GENDER FACTOR IN SEXUAL BASED VIOLENCE RESPONSE BY UNAMID: LESSONS FOR AMISOM IN BANADIR

KARIUKI MARY WANJIRU

REG. NO.: R50/80525/2012

SUPERVISOR: PROF. AMB. MARIA NZOMO

A RESEARCH PROJECT PRESENTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

2014

DECLARATION

I, Kariuki Mary Wanjiru, declare that this research project proposal is my original work and has not been presented for an award of a degree in any other University.

Signed:………………………..   Date: ……………………

Student: KARIUKI MARY WANJIRU   **REG. No: R50/80525/2012**

This project proposal has been submitted for examination with my approval as the University Supervisor.

Signed: …………………………………………..   …………………….

Supervisor**: PROF. AMB. MARIA NZOMO**   Date:

DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my so much loved daughter Eve Naserian Njugu-ini Mwaniki. You keep me grounded. May you surpass your wildest dreams!

ABBREVIATIONS

AAWORD	Association of African Women for Research and Development
ACCORD	African Centre for Constructive Resolution of Disputes
AFISMA	African-led International Support Mission in Mali
AMISOM	African Union Mission to Somalia
APF	Africa Peace Facility
APSA	AU Peace Support Operations
ASF	African Standby Force
CA	Civil Affairs
CAR	Central African Republic
CAT	Convention Against Torture
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women
CEWARN	Conflict Early Warning and Response Mechanism
CEWS	Continental Early Warning System
CFC	Ceasefire Commission
CMR	Clinical Management of Rape
CPA	Comprehensive Peace Agreements
CPV	Community Policing Volunteers
CP	Community Policing
DDDP	Doha Document for Peace in Darfur
DFS	Department of Field Support
DHRF	Darfur Human Rights Forum
ECA	Economic Commission on Africa
FGM/C	Female Genital Mutilation/Cutting
FGS	Federal Government of Somalia
FGS	Federal Government of Somalia
FPU	Formed Police Units
FOU	Friends of UNAMID
GAD	Gender and Development
GAU	Gender Advisory Unit
GBV	Gender Based Violence
GoS	Government of Sudan
ICC	International Criminal Court
IDPs	Internally Displaced Persons
IGAD	Inter Governmental Authority on Development
IGO	Intergovernmental Organisations
IGSOM	IGAD Mission to Somalia
LON	League of Nations
MoJ	Ministry of Justice
MSC	Military Staff Committee
NGOs	Non Governmental Organisations
NIF	National Islamic Front
NMFRD	National Movement for Reform and Development
OMA	Office of Military Affairs
PK	Peace Keepers
PKM	Peacekeeping Missions
PLA	Palestinian Liberation Army
PoC	Protection of Civilians
PRT	Post Rape Care
PSC	Peace and Security Council
PSS	Psychosocial Support Services

SBV	Sexual Based Violence
SGBV	Sexual and Gender Based Violence
SLA	Sudanese Liberation Army
SLM	Sudanese Liberation Movement
SPHRC	Special Procedures of Human Rights Commission
SWA	Somalia Women Agenda
TCC	Troops Contributing Countries
UN	United Nations
UNAMID	United Nations and African Union Mission to Darfur
UNAMIL	United Nations Mission to Liberia
UNDPKO	United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations
UNISOM	United Nations
UNITAF	Unified Task Force
UNOSOM	United Nations Operation in Somalia
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
UNSCR	United Nations Security Council Resolution
UNSCR	United Nations Security Council Resolution
USC	United Somalia Congress
WAND	Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament
WID	Women in Development
WLC	Women Legislative Caucus
WPS	Women Peace and Security

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT

Sexual and Gender Based Violence (SGBV) threatens women and girls, as well as men and boys, in conflict and post conflict situations globally. Creating strategies for implementation of SGBV responses and safe environments can only be achieved by addressing gender inequality and discrimination. This is because armed conflict is a gendered process where women and men experience it and are vulnerable to its impact in different ways. These are determined by the gender roles and identities of masculinity and femininity in each individual society. While the scourge of SGBV is receiving much more attention internationally – as illustrated by United Nations Security Council Resolutions (UNSC) 1325, 1820, 1888 and 1960 and accompanying resolutions of the Women, Peace and Security (WPS) Agenda– preventing it is a complex challenge.

In addition, the international community has progressively realized the importance of gender aspects in peace processes, due to the added value of women's participation in these processes. The emerging view is that the inclusion of gender perspectives in the work of peacekeeping has a central role in the continued credibility for peacekeeping operations, and in the overall achievement of sustainable peace and security. Achievements by the United Nations (UN) in its peace operations include appointing women to head operations such as in Cyprus, the institutionalization of gender mainstreaming with the gender focal points and units at headquarter and field levels; an increase in the number of female personnel in line with the UN's system-wide goal of gender balance; deployment of all-female police units in countries such as Liberia, Haiti and the Democratic Republic of the Congo; gender training for military, police and civilian peacekeeping personnel; and incorporation of gender perspectives in planning and programme budgets.

In Africa, with the emergence of the Windhoek Declaration and the Namibia Plan of Action on Mainstreaming a Gender Perspective in Multidimensional Peace Support Operations in 2000, there has been a concerted effort to mainstream Gender into PKO. For instance, The African Union (AU) has policies and instruments that call for gender mainstreaming in peacekeeping operations; as reflected in the AU's Constitutive Act; the AU Women and Gender Development Directorate; the AU's Gender Policy; the Gender Training Manual for peace support operations; and the opening of gender offices in the AU-UN Hybrid Operation in Darfur (UNAMID).

However, at AMISOM, there are numerous reports of SGBV being perpetuated by 'men in uniform' which is a case of peacekeepers becoming 'conflict mongers' in the bodies of women and girls. More often than not, these reports are made in private and even if they come out in the public arena, they are termed as untrue. It is thus imperative that in finding best practices in addressing SGBV will go a long way in addressing the scourge. This study set out to investigate the degree of the gaps between policy and implementation, and its significance in contributing to SGBV. To do so, it critically analysed PKOs responses to SGBV, (which from time to time is used interchangeably with SBV) in Darfur, Sudan and made policy recommendations that could be useful for Banadir, Somalia. The study found out that AMISOM has to integrate a protection of civilian strategy and with it a concerted effort to recruit, train and retain women in both civilian and military roles. Secondly, incidences of SGBV should be handled with the efficacy that is warranted and the perpetuators disciplined; thirdly, there is need to have a holistic and multisectoral approach to implementing SGBV responses, this means working with policy makers, troops contributing countries, as well as other service providers. Lastly, there should be continuous awareness raising on machineries available to responses of SGBV for both women and men, girls and boys.

**GENDER FACTOR IN SEXUAL AND GENDER BASED VIOLENCE
RESPONSE BY UNAMID IN DARFUR: LESSONS FOR AMISOM IN BANADIR**

CHAPTER ONE - Introduction

This chapter forms the foundational composition of the study. It focuses on the problem statement, objectives, theoretical framework, literature review and background, hypotheses, methodology used in the research process and the basic chapter outlines.

1.1   Background to the Study

A growing body of data from wars is bringing to light 'one of history's great silences' – the sexual violation and torture of civilian women, girls, men and boys during periods of armed conflict and also in periods of postconflicts.[1] The conflict and post conflict situations warrant peacemaking solutions of which one of them is peacekeeping. However, informal reports have circulated about the behavior of soldiers when deployed on peacekeeping assignments. Inspite of public criticism, the United Nations and member states of troops contributing countries (TCC), made little or no effort before 2003 to investigate or curb what was conventionally perceived as inevitable sexual activity by troops in the field.[2] Appalling enough, in 1993, the UN Special Representative to Cambodia, Yasushi Akashi, infamously stated 'boys will be boys' in response to demands for action against peacekeepers accused of abusing the civilians they were assigned to protect.[3] In a meeting in New York to address the sexual and gender based violations by UN peacekeepers in 2006, the UN under secretary general for peacekeeping operations acknowledged that sexual abuse was widespread and even told reporters that there was a problem 'in every single one of our missions'.[4] A UN spokesperson publicly admitted on

---

[1] Ward, J. 2005 pp65
[2] OCHA/IRIN, 2007 pp 79
[3] ibid
[4] Lute, Jane, 2006, www.bbc.co.uk

5 January 2007, that four Bangladeshi peacekeepers had already been repatriated for sexual abuse in Sudan and thirteen other staff members of the UN Mission in Sudan were investigated.[5]

According to analyst, proportionally, the percentage of sexual misconduct by civilian international staff accompanying PKO is higher than that of military.[6] This figures spike when it comes to the local civilians in conflict and post conflict situations.

Darfur, found on the western side of Sudan, has been embroiled in civil conflict for years, which, some of the western countries referred to as genocide. Genocide was used as the preferred term because the conflict pitted the pastoralists Arabs against the mostly Agriculturalists Africans. This civil conflict escalated to such high levels, with massive reports of casualties and SGBV, that a peace agreement had to be sought. With the implementation of the peace agreement, came the necessity of peacekeepers from initially from United Nations, European Commission and African Union. Finally the current hybrid UN and AU Peace keeping Mission (PKM) referred to as UNAMID came into force. This PKO has well laid down strategies to implement gender aspects in protection of civilians strategy which seeks to ensure that there is rapid response for SBV and capacity building on gender mainstreaming.

Banadir, on the other hand is located on the central part of Somali. Somali, as a country has had a conflict for over twenty years which led to deeply entrenched scars in the Somalians in many parts and moreso at Banadir. The war affected women disproportionately due to the cultural norms and values of the Somalia people, where women are subordinate to men. The armed conflict due to warring clans, led to the loss of male providers and male labour resulting in disruption of agriculture and food distribution which then degenerated into a fully fledged

---

[5] OCHA/IRIN, 2007 pp81
[6] ibid

famine (300,000 people died) and widespread break-up and displacements of families. This led to feminization of poverty with women and children bearing the brunt of the conflict and hunger.

In Somalia, despite lack of statistics and limited availability of data on SGBV, all stakeholders including the Federal Government of Somalia (FGS), local authorities, and the international community acknowledge that SGBV is persistent throughout Somalia but more so in South and Central Somalia (Mogadishu/ Banadir) than in Puntland. To make the situation worse, responses to survivors of SGBV is very limited and the persecution of perpetuators negligible. This area like the rest of the country is made up of many clans and six principle lineages known as clan-families. These are Darood, Dir, Hawiye, Isaaq, Digil and Mirifle.

The European Commission has since 2005[7], supported the establishment of a Somali Women's Agenda (SWA) which brings together for the first time and in a systematic way, all clans in a common vision of shared strategy for improving gender equality in Somalia.

Banadir area is a conflict hotspot which calls for a high number of security forces to operate in the area. Subsequently there are also high incidences of sexual violence and exploitation by the 'men in uniform'. Even in the more 'peaceful' areas of Somaliland and Puntland there are women who endure domestic violence, including physical and sexual assault but often remain with their husbands/partners due to the deep-rooted cultural beliefs. Even with the legislative progress such as the endorsement of the National Gender Policy in 2008 (Somaliland) and the recognition of women in the Puntland Constitution, there is less tangible impact on the ground.[8] Gender mainstreaming and human rights observance are only in theory and not at all implemented. Most of the laws remain under the jurisdiction of *Shari'a* and customary law. The SGBV cases under either system tend to be judged without taking the rights of the

---

[7] EU report
[8] Warsame, 2007

survivor into consideration. Restitution is paid to the survivor's male family instead of directly to the survivor and if not married she is forced to marry the perpetrator.[9]

The characteristics of SGBV incidents varies according to the regions and it is very predominant in the active conflict zone of Central and South Somalia where the Banadir is located.[10] There has been numerous media reports of AMISOM's sexual violations, which most of the times are not verifiable due to the stigma associated. This study attempts to offer some best practices that AMISOM can adapt from UNAMID in responding to SGBV.

1.2   Introduction

Sexual and Gender Based Violence (SGBV) is a particularly disturbing phenomenon which exists in conflict and post conflict regions of the world. There is no single or universal definition of sexual based and gender based violence. This is because understandings differ according to country, community and legal context. The term Sexual and Gender Based Violence (SGBV), in its widest sense, refers to the sexual harmful act inflicted on a person and could include physical, mental or sexual abuse and exploitation, threats of such acts, other deprivations of liberty, whether in public or private.[11] It also connotes the use of physical violence or psychological pressure to compel a person to participate in a sexual act against their will, whether or not the sexual act is consummated.[12] SGBV is a human right violation and is often linked to unequal gender relations within communities and abuses of power. It can be as a result of discrimination embedded in legislation or prevailing societal norms and values as in the case of Banadir.

During the conflict and post conflict situations, the civilians suffer disproportionately from SGBV, not only as a form of persecution at the outbreak of conflict but also during flight and displacement. More often than not, the perpetuators are their fellow citizenry-ship, militia

---

[9] Population Council Report, 2009
[10] Warsame, F.:2001,pp258
[11] US Strategy on SGBV Response pp 6, 2012
[12] Population Council report, 2009

groups and, alarming so, the people directed to keep peace whose main mandate is to bring a neutral impact on the cease-fires or peace agreements.

In post-Cold War era, the focus of the peace operations has gradually shifted from peacekeeping to peacebuilding making the operations more complex, integrated and governmental deeds aimed at supporting and facilitating the implementation of Comprehensive Peace Agreements.[13] These new roles especially in the international and regional peace operations has taken place over the last fifteen years and has exposed the personnel to a new range of potential 'unintended consequences'.[14] According to some scholars and public debates, some of the unintended consequences of peacekeeping operations such SGBV can be extremely damaging to the individuals and communities where the peacekeepers are deployed.[15] In most cases this weakens further an already fragile host society and can totally alter the direction of the PKO and its ability to achieve its mandate. To add injury to a dire situation, the perpetuators are not prosecuted hence making the mandate of PKO of Protection of Civilians (PoC) precarious indeed. This is because PoC incorporates SGBV protection in its endeavors.

This thus calls for concerted efforts to ensure that SGBV response mechanisms are implemented and that there is a gender aspect mainstreamed in the whole process.

This study critically analysed the gender perspective of United Nations Peacekeeping Operations namely, the UNAMID (United Nations Mission in Darfur) on its SGBV response strategies, which then can be used as lessons that African Union Mission (AMISOM) in Banadir, Somalia can incorporate. UNAMID adopted a mutisectoral approach in the response to SGBV and has to a larger extent involved women and men with the aim of empowering them to

---

[13] Ramesh T. & Albrecht, 2002.
[14] Aoi et al, 2007
[15] ibid

enhance their own safety and security. This includes a tripartite approach to SGBV response[16]: prevention, protection and reporting. Furthermore, AMISOM can learn from UNAMID by the virtue that the SGBV cases reported are perpetuated by militia groups and *janjaweed* [17]as opposed to Banadir, where the PK personnel are also reported to be perpetuators. Peace Women in their website shows that UNAMID SGBV index as much lower than AMISOM's.[18]

UNAMID, developed a training curriculum based on Community Policing (CP) and has trained extensively the women, men and local police in a model that enhances PoC. In addition to this, it has ensured that there are PK personnel night patrols that ensure SGBV attacks do not take place. According to UNAMID Police Advisor on Women and Children protection, Angela Ama Sesime, incidences of SGBV have reduced drastically with more and more women and girls reporting any violations.[19] In addition, women are having well spaced children since incidences of GBV are rampant in families where the household head is not able to cater for the basic needs of the family. Female police officers are also working and raising awareness on gender issues particularly SGBV and child protection.[20]

A water project supported by UNAMID, in eight villages of north Darfur, not only facilitated residents' access to water but also helped to reduce SGBV. This is because, for years women and girls and even boys, had been afraid of being attacked while fetching water and collecting firewood. Garadayat village, which hosts 3000 returnees, was the first to be given over 30,000 rolling water containers with capacity of 75 litres each, equivalent to four *jerricans*.

---

[16] UN Police 2010pp 12
[17] UNDP Report on Darfur, 2006, pp4
[18] www.peacewomen.org
[19] UN Police, 2011pp46
[20] UN Police, 2010 pp13

1.3   Statement of the Research Problem

Sexual and Gender Based Violence (SGBV) is very common during conflict and post-conflict situations. This is an area of human rights violations that is extremely grave. Recent studies and analysis are pointing at the growing complexity form of SGBV showing a shift away from simple rhetorics. The scholars and interested parties also point to the need for more inclusive understanding of sexual violence, which acknowledges, for example, male victims and survivors, as well as the experiences and motivations of perpetrators.

The volatile situation and gross human rights violations in Darfur demonstrated that, there was a need for constant monitoring and analysis of the situation, thus the deployment of UNAMID. For this regular monitoring to be of value, it would be important to analyse the extent and impact of SGBV and hence, the need for Protection of Civilians (PoC) from a gender perspective. Although PoC in conflict areas has been core to the UNPKO mandate, it has gained renewed impetus since 1999. The PoC mandate includes physical protection from SGBV as well as the underlying threats. In this connection, there is a gap on the policy implementation of the response to sexual based violence in AMISOM which the study will attempt to fill. This research thus argues that even though there are SGBV strategies, most times they are not implemented. It also posits that if there were more women in policy making positions in peace keeping and peacemaking arenas then incidences of SGBV would be minimized. However 'adding on women' is not a lasting solution but rather, ensuring that both the men and women have 'gender lenses' on as they continue with the process of peacekeeping. Intertwined in the study is the core question: "What are the best practices that AMISOM can learn from UNAMID in terms of Sexual based violence responses and strategies?"

Research Questions

The study is guided by the following research questions:

i. What is the gender response strategy of SGBV by peacekeeping operations globally and regionally?

ii. What are gender aspects of conflicts in Darfur and Banadir?

iii. What mitigating factors can Banadir (AMISOM) learn from Darfur (UNAMID) in addressing gender concerns in SGBV?

1.3 Objectives of the Study

1.3.1 Primary Objective of the Research

The primary objective of this study is to investigate and examine the gender factor in responses to sexual and gender based violence by UNAMID in Darfur and what lesson can AMISOM in Banadir learn?

1.3.2 Objectives

1. To analyse the gender aspects of peacekeeping operations globally and regionally

2. To examine the gender aspects of conflicts in Darfur and Banadir

3. To assess the success stories of UNAMID in Darfur that AMISOM in Banadir can incorporate

1.4 Literature Review

1.4.1 Introduction

This section focuses on various scholars and a general critique of some of the theories. It argues out the benefits of having a gender aspect in sexual and gender based violence response taking into account the best practices in UNAMID.

1.4.1.2 Peacekeeping

In many quarters peacekeeping is usually interchanged with peace building, peace enforcers, peacemaking and so on. For the sake of this study, the research defines peacekeeping operations (PKOs) as military operations undertaken with the consent of all major parties to a dispute, designed to monitor and facilitate implementation of an agreement (ceasefire, truce, or other such agreement) and support diplomatic efforts to reach a long-term political settlement.

Ideally peacekeepers are supposed to perform two different functions – observing and peacekeeping. According to Goldstein[21] observers are unarmed military officers sent to conflict area in small numbers simply to watch what happens and report back to the UN. This is with the silent agreement that, with observers watching, then the parties to a conflict are often less likely to break a ceasefire.

Dan adds to this definition by saying that observers can also monitor various aspects of a countries' situation which could include ceasefires, elections, respect for human rights and protection of civilians.[22]

Peacekeeping has proven to be one of the most effective tools available to the UN to assist host countries navigate the difficult path from conflict to peace. It has unique strengths, including legitimacy, burden sharing, and an ability to deploy and sustain troops and police from around the globe, integrating them with civilian peacekeepers to advance multidimensional mandates.[23]

UN Peacekeepers provide security and the political and peacebuilding support to help countries make the difficult, early transition from conflict to peace. UN Peacekeeping is guided by three basic principles:

---

[21] Goldstein J. 2012 pp248
[22] Dan L. 2007 pp136
[23] DPKO Mandate

- Consent of the parties;

- Impartiality;

- Non-use of force except in self-defence and defence of the mandate.

Peacekeeping is flexible and over the past two decades has been deployed in many configurations.

1.4.1.2 Gender

This refers to the socially constructed roles of males and females and do vary over time and location.

1.4.1.3 Sexual and Gender Based Violence

This refers to all forms of sexual and gender based violence on women, men, girls and boys. It can take many forms[24] such as rape, sexual assault, physical assault, forced and early marriages, psychological/emotional abuse, denial of resources due to gender. It can also be contextualized to include sexual exploitation/abuse, domestic violence/intimate partner violence and harmful traditional practices.

The scope of the definitions can be expanded to include forced sex, sexual coercion, and rape of adult and adolescent women and men and child sexual abuse and includes (whether attempted) involving a person who is incapable of understanding the nature or significance of the act, or of indicating his or her refusal to participate in the act, for example because of disability, or because of the effect of alcohol and other substances, or because of intimidation or pressure.[25] In this report SGBV can encompass all these definitions based on the regions being discussed.

---

[24] UNHCR 2003
[25] Saltzman et. al,1999

1.4.2   International agencies as vehicles for peace and Security

Kardam Nuket[26] urges that the adaptability of international organisations and their response to new issues are important to both development theorists and practitioners, but the nature of the debate on these phenomena has differed depending on one's theoretical perspective. International agencies have traditionally been accorded the status of being dependent on the states which influences its operations.   This being the realist perspective in international relations, offer limited explanatory power to understanding change in International agencies especially on the need to include women.

UNDP, an arm of the UN, first published 'Guidelines on the Integration of Women in Development' where all scholars and academicians were anxious to see all projects examined from the feminist standpoint of women's role in development.

