies which have made the realization of the group's objectives to be erratic. There are also arguments that the structure of several UN organizations undermines efforts to realizes goals set out in the resolution. The UN agencies, particularly the main six and its bodies, commissions, departments and its affiliates are all tasked with carrying the mandate of the UNSCR 1325. However, lack of cooperation and clear communication between these agencies have been blamed for the slow implementation of the resolution. Increasing the number of male legislators, many of whom consider their personal interests have further made it complicated for the empowerment of women as stipulated with the resolution. Constant power tussles and competition for resources are also an impediment to focusing on the real objectives stated out to ensure women empowerment.

The target for the resolution is the United Nations member whom it calls to put measures in place to address the issue of gender equality. Whereas a good number of countries have verbally showed the intention to support the documents, with a few going ahead to form National Action Plans, few have shown commitment to realize the goals envisioned in the resolution<sup>8</sup>. This noncommitment from member countries,

many of whom happen to be those affected by constant conflicts, affects the way women, peace and security agenda is discussed in peace missions across the region. The first effect being exclusion from the peace missions, and failing to be sensitive to issues which affect women and girls most, like sexual abuse and violence. The resolution also encourages the utilization of women services among legislatures, often as part of public participation in policy making. A review across several countries shows that women are often underutilized in these regions. This includes underutilization of women task groups, even those which have been formed out of the emphasis from the UN agency. In every member state, there are multiple agencies whose goal is to advance the women, peace and security agenda. Whereas some credit these groups for the progress that has been made, there are those who see their lack of collaboration as an impediment to even a faster progress of the implementation of the resolution.

Every peace keeping mission which came after the resolution has a gender unit as part of their program, but this has not guaranteed field success due to a number of factors. Among the top issues which are being viewed as a hindrance to progress is insufficient funding. Many peace keeping missions have to operate within budgets similar to those given before, without a consideration of the additional units. The call to increase funding has also gone unheard, forcing the missions to utilize the little funds available, which often are not enough to broadly carry out the mandate assigned to the gender office. Commitment to realize the objectives of the resources requires sufficient resources. Most states or even the United Nations do not commit to provide these resources. The gender units and related organizations are then left to rely on fundraising as a way of getting funds, a method which is not reliable. This means when the funds raised fails to meet anticipated budgets, important issues related to



women, peace and security are left unimplemented. Another issue is the freedom often left to those assigned the duty of running the gender units, with reports that they are always limited on who to address and to raise funds from, an effort to ensure no conflict of interests. This lack of broad support is surprising considering the broad duties they have in the field. Part of their major duties include providing gender training to actors in the peacekeeping missions, including training the police and military personnel on gender issues, and even going as far as grassroot level to train people on issues about gender. Whereas training the peace missions teams may be easy, doing so in the grassroot is always complex and adds to the team's problems of quick implementation of the resolution. However, their role has remained critical in the integration of the gender perspective into the peace keeping missions.

The position of the person leading the gender mission can have a huge impact on the assistance they receive, with proposal being that such a person should be part of those who hold most senior positions in the missions. This, however, doesn't seem to be the case in the peace keeping missions, with different being seen from mission to mission. Whereas some leaders are given relatively higher positions, in others they are still treated like junior's officers at the peace keeping missions. That treatment makes it hard for them to demand for help and even impose gender issues in important issues of the teams. That is viewed as one of the existing challenges of the women, peace and security agenda. The creative nature of those who lead these missions is also a major concern, given they operate in hostile environments where some level of creativity is often needed for the communication and implementation of gender perspectives. However, an analysis of the statements from the gender teams shows lack of consistency in communication, with some messages undermining the call for more financing. In a climate where they have to seek for financing, effective and

convincing communication is necessary to secure funds. All these issues shows that even though the resolution is supported from above, support to those who implement it on the ground is critical to its success.

According to Fikree et al., most of both developed and developing countries have formed the National Action Plans.<sup>8</sup> The process of forming such groups is itself supported to be participatory between the country's leadership and the civil groups, especially those advancing women rights. The NAP often acts as a document to guide the government and other stakeholder on the role they have to play in the implementation process. This include joint monitoring, intervention, evaluation, coordination among others things which they can do together. The document so far serves as an important document in the execution of the UNSCR 1325 at national level. Whereas the government can get credit to laying foundation for th formation of the NAP, nongovernmental organizations are often credited for its successful development. NGOs offer the most important implementation strategy and follow up to the document. A successful collaboration between the government and nongovernmental organizations have been largely credited for successful implementation in different countries, indicating the essence of coordination between the two stakeholders.

As legislated in Kenya Bill of Rights, Chapter V, Section 82 (2) addresses the issue of non-discrimination which this study partly seeks to address.<sup>15</sup> The clauses affirm that no person should be discriminated by a state officer, or a person acting on behalf of that office. Chapter 4 is viewed as one of the highly progressive sections of the 2010 Kenya Constitution. It guarantees fundamental rights which not even the sate is allowed to limit, including right to expression, association, conscience and belief. It

also guarantees equal access of opportunities for both gender, media freedom, rights to arrested and accused people among many other freedoms. Even though the implementation and respect of such rights and freedoms have been facing challenges, there is good progress which have been noted compared to the past.

The same law prohibits the state from discriminating directly or indirectly on whatever grounds, while handling or offering services. The grounds which the state cannot use to discriminate include but are not limited to pregnancy, sex, tribe, race among many others. The same clause also provides that a person cannot discriminate another based on those grounds. In that regard, Chapter 4 serves interests of women well, ensuring that they do not face discrimination while in Kenya based on their gender, pregnancy or issues which affect them as women.

In Kenya, the process of peace and security is often viewed as an issue of men, something which the resolution disputes, and this research shows extensively that it is flawed.

The UNSCR 1325 seems to have been built from several documents before it, which include Nairobi Forward-Looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women (1985), the Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action, the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women (1993), the Beijing Declaration and the Platform for Action and Beijing +5, and the Windhoek Declaration and the Namibia Plan of Action on Mainstreaming a Gender Perspective on Multidimensional Peace Support Operations.<sup>8</sup> Other key documents used include those brought by member states, treaties from regional jurisdictions, rulings from various courts of international

reputation among many other areas including report form the UN's office for the Secretary General.

Kenya has guaranteed the equality of girls and women through the establishment of the Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). Ratification means to incorporate a convention, which the government has signed, in the national legal framework. Kenya has integrated clauses from CEDAW into their constitution and national policy making process where UN conventions are obligating and outline the framework for the national, political space of action. The conventions give basic norms which are to protect the individual from random assaults from the government. However, in spite of assuring fundamental human rights, they are not unlimited.<sup>9</sup> The conventions also admit that the rights can be legally limited when it is found that this is necessary according to the national, democratically developed, legal framework and when the intention of the violation of one set of rights is to secure other rights which are considered more important. Even so, in the Kenyan constitution article 36 it is stated that Laws, cultures, traditions or customs working against women's dignity, welfare or interest are prohibited by the constitution. Even though there seems to be a lack of current official commitment to implementation of SCR 1325, different parts of the civil society in Kenya are constantly laying pressure on the official bodies in order to be included in the making and the implementation of all state policies, including those concerning women, peace and security.

## **1.5 Justification of the Study**

### **1.5.1 Academic Justification**

The research will contribute to the knowledge on the relevance of parliamentary legislatures in strengthening democracy in general and UNSCR 1325/2000. Similarly, the study findings will showcase how legislatures through legislators have advocated a number of gender-aware policy issues and networked with civil societies and constituents in raising awareness on the impact of government legislations in the democratic space.

The outcome of the study is a significant addition to existing literature on the role women legislators play in enriching the cause of democracy from a liberal feminist and equality of participation perspectives that can be of use to researchers in the field of gender and participatory governance.

### **1.5.2 Policy Justification**

This study will also aid in policy development which avoids a gendered peace- the needs for men and women should be addressed equally. This stresses the advantages of equal legislative opportunity for both men and women as it promotes positive peace and tackles long standing cultural masculine beliefs where people believe that some tasks can only be a preserve for men. It argues that that involving women as change agents in legislature improves the conditions of women and have positive outcome for peace building in general.

Finally, the findings will be used to inform the lessons, experiences and funding that can be incorporated to strengthen women's political legislatures for increased participation and visibility on the political platform of the Kenyan public.

### **1.6 Hypotheses of the Study**

- i. Level of women's political participation significantly influence the implementation of the UNSCR 1325/2000.
- ii. Legislature political will significantly influence the implementation of the UNSCR 1325/2000.
- iii. Institutional monitoring and evaluation process significantly influence the implementation of the UNSCR 1325/2000.

### **1.7 Theoretical Framework**

Feminists across the academic and civil world have lauded the resolution as an important step towards achieving gender equality. The resolutions seems to highlight some of the concerns feminists scholar have continuously highlighted as different dynamics in war affect women more than men. Feminist have primarily focused on the use of sexual abuse and violence as an element of war rather than an unfortunate occurrence. The recognition of this fact in the resolution acts as an important step in addressing it (Chinkin 1994; Seifert 1994). The same groups of scholars have also highlighted the critical role played by women in grass root level, in prevention of violence and reconstruction after the conflict (Sorensen 1998). The resolution also recognizes this and uses it as a basis of emphasizing the need to increase their participation and remove barriers which affect their contribution. The UNSCR 1325 also seems to have borrowed heavily from the beliefs of women rights activists and scholarly work around the world, man of which highlight women's role in mobilizing

societies against violence and war, against sexual abuse, and their contributions in reconstruction of the countries after war (Cockburn 1998).

The document also establishes a link between the gender aspect and the political power. The axis plays an important role in dictating issues which streamline policies at all level, starting from local level to international level.

Feminists blame the highly entrenched patriarchy as a major impediment to the participation of women in broad spheres of life. They argue that actions of men are responsible to limiting women's chances of advancing economically and politically. This is in contrast to the Marxist belief that classes based value systems favours those with specific interests, irrespectful of who they are in society. That means that men's position in society is dominant and that legitimize their continued search to pursue self-cantered interests. Feminists also argue that patriarchy has made institutions to reflect majorly the interests of men, pushing women agenda aside. This dominance is central to the continued culture which does not seem keen in uplifting women, given their disadvantaged position in the class-based value system.

The belief that women cannot serve in senior positions in the political or corporate world, advanced by the patriarchal culture, have further pushed women to accept subjugation as part of life. Feminists believe that class-based politics is the source of oppression in women (cf. MacKinnon 1982; Davis 1983) while at the same time arguing that patriarchy is the systems which have sustained the oppression over the years through oppressive cultural, social and political structures. Radical feminism, a movement of women which seeks to address the issues of women's disadvantaged position in society from its root causes, have been advocating for a complete policy reform, eliminating any form of sex stereotypes and barriers to women empowerment.

The movement argues that the policy reforms should not just level the ground for either gender, but also institute deliberate measure to ensure the ground is levelled. For instance, even though Kenya's two-thirds gender rule has been lauded as progressive, radical feminists still view it as insufficient, calling for a high number of women in elective and appointive institutions.

That include in areas of employment, where they are seeking equal employment opportunities, including affirmative action. However, even though the call for such programs continue to be made, radical feminists are not convinced of the system since it still looks like it will continue to entrench patriarchy beliefs. As a result, their suggestion is a new set of arrangement which would function separately from those largely dominated by men, establishing inclusive forms of decisions making at all levels of governmental and nongovernmental authorities.

There is need of a new collaborative framework where women work alongside others, instead of following a strict chain of command which depending on the leadership, can work against women empowerment. Creating an environment which is easy to cope with is also a good way of talking complex issues surrounding discrimination, gender stereotypes among other issues which are used as a baseline to oppress women. In the feminist's opinion, corporation, teamwork, allowing of diverse opinions are just some of the things which seek to addresses stumbling blocks while acting as sources of inefficiency.

In conclusion, to embrace the concept of gender people do not need to focus just on women while questioning masculinity, but rather address the concerns of both parties in a broader way in conflict situations. That seeks to address key issues when it comes



to discussion dominant conceptions in conflict situations, many of which tend to dictate the direction of the negotiations touring on peace and security.

### **1.8 Research Methodology**

The study will adopt a cross-sectional descriptive study. The study will use a qualitative approach to collect and analyse data, which shall be majorly interviewed and seek information from informants conversant with the issues at stake, and the data will be analysed in line with the study objectives. This study will be carried out with the members of the Kenya Women Parliamentary Association (KEWOPA), whose members come from parliament a consist all elected and nominated leaders, irrespective of their political affiliation. After the March 2013 elections, the membership was expanded to include women in the Senate.<sup>10</sup> The organization came about to deliberate on how to increase the number of women legislators, how to influence the house business agenda, and how to ensure issues affecting women were given attention in the house. KEWOPA envisions gender equality by ensuring the number of women rises to a level with that of men, to improve the participation of women in key decisions making organs both in public and private organizations as a way of achieving social justice. By virtue of being in parliament, the group is also tasked in public sensitization of gender issues, dissemination of knowledge to fellow women among many other things which would put them at level with men in politics. This will be critical in the socioeconomic development in the country.

