



SMASH THE GLASS

**Redefining Approaches to Ending Impunity
for Sexual and Gender Based Violence**

A Pan-African Conference Report, Kampala, October 2009

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Redefining Approaches to Ending Impunity for Sexual and Gender Based Violence

Partners:



act:onaid



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ACORD is a Pan African organisation working for social justice and development. Our mission is to work in common cause with people who are poor and those who have been denied their rights to obtain social justice and development and be part of locally rooted citizen movements. We are present in 17 countries in Africa, working with communities on livelihoods and food sovereignty, women’s rights, conflict and HIV/AIDS. We also advocate and campaign at Pan Africa level.

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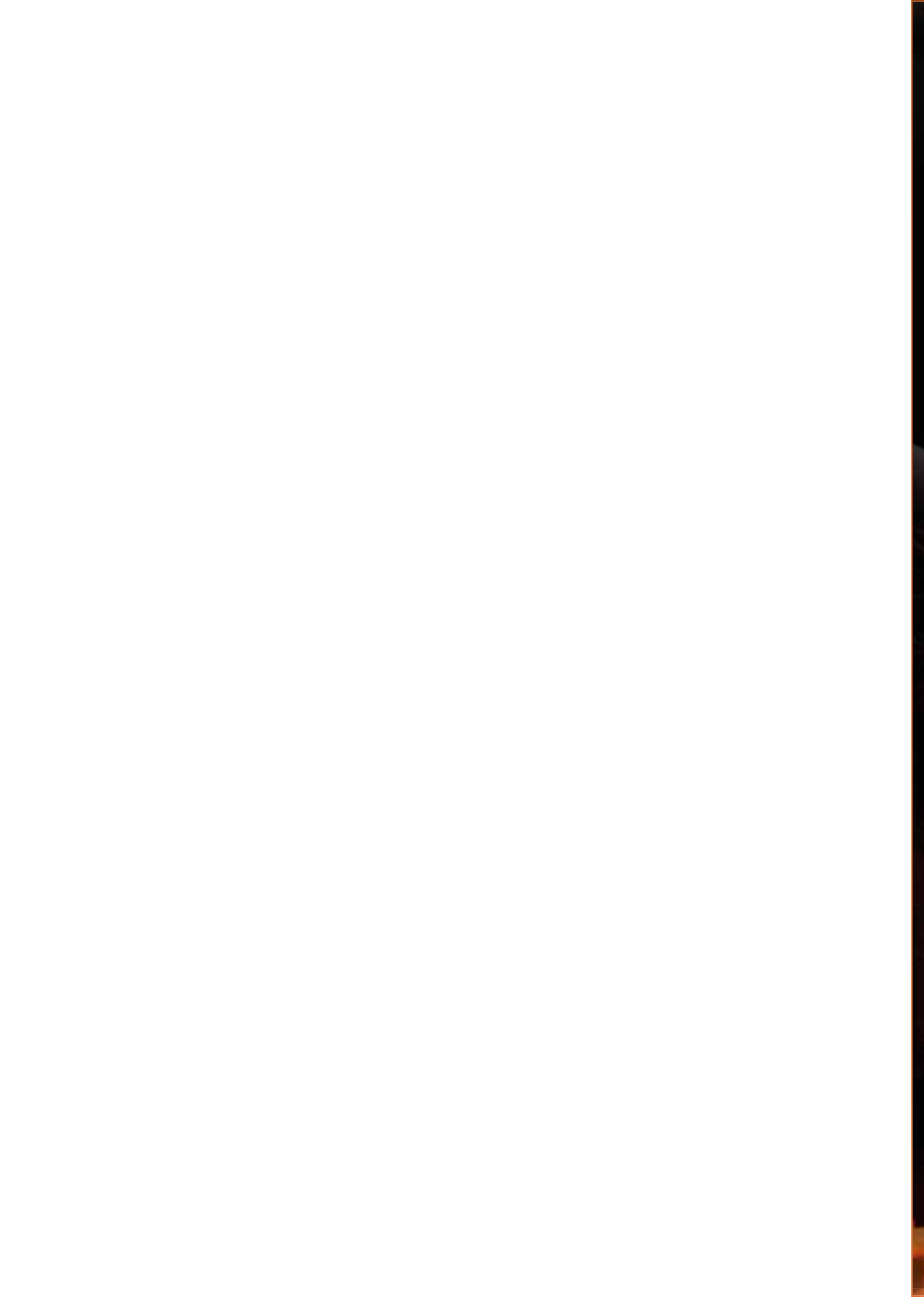
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Table of Contents

Who says we can't move mountains.....	1
Abbreviations and Acronyms	2
Acknowledgements.....	3
Introduction	4
Chapter 1 Women and Security Sector Governance	6
• <i>African Union Peace and Security</i>	
• <i>The realities</i>	
• <i>Some consideration</i>	
Chapter 2 Transitional Justice Mechanisms: The Reparations Debate	9
• <i>The Case of Sierra Leone</i>	
• <i>Factors that have undermined the design of reparations programmes</i>	
• <i>The Case of Morocco</i>	
• <i>The Case of Timor- Leste</i>	
• <i>This Morning is New</i>	
Chapter 3 The Great Debate	15
Chapter 4 Mapping Engagement: Security Sector Governance	17
Chapter 5 Conclusion.....	19
• <i>Appendices</i>	
• <i>Report from a participating organisation</i>	
• <i>A Gender Based Violence Index</i>	
• <i>Communiqué</i>	
• <i>Participants List</i>	
• <i>Pictorials</i>	





Who Says We Can't Move Mountains

Who says?
Who says?
Who?

Who says we can't restore hearts and homes
Even after the damage has been done?
Who says we cannot transform our cycles of addiction
Disarm our patterns of destruction?
Who says we cannot cross the mental and historical divides?
Who says we can't unite
To fight the injustice of oppression
Of poverty
Of generations born into less and less?

Who says we can't move mountains?
Who says we can't move mountains?
Who says we can't move?
Who says?
Who says?
Who?

Who says we can't teach our children new lessons?
Who says we can't manifest a new example for the world?
Who says we can't reach into the darkest abyss
Retrieving hope
Recovering ubuntu
Our humanness?
Who says?
Who?

Miracles
Miracles
Who says we can't work miracles?
Who says?
Who says?

A miracle begins with you
The difference
Is you
Your willingness to reassess
Your point of view

Who says we can't work miracles?
Look at where we've been
See what we've become
We are a beacon for the continent
We are a nation healing itself
We are the Earth – feeling
Soul – breathing
Heart – feeding people
We are the miracle
The miracle is you
It starts with you
The little you can do
The miracle is you
Its you
You

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ACORD	Agency for Cooperation and Research in Development
AFRC	Armed Forces Revolutionary Council
AGDI	African Gender Development Index
AGI	African Gender Institute
AU	African Union
AMwA	Akina Mama wa Afrika
AVFM	Association Voix de Femmes Marocaine
AWDF	African Women's Development Fund
CAVR	Comissão de Acolhimento, Verdade e Reconciliação
CCFD	Comité Catholique contre la Faim et pour le Développement
CDF	Civil defense forces
CSDG	Conflict, Security and Development Group
COMESA	Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
CSO	Civil society organisation
DCAF	Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces
DV	Domestic violence
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
GBV	Gender based violence
ICGLR	International Conference of the Great Lakes Region
ICTJ	International Centre for Transitional Justice
IER	Instance Equité et Réconciliation, Morocco
ISS	Institute for Security Studies
JLOSTJ	Justice Law and Order Sector - Transitional Justice
KHRC	Kenya Human Rights Commission
MDG3 Fund	Millennium Development Goal 3 Fund of the Dutch Government
MEMPROW	Mentoring and Empowerment Programme for Young Women
RUF/SL	Revolutionary United Front of Sierra Leone
SCSL	Special Court of Sierra Leone
SGBV	Sexual and gender based violence
SLA	Sierra Leone Army
SS	Security Sector
SSR	Security Sector Reforms
TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Commission
UAF – A	Urgent Action Fund Africa
UNECA	United Nations Economic Commission for Africa
UAF Morocco	Union de l'Action Feminine, Morocco
VAW	Violence against women
WIPSEN	Women Peace and Security Network



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ACORD would like to begin by recognising the institutions that continued to form part of the Conference reference group: African Women's Development Fund, Action Aid International Africa, The Great Lakes Parliamentary Forum on Peace – Amani Forum and the Urgent Action Fund – Africa; your continued institutional and financial support to this platform signals a commitment to the opportunity that this platform offers for movement building and multi sectoral stakeholder engagement.

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This conference would not have been a possibility had it not been for the willingness of seventy parliamentarians, policy makers, representatives of regional blocs, women's rights activists and civil society actors who returned to take stock and recommit to future actions. To you we say thank you.

INTRODUCTION

“ You cannot carry out fundamental change without a certain amount of madness. In this case, it comes from non-conformity, the courage to turn your back on the old formulas, the courage to invent the future ... we must dare to invent the future.”
- Thomas Sankara

The need to reflect on new ways of approaching interventions and debates on state accountability has become more urgent today. With a range of larger crises in the world, political and financial, this urgency has also been buttressed by the increasing arrogation of space within a number of African states. This has required a rethinking of traditional approaches in engaging the state¹ and re-defining the avenues for civil society and citizen engagement within that. This development occurs at a time when there is a rise in social movements and decreasing political apathy on the part of the citizenry, which means that the opportunity for reshaping, developing leadership and building bridges across movements is ripe. For the African women’s movement in general and the feminist movement in particular recent political events require effective strategies to seize these opportunities. The words of Sankara above become profound particularly because of the challenge that it poses from both a conceptual and practical perspective, which pushes for a move away from a culture of conformity².