Norrie Macqueen[27] further clarifies that League of Nationals initial mandate was the fact that collective security which is the multilateral maintenance of international security was based on international organisations rather than on section actions. The League of Nations had stressed on the need for joint measures to be taken to preserve the integrity of member states 'against external aggressors' which was pretty vague. The league's strongest deterrence instrument was to place economic sanctions on aggressors.[28]

After the League of Nations was replaced by the UN in 1945, there was a push for global security rather than the attainable collective security earlier advocated. The UN Article 39 gave the Security Council the responsibility of determining when a situation required collective security action and what form that action should take.

---

[26] Kardam N. 1991, :pp 1-9
[27] Macqueen N.,2011:pg 18-19
[28] ibid

As conflicts evolved, the first UN secretary general of the post-cold war era, Boutros Boutros Ghali of Egypt attempted to focus the attention of the UN member ship on the questions (both political and resource related) raised. In 1992 he produced a major report on peace operations, an Agenda for Peace: Preventative Diplomacy, Peacemaking and Peacekeeping. This was during 'desert storm' when USA went to liberate Kuwait from Iraq. This report was on issues, recommendations and the challenges faced by UN peace operations. According to this report,[29] national contributions of peacekeeping forces were to be put on a more formal and reliable basis. Member states were supposed to enter long-term agreements regarding the kind and number of skilled personnel they were prepared to offer the United Nations as the needs for new PKO arose.[30]

In retrospective, Agenda for peace was not implemented in any concrete way according to MacQueen.[31] No sustained attempts were made in the Security Council to rehabilitate the military staff committee. Article 43 remained dormant whilst the peace enforcement units proposed seemed tailor made for subsequent operations from Bosnia to Somalia but they did not materialize. It was never likely that member states would be willing to commit their personnel to operations with such an explicit combat function.[32]

1.4.3 Importance peacekeeping

Peacekeepers from outside a conflict can foster discussion among warring parties while focusing global attention upon local concerns – opening doors that would otherwise remain closed for collective peace efforts. In the search for peace the United Nations and Regional Peacekeeping

---

[29] Boutros Boutros Ghali: 1992 *Agenda for Peace*
[30] ibid
[31] Macqueen , 2006 pp 105-108
[32] ibid

forces in Darfur have been increasingly cooperating with other actors and mechanisms provided for in chapter VIII of the UN Charter.

The protracted civil conflicts in Darfur and Somalia among others had since the mid 1990s, increasingly forced IGAD, which had previously been set up to mitigate environmental calamities such as drought, famine and desertification, to develop and implement regional peace and security programmes, including structures for Conflict Early Warning and Response Mechanism (CEWARN). IGAD, since the early 1990s, has developed a number of political structures to deal with conflict prevention, management and resolution in the highly volatile Horn of Africa. [33] In Somalia, IGAD had convened 10,000 peacekeepers known as IGAD Peace Support Mission to Somalia (IGASOM) which was endorsed by UN and AU but failed to take off due to a number of logistical reasons, notably lack of funds and absences of a decisive regional 'hegemon' in the Horn. AU made peacekeeping deployments to Sudanese war-torn region of Darfur – African Union Mission in Sudan (AMIS) which later joined with the UN to form the African Union-United Nations Mission in Darfur (UNAMID) and to Somalia – The African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) in 2004 and 2007 respectively. This was to replace the IGAD peacekeeping missions in Sudan and Somalia. In addition AU come up with a peace building initiative through the establishment of the Peace and Security Council (PSC); an African Standby Force (ASF); a Military Staff Committee (MSC); a Continental Early Warning System (CEWS) and a Panel of the Wise.

In the current state of affairs, peacekeepers facilitate a myriad of processes which includes political processes, protection of civilians and assist in disarmament, demobilization and re-integration of former combatants into the society. They also can be called upon to monitor national elections and assist in restoring the rule of law. At times they may use force to defend

---

[33] IGAD's Report, 2007

themselves, their mandate and civilians especially in situations where the state is not able to provide security and maintain public order[34].

The peace keepers are said to have their own political agendas; and the use of force beyond the narrow definition of self-defense (or force security) proved to be unavoidable. This gap between ideal and reality exists as a result of how the peacekeeping project has evolved over a number of decades.

According to Macqueen,[35] The importance of peacekeeping in the politics of the UN was enhanced by the fact that it developed as an institutional device rather than one imposed by the big powers. The Suez crisis of 1956 gave the organization an opportunity to rethink its military functions. Partly improvised and partly drawn from the experience of existing military observation missions in the Middle East and Kashmir, the UN Emergency Force was a UN initiative rather than one driven by self-interested states. The support of a group of middle powers like Canada, Sweden and India in both the planning and execution of peace operations was obviously essential but the nature of the project was determined by the institution.[36] One such determination is engendering the peacekeeping operation. This looked at ensuring a gender equality and equity in the peacekeeping personnel, strategies and responses.

Gender equality in missions, however, is more than just the number of uniformed female personnel in peacekeeping. It is about taking into account the different experiences of men, women. Studies have shown that female peacekeepers greatly increase the effectiveness of peacekeeping components and help build trust with populations and inspire more women to become police officers in the countries where they serve. [37]

---

[34] Peace & Security. United Nationals Peace Keeping at http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/operations/peace.shtml
[35] ibid.
[36] Macqueen , 2006 pp 105-108
[37] Losada, 2014

According to Margrethe Løj, the former Special Representative of the Secretary General and Head of the UN mission in Liberia, the need for more women in peacekeeping was because it gave a loud and clear message that peacebuilding was the responsibility of both men and women.

Nevertheless, even with Kofi Anan's, Former UN Secretary General reassuring words, the United Nations was not likely to attain its goals for gender equality in peacekeeping missions if it did not fully implement its own dual policies of increasing the number of women in peacekeeping and integrating gender perspectives into peace keeping operations.

Thus, despite support from Security Council resolution 1325 (2000), UN initiative and UNSG, Kofi Anan's commitment to gender perspective in peacekeeping, the integration of female uniformed personnel in national contributions to UNPKO fell short of expectations. In 2013, women comprised less than 4% of UN peacekeepers globally, about 2% of the UN military personnel and about 9.8% of UN police. In August 2009, the police division launched global effort to recruit more female police officers with the ambitious goal of ensuring that women made up ^th of all the UN police by 2014 according to Alain Le Roy[38], Under Secretary General for Peace keeping operations in July 2010.

Similarly, The AU[39] has AU Women and Gender Development Directorate, AU Gender Policy, The Gender Training Manual for Peace Support Operations and Gender Advisory Units. But these are 'just a tip of the iceberg' since they are faced with a myriad of challenges with lack of finances and technical capacity being on the top. This means that the AU is still largely dependent on the support of the UN and traditional donor states for successful deployments. For example, the AU Peace Fund is primarily tied to the Africa Peace Facility (APF), an EU support towards AU-led peacekeeping missions. AMISOM faces a dim future if the AU is not able to

---

[38] Roy, 2010
[39] African Union Mandate

deal with issues of funding, mandate and by extension issues of gender mainstreaming in the operations as well as dealing with personnel who perpetuate SGBV.

1.4.4 Gender based violence during conflicts

Despite the widespread myth that wars are fought by men, to protect 'vulnerable' people, a category to which women and children are generally assigned, women and children constitute a significant proportion of casualties in recent wars. There has been a sharp increase in the proportion of civilian casualties of war – from about 10% at the beginning of the century to 90% in the mid 1990s, according to United Nations. Women and children constitute about 90% of the total refugee population, a population whose numbers increased from 3million to 27million between 1970 and 1994 mainly due to military conflict, particularly ethnic conflicts.[40]

One of the collateral outcomes of conflict is SGBV specifically rape of women and children. These atrocities in war are not just accidents but often a systematic military strategy. In the war of former Yugoslavia, it was estimated that 20,000 to 35,000 women were raped during the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina[41].

SGBV is not only meted on women and girls but also on boys and men. As studies have shown in Afghanistan which is a secluded region in terms of culture and religion, there is the phenomenon of the 'dancing boys'[42]. This involves the recruitment of (which according to some scholars is really either kidnapping or sale into slavery by their parents) of young boys who are taught to dance, sing and play instruments in a feminine style for the entertainment of powerful warlords. These boys are used for sexual gratification prior to reaching puberty. According to Howson[43] these boys are described as subordinate and marginalized masculinities, as this culture

---

[40] United Nations, 1995 pg 45
[41] Pettman, 1996 pg. 101
[42] http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/dancingboys
[43] Howson R. Pg 62

has arisen out of sexual segregation and hegemonic powerful males…. "as a product of a particular relation some men have within the structure that inverts the hegemonic cathartic focus towards the feminine back on the masculine (as homosexuality)".

There are also incidences of men being raped and being forced to rape their relatives as happened in Darfur conflict. Others were forcefully sterilized by having their reproductive sections cut off.[44]

1.4.5 Importance of Gender aspect in peacekeeping

The importance of including the gender aspects in the UN peace keeping missions is very key due to a number of factors with one of them being that gender was first recognized as an issue in international relations in the early 1970s with the publication of Bernice Carroll's 'Peace Research: The Cult of Power' in the journal of Conflict resolution[45]. The publication of a special issue of Millennium: Journal of International Studies in 1998 effectively legitimated the study of gender in International Relations (IR). This is where Fred Halliday[46] had questioned that unlike other social sciences, IR had failed to recognize the significance of the study of gender – either in terms of its role or its consequences – with regard to how the international system operates .

Gilady and Russett[47] had asserted that the modern study of international relations which originated in the 20th century global wars, writes more about study of war rather than on peace and even less on peace keeping.

Feminists have played a critical role in opposing the long standing assumption in the field of International Relations that identity differences are not important for understanding the theory

---

[44] OCHA/IRIN, 2007
[45] Murphy 1996:513
[46] Halliday, F, 1998 pp 420
[47] Gilday & Russet: 2002

and practice.[48] They have argued that militarization has played an important role of identity formation because they are socially constructed and pervades all levels of social life shaping the characteristics of what is valued by states and societies. It thus gives a profound formative effect of what it means to be a man and what it means to be a woman.[49]

Gender aspect is also central to the legitimacy and credibility of peacekeeping operations because the success in peace and security is assessed on the basis of the conduct of peacekeepers and their capacity to protect civilians. As Diehl urges that success could be defined in terms of curbing the levels of and bringing the underlying roots of the conflict to the public arena thus ending it.[50]

Punga[51] concurs that as long as the UN is not able to efficiently prevent the vulnerable from falling victims of atrocious war crimes, it cannot be the successful, competent and respected International Organization envisioned by its founders. When PKOs are unable to prevent or mitigate violence against civilians, the practice of peacekeeping is discredited. Ultimately, the effectiveness of PKOs has been defined as 'the elimination of threats to the safety of civilians, for both the short and the long term, throughout the duration of the mission and upon its withdrawal[52].

Druckman,[53]argues that the success of PKO can be measured in the way 'they are able to contribute to the larger values of world peace, justice and reduction of human suffering'.

Women are very pivotal in ensuring lasting peace. This is concurred by Jose Losada,[54] a Lieutenant Commander with the Argentine Navy, when he says that PKO personnel were

---

[48] Zalewski and Parpart, 1998
[49] Tickner, 1992:27-28
[50] Diehl, P.F. 1993
[51] Punga, I.L,. 2011.
[52] ibid
[53] Druckman, D. et al1997, pp.151–165.
[54] Losada J.:2014

supposed to provide a secure environment for the entire society. This includes women, ex-combatants, civilians, children, local organisations, NGOs and international organisations.

The success of the mission will be determined by the interaction and level of acceptance of the PKOs by the local population. Thus it is important for the need to include measures to ensure protection of women and include them in all information-gathering, priority setting, and decision making settings.[55]

As a veteran peacekeeper he pointed out, that it was difficult to plan procedures in detail in advance when sexualized and gender based violence was occurring against women and girls. Having mixed patrols was thus crucial in cases of SGBV as the victims find it easier to interact with females than males. At check points it is difficult for males to search the female civilians taking into account the cultural norms as well as traditions. This goes hand in hand in the handling of female detainees where in a military operation requires female uniformed personnel.[56]

Cohn[57] brings in different perspective, when she talks of the dilemma of seeing all women as 'more peaceful' and all men as 'warrior-like' and whether having a 'an adds on' for the women will work. She stresses the point home by adding that it all depends on what happens if peaceable women hold peace talks while: the global arms trade continues swiftly, with 80% of the profits going to the five permanent member of the UNSC.

It is imperative to say that not all women are peaceful and victims of conflict while men more 'warrior like'. But Fukuyama[58] has portrayed the distinction of women as always being

---

[55] Losada, J. 2004

[56] ibid

[57] Cohn, C.: 2004

[58] Fukuyama F. 1998

victims of the men when he asks "..how those poor peaceful women will protect themselves from being overthrown by testosterone-driven, power-hungry, war-loving men"..

Many women advocates put a certain value on women as peace makers because they can more readily embrace the collaborative perspectives needed to surmount ethnic, religious, tribal and political barriers. Women are also able to embrace a more sustainable concept of security. [59]

Having a critical mass of women in the peacekeeping missions will provide the much needed relief in addressing SGBV.

According to the guidelines of UN Peace Keeping Guidelines, women and men have access to different kinds and sources of information relating to security risks and threats in the area of operation. Bringing women into power positions requires not only objective factors that come with the economic aspects of modernity but also behavioral choices and career choices that are driven by subjective values, reflecting the cultural aspects of modernity. Cultural environment, measuring institutional design will take on central relevance when evaluating determinants of women's representation. Institutional designs are capable of accelerating or restricting women's representation regardless of the development conditions women face in larger social environment. Greater access to educational and occupational resource increases women's chances of professional development, creating a larger pool of women eligible for power positions. [60]

Consequently, to obtain a holistic overview of the security environment, planning processes for the missions need to consult and draw on the perspectives of both women and men in order to paint a comprehensive picture of the security environment. [61]

---

[59] Heyzer N., 2003, pp3
[60] UN Gender Mainstreaming Guidelines
[61] Heyzer N., 2003, pp3

1.4.6 Protection of civilians in peace keeping

The protection of civilians in peacekeeping missions is a critical mandate and has its roots in international humanitarian law, which calls upon conflict actors to 'minimise harm to civilians and civilian property during hostilities'. The UN from inception has always advocated for the need to protect civilians from the scourge of war though this call has become more direct in recent years. In 1968, the UN General Assembly, in its Resolution 2444 (XXIII), called for the Secretary-General to examine possible strategies to ensure more effective application of measures to protect civilians in all armed conflicts. Following the atrocities against civilians in the 1990s – especially in Bosnia, Sierra Leone and Rwanda – where UN peacekeepers failed to prevent these grave crimes effectively. The resolution was adopted in 1968 during the 23rd Session of the UN General Assembly where UN Security Council (UNSC) launched a 'self-reflective' exercise on its peacekeeping. The Brahimi Report offers a self-critical analysis of the UN, and concludes that the credibility of the UN was marred in the 1990s when the organisation could not distinguish between victim and aggressor.[62] This heralded the beginning of UN's incorporation of protection of civilians (PoC) in its discussion and practice on peacekeeping. In 1999, the Report of the Secretary-General to the Security Council on the Protection of Civilians in Armed Conflict urged that the plight of civilians could no longer be neglected or made secondary because it complicated political negotiations or interests. [63]

In addition, the 2013 UN Secretary-General's report highlights the importance of protecting women from sexual violence in his report on Sexual Violence in Conflict. [64]

---

[62]Brahimi, 2000
[63] Secretary General, 1999:5:S/1999/957).
[64] UN Secretary-General: 2013

1.4.7   Sexual violence in post conflict situations

Lessons from past and current missions inform us that sexual violence, prostitution and trafficking in women and children often coexist alongside peace operations, even though the UN has a zero-tolerance policy for these behaviors. In addition, the failure of missions to provide security in complex crises such as Banadir, and to protect civilians from mass atrocities in Darfur and Rwanda provided impetus for peacekeeping reform. Sexual violence against women is continually used as a weapon of war in conflict-affected areas. Against this background, contemporary PKOs are now mandated to safeguard local populations in warzones. Gender Considerations in Protecting Civilians Contemporary conflicts have now shifted from an interstate nature towards an intrastate dimension. Such developments have serious ramifications, including systematic violence and onslaughts on civilian populations, particularly women and girls. With the changing context of conflict, peacekeeping has also evolved from its traditional role of monitoring the implementation of peace agreements to being more multidimensional and addressing the full spectrum of activities – from providing secure environments to monitoring human rights and rebuilding the capacity of the state.[65]

The need to protect women in armed conflict was highlighted during the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing held in 1995. Following this landmark development, in October 2000, the UNSC adopted Resolution 1325, which underscores the importance of women's participation in all facets of UN peace operations and recognizes the contribution of local women in decision-making to prevent conflict and build peace[66]. The DPKO developed several policy guidelines on mainstreaming gender into PKOs,[67] including the reports on Integrating Gender Perspectives into the Work of United Nations Police in Peacekeeping

---

[65]Cohen et al. 2013
[66] Mutisi, M., Ogunsanya, K. and Ettang, D. ,2011
[67] UNPKO, 2008

Missions, 2008 and Integrating a Gender Perspective into the Work of the United Nations Military in Peacekeeping Operations[68]. These provide tools for field personnel to translate gender mainstreaming into practical actions for protecting civilians.

1.4.8 Sexual violence perpetuated by peacekeepers

Though the peacekeepers mandate involves maintaining peace, studies have shown that both the female and male peacekeepers can and are perpetuators of sexual violence against men, boys, women and girls they are supposed to be taking care of.[69]

One of the examples was that there were social structures in place around most US Army bases where women are kidnapped and sold into prostitution; this system of militarized sexual relations has required explicit American policy making[70].

In her study of prostitution around US military bases in South Korea in the 1970s, [71] Moon has shown how these people to people relations were actually matters of security at the international level. Cleanup of prostitution camps by the South Korean government through policing of sexual health and work conduct of prostitutes was part of its attempt to prevent withdrawal of American troops that had begun under the Nixon doctrine of 1969. Thus military prostitution interacted with US-Korean security politics at the highest political level. National security translated into social insecurity for these women.[72]

In 2004, the Washington Post headlined news of confidential UN reports of sexual abuse by various staff in DPKO especially in DRC.[73] Human Rights investigators and journalists documented widespread abuse in 2001 in Kosovo and Bosnia, where UN police operated brothels and were involved in trafficking

---

[68] UNPKO, 2008
[69] OCHA/IRIN, 2007 pp81
[70] Enloe, 1993, pp. 19-20
[71] Moon, 1997, pp. 151-60
[72] ibid
[73] OCHA/IRIN, 2007

of women from Eastern Europe to engage in prostitution. Jordanian, Palestinian and German troops were implicated in the trafficking scandal.[74]

Given the conflict in the south and central of Somalia that is, in Banadir, violence and exploitation perpetrated by "men in uniform" is more prevalent than in Puntaland and Somaliland where such acts are, more often than not, perpetrated by men in civilian clothes according to Somalia gender based violence working group report[75]. Women and girls seeking assistance at AMISOM camps do so at significant risk. [76] For example there was a reported incident of a girl going to the Burundian contingent's base to get medicine for her sick mother. A Somali interpreter told her to follow two Burundian soldiers to get medicine. Unfortunately, they raped her and physically attacked her.[77]

1.5   Justification of the Research Problem

By undertaking this study, the Darfur and Banadir regions, the East African region and UN and AU by extension stands to benefit from by ensuring a gender aspect is integrated in all SGBV responses strategies and also in all their policies and structures thus bringing about peace and security in both countries and in the larger region. The findings from this study will contribute to the current available literature on the need for an all inclusive comprehensive strategy that will fully implement the international and regional policy and guidelines on gender equality in peacekeeping.

The area of study has been embroiled in internal conflicts (with issues of secessions in the forefront) for a long time thus warranting the longest peacekeeping missions in the region, with little impact on SGBV responses on the ground. Public reports of the PKO being the cause of SGBV in some cases is truly worrying and this study will attempt to provide an analysis of the

---

[74] Refugees International, 2005 pp5
[75] SGBV Report, 2014-16
[76] Human Rights Watch, 2013
[77] ibid

responses available and the best practices that Banadir and by extension AMISOM can learn from the policy making and implementation of SBV responses in Darfur (UNAMID).

The researcher focused on these two regions due to the intriguing fact that they are located in states that are referred to as 'weak states'.[78] According to Gisselquist Sudan since independence has been either a failed or failing state while many scholars refer to Somalia as a 'failed state'[79]. Secondly, the fact that it is an open secret that AMISOM personnel perpetuated SGBV with impunity as opposed to UNAMID made the researcher focus on these two regions.

It is also hoped that the information will help incorporate a gender sensitive force approach with sex specific measures to address the peacekeeping missions globally and in extension address issues of peace and security.

The study findings will further be crucial to the relevant quarters, including: The military personnel especially among affected countries, International Law and Scholars among others.

To the military personnel the study findings will help in understanding both the potential conflict resolution and peace building consequences and the effects on regional and in extension global peace and security. AMISOM and other regional peacekeeping operations stand to benefit from this study.

In view of this, international law and policy makers will be better positioned to make informed and effective policies as regards the response to gender aspects of peacekeeping missions. Future scholars in the field will also find the findings resourceful as source of literature.

