Beyond UN Security Council Resolution 1325

Field Research in Sector IV of the UN Peacekeeping Mission in Sudan

Birgitta Vega Leyton
Abstract

The United Nations Security Council resolution 1325 on women, peace and security was passed by the Security Council in 2000. Its passing was made possible by the efforts of NGOs around the world and was seen as a huge step for women in conflict and post-conflict situations as women were not only seen as victims but as agents of peace. The resolution deals with the obligations of Member States as well as those of the Security Council within its peacekeeping missions.

Eight years have passed since the passing of the resolution and this thesis examines how the resolution is visible in a peacekeeping mission. In order to answer this question reports and resolutions by the Security Council and the Secretary-General have been examined as well as literature on gender and peacekeeping. Field research was conducted in the Sudan from April to June 2008 in Khartoum and Kadugli. Interviews were carried out with NGOs, UN staff and with personnel within the UN peacekeeping mission in Sudan, UNMIS.

The UN reports and the field research both conclude that there are several obstacles preventing resolution 1325 from being implemented within the UN. One of the main obstacles is the lack of accountability within the UN system. Furthermore, it was found that personal interest played a major role in whether or not a gender perspective was being taken into account. Gender was also regarded by UN staff as ad hoc instead of an integral part of their work. The conclusion is that resolution 1325 is not yet fully visible in the peacekeeping mission observed, UNMIS.

Key words: Resolution 1325, UNMIS, peacekeeping, Sudan, gender.
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<td>CPA</td>
<td>Comprehensive Peace Agreement</td>
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<td>DPKO</td>
<td>Department of Peacekeeping Operations</td>
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<td>ECOSOC</td>
<td>United Nations Economic and Social Council</td>
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<td>FAO</td>
<td>Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations</td>
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<td>GOS</td>
<td>The Government of Sudan</td>
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<td>HQ</td>
<td>Head Quarters</td>
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<td>ICC</td>
<td>International Criminal Court</td>
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<td>IDP</td>
<td>Internally Displaced People</td>
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<td>Justice and Equality Movement</td>
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<td>SPLA</td>
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<td>South People Liberation Movement</td>
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<td>UN</td>
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<td>UNAMIS</td>
<td>United Nations Advanced Mission in Sudan</td>
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<td>UNIFEM</td>
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<td>UNMAO</td>
<td>United Nations Mine Action Office</td>
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<td>UNMIS</td>
<td>United Nations Mission in Sudan</td>
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<td>UNSC</td>
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<td>WILPF</td>
<td>Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom</td>
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1 Introduction

In the summer of 2007 I undertook a three month internship in New York with Peace Women which is a project of the Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF). Peace Women works towards the rapid and full implementation of United Nations Security Council resolution 1325 (2000) and WILPF was one of the organisations that worked for the passing of the resolution. During the internship I was responsible for monitoring the gender content in the Security Council resolutions pertaining to peacekeeping missions as well as part of the group looking at sexual and gender based violence references in reports from the Secretary-General to the Security Council pertaining to five African countries. One of these countries was the Sudan.

When returning from the internship I wrote a Bachelor thesis in Gender Sciences focusing on the gender language used in reports from the Secretary-General and resolutions from the Security Council. In the conclusions of the thesis I suggested further research on the practical effects of resolution 1325. When thinking of a topic for my final thesis in International Law I decided to conduct the research I had suggested. As I was familiar with the specifics of the United Nations Mission in Sudan I decided to conduct my field research there.

In January of 2005 the United Nations Secretary-General submitted a report to the United Nations Security Council on the Sudan where he expressed that the long war had compounded gender inequalities and “[a] sustainable basis for the peace process therefore requires investments in upholding and protecting the equal rights of women and men”. He also expressed that in accordance with the Security Council resolution 1325 (2000), which was passed unanimously in October of 2000 on women peace and security, the upcoming peacekeeping mission in the Sudan “would implement a plan of action to guide the process of gender mainstreaming in all aspects of work”.

Ultimately the United Nations peacekeeping missions can not secure gender equality in the host countries they operate in. However, the missions can promote gender equality within their own structure and live up to the commitments stipulated in Security Council resolution 1325.

1.1 Research Question and Objective

The research question guiding this thesis has been: How is the United Nations Security Council resolution 1325 (2000) visible in a peacekeeping mission?

The objective of this thesis is to study the impact of resolution 1325 on women, peace and security in a peacekeeping context in order to examine if and how the resolution is being implemented in a peacekeeping mission. The reason for undertaking this research is to contribute to the research on resolution 1325 and

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1 http://www.peacewomen.org/wpsindex.html, 2008-08-10, 11pm.
2 S/2005/57, para. 84.
3 S/2005/57, para. 84.
to the understanding of the process of implementing the resolution in practice. The results of the research will lead to a better understanding of the mainstreaming process of resolution 1325 within the UN system, or lack thereof which will in turn contribute to more efficient advocacy for the implementation of resolution 1325.

1.2 Disposition

The thesis starts with an overview of UN Security Council resolution 1325, putting it into context and going through how it has been incorporated within the UN system with special attention given to the Department of Peacekeeping Operations. Further, the constraints facing the implementation of the resolution are presented. A brief introduction to the field study context follows; presenting the specific issues affecting the Sudan and the field study. After this there is a section on the UN in the Sudan explaining the structure of the mission in place. Once the background is presented the field study itself deals with the specifics of the gender work of the peacekeeping mission and observations made. The Concluding Remarks summarizes the research and offers suggestions on further research.

1.3 Method

The thesis is structured in two parts; a theoretical and an empirical. The first part covers the UN Security Council resolution 1325 on women, peace and security and; the passing and evolvement, its implementation and the obstacles facing the implementation.

The sources of information are literature on law and gender, UN reports and policy on UN Security Council resolution 1325 and gender mainstreaming as well as Security Council resolutions and reports from the Secretary-General on the Sudan.

The second part, the empirical study, was carried out in the Sudan: Khartoum and Kadugli during a period of nine weeks between April and June of 2008. Interviews were conducted with NGO’s working with women’s rights in Khartoum and Kadugli as well as with the United Nations Mission In Sudan (UNMIS) sector IV staff in Kadugli. The method used in the interviews was a qualitative semi structured approach; a few questions were written down and asked to everyone and then the conversation determined the rest of the interview.

Some interviews were recorded, however, several of the interviewees preferred not to go on the record, some asked not to be mentioned and some felt uncomfortable being recorded if not given previous permission by a supervisor. Therefore, eventually, the tape recorder was left behind in order not to create a tense situation when asking for permission. Although it is necessary to mention that in several occasions the interviews were affected by the use of a tape recorder as well as the question itself and it may have affected the outcome of some interviews and in turn the conclusions drawn from them.
1.4 Delimitations

The Sudan is a vast country with several conflicts: the focus of this thesis is resolution 1325 within a peacekeeping perspective and therefore it is outside the scope of this thesis to explore the reasons and specific effects of the North and South conflict in the Sudan as well as the on-going conflict in Darfur. It would have been interesting to look into the specifics of the conflict itself and the subsequent peace talks and Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) and study if UN Security Council resolution 1325 was incorporated. Unfortunately including all of those aspects was not possible when keeping the scope of the thesis in mind.

At present the Darfur conflict, an area in the West of the Sudan, has received much media attention. However, this thesis does not take that conflict into account as it is still unresolved and ongoing.

The original scope of the thesis was NGOs and their role and perception of resolution 1325 in the Sudan and co-operation with UNMIS towards its implementation and how they have been successful in attaining the Security Council to include a gender perspective in the resolutions pertaining to the Sudan. However, after initial interviews with NGOs in Khartoum it became evident that few worked with resolution 1325, in advocacy or otherwise even though several of them had participated in a Swedish NGO project on resolution 1325 and were preparing to start a 1325 network in the Sudan. Co-operation with UNMIS seemed almost non-existent and the NGOs did not experience a change in their work since the presence of UNMIS. One idea was to go ahead with the intended topic and perhaps focus on the reasons as to why there was no co-operation from the point of UNMIS, as that research question was not be framed in a legal context it was put aside although an explanation to the lack of co-operation is offered.