The second Pan African conference on ending impunity for sexual and gender based violence was held in this light. As a follow up to the successful convening in July 2008³, this stocktaking forum once again brought together a smaller group of representatives of civil society organisations, regional parliaments, regional blocs, women’s rights activists and scholars with a focus on security sector governance and transitional justice as key areas of consideration. Themed *Women’s Security and Due Diligence: Relocating the Narratives*, the conference sought to re-engage on the question of impunity and in doing so taking cognisance that in order to effectively respond to SGBV, the current socio-political and economic dynamics currently facing our continent cannot be periphery to our analysis.

Situated at the intersection of key interloping processes in Africa today (security sector governance and transitional justice⁴) the conference was concerned with the exclusive reliance on violence in claiming rights which has meant that the complex analysis of power and materiality that underlie subjugation and dominance are not effectively engaged with⁵. A shift as noted by the UN Special rapporteur on Violence against Women would see an inquiry into “root causes” which implicates ideology, structures and systems on which the institutions of the family, the community, the market and, indeed, the State are founded⁶.

The conference provided not only a reflection platform but also a space for practical engagement with experts and practitioners on the meaning of women’s security and transitional justice platforms as structures for redefining women’s narratives with SGBV as an analytical framework.

1 And indeed what the state means

2 This was a favourite phrase of the late Pan Africanist Tajudeen Abdul Raheem who consistently spoke of the need to move away from a culture of conformity, which would infer acquiescence to reform and gradualism as approaches to transformation of Africa and as the gateway to achieving the Pan African agenda.

3 In July 21 – 23 2008, eight national and international organisations⁴ held the first Pan African Conference on SGBV in Nairobi Kenya. The conference, which brought together policy makers, government representatives, representatives of regional blocs, women and human rights activists, practitioners and academics from the continent, sought to engage with the question of the impunity for sexual and gender based violence in conflict and post conflict settings⁵.

4 And the wider implications, history of these debates which is beyond the scope of this report

5 See 15 Years of the United Nations Special Rapporteur on Violence against Women, Its Causes & Consequences. Undated. www2.ohchr.org/english/issues/women/rapporteur/docs/15YearReviewofVAWMandate.pdf –last accessed 15th June 2009

6 See 15 Years of the United Nations Special Rapporteur on Violence against Women, Its Causes & Consequences. Undated. www2.ohchr.org/english/issues/women/rapporteur/docs/15YearReviewofVAWMandate.pdf –last accessed 15th June 2009

To this end, the overall objectives of the conference were:

- To assess the progress made in meeting our commitments since July 2008 and locate the urgent gaps
- To deepen analysis with regard to the security sector and transitional justice debate with the aim of providing a nuanced approach for programmatic and capacity building engagements by women's rights organisations
- To share lessons from ongoing transitional justice and security sector governance processes across the continent and assess their viability.

The conference committed to:

- The creation of mutual learning forums with a focus on the need for intersectional work between Transitional Justice, Security Sector Governance and Feminist epistemology.
- Research on Transitional Justice mechanisms locating cultural practices that can be deployed to reinforce women's entitlements and protections.
- Movement building work that focuses on intensifying the ideological basis for our engagement (Feminist and Pan African).
- Pilot the GBV Index in five African countries within the next year.

This report captures in part the rich discussions, debates and case studies that emerged from the conference. Given the diversity and the use of a range of media⁷we hope that an insight into the conversations and commitments that occurred during the conference can be gleaned.



⁷ Poetry, music, video were amongst range of alternative media intergrated into the conference.

WOMEN AND SECURITY SECTOR GOVERNANCE

Chapter 1

Externally defined security agendas and approaches will not fully achieve women's security needs... without an adaptation to conditions and the realities on the ground

*– Dr. 'Funmi Olonisakin
Conflict Security and Development Group*



Security is invariably defined by the holders of power, therefore decision making on security takes place where power resides. In the power hierarchy that has shaped the African security agenda, external and global actors are at the very top, followed by Africa's ruling elite and their cronies, with the masses of poor and marginalised citizens invariably operating at the margins of the state. Typically, women are at the bottom of that rung.

The discourse of the security sector⁸ globally has changed in the last two decades. During the Cold War security concerns were focussed on the state, as the chess pieces in the Cold War game. This perspective enabled the perpetuation of the colonial security system for decades. With the end of the Cold War in the 1990s, focus moved from state security to human security. Human security⁹ takes the individual as the reference point, and thus purpose of security systems is seen not just as defence from external threats but also as protecting the safety and wellbeing of individual citizens. This makes a much closer conceptual link between the security sector and human development, and for the first time provides scope for moving the concerns of women and other marginalised groups to the centre. Security would therefore include not only the defence of the state from external threats, but also the safety and wellbeing of individual citizens. Against this opportunity however is the increase in conflict and fragility as many states begin a move away from long-term authoritarian rule.

Women rights defenders have until recently not engaged the security sector. This has been informed by the fear of dabbling into security studies given that this was a "no-go" area for civilians in the previous dispensation. Secondly has been an understandable aversion for the military and security establishment, which has traditionally been the source of women's/ citizens' insecurity. Thirdly has been an expertise question. However, women peace activists in Africa have contributed to this discourse in a number of ways:

- documenting and researching the extent and nature of sexual and gender based violence, including identifying perpetrators
- providing gender training for military personnel
- advocating for an increase of women's employment in mainstream security bodies
- advocating for the recognition of rape as a war crime
- promoting women's role in peace-building, including training women in mediation and peace-building skills.

⁸ The core security sector in a country is generally understood to refer to the armed forces, police, paramilitary forces, coast guards, militias and intelligence services. Around these are bodies with oversight of the security sector: legislatures and legislative committees; ministries such as defense, justice, foreign affairs and internal affairs; the office of the head of state; and financial institutions. Other related institutions are the judiciary, customs, correctional services, other uniformed bodies and non-statutory security forces including liberation armies, guerrilla groups, traditional militaries, political party security forces and private security firms.

⁹ The precise nature of human security is still highly contested and did not form the scope of this conference.



Part of this work has resulted in identification of 'security' institutions as perpetrators of sexual and gender based violence – whether they are government, rebel or peacekeeping. Analysis provided by researchers point to the ethos of security forces, which remains highly dependent on conventional dual gender identities: masculine as strong, active, aggressive and the protector; feminine as weak, passive, vulnerable and in need of protection. Security forces often institutionalise a particularly extreme masculine identity, rewarding physical ability, certain forms of violence, endurance, self control, professionalism and heterosexuality.

One effect of this approach has been to ghettoise sexual and gender based violence which is seen as a 'women's issue' rather than central to security sector reform. Another effect of the lack of strategic engagement across the security sector has been to reduce the increase of women's employment in security bodies to a 'bean-counting' exercise rather than increasing in women's participation at key decision-making levels where potential structural shifts could occur. The women's movement has failed to question the underlying patriarchal structures and assumptions about gender identity on which Africa's security sector is grounded. The attempts to increase women's employment in the security sector and to promote women as peace-builders have been based on two rationales. One is to increase the likelihood that women's realities and lived experience are recognised and taken into account in the way the security sector operates and the second to influence the means and approaches chosen for peace-building. However the second rationale takes advantage of the fraught argument about women's innately more peaceable nature to balance the equally innately more violent nature of men. This assumption of innate gender identities reinforces the same gender identities in which the security sector is based. These conventional gender identities shape the abuser as well as the survivor, and enable sexual and gender based violence. Yet these gender norms have stayed embedded in our women's activism.



*Left- Right:
Funmi Oloni-
sakin (CSDG),
Yaliwe Clarke
(AGI) and Dr.
Tim Murithi
(ISS)*

African Union Peace and Security Agenda

The African Union is mainstreaming gender concerns within its peace and security agenda and has put in place institutional structures intended to promote gender issues within the AU, including:

- Gender parity among the AU Commissioners, so that five of the ten Commissioners should be women
- African Union Women's Committee which provides advice to the chair of the Commission
- AU Directorate for Women, Gender and Development within the Office of the Chairperson of the Commission
- AU Trust Fund for Women, still to be established
- AU Gender Policy, adopted this year and not yet implemented

There are some examples of implementation of this gender mainstreaming, some promoted by the civil society led *Gender is my agenda*¹⁰ campaign. These have resulted in:

- The appointment of two women members in the five person Panel of the Wise (Elisabeth K. Pognon, President of the Constitutional Court in Benin and Brigalia Bam, Head of South Africa's Independent Electoral Commission)
- Appointment of Graça Machel to the mediation team responding to post-election violence in Kenya;
- Increasing numbers of women serving in AU peacekeeping operations, especially in Darfur;
- The production of a Gender manual on peace-building;
- National focal points on gender and security issues have been established in pilot countries to improve the flow of information to the AU about the situation on the ground.

The realities:

- Women continue to be excluded from high-level peace negotiations and they are under-represented as Special Envoys of AU to conflict situations.
- The increase of women serving in AU peacekeeping operations has not been reflected in an increase of women in leadership roles within those operations.
- Rather than truly incorporating gender issues into the mainstream of AU governance, the policy approach of tools like the AU Trust Fund for Women, can imply that gender equality will cost extra money.
- Gender mainstreaming within the AU has been largely top-down and influenced by actors outside Africa. The new gender policy offers potential, but it is clear that gender equality is only an aspiration of a minority.
- Real change will only occur at the AU if it results from a bottom-up paradigm change in African societies through increasing participation of women in national governance structures and institutions, including security sector institutions.