---

[78] Gisselquist & Prunier, 2003pp123
[79] Farah, 2000

1.6   Theoretical Framework

1.6.1   Introduction

Scholars on gender and feminism have cut across academic disciplines from literature to psychology and history. Gender and feminists theories have in the recent part made it into the international relations arena which was previously considered impervious to gender arguments.[80] According to Goldstein[81] feminist scholarships in various disciplines seeks to uncover hidden assumptions about gender and in how the IR discipline is studied.   Feminism theories are categorized according to three 'waves' with the third feminist wave being seen as having a more global perspective. The discourse though in relative infancy, tends to take into account the dispossession of young males as well as females.[82]   Through feminists discourses, what was traditionally claimed to be 'universal' or neutral is really a male perspective. For example the core assumptions of realism – especially of anarchy and sovereignty - reflect the ways males tend to interact and to see the world.   This means that the realist approach simply assumes male participants when discussing foreign policy decision making, state sovereignty or the use of military force.[83]

When the feminist movement first entered into the academies, it did so with both theoretical and practical concerns. The practical concerns were twofold: how to get more women into the academies and in more powerful positions and how to propagate the teaching methods and curriculum developments which can be grouped under the heading of feminist pedagogy. The theoretical concerns of feminists have since given rise to feminist epistemology, out of which feminist science has been developed according to Harding and O'Barr.[84]

---

[80] Peterson V & Runyan S. ,1999 pp63
[81] Goldstein J. 2012 pp 110
[82] ibid
[83] ibid
[84] Harding and O'Barr, 1982, pp 24 Harding 1987pp 4-10

For centuries, women were defined by men; the world was male-centered and male-dominated. Male philosophers and social theorists were the ones who identified woman with disorder, savagery, chaos, unreason, and the excluded "other." According to James Branch Cabell women were considered nothing more than conveniences; they were useful for keeping a household as well as for copulation and pleasure. [85]

Modern Feminism[86] is not much about the gender equality attitudes in particular but the broader emancipative implications of self expression values in general that predict gender empowerment. Gains in gender equality are most dramatic in countries with high levels of development and strong emancipative values.

Although the epistemological arguments for feminist science have taken many forms, they share an indictment of 'malestream' science , that is the science which although it makes claims to being universal has a male subject firmly at its centre. Feminists scholars and activists urge that as a result of this androcentrism, the social realities and experiences of women have been short charged.[87]

The stand point feminist[88] theory is not simply an interested position but is interested in the sense of being engaged and urges that to be able to assess the societal norms and values it is important to understand the participation of both women and men in the social life. In this strand, (which is the organized movement which promotes equality for women and men in all spheres of society such as politics, economy and social), feminists believe that women are oppressed simply due to their sex and is based on the dominant ideology of patriarchy.

---

[85] Cabell, J.B. 1986
[86] Mitchell J. & Oakley, 1986
[87] Mama, A 1997, pp421
[88] Harding S. 1998

All feminists can be thought as post modern because they have been outsiders in the intellectual life of modernity[89]. Post modernism has viewed with suspicion any mode of feminist thought that has tried to provide 'the' feminist explanation as to why women are oppressed[90]. It is interested in the problematic of 'otherness' and new forms of subjectivity.[91]

Feminist as a theory is an umbrella of different strands of scholarship based on the genesis of the proponent of each strand. This study looks at three strands but will focus on one, namely, Difference Feminism.

1.6.2   African Women Feminism

This feminist strand, is one that proposes that there is an observable polarity in the approaches of African women to feminism which range from acceptance, questioning or rejection. Some African women are searching for alternative gender concepts to evade the controversies around resistance of feminism. One such area of controversy derives from the absence of direct talk about sexuality as well as the problems of some African society's attitudes to women's bodies and sexuality.[92] Many scholars in advocating for women's empowerment in Africa have used tools from the west thus leading to many weaknesses and limitations. In this case advocating for a western viewpoint to fit an African perspective is truly erroneous. For instance, cases of SGBV are seen as private issues which should not come out in the open for discussion. In addition to this, the discussions would be with the males who in most cases are the perpetuators and self appointed judges. This has made the discussion around SGBV to stagnate as the vice continues with little being done to respond to it.

---

[89] Christine Sylvester, 1994 pg 16
[90] Tong, 1998, pg 193
[91] Zalewiski and Parpart, 1998b, pg 29
[92] Kolawole, 2006 pp 252

Cultural norms and values and the male factor need to be incorporated in any gender discourses. International efforts in the Decade of women, The Decade of Culture at the Beijing Conference and in subsequent Platforms for Action have created a new attitude and re-thinking of gender by mainstreaming gender into development policies. This coincides with the increased interest of African gender theorists who believe that the African woman's voice is subdued in international gender discourse. This definitely leaves out most of the information that would be useful in SGBV responses and strategies by PKO in Africa and globally

In trying to locate African women in the global context Mama[93] discusses a 'United Nations Feminism' which in the search of answers to crises of peace and security, development and the growth of the international women's movement have worked to influence the national and international bureaucracies. These have to be listed in the factors influencing the United Nations' to make 1975-1985 a Decade for Women, Peace, Equality and Development. Feminist activists within and outside the UN and government structures must be given credit for the fact that women remained in the forefront of the Decade's activities so much so that in many quarters it became known simply as 'the Women's Decade'.[94]

It is during the United Nations Decade for women that African feminism finally made its voice heard on the international scene, first at the Copenhagen Conference and then at Nairobi in 1985. African governments responded to the UN's directive not only through Kenya's hosting of the end of the decade conference but also by pioneering the establishment of regional structures for women under the auspices of the Economic Commission for Africa.

Even though the UN's response to international feminism might have been a case of radical politics being incorporated and neutralized, it signaled a growing feminist concern in the

---

[93] Mama, A, 1997:pp416-8
[94] ibid

global arena. The donor agencies were setting up women in development (WID) projects and insisting WID and later GAD components be included in the all strategies of international relations.[95] Even then, most of the researches were carried out by western scholars and few in Africa. Association of African women for Research and Development (AAWORD) was formed in 1977 to fill in the gap.

1.6.3   Difference feminism

This strand focuses at valuing the unique contributions of women as women. [96] The difference feminism asserts that women and men add value in different spheres differently. It points out women's inherent differences from men, including their "natural" kindness, tendencies to nurture, pacifism, relationship focus, and concern for others. Difference feminism emphasizes women's difference/uniqueness and traditionally "feminine" characteristics; arguing that more value should be placed on these qualities.[97] Due to their great experience with nurturing and human relations, women are seen as potentially more effective than men in conflict resolution as well as in group decision making[98]. The difference feminists believe that women's difference is more culturally than biologically determined.

All in all feminists perspectives do create a 'standpoint' from which to observe, analyze and critique the traditional perspectives on international relations[99].

The study ascribes to feminist theory, specifically Difference feminists discourse. The policy framework of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 is also a foundational aspect in this study.

---

[95] ibid
[96] Goldstein, J & Pevehouse, J: 2012 pp114-5
[97] Gilligan C., 1982
[98] Goldstein, J ;2012 pp 112
[99] Keohane Robert O. 1989, 245-53

30

1.7 HYPOTHESES

H0 There is no relationship between gender dimensions and peacekeeping operations response to SGBV

H1 There is a concerted effort to address SGBV by UNAMID than AMISOM

H2 There are success stories that AMISOM can learn from UNAMID response to SGBV

1.8 Methodology of the Research

The study employs primarily qualitative research techniques.

1.8.1 Research Design

The study employs a literature review based design, a scientific tool which can be used to summarize, appraise and communicate the results and implications of otherwise unmanageable quantities of research. This research design is appropriate for studies whose data base may lack statistical power to show significant effect. This reason suits the circumstances behind the use of this design for this study.

Compilation of data from various PKO could provide sufficient data to show significant effect. On the contrary one PKO would not provide sufficient data to hold statistical power to show significant effect.

1.8.2 Data collection and sampling method

The study relied on secondary sources such as the literature on Gender aspects, PKO and SBV and SGBV found in the libraries of University of Nairobi, UN Women in Gigiri and online sources.

It also included other researches associated to Darfur and Banadir in South Sudan and Somalia respectively.

The research also had a long in-depth interview with the Gender Affairs Officer at United Nations Missions for Liberia. This interview formed part of the primary data source for the study.

The researcher used purposive method of sampling where a deliberate or judgmental process was made on the sampling and the sample size. This was advantageous because the information gotten was relevant to the study.

1.8.3 Data reliability and validity

The validity of the data used in this research is upheld by extracting data only from international accredited bodies such as the UN, UNPKO, UNHCR and AU.

1.8.4 Data management and analysis

Data extraction was done by combining the following, focusing on the Difference feminist theory and UNSCR Resolutions 1325 and 1820 which assisted in data synthesis. This enabled a systematic presentation of the findings.

1.8.5 Data appraising

This involved assessing how authors arrived at their findings, themes and conclusions; background of the authors; and seeking whether they had been true to their chosen methodology. Epistemological orientation, findings and relationship to the research questions and also contributions from existing literature was also helpful.

Both theoretical and empirical literature touching on the two regions of focus was reviewed and used in this report. The data gathered was weaved together with secondary data.

This project is a result of the analysis of the information gathered to arrive at empirical conclusions.

1.9 Scope and Limitation of the Study

The study will focus mainly on the structures, institutional norms and values of the peacekeeping missions of United Nations to address SGBV in Darfur and the lessons AMISOM can learn as they keep peace in Banadir in Somalia. It did not target the other international, regional organizations and individuals states providing peacekeeping services to Darfur and Banadir due to geographical, access, time and financial limitations. It also did not analyze the humanitarian organizations in an indepth way. The key limitations were lack adequate primary data, logistics and time constraints.

Research has shown that peacekeeping missions with a considerable number of females engage less in sexual exploitation and abuse and are identified as having high levels of internal discipline. Even though there have been cases of women also becoming perpetuators of sexual violence as happened in Operation Desert Storm where US Marines women were said to mutilate bodies of men prisoners of war, according to Carol Gilligan,[100] women are more rational, contextual, and tend to focus more on relationships and responsibility.

This study will be careful to note that gender equality and women's empowerment are not synonymous and therefore cannot be tracked using a single indicator.

1.10 CHAPTER OUTLINE

This study is made up of five chapters which respond to the objectives and hypotheses of the study.

Chapter One introduces the topic of the study by establishing the broader context of the study, the statements of the problem, justification of the study, the theoretical framework, literature

---

[100] Gilligan, C: 1993

review. This is followed by the literature review, hypotheses, methodology of the study as well as scope and limitations.

Chapter two discusses why gender aspect is an important element in the peacemaking process especially peacekeeping. It also highlights key definitions pertaining to gender issues in SGBV response by the peacekeepers. It also focuses on best practices globally and regionally.

Chapter three looks at the historical background to the conflicts in Darfur and Banadir, highlighting the impact of the gender factor. It pays close attention to the SGBV responses by UNAMID in Darfur with a view of ascertaining the best practices

Chapter four provides a critical analysis of the SGBV violations in Banadir in Somalia and their subsequent impact on gender relations, with a view to informing the bigger peace and security issues in the area and region. These findings are divided into three categories: implementation of PoC strategy, capacity building for other security actors and response to sexual based violence.

Chapter five provides a summary, conclusion and recommendations of the study

CHAPTER TWO: GENDER AND PEACEKEEPING
2.1   Introduction

This chapter seeks to look at the gender question in all spheres of peacekeeping operations. It will also delve into the issues of Sexual and Gender Based Violence responses by Peacekeeper, by highlighting various UNPKO that have deemed to be successful and hence worth of inspiring other international and regional PKO. This in essence contributes to peace in the region.

John Galtung, a peace researcher distinguishes between 'negative peace' – absence of war and 'positive peace' which includes the realization of norms and values such as economic, social justice and respect for human rights.[101] This is the same distinction made in this study.

2.1.1   Increased in number of proportion of intrastate conflicts

The vast majority of armed conflicts are intrastate in nature according to Akerlund.[102] These conflicts have been rising gradually since the Second World War whilst the interstates wars have not increased at all. In 1992, scholars and policy makers noted a depressing observation, that there had not been as many armed conflicts as then. This could have been due to the fact that after the Cold War era, conflicts that had been held back under the pressure of the period, flared up.[103] In connection with the dissolution of the Soviet Union, armed conflicts broke out in Azerbaijan, Georgia, Tajikistan, Moldova and a few years later Chechnya. Very violent wars broke out in Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Kosovo[104]. This brought on a lot of actors to the international relations arena.

All these actors had a moral obligation towards the conflict and even perpetuators may have rationalized the need to start a conflict by demanding that their needs were not addressed. The needs are usually of three types. The first is the underlying issue which is the long term

---

[101] Galtung. J.: 1996pp2
[102] Akerlund A, 2005 pp 27-8
[103] ibid
[104] ibid

antagonism related to history of the actors. Since every group or individual have a history of interactions there is bound to be issues that have simmered for a long time. The second is the proximate issues which are usually the midterm events that worsen the underlying ones. Thirdly are the trigger issues which are the immediate causes of violence. These immediate needs/issues could be real or imagined.[105] For peace to prevail, these are critical issues that need to be identified and methodologies to address them formulated.

2.1.2 Managing conflict

Managing conflict is usually a multidimensional and multisectoral process. It takes its impetus from Article 2:3 of the UN charter which prohibits the use of force suggesting that, conflicts should be managed through peaceful settlements. These peaceful settlements are found in Article 33:1 of the UN charter and are divided into two categories – coercive which uses enforcement, meaning for peace to prevail, there has to be force, and non coercive – which has no enforcement mechanisms. Most conflict resolutions also use third party interventions whose role is mediation between two conflicting parties. A proponent of non-coercive conflict management, Jacob Bercovitch,[106] argues that most of today's international conflicts have one or more mediating parties working regularly to resolve the conflict short of violence.

In addition, a former UNSG, Boutros Boutros Ghali,[107] initiated a report which outlined suggestions for enabling inter-governmental organisations to respond quickly and effectively to threats to international peace and security in the post-Cold War era. In particular, four major areas of activity were identified: preventive diplomacy; peacemaking; peacekeeping; and post-conflict peacebuilding. Preventive diplomacy strives to resolve a dispute before it escalates into violence. Peacemaking seeks to promote a ceasefire and to negotiate an agreement. Peacekeeping proceeds

---

[105] Akerlund A, 2005 pp 27-8
[106] Bercovitch J., 1996
[107] Ghali, B.B., 1992

after the out-break of violence and involves, the deployment of a United Nations presence in the field, hitherto with the consent of all the parties concerned, normally involving United Nations military and/or police personnel and frequently civilians as well.[108]

2.1.3 Peacekeeping at the Global Arena

The oxford dictionary defines peace keeping as the deployment of military forces usually under UN or other international control to prevent or deter further military action by the military or paramilitary forces of two opposing nations or groups.

According to Gale Encyclopedia, Peacekeeping, traditionally handled by the United Nations, are missions, instances of intervention in civil or international disputes for the purpose of upholding the peace and/or encouraging peaceful settlement of existing conflicts.

Peacekeeping is thus, very clearly defined as part of the international community's catalogue for consolidating peace in war-affected countries.[109] According to the *Handbook on United Nations Multidimensional Peacekeeping Operations* 'peacekeeping is based on the principle that an impartial presence on the ground can ease tensions between hostile parties and create space for political negotiations'.[110]

The actual situation on the ground have required a re-thinking to this mandate. Therefore there has seen an evolution of peacekeeping to include both military tasks such as monitoring ceasefires and patrolling buffer zones between hostile parties, and non-military tasks such as civilian policing; oversight of political and civil affairs; monitoring and protecting human rights; ensuring the promotion of the rule of law; providing access for humanitarian assistance; supporting reconstruction; undertaking public information; and gender mainstreaming.[111]

---

[108] Muriithi, T., 2009
[109] ibid
[110] UNDPKO, 2003
[111] Muriithi, T.,2009 pp3

2.1.3.1 UN PKO Guiding Pillars

UN Peacekeeping is guided by three basic principles:

- Consent of the parties;

- Impartiality;

- Non-use of force except in self-defence and defence of the mandate.

According to UNPKO website, Peacekeeping has proven to be one of the most effective tools available to the UN to assist host countries navigate the difficult path from conflict to peace.

Peacekeeping has unique strengths, including legitimacy, burden sharing, and an ability to deploy and sustain troops and police from around the globe, integrating them with civilian peacekeepers to advance multidimensional mandates.

UN Peacekeepers provide security and the political and peacebuilding support to help countries make the difficult, early transition from conflict to peace. (Most of times Peacekeeping Operations are used interchangeably with Peacekeeping Missions, peace building, peace enforcers, peacemaking and so on.) According to United Nations[112] peacekeeping operations have been deployed only after hostilities have already broken out whereas peacemaking is a long term process which focuses on peaceful settlement of disputes such as multilateral/bilateral diplomatic efforts, good offices of the Secretary General. As highlighted in the literature review the researcher chose to use Peace keeping Operations in the study unless where a difference comes up especially in the different countries.

2.1.3.2 Categories of PKO

These can be divided into two broad categories: observer missions[113] – which consists largely of officers who are almost invariably unarmed; and peacekeeping forces which consists of lightly

---

[112] Blue Helmets 1990 pp7
[113] Blue Helmets: 1990 pp8

armed infantry units with the necessary logistic support elements. These are not watertight and in most cases peacekeeping forces are often assisted by unarmed military observers[114].

2.1.3.3 History of United Nations PKO

Peacekeeping missions started in earnest after the 2nd world war and it was confined to larger extent to member states. This was also the birth of the United Nations. Before then it's predecessor the League of Nation had also to some extent committed itself to peace and security. The League of Nations was a global organisation formed after the First World War but was formally wound down in 1946 largely due to the fact that it did not prevent the 2nd world war. However it did provide the blueprint model not only to UN but also to intergovernmental organisations (IGO). Macqueen[115] urges out that IGOs which are based on institutions within which states cooperate without surrendering significant parts of their national sovereignty; the UN is in most respects an IGO but the collective security articles of its Charter do involve some significant qualifications of sovereignty.

The world has seen a huge explosion of PKO since 1999 which have had a myriad of complexities. This is because conflicts moved from the international arena to the regional and national arena. Now UN forces would usually be deployed to conflicts between factions and movements within states.[116] The major role was designed to secure cessation of fighting rather than to monitor existing peace ceasefires. Even so, UN was one of the key contributors to PKO but as by the end of 1990s the record of the UN as an agent of successful intervention was under great scrutiny. Evidently, catastrophic failures of intervention over the previous decade – in Rwanda, Somalia, Angola and Bosnia – cast the future of UNPKO in doubt[117]. A case in point is

---

[114] ibid
[115] Macqueen, N., 2006 pp 3-6
[116] Macqueen, N., 2006 pp 1-2
[117] ibid

the 1999 'humanitarian intervention' in Kosovo that was carried out by NATO[118] without direct reference to UN (though UN was left to handle the complex post-conflict administration of the territory).

2.1.3.4 Initial UNPKO deployments

The first UNPKO was deployed to the Middle East in 1948 with the mandate of ending the war between Arab nations and the newly formed state of Israel, a second was dispatched in the following year to Kashmir which was the object of war between India and Pakistan. Both of these early interventions, the forces sent by the UN were very small and unarmed.[119]

2.1.3.5 New Mandate of Peacekeepers

The UN PKO changed its mandate in the 1950s with the establishment of an Armed Force – the so called 'Blue Helmets[120]' – to keep belligerents separated and promote peaceful resolution of disputes. The Blue helmets were first dispatched to the Middle East in response to the Suez Crisis of 1956.[121]

Before the 1990s, PKO were infrequent due to the decision-making structure of the UN during the Cold war. This where any decision to send Peace keeping Missions required the unanimous approval of the five permanent members of the UNSC, thus proposed intervention was likely to run into opposition from either the US or the Soviet Union who were at the cold war divide. Therefore even as late as 1991 the UN had deployed only eleven PKO involving approximately11,000 Blue Helmets.

The end of the cold war changed deployment of PKOs dramatically. The great powers now were able to reach consensus much more easily due to increased membership in the UN.

---

[118] ibid
[119] Diehl, Paul F. 1993
[120] ibid
[121] opcit

The numbers and scope of PKO increased tremendously such that by 1994, there were 76,600[122] blue helmets involved in 17 interventions globally. Between 1990 and 2000 the UNSC authorized more than 36 missions - twice as many as it had in the previous 40 years.[123]

2.1.3.6 Involvement of States as agents of PKO - USA

The United States of America involvement in the UNPKO was limited during the cold war. Most of the times troops from any of the great powers were intentionally excluded from such missions for fear that they would be incapable of impartiality.[124] This however changed post-cold war with USA providing a supporting role by setting up supplies and communications systems and providing military hardware to the Blue helmets.[125] At times the USA worked independently from the UN as in 1980s, in the buffer zone operation on the conflict between Israel and Palestinian Liberation Army (PLA) in Lebanon. This was the beginning of the turning point for USA participation when 241 American marines were killed in terrorists attack. The worst bit was yet to come when in 1992, 28,000 American soldiers were deployed to Somalia. This is the first recorded case of PKO abandoning their tradition role and becoming involved in the conflict when the PKO took up arms to fight off the local warlords. This ended in disaster then for the Americans when two Black Hawk helicopters and 18 USA soldiers were lost in a firefight in the capital Mogadishu in 1993.[126]

After this American interests in participating in UNPKO dropped sharply. The Republican Party called for legislation making it illegal for American troops to be placed under the UN command. This led to new directive that future deployments should only submit to UN command if some tangible national interest was at stake.

---

[122] Diehl, Paul F. 1993
[123] ibid
[124] Coulon, Jocelyn. 1994
[125] Diehl, Paul F. 1993
[126] Coulon, Jocelyn. 1994

2.2   Gender the Concept

Gender is a word used since the 1970s as an analytical grouping differentiating between biological sex differences and the social norms and values assigned as either 'masculine' or 'feminine'.[127]   In most cultures, gender differences signify relationships of inequality and domination of women by men. In the discussion on gender roles, De Beauviour argues that one is not born but rather becomes a woman.[128]   This argument makes it clear the ways in which gender differences are set in hierarchical opposition, where the masculine principle is the always favored 'norm' and the feminine one becomes positioned as 'other'.