Apparently, the association has 86 members, all elected and nominated female parliamentarians, coordinating from a secretariat situated in Nairobi. A sample of 20 KEWOPA members will be selected for this study is based on their availability and

---

willingness to engage in the subject matter of the study. The sample is considered adequate to generate satisfactory information to answer to the objectives of the study given its qualitative nature. Key informants will be purposively sampled based on their knowledge and work experience with implementation of UNSCR 1325/2000 programme functions. Key informant interviews (KIIs) will be carried out with purposefully selected staff of the Parliamentary Service Commission (PSC), UN Women, FIDA Kenya, and State University of New York (SUNY) Kenya Parliamentary Support Programme, on their perception of KEWOPA as significant legislators in strengthening democracy, the challenges, as well as the opportunities that KEWOPA may explore to enhance its productivity.

Secondary data will be solicited from books from the libraries. Also, articles from the internet and journals and documentation from the international relations on implementation UNSCR 1325/2000 will be consulted for secondary data.

## **1.9 Chapter Outline**

Chapter One details the introduction, literature review, and conceptual framework, and problem statement, objectives of the study, justification of the study, hypothesis and the methodology.

Chapter Two analyses women's political participation in the implementation of the UNSCR 1325/2000. In this Chapter, an overview of the Role of Legislature in Implementation of the UNSCR 1325/2000 will be provided. Relevant aspects of sustainable legislature role issues will be addressed.

Chapter Three will focus on women in decision making organs in Kenya and the role of various institutions in the implementation of UNSCR 1325/2000.

Chapter Four will cover the institutional framework in which the UNSCR 1325 is implemented, monitored and evaluated in Kenya starting from the security context in Kenya, Kenya's National Action Plan (KNAP) on the implementation of UNSCR 1325.

Chapter Five will present the conclusions. This chapter will feature the overall study conclusion with recommendation, an explanation of the analogies.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **WOMEN'S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN IMPLEMENTATION OF UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION (UNSCR)**

#### **1325/2000**

#### **2.0 Introduction**

This Chapter analyses women's political participation in the implementation of UNSCR 1325/2000. It is organized in the following sub-topics: Implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325/2000, Gender and the United Nations, Political Participation of Women in the UN, Women's involvement in the process of bringing peace and security, Achievement of Women's involvement in peace negotiations and peace agreements, Challenges facing women's participation in the United Nations Security Council resolution and Promoting Women's Leadership as stressed out in the Adoption of Resolution 1325/2000.

#### **2.1 Implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325/2000**

Looking at UNSCR 1325/2000, there are four thematic areas which they have put an emphasis on, which is the women's participation or involvement in politics, protection, prevention and mainstreaming the gender perspective regarding women roles and responsibilities in the peace and security processes. This part will continue to offer a deeper look at the UNSCR 1325 as it dictates on the issue of women and peace processes.<sup>64</sup>

According to Olsson and Gunilla<sup>65</sup> peacekeeping is seen as one of the “most effective tools” to bring conflict into a halt through the United Nations in war-torn regions. This includes helping the countries going through war start the process of peacebuilding, which is often lengthy and engaging. Looking at the countries where the UN has sent its peace troops, there is significant progress when it comes to the peace process. That is in line with the requirements of UNSCR 1325. The UN has been in the forefront implementing the resolution through several methods, including sending women experts in the missions, involving them in negotiations, and establishing gender office specifically to listen to their concerns and act on them. Looking at statistics “from 1957 until 1989 only 0.1 percent of the field-based military personnel in UN peacekeeping were female; at UN Headquarters between 1994 and 2000, women represented only 18 percent of those employed at the director level and none at senior director level” and in 2012, more than three percent of military personnel and 10 percent of police dispatched for UN mission were women, a significant progress. The 60 years of the agency’s peace keeping missions, only seven women have served at the highest level in the peace keeping missions, serving as Special Representatives of the UN Secretary-General.

The UN Women Review in 2012 brought the sad part of the agency, showing that there was a significant lack of women in peace negotiation and process as well as in agreements and treaties. This position was further supported by the Department of Field Support, which said there were challenges in improving the participation of women in peace processes, and that has been the major reason the numbers have remained dismally low. The report also noted that even if women were still available at the peace talks, their inclusion and participation was limited, casting more doubts on the level of participation for the few who were at the agency and its peace missions.

Disadvantaged women, especially those displaced internally, or victim of physical and sexual violence were not called into the negotiations, meaning that their misfortunes remained largely unrepresented. A UNIFEM study labelled women participation as ad hoc, with their participation falling below eight per cent of the eleven peace missions that were analysed. The study also noted that in all peace processes, no woman has been appointed to lead any team, a blow to the agency's own resolutions.

Additionally, there is an obvious disregard of women in peace processes, even when giving crediting or offering references. This is a demonstration that gender, as an issue was not being given a comprehensive view of the peace process. "A review of the major peace agreements concluded between August 2008 and April 2012 shows that 17 of the 61 accords included gender-related keywords." However, these acts were not presented in the main statements but rather offered at the peripherals as appendices, annexes and such.<sup>65</sup> Despite the appreciation that there has been an increase in gender references, the resolution had played more role outside the UN peace agencies than it has inside. The most important aspect has been the mobilization of women in other spheres of life.

A scrutiny by the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) discovered despite the marginal "increasing pattern of language recognising the important role that civil society and women-led organizations play in peace processes, there is almost no mention of women's participation in the formal peace process (either as a UN-appointed mediator, or on a mediation team)". That brings into fore that there has been lack of inclusion of women on the council's peace and security processes. As a remediation, the council must call for the immediate incorporation of

the resolution's clauses, especially when it demands women's full participation in the process taking up senior roles.<sup>68</sup>

Mazurana and Jane<sup>69</sup> argue that the UN agency in charge of peacekeeping has had a major progress in trying to comply with the resolution requirements. The duo found out that the agency has been central in peacekeeping, and has the highest inclusion of women, compared to any other agency. This including using women even in senior roles like military advisors. They note that female gender advisors by the UN agency have been used in places like Kosovo and Timor-Leste. Apparently, there are over nine missions which have female advisors, whose duties including advising the agency on issues too with women empowerment, and bring gender perspective in the implementation of various projects while the peace process is ongoing. The duties extend to raising gender awareness in the societies where they serve and advising senior level management on necessary steps to take to integrate gender perspectives into decision making in the process, to offer training to other women at the grass root level among other roles. They have been praised for the progress in executing the roles.

In any case, workplaces with female advisors have experienced various difficulties in the missions. They have regularly been given numerous duties with limited assets and resources without additional assistance. Funding gender-based organizations are never part of the mandate of the overall organizations, which demands that where such offices exist, they need to seek extra funding. That has not been easy, as sourcing for those funds encounters several challenges as well. Given many of the leaders in this gender offices rank lower in the management, access to senior management to deliberate on their specific issues is always limited. There is also a challenge in

vertical communication, coordination, and planning, issues which further isolate the groups from key resources and organ which would assist in assisting the progress of their activities.

## **2.2 Gender and the United Nations**

The United Nations is arguably the world's biggest and most respected organization. The agency came into being after World War 2 with the primary goal to prevent any future war between different countries. Additional objectives included reaffirming faith and respect in fundamental human rights and freedoms for all, "to promote social progress and better standards of life", and "achieve international co-operation in solving problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character", by avoiding war and pursuing peaceful methods in resolving political and economic disagreement, major issues which have led to conflicts before.

Since its inception UN Charter in 1945, and the remarkable Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948, some states were uncommitted in the inclusion of women in the project and designed most of its structures to favor men. Eleanor Roosevelt, in a letter emphasized the need to incorporate the equality of gender into the creation of peace in an open letter to the Women of the World on 12 February 1946, stressing that "this new chance for peace was won through the joint efforts of men and women working for common ideals of human freedom at a time when the need for joint effort brought down barriers of race, creed, and sex". Only after political pressure and campaigns by many women's lobby groups did the writes the inclusion of both genders appear. The Commission on the Status of Women (CSW) was among the first lobby groups which forced the inclusion of women in international agenda. The agenda in the commission included the need to pay attention to women rights and



more keenly, equality. The commission extended its work to studying about the need of women globally. Some of the findings included the low female participation in politics, labor exclusions, gender-based violence, harmful cultural practices among others. Since the 1950s, these issues have been part of the agenda where women issues are at stake.

In the years that followed after the 1950s, the agency's area of interest was broadened to include other issues like development in third world countries, war zones areas and those that had managed to bring peace into their countries. Key beneficiaries included states which had secured independence from Africa and across Asia. This triggered a new dimension in the lives and issues of a diversity of people, and mostly of marginalized people like women from underdeveloped countries, to the agenda and work of the agency. More to that, in 1975 the UN created the International Women's Year, which was later renamed to UN Decade for Women: Equality, Development, and Peace from 1976-1985. On its success list is the adoption of legal instruments for ending gender-based discrimination, enshrined in the Convention for the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), which was adopted in 1979. This group improved the legitimacy of women's concern and movements which were pushing for them. It also gave legitimacy to the presence of women in the peace, security and development framework in the UN's various missions. Starting the 1980s the UN's changed an approach focusing on human rights, political rights and gender equality alongside the expansion of democracy and development where it perceived women's position in society were largely below the anticipated standards in the resolution.<sup>74</sup>

When the cold war came to an end in the 1990s the United Nations was once again faced with more serious problems more so conflicts, which were tightly linked to humanitarian issues and problems regarding sustainability, peace, security, and development. Modern armed conflicts have a huge impact on common populations most of who have no interest in the conflict, especially women and children. The conflicts are often targeting civilian populations with various forms of abuse like rape and other forms of violence against women, used as a strategy by either of the belligerents to force one into submission or surrender from war, as part of domination of the enemy. For instance, in the Rwandese genocide, it is estimated that 500,000 women were subjected to sexual abuse including rape. A similar case was reported in Bosnia, as part of the ethnic cleansing strategy, more than 50,000 women were also abused and raped.<sup>75</sup> This resulted in the UN General Assembly, in its Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women, recognize that gender-based sexual violence was a result of unequal power relations in the actors of war, which have seen men dominate over women not just in war, but also in the other positions. This kind of bias, the UN noted that are part of the issues which have pushed women to remain in disadvantaged positions, unable to rise into positions where they can make their cases heard.

There have been several global conferences on several issues which would promote women empowerment at every level, including human rights, security, development, and peace. Presence of women in these conferences to earn insights a knowledge, as well as experience and other technical know-how will improve their position in society. Despite paying more attention to women and their often-disadvantaged positions, in 1995 the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing, “which significantly advanced the global agenda for women’s human rights and gender

equality”, changed the topic to focus on gender, rather than women; “recognizing that the entire structure of society, and all relations between men and women within it, had to be re-evaluated”. Furthermore, in Beijing, bring gender issues to the fore were embraced as one of a key aspect of realizing gender equality. Bringing the issue of gender into the mainstream is a strategy for resolving gender inequality, by ensuring the gender perspectives are considered throughout the activities which would affect it like policy development, research, funding, planning, implementation, and monitoring of programmes and projects which are associated with gender. Besides focusing on bringing gender into the mainstream, the UN is also keen on ensuring that each gender is represented equally in arrange of positions, including the most important ones<sup>76</sup>.

### **2.3 Political Participation of Women in the UN**

Since the formation of the UN, there has been a gradual formulation of direct and indirect strategies which has been used to advance issues related to women. This relationship of collaboration has led to setting goals, recommendations and international conventions that are more advanced than those adopted on a national level. From a feminist perspective, the UN has been seen as a forum for discussing and gaining consensus for, gender equality long before these issues were discussed in the individual member countries<sup>11</sup>. Rights of women are specially mentioned in the UN charter, and in 1947, the Commission on the Status of Women (CSW) was created. In addition to being a part of the UN inter-governmental system, the CSW has also worked closely with various women’s NGOs. This contact has given women’s NGOs access to key positions where they can contribute to decisions in

bodies under the UN. The close contact with the UN has also given the NGOs more strength and impact in relation to their own national governments.

In 1979 the single most important document on women's rights was adopted with the Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW). However, when CEDAW was created, the particular problem of violence against women was overlooked, thus the convention missed to talk about the issue even in one instance. Later on, the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women (DEVAW) was adopted in 1993. In the Beijing Platform for Actions, whose main purpose is the general empowerment of women, one of the key goals is "the elimination of all forms of violence against women" including violence against girls and women in armed conflicts<sup>78</sup>. Through CEDAW and DEVAW the elimination of violence against and associated discrimination has become part of international law, and thereby offer international recognized standards that can be used in for example peace operations.