Some considerations:

- Locating women and their security interests within established security structures and cultures, requires a sophisticated process of engagement that seeks to transform the existing order, ideas and structures.
- In the absence of transformation, creative efforts must be found to reform the current structures and the spaces in which security governance takes place in order to make them amenable to the needs and interests of women.
- In order to transform these systems and approaches to ensure the inclusion of women and their security needs, African agencies concerned with the promotion of women's rights and security must of necessity move to a higher level of strategic engagement on peace and security.
- The structures of insecurity which produce SGBV must be engaged from a broader perspective and it means in effect, dealing with the strategic framework on which the state security and international security systems are based. It requires among other things, an interrogation of the security discourse – globally and regionally; an engagement with all the critical actors and institutions that shape the discourse and this will in all probability include the military and security establishment.
- There is need for a deeper knowledge of the wider security environment and the drivers of that environment. It is only by studying the strategic framework and engaging on the strategic issues that produce SGBV that the women's movement and the defenders of women's rights can begin to make a dent in their fight to ensure that the cause of women is realised and that the lives of women change for the better on the ground.
- The conceptual basis on which our work is based such as the assumption of innate gender identities needs to be revisited for the reinforcement of the same gender identities in which the security sector is based. Thus not necessarily leading to structural shifts within these institutions.

¹⁰ Led by Femmes Africa Solidarite

TRANSITIONAL JUSTICE MECHANISMS

THE REPARATIONS DEBATE

Chapter 2

Let me start with what reparations is NOT. The most common understanding of 'reparations' is that of paying victims money for the harm they suffered but Human Rights violations are not the same as accidents or even ordinary crimes ... there obviously can never be enough money to compensate for the trauma of torture, or the horror of rape, nor can money bring back a deceased spouse or child or substitute for the absence of a disappeared relative

- Dr. Comfort Ero

International Center for Transitional Justice



Until recently, women's experience of political violence and civil war was often neglected in transitional justice initiatives largely as a result of gender-blind definitions of human rights violations. Analysis of truth commission mandates, judicial opinions, and policy proposals for reparations reveal that ordinarily they have been written, interpreted, and implemented with little regard for the distinct and complex injuries women have suffered. Neglect of gendered patterns of abuse affects both women and men in their access to justice by limiting the reach of reparations programmes, entrenching impunity, distorting the historical record, and undermining the legitimacy of transitional justice initiatives. Moreover, there is still very little understanding of the gendered legacies of authoritarianism, of the complex and shifting relationship between different types of violence, and the challenges and opportunities present in transitional contexts to enhance gender justice. Similarly, in the past specific violations were the target of reparations and this was reflective of a limited view of human rights violations which centred on deaths, disappearances, and imprisonment.

As such reparation policies had often failed to recognise the specific abuses suffered by women during conflicts such as forced pregnancy, sexual slavery, and displacement. The Nairobi declaration was in response to the failure of the UN to adequately incorporate gender concerns in its right to reparations. The declaration noted that gender-based violence committed during conflicts "is the result of inequalities ...". Despite the progressive recommendations contained in the declaration, there are still myriad challenges to deliver a gendered approach to reparations. These concerns are stark on a continent where large-scale gender-based violence has been prevalent and has created huge implications in the realm of gender justice

The Case of Sierra Leone:

The ten-year conflict in Sierra Leone witnessed the interplay of state and non-state actors as well as the massive intervention by the international community. Because of its complexity and brutal nature, peace was only concluded after a prolonged negotiation process, which culminated in the Lomé Peace Agreement (Lomé Agreement) with the Revolutionary United Front of Sierra Leone (RUF/SL) on 7th July 1999. The overriding objective was peace at all cost, rather than justice, to put an end to the war and undertake the reconstruction and rehabilitation of the country.

Therefore the focus was on mechanisms to get the guns from the perpetrators to end the war, rather than justice for the victims, majority of whom were women and children who had been deliberately targeted by all the warring factions.



Within the context of a weak government that was 90% dependent on donor resources and personnel, it was apparent that the international community would greatly influence the peace process and in fact played a major role in determining the agenda and subsequent Transitional Justice mechanisms, key of which were the TRC and later the Special Court. These were modelled on western concepts and practices of reconciliation and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), modelled on the South African TRC, was seen as a panacea to “finding a definitive settlement to the fratricidal war in Sierra Leone, and the frantic desire to achieve lasting peace, national unity and reconciliation”. As a new phenomenon, there was no agreement or clarity on the concept of TRC and, even more so, on reparations.

The very comprehensive report contained recommendations “to address impunity, respond to the needs of the victims, promote healing and reconciliation and prevent a repetition of the violations and abuses suffered” which raised expectations from the various stakeholders- the victims, communities, government, civil society and the international community which could only be met in an ideal situation. The reality was that the TRC lacked an enforcement mandate; there was little government ownership of the process; there were competing claims for limited resources and weak capacity on Human Rights and SGBV issues. Furthermore there were various frameworks for addressing the reconstruction and rehabilitation of war-torn communities, of which the TRC Report was only one.

The Lomé Peace Accord had granted blanket amnesty to perpetrators of SGBV under Article IX: Pardon and Amnesty which states that:

“To consolidate the peace and promote the cause of national reconciliation, the Government of Sierra Leone shall ensure that no official or judicial action¹¹ is taken against any member of the RUF/SL, ex-AFRC, ex-SLA, or CDF in respect of anything done by them in pursuit of their objectives as members of those organisations, since March 1991 up to the signing of the peace agreement. In addition, legislative and other measures necessary to guarantee immunity to former combatants, exiles and other persons currently outside the country for reasons related to the conflict shall be adopted ensuring the full exercise of their civil and political rights, with a view to their reintegration within a framework of full legality.”

Worse still the Special Court of Sierra Leone’s (SCSL) mandate was limited to a restrictive definition of “those who bear the greatest responsibility” which let off many of the notorious community level perpetrators. It also adopted a restrictive approach to the Rome Statute, providing that the SCSL may only order the forfeiture of property taken from victims by a convicted person and its return to the rightful owner. Though provision is made for victims to claim compensation against a person convicted by the SCSL this must be made through the national courts, raising concern that the weak national justice system will be unable to deal with these adequately, with dire consequences for poor and illiterate rural women.

However the politicisation of the process has further contributed to the denial of victims of SGBV the justice, comprehensive and effective reparations they deserve under the Rome Statute. The decision-making level is not only staffed with officers who had no background in reparations but are also all male and from one region in the country. The interface with civil society and the steering committee is weak leading to programmatic problems in the data collection, design and implementation of the reparations programme. It is not aligned to the wider legal and institutional reform processes and Civil Society initiatives that are aimed at establishing mechanisms to prevent future violence, address deep-seated discrimination against women, promote equality, and improve women’s status and reproductive health.

Factors that have undermined the design of reparations programmes:

Reparations are different from development programmes in that development programmes are the rights of all citizens, not just victims of abuse. Reparations are an acknowledgement of the violations suffered by the victims, not something directed to the whole population. Further, reparations programmes respond concretely to calls for remedy and ensure the state’s legal obligations to provide reparations to victims of human rights violations. However, the prospect of a robust reparations policy on the African continent needs to take on a more innovative approach, including a consideration of how these programmes could be shaped to ensure that victim’s needs are integrated into other processes especially where resources are scarce and other factors have greater priority.

- The way that “conflict” and “harms” have been interpreted has led to numerous examples of where gender has been quite simply overlooked. At one level, there is a failure to connect the harm caused to women during conflict, namely killings, disappearances, torture, bodily injury, sexual violence, forced recruitment, and displacement, with the harm women may experience in the aftermath of conflict. These may include long-term bodily harm and health consequences, including curtailment of reproductive freedom, loss of land, insecurity, enhanced burden of care, political exclusion, economic hardship and vulnerability. The result is that reparations policies and design do not often adequately address these longer-term vulnerabilities.
- A further challenge has been that only those who were victims of crimes identified by the truth commission as human rights violations will receive reparations. Often, socio-economic crimes are beyond the reach of a commission’s mandate which inhibits the scope of reparations.

¹¹ Emphasis in original

The tendency to focus on economic and social integration as responses to massive human rights violations again exposes the very little understanding of the gendered legacies and consequences of conflict. This manifests itself in the fact that transitional justice mechanisms, in particular reparations policies, generally fail to address the psychosocial or medical needs which are particularly stark for victims of sexual abuse. Rwanda, Sierra Leone and the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) among other countries have shown the stark need for addressing issues of reproductive health linked to these crimes.

- The exclusive focus on sexual crimes, instead of a broader understanding of the harm caused has also limited the reach of reparations programmes. While it is understandable and necessary to focus on sexual violence, especially in African conflicts, the design of reparations programmes has sometimes fallen short of addressing the secondary impacts of conflict in relation to areas such as health. Further, human rights abuses often impose familial care burdens on women such as additional care for “dependents” or “secondary” victims. As principal caregivers in most societies, especially where health and other infrastructures have collapsed, women are often responsible for the reintegration of their kin, many of whom may be injured, or traumatised.
- Often only those who were victims of crimes identified by the truth commission as human rights violations will receive reparations.

The cases of Morocco and Timor Leste below capture contexts that have to some extent grappled with the challenges above and which other countries could borrow from and improve upon.

The Case of Morocco:

The Moroccan Equity and Reconciliation Commission (“Instance Équité et Réconciliation” - IER) was the world's first truth commission with the power to grant reparations directly. It was established by royal decree on 7 January 2004 to investigate instances of enforced disappearance and arbitrary detention between 1956 and 1999, issue reparations to victims, provide recommendations on other measures for victims, and establish a good historical record of abuses. Most women appearing before the Commission were not victims of direct violence, but were affected nonetheless by the repressive regime of King Hassan II and in desperate need of social and economic benefits. Previous reparations benefits were based on traditional laws of inheritance that prioritised eldest sons over wives, usually leaving widows destitute and/or reliant on male relatives for survival.

In an effort to not replicate these gender hierarchies, the Equity and Reconciliation Commission proposed that a more equitable share of reparations be given to spouses of those who had died or disappeared. To avoid unilaterally defining the violations committed against the women involved in the transitional justice process, the Commission tried to be aware of the unique differences in their experiences and backgrounds when creating reparations recommendations.