Gender can also defined as a constitutive element[129] of social relationships based on perceived differences between the sexes and is a primary way of signifying relationships of power. The construction of social domination is based on a set of behaviours, social structures and an ideology reflecting basic value judgments about the nature of the social order and of sex differentiation.[130] As power systems reinforce societal perceptions of norms and values, women and men alike are rewarded for doing what the society values. Unquestioned adherence to rules is essential to masculinity, feminine values such as care and concern tend to be oriented towards relationships and respect for persons. [131] A number of women entry into the previously 'traditional men's world' of the public arena has seen most of them adopting masculine values as a strategy to be accepted in authority roles. For example the late Prime Minister of Britain, Margaret Thatcher down played her feminine qualities to 'appear more appropriate to a masculine political structure'. She even went on to undermine social services for women and children because it is during her rule that social welfare that protected the poor and vulnerable,

---

[127] Pilcher & Whelehan, 2008:pp56-8
[128] De Beauvior, 1972 pp295
[129] Joan Scott
[130] Boulding 1976, p 35
[131] Reardon, 1985 pg. 30

ended. In addition, she also sent military forces to re-occupy the /Falkland/Malvinas islands in dispute with Argentina.

Women are applauded for achieving success in previously male dominated activities for example politics, military service, business and administration but little social respect is shown to men who enter traditionally female arenas such as nursing and child care.

The way in which communities understand gender, signifies relationships of power which is through a set of normative concepts that set forth interpretation of the meanings of symbols. These symbols take the form of fixed binary oppositions that categorically assert the meaning of male and female and hence legitimize a set of unequal social relationships

. For example, through the use of language, one can perceive the world through these binary oppositions as what pertains to masculinity and what pertains to femininity as the table below shows.

Table 1: Binary distinction in the aspects of masculinity and femininity

Masculinity	femininity
Public	Private
Objective	subjective
Reason	emotion
Autonomy	relatedness
Culture	Nature.

Source: Cohn[132] 2004.

Women, due to the perception of society, are often the voiceless victims of war ravaged communities, yet they find ways of contributing to peace and reconciliation.[133] Traditionally peacekeeping arena was male dominated but over time the international community has come to

---

[132] Cohn, Carol 2004
[133] Warsame, F 2001pp 259-264

realize the essence of gender perspectives in peace processes not only because of the gendered nature of conflict but also due to the added value of women in these processes.

2.3   Gender in war and peace

Together with its emphasis on autonomy and anarchy, realism stress military force as the key for influence in global politics and international relations. Even though realism sees this as gender neutral, difference feminists argue that war and the pursuit for peace are male dominated and is essentially a male occupation. It does reflect the male domination of the international arena.

Historically women's inclusion in peacekeeping operations has been low. Between 1957 and 1987 only 20 peacekeepers were women.[134] However in 2009, the eve of the 10th Anniversary of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security, the problem of low participation of women in UN peacekeeping was discussed. The then United Nations Secretary General, Koffi Anan had succinctly said that it had been imperative for the international community to acknowledge the contributions of women and girls at all the stages of peacemaking including conflict resolution, peacebuilding and peacekeeping. Koffi Annan had argued that once women, who had dominantly been left out, were included then sustainable peace and security could be achieved.

Thus in view of this, the UN launched an initiative called the Global Effort whose strategy was to increase the percentage of female police serving in the UN police to 20% by 2014. The UN Office of Military Affairs (OMA) also began to encourage member states to deploy more female soldiers but set no firm targets similar to the UN police.

Regionally, Article 11 of the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa, the Maputo Protocol, calls on States Parties to "protect asylum seeking women, refugees, returnees and internally displaced persons, against all

---

[134] Bertolazzi, 2010,pp8

forms of violence, rape and other forms of sexual exploitation, and to ensure that such acts are considered war crimes, genocide and/or crimes against humanity and that their perpetrators are brought to justice before a competent criminal jurisdiction."[135] The implementation of the Protocol and all existing AU instruments that address the issue of conflict-related sexual violence have to be hastened up.

2.3.1 Gender aspect in Peacemaking and conflict resolution

Gilday and Russett urge that, " ….much of the study in international study focuses on war….than of peace and even less is dedicated to the study of peacemaking"[136].   In essence peacemaking should be at the heart of peace and security. For sustainable peace to prosper then both the women and men should work together right from the policy formulation right down to implementation of peace processes and the monitoring and evaluation of the same.

Since international relations and military policymaking has largely been conducted by men, the discipline that analyses these activities is bound to be primarily about men and masculinity. In most fields of knowledge, people have become accustomed to equating what is human with what is masculine.

Connel points[137] out that the stereotypical image of masculinity does not fit most men. He suggests that what he calls 'hegemonic' masculinity, a type of culturally dominant masculinity that he distinguishes from other subordinated masculinity, is socially constructed cultural idea that, while it does not correspond to the actual personality of the majority of men, sustains patriarchal authority and legitimizes its social order.

Tickner also ascertains that with its focus on 'high' politics of war, the discipline has privileged issues that grow out of men's experiences; and since communities are socialized into

---

[135] Protocol to African Charter on Human and Peoples' Right,2003
[136] Lilach Gilady and Bruce Russett, Handbook of International Relations
[137] Connell, RW. 2001 pp5-9

believing that war and power politics are spheres of activity with which men have special affinity and expertise and that their voices in describing and prescribing for this world are likely to be authentic.[138]

International security is a man's world; a world inhabited by diplomats, soldiers and international civil servants most of who are men. Apart from occasional Head of State there is little evidence to suggest that women have played much of a role in shaping Foreign Policy for peace in any country in the 20th century.[139]

Feminists have often questioned the foundational stories of peace and security on which explanations about the 'security dilemma' have been built. They have challenged the claim that women are 'protected' category and whether women are more peaceful than men. In the analysis of realist assumptions about states' behavior, it depends on the male representations, of how individuals function in society. While the parable of man's amoral, self-interested behavior in the state of nature, made necessary by lack of restraint on the behavior of others, is taken by realists to be a universal model for explaining states' behavior in peace and security. However it could be more male rather than universal.[140] Whenever women are absent in these foundational issues in society then it becomes a source of gender biasness.

Tickner[141] points out that rational theory behavior which explains states' security seeking behavior, is based on a partial representation of human behavior; since women were historically confined to reproductive activities, men were left to be the decision makers.[142]

---

[138] Tinker, 1992 pg 4-5
[139] ibid
[140] Rebecca Grant, 1991, Pg 9-7
[141] Tickner, A, 1992 pp82
[142] ibid

Cohn argues that masculine gendered discourse of security experts is the only permissible way of speaking about national security if one is to be taken seriously by the community[143]. This rational, intangible language rules out discussions of the death and destruction of war, issues that can only be spoken of in emotional terms stereotypically associated with women.[144]

This means that one cannot start to talk about security and peace without looking at the masculinity issue thus constraining the discussion greatly. Women do participate as peacemakers and as perpetuators in conflict situations. However they are largely ignored and given even less of opportunities as seen in the USA where in 1987, women constituted less than 5% of Senior Foreign Service ranks and in the same year less than 4% of executive positions in Department of Defense were held by women.

Thus a conclusion can be made that women are not merely victims in conflict situations but also play an active role in war by not only providing most of the essential basic services such as food and medical care, but also by ideologically supporting war efforts and keeping the military morale high.[145] Women have also been seen as 'war–mongers'. Several prominent women who held the highest governmental decision making positions do not remain as peace makers but as war heroines.[146] These include, Golda Meir won the Six Day War against the Arabs, Indira Gandhi initiated a war in Pakistan and Thatcher who sent military forces to re-occupy the /Falkland/Malvinas islands in dispute with Argentina. By internalizing 'the image and values of the oppressor', many women seem almost eager to adopt masculine characteristics and criteria in order to succeed.[147]

---

[143] Cohn, 1993
[144] ibid
[145] Akerlund, A, 2005 pp39
[146] Vichers, 1993
[147] Reardon 1985 p56

During peacetime they become invisible and unrecognized actors because, although they are the ones who keep communities surviving during the war/conflicts, they are also the most effective agents for organizing networks to deal with peace building after war.

2.3.2 Locating women has taken the unpackaging of the gendered structures.

Typically, feminists questioning have to do with investigating how the international systems and global economy contributed to the subordination of women and other marginalized groups. Investigating how global structures and processes constraint women's security and economic opportunities requires asking how the types of power necessary to keep unequal gender structures in place are perpetuated.[148]

Socially constructed gender difference is based on socially sanctioned, unequal relationships between women and men that reinforce compliance with men's stated superiority.[149]

In war-making and peacemaking, the characteristics associated with hegemonic masculinity are projected onto the behavior of states whose success as international actors is measured in terms of their power capabilities and capacity for self help and autonomy.

2.4 Gender Based Violence

Gender Based Violence – mainly by men on women, but also by women on men and between members of the same sex – is alarmingly widespread across a variety of cultures globally[150]. GBV is recognized as gross violations of human rights by the UN and other regional and international bodies. An international bill of rights for women, the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) was adopted by the UN in 1979. In addition, women and girls are protected by the Convention Against Torture and

---

[148] ibid
[149] ibid
[150] CODESRIA, 1997pp 1-4

Cruelty (CAT) that came into existence in 1984 and the Declaration on the Protection of All Persons from Being Subjected to Torture and other Cruel inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment in 1975.

The universal attitudes of male dominance and patriarchy can ingrain a culture of violence in which women and children are the victims.[151] According to Conners,[152] violence against women is an outcome of the belief, fostered in all cultures, that men are superior and that the women with whom they live with are their possessions to be treated as they consider appropriate.

The issues of women's use of aggression against men is very controversial; both theoretical and practical examination of factors influencing gender relations in the society have attempted to focus more on women as individual actors in society. According to Richters,[153]there is a suggestion that in many conflict and post conflict situations, women are not simply passive victims of male violence, but have found a great many ways to even the score.

Davis goes further to state that torment co-exists with resentment, discontent and instances of subordination. This is demonstrated when women harm men usually by maiming and killing which is usually as a result of longterm planning brought about by years of male violence and is never a culmination of years of female violence. SGBV may teach young women and girls that the best way to beat the system is to join it and become perpetuators and abusers themselves[154].

---

[151] ibid
[152] Conners, 1992 pp3
[153] Richters, 1994
[154] Richter, 1992

2.4.1 Sexual based violence

This refers to all forms of sexual and gender based violence on women, men, girls and boys. It can take many forms[155] such as rape, sexual assault, physical assault, forced and early marriages, psychological/emotional abuse, denial of resources due to gender. It can also be contextualized to include sexual exploitation/abuse, domestic violence/intimate partner violence and harmful traditional practices. Women internationally are the victims of violence rooted in patriarchy and its underlying assumption of the subjugation of women.

The "Comprehensive Review 7, of the Whole Question of Peacekeeping Operations in All Their Aspects" whose resolution was adopted found among other things that the peacekeepers enticed desperate women and girls to engage in sexual acts for food. This made the Secretary-General of UN in 2003 develop detailed rules for UN staff prohibiting sexual exploitation and abuse during missions. It recommended that peacekeeping operations should be planned, implemented and evaluated with a gender aspect.

However these cannot be implemented before issues of the tradition of inequality between women and men, which is one of the reasons why violence against women is widespread and so easily committed, is addressed. Capacity building and awareness raising among boys and men and engaging them will assist in the fight against the culture of sexual violence. It is important to look beyond seeing women only as victims, and men as only as victimizers. Instead, recognition of both of them as active agents in the fight to prevent conflict-related sexual violence is key. Conflict prevention and early warning mechanisms need to fully involve both women and men and have to be approached as a community effort, with monitoring and financial support made available to make implementation successful. Values and norms in the society that portray girls as less than boys and make them develop low self-esteem and self

---

[155] UNHCR 2003

worth; further contributing to the cycle should be aggressively fought.   There is a dire need to prosecute perpetrators and hold them accountable for their actions in sexual based violence.

There is also need to raise the profile of women's networks and civil society organizations, which in many instances are the first responders to address the scourge of conflict-related sexual violence, and the first to stand in solidarity with survivors. Sustained progress and action on these issues requires the strengthening of local initiatives and mechanisms to combat conflict-related sexual violence, including those targeted at protecting the independence of the judiciary, promoting gender-sensitive school curricula, training civilian police, sensitizing youth, and combating stigma and ethnic discrimination. The African Union has a Gender Parity Principle, which has been in force since 2002. The Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa, adopted in 2004, applies to all AU member states and it is hoped be fully implemented and reflected in the UNSCR 1325.

The Common African Position on the Post-2015 Development Agenda commits to the eradication of all forms of violence against women and children. The African Union Agenda 2063, which is committed to build a prosperous and peaceful Africa, puts particular emphasis on the engagement of women and the youth in the continent's development.

According to UNAMID, Darfur civil war broke out in 2003 and led to the deaths of hundreds of thousands of Darfuris and the displacement of nearly two million.[156] In the fighting which pitted the Government of Sudan, militias and other armed rebel groups, witnessed widespread atrocities such as murder and rape of civilians. The UN classified the civil conflict as genocide and, following intensive lobbying by Secretary-General Ban Ki-Moon, the Sudanese government in Khartoum accepted a United Nations Peace keeping Mission to boost up the then existing African Union Mission in Sudan (AMIS) in 2007. This was the start of a joint peace

---

[156] UNAMID Annual Report, 2013

keeping effort established through the adoption of resolution 1769 and was referred to with its acronym as UNAMID under Chapter VII Action with respect to threats to the peace, breaches of the peace and acts of aggression of the UN Charter.

UNAMID has a very comprehensive Sexual based violence response strategy but it is more or less on paper. Sexual and gender based violence continues on the ground usually form citizens that wear uniforms as research found out in the case of Somalia. In Darfur area there is a lot of stigmatization attached to any acts of sexual violence and many victims do not speak out after the ordeal due to norms and values of the cultural aspects in the region. Another factor reinforcing this heinous crime is the fact that for a rape victim to be heard there has to be at least four witnesses. This is really difficult because in the case of women, the sexual abuse happens whilst they are out of the homesteads undertaking their daily chores. Most of the times, in secluded areas such as the bushes where they go to look for firewood or even in their small farms as they try to eke a living for their families. To make matters worse is the fact that the victims are excommunicated from the homesteads where they are prone to undergo the same vice over and over again.

In Somalia conflict and famine has displaced a large number of women and girls from their communities and clan support networks. Most of the women flee in search of food and without employment options and basic resources; many must completely rely on outside assistance and are forced into exploitative and abusive situations to sustain themselves and their children.

2.4.3 Sexual and Gender based violence in conflict situations

Sexual based violence (SGBV) is very common during conflict and post-conflict situations. This is an area which is very active and constantly expanding at alarming rates. Recent studies and

analyzing are pointing at the growing complexity form of SBV showing a shift away from simple rhetorics. The scholars and interested parties also point to the need for more inclusive understanding of sexual violence, which acknowledges, for example, male victims and survivors, as well as the experiences and motivations of perpetrators.[157]

Lessons from past and current missions inform us that sexual violence, prostitution and trafficking in women and children often coexist alongside peace operations, even though the UN has a zero-tolerance policy for these behaviors. Sexual violence against women is continually used as a weapon of war in conflict-affected areas.[158]

However, sexual violence is also often deployed strategically by combatant groups. Sexual violence in conflict settings may be employed as a "benefit" for victorious troops and commanders; a means of initiation and social bonding between combatants; a punishment meted out to civilians associated with opposing groups; a means of humiliating male opponents who were not able to protect "their" women; a method of destroying communities and cultures associated with conflict opponents; and a means of ethnic cleansing by impregnating women or forcing their displacement. In such cases, sexual violence is often portrayed as a "weapon" or "tool of war" [159]

Even after passing Resolution 1325, in several locations, UN peacekeepers participated in local prostitution, rape and even sex trafficking. In 2004, former Secretary General Annan called 'shameful' the reported behavior of UN troops from several countries serving in Democratic Congo. Investigators had found hundreds of cases of sexual crimes by UN personnel.

For a greater part since the first peacekeeping force was put in place by the UN in 1948, gender concerns were very silent. However in 2000, Resolution 1325 of the UN Security

---

[157] Cohen et al. 2013
[158] OCHA/IRIN, 2007
[159] Peel, M., 2004; M.

Council called on the Secretary-General to "…progress on gender mainstreaming throughout peacekeeping missions and all aspects related to women and girls…".[160] Consequent Security Council resolutions outlined more inclusive methods for using peacekeeping missions to protect women and girls from sexual violence in conflict and post-conflict zones by a deliberate increment of the number of women peacekeepers.

This has also been warranted by reports of the peacekeeping personnel, who are mandated to uphold human dignity in the host countries becoming perpetuators of sexual violence which includes sexual abuse and rape of women, girls, men and boys. Consequently, this negates the usefulness of the peacekeeping operations since the protection of civilians which is a major mandate of peacekeeping missions becomes another 'conflict'. According to Aoi et al,[161] sexual misconduct is the 'unintended result' of peacekeeping operations mandates when 'wars are fought in the bodies of women and men'.

2.4.3.1 Pillars to address SGBV

The guiding principles in addressing SGBV is that for people to achieve their full potential, their lives must be free for violence. This means that the strategy for SGBV response should have the following pillars: The first one is prevention of sexual based violence from occurring in the first place and from reoccurring by working with local grassroot organisations, civil society and key stakeholders in the community including men and boys. The second one is protection of sexual based violence by identifying and providing services to survivors once the violence occurs. Thirdly there should be accountability to ensure that the perpetuators are prosecuted and to end impunity by strengthening legal and judicial systems.

---

[160] United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325
[161] Aoi et al, 2007

Many countries have no laws on sexual violence perpetuated against women. In some countries the law even excuses the murder of a woman by her husband if she is caught in the act of adultery. In other countries the laws offer limited protection. Domestic violence which is one of SBV is treated as a private family matter.[162]

Female genital mutilation flourishes in many countries in the belief that it prevents promiscuity among women.[163] It is performed on an estimated 2 million children each year in more than 30 countries primarily throughout the central belt of Africa from Senegal to Somalia and by minority groups in the Middle East and Asia. There are no states or federal laws that ban the practice in the United States.

Rape of women and children in war is not just an accident but often a systematic military strategy. In the war of former Yugoslavia, it was estimated that 20,000 to 35,000 women were raped during the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina.[164]

Women, boys and girls are also victims of neglect, trafficking into prostitution, rape and incest. Women also risk incidences of wife battering, political torture due to abuses as refugees and the in the ravages of war. 1/3 of women in Barbados, Canada, the Netherlands, New Zealand Norway, Africa and the US have reported sexual abuse during childhood or adolescence. An estimated 1 million children, mostly girls in Asia and Africa are forced in to prostitution. Studies from Canada new Zealand and the United Kingdom show that one woman in six is raped in her lifetime. And studies from Chile, Mexico, Papua New Guinea and the Republic of Korea indicate that 2/3rds of married women have suffered domestic violence.[165]

---

[162] Warsame, F, 2001
[163] ibid
[164] Pettman, 1996 pp. 101
[165]Jandt, F, 2007

2.5   Best practices in Peace keeping operations

The previous section highlighted the fact that SGBV is not only in the realm of the aggressors but also those called to monitor the situation. However there are PKO that have had success in addressing SGBV. These include in East Timor, Cyprus, Liberia and Sierra Leone.

2.5.1   Women in Peacekeeping

As peacekeepers undertake more complex roles, women have become increasingly part of the PKO. They are deployed in all areas such as police, military and civilian where there are reports of positive impact PKO and the host communities.[166]   Their main role is in supporting the women in the host communities to build peace and also protect women and girls rights.

According to the UN women peacekeepers have proven that they can perform the same roles, to the same standards and under the same difficult conditions as their male counterparts. Thus the UNPKO have made a concerted effort to recruit and retain female peacekeepers. However the deployment of women to uniformed functions is the responsibility of member states. In 1993, women made up only 1% of deployed uniformed personnel but in 2012 this has risen to 3%. This gives a total of approximately 41,700 women.

The UN Police Division (UNPD) launched the 'Global Effort' aimed at recruiting more female police officers into national police services and into UNPKO globally.

Gender parity amongst the UN staff is also a priority with 48% of the staff being women at the UN Headquarters in New York. However the figures are more challenging in PKO and Special Political Missions (SPM) with women making only 29% of international and 17% of national Staff.

With these statistics remaining unchanged, in 2013 the Department of Field Support (DFS), PKO and Political Affairs undertook a project known as 'Bridging the Civilian Gap in

---

[166] www.un.org

Peace Operations to better understand the barriers to attracting, retaining and advancing female staff in PKO. The recommendations of this process will be developed for implementation[167].

2.5.1.1 Importance of female peacekeepers

Female peacekeepers act as role models in the local environment, inspiring women and girls in often patriarchal societies to push for their own rights and participate vigorously in peace processes.

According to UN,[168] recruitment for women is crucial for empowerment of women in host community. The female PK also address gender specific needs of female ex-combatants during the process of demobilization and re-integration into the society and they also evoke trust for women to approach PK. This goes a long way in ensuring that the female peacekeepers are able to interview survivors of SGBV with a view of assisting them. In societies where women and men do not interact freely as in Banadir and Darfur, the female peacekeepers are able to interact freely with the women and girls. In addition they also mentor female cadets at police and military academies.