The UN has called on all its member countries to set up national action groups to address an issue related to women empowerment, defined as "the central policy-coordinating unit inside government. Its main task is to support government-wide mainstreaming of a gender equality perspective in all policy areas". These machinery, if established, have so far had limited effect<sup>79</sup>. There have, however, in the last decade evolved a broad recognition of the fact that women's involvement in all areas of societies is not only their human right; it is also a necessity both socially and politically in advancing towards a more humane future. However, as it has already been mentioned, the rhetoric acceptance of women's rights does not automatically result in the realisation of these rights. It can, in fact, result in political relaxation and

an idea of accomplishment. Still, as Sorensen <sup>12</sup> claims, among activists the acknowledgement of rights can serve as catalysts for action. The rise of awareness, possibilities for political pressure and the ideological recognition

According to Stevenson<sup>81</sup> Women can engage in leadership and politics not only by voting but also by becoming activists, party members, advisors among several other roles. Political parties often hold power in determining issues like who will be nominated to run for office, what positions members will be given on party leadership, and who will receive support before, during and after the elections. The responsibility of political parties is therefore paramount in empowering women who are seeking political offices. The parties may also determine how vigorous issues about women will be discussed nationally, including introducing them to higher decision-making organs like the legislature, judiciary and executive.

Overall, political organizations which practise internal democracy and have fair transparent nomination rules offer the better chances for women to become their candidates for political seats. As a way of embracing equal gender representation, many political parties in several countries have adopted a compulsory quota specifying a minimum number of women on their candidate lists, to ensure that the probability of being chosen increases. The parties are also encouraging men holding special seats on the short term and exchanging them with women. In a number of nations, that is part of the law now. Many political entities have created “women’s wings of their official parties”; constituting a useful tool for the advancement of women, to address the issue of the marginalization of women within the party. In many situations after the conflict, parties are structured around military groups and

leaders, leaving women in a disadvantaged position to contest for bigger political offices<sup>82</sup>. Involvement in politics extends beyond political parties and their leadership structures. Women in countries which have experienced wars before are often actively involved in the civil society, providing another position to join politics. Government action groups, electoral agencies, non-governmental organizations including women's groups and networks, trade unions, the press and other groups and associations can all provide entries for women's rise to power.

#### **2.4 Women's participation in peace negotiations and peace agreements**

The resolution demands on all those involved in armed conflict, either as belligerents or those trying to broker a peace to adopt a gender perspective. This is to ensure specific issues which affect women are determined and addressed contrary to the current case where they are disregarded. This analysis took consideration of the level to which women have been called into peace processes, the limitations to their involvement and the role of the UN missions in ensuring gender perspective is introduced in the peace processes.

The peacekeeping mission has undertaken several activities to ensure gender participation increase in their teams as required in the UNSC 1325.<sup>83</sup> The initiatives which have been undertaken include raising awareness on the requirements of the UNSCR 1325 through seminars and its translation into languages which women in local areas can best understand; training and offering technical assistance to women's groups and their selected members to mainstream gender in peace deals; additionally, training women's groups and their representatives in communication and negotiation skills, advocacy and thorough understanding of the provisions of the resolution; and enabling fora for women across the different political parties to strategize and unify

their agendas for peace and security<sup>84</sup>. Gender organizations in peacekeeping operations are working to ensure increased women representation peace missions, negotiations and the overall process of peacebuilding. The UN has provided significant support for this groups, including technical and financial support.

There is strong evidence from the field which shows the progress which has been made. In Ivory Coast, the ONUCI Gender Unit brought together 120 women from all parts of the country into a seminar in 2008 on ensuring gender-linked views in the execution of the 2007 peace agreement which had seen the country plunge into violence. A countrywide network of 300 women's groups is now making a follow up on their impact. In the Democratic Republic of Congo, MONUSCO has worked with women in regions like the South and North Kivu and Ituri to ensure gender-sensitive issues were discussed in the March 2009 Peace Agreement<sup>85</sup>. In Sudan, another country which has struggled with conflicts, the UNAMID Gender Unit set up a committee on gender equality to address women's participation in the peace and security process. This has aided women in overcoming cultural limitations to their participation in this post-war peace negotiations; for instance, 15 women were involved in the settling of interethnic wars among nomads in Sudan in 2010<sup>86</sup>. UNMIL, a Liberian organization has been supporting peacebuilding process in the country at the grass root levels where the majority of those involved are women. The same has been happening in Afghanistan, where UNAMA has staged a spectacular lobby effort, with varying success to see that women were involved in peace negotiations. Those who have had a chance to talk about the lobby group credit it for the inclusion of women in the process which are looking into peace building in the region.

## **2.5 Achievement of Women's participation in peace negotiations and peace agreements**

Rajivan<sup>13</sup> noted that after its inception, UNSCR 1325 /2000 women started using the resolution as a way to get a chance into joining peace negotiation teams. They sensitized women 's organizations, organized public protests and lobbied belligerents and political leaders to ensure women were part of the process at every level. Women interviewed in Darfur, Afghanistan, and DRC agreed the important role played by the Special Representatives of the Secretary-General (SRSG) who have used their positions and office with parties to the conflict to ensure the participation of women in peace negotiations. Without the work of this group, some women have said the success achieved so far would not have happened, indicating an important role of the groups. Despite such good exhibition from the ground with women participation, been underrepresented in peace negotiations through low numbers and lower rank positions. The modest success forms a basis for defending any step which has been taken and viewing it as possible more effective in the future.

Despite the role women played in different peace and security process in Timor, they were snubbed when it came to the process of peace negotiations between Indonesia and Portugal. That is an indication that their role alone did not guarantee them a position in the negotiation table. Seven years later in the same countries, even after the UNSCR 1325 had been passed, women were still not featuring in key peace and security processes. That was a major blow to all the efforts which had been put in place to achieve women empowerment.



The seventh round of Darfur Peace negotiation in Abuja in 2005, AU/UNIFEM with in conjunction with UNMIS sent twenty women representatives to Nigeria to participate in the final stages of the negotiations. In the conferences which followed, like Doha Peace Negotiations on the Darfur Conflict there were no women who were involved, despite playing a critical role in the build-up to the conference. This failed to incorporate women views into the peace process. Another similar challenge which was evident in the process is that women who were perceived to be pro-government got more opportunities than the rest, including those who had better knowledge of the challenges facing women in the region. This favouritism undermined integration of women views in a way which would benefit all of them.

The same low female participation in the peace process was again experienced in DRC in the Lusaka Cease Fire Agreement in 1999. Despite pushing for their participation in the Congolese conflict, the numbers did not record any significant improvement, moving from a paltry 9 percent participation in the first round held in Gaborone in 2001 of negotiations to 10 percent in the second round held in Pretoria a year later. However, constant efforts from women and assistance and commitment from the UN helped in the adoption of the Global and Inclusive Agreement. The agreement provided for the improved involvement of women in post-conflict peace negotiations. An analysis of other post-conflict situations, including in the 2008 Kenya Post Election Negotiations to end a political crisis which had engulfed the country, the case for Code Ivoire seeking to end a political crisis, and many others, showed dismal participation from women. For instance, a peace agreement in Ouagadougou was signed without a single woman participating.

In the UN Peace talks in Afghanistan, there were only two women out of the 25 people who were taking part. A further 35 women attended as observers. This participation was hailed, considering the exclusion which was a norm in previous meetings. The participants said it was a great experience and they acquired important skills in the process. As a result, the Bonn Agreement, provided a basis for more women participation in peace process. The highlight of the agreement was the provision of sensitive issues about women, which led to the establishment of Emergency Loya Jirga, which was set to deliberate on gender concerns, showing the total female participation increase to 13 percent. The Ministry of Women affairs was set up in the same year. Continued campaign from women, especially UNAMA show women participation in the 2010 Consultative Peace Jirga rise from an initial 30 to 331, which was a 21 percent participation rate. This was the highest percentage of women participating in any major consultative negotiation in the country. UNAMA had been pushing for a 25 percent share in the parliament, but that push has not been successful since 2010 showing a dismal increase in female legislators, many presidential appointees. A major concern in Afghanistan has also been about the Taliban group, feared for its conservative beliefs and women has constantly seen it as a threat to their empowerment.

## **2.6 Challenges facing women's participation in implementing UNSCR 1325**

Several challenges exist which undermine women's participation in post conflict negotiations, including peace building and reconciliation. Given the low representation in the peace teams, women do not get an automatic invitation to many talks. Even in rare case where women are involved, rarely are they involved as senior mediators or negotiators. They only come up at advanced levels of the negotiations,

agreeing to what has already been settled in the negotiations. In this case, one cannot credit their contribution to the results of the negotiations. Often, women are likely to attend to peace talks as part of the civil society as opposed to being part of the negotiating teams. This points to a fact that the civil society have embraced the ideals of the UNSC 1325, on women inclusion on important peace talks, while the negotiating teams, often worrying sides in the conflict, do not embrace the concept of women participation. However, the civil society often get limited representation in such peace talks, with their contribution rarely given priority. That means on that basis alone, women's views may not be given priority. Also, another noticeable thing is that most women are from the elite political class, residing in urban areas. That again denies women from rural areas, often the most affected the chance to air their views in peace processes.

The ability of women to participate is also another major concern. Financial barriers and challenges like transport and accommodation provide an extra problem. Whereas most men can get funding or even can finance themselves to attend such peace talks, women find themselves at odds doing, hence end up missing on attending. People interviewed on peace mission pointed out that women required discretion in their place of work, which they rarely managed to be accorded.

The UNSCR 1325 embraces the understanding of traditional setups where conflicts happen, as one way of accelerating any peace process. This includes a clear understanding of other challenges which are contributing to war. For instance, in Yemen, unemployment and poverty are the greatest security concerns in the country. In areas like Yemen, where mortality rates, illiteracy levels, and poverty are high across the country, women tend to be more victims than men. Yemen, just like many

middle east nations have some of the highest level of domestic abuse, most of them against women in poor backgrounds. Child marriage, another impediment to women empowerment has been highly reported in Yemen's low-income backgrounds. Girls as young as 13 are often offered in marriage to wealthy Yemen and other foreigners from across the region, who do not guarantee of long term stay with them. These are women who come from families which find it hard to afford the basic necessities like food, shelter, clean water, and sanitation, hence offering their young daughters in exchange for those items. A major blow to that is the country has not ratified the UNSCR 1325, meaning it had no political obligation to address issues which affect women most in the region. Constant conflicts, fuelled by smuggled weapons into the country has made the state of women more vulnerable. This has impacted their ability to continue with their traditional agricultural activities, which even though not lucrative, had been sustaining most of them. Despite losing on their primary source of livelihood, and with limited economic opportunities, most women remain vulnerable to exploitation and harassment. Some of the things which have impacted them most include marrying off young girls and human trafficking, with some girls sold off as sex slaves into foreign countries. The growth of religious extremism has been even more detrimental to the progress of women in the region. The Salafis, the Muslim Brotherhood, and other Islamic religious fundamentalists have been against women empowerment, and often not only exclude women but also campaign openly about their exclusion. These groups have penetrated education and government institutions, making it hard for women to overcome their beliefs which they actively campaign to be part of the region's culture.

## **2.7 Promoting Women's Leadership as a Specific Focus: Adoption of Resolution 1325/2000**

Considering the increasing criticism of the UNSC's focus on sex-related violence, which includes the ratification of the fourth resolution, the council seems to be making efforts to remedy this concern. The United Nations are adopting Resolution 1325, which it considers to be the strongest language on women leaderships while embracing the essence of women participation in politics.

There are several other issues which the UNSC 1325 considers key among their work, including the promotion of the rule of law, whose violation affects women more significantly. Other issues which fall under the same category include prevention of conflict, which would go a long way in avoiding some of the most compelling concerns for women. The global agency has also brought in two important thematic areas in the Women, Peace and Security (WPS). The first one is the threats to international peace and security, which highlights the dangers posed by terrorist groups and other criminal organized gangs. This has a close correlation with terrorism, which forms one of the main thematic areas for the security council. While negotiating on terrorism and related concerns, issues to do with WPS has been largely missing. That is despite the constant call to include them from different quarters including women advocacy groups, government, and other stakeholders. The UNSC 1325 this serves as a document which is bringing these issues to the fore, and their inclusion in major counter-terrorism agenda in the United Nations. Previously, the UN and its security organs had been holding conferences on a strategy to counter terrorism without incorporating issues which affect women, or issues which fall under WPS. A 2013 Report from the United Nations Secretary-General indicated that the

agency must include issues of women on all terrorism and counterterrorism strategies, this is an effort to address their concerns and act as a basis of their promotion into important charters to address issues which affect them most.