Left - Right: Dr. Comfort Ero (ICTJ) and Lydia Bosire -(Oxford University)

The Moroccan truth commission influenced changes in awards of reparations to women, shifting the criteria away from inheritance law to criteria based on their equality as human beings and on the nature and degree of the wrongs they had suffered.

- The communal reparations programme, which includes women from regions that suffered from collective punishment or isolation due to the presence of the former secret detention centres, represents one of the most advanced experiences in the field of collective reparations. It acknowledged past abuses and preserved the memory by converting former detention compounds into social, cultural and economic centres, and memorials.
- In light of the prevailing inequalities in Morocco, an impressive 163 of the 319 IER executives were women, accounting for over half of the administrative staff.
- Despite its successes, the IER created three working groups on investigations, reparations, and research, but there were no women appointed to two of the three working groups. This potentially reduced the working groups' attention to gender issues when contemplating reparations.



Left - Right: Atiqua Ouhajjou - Union de l'Action Feminine and Sakmassi Aicha - Association Voix de Femmes Marocaine

The Case of Timor – Leste:

Timor-Leste although not an example from the continent, provides a number of positive lessons and what is possible in a resource-strapped country when innovative approaches are pursued. The years of colonial rule and occupation created and maintained traditional social and political structures that largely marginalised women. The majority of Timorese women were long confined to the private or domestic domain as daughters and wives, whereas men enjoyed economic, public, and educational opportunities. This patriarchal structure provided men with full control over social and family decisions, and denied women the ability to economically sustain themselves independently of their male relatives. It was therefore crucial that the Commission recognise women's needs for reparations, particularly those who had lost their husbands and were now the heads of households. Timor -Leste's Commission for Reception, Truth and Reconciliation (CAVR) was established by the United Nations in 2002 to investigate human rights violations committed between April 1974 and October 1999. It was set up to investigate the causes of the violations; to address issues related to accountability; to recommend reforms and prosecutions; to promote reconciliation and human rights; and to assist in restoring the dignity of victims. The CAVR was active in its involvement of women at the national and district levels and also established a special research team on women's issues as well as a national public hearing on women. As a result gender was identified by CAVR as one of the four guiding principles for a reparations programme. In its

recommendations the CAVR stated that the reparations program should not only include those victims who “have come before the Commission” but should allow a two-year period to identify other potential beneficiaries. Its intention was to encourage more women to participate than the small amount who had been part of the official CAVR process.

CAVR's recommendations for reparations included:

- Offering single mothers, including victims of sexual violence and war widows, with a scholarship for their school-aged children until they reach eighteen years of age;
- Providing single mothers with access to other services such as counselling, peer support, livelihood skills training, and access to micro-credit for livelihood activities;
- Providing widows, survivors of sexual violence (without school-aged children), the disabled, and torture survivors with social services, including skills training and access to micro-credit; and
- The provision of support to severely affected communities through activities such as healing workshops.

A number of significant advancements were made by the CAVR to advance gender justice:

- Reparations for single mothers was interpreted to include all mothers who were not legally married, whose partner was killed or disappeared, or who were victims of sexual violence and bore children out of the rape.
- The Commission broadly defined victims of sexual violence to include boys and men who were subjected to sexual slavery, forced marriage or ‘other forms of sexual violence’.
- Recognising the plight of children during the conflict in turn assisted women as the primary caregivers.
- Recommendations included a stipulation that at least 50 percent of the programme’s beneficiaries should be women.
- In those communities where reparations were applied for as a collective, gender balance among beneficiaries was specified as criteria for eligibility
- It recommended a public education program as part of collective reparations in order to address issues of stigmatisation, particularly for victims of sexual violence.

Some Considerations:

Lessons reveal the need for procedural shifts to allow greater access to reparations by women. These are:

- Ensuring definitions of human rights violations which are inclusive of crimes such as sexual violence and other gender-based violations;
- Accepting testimonies by women of sexual violence without insisting on evidence of their violations;
- Including mechanisms, which identify the actual perpetrators of violations and prevent them from being eligible for reparations;
- Making sure that the eligibility requirements for receiving reparations does not involve requiring victim’s names to be published;
- Removing the need to provide testimony before a TRC in order to be identified as a victim and, therefore be eligible for reparations;
- Providing scope for women to testify before women’s groups about their experiences of sexual and other forms of violations
- Offering witness protection to those who choose to testify before a TRC;
- Recognising that definitions of victim’s family need to be open and based on the specific reality of victims and survivors for example extended families, customary marriages;
- Ensuring that reparations programmes are not about responding to the situation that existed before the conflict, but are about advancing women’s civil, economic, political and social rights;
- Ensuring proper representation and participation of women in the design and procedure of reparations initiatives;
- Challenging discriminatory practices and challenging practices that limit women’s empowerment can also improve justice for women;
- Prioritising vulnerability and severity of continued suffering provides a way to advance justice for women;
- Establishing special reparations programmes for women who are left as the sole caretakers of their families after the death or disability of their partners.;
- Providing psychological counselling, medical treatment and reparation benefits for women who endured gender specific violence such as rape.



This Morning is New

*This morning is new
No matter where or when we
wake up
No matter what we do
This morning is new*

*Above the nagging traffic drone
Clogging this weathered city zone
Even as I weave through another
Buzzing taxi rank- talent trap
Seeing children strewn like litter
Amidst smoke and
hissing prima stoves
People in droves
Who seldom look up
Look up*

*This morning is new
No matter where or
when we wake up
No matter what we do
This morning is new
Beyond the burdens of
material need
Driving some to crime,
depression, others to greed,
Even as we enter
another season of uncertainty*

*Pinning our hopes
To new promisers of change
Our own power and passion
for transformation
We must retrieve
We must believe
Believe*

*This morning is new
No matter where or
when we wake up
No matter what we do
This morning is new
It's new*

THE GREAT DEBATE

Chapter 3

How we analyse determines how we act

– Sarah Mukasa

African Women's Development Fund



One of the primary building blocks of this platform is to create a space within which to deepen analysis. Various mechanisms are adopted to achieve this goal; through papers, discussions and spaces that are consciously designed to ensure that there is an intersection between conceptual and practical. Last year a gallery walk was developed alongside the main programme to fulfil this objective. This year's conference deployed the debate as a methodology to revisit the conceptual questions around gender based violence, movement building and measurement of progress. Below is a summary of the salient points that emerged from the debate. They do not in any way capture the vibrancy and fluidity that characterised the actual space. The arguments offered from both sides of the 'divide' informed the subsequent reflections within the working groups.

MOTION: The women's movement has done little if anything to end gender based violence



FOR THE MOTION: Left - Right: Awino Okech (ACORD), Dr. Funmi Olonisakin (CSDG) and Emime Ndiokubwayo (ACORD)



AGAINST THE MOTION : Left - Right: Simone Quattara (African Union - Gender Directorate), Christine Butegwa (Akina Mama wa Afrika and Eva Ayiera (Urgent Action Fund)

FOR THE MOTION	AGAINST THE MOTION
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Too much time spent talking and not doing. There is an aversion to dealing with the critical actors. We need to move from placard carrying to sitting at strategic places. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Women's movement was the first to decode the root causes of SGBV that embedded in unequal power relations because of that rape was recognised as crime against humanity
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • When UNSCR 1325 was passed, the African women's movement was in the periphery; when debates on small arms were ongoing, the movement still occupied the periphery. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Women's movement was instrumental in breaking the silence on SGBV through personal narratives and testimonies and as a result it was taken up at the UN.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • We need to stop the one issue approach and move to strategic engagement • We rely too much on anecdotal evidence that is unaccompanied by statistics 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The women's movement is not the sole one. Women's movement like any other social movement strives for the welfare of all the humans. Inequality is a societal and governmental problem and everyone of us need to be involved
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • We have lost the political feminist ideology that underpinned our work and retracted to gender and development speak 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Women have played a key role in the formulation of the UN Resolutions 1820 and 1325 which inform gender policy formulations at national levels.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The 'break the silence' mantra has led to open wounds which we are unable to heal effectively. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Domestically most of the laws in Africa have been amended to take awareness of women's issues or new laws added - domestic violence, FGM.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The focus on numbers and not quality challenges the mobilisation of the necessary critical mass in various power bases on the continent. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • We have made sure at local level that services and facilities are available to women.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Change will not happen if left to men and the state machinery. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • We cannot bundle everything together - because then critical issues around SGBV get lost and we have chosen to expose wounds that society has refused to deal with.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • We need to speak with one voice, one mind and stop balkanisation of gender issues. Let's not "ghettoise" SGBV issues. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • We have generated goodwill across the continent to deal with this more than anything else.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • You cannot reform what you do not know; sound ideological analysis is critical. • Women are no longer in control, they are disorganised, not speaking with one voice; in fact they do not know what they are fighting for and are busy destroying each other 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The women's movement has managed to convince their fellow men about the need to create a more equal society where both men and women enjoy equal rights. As a result, there is a growing number of men joining the movement. It has become a more inclusive movement fighting for the rights of all humans not only a section of humanity. Our strategy is for transformation of the whole society.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • We must move from being content with adding new laws and reforming structures that are in and of themselves flawed. We must smash the glass 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • We are re-politicising the African women's movement. We are engaging new actors in the fight against SGBV. It is a political and governance issue. • Although numbers are not an end in and of itself and does not necessarily translate to quality and change, it is a necessary part of building a critical mass. • We spend time criticising ourselves and hold ourselves to an unreasonable standard; tend to think disagreements are a problem. We need to learn to agree to disagree but still focusing on the agenda we share • Societal transformation is a process, it will not happen overnight.