1.5 Constraints

The decision to conduct field research in the Sudan was followed by concern about safety. The Swedish Foreign Ministry only advised against travel in the western part of the country, Darfur, at the point of departure in April of 2008. Once arriving in Khartoum safety did not seem like an issue of concern, there was not a visible military presence and there were no restraints on movement. Difficulties encountered where more of a logistical nature: e-mails were not answered or not accurate, phone numbers were not accurate or the the phone lines where temporarily not working and vast distances in Khartoum as well as the striking heat. Although security did not seem to be an issue when first arriving, the situation changed as the weeks progressed and with change of location.

Kadugli, where I spent six weeks conducting research was itself never targeted or reason of concern. However, in May Omdurman, one of three cities composing Khartoum, was attacked by a rebel group from Darfur, Justice and Equality Movement (JEM).

When the attacks occurred in Omdurman I was in Kadugli and one week from returning to Khartoum. I had yet to decide if I needed more time in Kadugli with

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UN field offices and UNMIS Sector IV or if I should focus on the UNMIS Head Quarters in Khartoum. Due to difficulties securing an interview with a key informant I decided to extend the stay in Kadugli and postpone a return to Khartoum.

Shortly after the attack in Omdurman, Abyei in the area of South Kordofan experienced heavy fighting.\(^{5}\) The situation became so severe that the UN and NGOs evacuated all civilian staff.\(^{6}\) It was difficult to predict what the fighting might entail for the future of the CPA and if the fighting would spread to other parts of the country. Several of the evacuated personal were taken to Kadugli, some of them where stationed there until further notice. These events delayed some interviews as staff were preoccupied with the arisen situation. Furthermore, several of the interviewees were reluctant to speak unless I attained permission from someone in charge. Gaining access was not a problem as those in charge in the mission and entities were very obliging. Many were also reluctant to speak of problems facing gender mainstreaming implementation, UN staff that went on the record chose their words carefully and refrained from criticisms towards the UN and especially towards the Sudanese Government. NGO’s spoke more freely about their issues with the UN, still, they where also reluctant to speak about the Government and made basically no reference towards it when talking about their work. Some asked to have an interview off the record and asked not to be mentioned by name or organization/section. Those interviews were more candid and several issues surfaced; some also spoke more freely once the tape recorder was off although they several times made sure that what they said would not be perceived as criticism towards the UN or the Government.

Perhaps the main obstacle when conducting interviews was the language and cultural barriers. Things were said that upon reflection turned out to be misunderstandings which did cause difficulties. The intention is to report as accurately as possible the findings gathered from interviews. Nevertheless, there is the possibility that misunderstandings have occurred. In some interviews it was possible to tell that the questions posed were not understood as was intended and therefore the answers were misleading. Sometimes the answers were misunderstood or perhaps not correctly interpreted; as a result, in occasions were statements have not been supported by other sources they have not been included in order to assure the highest possible accuracy.

\(^{5}\) http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/africa/7409967.stm, 2008-07-25, 1pm.
\(^{6}\) http://www.unmis.org/english/FS08-02-Indian%20rescue%20from%20Abyei.htm, 2008-08-09, 11pm.
On the 31 of October 2000 the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) passed resolution 1325, on women, peace and security. This was the culmination of extensive lobbying by NGOs concerned with women’s rights, such as those comprising the NGO working group and was welcomed as recognition of women’s different roles in conflict. However, some critics found it to be a watered down version. Either way it marked a change as women were seen as agents of peace, not only as victims. Their specific experiences of war and conflict as well as needs where taken into consideration.

The resolution consists of 18 articles which are presented in four broad themes: participation of women in conflict resolutions, gender perspectives in peacekeeping missions, protection of women and girls and mainstreaming of gender in the UN reporting and implementation system. UNSC resolution 1325 could be considered to be a political framework that provides operational mandate for different actors: policy-makers, decision-takers, programmers and funding components such as the Security Council (SC), Secretary-General (SG), Member States, Military and NGOs. Key commitments that are made by the SC in the resolution are: to incorporate a gender perspective at all decision levels; in peacekeeping post-conflict processes and in the SC’s and the SG’s reports as well as to protect and uphold human rights of women and girls.

Because UNSC resolution 1325 is not a convention UN Member States are not party to the resolution and there are no legal consequences for not complying. Although due to the structure of the UN, the SC is the highest organ when dealing with peace and security. The structure of the UN is regulated in the UN Charter from 1945; where it is stated that the SC has the primary responsibility for peace and security and according to article 24 and 25 the Member States agree to follow the decisions of the SC. However, as pointed out by Alan Boyle and Christine Chinkin not all SC resolutions are binding and the “wording, context and intent

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7 The NGO working group: Amnesty International; Boston Consortium on Gender, Security and Human Rights; Femme Africa Solidarité; Global Action to Prevent War; Global Justice Center; Hague Appeal for Peace; Human Rights Watch; International Action Network on Small Arms; International Alert; International Women’s Tribune Center; Women’s Action for New Directions; United Methodists Women’s Division; Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom. For more information see: http://www.womenpeacesecurity.org/, 2008-06-22, 4pm.
8 Cockburn, Cynthia, 2007, p.147.
9 S/RES/1325 (2000)
11 Ibid.
12 Professor of Public International law at the University of Edinburgh, School of Law.
13 Professor of International Law at the London School of Economics and Political Science.
are all relevant”. It is also unclear how UNSC resolutions should be interpreted as far as international law is concerned.

2.1 Resolution 1325 in Context

[T]he transformative potential of UNSCR 1325 is enhanced if it is understood as one among an array of evolving international commitments to gender equality and women’s human rights, within a framework of universal and indivisible human rights.


UNSC resolution 1325 on women, peace and security is part of a greater landscape of human rights, pertaining particularly to women. It is a tool among others for moving ahead the agenda on women, peace and security. Perhaps the agenda has moved forward by the passing of UNSCR 1820 on the 19th of June 2008 on Women and Peace and Security.

The UNSC resolution 1820 recalls 1325 and commits to its implementation. The resolution has also been advocated by NGO’s and was made possible by the work done by previous advocates. The UNSC resolution 1325 has been described as a resolution that:

[…] may well be the only Security Council resolution for which the groundwork, the diplomacy and lobbying, the drafting and the redrafting, was almost entirely the work of civil society, and certainly the first in which the actors were almost all women.

The passing of SCR 1325 was preceded by several UN documents and the interest of the SC in women in peace and security and the subsequent passing of the resolution has been suggested by Professor Diane Otto, to “be understood as one of a range of measures adopted by the Council in an effort to tackle its

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14 Boyle and Chinkin, pp..229-230.
15 Ibid. p.233.
16 Reilly, Niam, p.169.
17 E/1997/66 (Mainstreaming the gender perspective into all policies and programmes in the United Nations, Report of the Secretary-General)
21 Cockburn, p.141.
22 Professor Diane Otto is Director of the International Human Rights Law Program of the Institute for International Law and the Humanities at Melbourne University.
legitimacy deficit—specifically, its ‘gender legitimacy’".\(^{23}\) As the SC interpretation of Chapter VII\(^{24}\) became extensive and included interventions in countries such as Somalia, Haiti and Angola, conflicts that by some were determined to be internal disputes, it led some critics to question the legitimacy and the authority assumed by the SC and a reform plan was needed.\(^{25}\) While this criticism was being voiced the gender based violence that occurred in the former Yugoslavia was brought to light and violence against women could be seen as a weapon of war and not simply as an unfortunate side affect. During this time women who had been forced into sexual slavery by the Japanese military during World War II, so called comfort women\(^{26}\), spoke out and demanded accountability and compensation.\(^{27}\)

These revelations led women’s peace activists to join with women’s human rights advocates, drawing attention to the high levels of violence against women during times of war and peace, and uncovering compelling connections between militarism and cultures and the sexual abuse of women. They called for reforms to international humanitarian law that would recognize gendered crimes as war crimes and lobbied for action that would bring an end to the impunity that had hitherto been enjoyed by perpetrators of crimes against women during armed conflict.\(^{28}\)

According to Otto, once reports of the sexual exploitation and abuse (SEA) by UN peacekeepers\(^{29}\) surfaced the SC included demands by women’s human rights organizations and peace activists in their reform plan and thus the SC gained some much needed gender legitimacy.\(^{30}\) With the passing of SC resolution 1325 the SC accepted certain obligations agreed upon and committed to as stated in articles 5 and 15-18. The commitment of the SC includes that the SC “[e]xpresses its willingness to incorporate a gender perspective into peacekeeping operations, and [u]rges the Secretary-General to ensure that, where appropriate, field operations include a gender component”\(^{31}\). The SC also “[e]xpresses its willingness to ensure that the Security Council missions take into account gender considerations and the rights of women including through consultations with local and international women’s groups”.\(^{32}\) Further the SC asked the SG to “carry out a study on the impact of armed conflict on women and girls”\(^{33}\) and to present the findings to the SC and the Member States. In addition the SC “[r]equests the Secretary-General, where appropriate, to include in his reports to the Security Council progress on gender mainstreaming throughout peacekeeping missions and all other aspects relating to women and girls.”\(^{34}\) These commitments have been incorporated throughout the UN system in different ways and are amongst other things visible in the SG’s reports and SC resolutions. The passing of resolution 1325 does, above all, “make it clear that the Council considers the protection of civilians, particularly women and children, to fall within its competence”\(^{35}\).