Another important factor which has also been highlighted in the resolution is the issue of the reproductive and sexual health of women affected in conflicts. The Secretary-General in a 2013 Report gave a recommendation that services like contraceptives and abortion services be availed to women in conflict zones. The report stated that such services should be prioritized just like other basic necessities like water and sanitation. This was a response to the realization that in most conflict areas, women always bore the responsibility of unsafe sex practices, and thus deserved urgent and coordinated assistance. However, the report indicated that the services should be availed based on national law, regulations, and cultures. This provision is part of the resolution, stated in the preambular section where it calls for free access to sexual and reproductive health, including termination of pregnancy resulting from acts like rape. These services should be offered in a discretionary, secure and an environment from any form of discrimination. However, the inclusion of this item as part of the resolution did not go well with other countries, majorly those that embrace religious conservatism. The effect was that they failed to ratify the resolution. This, however, is good progress, given it has opened up space for all member states to review the topic, with the hope that they will see the essence in it. The agency hopes that inclusion of that will mark a significant progress on reproductive health regarding women. The inclusion and open support is also a clear sign that agency was ready to sponsor it, including the provision of funds to enable women to to access such services in conflict zones.

## **2.8 Predicament of Member States in implementing UNSCR 1325**

The countries, both of which have signed it and those that have not, have faced major challenges in implementing the provisions of the documents locally and internationally. The major challenges include:

### **2.8.1 Integration Issues**

This is a concern on what approach should be employed in the implementation of the resolution. There are two major proposals presented by stakeholders, each with distinct merits and demerits. The first proposal, which has also been used in Israel and Fiji calls for the mainstreaming of the provision of the resolutions within the government and its development agencies. However, another advocate for the creation of separate and distinct actions groups to implement the resolution. The latter argues that if there are no groups formed to specifically do that job, then its comprehensive implementation may be jeopardized. This contrasts the argument by the former, which sees integration within the government and its agencies as an easy option, which will be cost effective. The creation of distinct action groups has been tried in Uganda and Holland, each recording varying levels of success. In Uganda, the group's set up as action groups has served as an important link between women the government in the inclusion of women in important national negotiations<sup>43</sup>. In Holland, a distinct group has been instrumental in the creation of more resources for women, which is now created for their accelerated rise to contribute to important national concerns. The same approach has been utilized in Liberia under Liberian Action Plan, whose success has been instrumental in pushing for women empowerment.

The two approaches have had varying success, but experts still suggest a compound approach which focuses on mainstreaming the women agenda in government and its agencies, is also distinct to ensure that nothing is disregarded. This kind of compound approach has been tried through the creation of national action plans and strategies to ensure bureaucracy in the institutions do not undermine the women agenda whenever addressed. That includes mobilization of resources to ensure women are not disadvantaged in any way whenever called to attend to issues of national interest, which may touch on peace and security. For instance, Kenya has made significant progress through the creation of ministries to address issues of women, while embracing distinct groups which facilitate women to be in a position where they can contribute in politics and economics without discrimination.

### **2.8.2 Positioning Dilemmas**

The determination of which government agency, possibly a ministry which should be in charge of the National Action Plan is a critical element in the implementation process. In Africa and Asia, the governments have created special ministries for gender, children and special programmes. The country's national action plans are now housed in these ministries which guide on their implementation. The best examples are in Uganda, Kenya, and Liberia, where ministry under the same category have been set up to address issues of women and assume the role of implementing the resolutions. In Europe, the ministry of foreign affairs has largely assumed the role of seeing the implementation of UNSCR 1325. However, concern has been noted in the EU countries which host this resolution in the Foreign Affairs ministry. Most of the FA ministries tend to focus on seeing foreign missions and countries implement it while disregarding what is happening back in their countries. For example, Civil



Societies groups in Northern Ireland has been accusing the British government of focusing too much on the implementation of the resolution in foreign countries, while disregarding glaring concerns back home. The accusation included the funding of foreign countries to implement the resolution. The civil group, Whitehall accused the UK of ignoring measures to address gender, peace and security issues in Northern Ireland, after the political crisis which had hit the region in 2009. It also noted that the UK had excluded the region from the broader national action plan. There is a direct conflict of interests when the issues of women, peace, and security are placed in the ministry of FA, as evidenced by the UK.

There are also other concerns, like civil societies working to empower women arguing that budgetary allocation and support provided to the NAPs are insufficient. This has caused the progress on implementation key issues on the resolution either stall or become excessively slow. This public outcry contrasts report forms most ministries, which even though admit are underfunded, credit the significant progress they have made and they continue to make.<sup>46</sup> The highlights the challenges which exist on determining where exactly to place gender ministries. The example given above offer two options, but a look across countries in Africa, Europe, and Asia, the discovery is that women, peace and security issues are placed in different ministries other than one named above. Failure and success after placing them in whichever ministry is a key determinant of continued placement at the same institution.

### **2.8.3 Participation Problems**

Another issue which has emerged to be a major concern is how different parties which want to be part of the implementation process should be included. For instance, the civil society groups many which have a lot of influence both nationally and

internationally want full inclusion, at the same time the government, which holds the national mandate to execute the national action plan often finds this an inconvenience. In regimes which do not embrace democracy, it even becomes a bigger problem. There have always been issues when trying to establish who owns a process when happening in various jurisdictions. For instance, the need to know the process is owned by the United Nations and when it is owned by the government. Determination of ownership is critical since it enables the entity in charge to carry out activities which support the participation of women, like capacity building and funding. Willet<sup>48</sup> cautions that governments should not be keen to rush in coming up with national action plans as a way of attracting funders, or as a way of satisfying the United Nations requirement, but more keenness should be focused on the overall impact of whatever is done, little it may be. He notes that in countries where this has happened as a formality, there has been little impact on women's participation in both economic and political fields, and with most of them stalling or slowing down. Thus, the focus should be transformation and sustainability of the programs to enhance women empowerment.

## **2.9 National Action Plan to implement UNSCR 1325**

Women are critical in the achieving of sustainable peace and economic development and the UN recognizes this fact in the UNSCR 1325. The agency also recognizes the role each member state must play to see the resolution fully in action, and women actively contributing to development and peace. The resolution portrays women in two ways, both as victims and possible solution makers in conflict situations. In the case where conflicts affect them, they fall victim and such need assistance to address their issues<sup>49</sup>. While pursuing peace, including the prevention of conflicts, they are

critical actors. They can lead negotiations to ensure belligerents do not proceed to armed conflicts, and when called to action they can also be part of the olive and military on the ground to provide peace. Despite that understanding, their services are rarely used in before, during and after the conflict. This exclusion does not help in anything, since they are often affected most, and issue like sexual assault and abuse, killing and pregnancies affect them in conflicts. The underrepresentation in peace and security teams which emerge during or after conflict does not help. The UN Secretary General's Report in 2013, which was, in particular, calling for immediate ai to access reproductive health is a good indicator that their exclusion makes negotiators ignore issues which affect them. Such ignorance from peace and security actors results in pregnancies, sexually transmitted diseases, traumatic experiences among many issues among women, which render them unable to continue being productive in other spheres of life. Impunity for crimes which affect women is also rampant, with crimes like rape rarely treated as serious in conflict zones, especially from other victims of the conflict. Therefore, the UNSC calls for its member states not just to look at these issues, but also bring women on board as a guarantee that such serious issues should not be overlooked.

### **2.9.1 Women's participation in decision-making and peace processes**

One of the main provisions in the UNSCR 1325/2000 is the need of its member states to include women in all level of decision making. Whereas there is bias to peace and security process, overall it needs women in all spheres of like, holding and sitting in senior boards which making important national decisions. The agency urges member states to build capacity for loyal women, enabling them to prevent conflicts, and be active in peace negotiations and agreements, areas where they have been missing. As

a way to making a follow-up, the Secretary General's office requires member states to appoint women representative to the office<sup>50</sup>.

According to Cockburn<sup>14</sup> women have all that is need to take part in the resolution of conflicts, including brokering peace agreements. This process has been dominated by men, and it is time for a shift where representation in pursuing peace, brokering deals and agreement be embraced by both genders. Given they often face more targeted crime like sexual abuse, they have a right to seek redress for such crimes, and where possible receive aid or retribution. Their exclusion from key decision-making organs, and where their voices would be hard is an impediment to this process of seeking redress to damages they often suffer in conflicts. Other than calling for compensation to damages, denying them an opportunity to express themselves, including requests for goods and services which would alleviate their suffering from post-conflict situations, is itself a crime to women. It is a responsibility of everting member state to ensure women have open platforms, free from discrimination to lay their grievances. A balanced inclusion of women into important national and international organs is an essential part of a more tolerant and peaceful society.

Important to the whole concept of women empowerment is the need to lay a foundation which supports young girls to overcome societal discriminations. The removal of discriminative cultural and beliefs will be central to achieving women empowerment. In some member states, cultures rarely do they allow women to hold a certain position, or to engage in certain activities. This is one of the challenges faced by the implementation of the resolution, but whose solution will be a significant step forward in realizing its goals. Th UN is thus calling for member states not to

understand the document as something which calls for political participation alone, but as one which also demands for opening up opportunities for women in other areas of life, forgoing retrogressive cultures among many other things<sup>52</sup>. In an effort to achieve this, special focus should be focused on the grassroots level, where conflicts are common. There must be deliberate efforts to ensure women feature in key decision-making organs, as a way of promoting them while laying the foundation for young girls to succeed in that environment.

### **2.9.2 The Protection of Women and Girls**

The UNSCR 1325 calls member states to prioritize the protection of women and girls' rights, including the need to establish gender equality. This protection must, however, happen as stipulated the country's constitution, electoral system laws, the police, and judiciary. That shows the resolution does not limit the implementation and promotion of gender rights to any single entity but recognizes it as an effort of every institution. The UNSCR 1325 calls for special measures to address specific issues which affect women, like rape and sexual abuse, and any form of violence which is rampant in conflicts. The resolution also requires the UN member states to put measures in place to end impunity for those who commit the crimes. That has been a major challenge, with warlords, some who fund, sponsor and perpetrate crimes against humanity, including genocide, rape, and similar heinous crimes go unprosecuted. The resolution notes the unfortunate circumstance that many of the warlords are well established politically, however, it notes their prosecution is possible both locally and internationally. Crimes committed against women, especially rape and other sexual abuse crimes are subjected to amnesty during peace deals. This is a serious concern for the entire United Nations office. The UN has emphasized that crimes committed

against women and girls should not be offered amnesty during peace deals as a way of discouraging other warlords from using violence and sexual abuse against women's as an instrument of war. While sending out a strong message on that, it also calls for member states to look into needs of girls and women after the conflict, to ensure they are rehabilitated and resettled appropriately.<sup>53</sup>

Cultural perception of crimes in conflict is also another impediment to the protection of women rights. Some of the crimes which happen to women are often seen as inevitable and natural, and often argued as permissible. With this kind of mentality, it will be hard to ensure women's rights are respected during conflicts. Things like rape, trafficking, forced prostitution and sexual assault are common among in conflicts, with some used as a weapon of war<sup>54</sup>. Other than undermining women, some of these are used to destabilise families, either committing genocide, ethnic cleansing or denying them essential necessities as a way of punishing them. Occasionally, these acts are used to provoke communities, displace others and destroy their organized form of life. It is in this circumstance that conditions are created which tolerate child marriages and child prostitution, escalating the issues which affect women and girls further. In whichever the case, those who fall victims remain traumatised for a long time even after the conflict.

### **2.9.3 Gender Training**

Sensitization of people about women rights, the need to protect them and how to do it is part of what the agency puts more emphasis on. Other than the requirement for national governments to build capacity not just on women but the entire population, the UN allocates huge sums of money to ensure women are trained properly to train others. On the same note, it provides logistical and technical support in every aspect.

It also calls government from member states to emulate them. The training is often broad, covering a range of topics and issues. Among the issues which have been prioritized in the training including raising awareness on sexually transmitted infections among troops and women in general and issues to do with negotiation and communication skills.

Whereas the above is part of what the agency recommends for everyone, the focus has been turned to training women on how to lead peace negotiations, head peacekeeping missions, reconstruct war-ravaged societies, and even recover from conflict repercussions to resume on their economic activities. The agency also provides special training for issues which promote democracy and increase women's likelihood of vying for political offices, the constitutional review and amendment process among several issues which can help them make changes into the overall governing of their jurisdiction, and even force issues which affect them into official policy guidelines.

## CHAPTER THREE

### WOMEN IN DECISION MAKING IN KENYA

#### 3.1 Introduction

Kenya has a long history when it comes to women leadership and governance has a dating back to precolonial period to date; such as the first woman Chief -Wangu wa Makeri who served between (1901-1909), defying patriarchal cultural structures then, which continue to exist to date, and rose to become an important tribal chief in precolonial Kenya. She is credited for having brought development and peace among to her tribe. Many “unsung heroines” in the same era achieved similar fate; more importantly, those who actively participated in the country’s independence struggle of the 1940s to early 1960s, thus showing that women can and do make a significant impact even in hostile environments<sup>15</sup>.