MAPPING ENGAGEMENT SECURITY SECTOR GOVERNANCE

Chapter 4

This chapter focuses on engagement strategies on security sector governance. Last year's conference gave precedence to transitional justice conceptualisation, with this conference drawing on case studies from Morocco and Timor Leste as useful processes to borrow from for countries considering transitional justice frameworks. Priority is given in this section to the action points that emerged from the security sector governance working group given the conceptual and practical challenges that have been faced by women peace activists in engaging with this sector. The insights below show that there is need for further work. The need for cross - sector learning platforms that can provide the necessary nuance both ideologically and practically are needed to inform women peace activists' choices.

ISSUE AREA	GAP	SUGGESTED ACTIVITY / LEVEL OF ENGAGEMENT
1. The ideology that informs and shapes the Security Sector	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How the institutions are structured: recruitment, training • Gender equality limited to discussion on SGBV limits addressing all the structural inequalities. • Patriarchy as a system that sustains violence against women is internalised • That women's rights is a focus only for the women's movement and society (including mainstream human rights actors) have no responsibility for it 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interrogate the training and preparation of Security Sector - (SS) actors is done. • The entirety of their training should transmit a practical gender consciousness and responsiveness. • Exploit opportunities such as those between WIPSEN & DCAF and replicate those to other regions
2. Engaging Communities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Disconnect between the real needs, lived experiences of women on the ground to the Security Sector Reforms - (SSR) discussions; • Not enough women who understand the technicalities; not enough women with grasp on Security Sector to engage at grassroots 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ensuring the Security Sector reform process address the real security and justice issues people deal with on a daily basis; • Work at increasing awareness among women at communities to help them link their experiences to SGBV discussions/ ideological debates • Multipronged approaches – sensitise communities and advocate; b) sensitise women and sensitise men (linked to ideological change)

<h3>3. Structures of Security Institutions</h3>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How to overhaul the cultures of institutions not just the structures • Underrepresentation of women in the structures (numbers) • Monitoring: within the existing structures rather than having women's concerns addressed by an annexed budget • Police and prisons need to have specific structures on SGBV 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Focus our monitoring on the mindset change and mandate change. What mandates are the institutions engaging beyond having legal requirements for gender structures (beyond tokenism and reviewing concrete attitudinal/behavior changes) • A system of reporting that includes specific reporting on SGBV drawing from the ECOWAS early reporting structures that captures incidences and trends from the countries of focus (zone offices)
<h3>4. Policies</h3>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Low participation of women in formulating policies on Security Sector- (SS) • Our advocacy has focused strongly on regional and international forums not on national actions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Work with institutions within Security Sector Reforms – (SSR) parliament and committees as well as engage line ministries in policy development • Push for the reception clause that will allow for immediate domestication of ratified international and regional instruments. • Test laws – strategic litigation
<h3>5. Accountability</h3>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The security sector as perpetrators • Having gender conscious structures that enable reporting and accountability 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Shifting mindsets – focusing advocacy on prosecution not just on holding perpetrators accountable for physical crime but for judicial/law enforcement institutions to recognise the social economic effects of SGBV – changing the mindsets so that SGBV not just deal with the physical harm • Advocating for support to survivors in addition to prosecution – a budget line • A standardised protocol on the questions police ask complainants on SGBV so that they don't re-victimise the complainants • Enhance capacities of prosecution arms to appropriately investigate and prosecute GBV • Standards of government service – put in place structures/appraisal systems that require government personnel to report on their responsiveness to gender issues as a performance measure
<h3>6. Our Approach</h3>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Recognising women's empowerment is a responsibility for all actors – without compromising the need to women to create spaces to convene and act • How do we hold accountable mainstream human rights movement so that they take responsibility for women's empowerment? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Programming, budgeting and responding to defence of women human rights regardless of organisations area of work • Holding the mainstream women's rights movement accountable for women's empowerment – begin to make them take responsibility and not treat women's issues as a side issue. • Movement building that is founded on a clear feminist ideology.

We need to smash the glass!

– Prof. Sylvia Tamale¹²

University of Makerere



If one was to take account of the gains that have been made at various levels in the women's rights work generally and on sexual and gender based violence¹³ specifically, the list would be endless. Often the larger retrogressions¹⁴ take away from these celebrations because of the impact that they have on rolling back these successes. The resurgence of a number of debates through bills in the East Africa region – such as the wave of anti homosexuality bills in Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi as well as the financial crisis and the continuing war on terror has meant that a large percentage of mainstream actors' responses have become driven now more than even by morality. Indeed the principles of right and wrong have not been enshrined at a basic minimum within the human rights framework but have been rooted in various forms of religious fundamentalisms. In doing so governance, spaces of governing and states are being redefined and shaped by forces which cannot ascertain, protect and work towards equity because that is not the principle from which they proceed.

The multitude of actors who take women's rights seriously must be cognisant of the need to counter these larger forces and to do so our work must cumulatively contribute to that effort. This conference consciously re-centered the question of structural inequalities within the framework of transitional justice and security governance debates. Unlike previous year when our approaches were driven by what we could do within institutions, with institutions and with champions within those contexts, the approach this year was to revisit the very structure of the institutions we seek to engage, our own understanding of these structures and to refocus energies on the 'how'. In doing so, we called for a return to the basics: conceptual issues, ideological questions and strategy concerns. This work is by no means easy, for it requires a redefinition of the work that most of us have been doing for many years, it challenges the conceptual basis of our work but most importantly unlike a well, a shelter, a law in the statute books, a school; it is not easy to touch.

¹² Prof. Sylvia Tamale a feminist lawyer and outgoing dean of the faculty of Law at University of Makerere, spoke at the opening dinner of the conference. She challenged a gradual and reform oriented approach as the means to achieving women's rights or whether there was need to 'smash the glass' by claiming the reigns of power and dismantling the status quo.

¹³ As a core contributor to gender inequities

¹⁴ Whether these are laws that explicitly reduce rights or governance and economic policies that reduce the space for civil society engagement hence the space for any form of gender equity is impinged upon.

Prof. Tamale's phrase above is insightful on many levels: it alerts us to the need for clarity not only on the reasons why we challenge impunity for SGBV but also on the mechanisms we use; are they rooted in sound conceptual analysis, stereotypes and gender typecasting? It also calls for attention to the channels (and the need to reflect on the shifting nature of those channels) that we utilise – state accountability, due diligence, duty bearers. In so doing she challenges the efficacy of the state¹⁵ and the willingness of the state to address SGBV on one level and hence the structural inequalities that become manifest as a result. In returning to the opening quotations at the beginning of this report, both Tamale and Sankara's statements call for the exploration of alternatives for African development based on autonomy and local self-reliance and principles of equity. This challenge is however grounded in the sometimes difficult task of anchoring the ideology within our work; for our analysis determines how we act.



Screening of videos on actual testimonies of communities and survivors of Sexual and Gender Based Violence

¹⁵ Particularly in a context where states and accompanying governments are negotiated outside of the realm of citizens engagement through the vote and the when the very basis of such transitioning states is founded on principles of inequity – wherein lies the gender and women's rights as a critical variable?

Review of 2008 by the reference group:

- In September 2008, the Conference reference group met in Kampala and recommitted to implementing key urgent actions emerging from the conference action points.
- The conference reference group in November 2008 published the Pan African Conference Report and an accompanying occasional paper: *Unfinished Business: Women's Rights & Transitional Justice in Africa*, both documents were launched in Kenya, Burundi and Uganda.
- AWDF, UAF and ACORD through the MDG3 grant of the Dutch government continue to allocate financial, human and material resources to the SGBV agenda.
- The AWDF and UAF as women's rights focused funding agencies continue to avail resources to actors across the continent to implement projects, lobby governments and mobilise grassroots and national actors in their various contexts.
- ACORD has undertaken an audit of SGBV specific legislation and judicial processes in five countries of the great lakes region.
- AWDF committed to strategic legislation with an ongoing case in Ghana testing the domestic violence law.
- Two issues of Feminist Africa an academic journal run by the African Gender Institute at the University of Cape Town on Gender Based Violence supported by AWDF.
- ACORD as a recipient of the MDG3 fund of the Dutch government is currently implementing a sub regional project targeting five countries (Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Burundi and DRC) to address justice and accountability frameworks in these contexts.
- ACORD has worked with partners to develop a framework to guide the development of an African SGBV Index¹⁶. A dissemination of the tools and consensus building process with key actors occurred after the conference.
- Action Aid International - Africa through its VAW project in the Emergencies and conflict theme has contributed to developing the capacity of women survivors of violence in the Eastern part of Congo, with the key goal of building advocacy structures and mechanisms that are centered on women survivors. Action Aid International - AAI also supported the women to better organise and develop their leadership capabilities through the 'Sauti ya Wanawake' network. This a local women's forum that has not only been established in DRC but also other countries in Africa like Malawi, Sierra Leone, Lesotho.
- The VAW project is also conducting an assessment in Burundi, DRC and Sierra Leone on provision of Sexual Reproductive Health Services. The information from this Assessment will be used to engage national governments on policy dialogues to influence humanitarian action reforms by revision of their own health sector plans.
- This is in addition to the range of activities conducted regionally and nationally by agencies such as the ICGLR, KHRC, AMwA and The Ark Foundation amongst other actors to further these commitments through their own institutional mandates.

¹⁶ An idea mooted at the July Conference by Hon. Gertrude Mongella, President of the Pan African Parliament

REPORT FROM A PARTICIPATING ORGANISATION

The Ark Foundation, Ghana participated in the Ending Impunity for Sexual and Gender Based Violence (SGBV) Conference, Nairobi in July, 2008.