\(^{23}\) Otto, p.2.

\(^{24}\) UN Charter Chapter VII: "Actions with respect to threats to the peace, breaches of the peace, and acts of aggression". Under Chapter VII the SC may decide to use force, art. 42.

\(^{25}\) Otto, Diane, 2004, p.3-5.

\(^{26}\) Lourdes, pp. 237-253.

\(^{27}\) Otto, p.4.

\(^{28}\) Otto, p.4-5.

\(^{29}\) For more on UN misconduct see chapter 2.3.

\(^{30}\) Otto, p.5, pp.21-22.

\(^{31}\) S/1325/2000, art.5.

\(^{32}\) S/RES/1325/2000, art.15.

\(^{33}\) S/RES/1325/2000, art.16.

\(^{34}\) S/RES/1325/2000. art.17.

\(^{35}\) Otto, p.8.
In 2004 the SC acknowledged that the implementation of SC resolution 1325 within the UN system was not progressing and reaffirmed “its commitment to integrate fully gender perspectives into the mandates of all peacekeeping missions”. The statement also mentioned its support for the SG’s intention to develop a strategy and Action Plan for increasing attention towards gender perspectives in conflict prevention. In order to promote the implementation of the resolution the SC requests the SG to submit an Action Plan for the implementation of 1325 across the UN system.

In 2005 the SC welcomed the SG’s United Nations System-wide Action Plan for the implementation of Security Council resolution 1325 (2000) and requested the SG to monitor the implementation of the Action Plan on an annual basis and report back.

In 2006, ahead of the 2007-2009 Action Plan, the SG tasked the Office of the Special Adviser on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women to undertake the review of the implementation of the Action Plan. The review covers the period 1 November 2005 through 30 June 2006 and consists of responses from most UN agencies who contributed to the Action Plan a questionnaire as well as additional questioning. This action is a step for the SC and the SG towards making resolution 1325 a reality.

2.2 Peacekeeping

These developments are encouraging. But resolution and policies emanating from New York and Geneva are no use unless they are accompanied by training for peacekeeping personnel, military and civilian alike, implementation in the field, and rigorous evaluation of its effectiveness.

Peacekeeping missions are not specifically mentioned in the UN Charter. They are considered to be actions that fall under chapter VI and VII of the Charter. Chapter VI pertains to peaceful settlements of disputes in circumstances that are likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security. Chapter VII deals with action for the maintenance of peace in on going conflicts that constitute a “threat to the peace”, “breach of the peace” or an “act of aggression”. Although peacekeeping is not stated in the Charter it is sometimes referred to as falling under Chapter VI and a half. When the SC passes a resolution it declares under which Chapter it is acting.

In UNSC resolution 1325 the SG is encouraged to submit a report to the SC on women peace and security which results in a yearly Report of the Secretary-

37 Ibid., p.2.
38 Ibid., p.3.
39 S/PRST/2005/52
40 S/2005/636
41 Ibid., p.2.
44 Conforti, p.149
45 Conforti, p.149.
46 http://www.un.org/events/peacekeeping60/60years.shtml, 2008-07-06, 10pm.
47 Conforti p.151.
48 Res/1325/2000, para.16.
General on women and peace and security.⁴⁹ The reports of the SG include topics the SG wants to bring to the attention of the Council, as well as issues on which the SC has requested action. In his 2002 report on women and peace and security the SG states that few of the SC’s peacekeeping mandates have a gender perspective:

Few mandates of peacekeeping missions make explicit reference to women and girls, or to the different impact of armed conflict or post-conflict recovery on women and girls. None have included a commitment to gender equality as part of a mission’s mandate.⁵⁰

In order to address the lack of gender perspective in the missions’ mandates the SG proposes that the SC: “Incorporate gender perspectives explicitly into mandates of all peacekeeping missions, including provisions to systematically address these issues in all reports to the Security Council”.⁵¹ A recommendation that the SC committed to in their 2002 statement came pursuant to this report.⁵² In the following report, the SG mentions the progress in the implementation of resolution 1325 that has been made in peacekeeping operations:

In 2000, there was minimal mention of gender issues in peacekeeping mandates and only two gender advisers were assigned to peacekeeping operations. Today, gender concerns are raised in all new peacekeeping mandates and there are 10 full-time gender adviser positions in 17 peacekeeping operations[...].⁵³

The inclusion of a gender perspective from the outset of a mandate has proven effective. Gender advisers participated in assessment mission conducted prior to the establishment of the mandates of operations” in four countries, which resulted in a better reflection of gender issues in reports submitted to the SC prior to the establishment of peacekeeping operations in these four countries “and translated into explicit references to gender issues in the ensuing Security Council resolutions”.⁵⁴

The department responsible for peacekeeping missions is the Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) and its mission is:

[...] to plan, prepare, manage and direct UN peacekeeping operations, so that they can effectively fulfil their mandates under the overall authority of the Security Council and General Assembly, and under the command vested in the Secretary-General.⁵⁵

In the Action Plan presented by the SG the specific DPKO strategy and action plan is to: “Include gender expertise in pre-mandate assessments and planning (headquarters and mission levels) and ensure that gender concerns continue to be systematically included in all new peacekeeping mandates.”⁵⁶ The DPKO is also to:

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⁵¹ S/2002/1154, action 10, para.46.
⁵⁴ ibid, para.33.
⁵⁶ S/2005/636, p.18, para.2C.
Assign full-time gender advisers and gender units in peacekeeping operations; elaborate standard guidance on the structure, size and reporting lines for gender units; strengthen implementation of resolution 1325 (2000) in peacekeeping operations without full-time gender advisers; formulate indicators for measuring gender mainstreaming impact on mission’s activities; establish in mission areas gender task forces with members of the relevant units/sectors.\textsuperscript{37}

In 2008 a press released was issued stating that all peacekeeping missions have Gender Units:

The establishment of gender units in all United Nations peace missions had been an important outgrowth of the Security Council’s adoption of its landmark resolution 1325 (2000), which emphasizes increased participation by women at all levels of decision-making in formal peace processes [...].\textsuperscript{58}

The purpose of the Gender Units is explained by Ms. Comfort Lamptey Gender Adviser in the Department of Peacekeeping Operations:

“Our units work with peacekeeping mission to make sure that women’s voices are not lost in all the efforts the [Organization] undertakes to support post-conflict societies”\textsuperscript{59}

The NGO working group that made resolution 1325 possible worked for its implementation as the resolution did not have a “designated institutional location in the UN.”\textsuperscript{60} Therefore the NGO working group advocated towards the UN agencies and they where successful within several agencies including the Department of the Disarmament Affairs. The NGO working group’s “most depressing failure”\textsuperscript{61} was with the DPKO. They had been led to believe that a well-staffed Gender Unit at HQ would be put in place, something which was not delivered. Instead one low-grade position “was created to deal with gender for the entire department.”\textsuperscript{62} The Working Group continued its efforts and turned to grass root levels, which had been the pioneers of the resolution, and spread resolution 1325. The work of grass root organizations helped women in countries with peacekeeping missions to take action. In the Democratic Republic of Congo women demanded a Gender Office in the Peacekeeping mission and the UN complied.\textsuperscript{63}