Since Kenya’s independence in 1963, women have been fighting to participate in key decision-making organs alongside men in all aspects of public life. But until the turn of this century, progress towards women’s access to formal political leadership positions has been minimal due to a multiple structural hindrance which includes: deeply embraced patriarchal values in all aspect of life; violent, biased and undemocratic organizations and policy frameworks and insufficient civic and gender awareness. Due to the limited formal political space, most women’s political participation operated outside the State, with minimal link or support from the highly patriarchal culture where men are at the helm in most cases.



Nzomo's<sup>16</sup> study on Women in Politics and Public Decision-making set the stage for the intellectual and policy discourse concerning women in decision making. This initiated the search for effective strategies and solutions to the challenges and structural barriers that impede women's access and influence in political leadership capacities. It has also led to the development of an accountable mechanism for holding the government and women representatives accountable.

The socio-political context, as a key determinant shaping and setting limits on the agendas women leaders, can implement in different historical contexts. Although most women leaders have been coming up with some policies suggestions as part of the process of seeking political office, few women candidates articulate their agenda in feminist terms. This is due to the predominantly patriarchal political context that remains intolerant to a feminist agenda or ideology.

The predominant discourse focusing on Kenya women's political participation is still preoccupied with the issue of access and presence and of obstacles and strategies of attaining the optimal quota set for women in political leadership, and less on the question of agenda setting and accountability.

More research is needed that goes beyond the focus on barriers to and strategies for access, to critically analyse linkages and intersections of access, agenda setting and accountability. More research should also examine the impacts of political presence, especially the differential performance of individual women political leaders before and during political tenure and also interrogate the assumptions behind "critical mass" theory and its efficacy in different contexts (such as the view that electing women to political leadership positions does not necessarily mean that the women's agenda will

be advanced). Analysis is also needed on the issue of accountability with respect to impact/performance/ reporting by women in civil society and institutional frameworks that support women in political leadership, measured against the agenda they set in their declared missions and visions (of women's political empowerment NGOs) and national development/ gender policies (of government)<sup>17</sup>.

The preoccupation with access in the Kenyan case is understandable given the country's low political ranking regionally and globally in respect to female representation in Parliament, currently standing 9.9% of total MPs in the 2008-2012 10<sup>th</sup> Parliament. This compares poorly with Kenya's neighbours especially the East African Community member states, who have all attained and some even surpassed the magic threshold, "critical mass" of a third female representation in their respective legislatures; such as Rwanda's (56.3%), Tanzania (36.0%), Uganda (34.9%), Burundi (32.1%). Similarly, South Africa (44.5%); Mozambique (39.2 %); and Angola (38.6%) have a high female presence in their legislatures<sup>18</sup>.

### **3.2 Women Engagement with the State and Political Parties**

Worldwide, the stronger the women political lobby groups, the more impact they have in pushing for women rights in the country. This gives them for a to push for their agenda ion almost every organization both private and public. The women's movement also remains the best means of giving women visibility and voice. The same movements in Kenya have played a key role as a change agent in respect to promoting rights of women as well as gender equality, and social justice. However, their overall impact depends largely on context and time.

The period before to 1992, was Kenya's worst in silencing of women's political voices by the state that was intolerant to civil society organizations unless such organizations praised and promoted the then oppressive regime. The ability and resources to plan, organize and engage in political activities were lacking. The state often took such capabilities as a way of silencing any opposition. There were three women organizations which were allowed to operate then, namely, *Maendeleo ya Wanawake* (MYWO), National Council of Women of Kenya (NCWK) and the Nairobi Business and Professional Women's organization- which operated on strict government regulation lest they risked deregistration and ban. Most were not allowed to carry out political activities unless they were authorized by state agents. They often focused their energy on social welfare, healthcare, civic education among others.

Between 1963 and 1992, there was a minimal shift in the status of women as state support for women's empowerment initiatives was at the lowest level. The government stifled women's organizations like the 1987 merger of MYWO with KANU which was then the ruling party. The period since 1992 has largely been termed as a "Second Liberation" era, political period for Kenya, as it marked the return to multi-partyism which had been absent since independence in 1963. The period marked the start of a more democratic space in Kenya, where people would exercise rights to vote, express their political opinions among other democratic rights which had been stifled.

The opening up of political space facilitated women's political engagement/activism and created a pathway for the revitalization of the women's movement, as manifested in the emergence and formation of new women's civil rights groups, with radical agendas to bring women into power, just like men has been.

The young and old converged purposely to utilize this political moment and to develop a woman-focused democratic agenda with specific Action Plans and targets. This was done in 1992 at a National Women's Convention under the theme: Women's Agenda for a Democratic Kenya. The Convention that brought over 2,000 Kenya women representatives from all parts of the country and demanded that the expansion of civil rights space be embraced; a change in the legal policy framework, to remove all forms of discrimination against women in access to powerful decision-making tables; in employment among others. Consequently, women's representatives put aside their differences and united around the motto: "Unity in Diversity for Women's Empowerment", as a strategy for effective collective action towards the lobby the State and to facilitate the engendering process<sup>19</sup>.

### **3.3 Women Access to Key Decision-making Positions**

The issue of access to political office became pertinent in Kenya as in other African countries, due to the deeply entrenched structural societal barriers cited above, that block women's entry into political leadership and seem to accompany them, when and if they accede to political office.

Among many women in Kenya, the implicit assumption behind the many decades of concerted efforts to gain access to political leadership has remained that women can and do make a significant and positive difference when in leadership. This view has remained anchored on the conviction that despite their political marginality, throughout Kenya's political history, women have demonstrated positive performance in public leadership and in their daily lives and could do more if they attained a critical mass.

The failure to attain a “critical mass” of women in formal political representation structures despite all efforts, has led over the years to the conviction that the only solution to this stagnation lay in the provision of constitutional and non-constitutional Affirmative Action (AA) measures. AA then came to be viewed as a core mechanism for unblocking women’s access and attainment of the optimal “critical mass” presence of women in formal governance structures<sup>20</sup>.

The engagement with the State and attempts to hold it accountable for the provision and implementation of AA measures have taken place through the collaboration of primarily Women MPs; women in NGOs and activist gender Scholars. Individually and collectively, they have been active in seeking to engage and lobby the State to enact an AA legislation, without success, for nearly two decades.

The many failed attempts at enacting an AA law was finally realized in August 2010, following the promulgation of a new Constitution, that had a very progressive legal and political provisions, that not only provided for AA but guaranteed either gender, equally political, economic and social rights and duties in equal measure; and dropped all discriminatory factors which had existed before.

A key Women’s gain in the 2010 promulgated constitution, is the entrenchment of AA provisions in the Bill of Rights; thus, firmly securing and guaranteeing compliance by the State in respect to compliance of the “no more than two thirds of either gender” principle (which specifies reserved seats for the minority gender), in all appointive and electoral offices. Also entrenched in the Bill of Rights are the provisions for equality of rights between men and women and outlawing of discrimination on whatever grounds. The constitution also provides for a devolved

governance structure that opens new opportunities for gender equitable participation and governance.

### **3.4 Women's agenda-setting through non-formal Strategies**

Due to the limitations of formal methods of negotiating power, political space and women's rights in Kenya, women have over time learnt to exploit skilfully, the informal methods of influencing public policy and governance, gaining access and influencing change, by overriding the hindrances to access, influence and agenda setting.

In some cases, women have turned their stereotyped profiles of being mothers; as sex instruments of oppression and subordination to their advantage and utilized them to drive and influence the governance and democratic process<sup>21</sup>. Such was the February 1992 case of a group of elderly Mothers of Political Prisoners who sustained for several months, an unconventional strategy of public protest against the Kenyan State, combining a hunger strike and publicly stripping naked, as they mobilized support for their demand for the release of their politically criminalized sons.

The mothers of political prisoners seized the political space for activism created by the return to political multi-partyism in December 1991 and riding on the energy, resolve and sense of women's solidarity emanating from the National Women's Convention that had just concluded in Nairobi. Through this novel and public way of lobbying, these women received the attention of the political leadership and support from the women's movement, Kenyans in general and the outside world. For of those jailed were released in June 1992, and a similar number in January 1993. In their own

way, these mothers set a gender agenda for women in governance, and provided a demonstration effect to women and society at large, of the many possibilities and strategic avenues that exist for political engagement and for gaining access and influence to and in political leadership<sup>22</sup>.

### **3.5 Women Engagement inside the State**

Despite earlier marginalization of women in leadership in Kenya, recent development has seen women engaging the state to address the inequalities that have persisted to date. Kenya Women Parliamentarian Association is one organization that women legislatures have utilized to ensure women are involved in decision making at all levels of governance. National Gender and Equality Commission (NGEC) which is the watchdog body to ensure implementation of gender issues in 2010 constitution has also been to advocate for sufficient inclusion of women in decision making positions at all levels<sup>23</sup>.

#### **3.5.1 The Kenya Women Parliamentarian Association**

KEWOPA, an all-party legislative caucus to which all women MPS are automatically members, was formed in 2001 as a response to the need to increase the number of women legislatures, and enhance their voices in the overall legislation process; influence on house business and call for more attention to issues that impact women in the society. For four decades prior to the formation of KEWOPA, no legislation in

support of women's rights were enacted in the male-dominated Kenyan Parliament. In some cases, laws supporting women's rights were repealed<sup>24</sup>.

Under the auspices of KEWOPA, and in collaboration with women NGOs and other women all over the country, women MPs in the 9th and 10th Parliaments, though a numerical minority in parliament, have played a significant role in engendering legislations, policies and political institutions in parliament. KEWOPA initiated and successfully lobbied for the following: i) the Children's Act of 2002; ii) the Sexual Offences Act of 2006; iii) the Counter Trafficking in Persons Act of 2010 iv) the review of the Employment Act, No. 11 of 2007, which triggered an increase in maternal leave to four months v) the 2011 anti- FGM Act. vi) successfully lobbied for tax waivers for sanitary ware and diapers, and an improved focus on women issues in relation to HIV/AIDS and vii) engendered the 2008 revised version of the Standing Orders of The National Assembly which were previously gender-blind; viii) secured maternal leave which comes with benefits for MPs and female designated restrooms; ix) successfully lobbied for the appointment of women MPs as to Chair at least five (5) out of the 16 Committees in the house which were previously all chaired by men and for the implementation of the 2008 Equal Opportunities Committee (EOC) (that monitors and promotes equal opportunities for all marginalized groups, including women.

### **3.5.2 National Gender and Equality Commission**

National Gender and Equality Commission (NGEC) enacted through an Act of Parliament in 2003 and 2011 respectively, coordinates and facilitates issue related to gender with particular focus to making them part of the mainstream agenda. That will



revolve around policy formulation, advocacy, research and education among other issues which if women are included, will have a significant impact on their is in the political class. The NGEC is in charge of overseeing all women empowerment program sponsored through the government to coordinate, monitor and ensure compliance with the 2010 constitution.

### **3.6 Beyond Debate on Access Decision Making Positions**

As scholars grapple with the ‘how’ of attaining a critical number of women in governance, the most common assumption has been that women political leaders in the African countries that have attained a “critical mass” in political representation have effectively used their respective positions to advance the gender and democratic agendas. Hassim<sup>25</sup> , for example, argues that this assumption has not been borne out by empirical evidence in the African countries that have to-date attained and even surpassed the 30% threshold, in respect to advancing feminism’s democratic aims of transforming and achieving institutional change, where political cultures become more responsive and accountable.

Rather, reservations can have adverse effects on the advancement of democracy when addressed in scenarios where the critical institutions of democracy and civil rights are weak or do not exist, then case for most developing country, and where elected political leadership have no mechanism to account to the voters; e.g., women, politicians get co-opted and become collaborators in restricting the political rights of feminist and other dissenting voices. Thus, in such a situation, AA demands may increase number of women in policy making organizations, but that may not improve

equality of democracy, thus reminding us that there is no guaranteed link between socio-economic development and political representation<sup>26</sup>.

Similarly, it has been noted that sex quotas, are not necessarily feminist quotas and hence the mere presence of women in parliaments may not necessarily change the patriarchal culture of political institutions or force institutions to recognize women. This in turn raises the need to revisit the “critical mass” theory & make a distinction between ‘critical actors’ and ‘critical mass’, in order to identify the concrete representatives – not defined in term of ‘sex’ or ‘gender’– but rather in terms of the actual role an individual plays in advancing women-friendly policy changes; thus shifting the focus in analysis from the macro-level of what ‘women’ do to the micro-level, of what specific women do.