Naa Atwei - The Ark Foundation

At the end of the conference, The Ark Foundation, Ghana was tasked to:

- Monitor and evaluate the implementation of Ghana's Domestic Violence Act.
- Meet with Ghanaian Government agencies to present findings and lobby for effective implementation of the Act
- Together with AWDF, look at the ECOWAS region (Review Gender Policy) and partner with other women's organisations in West Africa.
- Conduct Leadership Development Training for SGBV Survivors.

Monitoring and Evaluation of the Implementation of the Domestic Violence Act

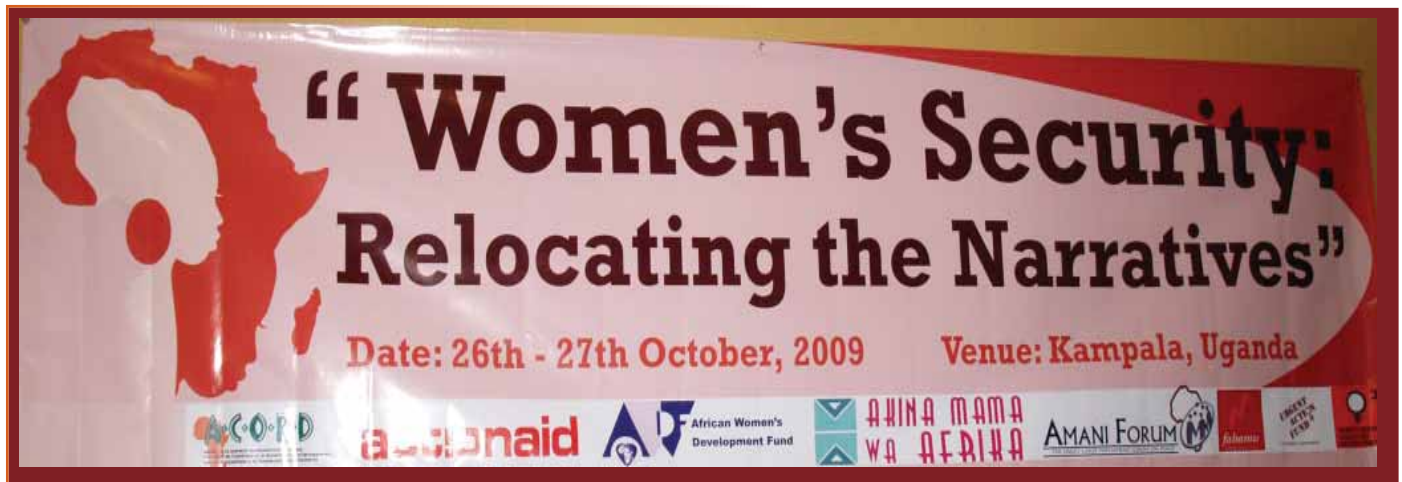
The Ark Foundation, Ghana was able to undertake the first phase of the monitoring of the implementation of the Domestic Violence Act, 2007. (DV Act 732), this was a baseline study.

Prior to the commencement of the project, all state institutions (The Judiciary, Department of Social Welfare, The Police and Ghana Health Service) mandated by the Act to respond to domestic violence were contacted to seek permission for the monitoring exercise. The exercise was conducted smoothly, and the report compiled by the writer of this presentation.

After the report, policy briefs were produced and disseminated to the relevant agencies. Various meetings were held with all these agencies for the validation of the findings. The final reports were distributed to the relevant government and non-governmental agencies.

This year, the second phase was also conducted but the report is not yet out. At the end of last year, The Ark Foundation held three policy advocacy fora. Through these events it engaged state and non-state actors, in a bid to encourage the formulation of a national policy framework that would provide a co-ordinated approach for responding to Violence against Women and Children (VAWC). Captured below are issues dealt with at these fora:

- Policy and Practice Issues Arising from Sheltering Victims / Survivors of Domestic And other Forms of Sexual and Gender Based Violence
- Assessing Training & Capacity Building Needs of Responding Institutions
- Assessing the Capacity for Integration and Coordination of Institutional Response.



Impact

The Ark foundation has had several invitations to attend events held by state agencies that have come to accept the foundation as partners and collaborators. The research findings from the survey are quoted by government non-government agencies alike to support issues they raise about their organisations.

The Ministry of Women and Children's Affairs has taken up its mandate of coordinating the implementation of the DV act seriously. It also launched the National Policy and Plan of Action for the implementation of the DV Act late last year. The Executive Director of The Ark Foundation is a member of the Management Board of The DV victims' Fund. In its maiden programme, the Director of the ministry referred to the findings of the monitoring project.

The police and the department of social Welfare have identified with the findings and are making moves to remedy the situation in their various departments.

Leadership Development Training

The Ark Foundation strives to be both proactive and reactive. As part of the response to GBV, survivors are taken through therapy that includes empowerment- leadership development. No specialised training has been organised for survivors only. However, AWDF supported The Ark Foundation to organise three Leadership Development Training Programmes for young women between the ages of 20 - 40. The aim of this training was to develop the leadership potential of participants and create awareness on GBV.

A GENDER BASED VIOLENCE INDEX– GENERATING POLITICAL PRIORITY

We cannot think about justice outside the political context. There is need to acknowledge the politics of the debate

– Lydia Bosire
Oxford University



Generating political priority for any agenda is central to determining its uptake at both national and international levels and how it is subsequently resourced. The development of indices¹⁷ has been a strategy deployed to generate political priority. The chapter below captures part of process that informed the development of indicators for the gender based violence index that was mooted at the last conference and which ACORD took the lead in initiating. ACORD in consultation with experts took the lead in defining the framework and indicators for such an index would look like. The index will complement programs aimed at measuring the prevalence of GBV, as well as current efforts to clarify contested definitions of GBV at both the policy and cultural levels. It will do so by tracking the progress of both the government and wider GBV policy community in tackling the issue.

The Index will accomplish two tasks. First, it will bring together different indicators to assess degree of **government commitment** to GBV. The current lack of a tool that can allow for systematic tracking of country progress towards addressing GBV means that countries are only measured for the final outcome, that is, a drop in GBV cases. However, a disaggregated index can demonstrate where and how progress is being made incrementally to combat GBV. Governments will perform better or worse than the counterparts depending on how they score on the different indicators of government commitment to GBV in the realms of legal, public awareness and effective programs. The score of government commitment draws on progress made by the UN Economic Commission on Africa (UNECA) in developing the African Gender Development Index (AGDI), and on the ongoing collaboration between UNECA and Gender Links. UNECA's work has been critical in developing methodological approaches that can be adaptable to other purposes in advancing the GBV agenda, and in standardising the indicators to be used for different measures respectively.

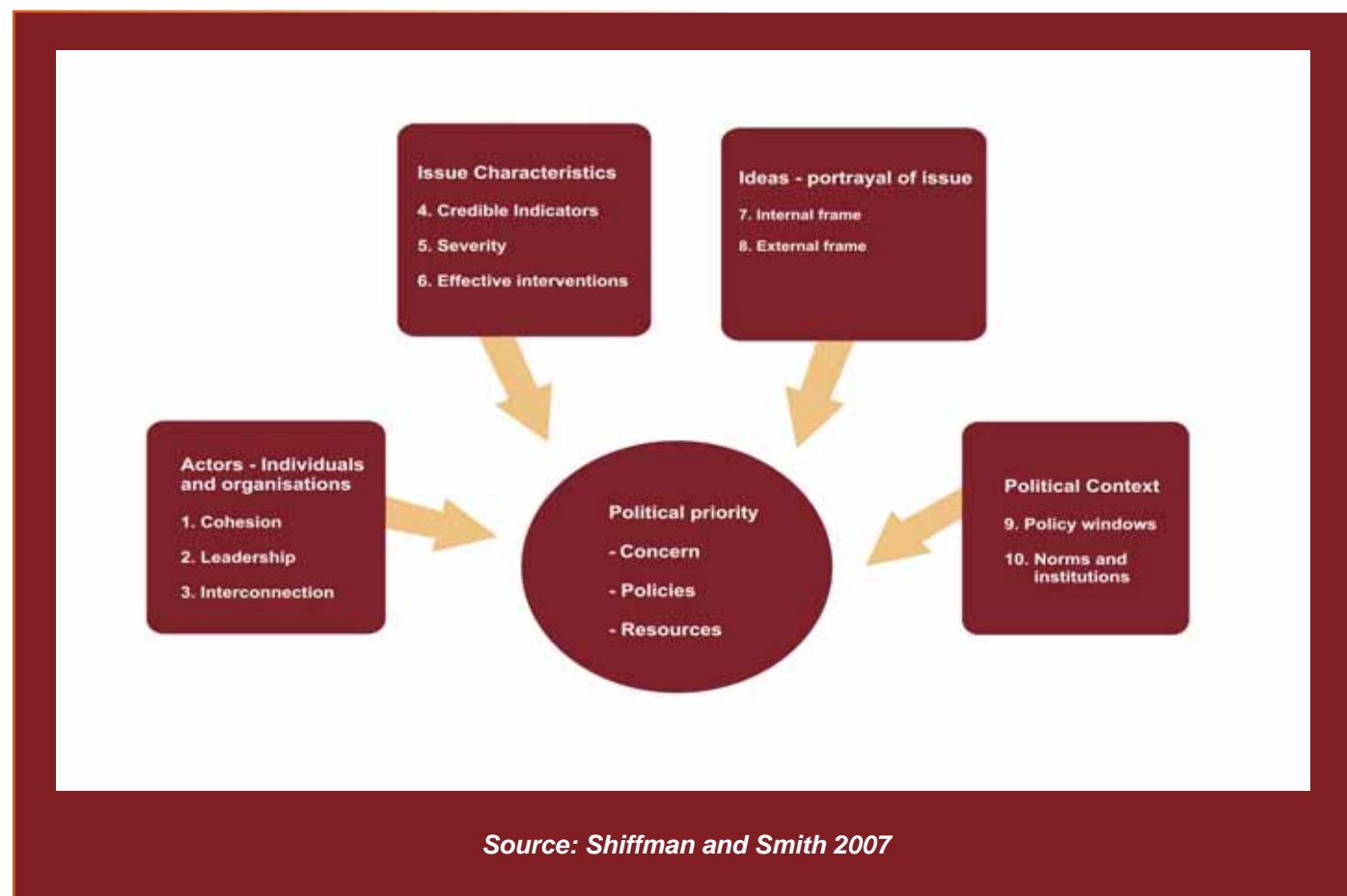
Finally, while the Index ranks all African countries on governmental commitment, it is to some extent non-adversarial through its review of the policy community as a whole using the diagnostic tool: the policy community's effectiveness affects and is affected by governmental commitment. Moving forward calls for directed, coordinated action. It galvanises the GBV community for a common purpose. Increased cohesion and coherence among women's rights advocacy organisations – both domestic and international – will improve the status of GBV eradication on the national level. Given the present state of GBV advocacy, where different actors execute multiplicitous strategies without a common set of indicators against which to measure the contribution of their activities to GBV, the diagnostic tool of the index provides a framework along which their activities can be assessed. It also allows actors to take some efforts in influencing the factors in which they have the most advantage. For instance, many countries will perform badly on the availability of credible GBV indicators and basic data, but that does not stop them from making progress in other areas – creating cohesive issue frames, for instance – while taking steps towards indicator consensus and data collection.