The DPKO seemed reluctant at first to incorporate a gender perspective in its work which is regrettable as it is a key component in the UNSC security activities. Dyan Mazurana, of the Feinstein International Famine Center at Tufts University, puts it:

International humanitarian and human rights law provides the legal foundation for all peacekeeping operations. And a solid basis exists within this body of laws and instruments for mandating a gender perspective into those operations. [...] Formal incorporation of gender perspectives into peacekeeping operations is thus an emerging phenomenon.\textsuperscript{64}

\textsuperscript{57} S/2005/636, p.19, C3.
\textsuperscript{59} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{60} Cockburn, p.143.
\textsuperscript{61} Ibid. p.144.
\textsuperscript{62} Ibid. p.144.
\textsuperscript{63} Ibid. p.145.
\textsuperscript{64} Mazurana, p.44, 45.
The DPKO has now reached a point where it acknowledges the importance of a gender perspective in its work, something which is visible in their answers in the review of the implementation of the Action Plan. The review is divided in several sections dealing with different topics such as; conflict prevention and early warning, peacemaking and peacebuilding, peacekeeping operations, post conflict reconstruction and rehabilitation, disarmament demobilization and reintegration, preventing and responding to gender-based violence in armed conflict as well as preventing and responding to sexual exploitation and abuse by UN staff, related personnel and partners. The answers are divided into; progress and results, lessons learned and good practices and gaps and challenges, at HQ in New York and in the field within peacekeeping missions.

The summarized answers of the DPKO are an honest review of the success and failures of the implementation of UNSC resolution 1325 within the department. The DPKO acknowledges that there needs to be better communication between the Political officers who are planning the visits of the SC to missions in the field and the DPKO Gender Team “to ensure that visiting teams are informed about gender issues in the countries visited.” Steps that are being taken by the DPKO include sex-disaggregated data in all monitoring and reporting activities such as the SG’s reports to the SC. The sex-disaggregated data is important as it makes it possible to trace the different impact of a conflict on women and men. The SG’s country report on the Sudan has sex-disaggregated data concerning the structure of the mission.

Furthermore, the DPKO is taking measures to improve the gender balance in human resources as well as “enhancing the role/capacity of Gender Advisers”. The DPKO states that one of its key lessons learnt throughout the process of developing the Action Plan has been “the importance of seeking to build Senior Management ownership for the process.” A lesson learned at HQ has been that an ongoing challenge is “building ownership and accountability for gender mainstreaming among all staff”.

2.3 Obstacles facing the UNSCR 1325

Although SCR 1325 is binding on states, passed under the authority of the Security Council, it remains more of a promise than a reality due to its less than clear language and lack of enforcement mechanisms. However, the use of SCR 1325 in a legal context is undeveloped and an argument to advance is, that by passing SCR 1325, the Security Council accepted that SCR 1325 imposes affirmative obligations on the Security Council itself.

The weak and non-binding language in the resolution with expressions such as: express, emphasizes and requests could be taken as a weakness of the resolution. In art. 17 the SC requests the SG to include in his reports to the SC the progress of

67 Review of the Action Plan, p.8
68 Review of the Action Plan, p.8
70 Review of Action Plan, p.4.
71 Benshof, p.35.
gender mainstreaming in peacekeeping missions where appropriate thus making it optional and not a required reporting. UNSC resolution 1325 has been compared with the UNSC resolution 1373(2001) on counter-terrorism that has much stronger language: decides, directs and declares.\textsuperscript{72} Perhaps the comparison offers some idea towards the commitment of the SC to the issue of women, peace and security, suggesting it is not seen as a pressing enough matter that requires the strongest language or not as strong commitment.

In September of 2006 when the SG presented the review of the Action Plan to the SC he reported that according to the review the implementation gaps, when looking at the answers of 29 UN entities, could be grouped into following categories: Capacity, Leadership and commitment, Accountability, Recourses, Coordination and coherence and Action Plan.

Under ‘capacity” several entities reported that their staff had inadequate understanding of concepts such as gender analysis and mainstreaming. Such lack of understanding of concepts and their practical application “has serious consequences for gender-sensitive programme planning and policymaking.”\textsuperscript{73} Problems that are mentioned are that by focusing on women and responding to their special needs, focus on the role of men is lost. This is especially evident when dealing with violence against women, where there is not enough attention on the role of men. Gender advisers in peacekeeping mission have been “a major capacity-development achievement” although their expertise was reported to often be underutilized.\textsuperscript{74} Operational entities reported a need for dissemination of information to understand the cultural and gender context as well as dissemination of resolution 1325 at country level.

The leadership and commitment of intergovernmental bodies and in the UN system to realize the implementation of the Action Plan is seen as weak and perhaps not as something to which they are truly committed to; “Despite the Security Council’s many strategic initiatives to promote gender equality and support the empowerment of women, its attention to gender issues is not systematic.”\textsuperscript{75} As proof that the SC’s commitment is not systematic in their attention to gender issues, numbers of gender inclusion in country specific Council resolutions are presented. The current numbers for 2008 are: “100 out of 306, or 32.6%, of country-specific Security Council resolutions contain specific language on women or gender.”\textsuperscript{76} These numbers are slightly misleading as they include all country specific resolutions and the most important ones are the resolutions regulating the peacekeeping mandates, in regards to UNMIS that is UNSC resolution 1590 (2005) which establishes the mission. It was also found that the achievements of the Action Plan were due to individual heads of entities, rather than on a systematic and holistic approach.\textsuperscript{77} In addition it is stated that:

Insufficient gender mainstreaming was viewed as a result of the organizational culture which prevails throughout the United Nations system, where most senior staff do not consider it their role or obligations to develop institutional capacities for gender mainstreaming.\textsuperscript{78}

\textsuperscript{72} http://www.glow-boell.de/media/en/txt_rubrik_2/UN_Council.ppt#3, 2008-06-21, 6pm.
\textsuperscript{73} S/2006/770, para. 23.
\textsuperscript{74} S/2006/770, para. 24.
\textsuperscript{75} S/2006/770, para.28.
\textsuperscript{76} http://www.peacewomen.org/un/sc/1325_Monitor/countryindex.htm, 2008-07-30, 1am. These numbers pertain to all SC country specific resolutions passed since the passing of UNSC resolution 1325 until the 8\textsuperscript{th} of July, when the last compilation was performed by Peace Women.
\textsuperscript{77} S/2006/770, para.28.
\textsuperscript{78} S/2006/770, para.28.
This is the point made by Sandra Whitworth; that the UN structure itself is part of the problem. She argues that:

[...] ignoring gender is entirely congruent with the understanding of women, peace, and security produced by the UN and by feminists who have engaged with the UN around these issues. The language that the UN has adopted concerning gender is one of that privileges UN proprieties in addressing war, peace, security, and peacekeeping in such a way that gender becomes, at best, a tool for achieving problem-solving goals. 79

The review found that there was a lack of accountability in regards to peace and security and especially concerning their gender dimensions. 80 Few entities have gender perspectives in their existing monitoring instruments which entails problems of accountability within UN entities. 81

Gender perspective in the work of Gender Units requires resources, monetary and human, which are not being allocated. The entities are mostly dependent on extrabudgetary resources in order to fund women, peace and security interventions. “The reliance on extrabudgetary resource, which are often short term, mostly earmark flows of resources, precludes mid and long term planning and commitment to make a difference on the ground”. 82 Also the resources do not correspond with the existing needs; instead they are a result of media attention, what is perceived as needs by the donors, strategic interest and political will. 83

Seven challenges were identified by the UN entities, among them: “Low representation of women at decision-making levels, both at Head Quarters and in peace support operations” and “[a]bsence of criteria related to gender mainstreaming activities and results in performance evaluation.” 84 In regards to the low representation of women; one of the concrete issues raised in resolution 1325 is the increase of women in decision-making levels in article 3 of the resolution. The article urges the SG to appoint more women and calls on the member states to provide candidates. Despite this, eight years after the passing of the resolution there are few women in high-level positions. Out of the SG’s 89 special and personal representatives and envoys 12 are female, or 8%. 85 Another obstacle for implementation is the overlapping mandates within the UN, there is a need for coordination and coherence. Challenges identified were:

Lack of coherence in the focus and format for gender mainstreaming policies and activities, minimum system-wide standards and indicators for implementation, thus resulting in different levels of attention given to gender equality in each entity’s planning and inadequate use of intersectional synergies to obtain maximum impact of efforts carried out by United Nations entities in individual areas of action. 86

In regards to the Action Plan itself the review found that several respondents had “noticed the absence of baseline information, performance standards and indicator, time frames and results focus.” 87

In the conclusions of the review of the Action Plan to the SC the SG states:

79 Whitworth, p. 18.
80 S/2006/770, para. 29.
81 Ibid. para. 30.
82 Ibid. para. 31.
83 Ibid.
84 Ibid. para. 32.
86 S/2006/770, para. 34.
87 Ibid. para. 38.
While gender equality is increasingly recognized as a core issue in the maintenance of international peace and security, the role of women in peace processes generally continues to be viewed as a side issue rather than a fundamental to the development of viable democratic institutions and the establishment of sustainable peace.\(^{88}\)

A very serious issue that threatens to undermine UN peacekeeping missions is the recurring incidents of sexual exploitation and abuse (SEA) by peacekeepers. The misconduct by UN personnel has been reported as far back as 1992 when there were allegations of SEA by peacekeepers in Somalia\(^{89}\) and in 1993 there were reports from the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) of “sexual attacks on women and girls by camp guards” and it was perceived as a “major problem”\(^{90}\) Nearly a decade later the UN took action through the SG in 2003 by releasing a bulletin\(^{91}\) which is a code of conduct that is referred to as the zero-tolerance policy.\(^{92}\) The bulletin applies to all UN staff and prohibits UN forces conducting operations under UN command to commit acts of SEA\(^{93}\) and states that such behaviour has always been unacceptable.\(^{94}\)

One article in resolution 1325 that has been particular significant for NGOs is article 15 where the SC:

Expresses its willingness to ensure that Security Council mission take into account gender consideration and the rights of women, including through consultation with local and international women’s groups [...]\(^{95}\)

The consultation with local organizations was the initial scope of this thesis; once the field research commenced it was evident that such consultation was not taking place in a satisfactory extent according to several NGOs that were interviewed. The local NGOs have access to the local communities and they have an understanding of the context at hand. The lack of co-operation between peacekeeping missions, the UN and NGOs is not unique to UNMIS and the Sudan. As expressed in the Action Plan review:

Most United Nations entities signaled effective partnership with civil society as a challenge, especially in the field. Even where the role of civil society in post-conflict peacebuilding was recognized, the networking with women’s organizations was inadequate.\(^{96}\)

The specific issues facing countries hosting missions affect the implementation of resolution 1325. The specifics regarding the Sudan will be presented in chapter 4.

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\(^{88}\) S/2006/770, para.47.
\(^{89}\) Kent, p.45.
\(^{90}\) Turpin, p.4.
\(^{91}\) ST/SGB/2003/13 – The Secretary General’s bulletin on Special measures for protection from sexual exploitation and sexual abuse. It is often referred to as the SG’s zero-tolerance policy.
\(^{92}\) Kent, p.45.
\(^{93}\) Sexual exploitation and abuse (SEA) is defined as: means any actual or attempted abuse of a position of vulnerability, differential power, or trust, for sexual purposes, including, but not limited to, profiting monetarily, socially or politically from the sexual exploitation of another. Similarly, the term "sexual abuse" means the actual or threatened physical intrusion of a sexual nature, whether by force or under unequal or coercive conditions. (ST/SGB/2003/13, p.1)
\(^{94}\) ST/SGB/2003/13, para. 2.1-3.1.
\(^{95}\) S/RES/1325(2000), art. 15.
\(^{96}\) S/2006/770, para.27.
2.4 After resolution 1325

UNSC resolution 1325 has been in place since 2000. During those years there has been progress in the implementation of the resolution as well as obstacles, some of which still remain. When considering the future of the resolution there is a point in looking at some of the challenges facing the UNSC resolution 1325 and the work the UN is doing in regards to gender and gender mainstreaming:

The new UN gender-awareness concerning armed conflict, peace and processes and peacekeeping has to date shown itself more in utterances about women and gender difference than about men, masculinity and gender power. It is also expressed more in statements of principle than mechanisms of practice.  

The issue of a major focus on women with the result of disregarding the role of men is also raised by the NGO working Group on Women, Peace and Security and International Alert in their report:

All too frequently, the term gender is assumed to mean women, and women specific projects are claimed to address gender issues.

The interviews in the Sudan supported the claim that gender is taken to mean women and girls and which was visible in the focus of their projects. Most telling was that several interviewees had difficulties explaining what gender is as well as often saying gender when it was evident they were referring to women. In direct impact programs targeting women may be essential to assure they get the proper assistance but in long term projects gender perspective needs to include the roles of men, for instance when dealing with sexual and gender based violence, in the review of the Action Plan a similar concern is voiced by UN entities:

With growing awareness of conflict consequences for women in recent years, any programmes and projects of the Action Plan have sought to focus on women and to try to respond to their specific needs in the areas if health, education and access to recourses. However, such approaches alone failed to address the larger contextual issues behind women’s marginalization in peace and security processes.

The focus on women is linked with the role that women are assigned; in UNSC resolution 1325 women were taken beyond victims and regarded as agents of peace. However, the role of women as combatants, perpetrators and instigators of war is disregarded. Women are “understood primarily through their vulnerabilities and, in such a position, need to be rescued and protected.”

Women are active in warfare; in the Sudan female combatants are not reported although that does not mean that they were not part of the war. The Hakamas women are one example of how Sudanese women were, like men, part in sustaining the war. Hakamas women sang songs that encouraged fighting and their songs ridiculed men who did not pick up weapons. According to an Amnesty International report the Hakamas: “stirred up racial hatred against black civilians

97 Cockburn and Hubic, p.119.
98 http://www.womenpeacesecurity.org/, 2008-08-03, 8pm.
99 http://www.international-alert.org/, 2008-08-03, 8pm.
100 Ibid. p.4
101 S/2006/770, para.23.
102 Whitworth p.135.
during attacks on villages in Darfur and celebrated the humiliation of their enemies”. These women have been acknowledged by the Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR) programme in the Sudan; even though they did not carry weapons, they have been recognized as an active party to the war. The Hakama women in Southern Kordofan are now singing for peace in their communities.

Resolution 1325 paved the way for the passing of UNSC resolution 1820 (2008). The resolution has, like resolution 1325, been seen as a milestone, acknowledging gender and sexually based violence as a weapon of war and taking a clear stand against sexual exploitation and abuse by peacekeepers. Although these are issues that the SC claims to take seriously the unanimously passing of the resolution was preceded by long discussions where some members questioned the applicability and impact of such a resolution.

103 http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2004/jul/20/sudan.ewenmacaskill, 2008-08-03, 11pm.
104 An unpublished report, can be obtained through author.
105 Observed in Kadugli in May of 2008 in a performance facilitated by the DDR programme of UNMIS.
3 Field Study Context

The Sudan is Africa’s largest country, bordering the Read Sea in the East and countries: Egypt, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Uganda, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Central African Republic, Chad and Libya. The Sudan has through the years been involved in several conflicts with its neighboring countries. Most recently and ongoing is the conflict with Chad over the Eastern province of Darfur. The country has also been the scene of Africa’s longest running conflict, between the North and South in the Sudan; a conflict that started in 1955, one year before the country gained independence from Great Britain, and ended in 1972 with the Addis Ababa Agreement. The 1972 Peace Agreement lasted until 1983 when war once again erupted. After a long process the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) was signed in 2005 by the Government of the Republic of the Sudan (GOS) and the Sudan People’s Liberation Movement/Sudan People’s Liberation Movement (SPLM/SPLA). The United Nations Peacekeeping Mission in Sudan has been in place since 2005 to facilitate the implementation of the Peace Agreement. The ongoing conflict in the West of the country, Darfur, is not in the scope of this thesis as it is separate from the North and South conflict and the CPA.

The population of the Sudan is estimated to be around 40 million. However, the exact numbers are not certain and the holding of a census is stipulated in the CPA. The census commenced in April 2008 and the results have not yet been presented. The CPA is comprised by six agreements on power and wealth sharing, the conflicts in Abyei, Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile, security arrangements as well as two annexure pertaining to ceasefire and implementation. The languages spoken are Arabic, English and Tribal languages. The two major ethnicities are African (52%) and Arab (39%).