Most female legislators and activists hold the view that the difference they make in society is not just about numbers, but also important contribution which should be appreciated at all levels<sup>27</sup>. They argue that, even other they have been side-lined in key decision-making organs, they have made some significant difference in shaping and advancing the gender agenda. In this connection, they point the number of policies seeking for women empowerment which have been made in the last two parliaments, a period when the number of women in the legislature rose to its highest point. These bills that were brought included removal of tax on essential women products like sanitary towels and diapers, the pasting of sexual and marriage offences act, repealing of political party’s act to include more women among other issues. Other areas where they have brought changes include the Employment Act, as well as the Political Parties Act, was also significant pieces of legislation, as they sought to

address key issues of gender equitable representation in the socio-economic and political arenas respectively and discourage gender discriminative practices. Also attributed to female MPs has been a notable paradigm shift in the gender responsive direction that Parliamentary debates have taken, some of which have resulted in gender sensitive policies that may advance the female empowerment narrative.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **INSTITUTIONAL EVALUATION AND MONITORING PROCESS IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF UNSCR 1325/2000**

#### **4.1 Introduction**

This section covers the institutional framework in which the UNSCR 1325 is implemented, monitored and evaluated in Kenya. It starts with the security context in Kenya and discusses the KNAP on the realization of the provisions of UNSCR 1325. The institutional framework is outlined as well as the implementation, accountability and reporting structure of KNAP. This entails the coordination mechanism, KNAP secretariat, the National Steering Technical Committee, grass root working groups, county and sub-county level coordination and the actual monitoring and evaluation.

#### **4.2 Kenya's Security Setting**

The UN agency values the role of women in peace building process, conflict prevention, and other related issues. It often views that women's potential in those fields have always been underused. It thus emphasizes the essence of fully involving women in all level of decision making process, as well as other areas which have been dominated by men at peace missions around the world.

Kenya's major security threat is posed by national wide terror related activities. This threat is also contributed to neighbouring countries like Somalia which have been in war for over two decades now. This coupled with Kenya's porous borders where insurgents can cross any time, results into a serious security concern for the country. To limit or reduce the threats completel, kenya's military made a deliberate effort in

entering neighbouring Somalia as part of an effort to finish Al Shabab, an insurgency groups which have been the major concern for security across the eastern part of Africa. Kenya's forces joined other African union troops in pursuing the terror group. The group, other than constant attacking its neighbouring states just as it doesn't internally, is also responsible for human trafficking, drug trafficking, smuggling of arms and explosions among many other things which pose direct threat to security in the region. These situations have been major concern for women's security in the region. A recent overview on people who seek humanitarian aid constantly, including an opportunity to cross from war torn region in Somalia to refugee camps in Kenya, are women and children. These people are not even guaranteed of their security while seeking assistance, pointing to the seriousness of their issues. Thus their displacement as well as the security threats are major concerns for women in the region.

Internally, there are several cases of conflicts especially for communities which live in arid and semiarid regions. The competition for the limited resources, especially water and grazing fields for pastoralists communities leads to regular outbreak of violence. This scenario has been experienced in rift valley in Kenya and north eastern tribes. On top of that, most of these communities believe in cattle rustling, regularly raiding neighbouring communities and leave with their animals. This situation has escalated the security situation in the regions. Other factors like political rivalry have not made things easier either, as every election period there is a likelihood of violence in these regions. Existence of small arms is also a huge concern, enabling many crimes and posing a huge threat to security.

More concern to women's rights was a long-standing culture in the country, which discriminated women from rising into high positions politically. This structural impediment existed in existed in policies, laws and other important institutional

frameworks. Some communities have hard cultures which limited women's involvement in not just politics, but any initiatives which sought to empower them. That has presented a major issue to women and their push to advance their status socially and economically.

Of the regional's states, Kenya can be credited for managing a relative climate of stability and tranquillity, enabling it to mediate in conflicts across the region often through Inter-Governmental Authority for Development (IGAD) and the African Union (AU). For instance, Kenya has been critical in the Sudan peace process, sam as in Somalia. The country has hosted peace conferences from the countries, including providing mediators and other necessary facilities. For over a half a century now, Kenya has been involved in over fifty conflicts across Africa, often sending military troops and mediators to the regions. A case example is its involvement in the Somalia conflicts, where it has sent thousand of troops who have been at the country for close to a decade. The country has also been critical in brokering a peace deal in the newly formed South Sudan, which has been locked in politically instigated conflicts since it broke away from Sudan.

Kenya, as required by the UNSCR 1325, and other international bodies, has taken necessary steps not just to see for women empowerment, but to also ensure they do not become victims of extreme abuse in conflicts. This include reduction of sexual and gender-based violence against women across the country. Among the key measures is the inclusion of women in important decision-making institutions, including offering them a chance to lead such efforts in the country. The country has even had in place ministry which was specifically designed to lead such initiatives, which has been under the leadership of women since its formation. The country has also increased the absorption of women in other security areas, including increasing

number of women absorbed in the police and the military, promoting others to senior positions among others. It took the new constitution for Kenya to have its deputy inspector of police as woman, and since many women have risen to occupy sensitive positions in the sector.

Kenya has civil societies which work in almost every sector, from peace initiatives to women rights. These nongovernmental entities are critical in the peace building process through building capacity for women to take part in the process. As such, women have been critical in facilitating peace efforts, including reporting security threats and taking all steps necessary to prevent escalation of war. That is viewed as transformative and justifies the urgent need to elevate the position of women in society.

The KNAP for the realization of UNSCR 1325 aptly titled '*Kuhusisha Wanawake ni Kudumisha Amani*' ('to involve women is to sustain peace') considers the dynamic nature of conflicts to ensure that any solution is aimed at safeguarding the basic human rights of individuals. This is a broader view to the issues, which brings into focus protection of human rights, environmental conservation and giving access to important resources. Gender inequality is often reflected in biased access to economic resources, opportunities and services. For instance, there have been challenges in women access to health care, employment opportunities and many other important services which undermine their effort to grow socially and economically. These are major issues which the UNSCR 1325 has been seeing to address.

The 2010 constitution opened new frontiers for achieving the anticipated milestones in opening democratic space and steering economic development. The biggest benefactors of the progressive nature of the constitution were women, having had a

reserved a third of all seats in parliament and public bodies. The constitution also made it compulsory for other institution to bring policies, and where applicable reconstitute their membership to comply with the requirement of the constitution. Whereas most commissions are now bound by the Kenyan law to reserve positions for women as a way of increasing their participation on important issues, others like the TJRC and the KNHRC have internal mechanisms to ensure women are key pillars in their process. The Median Term Plan, which was in pace between 2013 and 2017 whose focus was on devolution played a critical role in seeing women take key positions in major political organs in the country. In the 2013 elections, at the onset of Kenya's new political dispensation after the new constitution, there was no female elected governor, but the 2017 elections, coming saw two women record victories for governorship, and more taking as depute governors. That illustrates the progressiveness nature of the constitution, accelerating the realization of the KNAP objectives.

The Kenya National Action Plan's execution started in 2016, and is set to be completed by the close of this year, 2018. The plan was designed to be consistence with the Mid Term Plan, in ensuring it achieves common objectives. Whereas the Mid Term Plan has ended, the KNAP is in its final year of implementation. The plan provides details of main actors and their roles, and the targets which they should chive b the end. The effectiveness of KNAP will be a huge boost to the UNSCR 1325, while playing other roles like gender sensitization on the need for empowerment, improve accountability among member states among many other things.



### **4.3 Kenya National Action Plan (KNAP)**

The KNAP tasked with the implementation of UNSCR 1325 is based on the constitutional values of gender equality, inclusion and participation. It enhances existing policies in the fields of security, development and diplomacy. The document envisions all pillars as outlined out in the UNSCR 1325 and embraces the issues of peace and security while figuring out the possible results. These issues are part of Kenya's democratic principles, which emphasizes the need for women empowerment, and sees it as something which will add value to the overall development in the country.

The 2013 election ushered in a new dispensation in the country, bring new governance structures which were supposed to comply with the requirements of the constitutions regarding gender equality and participation in public interests' issues. Due to the application of that clause, Kenya has seen the rise in number of women in political participation and decision making in both levels of government, national and county. The legislature has also approved the nomination and appointment of women to various senior government positions like cabinet secretaries, permanent secretaries, ambassadors, judges among other top-ranking positions.

The constitution of Kenya makes it mandatory to involve women in politics and economic affairs through the creation of the two thirds gender rule. This position is farther supported by the country's Vision 2030 program, a blueprint for its long-term economic development. There have been other programs before with similar goals, including the Second Mid Term Plan which came to an end in 2017. The introduction of two thirds gender rule assured women a certain number of seats in legislature assemblies, both at government and county levels. This position was strengthened by

the Political Parties Act, which mandated political parties to ensure women are involved in the management of political parties. As a result, there has been an increasing number of women occupying senior positions in Kenya's main political parties at any given time. These are two local intervention which are consistent with the UNSCR 1325 in promotion of women rights. That has guaranteed women participation in major decision making in the country, including influencing important national issues in politics and the economy.

Kenya has a long history with conflicts, including the climax of the 2007/8 which almost brought the country into a full-blown civil war. Therefore, there has been a need for action plans as a strategic need to address issue to do with terrorism, internal interethnic violence, cattle rustling while at the same time promoting reasonable use of natural resources and the expanded rights and freedoms. These measures are essential in addressing economic, gender and social inequalities. The marginalization of the minority groups is another concern in Kenya, where people from certain region, tribes, sexual orientation among several other categories are often left out of the top decision-making bodies. Addressing this concerns will not work for the groups mentioned, but will also be critical in promoting the empowerment of women in general. Addressing these issues through institutional changes can be the most recommendable. In line with that, the legislature has been actively involved in addressing these issues through laws, resource allocation and oversight of the different agencies attending to these issues.

Training, monitoring and evaluation are also part of the duties done by NAP at both levels of government. These actions are necessary to track the progress of the resolution, as well as other action plan from the government and stakeholders. There is also emphasis that ministries and other state department tasked with the

implementation of the NAPs are properly funded. The funding is often done through the treasury with approval from the legislature. The main aim of the Kenya action plan is to incorporate the UNSCR 1325 into the process of resolving conflicts across the country. That includes prevention and negotiation processes. This is also in support of other previous agreements, including the 2008 national accord which brought peace to the country after the post-election violence. In the participation issues, the parliament is responsible for development and creation of legal frameworks to implement gender equality and quota provision as directed in law. It is also responsible for monitoring compliance with gender laws and policies and the implementation of constitutional provisions for gender equality.

Kenya's action plan has the main goal of fully implementing the legal provisions about gender equality and empowerment. This is done in consistent with the UNSCR 1325 and several other local and international provisions, which gives the Kenyan government the mandate to lead in their implementation. The action plan and the team which is managing it largely relies on Kenyan parliament to enact additional laws to aid in fully implementation. The plan is based on all other laws which intersect on the same topic, bringing together all the strategies to ensure the promises of the resolution are delivered as outlined by the United Nations.

The Vision 2030, the country's long-term development program highlights various pillars which are critical to the effective implementation of the council resolutions through the national action plans. The economic pillar aims to see the country's growth rate average 10 percent per annum within the initial 25 years of implementing the plan.

The legislature has enacted many laws to ensure that women realize the benefits provided in UNSCR 1325. One such law are the Sexual Offences Act enacted in 2006 which increased the scope of looking into issues which affected women and girls. The act addressed 14 new offenses which had previously been disregarded in other laws, which include the definition and punishment for sex crimes like gang rape, child pornography, trafficking and exploitation of girls. The bill also introduced tough punishments, including minimum jail terms for attempted sexual harassment and exploitation, and the actual committing of the crime. The act addressed serious concerns which had been haunting courts, offering suspects an advantage the circumvent the cause of justice. Putting the act into use has been instrumental in the protection of women and girls, especially from exploitation and sexual abuse, something which was rampant before.

After the post-election violence which almost saw Kenya enter a full civil war, the National Accord and Reconciliation Act were enacted in 2008. The act addressed the path which the country would follow to address issues which had led to its unfortunate civil strife. It came after long peace talks led by former AU Chairperson Kofi Annan and a team of other eminent African diplomats. The accord highlighted the legal and institutional loopholes which had opened a door for the violence, outlining the recommendations whose implementation would have seen the country avoid a similar scenario in future elections. Addressing those legal and institutional loopholes, the accord noted, was essential for future peace elections and security.