2.5.2   UN Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP)

UNFICYP is hailed as one of the models of UNPKO which has had a lot of success possibly by the fact that it is the only peacekeeping operation which has dual female leadership. This was heralded as shattering the 'glass ceiling'. According to UN website,[169] Major General Kristin Lund became the first female commander of the UNPKO globally, taking the helm in Cyprus where another top official was also female. She was charged with commanding 150,000 troops

---

[167] ibid
[168] www.unpko.org
[169] UN, 2014

and retaliated that gender factor was important in PKO. With this has also come an increase of 15% of women recruited since 2006 into the mission.[170]

2.5.3   UNAMID's Gender Advisory Unit - GAU

The Gender Advisory Unit (GAU) derives its mandate from UNSCR 1769 (2007) and UNSCR-2113 (2013) and from the Women, Peace and Security Resolutions 1325 (2000), 1820 (2008), 1888 (2009), 1889 (2009), 1960 (2010), 2106 (2013) and 2122 (2013) specifically addressing the distinctive and unique impact of conflict on women and girls. These resolutions reinforce UNSCR-1325 that has set the agenda for women's important role in the prevention and resolution of conflict and peace building and for their equal participation and full involvement at decision making levels in conflict resolution and maintenance and promotion of international peace and security. In implementation of these resolutions, GAU implements its mandate in accordance to the UNAMID overall strategy, the UN Strategic Results Framework on Women, Peace and Security 2011-2020.

2.5.3.1 Gender implementation process by GAU

Within the mission, the unit spearheads gender mainstreaming in all aspects of the mission's mandate implementation including policies, planning, procedures and reporting This entails ongoing review and analysis of the policies and interventions of the Mission's mandate and the needs and priorities at the ground to ensure that the principle of equality between men and women in Darfur is fully integrated into all functional areas of the missions' work. This is done through capacity-building of senior management, gender focal points and UNAMID staff, the provision of policy advice and technical assistance to sections and components to ensure that they promote gender equality through gender-responsive work plans and activities, advocate actions and policies within the mission on key gender issues, monitor and report on gender-

---

[170] INSTRAW, 2014, pp15

related issues (within and outside the mission), and report on the mission's achievement of its gender mainstreaming efforts and improvement in gender balance in mission staffing.

GAU also reaches out to state governments, the Darfur Regional Authority, civil society, GAU facilitated the establishment of many mechanisms on the ground including Women Legislative Caucuses (WLC), GBV States' Committees, 1325 Committees in the five Darfur States and maintained collaboration with states' governments and civil society organizations and women led organizations in Darfur.

2.5.3.2 GAU Partnerships with stakeholders
GAU forges critical alliances by working with state governments, the Darfur Regional Authority, civil society, internally displaced peoples- both men and women, local leaders, women to mobilize support and advocate for the resolution of gender issues affecting Darfur. The primary focus is on increasing women's participation in peace processes and governance, and protection of women and girls from sexual and gender-based violence, women's equitable access to services and resources and women's socio-economic empowerment. The unit also ensures adequate implementation of DDPD articles related to gender mainstreaming, monitoring and evaluation.

GAU also endeavors to raise awareness on the women's potential, capacities and rights, and developing an enabling environment for women's active and equitable participation in the entire decision making.

2.5.3.3 GAU Response to SGBV

UNAMID through GAU has ensured that gender is mainstreamed in all aspects of the PKO. It also ensures that it promotes an enabling environment in Darfur for rapid responses to SBV and Gender based violence. In addition it also gives women and men, information on the strategies to be followed in reporting and mitigating SBV and GBV.

Continuous research is also undertaken to ensure that UNAMID is on top of issues regarding SBV. It also conducts studies to assess the gender dimensions of the conflict with a view of also integrating the State in its responses to both men and women.

Conclusion

It is at the local level that judging the success of UNPKO becomes a problem. This is because in strict terms the PKO has no direct role to play in the resolution of the internal conflicts. Article 2(7) of the UN Charter specially states that the UN is not authorized to 'intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state.[171] According to Macqueen,[172] states are significant in the peacekeeping process only as secondary to the broader international system. The peacekeeping principle of neutrality and non interference in local politics has always been more apparent than real. For example the UNPKO were very well involved in the Cyprus and it would have obviously been impossible to contract an alternative history for Cyprus had the UN not been involved from a gender aspect.

Thus this chapter makes a conclusion that gender aspects in the peacekeeping has a central role in the continued credibility of the operations and sustainable peace and security. The emerging facts are that women and girls were increasingly vulnerable to violence in post-conflict situations in the form of sexual violence brought about by the ascribed societal gender roles which place them at subordinate levels in relation to men. This realization also made 'Women and Armed Conflict' a critical issue at the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995. The recommendations at the conference sought for the inclusion of women in all spheres of peace discussions and implementations at global, regional and local arena.

---

[171] UN Charter, 1945
[172] Macqueen, Norrie 2006 pp110-111

CHAPTER THREE: HIGHLIGHTS OF DARFUR AND BANADIR CONFLICTS

This chapter reviews the historical background to the conflicts in Darfur and Somalia. It also highlights the gender impact of each of these conflicts as well as the PKO initiatives. The theme of SBV will run across this analysis

3.1 Case Study: Darfur Region

Map1: Map of South Sudan showing Darfur Region

Source: http://www.unitedhumanrights.org/Darfur _map1.gif

Darfur is in the western part of Sudan about the size of France, bordering on Libya, Chad, and the Central African Republic. This region is a home to about 6 million people from nearly 100 tribes of which all are Muslims. Some of the populace are nomads whilst the rest are farmers. The nomads are largely made up of Arabs while the farmers are African.

3.1.1   Genesis of the Conflict in Darfur

In 1989, General Omar Bashir took control of Sudan by military coup, which then allowed The National Islamic Front (NIF) government to stir up regional tensions.[173] In a struggle for political control of the area, weapons found their way into Darfur thus increasing conflicts between African farmers and many nomadic Arab tribes. The usage of the term 'Arabs' and 'Blacks' is often opposed because both groups are indigenous to Sudan.

In 2003, two Darfuri rebel movements- the Sudan Liberation Army (SLA) and the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM) - took up arms against the Sudanese government, complaining about the marginalization of their areas and the failure to protect sedentary people from attacks by nomads. The government of Sudan responded by unleashing Arab militias known as *'Janjaweed'* loosely translated as 'devils on horseback'. Sudanese forces and *Janjaweed* militia attacked hundreds of villages throughout Darfur. Over 400 villages were completely destroyed and millions of civilians were forced to flee their homes. Numerous more were sexually assaulted.

3.1.2   Genocide in Darfur

The genocide theme was used by the US government even as the Sudan government vehemently refused to even acknowledge that there was a conflict in Darfur. The US Assistant Secretary of State Ellen Sauerbrey, Head of the Bureau of Population, Refugees and Migration even talked about 'genocide in darfur', when referring to the conflict.[174] Many civil society groups and scholars believe that it truly was genocide since the conflict targeted a certain community; African farmers. These were systematically sexually abused, displaced and murdered at the hands of the *Janjaweed*. Independent observers noted that the tactics, which included dismemberment and killing of civilians including young children and infants was

---

[173] Human Rights Watch
[174] USINFO online interview

parallel to definitions of ethnic cleansing or genocide. The U.N. defines ethnic cleansing as "a purposeful policy designed by one ethnic or religious group to remove by violent and terror-inspiring means the civilian population of another ethnic or religious group from certain geographic areas."

In Darfur, ethnic cleansing was the weapon of conflict which not only made women subject to outright murder, but also controlled their bodies as the means of reproduction. One example is where women were raped (in order to occupy "inferior" wombs with "superior" sperm,) or forced to have abortions or sterilizations, in order to end future reproduction. Darfur, reports by UN, indicated that, women were also subject to the sex-specific political torture of forcing them to bear the child of their torturer in order to break their will. Observers from Human Rights said that this method had been used in Yugoslavia and warned that the Darfur's remoteness meant that there would even be more atrocities meted on women, children and men.[175]

According to George Ayittey, an American University Economist, who had accused the Arab government of Sudan of practicing acts of racism against their black citizens, also remarked that in Sudan, the arabs monopolized power and excluded blacks.

The Sudanese government appeared unwilling to address the human rights crisis in the region and had not taken the necessary steps to restrict the activities of the *Janjaweed*. In June 2005, the International Criminal Court (ICC) took the first step in ending impunity in Darfur by launching investigations into human rights violations in Darfur. However, the government of Sudan refused to cooperate with the investigators.

On March 4, 2009 Sudanese President Omar al Bashir, became the first sitting president to be indicted by ICC for directing a campaign of mass rape, killing and plunder against civilians

---

[175] International Crisis Group based in Brussels

in Darfur. The arrest warrant for Bashir followed similar ones issued by the ICC for former Sudanese Minister of State for the Interior, Ahmad Harun and *Janjaweed* militia leader, Ali Kushayb. The Government of Sudan (GoS) up to date has not surrendered either suspect to the ICC.

Darfuris today continue to live in internally displaced camps where UN estimates to be over 2.7 women, men and children whilst another 4.7 million rely on humanitarian aid. UNAMID has to constantly patrol the areas around the camps as to protect the civilians from *Janjaweeds*.

3.1.3 Gender aspect of the Conflict in Darfur

When the *Janjaweed* started the conflict, the rape of girls and boys often by multiple militiamen and moreso throughout the night began to be reported at increasing rates.[176]   Girls as young as six years old were reported as victims, while their mothers were assaulted in front of their children.

The rapists targeted 'black' Sudanese and according to The Washington Post Foreign Service interviews, on verified victims of rape, recorded that Arabic terms such as 'abid[177]' and '*zurga*'[178] were used. It was also reported that one of the victims, Sawelah Suliman, was told by her by her *Janjaweed* 'ethnic cleansing rapists, *"Black girl, you are too dark. You are like a dog. We want to make a light baby....*[179]"

According to a report by Médecins Sans Frontières, to destroy communities and families, *Janjaweed* used rape which made the women be scorned by their families thus breaking down the social structure and causing people to flee their homes. The observers also said that the

---

[176] War in Darfur – cite Silwa
[177] Abid means slave
[178] Zurga means black
[179] Washington Post Foreign Service

following rape ordeals, women were sometimes made to build their own huts outside the 'family compound'.

3.1.4   Impact of the conflict on the gender relations

Reproductive roles within the household changed with women, in addition to their own tasks, taking up activities that were typically men's. This meant that the traditional gender roles changed due to the conflicts. The men on the other hand were either absent due to deaths in the conflict or deserted their families because they had lost their resources (land and animals).

According to Acord's[180] research in the area, one woman was quoted as saying that *women were the walls of the house and men the roof.* Which meant that that the household was typically made up of both the men and the women but since the men had disserted them they had to also be the 'roofs'.

3.1.5   Efforts to bring about peace to Darfur

After more than a decade of turmoil, resolution of the Darfur conflict seemed very distant. Successive mediation efforts in Abuja in 2006, Tripoli in 2007 and Doha in 2009, were among other initiatives have not bridged the gaps between Khartoum and the many armed opposition groups of Darfur.

The hopes for peace were mainly vested in the Doha Document for Peace in Darfur (DDPD) signed by the JEM and Government of Sudan (GoS) in July 2011 in talks hosted in Qatar.

In 2004, Chad brokered negotiations in N'Djamena leading to the April 8th Humanitarian Ceasefire Agreement between the Sudanese Government, JEM and SLA. Even then one of the rebel groups NMFRD (National Movement for Reform and Development) which had split from JEM did not participate at the Ceasefire Agreement. However even with the ceasefire agreement

---

[180] Acord: Agency for cooperation and Research in Development, 2005

the rebel attacks continued which warranted the AU to form a Ceasefire Commission to monitor its observance.

In August when the situation became too dire, the AU sent 150 Rwandan troops to protect the ceasefire monitors. However it was just a drop in the ocean which led to 150 Nigerians being deployed to help alleviate the situation. This was referred to as AMIS (African Union Mission in Sudan). In 2005 the PKO increased its personnel to 7,000.

3.1.5.1 UN Interventions

On September 18 the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) issued Resolution 1564 and declared that the Sudan government had not met its commitments and expressed concerns at helicopter attacks and assaults by the *Janjaweed*. The scale of the crises was so alarming that UN Secretary General Koffi Annan paralled the situation to that of Rwanda genocide of 1994.

In July and August 2006 there was renewed fighting that made the SG of UN deploy 18,000 international peacekeepers to Darfur after much negotiation with the Sudanese government. This is because the government had rejected the UNSC Resolution and even threatened to evict the AU peacekeepers.[181] They reasoned that the Peacekeeping missions were a violation of their sovereign territory. This incorporation of UNPKO to AU heralded the hybrid AU and UN peacekeeping mission in Darfur (UNAMID).

UNAMID conducted confidence-building patrols, provided convoy protection and facilitated humanitarian access. UNAMID in partnership with 'a number of United Nations funds and programmes, conducted a series of training and capacity building workshops for 119 members of the rebel police forces, 90 sheikhs and *umdas* (traditional elders) and 295 internally displaced persons on the subjects of human rights, gender, and community-policing'.[182] Additionally, the Civil Affairs

---

[181] www.sudantribune.com
[182] UN Report of UNAMID,2007pp8

(CA) section within UNAMID 'engaged civil society and women's groups, the local administration, the academic community, and other segments of the Darfur society' on the peace process and local conflict resolution initiatives.[183]

3.1.6 UNAMID response to SGBV

UNAMID has laid down guidelines on how to respond SBV in Darfur. Since this PKO is basically led by UN then it means that the UN response of SBV mainstreamed.

Achievements by the UNAMID in its peace operations included the institutionalization of gender mainstreaming with the gender focal points and units at headquarter and field levels; an increase in the number of female personnel in line with the UN's system-wide goal of gender balance; deployment of all-female police units in Darfur and gender training for military, police and civilian peacekeeping personnel are among the best practices in the area. UNAMID also incorporated a gender perspective in planning and programme budgets.

In addition there are gender offices in the Darfur. UNAMID has the protection of civilians as its core mandate, but is also tasked with contributing to security for humanitarian assistance, monitoring and verifying implementation of agreements, assisting an inclusive political process, contributing to the promotion of human rights and the rule of law, and monitoring and reporting on the situation along the borders with Chad and the Central African Republic (CAR).

This concept of PoC which has its roots in international humanitarian law, is being implemented in Darfur. Since 1999, the UN has expressly mandated its peacekeeping missions with PoC provisions and, subsequently, the past decade has witnessed the development of PoC-related norms. These include the UNSC Resolution 1674 and Resolution 1894, which commit the UN to take action to protect civilians in armed conflict; the 2008 Capstone Doctrine; and the

---

[183] ibid

March 2009 report of the General Assembly's Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations. As a result of this aggressive normative framework on PoC, UNAMID have subsequently developed PoC mandates which in extension also support the rapid response to cases of SBV. In recognition of the critical need to investigate atrocities of sexual violence committed in conflict situations, one of the objectives of the UNAMID Commission of Inquiry on South Sudan is to document atrocities of sexual violence with a view of ensuring accountability for those responsible and fighting impunity.

3.1.7 Success stories from UNAMID

UNAMID has been able to deter the rampant attacks of *Janjaweed* especially in the IDP camps just by their presence as well as undertaking a concerted effort to include other stakeholders in the Darfur region. One key area is in the capacity building and empowerment of the Darfuris to enhance their own safety and security as well as for its personnel as seen below:

Gender training for security sector: UNAMID carries regular gender, SGBV responses and also human rights trainings for all community policing volunteers and other stake holders, as part of its specialized training is the PoC. This module is for trainers of senior military officers in all units and aims in familiarizing PK personnel with an understanding of the nature of SGBV in armed conflict with a view of enabling them consider and implement strategic, operational and tactical protection measures. The module includes detailed facilitation guidance and material for delivering a training presentation and facilitating scenario-based exercises for responding to conflict related SGBV.[184]

Protection from Sexual violence and abuses: This training course usually introduces the main concepts, normative frameworks and laws related to sexual behavior in settings where there is

---

[184] UNODC, 2010

PK deployments. The main aim of this training is to build on real life situations to reflect on the nature, implications and ways to prevent SGBV from occurring.

Sudan SGBV prevention and response training manual: This manual includes three modules for community activists and peer educators, caring for survivors and Sudanese Police Special protection unit. It also focuses on law enforcement personnel ability to respond effectively to human trafficking, sexual assault, domestic violence by police officers and domestic violence and all crimes against women.[185]

UNAMID has also undertaken capacity building in interviewing victims, witnesses and suspects in SGBV. It has a wealth of information in problem solving, communication and mentoring through trainings conducted by Pearson Peacekeeping Centre in 2010.

In addition to these trainings and training manuals, UNAMID has trained over 200 domestic female police officers in SGBV responses and child protection.[186]

UNAMID has also developed a training curriculum based on community policing (CP) and extensively trained the community and local police in the model with a view to empower IDPs to play a crucial role in enhancing their safety and security. These CP usually join with the PK in SGBV prevention and maintenance of law and order in the camps. By 2013, 130 women and men were trained in community policing in Wad El Bashur and 75 in El Salaam IDP camps. This has proved to be effective because it builds on trust between the women and men in the community and the security officers.

UNAMID also initiated Community Safety Committees (CFC) which were set up in the camps to oversee SGBV violations and other security issues. An example is Al Baraka IDP camp where several activities were jointly undertaken with the local police and residents with

---

[185] International Association of Chiefs of Police, 2010
[186] UN Police in Darfur, 2010, pp13

support from UNAMID and UNDP. Included in CFC is women and men where according to UNPKO advisor in Darfur, Christopher Mofya, was quoted as saying that the initiative was an integral part of UNAMID's Strategic Plan which sought to build community trust and confidence and promote public cooperation in reducing SGBV.[187]

UNAMID, with the support of UNDP has set up three Community Aid Posts (CAP) in the camps to provide space and essential infrastructure for CFCs meetings and functions. This has ensured that any issues on peace and security are raised and dealt expediently. The inclusions of GoS female deployed police women who are trained by UNAMID in the camps have given a new dimension and sustainability to the project. 72 female police were trained on SGBV responses in July 2010 in Khartoum.[188] This 10 day course included, competences to prevent to SGBV; identification of SGBV types and acts and their root causes; practises on conducting gender sensitive interviews, report writing skills, problem solving techniques and follow-ups on survivors of SGBV.

UNAMID also recruited and trained 150 Community Policing Volunteers to monitor and prevent SGBV and other crimes in collaboration with the CFCs.

Other success stories is that UNAMID have conducted regular awareness drives on SGBV prevention, human rights, gender, HIV/AIDS and use of drugs. This has aided in confidence building between the PK and civilians. The IDPs are aware that security and peace can be achieved. These civilians have gone on ahead to form *neighborhood watches* with a view of reporting any incidences especially on SGBV.

UNAMID has also launched intensive night patrols around the camps and other areas in Darfur. These have succeeded in ensuring that the *Janjaweed* do not attack the women, men and

---

[187] UN police in Darfur, 2012, pp36
[188] UN Police in Darfur, 2011, pp43

children as used to happen before the inception of the PKO. Furthermore, the women and girls are usually escorted to fetch firewood, water or even to the markets by the PK personnel.

UNAMID personnel also accompany the civilians to clinics to ensure that they are safe and in Hilijia provide road safety services for school going children.

UNAMID, in 2009 initiated sports during the Independent Day celebrations as a way of fostering interactions among the communities that had been ostracized by the conflict.

UNAMID also has over 600 female peacekeepers working to bring about security and rule of law for civilians in Darfur. According to Ann-Marie Orle, UNPKO adviser, women peacekeepers especially in societies such as Darfur ensures that women survivors of SGBV can open up to these female soldiers much more easily than to men. For example in 2008, Indonesia sent 140 peacekeepers with doctors and nurses as part of the contingent. These personnel have provided and continue to provide daily medical care to Abu Ashok, Al Salaam and Zam Zam camps. UNAMID Gender Advisor, Angela Sesime, concurs by reporting that incidences of SGBV have reduced as more and more girls and women are aware of risky environments. In addition, there are more girls in schools compared to some years back.[189]

UNAMID has also made efforts to be visible in Darfur amongst the women and men. This has brought about the community seeing them as credible. An example is when in January 2013, PK personnel visited Al Salaam Girls and Al Salaam Boys schools in Abu Shouk Camps with a view of putting a 'human face' to the work of peacekeeping.[190] The PK personnel also interact closely with the civilians where they advocate for respect of women, address issues on parenting and SGBV and mobilize for ending sexual and gender based violations. Furthermore, UNAMID has collaborated with other international organisations and NGOs to provide water

---

[189] UN Police in Darfur, 2014 pp45
[190] UN police in Darfur, 2014, pp20

containers.   About 30,000 rolling water containers with a capacity of 75litres (equivalent of 4 *jerricans)*, were distributed to Garadayat village which hosts 3000 returnees thus reducing time spent out of the security of the camps.

In terms of deployment, the PK personnel have had to pass an array of tests including psychological exams to determine their moral readiness and awareness for the PKO. In this there is also trainings on SGBV prevention and response. These tests also ensure that the PK officers do not perpetuate the violations. UNAMID has regular meetings with troop contributing countries to hold any would-be perpetuator of SGBV accountable. Furthermore, UN's mandate on zero-tolerance to SGBV has been implemented in Darfur with fresh PKs being taken through orientation training on the requirements in the field missions.

In conclusion, AMISOM, indeed, can learn a lot from UNAMID initiatives in Darfur especially in ensuring there is prevention and rapid response to SGBV.

3.2   Somalia: A Situational Analysis

Map 2 : Map of Somalia

Source Map data:2014

Somalia is a long, narrow country that wraps around the Horn of Africa. It has the longest coast of any African nation, bordering on both the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean. The northern part is

more arid than the southern part, which receives more rainfall. Many of the Somalis are nomadic or semi-nomadic herders, some fishermen and others farmers.

Banadir which is the area of focus in this study is located on the southern-central part and at times referred to as Mogadishu. Kane[191] urges that in comparison to other countries in Africa, Somalia had had relatively limited experience as a state. Large parts of the country, especially in the north had enjoyed a protracted benign neglect during colonial times and the arrival of independence in 1960 had followed a very short and hasty phase of peace.