The field study in the Sudan was conducted from April until the beginning of June of 2008, a total of three weeks were spent in the capital Khartoum and six weeks in the state capital of Southern Kordofan, Kadugli. In the SG report presented the 23rd of July the SG covers the period in the Sudan from the 22nd of April until the 14th of July 2008. The SG expressed that the reporting period “witnessed the most severe violation of the ceasefire by the parties since the Malakal clashes in November 2005.” He goes on to report on the clashes in Abyei and the attacks in Khartoum; “On 10 May, the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM) launched an attack on Omdurman, Khartoum’s twin city. Crossing 1,200 km from Darfur, JEM forces entered Omdurman”. It is reported

108 Ibid.
111 Ibid.
112 The Comprehensive Peace Agreement, Chapter II, Power Sharing, 1.8.
113 http://english.aljazeera.net/programmes/insidestory/2008/04/2008615165721793905.html, 2008-07-13, 8pm.
115 Ibid.
116 S/2008/485
117 S/2008/485, para. 2.
that 79 Government forces, 57 civilians and 329 JEM fighters lost their lives. The fighting in the city of Abyei in Southern Kordofan from the 14th to the 20th of May “resulted in 89 fatalities, the displacement of more than 50,000 civilians, the destruction of most parts of Abyei town and the evacuation of United Nations and non-governmental organization civilian staff from the area.”

118 S/2008/485, para. 2.
4 The UN in the Sudan

The CPA stipulates that “[t]he parties agree to an internationally monitored ceasefire which shall come into effect from the date of signature of a Comprehensive Peace Agreement”\textsuperscript{119}. The UN was invited to Sudan by the parties to the agreement to observe the implementation of the CPA.\textsuperscript{120}

In January, February and March\textsuperscript{121} of 2005 the SG submitted reports to the SC on the situation in the Sudan\textsuperscript{122} where he outlined a proposed structure of the United Nations Advanced Mission (UNAMIS)\textsuperscript{123} in the Sudan as well as for the at that time proposed, United Nations peace support operation in the Sudan.\textsuperscript{124} Subsequent to these reports the SC issued a resolution in March of 2005, 1590, which established UNMIS in order to support the implementation of the CPA. UNMIS is one of 17 current peacekeeping operations in operation.\textsuperscript{125} Several UN agencies were working in the country prior to the arrival of UNMIS, providing assistance and support to the Sudanese people. Each agency has its own structure and mandate, “UNMIS facilitates coordination of all the UN system’s activities throughout the country.”\textsuperscript{126} The UNMIS presence is regulated in an agreement between the Government of Sudan and the United Nations concerning the status of the United Nations Missions in Sudan (SOFA) which was signed in December of 2005.\textsuperscript{127}

Due to the scope and size of the mission the SG recommended a certain degree of decentralization “each headed by a civilian sector director supported by a sector commander in charge of military personnel.”\textsuperscript{128} Six sectors were established. The focus of this thesis is Sector IV, Nuba Mountains area with its sector HQ located in Kadugli.\textsuperscript{129}

Resolution 1590 (2005) is the mandate of UNMIS and what the mission adheres to, what gives it its powers and outlines the mission’s purpose and intent. It includes references to resolution 1325\textsuperscript{130} as well as affirming that there will be a zero-tolerance policy\textsuperscript{131} of sexual exploitation and abuse and misconduct by UN personnel and requests the SG to take necessary measures to achieve compliance.

\textsuperscript{119} CPA, "Security Agreements", 25th of September, 2003, Chapter VI, 2.
\textsuperscript{120} Joint Communiqué of 3 July 2004 between the Government of Sudan and the Secretary-General, accessed at: http://www.unmis.org/English/documents/JC.pdf, 2008-07-19, 4pm.
\textsuperscript{121} http://www.unmultimedia.org/photo/detail/288/0028896.html?browse=all.html, 2008-07-20, 9pm.
\textsuperscript{122} S/2005/57, S/2005/68, S/2005/140
\textsuperscript{123} S/2005/57, S/2005/68, S/2005/140
\textsuperscript{124} The March and February reports had the title: "Report to the Secretary-General on the Sudan pursuant to paragraphs 6, 13 and 16 of Security Council resolution 1556 (2004), paragraph 15 of resolution 1564 (2004) and paragraph 17 of resolution 1574 (2004)".
\textsuperscript{125} UNAMIS was mandated in SC resolution 1547 (2004) on the recommendation of the SG (S/2004/453) and was a political mission established to facilitate contacts with both parties as well as to introduce a peace support operation to follow the signing of a peace agreement.
\textsuperscript{126} What later became UNMIS.
\textsuperscript{129} SOSA, accessed at: http://www.unmis.org/English/documents/sofa.pdf, 2008-07-20, 9pm.
\textsuperscript{130} S/2005/57, para. 35.
\textsuperscript{131} Ibid. para. 35.
\textsuperscript{131} Referring to ST/SGB/2003/13.
and to keep the SC informed. The resolution also includes references to the special needs of women in the DDR process, for the need to address the role of women in the CPA, to coordinate international efforts towards the protections of civilians with particular attention to vulnerable groups such as women. All of these measures are stipulated in UNSC resolution 1325. However, the mandate resolution contains fewer details about the strategies to comply with 1325 than the recommendations made by the SG in his January report, S/2005/57. In his report the SG writes, under the heading of Gender, that “[i]n accordance with Security Council resolution 1325 (2000), the mission would implement a plan of action to guide the process of gender mainstreaming in all aspects of its work.” Such action plan is not required by the mandate 1590 (2005). Furthermore, the SG mentions the mission’s gender component and its key objectives, one of them being capacity building support on gender mainstreaming for all staff of the mission, military as well as civilian.

The SC resolutions mandates the work of UNMIS, although when conducting interviews with civilian mission personnel, they expressed that the SG’s reports and recommendations were more guiding then the resolutions themselves which are often a few pages and not as in depth as the SG reports. An overall trend observed in the SC resolutions pertaining to the Sudan is that they in the preamble make passing reference to its commitment to resolution 1325 as well as requesting the SG to continue to take all necessary measures to assure that UNMIS complies with the zero-tolerance policy.

### 4.1 Gender Component in UNMIS

UNMIS is composed by several sections: Civil Affairs, Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR), Gender, HIV/AIDS, Human Rights, Recovery, Return and Reintegration (RRR), Military, Police and Political Affairs. In 2005 a Gender Unit was established. It is based in Khartoum and has several offices around the country with Gender Officers. Once the nine planned offices are established it will be the largest DPKO Gender Unit.

The Gender Unit provides capacity building within UNMIS. Sector IV has had a gender officer since 2007. Previous to a Gender Officer being appointed a Gender Officer from Khartoum came to conduct training and monitoring, as they do in locations which do not currently have a Gender Officer. In addition to the Gender Officer the different sections of the mission have gender focal points. The gender focal points deal with gender issues concerning their section. UN entities also have gender focal points.

The work of the focal points varied from section to section and from entity to entity. Some only worked with gender issues in regards to specific issues or events, such as the eighth of March (International Women’s Day) while others incorporated a gender perspective throughout their work. The reason for the difference in approach seemed to have to do with their work description and the

133. Ibid. para. 4. (a, iv).
134. Ibid. para. 4. (a, viii).
135. Ibid. para. 4. (d).
136. S/2005/57, para. 84.
work instruction they had received. It was interesting to observe that staff in sections and entities were well aware of who was gender focal point in their office as well as Gender Officer of the mission. It did signal that they were aware of these issues although it was also a way for some to avoid answering questions in regards to their work on gender as they would immediately refer to the gender focal point or Gender Officer. This might indicate that gender issues are not mainstreamed throughout the entire system and therefore they are not issues that all staff are aware of, as should be.