The most important section in the Accord was Agenda 4, which directed that Kenya looks into the primary causes for electoral violence, and address of them in the effort of ensuring it achieves electoral justice, equality, and cohesion. The admission in this section was that the culture of the violent electoral process should come to an end,

something which to date have been fully realized. However, this accord was important in accelerating the creation of a new constitution, which would later be promulgated in August 2010. The promulgation of the new constitution marked a new start in the country. One of the issues which had been noted in Agenda 4 as a cause of violent electoral period was the composition of important institutions which oversaw the elections. The constitution, in addressing that concern, created several independent commissions, including the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission to oversee elections as a body free from political interventions. Others were the Independent Policing and Oversight Commission, an independent judiciary among many others. The goal was to detach these important institutional from political influence, as a way of making them able to oversee elections and disputes resulting thereafter from a neutral angle. Despite that important milestones, success in achieving institutional independence and having legal frameworks to prevent violence in election period seems to have been dismal. In the 2017 electioneering period in Kenya, claims of politicians interfering in the electoral body, the police and the judiciary were widespread, and contrary to the expectations of the 2008 accord and the 2010 constitutions, those unfortunate circumstances resulted into post-election violence, albeit of a much small scale compared to what happened in 2007/8. However, despite the numerous failures of the accord and the constitution to address electoral concerns as a way of avoiding conflicts in the country, it has achieved success in other areas, especially on constitutionalizing gender equality, which has seen the growth of women parliamentarians and legislators, both as elected and appointed. The same participation of women in other areas has also increased.

In March 2005, Kenya ratified the Rome Statute and agreed to enact legislation which was spelled in the same. In particular was the requirement to enact the International

Crimes Act (2008). This requirement would come to haunt the country later, leading to contemplation to quite the Rome Statute. After the 2007/8 PEV, one of the resolutions leading to the formation of the coalition government was to bring those responsible for vast crimes to face justice. The responsibility to prosecute the individuals was handed over to the International Criminal Court. The court implicated six individuals, politicians and senior administrative officers who served at the period. The cases were heavily politicised, and the court would later acquit all the six individuals. Among the crimes which the individuals were accused of, were sexual offenses against women which had been committed in different parts of the country. Failure to have anyone account for the crimes which befell thousands of women was a major blow to the provisions of the UNSCR 1325, the International Criminal Act and several other local and international legal frameworks which are there to protect the rights of women. However, this is not to fault the resolution as well as the ICA, which has the most extensive frameworks for overcoming gender discrimination, sexual abuse and other crimes targeted at women.

#### **4.4 The Institutional Framework**

There are a number of institutions which are acting as pillars to the enactment of the national action plan to achieve the provisions of the UNSCR 1325. The Ministry of Interior and Coordination, the Ministry of devolution and the ministry of public service, youth and gender affairs are all providing strategic leadership and overall oversight on the promotion of women in different spheres of decision making. The ministries are in charge of important national mandates which address issues of gender inclusion, peace, and security. Support to women, peace and security agenda in these ministries is critical to the empowerment of women. Other ministries which

are playing an equally important role are those of foreign affairs, defense, and international trade. Each plays a role in social inclusion and promotion of gender equality.

After the new constitution, several actors emerged to implement the NAP. The actors were operationalized through various acts of parliament. For instance, several gender-related commissions were established. This included the National Gender and Equality Commission, which was a requirement of the constitution. The constitutional mandate of the commission was to monitor the entire government institutions, including parliament whether it had complied to local and international laws pertaining to the empowerment and equality of women. Part of the duties involved advising the state and its organs on policies which would guarantee gender equality, and how to effectively implement them. Section 59 of the constitution also paved way for the Kenya National Human Rights and Equality Commission, whose mandate was to ensure the implementation of Chapter 4, which addressed to rights and freedom advanced to people, marked as the bill of rights. The commission had a mandate to monitor and report any violation of the rights and subsequently advise the legislature and other state organs on best methods to protect the rights as spelled out in the constitution. The commission was also tasked with the responsibility of conducting civic education to ensure people understood their rights and freedoms and exercised them.

#### **4.5 Implementation, Accountability, and Reporting Structure of the KNAP**

The implementation, accountability and reporting structure of KNAP is important to achieve the objectives of UNSCR 1325. These have been discussed in the subsequent

sections with a keen focus on the role of the legislature in executing and reporting the activities of the national action plans.

#### **4.5.1 Coordination Mechanism**

Collaboration, including effective communication and cooperation, are essential requirements for the successful implementation of the national action plans at all levels of government. The state department for gender affairs, which is under the Ministry of Public Service, Youth and Gender Affairs, is responsible for coordinating the activities of the Kenya actions plans. It has the mandate to ensure the gender perspective is addressed in the country through specific action plans, facilitating women empowerment as envisioned in law. The department works in collaboration with other important stakeholders from the public service, the nongovernmental organizations and international organizations to see all issues spelled out the UNSCR 1325 are incorporated into their plan. The four pillars which the department concerns itself most with are the participation and promotion of women into various decisions making organs, the prevention and protection of women from sexual and related abuse, and provision of relief and recovery operations.

#### **4.5.2 KNAP Secretariat**

The Secretariat which manages KNAP is under the Ministry responsible for gender affairs. The secretariat is responsible for all the daily activities related to the implementation of the action plans. It receives instruction from the aren't ministry, and often report to the same. It also provides a comprehensive report to other offices, including the office of the president, the ministry of interior and other stakeholders on the progress of its work in pushing the women agenda in peace and security



processes. The parent ministry is responsible for carrying out the report and informing the legislature on the progress of the UNSRC 1325. It is also the determinant of the level of funding directed to the cause, given the control, it exercises of the department. However, due to call for commitments from the legislature, there is increased funding for the department as a way of having enough resources for women empowerment.

#### **4.5.3 The National Steering Technical Committee**

The National Steering Technical Committee is a very critical element in the implementation of the resolution. It is a team which has members from all important stakeholders, including ministries, civil society, independent commissions among others. In other words, it has a representative of every stakeholder. Its key role is providing counseling on the process of implementing various gender equality and empowerment laws, and offer support to the KNAP secretariat on issues of planning, organizing and mobilizing for resources. The committee is led by a representative from the ministry responsible for gender affairs and that responsible for interior security and coordination of national government.

#### **4.5.4 Pillar Working Groups**

Those responsible for the functioning and implementation are put into the four pillars: 1) Participation and Promotion, 2) Prevention, 3) Protection, and 4) Relief and Recovery. Members from each of the pillar meet at least on a monthly basis to deliberate on several issues related to their work. The issues include coordination, planning, and reporting. Where the ministry in charge of gender affairs leads most of the meetings, that of interior play an important role in the third and fourth pillar. The

committee meet and report their progress to the ministry official after every meeting on their own.

#### **4.5.5 County and Sub-County Level Coordination**

The ministry in charge of gender affairs and that of interior work with county governments to establish methods of implementing the four pillars. Apparently, there are several groups, supported by the national government but working at county levels which are addressing gender-based discrimination and violence. Owing to the penetration of county governments, this makes it easy to take the programs to the grass root level.

#### **4.5.6 Monitoring and Evaluation**

The Kenya national action plan is the work of several government ministries, nongovernmental agencies, and other stakeholders. Those tasked with the duty to implement it has also the mandate to monitor and evaluate its progress. The national steering committee meets at least four times every year to do an evaluation. The team compiles the findings and reports them to the ministry at least once every year.

Since this is usually implemented at the two level of government, the county government make their action plans which are tailored to their needs. Despite this effort which accelerates the implementation, the overall monitoring must be done through ministry officials, which shall the report the progress to parliament. It is the legislature which has the mandate to report the progress to the international agencies like the UN. That points to the need for consistent coordination between all stakeholders working to see the UNSCR 1325 is fully implemented.

As a way of ensuring compliance with the accountability and reporting frameworks set out by the international bodies, the action teams review the progress at least three times every. The findings at each stage are shared by all stakeholder are subject to criticisms as a way of improving in the upcoming years. The reviews and the feedback from various agencies offers areas which need to be strengthened.

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **SUMMARY CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

#### **5.1 Introduction**

This section gives an overview of the findings, conclusion and recommendations which have been highlighted in detail in the paper. This is done in compliance with the three main objectives of the paper. That objectives are the level of women's political participation, the influence of politics in legislation, and ascertain in institutional monitoring and evaluation process. All these objectives are carried out with a focus on the implementation of the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325/2000 (UNSC 1325/2000).

#### **5.2 Summary of Findings**

Chapter One of this study found that the UN and other International, Regional and Local interventions have continued to focus on preventing and resolving conflicts while pursuing sustainable peace initiatives. This is done particularly through establishing peace institutions, funding them and coming up with other frameworks that attempt to resolve conflicts as outlined in the UNSCR 1325. In Kenya, the peacebuilding infrastructure comprises of many players from the nongovernmental organizations, as well as the government ones. Understanding the essence of involving women plus their role peacebuilding is a key step to the implementation of UNSCR 1325. It also looks at the history and types of security threats in Kenya. The issue of conflicts in Kenya had remained unresolved since the colonial era. Kena's situation had been worrying due to political tensions which come up after every five

years. Since the first multiparty elections in 1992, there has been conflicting almost every electoral period. The climax of this electoral induced violence led to the Post Election Violence in after the 2007 elections, a situation which claimed over one thousand lives while displacing hundreds of thousands. The Predominant types of conflicts in Kenya include ethnic and political conflicts, land wrangles that are largely caused by ethnicity too and the recent acts of terror that make terrorism a rather new type of security threat in Kenya. The official values in the PEV that followed the 2007 elections show that 1133 lives were lost, with over 3560,000 people losing their homes. Terrorism between 1970 and 2014 many people killed and others wounded.

Chapter two of the paper sought to understand the women's involvement in politics in the implementation of UN 1325 Resolution of 2000. It established that four key thematic areas have been emphasized in the implementation of UN 1325 Resolution of 2000. The four thematic areas are protected, participation in political activities, prevention and deliberating on the role of women in pursuing peace and security objectives across the world. The UN has provided an indirect platform to advance women's objectives indirectly. The UN has provided a forum for discussing, and gaining consensus for, gender equality long before these issues were discussed in the individual member countries. This has brought about several agreements, recommendations and global treaties posed to be more effective compared to those already existing at the local level. This chapter also explored the apparent issues faced by KNAP, which may hinder its ability to effectively execute its overall mandate. The issues range from integration to position in the peace and security process in the regions where they operate. At the local level, the government has been at odds in ensuring effective execution of its actions plans. Even when tasked to execute issues of international scale, the state always finds it complex, possibly a reflection of poorly

designed action plans. These challenges are often in ensuring effective interaction, positioning, and involvement in peace and security issues.

Chapter three of this study sought women in decision making in Kenya. It established that despite earlier marginalization of women in decision making, those already in decision making positions such as women legislators are engaging the state in order to have more women in positions of leadership or women access to key decision-making positions. This has enabled women to shape the agenda in key national matters that affect them more particularly those revolving around peace. The study established that it is high time now that the debate moved from access to decision making positions to how well those in the positions address issues of interest to women especially in the security sector.

The fourth chapter looked into the institutional monitoring and evaluation of the UNSCR 1325 implementation process. Kenya's security setting was found to have a number of security threats that affect women both internal and external. A framework to address these threats have been highlighted in KNAP that provides a plan for the implementation of UNSCR 1325. The legislature was established to play a critical role in the implementation of UNSCR 1325 through the enactment of laws, allocation of resources, oversight and to some extent advocacy (KEWOPA). The legislature works closely with the KNAP secretariat and the National Steering Technical Committee. All the bodies and agencies involved in coordination mechanism as well as monitoring and evaluation of UNSCR 1325 implementation either have a reporting mandate to the legislature or have a working relationship with the legislature.

### **5.3 Conclusions**

The UNSCR 1325 is a document aimed at facilitating the process of securing peace in countries that have been ravaged by war for several years. The document also puts emphasis on the involvement of women in the peacebuilding process. This is in a bid to ensure the process which leads to peace has full participation from members of either gender, coming after what seems to be years of side-lining women from the process. However, even though the resolution has existed for quite a long time, there have been challenges not just in implementation but in the realization of its objectives. The key agencies tasked with overseeing the resolution's implementation have done little to see it succeed. These entities include the government, nongovernmental organizations, international entities among others. The major reason possibly for this slow implementation is the lack of awareness of the existence of the resolution. Many organizations, including those that deal with women empowerment, have not used the document, showing its unpopularity. The end result is having important processes both locally and internationally side-lining women. Women participation in peacebuilding, formal economy and even in the security process remain dismal in most of the developing world. The focus in peacebuilding is often quelling warring parties, most of who happen to be armed men. The exclusion of men from the process thus makes it hard for another issue which majorly affects women to be highlighted. For instance, whereas men forgive other men and promise to work together in the peace building process, there is little recognition of crimes committed against women like sexual abuse, displacement, among others which are gender-based. The UNSC Resolution 1325 is a key document to achieving gender equity by bringing women on board. The major problem has been viewing women more as victims rather than a contributor to the peacebuilding processes. However, the resolution is addressing this

by emphasizing the need to bring women into a senior position in peacebuilding organizations. The recognition of this issue is bringing change across several countries, and in the past, the number of women taking senior roles in peace and security process has increased. The same has been applied in Kenya since the PEV in 2007 and women have been instrumental in solution building as the country looks into a future characterized by sobriety and peace.