3.2.1 Genesis of the conflict in Banadir, Somalia

President Siad Barre, who came to power in a coup in 1969, was disposed in 1991. His rule had been characterized initially by social and economic progress, and later by repression and nepotism. The three years' war with Ethiopia over the disputed territory of Ogaden, a war which ended in defeat for Somalia in 1979, heralded the beginning of revolution against Siad Barre's regime. To suppress growing insurgency, Barre employed divide and rule tactics, creating hostilities and mistrust between the different Somalia Clans. Brutal security organs, corruption in high levels of government, declining foreign aid and diplomatic isolation devastated the country's economy and weakened Barre's grip on power.[192]

Civil war started in 1988 in the North West which declared independence as Somaliland in 1991. In the rest of the country, unrest grew until in 1990, a group of businessmen, religious leaders and former politicians in Mogadishu signed a manifesto calling for dialogue and political reform. The government responded by arresting signatories of the manifesto, which triggered armed confrontation by the United Somali Congress (USC). Heavy fighting in Somalia resulted, in early 1991, in the overthrow of Barre's government, and some months later in his departure

---

[191] Kane, June: 2001 pp31-33
[192] Cycles of Violence: gender relations and Armed Conflict, 2012

73

from the country. However, differences then emerged within the USC, a grouping based on the Hawiye clan which then divided along lines of two sub clans, the Habar Gidir and the Abgaal. Fighting between the two sub clans broke out in November 1991. The split is widely understood to have triggered further splits in other clan units, splintering the fragile structure of clan relationships throughout the whole clan system.

3.2.2 Sexual Based Violence in Somalia and in extension - Banadir

Despite uncertain statistics and data about the scope of the violence, the Federal Government of Somalia (FGS), the local authorities in Somaliland, and Puntland, and Central and South Somalia where Banadir lies, and the international community all agree that SGBV exists and is widespread.

For a long time, due to the conflicts, insecurity, environmental hardships and use of harmful traditional practices put women and girls in particular at the risk of SGBV. This is particularly true for Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) who are at risk of GBV and sexual exploitation due to limited security in the IDP settlements, general poor living conditions, the requirement to undertake risky livelihood practices to survive, and limited clan protection. Among the IDP population women and girls are at greater risk, especially those from minority clans and female-headed households, and female elderly persons.

GBV data from Banadir, Middle and Lower Shabelle, and Bari regions

Type of violence	Percentage
Rape	41%
physical assault	39%
sexual assault	11%
denial of resources	4%
psychological abuse	3%
forced marriage	2%

Source: SGBV Report and Strategies

According to the above table, rape is the highest violation, followed by physical assault. The major perpetrators of sexual violence and exploitation vary by region.[193] Violence and exploitation perpetrated by 'men in uniform' is more prevalent in the southern areas of Banadir. In addition due to lax rules in responses, civilians also become perpetuators. At times the civilians are said to wear uniforms as they perpetuate the SGBV making the situation more dire. Instead of using the formal judicial system to address a SGBV incident, elders and district authorities prefer to turn to either Shari'a Law or *Xeer* (customary law), even in regions where formal judicial systems are in place. In these systems, justice is delivered by agreement between the perpetrator's and survivor's male heads of household.

Both ethnic and gender discrimination has been common in Somalia society.[194] Discrimination involves a web of relationships of inequality which are deeply rooted in cultural norms and values of the society of which the war has not significantly undermined. The conflict has only exacerbated these relations, in particular, the conditions of so called minority groups such as the coastal townsfolk, low caste groups like the Bantu and military weak groups like the Tunni.

Furthermore, SGBV situations have escalated as most of the women in Somalia work outside the home due to increasing financial hardships primarily caused by war and resulting inflation. Traditionally the men were the ones who worked out of the household since they were considered to be the bread winners.

3.2.3 Impact of the conflict on Gender Relations

During the attacks men often fled, leaving women and children behind. Although people believe that in traditional Somali warfare women and children were spared from violence, in the Banadir

---

[193] Somaliland, Puntland, and south and central Somalia
[194] Cycles of violence, 2012

conflict these values were commonly violated. Women of all ages were subjective to violent rape, looting and assault. Few narrators were willing to admit directly that they had been raped;[195] describing them as having happened to others due to the stigma they suffered in the community.[196] Incidences of women and children being raped due to their clans was common; rape was used by rival clans to humiliate each other. By the nature of gender roles assigned to women, they were suspetible to rape. This is because in their struggle to survive, most of them would go out into the bush daily to collect firewood, cut grass for sale or fetch water, often miles away from their homesteads. This would make them fall easy prey to militias and PK personnel, who laid in wait for them in the bushes. Most of them were unable to do without this work since their children's lives depended on the income they obtained. Virgin girls who had undergone female genital mutilation but had been raped were taken to midwives to be re-infibulated, more painful procedure, to reduce the chances of rejection by their male counterparts.[197] The conflict rendered a large number of women widows and many children orphans, after thousands of men were killed. Traditionally their husband's brothers or close kin were expected to take care of orphaned children and inherit widows, but the war has dismantled this practice and has denied them this community support.[198]

Many women have forged trade relations independently of their husbands, often with other men. This is as a result of the shift of power from men to women at household level. Somali society accepts women owning wealth from their work and defends their interests in trade relations. Some women traded in *qaad (*a narcotic herb widely consumed in Somalia, mostly by men). The wholesale trade in *qaad* is controlled by men and is closely linked to the

---

195Cycles of violence, 2012
196 ibid
197 ibid
198 Wasarme, F. 2001 pp256

activities of warlords, while women engage in its retail. In essence the women had become critical actors in production and in the urban economy due to this fact that, increasingly women had become breadwinners in households displaced and otherwise affected by civil strife according to Kane.[199]

Furthermore, women, as they adopted these new gender roles, have been left out in the key decision making policy arena. They successfully pushed for representation in the TNG at the Arte Conference, and were allocated 20 parliamentary seats independently of the clans. The women declared that they had formed a 'sixth clan'; that is, unlike men who were firmly associated with one or other of the five major clan grouping. In the new national parliament, 33 out of 275 seats – 12% were reserved for women although this was later reduced to 21.[200]

3.2.4 Efforts to bring about peace in Somalia

Somalis turned back to clan and sub clan structures to meet basic needs including security with the state's disappearance and breakdown into warlordism. While the re-domination of clan politics in Somalia encouraged certain patterns of conflict, traditional mechanisms were revived and adapted to resolve interclan killings and conflicts over resources.

Clan elders authorized peace conferences agreements but other traditional leaders – politicians, military officers, and holy leaders have all worked to ensure that there is peace. The responsibility of religious figures is to encourage rival clans to make peace. Delegations of renowned holy men participated in all major peace initiatives between clans in Somaliland.

In such context outsider efforts to identify national leaders or convene peace conferences creates only a superficial structure instead of a process which builds on Somali traditions and structures. The UN political affairs division belatedly shifted from its earlier concentration on a

---

[199] Kane, J, 2001 pp48-49
[200] Daily nation 13th September 2004, Nairobi

top level national peace process for Somalia through a series of conferences of political and militia leaders to a more bottom up method including efforts to establish local and regional councils.

In May 1993 elders from numerous sub-clans in the economically and strategically critical Mudug region of the central Somali rangelands undertook a peace initiative. UNOSOM was not involved and chose not to recognize or support the conference, fearing that General Aided had hijacked the process. The conference involved community and religious leaders, business men, students and factional representatives and produced a largely successful ceasefire. The agreement involved the return of property, withdrawal of militias and the opening of roads. The commercial imperative for peace is the most important factor in the continuing stability in the region. After over 6 months a national (Somaliland) Peace Charter was agreed upon and the basic provisions for law and order were formulated.[201] However, in Banadir, there was lack of goodwill from the warlords which saw the region experiencing more and more conflicts

3.2.4.1 UN Intervention

The United Nations started with humanitarian efforts with ICRC and other NGOs in 1991 but had to withdraw their personnel frequently due to the volatile situation. They also brokered a peace deal with fighting factions which ended up in a signed 'Agreement on the Implementation of a Ceasefire'. The UN also adopted Resolution 746 supporting the Secretary General's decision to dispatch to Somalia a technical team to prepare for a ceasefire monitoring mechanisms. This was UNOSOM (United Nations Operation in Somalia) which failed almost immediately. According to a paper on Somalia, [202] UNOSOM did not face overwhelming sustained or even skillfully executed attacks. The tactics used against the PKO was typically

---

[201]Fara & Lewis, 1993
[202] UNIDIR, 1995 pp193

guerilla warfare that is found in many parts of the world. Thus in order to do their jobs, military commanders needed to be able to detect the movement of opposing forces, to determine the location of hidden arms caches and to anticipate the plans of those who might attach their forces.

3.2.4.1.1 Security Council authorizes use of force

The Security Council adopted resolution 794 authorizing the use of 'all necessary means to establish as soon as possible a secure environment for humanitarian relief operations in Somalia'. The first peace enforcement operation failed because consent from the various factions was not forthcoming. Subsequent PKO included UNITAF (Unified Task Force) and UNOSOM II which had little impact especially on PoC.

According to a conflict analyst for Somalia[203]most of the nations who were sending their troops frequently rotated their units, delayed sending promised troops for months and arbitrarily pulled them out on short notices.

3.2.4.2 AU Intervention

Somalia's internationally – backed government, elected in 2012, was widely hailed as offering the best chance in decades to repair the war-ravaged country But reports of hunger crises inside the capital casts a further pall over the government's record, following accusations of corruption as well as continued attacks by Islamist Al-Shabaab insurgents against even the most fortified areas. This necessitated the deployment of AMISOM in March 2007 with 1,700 Ugandan and Burundi troops.

Towards the end of 2008, Nigeria, Ghana and Malawi pledged to deploy additional troops to support the Ugandan presence. This did not materialize and AMISOM is yet to reach it authorised strength of nine battalions. The PSC decision indicated that the AU Commission would mobilize logistical support for the Troop Contributing Countries (TCCs) as well as,

---

[203] ibid

funding from AU member states and partners to ensure that TCCs are reimbursed for the costs incurred in the course of their deployment, based on AU practice'.[204]

Even though AMISOM can be described as a willing PKO, there is however, the more pertinent observation is that there is a disconnect between the AU's willingness to intervene and it ability to do so.[205] In addition to these, numerous reports of the AMISOM involvement in sexual abuse and exploitation were being highlighted. In September 2014, Human Rights Watch released a report detailing sexual exploitation and abuse by soldiers from Burundi and Uganda deployed to Somalia as part of the AMISOM. The 71-page report revealed the SGBV on Somalia women and girls in two AMISOM bases in Somalia' capital since 2013. The AU soldiers, it reported, relied on Somali intermediaries to use a range of tactics including humanitarian aid to coerce vulnerable women and girls into sexual activity. They also raped or otherwise sexually assaulted women who were seeking medical assistance or water at AMISOM bases. [206] HR watch interviewed 21 women and girls who described being raped or sexually exploited by Ugandan or Burundian military peacekeeping personnel. Leisl Gerntholtz, Women's Rights Director at Human Rights Watch expressed dismay at the way some AU soldiers had misused their positions of power to exploit the vulnerable women and girls.[207]

In conclusion, AMISOM could borrow a lot of best practices from UNAMID in Darfur to ensure zero-tolerance to SGBV by its personnel. It is imperative that they also involve independent neutral investigators to look into the vices of the violations of women, men and children with a view of taking disciplinary actions on the sending countries. Furthermore, AMISOM should strengthen their policy and institutional frameworks to address SGBV.

---

[204] AU PSC,2007 para9
[205] Muriithi, T., 2009
[206] Human Rights Watch, 2011
[207] ibid

CHAPTER FOUR: CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE GENDER ISSUES AND STRATEGIES FOR SGBV RESPONSE BY PKO IN DARFUR (SUDAN) AND BANADIR (SOMALIA)

4.1 Introduction

This chapter gives a critical analysis of the PKO response to SGBV in Darfur and also highlights the emerging issues. The chapter starts by looking at SGBV in broader sense and the essence of PKO to be gender mainstreamed. It also highlights the findings in the study which are divided into three broad categories: implementation of PoC strategy, capacity building for other security actors and response to sexual based violence. The best practices that UNAMID can offer are also pointed out. These are interwoven with the theoretical framework and also UNSCR which form the core of the study.

In assessing the effectiveness of any PKO it is important to bear in mind the underlying factors such as the host countries and the deployment structure used. This is because Ian Smille[208] cautions PKOs that are building capacity by alerting them on the need to build their own understanding of the situation before any attempts are made to deploy troops to the ground. This is because civil society arena for action is a 'contested space' during a volatile and politicized emergency making them not receptive to any outside interventions. In agreement, Tim Muriithi points out the fact that externally driven international efforts to resolve conflicts especially in regions such as Darfur and Banadir, are faced with a myriad of limitations. This makes the local parties sometimes unwilling, or unable, to relate to such initiatives.[209]

4.2 Engendering PKO

Wars have been fought by men, resolved by men and narrative by men. However, the end of the 20th Century female soldiers have reached higher ranks and play an increasingly important role

---

[208] Smille, I, 2001 pp21
[209] Murithi, T., 2008 pp16

in the military.[210] In operationalising UNSCR1325, UNAMID received an All-women-military-group from Rwanda in 2012 among others. Such groups have drawn upon 'maternal imagery' to relay their message and hence articulating the difference feminists approach. This is where these women see themselves as different from men in terms of what they can offer to the PKO. Difference Feminism asserts that that despite the equal moral status of men and women as persons, there are genuine differences between the sexes and those differences need not all be considered equal[211].   She goes on to describe female and male perspectives towards morality by saying that male morality has a "justice orientation", and that female morality has a "responsibility orientation".[212]

Feminists have called on inspecting the different characteristic of women and men and thus bringing them to the fore in terms of addressing SGBV. Betty Reardon has gone further to advocate for the need for 'feminine' values which she sees as 'morally superior' in the world of conflicts.[213] However according to Ruddick 'adding on' women is not the only solution due to the glaring disconnect of social difference between 'mothering' and 'war'.[214] An example of the positive consequences of associating women with peace is Francis Fukuyama's discussion of the biological roots of human aggression and its association with war that appeared in the journal, Foreign Affairs, in 1998. He believes that biologically women are peaceful and thus claims that a world run by women would be more peaceful.[215] Mary Caprioli concurs when she argues that research has shown that states with a long history of female suffrage, a high percentage of

---

[210] Grant, R.1992
[211] Gilligan, C., 1982
[212] ibid
[213] Reardon, B., 1985
[214] Ruddick, 1989
[215] Fukuyama, 1998

82

women in parliaments and relatively high economic and social status for women are more likely to settle disputes peacefully.[216].

On the other hand, these can be 'detriminal' discourses if not handled well, because they eliminate women from 'an aggressive world' where all the actors of international relations and powers come in. Peace talks are usually viewed as a male domain and entry to talks is still based on "who are you?" basis and "do you have an army?" criterion. These questions are usually asked to demonstrate women's legitimacy – meaning violence remains a key criteria for actors in peace talks.[217]

Furthermore, in a study of Israeli, Egyptian, Palestinian and Kuwaiti attitudes toward the Arab/Israel conflict in sex-disaggregated data found out that men and women did not have different attitudes and there was no evidence of women being less militaristic.[218]

Both women and men are crucial agents of conflict transformation and a concerted effort should be made to include both in all spheres of design, implementation and monitoring of the conflict and post conflict situations. In most case however, women have to work twice harder to be accepted at the 'transformational arena' their influence notwithstanding.[219]

UNSCR 1325 sums it well by advocating the inclusion of women. It is rooted in the premise that women's inclusion - their presence and participation in the peace process; their perspectives, and contributions to the substance of peace talks – will improve the chances of attaining viable and sustainable peace. Its attention is on the protection of women's physical well being and legal political rights recognizes that if half of the population is experiencing violence or discrimination, there is no

---

[216] Carprioli, 2000
[217] Report from Centre for International Studies & International Civil Society Action Network, 2010
[218] Tessler & Warriner, 1997
[219] Researcher's own perspective

peace or justice for anyone. Acts of SGBV against women are provocations that can threaten peace and security locally, regionally and globally.[220]

4.3 Emerging Gender issues from the study

The Darfur and Banadir regions have been characterized by conflicts of all forms for a long time. These affect women and men differently and so do the peacekeeping operations in the areas. For Darfur, the SGBV perpetuators are militia men whilst for Banadir, in addition to militia men, the peacekeepers are also perpetuators. The preparedness of the PKO determines whether issues of SBV and GBV are taken on board and the quick response to these issues. These responses pre-suppose that the PKO are well trained on the structures to ensure a gender sensitive response to SGBV.

According to Muriithi, The AU's efforts in Banadir, Somalia, has left it caught up with 'an open-ended complex emergency with no easy remedy'.[221]

4.3.1 Feminism theory and feminization of security

Within the emerging bodies of feminism, gender studies, and policies on women, peace and security concerns are increasingly part of the discourse. Conflicts usually disrupt the social norms and values which make women and girls forced to take on untraditional gender roles in the public sphere – leading to opportunities for empowerment. However, if protection of civilians are gender neutral, they fail to grasp security concerns for women. In the case of refugees and displaced women this exacerbates the already dire situation.

Women are often the voiceless victims of war and yet they get inner strength to be able to contribute to peace building. In Somalia, a woman's role is normally confined within the walls of her home, reflecting a cultural reality rooted in religion and norms and values of patriarchal

---

[220] Report from Centre for International Studies & International Civil Society Action Network, 2010
[221] Muriithi, T., 199, pp2

and lineage based traditions. These have limited women's participation in spheres of decision making.[222] Furthermore, if the women were to be involved in the public arena then they must have access to better education and health care.

Warsame,[223] a gender researcher in Puntland, Somalia expressed dismay at the gender insensitive Somalia saying *"Wixii xun-ba Xaawa leh"* (All that is wrong comes from Eve). This demonstrates that the Somali society is still male dominated and patriarchal. A father may view her daughter's male line as a possible challenge to his own line, particularly if the daughter marries outside her immediate clan. According to a research done by Bryden and Steiner, children are regarded as the most valuable resources of a family and since they belong to the father's lineage, a woman's honor and privilege within her own clan is formally reduced.[224]

4.3.2   Sexual violence as a tool of conflict

Sexual violence, often examined under the umbrella term 'sexual and gender-based violence', is widespread in conflict and post-conflict environments. It has been described as a 'hallmark' of recent and continuing intrastate conflicts.[225] SGBV vary between conflicts and groups and in most case is employed for different purposes and motivation and hence vary between units and individuals within a conflict. Studies have observed that there are opportunistic factors which present themselves during a conflict thus encouraging SGBV. These factors could include a general breakdown in the rule of law, social systems, and discipline within combatant groups. This is especially when the combatants experience a sense of impunity for their actions. Reports have shown that SBV by military personnel is associated with lack an effective chain of

---

[222] Wasarme, F. 2001 pp259
[223] ibid
[224] Bryden and Steiner, 1998 pp 25
[225] DPKO 2010, pp. 10-4

command or disciplinary mechanisms.[226] Furthermore, women in conflict zones, due to their relative lack of economic resources, may be particularly vulnerable to sexual exploitation in order to meet material needs. Situations in which sexual violence is widely perpetuated by combatant groups often see a parallel increase in sexual assault by civilians, due to the same breakdown in social order as well as the normalization of sexual violence within conflict-affected communities.[227]

Reports have shown that, in addition to opportunism, sexual violence may be 'systematically' employed for certain purposes such as intimidation, political terror, extracting information, rewarding soldiers and 'ethnic cleansing'[228]. UNSCR 1820 affirms that the widespread and/or systematic sexual violence constitutes a war crime, crime against humanity and constitutive act of genocide.[229]

SGBV is also prevalent in and near IDPs camps due to the fact that women and girls are unaccompanied by male relatives as they go about their daily chores such as fetching firewood. The displaced women and children also face the threat of human trafficking as was reported in Somalia.[230]

4.3.3 Male Sexual Violence

The general notion associates sexual violence with men and boys being perpetuators, and women and girls the victims. There is now critical evidence emerging that men and boys also suffer from SGBV as victims.[231] Men and boys are vulnerable to a range of SGBV such as rape, being forced to perform sexual acts on the perpetrator, forced to rape other civilians (including family

---

[226] Arief, A., 2010 pp 7
[227] UNSCR 1820, 2008
[228] UN Report, S/2009/562 of 2009
[229] UNSCR 1820, 2008
[230] UNOCHA, 2007
[231] Sivakumaran, 2007, pp. 260

members) of forced to watch the rape of their relatives.[232] According to Sivakumaran, they can also be subjected to forced sterilization through castration, forced nudity and other forms of sexual mutilation.[233]

4.3.4 Measuring the Prevalence of Sexual Violence

Accurate information on the prevalence of sexual violence is difficult to obtain in any circumstances, as victims often decline to report their experiences due to personal trauma, fear of reprisals, and societal stigma. Moreover, in many African countries, law enforcement institutions, state investigatory entities, and provisions for the protection of victims are near-absent, which inhibits accurate reporting. These difficulties are compounded in conflict settings by general chaos and population displacements, safety fears, and a breakdown or lack of systems to collect and report information. Data from medical surveys and judicial investigations, information obtained through U.N. agencies and programs, humanitarian and human rights organizations, research studies, and press reports may nevertheless indicate where and in what context high levels of sexual violence are occurring.