¹⁷ Mo Ibrahim Governance Index, the Transparency International Corruption Index and UNECA's African Gender and Development Index are a few of note Communiqué



The indicators and tools were validated at the end of the conference by a small team of actors from a range of sectors with the framework below as guidance. Processes are underway to systematically pilot and consolidate the outcomes of the pilot.

GENERATING POLITICAL PRIORITY



COMMON FACTORS

Actors

Strength of organizations and institutions

- Are issue organizations cohesive?
- Leadership - Are there organizations with leadership mandate or is there a fight over control of approach?
- Who are the range of advocates that can be useful and what are the risks – ministers, celebrities?
- To what extent are civil society organizations organized? Do grassroots activists have access to international platforms?

ISSUE CHARACTERISTICS

Features of the problem

- **Indicators** – Existence of Credible indicators that can be used to show progress?
- **Severity** – How does problem compare to other competing priorities?

- **Effective interventions** - do proven interventions to address the problem exist? To what extent are interventions clear, straightforward, and affordable

IDEAS

How actors understand and portray issues

Internal resonating frame

- Agreement within the community about the nature of the problem?
- Agreement about its solutions?
- What are the contentious areas? How significant are they?

External resonating frame

- Is there an agreement on the message that is presented to different global stakeholders?
- Is the message consistent across the policy community?
- Is the issue framed in a manner that encourages participation?

POLITICAL CONTEXT

Environment in which actors operate Policy windows

- How does the global mood support the issue?
- Are there major focusing events (e.g. international conferences) that bring attention to the issue?

Global governance structures– agreements, and declarations and institutions that oversee them

- Unified or fractured global governance structures?
- What is the nature of coordination of GBV-related principles and norms across UN funds and programs?
- What is the nature of coordination between the global, regional, and national platforms?
- Level of funding available?

Questions:

- What is an example of presence or absence of this factor in the GBV policy community?
- Different ways in which we can measure this factor?
- What are the challenges of measuring it this way?
- Other missing factors can help measure political priority under this category?

Pan African Conference on Ending Impunity for Sexual and Gender Based Violence

26th – 27th October 2009, Kampala Uganda



Left - Right: Juliet Nakato (ACORD - Uganda), Hon. Miria Matembe (Former MP- Uganda) and Dr. Hildah Tadia (MEMPROW)

As representatives of parliaments, regional institutions and civil society organisations in the Great Lakes, East, West, Southern and Horn of Africa regions, after two days of deliberation, identify these critical actions to ensure we are collectively and individually accountable. We determine together to effect a major push forward in ending impunity and promoting accountability.

We recognise that the women's movement in Africa has continued to vigorously engage the immense challenges of impunity for violence against women. We recognise the gains made but we also recognise the immense challenges that women continue to face, facilitated by the attitudes and actions of the State and its operational organs.

We recognise the previous commitments and action plans generated in the first Pan African conference on impunity for sexual and gender based violence in July 2008 and we seek to build on those efforts as follows:

Conceptual Issues:

1. We recognise that the women's movement is not a homogenous movement; we are different and equal. Our differences expose us to various forms of violence, discrimination and disadvantages, and certain groups have been targeted for violence including LGBT groups and sex workers. As a movement, our strategies need to show consciousness of these differences and clarity of our intention to include seeking justice and empowerment for all groups of women.
2. We are aware that embedded attitudes and practices emanating from patriarchy have kept women on the periphery of power. We identify that it is not enough to focus on reforming institutional structures built on such basis but also in transforming the ideologies that shape these values and practices.

3. We take a gendered approach to our work: the equality of women and men. Therefore our strategies are to mainstream equality in generic organisations. Within this we recognise that women have been marginalised and reaffirm our commitment to the agenda of women's empowerment and equality.

In relation to the security sector, transitional justice and the enduring problem of impunity, we make these observations:

4. Our femininities and masculinities have shaped the security sector. Specifically we recognise that violent masculinities, particularly of a heterosexual, aggressive and dominant type, have shaped and defined the security architecture. These have resulted in physical, social, psychological insecurity for women.
5. We highlight that security and justice are tools intended for society's benefit yet in the present state they function as lofty aspirations that have no bearing on the everyday experiences of injustice and insecurity. We highlight that the experiences of women and men must inform the discussions, policies and structures of security and justice services at all levels, whether transitional or permanent. Security and justice must be attainable ideals.
6. We are aware of the profound influence the international community has had and continues to have on shaping Africa's security agenda and architecture. We recognise that this influence has been both positive and negative. We insist that whatever priorities the international community may have for peace and security in African countries they must at all times be secondary to the priorities and needs of women and men in Africa for security.

Recognising our continuous actions to address security, justice and impunity for violence against women, we commit to these further actions:

7. Engaging more and new strategies to hold governments accountable. In particular, we will engage strategic litigation to test the laws and hold the people in power accountable for their actions.
8. We will invest in enhancing our leverage and build links between and across social justice movements to create popular support for our cause: to empower and liberate women. We will seek to build our sustainability and self reliance rather than depending on external funding that has helped to balkanise our issues.
9. We will engage new constituencies, new actors that reach across class, ethnic, religious divides. We identify the opportunities and need to present alternative images of African women and the attitudes to violence against women in Africa through popular media and the issues of violence.
10. We will deliberately engage ideological frameworks that cast women as lesser than, weaker than, less important than and invest in re-educating society towards a new ideology that recognises the worth of girls and women and the equality of the sexes.

Participants List

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4	Amany Abouzeid	Action Aid - UK	UK
5	Annette Msabeni	ACORD Secretariat	Kenya
6	Angela Wauye	ACORD Secretariat	Kenya
7	Anna Mutavati	UNFPA	Uganda
8	Atiqua Ouhajjou	Union de l'Action Feminine, Morocco	Morocco
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10	Awino Okech	ACORD Secretariat	Kenya
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21	Dr. Grace Ongile	NEPAD Secretariat	Kenya
22	Dr. Helen Scanlon	International Center for Transitional Justice	South Africa
23	Dr. Hilda Tadia	MEMPROW	Uganda
24	Dr. Tim Murithi	Institute for Security Studies	Ethiopia
25	Dzodzi Tsikata	ISER	Ghana
26	Ecoma Alaga	WIPSEN	Ghana
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26	Eva Ayiera	Urgent Action Fund Africa	Kenya
29	Evelyn Samba	Action Aid Kenya	Kenya
30	Florence Kirabira	Uganda Police Department	Uganda
31	Florence Okio	ACORD Uganda	Uganda
32	Francis Kalolo	New Vision	Uganda
33	Harriet Gimbo	Action Aid Uganda	Uganda
34	Grace Tukaheebwa	CECORE	Uganda
35	Hon. Victoire Ndikumana	Burundian Parliament	Burundi
36	Hyacinthe Budomo	ICGLR	Burundi
37	Inspector Mira Koroma	FSU/SLP	Sierra Leone
38	Jean Blaylock	ACORD - UK	UK
39	Irene Njuguna	NEPAD Secretariat	Kenya
40	Juliet Nakato	ACORD Uganda	Uganda
41	Leonie S. Abela	ACORD Secretariat	Kenya
42	Lillian Dudu	ACORD Southern Sudan	South Sudan
43	Lokola Ndiabalema	ACORD Tanzania	Tanzania
44	Lucie Nyamarushwa	ACORD Burundi	Burundi
45	Lydia Bosire	Oxford University	UK
46	Malika Ndlovu	Poet	South Africa
49	Margaret Sekaggya	UN/OHCHR	Uganda