4.2 Including Gender

Several entities have worked with gender issues for several years and have a well functioning routine: for them gender is a well integrated part of their work. It was interesting to find a well integrated gender perspective within the Food and Agriculture Organization of the UN (FAO). They had a gender perspective in all aspects of their work as they had found it to be essential to incorporate women in the process of food production and distribution of seeds and crops. FAO’s approach was interesting as several NGOs and individuals within the UN expressed that gender was an important issue but not an essential matter. It was by some regarded as a secondary issue which could be addressed once primary needs such as food and shelter was secured. Others claimed that there were much more pressing issues, such as education and health and that gender was something that donors were concerned with as they didn’t always comprehend the situation at hand. FAO is therefore a perfect example as to how a primary need, that of food, is provided for with a gender perspective. A concrete example that was observed was the graduation of an agriculture class on sustainable cultivation. FAO had provided education and materials such as seeds and tools for the planting of fruit and vegetables in order for the village in question to sell their surplus in the market. This income generating activity benefited men and women since the community as a whole was targeted and both men and women attended the education. The class had been conducted in co-operation with a local NGO that specifically worked with women.

Another surprise was finding gender awareness within the United Nations Mine Action Office (UNMAO). At the start of the interview it was difficult getting across what information I was after and it became quite frustrating. The conversation kept revolving around equal employment opportunity which is undoubtedly an important component of gender mainstreaming although the questions that needed answers were about their activities in the field.

An example of how having a gender perspective in their work has resulted in concrete results is the approach on information gathering. UNMAO conducts interviews with the local population in order to establish where mines have been scattered. Through their work they have found that men and women have different information about the locations of mines as they have different travel routes. Women walk long distances to collect water and wood, routes that men are not familiar with and therefore they do not provide information about mines there. UNMAO also raised an interesting issue that was voiced by other UN entities; they are not necessarily the implementing agency and their work was often that of co-ordination. NGOs were the implementing agencies. The NGOs signed contracts with the UN agency where they commit to make gender implication assessments. If a gender perspective is not implemented by the NGO the UN agency would ask the NGO to include it the next time.

Through the interviews it was found that even if a gender perspective was expressed in the description of an entity or sector the staff did not necessarily know about it and some did not seem concerned. The reason for not including a
gender perspective in their work included not knowing how to apply a gender perspective in their day to day work or not finding gender perspectives to be applicable in their work. Some also stated that there were not enough resources for them to include a gender perspective. The lack of resources was both in regards to financial and human resources. For instance in one section there had been a person specifically in charge of gender issues as she had training in those issues, but when she left no one could take on her responsibilities and no one new had been recruited so they were understaffed.

4.3 A Personal Commitment?

Something that became evident through the interviews was that the personal commitments from staff members affected the gender work. However, this observation was not agreed on by everyone with the argument that they did what was in their mandates and personal interests were not relevant. An observation that especially supports the claim that personal interest affects the outcome is the work of the UNMIS Police component that is in place to assist the development of the Sudan’s police force.140

The head of the UNMIS Police in Sector IV is a woman who has worked on several peacekeeping missions. The work of the Police includes to support, train and advice the local Police. The female Head of the Police was very familiar with UNSC resolution 1325; she was one of the few interviewed who knew about the resolution, had a copy of it and could explain how the resolution was being implemented in her work. She continued to explain how the work they were doing was derived from the mandate established in 1590 (2005), where resolution 1325 is mentioned and the Comprehensive Peace Agreement. It was interesting to observe her conviction in the matter and it led to the question whether all Head of Police in all UNMIS sections would make the same interpretation. She was adamant that the CPA contained several references to gender, something that was disputed by several international NGOs spoken to. They claimed that the CPA was a disappointment as it failed to adequately incorporate women in the rebuilding of the country as well as failing to include women in the negotiations leading up to the agreement. It seemed as if the Head of Police was exercising a wide interpretation of the missions mandate in contrary to several others that preferred a more narrow interpretation or to completely disregard the gender components. The work she was conducting included supporting a family protection unit within the police force that was staffed with female police officers which were trained to deal with cases of abuse against women. The work was within the framework of the mandate. Although the Head of UNMIS Police in sector IV would most likely disagree with the claim that she was personally responsible for the extensive incorporation of a gender perspective in the Police it is in line with the findings in the review of the Action Plan: that the achievements of the Action Plan’s goals of implanting UNSC resolution 1325 were due to individual Heads of entities, rather than on a systematic and holistic approach.141

Several persons interviewed commented on the low number of women within the mission. The Head of Police offered some reasons for few females within the armed forces although stated that ultimately it was due to the low numbers within the national forces of the sending states. The UN can request more female officers although it is up to each troop contributing country and it is difficult to enforce

141 S/2006/770, para. 28.
countries to send more women when there is an imbalance in their own countries. Not only in the military components of the mission were there few women; this was also observed by the civilian staff. When asked why, they stated that UNMIS is a non family mission. This means that the staff can not bring their families with them which in turn excludes women with young children. Other explanations offered included that women did not like the insecurity that the job entailed, the high risk and so on.

4.4 UNMIS Gender Equality Guidelines

The specific issues facing Sudan which impede implementation of resolution 1325 includes the fragile peace as seen during the nine weeks of the research and perhaps more striking are the gender roles within the country. The existing gender roles make it difficult for UNMIS and UN entities to work with gender capacity building as it is not always well received by the local Government. However, the reason for the lack of implementation of resolution 1325 within the mission lies mostly within the UN itself. The people assigned to work with these issues, such as the Gender Officer, conducts exhaustive work that includes training and informing the mission on resolution 1325 and its practical implementation. Perhaps because the information on resolution 1325 and on gender mainstreaming comes from a person specifically assigned these issues, they are regarded as ad hoc issues and not as an integral part of the work. Something that might help change this attitude within UNMIS is the UNMIS Gender Equality Policy Guidelines that were released the 19th of March 2008. 142 Although this statement had been released in March, by end of May the guidelines had not been incorporated in the Missions work.

The Gender Officer was pleased with the Guidelines as they came from the office of the Director of Mission Support in UNMIS which means that it came from Senior Management and applies to the entire mission. The guidelines consist of three pages that begin with stating the purpose of the guidelines: “[…] to implement the DPKO Policy Directive on Gender Equality in the UN Peacekeeping Operations.”143 Then follows a general explanation stating that the Guidelines “set out the scope and requirements for gender mainstreaming within all components of UNMIS”. 144 There is a section on Mandate Implementation and Operation and is concluded with the heading Achieving Gender Balance in UNMIS. The document establishes how the Gender Policy Guidelines which consist of resolution 1325 will be implemented in the mission. The sections are advised to include gender expertise in their planning “and consult with the Senior Gender Adviser regarding the potential and implications of their work for advancing the issues in this policy guideline.”145

The Gender Equality Policy Guideline differs from other gender guideline issues, not only is it issued by Senior Management, it is perhaps most importantly directed to the Heads of Sections, Units and Heads of Offices and assures accountability. It was a Head of Section that handed me a copy of the Guidelines stating that it would be relevant for my work and admitting that there was not a specific gender focus throughout the work of their section due to lack of staff. However, the Guidelines meant that they would now be working with these

143 Ibid. para. 1.
144 Ibid., para. 3.
145 Ibid. Found under Mandated Implementation and Operation.
issues. Lack of accountability for Senior Management was stated in the Action Plan review, something which has been adhered to in the Guidelines:

In order to ensure monitoring, implementation and reporting of the DPKO Policy Directive on Gender Equality in the UN peacekeeping Operations, it is required that Heads of Sections, Units and Heads of Offices, report the progress made in the implementation of this Policy through their respective reporting lines, including through periodic meetings convened for this purpose. Towards the fulfillment of this requirement mechanisms such as Gender Taskforces will need to be established to facilitate implementation of the policy as required by DPKO. Programme managers should be held accountable for monitoring compliance of the Policy Directive.”

It would be interesting to follow up if the guidelines are implemented. With the observations made at the mission it seems as if funds would need to be allocated to fulfill the intent of the Guidelines and people with expertise in the issue at hand would need to be recruited. This Policy does not present new content, besides the important section on accountability, as it is the same thing that the Gender Unit has been saying all along. However, this time it is coming from the highest management, which perhaps lends it more legitimacy.