4.3.5 Sexual and Gender based violence in Banadir

Access to rural and non-Federal Government of Somalia (FGS) controlled areas in south and central Somalia where Banadir lies, has proven to be more challenging, with limited humanitarian interventions and nearly no sustained development activities taking place. Research and data from Somaliland and in extension Banadir, shows a particularly disturbing increase in the number of reported gang rapes in 2013.[234] Although conflict is at the core of SGBV, deep-rooted cultural beliefs create persistent inequalities between men and women thus placing women at particular risk of being victimized. Accepted cultural practices such as FGM/C, forced and early marriage and intimate partner violence are prevalent throughout and are generally underreported. Survivors are often socially outcast and required to fend for

---

[232] Carpenter 2006, pp. 95 -6
[233] Sivakumuran, 2007, pp265
[234] Ministry of Labour & Social Affairs, 2013

themselves and their children. Many survivors are therefore in an extremely marginalized position following the incident which puts them at high risk of further victimization

Due to the conflict situation of Banadir, sexual violence and exploitation perpetuated by the military and men in civilian clothes are more prevalent. Many of the perpetrators are armed men in uniform including government security forces, militias, private security and AMISOM forces. Uniforms are widely available on the local market. This makes it difficult to know whether the perpetrator really was a security official and does not help to build confidence in security forces in the first place.[235]

To make things worse, criminal prosecutions are few making survivors loose confidence in the formal, nearly non-existent justice system. . Only roughly 1% of survivors of SGBV in Banadir and Lower and Middle Shabelle regions decided to seek legal redress between July and December 2012.[236] The services provided rarely meet international standards. Furthermore, there is a major gap throughout the country in the provision of safe spaces/shelters for SGBV survivors and their families.[237] There is also no mechanism to protect witnesses in cases forwarded for legal redress nor is there a mechanism to protect the SGBV service providers who often operate at their own risk. Neither the police nor any traditional mechanism recognizes the specific needs or legal rights of individual SGBV survivors. .

Elders and district authorities prefer using either *Shari'a* (Islamic Law) or *Xeer* (customary law) rather than the formal judicial system to address SGBV incidents. In IDP settlements where elders may have less authority even customary systems may not be available to seek protection and mitigation.[238]

The survivors also suffer double tragedy, due to fact that availability of medical services is largely dependent on the international community, leading to limited access to the women, girls, men and boys. These services include; terms of service delivery, necessary trainings, drugs, supplies and equipment. Furthermore, the medical personnel have limited training, if

---

[235] Somalia GBV Working Group Strategy, 2014-16
[236] ibid
[237] ibid
[238] ibid

any, in Clinical Management of Rape (CMR) nor is there provision of post-rape treatment drugs. The Psychosocial support services (PSS) are under-resourced and psychosocial support personnel do not have access to professional education, resulting in a highly inadequate psychosocial work force in Somalia and especially Banadir.[239]

Another factor that makes SGBV response non-existent in Banadir is the lack of funding together with funding for specific areas of the county leading to an ad hoc implementation of SGBV programmes which are have shaky foundations. This makes SGBV programmes focus on response efforts in a humanitarian emergency context rather than a broader strategic response around prevention, access to justice and rule of law.

4.4   A critical situational analysis of UNAMID response to SGBV

In Darfur region of Sudan, even though the violence included high levels of banditry, ethnic clashes and deadly attacks on UNAMID forces which resulted in the deaths of five peacekeepers,[240] UNAMID has made critical efforts to ensure that peace prevails. With a strong team of 600 female peace keepers, issues SGBV have are being addressed. UNAMID has also made efforts to include the Government of Sudan (GoS) in Protection of Civilians (PoC) and most of the times they work hand in hand in trying to resolve issues of SGBV. SGBV perpetuated by militia groups had taken centre stage for a long time. To make the situation more dire, humanitarian workers have been reported to having been abducted making the peace and security situation in the region indeed precarious.[241]

Due to the remoteness of the region, UNAMID depends on air transportation. This is usually provided under the auspices of the group known as the Friends of UNAMID (FoU), which is dominated by the logistical support from the United States government. The FoU have

---

[239] Somalia GBV Working Group Strategy, 2014-16
[240] UNAMID Report 2007 pp7
[241] UNAMID Report pp3

specifically been assisting with the airlifting of troops and contingent-owned equipment directly from troop-contributing countries into Darfur. The UN Secretary-General, Ban-Ki Moon, cautions that despite UNAMID's broad mandate for the Protection of Civilians (PoC) and assistance to peace implementation, it is not designed to create a sustainable solution to the Darfur crisis. The sustainable solution lies squarely on the shoulders of the parties to the conflict'.[242]

In addition, UNAMID has initiated a water project with the provision of 3000 water containers to women in the IDP camps. These water containers usually reffered to as 'hippos' have the capacity of 75 litres (4 water jerricans) and hence the women do not have to risk going out to fetch water many times. Reports have shown that it is during these assigned gender roles that SGBV usually take place.

Furthermore UNAMID has ensured that there are patrols that accompany the women and girls as they go about their daily chores. This works as a deterance from the janjaweed who usually pounce on these women and girls in the bushes. Nightime patrols have also been beefed up to ensure that SGBV, abductions and other crimes are minimized.

UNAMID also ensures that the peacekeepers are constantly updated on the zero-tolerance to SGBV mandate and disciplinary actions is fast and effective.[243]

4.4.1 Implementation of PoC Strategy

UNAMID implements PoC strategy through the capacity-building of local law enforcement agencies. This is where the training targets Sudan's national police at both national and regional level. In collaboration with the UNDP, the mission trains local police in topics such as community policing, human rights, preventing gender-based violence, crime management,

---

[242] Gowan, R., 2008
[243] UN Police in Darfur, 2014

90

election security and the rule of law. According to researchers, despite challenges of hostile environment,[244] UNAMID has had considerable success in SGBV responses. UNAMID is affected by the government's limited cooperation and "obstructionism"[245] – a situation that ultimately hampers the mission's effectiveness in protecting women. UNAMID faces mobility challenges of its staff as well as UN humanitarian personnel, especially restrictions on the mission's movement and complicated visa acquisition processes in Sudan.[246] A number of reports have highlighted the arrest and kidnapping of several UNAMID staff, which further hinders the mission's efforts to provide adequate protection to the population. The implementation of gender considerations in PoC is further curtailed by the cultural environment in Darfur that prohibits discussion of sexual violence. In the Darfur context, topics of sexual and domestic violence are taboo, which results in a culture of silence that further limits recourse to any form of justice.   Victims of sexual violence abstain from reporting it for fear of stigmatization. The cultural complexities surrounding sexual violence is compounded by the lack of integration between UNAMID and other UN agencies, which leaves actors unsure about which strategy to pursue. To address this gap there should be concerted effort to ensure recruitment and promotion processes are conducive for inclusion of large numbers of women in the PKO. The UN launched a global campaign in August 2009 to increase the deployment of uniformed women in peacekeeping, setting targets of 20% for the police by 2014 and 10% for the military by 2020.[247] Even though these targets have not been achieved, there is increasing female participation in peacekeeping. Currently, the percentage of women deployed as civilians in peacekeeping operations has reached 30%. In addition, the UN has had three women as

---

[244] Punga I.L.,2011
[245] ibid
[246]Holt, Victoria K. and Berkman, Tobias C.,2006
[247] www.un.org

Special Representatives of the Secretary-General (SRSGs). The UN has increased their female representation in police peacekeeping contingencies.

Although AMISOM was not designed with a specific PoC mandate, the mission is currently developing its mission specific strategy for protecting civilians. If the success of PoC implementation is assessed through examining to what extent the mission has limited violent conflict and reduced human suffering, then AMISOM has not succeeded. Even though there are various strategies for implementation such as gender mainstreaming, using the AU Gender Policy of 2009 and the AU Peace Support Operations Division's roadmap for gender mainstreaming as reference points, there is very little impact on the ground specifically Banadir region which is a conflict hotspot. Furthermore, from the various data on the ground, SGBV responses are nonexistent. There have been many media reports of women and girls being sexually abused and exploited by both the militia and the peacekeepers. According to a report on Somalia,[248] cases of SBV particularly rape are being perpetuated not as a tool of armed conflict but seemingly due to poor discipline, command and control of the peacekeepers after a town is captured from Al Shabaab. Even though this is brought under control quickly, the pattern seems to be repeated over and over again.

For male victims, there is limited awareness among medical practitioners and peacekeepers. Possibly due to lack of training, the relevant personnel are not able to recognize signs of male sexual violence.[249] To make matters worse, SGBV survivors' medical services are located in gynecology departments. The male survivors are also filled with shame, confusion, guilt and may not be aware of where to go for redress.[250]

---

[248] Somalia Protection Cluster, 2013 pp2
[249] Russell et al. 2011, p. 4
[250] Sivakumaran, 2007 pp255

Until recently, practitioners and policy makers tended to ignore the gender dimensions of armed conflict and peace building. Today, there is a greater recognition that women and men play multiple roles in these processes and experience their impact in different ways.

The awareness of the various strategies to respond to SBV is very low. This was found out in the cases where the survivors opted for traditional measures than the laid out procedures. The numbers of women in decision-making positions are also very low.

4.4.2 Capacity building and Gender mainstreaming efforts

UNAMID has also conducted capacity-building for other security actors in the Darfur conflict, including the Sudanese Liberation Army (SLA), and Minni Minnawi (This was the only rebel group to sign the Darfur Peace Agreement) and the Sudanese Liberation Movement (SLM), which had established police structures that were dominated by former military combatants with limited police training.[251] In addition, UNAMID partners such as humanitarian agencies and local civil society have mooted the idea to establish a local security structure such as Community Policing Volunteers (CPV) in a bid to reduce cases of SBV.[252]

In AMISOM, since its establishment, the mission has sought to stabilise the situation in the country and to create conditions that enable the conduct of humanitarian activities. Now with a renewed mandate since January 2013, AMISOM considers capacity building as one of the key components to advancing its goals, including incorporating gender mainstreaming in the mission strategy[253].

In December 2013, AMISOM in collaboration with the Federal Government of Somalia and the civil society conducted a workshop on strengthening Somalia's judicial capacity to

---

[251] Fryer, Michael, 2013
[252] Mutisi, M, 2013
[253] AMISOM Review, 2013pp4

address Gender Based Violence. The workshop aimed at ensuring that the judicial systems upheld and respected women's rights.[254]

4.5   Responses to sexual and gender based violence at UNAMID

UNAMID partners with other stakeholders, such as humanitarian agencies and local organisations, to support the establishment of local security structures such as community policing volunteers. These have proven to be effective in reducing cases of sexual violence. PoC is strengthened by taking into account the needs of refugees and IDPs, particularly by involving women and girls in designing the camps to ensure their security and protection needs are met. In collaboration with UN agencies such as OCHA and the UNHCR, the mission has strengthened efforts to involve women in camp governance processes by supporting their participation in IDP camp management committees. Other agencies such as the UNDP and the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) respectively provide vocational training and economic recovery opportunities as well as reproductive and health services. Such camp management practices enhance the human security and dignity of women, while protecting their rights.

However, all these trainings and instruments do not translate into any impact on the ground. The difference between Darfur and Banadir, is that in Darfur, SGBV is perpetuated by militiamen, *Janjaweed*, and not the peacekeeping forces whilst in Banadir, peacekeepers are also in the group that perpetuates SGBV.[255]

An agreement of cooperation between UNAMID and Sudanese Military Forces to allow UN ambulances and patrols to carry sexual and gender violence survivors to hospitals without delay has gone along way in providing rapid response to SGBV and other medical cases.

---

[254] ibid
[255] 'The Power These Men Have Over Us': Sexual Exploitation and Abuse by African Union Forces in Somalia, 2013

The presence of women in the PKO in Darfur has elicited trust and a sense of peace among the civilians particularly the women and children. The addition of female patrols has ensured that more and more cases of SGBV are reported and the survivors receive support needed.

4.5.1 Challenges in implementing gender concerns/issues

Richard Gowan[256] argues that the UN is confronted with a 'systemic crisis' because its traditional mandate for guiding deployment as well as 'many of its assumptions about transitions from war to peace have been shown wanting' for many of the PKO. He further asserts that the UN has 'stumbled into a series of missions in an increasingly ad hoc fashion'[257] the consequences of which have been the inability to effectively plan, prepare and deploy effective PKO responses to SGBV on the ground.

Most survivors of SGBV turn to traditional clan protection mechanisms for their security. To exacerbate the problem, neither the police nor any traditional mechanism recognizes the specific needs or legal rights of individual SGBV survivors. The situation becomes even dire because there is no mechanism to protect witnesses in cases forwarded for legal redress nor is there a mechanism to protect the SGBV service providers who often operate at their own risk.

Many of the perpetrators in south and central Somalia are armed men in uniform including government security forces, militias, private security and AMISOM forces and even civilians in uniforms. This is because uniforms are widely available on the local market which makes it difficult to know whether the perpetrator really was a security official and does not help to build confidence in security forces in the first place.

---

[256]Gowan, R., 2008, pp453
[257] ibid

4.5.2 SGBV response structures implemented by UNAMID

UN country team in Khartoum, in 2004, mandated United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) as the lead agency in Darfur to coordinate SGBV responses and prevention activities. In 2008 UN through UNFPA started funding two International SGBV Coordinators in Darfur. These Coordinators oversee a 'Pillar Structure'[258] that engages different UN agencies across the various sectors of response to SGBV.

United Nations Working in Darfur in SGBV from 2008

Agencies	Areas of Specialization
World Health Organisation (WHO) United Nations Children Fund (UNICEF)	Psychosocial Services
United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNCHR)	Safety and Security
United Nations Women (UN-Women ; Formerly UNIFEM) Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO)	Food and Livelihoods
UNAMID	Protection of Civilians Human Rights

Table adopted by Research from Stop Rape Now, 2009

These lead agencies are also mandated to pursue strategies focusing on Gos and local communities. This is because since the indictment of President Bashir in ICC, the government had expelled many international organisations. In addition the international and national NGOs remaining in Darfur were reluctant to implement activities to addressing SGBV.[259]

Human Rights Section: UNAMID Human Rights Section which monitors, investigates early warning and reports on human rights violations, SGBV and abuses. Furthermore, the Section regularly undertakes judicial monitoring specifically addressing impunity, enhancing capacity of government institutions and the judiciary and key in-country partners, and providing support to the work of Special Procedures of the Human Rights Council (SPHRC), such as the Independent

---

[258] Stop Rape Now Report, 2009
[259] ibid

Expert on the Human Rights situation in the Sudan. The Section has established a platform for constructive dialogue with the Government of Sudan through the Darfur Human Rights Forum (DHRF) and its decentralised Sub-Fora. Human Rights Section further engages with international partners, armed movements, civil society, community leaders, and key stakeholders including UN Agencies to address human rights and Protection of Civilian concerns.

Sexual Gender-Based Violence: The Section assists in combating violence against women and continues providing support to the State Committees for Combating Violence against Women in the implementation of their action plans. It will also mobilise efforts aimed at the prevention of and responses to SGBV, including institutional development.

Capacity Building and Technical Assistance: UNAMID is in constant gender focused capacity building for its staff. This is usually facilitated by UNFPA in conjuction with other UN agencies in Darfur.

UNAMID also endevours to build state and non-state actors' capacity to protect and promote human rights in Darfur. It also provides technical assistance for the implementation of the recommendations pertaining to Darfur of the UN Human Rights Council Universal Periodic Review of the Republic of the Sudan, and support the Independent Expert on the Situation of Human Rights in Sudan to reflect Darfur concerns and demands in the need assessment and final program for capacity building and technical assistance.

4.5.3   Implementation of UNSCR1325 at UNAMID

However, it is obvious that while gender remains a central issue underpinning effective implementation of SGBV responses, the pace of gender representation at UNAMID is very low. Nevertheless, a number of African member states appear to have taken on the challenge of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) on Women, Peace and Security, by deploying all-

female contingents to Darfur. African examples include Namibian Police Force (31 females), Rwanda (89 females), Tanzania (25 females) and Ghana (35 females). In the field of training, for example, EASFCOM has achieved about 32% female participation in their training.

The man question brings in a new perspective that peace and security where feminists have started to analyse various constructions of masculinity and femininity.[260]

4.6   Best Practices in SGBV responses at UNAMID

UNAMID has partnered with various UN agencies to monitor and implement strategies and responses on SGBV and support the survivors of the vice. These organizations employ a multidisciplinary and integrated approach to peacekeeping, which incorporates gender aspects within their institutional hierarchies, policies and missions. Other areas of intervention include: Multi-Sectoral Response for SGBV Survivors which respond to the needs of the survivors. These responses are constantly strenghthened and expanded to include government institutions such as Ministry of Health (MoH). MoH constantly conduct Clinical Management of rape training and guideline reviews. The UN agencies collaborate in providing psychosocial, medical and legal support for children, women and men survivors.

UNAMID is also charged with transportation and distribution of Post Rape Treatment (PRT) Kits especially to remote and hard-to-reach areas.

The UNAMID in collaboration with the other UN agencies have been mandated to explore ways to work with community, religious and women's groups to enhance community response mechanisms to survivors of SGBV. Among one of the daunting tasks is reopening of Women's Centres across all three Darfur states and refugee camps.

---

[260] Parapat and Zalewski, 1998

In addition, UNAMID personnel support 'firewood patrols' and provide 'market-route' escorts to ensure smooth running of livelihood ventures by the women. This is because many of the SBV's happen when the women are going around their daily chores.

UNAMID also plays a key role in ensuring early response actions to SGBV, in collaboration with the police.

In addition there is continous advocacy for the opening up of space for INGOs and NGOs so that they can partner with UNAMID and other UN agencies to strengthen overall coordination of SGBV responses.[261]

Furthermore, UNAMID has initiated a community policing mechanism with the local community who monitor issues of SGBV and other crimes and report these to the relevant authorities. There are also Community Safety committees that meet on regular basis to address any concerns in the camps with UNAMID.

UNAMID, through UN has fostered an organizational culture of 'zero-tolerance' of SGBV and other unlawful activities in their bases. From time to time they invite independent investigative bodies to monitor any such abuses.

4.7   Conclusion

As seen in this chapter, there is considerable variation and complexity in the perpetuators; strategies and responses to SGBV. This indicates for a need for a more inclusive and greater understanding of SGBV in and within conflict and post conflict situations. It is necessary to include male survivors in the discourses of SGBV. For most women and men living through violence as in the case of Banadir, the words nor the promises of resolution is a reality. SGBV have continued with impunity whilst the peace negotiations remain the exclusive domain of war-

---

[261]"Briefing notes on the Gender Based Violence Response in Darfur Prepared for UN Action Steering Committee Meeting," 11 May 2009

mongers. This is while those who seek non-violent solutions are still shut out. Most of the times, post conflict recovery processes remain gender blind – addressing the concerns of neither the women or men. AMISOM thus has a huge task of actualizing and operationalising its policies and instruments to ensure issues of SGBV are addressed. There are quite a number of lessons that the PKO operation can learn from UNAMID in Darfur: such as the inclusion of women and men in the war against sexual and gender violence; continous monitoring of any SGV; encouraging more females to be recruited, trained and retained in the PKO, undertaking a wholesome PoC strategy and ensuring the troop contributing countries are held accountable for any SGB violations in Banadir. Another crucial aspect that AMISOM can learn from UNAMID is to continuously raise awareness on the need to address sexual and gender based violence as well as investigating any reports that target their officials as perpetuators with a view of meting out disciplinary actions.

CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Introduction

This chapter provides a summary of the whole study and then gives conclusions and recommendations from the study. It is hoped that these recommendations will be helpful for the current SBV crises in AMISOM in Banadir and in extension Somalia. The study will be of help to those who would wish to conduct further research in this subject of SBV from a gender aspect.

5.1   Summary

The objectives of this study was to investigate the gender factor in response to sexual and gender based violence Darfur and to suggest best practices for Banadir. The study was based on qualitative methods of research. Due to limitation of access to primary data, the study delt more on secondary sources which formed its core.

The study was divided into five chapters of which chapter one was the research proposal and gave a detailed background of the study, objectives and the methodology to use as well as the theoretical framework among others.

Chapter two gave an overview of peacekeeping missions and gender factor globally and in Africa while highlighting their role in mandate in PoC and hence SBV.

Chapter three focused on the case studies which was Darfur in Sudan and Banadir in Somalia giving a historical and current situations in the crises and also issues of gender and hence sexual based violence

Chapter four was the critical analysis section which looked at peacekeeping and responses to SBV in Darfur and compared them to those of Banadir and its effects on gender relations.

The study found out that a gender aspect contributes to the success of Peacekeepers response to sexual based violence. It was also found out that there was a lot that needed to be done by AMISOM to reduce the scourge since there were high incidences of sexual based violence reported and half of them were basically perpetuated by 'men in uniforms'. This of course had a negative impact on the credibility of the peacekeepers in assisting to bring about peace and security in Banadir and Somalia as a whole.

Since protection of citizens includes safeguarding of individuals which are made up of women and men, they tend to use up manpower. Thus a PKO operation should be able to have personnel whose capacities include the responses to SBV. Thus there should be clear follow-up mechanisms to ensure that the civilians who reported on SBV have been re-integrated into the villages and hence community. This is because from both Darfur and Banadir most of the SBV survivors were usually stigmatized and even in some incidences as happened in Darfur were sent away from the homesteads. This made them susceptible to more and more violence being meted on them since they were 'outside' of the society supportive mechanisms.

The application of accepted military procedure relating to protection of civilians designed around the four Geneva Conventions of 1949 seems to be one sided in these two regions. The value of human life and human rights is usually critical when one is a victim but as was in the case of Sudan and Somalia when militia and faction leaders were on the 'dishing out' side, they did not value the lives and human rights of their own people. For AMISOM, the very force that was to protect the women and girls, boys and men was becoming the aggressor and offenders of sexual based violence. Clearly two wrongs were making the situation right!