50	Magaret Wamukoya	ACORD Secretariat	Kenya
51	Mary Katushabe	ACORD Uganda	Uganda
52	Mary Nzioki	ACORD Secretariat	Kenya
53	Monique Van Es	ACORD Secretariat	Kenya
54	Moreen Majiwa	Urgent Action Fund Africa	Kenya
55	Naa Atwei	The Ark Foundation	Ghana
56	Ndadé Clémentine Kemtalbaye	ACORD Chad	Chad
57	Nick Elebe	ACORD DRC	DRC
58	Norah Matovu	FEMNET	Kenya
59	Ntomera Perrine	Observatory on the Integration of Gender Dimension and Employment	Burundi
60	Omugisha Baine Catherine	JLOSTJ Secretariat	Uganda
61	Ouattara Simone	African Union	Ethiopia
62	Ousainou Ngum	ACORD Secretariat	Kenya
63	Pierrette Dangboe	Femmes Solidaires Benin	Benin
64	Rita AciroLacor	Uganda Women's Network	Uganda
65	Robert Mugimba	Ministry of foreign affairs	Uganda
66	Ruthpearl Nga'nga'	ACORD Secretariat	Kenya
67	Ruvimbo Chimedza	University of Zimbabwe	Zimbabwe
68	Sarah Mukasa	AWDF	Ghana
69	Sidi Bah	Independent Consultant	Sierra Leone
70	Solome Nakawesi	AMWA	Uganda
71	Stephanie Mukendi	ActionAid DRC	DRC
72	Sylvie Niombo	AZUR Development	Congo Brazzaville
73	Tatey Nyuto	ONG ALAFIA	Togo
74	Tina Musuya	CEDOVIP	Uganda
75	Vedeste Mwenende	ACORD Rwanda	Rwanda
76	Yaliwe Clarke	African Gender Institute	Cape Town
77	Zynab Binta Senera	Action Aid Sierra Leone	Sierra Leone

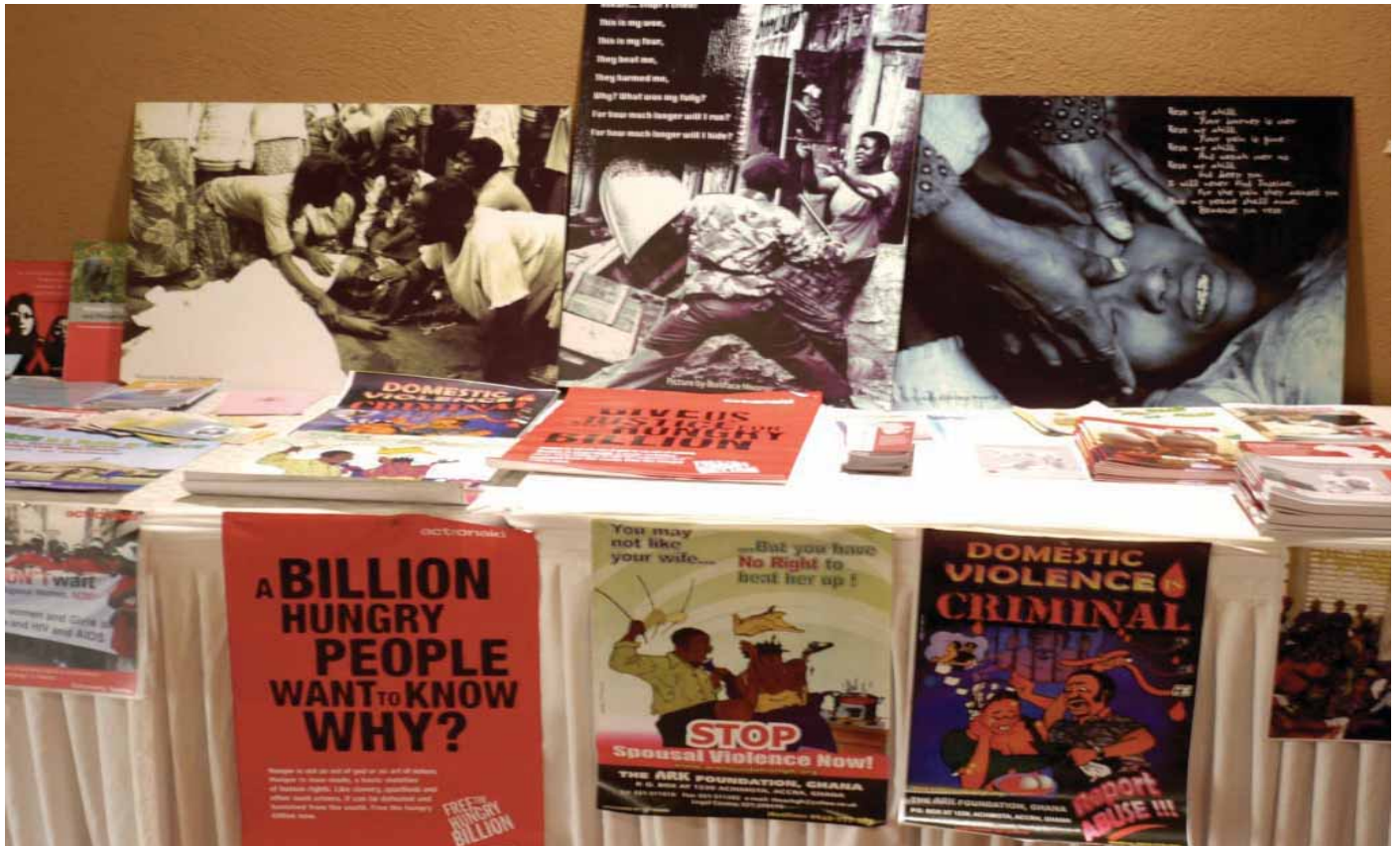


PICTORIALS

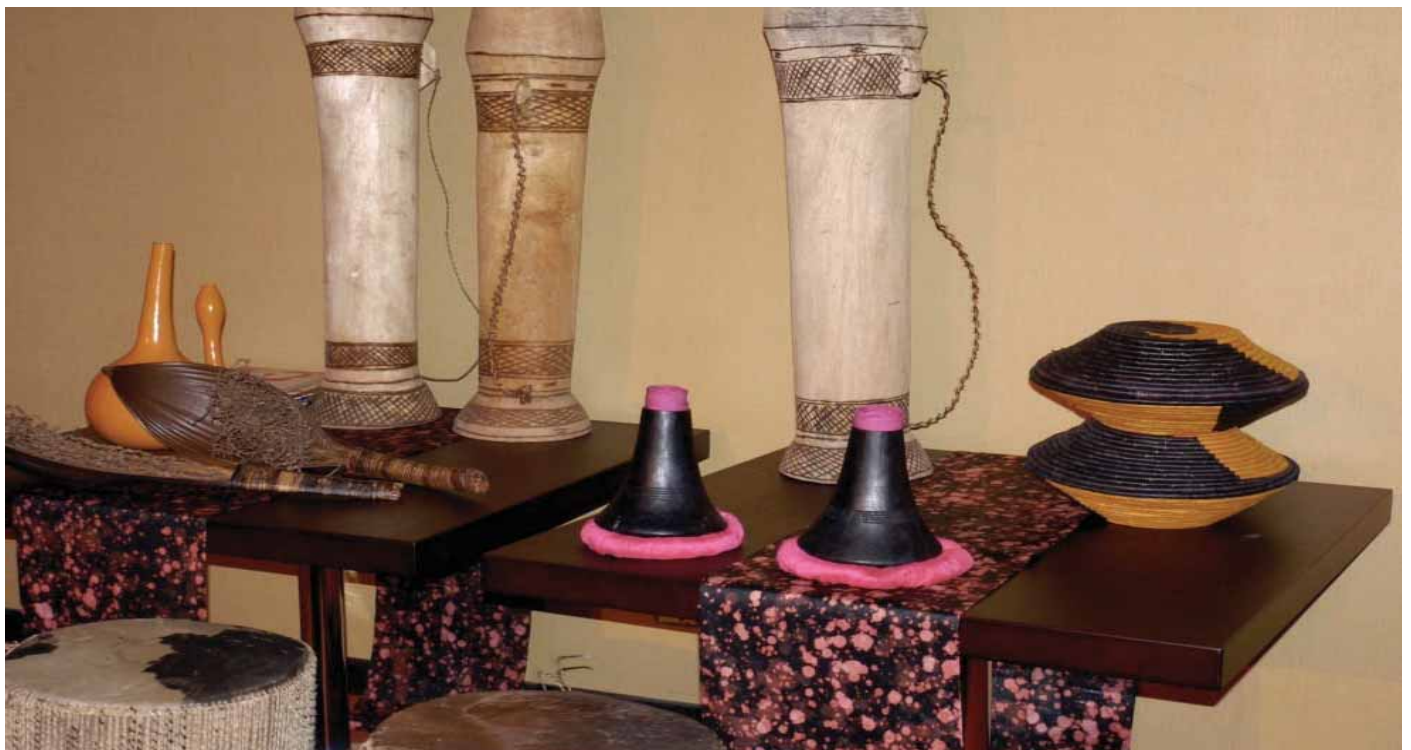


From Left- Right: Dede Amanor Wilks-International Director West and Central Africa, Solome Nakawesi - Executive Director Akina Mama wa Afrika, Ousainou Ngum - Executive Director ACORD, Ecoma Alaga - WISPEN-A, Brian Kagoro - Action Aid International, Malika -Poet and Performing Artist from Uganda,Pierrette Dangboe - Femmes Solidaries Benin, Amany Abouzeid -Action Aid- UK, Dr. Helen Scanlon - ICTJ, Hyacinthe Budomo - ICGLR, Florence - Journalist, Zynab Binta Senra-Action Aid Sierra Leone and Stephine Mukendi Action Aid DRC, Dr. Grace Ongile - NEPAD Secretariat, Hon. Victorie Ndikumana - Burundi National Assembly and Ruvimbo Chimedza - University of Zimbabwe, Nick Elebe -ACORD DRC Vedeste Mwende - ACORD Rwanda, Suzanna Awiyo -Performing Artist, Ntomera Perrine -Observatory on the Integration of Gender Dimensions and Employment (Burundi) and Clementine Ndade Kemtalbaye -ACORD CHAD, Round table of Participants,Ahmed Andjouz - COMESA, Tatey Nyuto -ONG ALAFIA and Niombo Sylvie -AZUR Development.

EXHIBITION STANDS



Publications, posters and picture boards on women's security



Artifacts, ornaments and jewellery on display



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