4.5 Cooperation with NGOs

Another issue raised in the review of the Action Plan was the lack of co-operation with local NGOs. A statement that recurred throughout the interviews was that local NGOs were still very much focused on humanitarian work and not on advocacy and those who were working on advocacy were not pressuring the state to take action. An NGO worker who was interviewed was not comfortable speaking about the SC resolutions or SG reports and claimed that they were too political and not something they could work with. Similar, NGOs avoided answering questions about the Government, especially careful not to say anything that could be interpreted as being negative towards the Government. In contrast to that, none of the NGOs had a positive opinion of UNMIS or the UN in regards to their own work and did not have a problem voicing that opinion. When asked if and how the presence of the mission had affected their work none of them had noticed any difference. Several replied that they had been contacted by UNMIS to participate in consultative talks and they felt as they had given UNMIS information about their work and the local situation and not received anything in return. The common feeling seemed to be that the mission came to them when they needed something, it was viewed as a one sided relationship.

Another explanation for the lack of co-operation with local NGOs could be something disturbing that was observed; a condescending attitude towards the local population amongst some international staff. Although these comments were often uttered in a private setting and not during interviews it can not be disregarded as a possible reason for lack of co-operation. In the same way that a personal interest to include gender perspectives is evident in the work so could a condescending attitude be. However, it is important to stress that the condescending attitude was not something prevalent. Equally important is to remember the opinions of local NGOs towards the UN and in particular towards

148 S/2006/770, para. 27.
UNMIS. The prevailing opinion of local NGOs was that UNMIS was not of help in their work. It was acknowledged by several NGOs that the mission is a stabilizing factor as UN and UNMIS staff would recognize that the otherwise unobtainable information provided by the local staff is what makes their work possible.
5 Concluding Remarks

The research question guiding this thesis has been: How is the United Nations Security Council resolution 1325 (2000) visible in a peacekeeping mission?

The Security Council and the Secretary-General have, in several documents such as resolutions and reports, committed themselves to the implementation of resolution 1325. These commitments do not necessarily translate into action on the ground, something which was evident from UN review of the United Nations System-wide Action Plan for the implementation of Security Council resolution 1325 (2000). Several issues were raised such as lack of accountability amongst Senior Management for not mainstreaming a gender perspective in their work, not enough funds allocated for gender mainstreaming, not enough qualified personnel and not enough funds for recruiting new staff, lack of understanding of gender mainstreaming and lack of understanding of how it could be applicable in their work. The Security Council and the Secretary-General express their wish to see more women in higher positions and yet the Secretary-General appoints very few women to positions as his special representatives and advisers. Women are found in positions such as Gender Advisers and Gender Officers as well as Gender Focal Points and this seems to be in line with the overall UN structure to treat gender as an ad hoc issue pertaining to women. This was also an issue raised by the UN entities in the review of the Action Plan, the focus on women and the disregard of the role of men. It becomes especially visible in actions pertaining to sexual and gender-based violence where the focus is on women instead of the overall gender implications.

The Security Council and the Secretary-General seem concerned with the spread of sexual and gender-based violence in conflict situations although they are slow at reacting. Perhaps because it is a sensitive issue within peacekeeping missions as the peacekeepers themselves have been found guilty of sexual abuse and exploitation and the UN has been slow in their reaction. For instance, there was not any mention of the UN's role to stop the abuse by UN peacekeepers in Security Council resolution 1325 even though the first cases emerged in the 1990's and the first resolution pertaining specifically to sexual and gender-based violence was passed in 2008.

The Security Council resolution on gender-based violence 1820 (2008) was made possible by the work previously done by NGOs with the passing of resolution 1325. These NGOs are still working to make the contents of these resolutions a reality beyond papers and ceremonies. They are national and international NGOs that have the information and knowledge needed to make the resolutions a reality. The UN speaks of including local NGOs in their work although co-operation in the field is not satisfying as addressed by entities in the review of the Action Plan and as observed in the field research in the Sudan. As I have mentioned in chapter 4.1 several NGOs wished for deeper involvement.

As the work continues to implement resolution 1325 it is important to move forward and recognize that the resolution was a huge step for the advancement and empowerment of women in a conflict setting. Women were no longer only seen as victims but as agents of peace. Perhaps now it is time to move forward once again and also recognizing women as perpetrators. The reason for doing this is in order to better help women and girls in a post-conflict setting. They may not necessarily carry weapons in all conflicts; however, they can still have been part of supporting and sustaining a war and being part in prolonging it. These women and girls need help, as do men and boys, in reintegrating something which can
only truly happen if their part in the war is taken into account. An important issue raised by NGOs as well as UN entities is that the focus needs to be on gender implications and when speaking about gender it is pivotal not using the word as a substitute for women and girls.

The findings of the field study conducted in the Sudan, which included interviews with UN entities and the United Nations Mission in Sudan (UNMIS) as well as NGOs, was in line with the information found in the review of the Action Plan. The field study has led me to the conclusion that there is a two fold problem in regards to the implementation of resolution 1325 in this peacekeeping context. First the country specifics in Sudan that entails the fragile peace and the existing gender roles. Secondly, the UN's structure itself; gender is considered as ad hoc and there is no accountability for the lack of gender perspective. Several NGOs interviewed stated that there were other pressing matters than gender mainstreaming and although mission staff did not express it in the same words it was nevertheless evident that many did not view gender as relevant to their work. This is not in line with the gender mainstreaming policy within the UN. However, UN agencies that have been in place in the Sudan prior to the mission, that deal with food and shelter had gender perspectives and for some a gender perspective was an integral part of their work.

Lack of resources seemed to be a recurring theme for NGOs and something which also affected UN entities and the mission. They were often over worked and did not have people with knowledge of gender issues.

Additional obstacles that were found throughout the field research is the lack of funding allocated for gender issues and that personal interest affect the inclusion and exclusion of a gender perspective. Lack of funds could for instance entail not being able to support local NGOs in different efforts as well as not being able to hire more staff. The personal interest aspect was also found in the UN review of the Action Plan and is a disturbing aspect of gender mainstreaming within the UN. If personal interest affects if and how gender mainstreaming is carried out it becomes an arbitrary decision. It could also be viewed as proof that gender issues are not regarded as an integral part of the UN work but as ad hoc, something which could be disregarded without consequences. The lack of consequences, accountability, is perhaps the key issue.

As for an answer to the question how UN Security Council resolution 1325 is visible in a peacekeeping mission, UNMIS in this case, the answer is that the resolution has not yet been mainstreamed throughout the mission. Those responsible for gender issues were indeed familiar with the resolution yet it was not an integral part of the mission's work.

The mission recently released the UNMIS Gender Equality Policy Guidelines which will perhaps have the effect of mainstreaming resolution 1325 in all aspects of the peacekeeping mission. These answers are specific for UNMIS. Even if the country specifics differ from country to country my main point is that the role of the UN in the absence of implementation of resolution 1325 is due to its structure, its lack of gender mainstreaming and accountability something which might not differ from country to country. It comes down to a lack of will and being comfortable with treating gender issues as ad hoc, as something which does not need to be mainstreamed. Otherwise why all the additional resolutions and reports instead of treating threats to women and girls as part of the general threat to peace and security?

Having worked with the issue of women in conflict for a few years I find that an interesting aspect of the obstacles facing the implementation of UNSC resolution 1325 in a peacekeeping mission that could be further researched is how a peace process and a subsequent peace agreement influences the mission staff in their work with gender issues. Is there a correlation between the gender inclusion prior to the establishment of a mission and the subsequent gender work conducted by the mission? These were issues that were touched upon in the interviews conducted. UNMIS staffs were careful not to say something which could be interpreted as being negative towards the peace agreement in place as were the
NGOs. However, if the peace agreement had itself stressed gender equality more powerfully the peacekeeping mission could have done more in the country as they are there to help with the implementation of the peace agreement. The interesting part of such a research question would be if greater gender inclusion in the peace agreement would have any effect within the mission. Would a mandate from without enhance the gender work within a peacekeeping mission? What would it take for a peacekeeping mission to live up to the Security Council's and the Secretary-General's resolutions and policy? Perhaps the answer is accountability.
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**Khartoum**
AZZA Women
Mutawinat
NEDAA
NuWeeda
The Initiative for Inclusive Security

**Kadugli**
CARE Sudan
FAO
NMIDA
Ruya
Sudo
UNDP
UNDP HIV/AIDS
UNDP Rule of Law
UNMAO
UNMIS Civil Affairs
UNMIS Human Rights
UNMIS Police
UNMIS Return Reintegration Recovery
World Food Program

Excluding those who asked not to be mentioned.