5.1.1 Key lessons for AMISOM in Banadir

AMISOM should ensure that all credible allegations of sexual based violations by AMISOM forces are promptly, impartially, and transparently investigated by AMISOM or force contributors and that those responsible for serious abuses, regardless of rank, are held to account. AMISOM should ensure that they urge the member states of African Union to maintain and increase the component of females in their contributions as one of the ways of improving gender balance and hence responses to SGBV. The presence of female peacekeepers, bring about credibility and trust especially from the survivors of SGBV particularly the women and children in Banadir. This is more so because the societal norms and values do not encourage female–male interactions. The female peacekeepers will also provide role models to the girls and women in Banadir and in essence help bring to an end the conflict.

As per the difference feminism theory, the female peacekeepers will also help broaden the skill base of AMISOM in Banadir

AMISOM should ensure that it brings to an end firing of mortars in populated areas of Banadir/Mogadishu where they may harm women and children, unless measures are implemented to ensure that their use complies with the principles of appropriate strategies. When such mortars are used in populated areas, women and children tend to run into the bushes where they become vulnerable to SGBV.

AMISOM should ensure that its personnel receive continuous and appropriate training in gender and rapid responses to sexual based violence and other humanitarian law. Inclusion of firm medical management facilities will go a long way in offering counseling for pregnancies, STI and HIV management. It is also important to work with other service providers in Banadir who can offer some of the services such as paralegals and judicial services to help curb the high incidences of SGBV.

AMISOM should ensure more women are recruited, trained and retained to be able to respond to issues of SGBV. Furthermore, training and capacity building for the PKO on strategies and responses to SGBV will ensure that Banadir can enjoy peace.

It is imperative that AMISOM has continuous communication with troops contributing countries with a view of addressing disciplinary actions against their troops in Banadir.

External investigators would also help in bringing an end to the SGBV by the peacekeepers in AMISOM. These investigators would also assist in ensuring that perpetuators are prosecuted.

There is an urgent need to strengthen the capacity of AMISOM to deploy and successfully conduct peace operations and SGBV responses, autonomously without always relying on UN intervention, which in any case may not always be an option as the Somalia case demonstrates.

5.2   Conclusions

It can be concluded that the objectives of this study have been met. In addition to that hypothesis two has been proven to be correct. Gender is a key factor when it comes to responses of sexual based violence. For instance when the personnel have a gender outlook or 'wear gender lenses' then they are able to provide the necessary action to the survivors of sexual based violence. The strategies and policy papers have to have a gender perspective because according to the findings of this study, women and men are affected differently and hence should be accorded different interventions.

5.3   Recommendations

The implementation of a gender perspective in UNAMID and AMISOM peacekeeping operations requires a critical mass and critical actors of civilian and military women and men. This can be done through capacity building and raising awareness on the importance of a gender

aspect in peacekeeping. Furthermore, SGBV responses have to be contextualized according to the regions so as to get the best practical assessments.

Ensuring that the host communities has trusted the personnel will go a long a way in establishing credibility among the civilians. This in effect ensures that the civilians are able to further the mandate of the PKO especially in SGBV through prevention, protection and response.

Effective SGBV response requires the support of senior leaders in the peacekeeping hierarchy. The senior mission leadership needs to be involved in developing and supporting the implementation of mission-specific SGBV and PoC strategies as well as in disseminating information. The UN already has a Special Representative of the Secretary- General on Sexual Violence in Conflict, who serves as the UN's spokesperson and political advocate on conflict-related sexual violence and this can be emulated by AU.

An immediate halt to SGBV much of it at the hands of miltia and Peacekeeping personnel should be halted in Banadir which is a set towards peace and security in the area.

Strengthening of medical management is also important with components such as counseling for provision of pregnancy, STI and HIV testing.
Further studies could be undertaken to assess recruitment process and the strategies that both peacekeeping operations have in place to ensure that more women join the missions.

As Former President, Nelson Mandela of South Africa once said that "As long as we take the view that these are problems for women alone to solve, we cannot expect to reverse the high incidence of rape and child abuse. Domestic violence will not be eradicated. We will not defeat this scourge that affects each and every one of us, until we succeed in mobilizing the whole of our society to fight it."

7   BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books

Akerlund, Anna 2005, *Transforming Conflicts and Building Peace: Experiences and ideas of Swedish Civil Society Organisations, SIDA studies* no. 13, Edita Sverige Printers, Stockholm

Aoi, Chiyuki et al 2007, *Unintended Consequences of Peace Keeping Operations,* United Nations University Press, New York

Bercovitch, Jacob,(ed.), 1996, *Resolving international conflicts: the theory and practice of mediation.* Rienner press

Bergvall, V., Bing J., and Freed, A. (eds.), 1996, *Rethinking Language and Gender Research: Theory and Practice*, Longman, London

Blue Helmets, 1990, *A Review of United Nations Peacekeeping*, 2nd Edition, United Nations Publication, New York

Boutrous-Ghali, Boutrous, 1992, An Agenda for Peace; Preventative Diplomacy, Peacemaking and Peacekeeping, United Nations, New York

Bryden, M. and Steiner, M.I.,1998, *Somalia Between Peace and War: Somali Women on the eve of 21st Century*, UNIFEM, Nairobi

Coates, J., and Cameron, D.,(eds),1998, *Women and their speech communities*, Longman, London

Cohn, Carol, 2004, *Mainstreaming Gender in UN Security Policy: A path of Political Transformation,* Boston Consortium on Gender, Security and Human Rights, USA

Connell, R.W., 2001, *Introduction and Overview: Feminism and Psychology.* Polity Press, Cambridge, UK

Connors, J., 1992, *Manual on Violence Against Women in the Family in Commonwealth Countries*, Commonwealth Secretariat, London

Coulon, Jocelyn, 1994, *Solders of Diplomacy: the United Nations Peace Keeping and the New World Order*, University of Toronto, Toronto

Crawford, M., 1995, *Talking Difference: On Gender and Language*, Sage Publications Ltd., London

Daddow, Oliver, 2009, *International Relations Theory*, Sage Publications Ltd., London

i

Davis, M., 1994, *The Hidden Problem'*, in Women and Violence, Zed Books, London

De Beauvoir, S., 1972, *The Second Sex*, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth

Diehl, P.F., 1993, *International Peacekeeping: Perspectives on Security,* John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore

El-Bushra, Judy and Sah, Ibrahim M. G., 2012, *Cycles Of Violence: Gender Relations And Armed Conflict*, Accord Publication, South Africa

Enloe, Cynthia, 1989, *The Morning After: Sexual Politics At The End Of The Cold War*:University of California Press, Berkeley

Enloe, Cythnia, 1989, *Bananas, Beaches and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics*, University of California Press Berkeley

Francis David J. (eds.), 2008, *Peace and conflict in Africa*, Zed Books Ltd, London

Galtung, Johan, 1996, P*eace by Peaceful Means: Peace and Conflict, Development and Civilization,* International Peace Research Institute , PRIO, Oslo

Gilady, Lilach and Russet, Bruce, 2002, P*eace Making and Conflict Resolution*, International Relations Handbook, Sage publication Ltd, London

Gilligan, Carol, 1982, *In a Different Voice*, Havard University Press, Cambridge

Gisselquist M. Rachel and Prunier Gerard, 2003, *State Failure and State weakness in a time of Terror*, edited by Robert I., Rotberg, Washington DC

Goetz, AnnMarie, 1991, *Feminism And The Claim To Know: Contraditions In Feminist Approches to Women and Development,* in Rebecca Grant and Kathleen Newland (eds.), Gender and International Relations, Indiana University Press, Indianapolis

Grant, Rebecca, 1991, *The Sources of Gender Bias in International Relations Theory,* Indiana University Press, Indianapolis

Harding, S. and O'Barr, J.F. (eds.), 1987, *Sex and Scientific Enquiry*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago

Harding, Sandra, (ed.), 1987, *Feminism and Methodology*, Indiana University Press/Open University press, Milton Keynes

Ho Won Jeong, 2000, *Modern Diplomatic Relations,* Routledge, New York

Holt, Victoria K. and Berkman, Tobias C., 2006, *The Impossible Mandate? Military Preparedness, the Responsibility to Protect and Modern Peace Operations,* Washington, DC, USA

Howson, Richard, 2006, *Challenging Hegemonic Masculinity,* Routledge, New York

Jackson Cecile, 1998, *Rescuing Gender From The Poverty Trap,* Cambridge Press, UK

Johnson, S., and Meinhof, U. (eds),1997, *Language and Masculinity*, Blackwell, Oxford

Kane, June, 2001, *The War-torn Societies- Project in North East Somalia, as part of Rebuilding Somalia: Issues and Possibilities for Puntland*, HAAN Associations, London

Kardam Nuket, 1991, *Bringing Women in: Women Issues in International Development Programs*, Lynne Reinner Publishers, Boulder, London

Keohane, Robert O.: 1989, *International Relations Theory: Contributions of Feminist Standpoint,* Millenium Press

Kolawale Mary, 2004, *Re-conceptualizing African Gender Theory: Feminism, Womanism and the Arere Metaphor, in Rethinking Sexualities In Africa,* edited by Signe Arnefred, Almqvist & Wiksell Tryckeri, Sweden

Macqueen Norrie, 2008 *Issues in International Relations*, 2nd edn, Edited by Trevor C. Salmon, Mark F. Imber, published by Routledge

MacQueen, Norrie, 2011: *The United Nations, Peace Operations and The Cold War,* 2nd Edition Longman, Great Britain

Mama, Amina, 1997, Postscript*: Moving from analysis to Practice? In Engendering African Social Sciences* edited by Ayesha Imam, Amina Mama, Fatou Sow, Codesria book series, Great Britain

Marchand, Marrianne H, 1996, *Reconceptualising Gender and Development in an Era of Globalisation,* Sage, London

Marcia Texler Segal and Vasilikie Demos*, 1995, Gender Realities: local and global Stromquist, in Romancing the State: Gender and power in Education,*

Mitchell, Juliet and Oakley, Ann, (eds.), 1986, *What is Feminism? A Re-examination* University of California, Berkeley

Murphy, Alexander B., (eds), 2001, '*Political Geography*', *International Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioural Sciences*, Pergamon, Amsterdam

Mutisi, M., Ogunsanya, K. and Ettang, D. 2011, *Resolution 1325 in 2020: Looking Forward, Looking Back.* ACCORD, South Africa

Parapart, Jane and Zalewski, Marysia,(eds.)1998, *'The Man Question' in International Relations,* Westview, Boulder

Peel, Michael (ed.), 2004, *Rape as a Method of Torture*, Medical Foundation for the Care of
Victims of Torture, Save the Children Fund, London

Peterson, V. Spike & Runyan, Ann Sission, 1999, *Global Gender Issues*, 2nd ed. Westview press

Pettman Jan Jindy, 1996, *Worlding women: A feminist international politics*, London Routledge

Pilchar Jane & Whelehan Imelda, 2008, *50 Key Concepts In Gender Studies*, Sage Publications
Los Angeles

Pintier, Steven, 2003, *'Gender': The Blank Slate,* Penguine, USA

Princen, Thomas, 1992, *Intermediaries In International Conflict,* Princeton University Press, Princeton

Ramesh Thakur and Albrecht Schnabel (eds.), 2002, *United Nations Peacekeeping Operations: Ad Hoc Missions, Permament Engagement*, United Nations University Press, Tokyo.

Reardon, B, 1985, *Sexism and the War System*, Syracuse University Press, Syracuse NY

Renate, Holub, 1993, *Feminist Theory*, University of California, Berkeley

Richters, A., 1994, *Women, Culture and Violence: A Development, Health and Human Rights Issue*, Women and Autonomy Centre, Leiden

Ruddick, Sara, 1989, *Maternal Thinking: Toward a Politics of Peace,* Beacon Press, Boston

Schumacher, Michele, M., 2003, *The Nature of Feminism, Old and New,* William Eerdmans
Publishers, Michigan

Smillie Ian, 2001, *Patronage or Partnership – Local Capacity Building in Humanitarian Crises*, Kumarian Press, USA

Sylvester, Christine,1996, *'The Contributions of Feminists Theory to International Relations'*, in Steve Smith, Ken Booth and Marysia Zalewski (eds), *International Theory: Positivism and Beyond*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Tickner, J Ann, 1992, *Gender in International Relations: Feminist Perspectives on achieving global Security*, New York: Columbia University Press

Tim, Muriithi, 2008, *African Indigenous and Endogenous Approaches to Peace and Conflict'* in Peace and Conflict in Africa, Francis, D.,(ed.), Zed Books, New York

Tong, Rosemarie Putnam,1998, *Feminist Thought: A More Comprehensive Introduction,* 2nd edn. Boulder:Westview

Warsame, Faiza A. 2001, *The Role of Women in Rebuilding Puntaland,* HAAN Associations, London

Journals

Ahmed Yusuf Fara and I.M. Lewis, 1993, *Indigenous conflict management mechanisms, Peacemaking Endevours of contemporary lineage leaders: a survey of grassroots peace conferences in Somaliland*, ACTIONAID

Arief, Alexis, 2010, Sexual Violence in African Conflicts in Congressional Research Service, November 30, 2010

Bertolazzi Francesco,2010, *Women with a blue Helmet: Integration of women and gender issues in UN Peacekeeping mission* UN INSTRAW working paper series

Cohen, DK, Hoover Green, A & Wood, EJ 2013, *Wartime Sexual Violence: Misconceptions, Implications, and Ways Forward*, Special Report 323, US Institute of Peace,

Caprioli, Mary, 2000, *'Gendered Conflict',* Journal of Peace Research,

Carroll, Bernice, 1998 '*Peace Research: The Cult of Power*' in The publication of a special issue of Millennium: Journal of International Studies

Carpenter, R., 2006, '*Recognizing Gender-Based Violence against Civilian Men and Boys in Conflict Situations'* Security Dialogue, Vol 37

Clement Adibe, 2000, *Disarmament and Conflict Resolution Project, Managing Arms in Peace Processes: Somalia*

Degen Marie, 1974,*History of the Women's Peace Party,* Burt Franklin, New York

Druckman, D. and Stern, P.C., 1997, *Evaluating Peacekeeping Missions. Mershon International Studies Review*, 41 (1), pp.151–165.

Farah Qassim I., 2000 *Dual Diplomatic Approaches in Conflict Management: the International peace initiatives in Somalia, 1991-1999*, Dissertation for MAIS, University of Nairobi

Fryer, Michael, 2013, *Working it out on the Ground: Coordination between UNAMID Police and Humanitarian Actors in Darfur. Humanitarian Practice Network*, 15, January 2013.

Fukuyama, Francis, 1998 '*Women and the Evolution of World Politics', Foreign Affairs,* vol. 77 no. 5 (Sept.-Oct. 1998).

Gowan, Richard, 2008, *The Strategic Context: Peacekeeing in Crises: 2006-08*, International Peacekeeping, Vol 15, No. 4, August 2008

Halliday, Fred, 1998 '*Gender and IR: Progress, Backlash, and Prospect', Millenium Journal of International Studies*,

Lewis, A., 1993, *Peacemaking Endevours of contemporary lineage leaders: a survey of grassroots peace conferences in Somaliland* ACTIONAID Dec

Light, Margot and Halliday, Fred, 1994, *Gender and International Relations – Contemporary International Relations – A guide to theory*

Losada, Jose, 2014, *Gender Mainstreaming in Military Components of United Nations Peacekeeping Operations* in Professionals in Humanitarian Assistance and Protection

Mutisi Martha, 2013, *Gender Considerations in the PoC experiences from field Missions*, ACCORD

Muriithi, Tim,2009 *African Union's Foray into Peacekeeping: Lessons from Hybrid Mission in Darfur*, in the Journal of Peace, Conflict and Development, Issue 14 July 2009

Punga, I.L. ,2011, '*UN Peacekeeping and Protection of Civilians in the 21st Century: Case Studies, MONUC and UNAMID*'. Thesis, Utrecht University.

Russell, W 2007, 'Sexual violence against men and boys', *Forced Migration Review*, issue 27, January, 2007

Sivakumaran, S., 2007, *Sexual Violence against Men in Armed Conflict'* The European Journal of International Law, Vol. 18

Tessler, Mark and Warriner, Ina, 1997, *'Gender, Feminism, and Attitudes Toward International Conflict: Exploring Relationships with Survey Data from the Middle East'* World Politics, 49

Acord, 2005, Agency for cooperation and Research in Development

African Union Gender Policy, 2009

African Union Peace and Security, 2007, *Communique of the 69th Meeting of the PSC*, PSC/PR/COMM(LXIX), 19th January, 2007, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

AMISOM Review, 2013, Issue 13

Brahimi Report, 2000, (A/55/305–S/2000/809) of 21 August 2000

Briefing notes 2009, on the Gender Based Violence Response in Darfur Prepared for UN Action Steering Committee Meeting, 11 May 2009

CODESERIA, 2000, *Men, Women and Violence, African Books Collective*, Oxford, UK

Cycles of Violence: gender relations and Armed Conflict, 2012

DPKO/DPS Guidelines: Integrating a Gender Perspective into the work of United Nations Gender force: Sweden, From Words to Action, Booklet, circa 2006

Hostages of Gatekeepers – Somalia0313

Integrating a Gender Perspective into the Work of the United Nations Military in Peacekeeping

        Operations, 2010.

Integrating Gender Perspectives into the Work of United Nations Police in Peacekeeping

        Missions, 2008

Instraw UN – Integration of women in Gender Peace Keeping, August 2010

Military in Peacekeeping operations 2010

Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs Report in Sudan

OCHA (UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs) 2012, 'Humanitarianism in the
        Network Age: Including World Humanitarian Data and Trends 2012', OCHA Policy and
        Studies Series.

OCHA/IRIN The Shame of War:*Sexual Violence Against Women and Girls in Conflict,* 2007

Report of The Secretary General Pursuant to SCR 1820, 2008, UN Doc. S/2009/362
S/RES/1267 of 15 October 1999.

Somalia GBV working Group Strategy, 2014-2016

Somalia Gender-Based Violence Working Group Strategy 2014 – 2016

Somalia Protection Cluster, Emerging Issues in 2013

Stop Rape Now, 2009, *A report of Sexual Violations in Darfur in 2009*

Protocal to African Union Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in

        Africa, July 2003, Maputo, Mozambique

UNAMID Annual Report of 2013 – UNAMID Briefings and Statemements

UN SG report on 8 September 1999 (S/1999/957)

UNDP Handbook, 2003

UNDP Progress Report for Sudan, *Addressing Sexual and Gender Based Violence in*

        *Darfur,*Novermber 2006, UNDP Governance & Rule of Law Programme, Sudan

UNDPKO, 2003, Handbook on UN Multidimensional Peacekeeping, New York

UNFPA in Puntaland, 2013, *Key Results of SGBV Activities implemented by Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs*, April-June, 2013

UNODC, 2010, *Training curriculum on effective police responses to violence against women*, Criminal Justice Handbook Series, New York

UNOCHA, 2007, *Human Smuggling and Human Trafficking in Somalia*, May 2, 2007

United Nations Charter, 1945

United Nations Report of the Panel of Experts Concerning Sudan, October 20, 2009, S/2009/562

United Nations Document S/RES/1820, 2008, June 19, 2008

United Nations Report, 1994, Commission of Inquiry established Pursuant to SCR885(1993)

United Nations Police in Darfur, 2010, 2011, 2013, 2014

United Nations, *1985: The work of CEDAW*

United Nations, 1995 pg 45

United Nations Charter 1945, Somalia 0914

United Nations, 2007, Report of the SG on the Deployment of the African Union – United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur in 2007

What Women Say, 2010, *Participation and UNSCR1325: A Case assessment* done by International Civil Society Action Network and MIT Centre for International Studies, October, 2010

Newspapers

Daily Nation January 13, 2013, Nairobi

Daily nation September 13 2004, Nairobi

The Washington Post Company 2006

Internet

Hammarskjold D. 1956: *Summary Study and Rules of Peacekeeping*, DOC 12, United States

Heyzer, Noeleen, 'Forward', http://www.accord.org.za/ct/2003-3/foreword.pdf

Holl, Jane Lute (Assistant Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations) as quoted in the BBC's *UN troops face child abuse claims*, www.bbc.co.uk, November 2006

http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeing/operations/peace accessed on 13 August 2014

Outcome of the Expert Consultation on the Issue of Protecting the Human Rights of Civilians in Armed Conflict: Report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights', 4 June 2009, (A/HR C/11/31), Available at: http://www.refworld.org/ docid/4a3f73a32.html accessed on 13/8/2014
UN Secretary-General (2013) 'Sexual Violence in Conflict: Report of the Secretary-General', 14 March, (A/67/792-S/2013/149), Available at: <http://www.refworld.org/ docid/5167bd0f4.html> Accessed on: 13 August 2014

UN Secretary-General: 2013 'Sexual Violence in Conflict: Report of the Secretary-General', 14 March, (A/67/792-S/2013/149), Available at: <http://www.refworld.org/ docid/5167bd0f4.html> Accessed on: 13 August 2014

UN Security Council (2009) 'Statement by the President of the Security Council' [made on behalf of the Security Council, at the 6066th meeting, 14 January 2009, in connection with the Council's consideration of the item entitled 'Protection of Civilians in Armed Conflict'], 14 January 2009, (S/PRST/2009/1), Available at: <http:// www.refworld.org/docid/49744c8f2.html> Accessed on: 13 August 2014.

UN Security Council (2009) 'Statement by the President of the Security Council' [made on behalf of the Security Council, at the 6066th meeting, 14 January 2009, in connection with the Council's consideration of the item entitled 'Protection of Civilians in Armed Conflict'], 14 January 2009, (S/PRST/2009/1), Available at: <http:// www.refworld.org/docid/49744c8f2.html> Accessed on: 13 August 2014.

United Nations Police Division www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/publications/unpolmag

unmissions.org

www.sudantribune.com/article 51999

www.peacewomen.org/securitycouncilmonitor/thematicindex