Exclusion of women from peacebuilding initiatives is failing to utilize and harness the great potential in them in providing solutions. Utilizing and harnessing the potential of women demands a high level of passion and commitment, leadership and accountability from entities where they serve. The institutions have a duty to promote their participation through capacity building, ensuring they get the best out of these women taking up senior roles in leadership, accountability and other areas. This extends to providing financial support to women not just in leadership, but also in the informal sector to make them part of the peacebuilding process at the grassroots level. There is also a need to work more to prevent gender-based discrimination at work, prevent sexual abuse and violence against women and put mechanisms in place to report and address these concerns. The official government policy, especially the inauguration of the 2010 constitution which stressed the need to have at least a third of women sit in any major government body has been instrumental in addressing the requirements of the UNSC Resolution 1325. There are also various government and civil policies which have been promoting the practice, bringing women to the fore of providing solutions in areas of peace and security. Thus, there is a need to continue encouraging those plans with the overall goals of ensuring peace and development.



## **5.4 Recommendations**

It is worth noting that the authorities in Kenya have vested interests in the implementation of the resolution which do not always serve the core principals outlined out in the UNSC Resolution 1325. These vested interests undermined the government's efforts to address the issue of women under-representation in its key organs, especially those involved in peacebuilding in different areas across the country. When working to resolve gender inequity, it is often critical that international resolutions are factored into the process. This means the Kenyan government should take the UNSC Resolution on involving women and other marginalized groups in the peacebuilding process. The local solutions are even more effective in such cases, hence the demand to provide women with the capacity, both technical and financial to be in a position where they can address the challenges. The top-down design of peacebuilding is not always effective. Finding solutions from the grassroots, where the majority of the people who need the solutions most are women is one method of building lasting peace. The top-down design faces challenges related to ethnicity, language barrier and lack of clear understanding of the details of the conflict, making the design ineffective in bringing lasting solutions. The Kenyan government must understand that the UNSC Resolution 1325 is not a UN document but rather something which needs local integration and commitment to implement it as a way of bringing gender equity. The document stresses out the need to bring every party to the negotiation table, without gender prejudice. Thus, the government actions should be more consistent with the provisions of the resolution.

The National Gender and Equality Commission (NGEC), an agency in charge of promoting gender equity in Kenya has a duty to oversee the implementation of the

resolution. That mandate lies in the promotion of gender equality and bringing women into the critical state organs involved in peacebuilding, security processes among other important national issues. The commission was an extension of the highly coveted Kenya National Human Rights Commission (KNHCR), which is constitutionally mandated to look into human rights issues. This is a clear indication that gender equality is now recognized as a human right, aiming to bring people which had been marginalized into the decision-making table. The KNHCR is provided with necessary resources, more importantly, financial to execute its mandate. It has been calling for more political goodwill to do its work smoothly. However, that remains an area of concern considering most human rights abuses, including the implementation of gender equality policies, are perpetuated by politically powerful figures. There are several instances when the commission has raised concern over complete and intentional disregard of the two-thirds gender rule from the political, which stipulates that either gender must have a third of the seats in any national body. Most lobbying for political support is thus required if the country has to level out the gender gap that already exists. The commission can extend its hand to other commissions which can offer help in bridging the gender gap. For instance, the National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC) is well positioned to understand the role of women in peace building and security process, hence their input can add value to efforts to achieve gender equality efforts. All these efforts will follow the UNSC Resolution 1325, which not only respond to the needs of women but also makes them able to determine them, and foster peace initiatives. The most important goal in peace and security efforts is the link to development. The resolution sees the potential which women can bring in fostering peace, and the overall impact of that including economic development. It examines the unrecognized

and underutilizes aspect of the population, outlining the advantages that will bring if they are involved and empowered. Overall, peace contributes to a more productive population. Extending education to women, and offering them opportunities has been instrumental in economic development. These are things which are now evident in almost every country that has embraced women's political participation and has taken the initiative to empower them. Support for the UNSC Resolution 1325 and similar policies at the local level has been growing, and the trend may continue as well for a considerably long time. Addressing gender-based violence and discrimination should provide the basis for promoting gender equality.

Addressing the needs of traumatized women, as well as putting other in positions where they can address issues which directly affect them, can be an essential part in accelerating the gender equality process. In every conflict, women tend to suffer most, and more in particular in societies which use sexual abuse as an instrumental in war. There is need to address culture which tend to put women down, bring those which seek to empower women in place. Internationally, there should be more emphasis on adhering to rules that promote gender equity. The community should be outspoken on gender equality as much as it is on other issues such as ethnic conflicts and political inspired tensions. Probably the best way to advance more help is through supporting organizations which promote women rights and empowerment. There are multiple organizations that deal with women issues, from those empowering them economically, contributing to their education to those saving young girls from oppressive cultural practices like circumcision. Indirect some of them may look, they do have an overall positive effect on women empowerment and increase their chance's of taking senior roles to address national and national issues.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Black, R. (2009). Mainstreaming Resolution 1325? Evaluating the Impact on Security Council Resolution 1325 on Country-Specific UN Resolutions. *Journal of Military and Strategic Studies*, 11(4), 1-30.
- Black, R. (2009). Mainstreaming Resolution 1325? Evaluating the Impact on Security Council Resolution 1325 on Country-Specific UN Resolutions. *Journal of Military and Strategic Studies*, 11(4), 1-30.
- Bunch, Charlotte. 1987. *Passionate Politics: Feminist Theory in Action*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Ceesay-Ebo, A. (2011). The Gender Dimensions of the ECOWAS Peace and Security Architecture. In F. Olonisakin, K. Barnes and E. Ikpe (Eds.), *Women, Peace, and Security: Translating Policy into Practice* (pp. 184-198). New York: Routledge.
- Cheldelin, S. I. & Eliatamby M.. (Eds.) (2011). *Women Waging War and Peace: International Perspectives on Women's Roles in Conflict and Post-Conflict Reconstruction*. New York: Continuum International.
- Chinkin, C. 1994. 'Rape and Sexual Abuse of Women in International Law', *European Journal of International Law* 5 (3): 326-41.
- Cockburn, C. (2007). *From Where We Stand: War, Women's Activism and Feminist Analysis*. New York: Zed Books.
- Cockburn, C. 1998. *The Space Between Us: Negotiating Gender and National Identities in Conflict*. London: Zed Books.
- Cockburn, C. 2007. *From Where We Stand: War, Women's Activism and Feminist Analysis*. London: Zed Books.

- Daly, Mary. 1978. *Gyn/Ecology: The Metaethics of Radical Feminism*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Davis, Angela. 1983. *Women, Race and Class*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Ferguson, Kathy. 1993. *The Man Question: Visions of Subjectivity in Feminist Theory*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Franceschet, S., M. L. Krook, M. L. & J. Piscopo (2012). *The Impact of Gender Quotas*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Fritz, J. M., S. Doering, & F. B. Gumru. (2011). Women, Peace, Security, and the National Action Plans. *Journal of Applied Social Science*, 5(1), 1-23.
- Karamè, K. H. (2001) "Military Women in Peace Operations: Experiences of the Norwegian Battalion in UNIFIL 1978-98", pp. 85-96 in Olsson, Louise and Torunn L Tryggestad (eds) *Women and International Peacekeeping*, London and Portland: Frank Cass Publishing.
- Mazurana, D. & Jane, P. (2005). "Introduction" pp.1-26 in Mazurana, Dyan, Angela Raven-Roberts and Jane Parpart (eds.) *Gender, Conflict, and Peacekeeping*, Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield Publishing Group, Inc.
- Miller, E. (2001). "Gender, Power and Politics: An Alternative Perspective" pp 80-103 in Skjelsbæk, Inger and Dan Smith (eds.) *Gender, Peace & Conflict* London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi: Sage Publications.
- Mocevic, S. (2009). *Whose Peace, Whose Security UNSCR 1325 and the Development of Gender Equality in the Area of Women, Peace, and Security in Bosnia and Herzegovina*. M.A. thesis, political science, Växjö University
- Nagel, S. S. (2002) "Diverse Methods for Policy Analysis" pp. 155-159 in Stuart S. Nagel (ed.) *Handbook of Public Policy Evaluation*, Thousand Oaks, London, New Delhi: Sage Publications.

- Okin, S. M. (2002). "Mistress of Their Own Destiny: Group Rights, Gender, and Realistic Rights of Exit", in *Ethics*. University of Chicago Press, no. 112, pp. 205-230.
- Olney R. K. (2011). Rwanda and the Implementation of UNSCR 1325. In F. Olonisakin, K. Barnes and E. Ikpe (Eds.), *Women, Peace and Security: Translating Policy into Practice* (pp. 104-120). New York: Routledge.
- Olonikisan, F. K. & Barnes, E. I. (2000.). *Women, Peace and Security: Translating Policy into Practice*. New York: Routledge.
- Olsson, L. & Gunilla, L. (2003). "Introduction" pp.1-6 in Olsson, Louise (ed.) *Gender and Peace Process- an Impossible Match?* Uppsala: Collegium for Development Studies.
- Olsson, L. & Torunn L. (2001). "Introduction" pp. 1-8 in Olsson, Louise and Torunn L Tryggestad (eds.) *Women and International Peacekeeping*, London and Portland: Frank Cass Publishing.
- Olsson, L. et al. (2009). *Operational Effectiveness and UN Resolution 1325 – Practices and Lessons from Afghanistan*. Stockholm: Swedish Defence Research Agency.
- Porter, E. (2007). *Peacebuilding: Women in International Perspective*. New York: Routledge.
- Pratt, N. (2013). Reconceptualising Gender, Rein scribing Racial–Sexual Boundaries in International Security: The Case of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on "Women, Peace, and Security." *International Studies Quarterly*. 57(4):772-783.
- Prescott, J. (2013). NATO Gender Mainstreaming and the Feminist Critique of the Law of Armed Conflict. *Georgetown Journal of Gender and the Law*, 14(1).

- Puechguirbal, N. (2010). Discourses on Gender, Patriarchy and Resolution 1325: A Textual Analysis of UN Documents. *International Peacekeeping*, 17(2), 172-187.
- Rajivan, A. (2010). *Power, Voices and Rights: A Turning Point for Gender Equality in Asia and the Pacific*. New York: UN Publications.
- Seifert, R. 1994. 'War and Rape: A Preliminary Analysis', in Stiglmeier, A. (ed.) *Mass Rape: The War against Women in Bosnia-Herzegovina*, pp. 54–73. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- Sharoni, S. (1993). *Conflict Resolution Through Feminist Lenses: Theorizing the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: from the Perspective of Women Peace Activists in Israel*. UMI.
- Shepherd, L. J. (2008). *Gender, Violence and Security: Discourse as Practice*. New York: Zed Books.
- Sorensen, C. (2012). *The Nexus of Gender, Security and Development: UN Security Council Resolution 1325 and South Sudan*. M.A. thesis, International Development Studies, Roskilde University.
- Stevenson, L. (2012). The Bachelet Effect on Gender-Equality Policies. *Latin American Perspectives*, 30(4), 129-144.
- Strickland, R., & Duvvury, N. (2003). *Gender Equity and Peace Building: From Rhetoric to Reality: Finding the Way*. Washington, DC: International Center for Research on Women.
- Süsskind, S. (2010). *The International Women's Commission for a Just and Sustainable Palestinian-Israeli Peace: An Original Implementation of UNSCR 1325*. (pp. 129-135). Farmington Hills, MI: Barbara Budrich Publishers.

- Swaine, A. (2008). Stepping Up Ireland's Response to Women, Peace and Security: United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325. Peace and Security: United Nations Security Council Resolution, 1325. For the Irish Consortium on Gender-Based Violence  
<http://www.trocaire.ie/sites/trocaire/files/resources/policy/ireland-response-unscr-1325.pdf>
- Tajali, M. (2013). Gender Quota Adoption in Postconflict Contexts: An Analysis of Actors and Factors Involved. *Journal of Women, Politics & Policy* 34(3), 261-285.
- Tryggestad, T. L. (2009). Trick or Treat? The UN and Implementation of Security Council resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security. *Global Governance*, 15(4):539-557.
- Waller, M. R. and Rycenga, J. 2001. *Frontline Feminisms: Women, War, and Resistance*. New York: Routledge.
- Westendorf, J. (2013). 'Add Women and Stir': The Regional Assistance Mission to Solomon Islands and Australia's Implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325. *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, 67(4), 1-19.
- Willett, S. (2010). Introduction: Security Council Resolution 1325: Assessing the Impact on Women, Peace and Security. *International Peacekeeping*, 17(2), 142-158.
- Willett, S. (2010). Introduction: Security Council Resolution 1325: Assessing the Impact on Women, Peace and Security. *International Peacekeeping*, 17(2), 142-158.