SAFERWORLD
PREVENTING VIOLENT CONFLICT. BUILDING SAFER LIVES

SAL
Liaison, Dialogue and Research

Gender, peace and security and the 2030 Agenda

A way forward for South Africa

March 2016

Gender, peace and security and the 2030 Agenda

A way forward for South Africa

Acknowledgements

Contents

Abbreviations

AAAA	Addis Ababa Action Agenda
ACCORD	African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes
AfDB	African Development Bank
ANC	African National Congress
AU	African Union
BPfA	Beijing Platform for Action
CAP	Common African Position
CSO	Civil society organisations
CSW	Commission on the Status of Women
DoD	Department of Defence
DPKO	Department of Peacekeeping Operations
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
HLPF	High-Level Political Forum
LGBTI	Lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and intersex
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
MP	Members of Parliament
NAP	National Action Plan
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development
NSP	National Strategic Plan
NTT	National Task Team
OGP	Open Government Partnership
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SADPA	South Africa Development Partnerships
SALO	Southern African Liaison Office
SAPS	South African Police Service
SDG	Sustainable Development Goals
SGBV	Sexual and gender-based violence
UNSCR	United Nations Security Council Resolution
WNC	Women's National Coalition

Executive summary

IN SEPTEMBER 2015, SOUTH AFRICA – along with all UN Member States – adopted the United Nations (UN) 2030 Agenda, the new global development framework for the next 15 years. The 2030 Agenda, with its 17 goals and 169 targets, includes gender, peace and security as an integral part, with a dedicated Goal 5 on gender equality and Goal 16 on peaceful societies.

This is highly relevant to South Africa, which has made gender equality and empowerment of women a priority. Indeed, South Africa has championed gender equality domestically and internationally, boosting women's representation in politics and in the peace and security sector, and adopting progressive laws and policies protecting women's rights. The country has also signed up to a range of relevant international policy frameworks and is in the process of developing a National Action Plan (NAP) to implement UN Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325.

Nevertheless, more can be done to translate these achievements into real change in the lives of women in South Africa and the rest of the continent, who continue to face the dual challenge of inequality and insecurity. Perhaps the most telling example of the limited impact of gender mainstreaming in the security sector in South Africa is the lack of correspondence between the high number of women in this sector against the actual security of women in the country as a whole. Levels of sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV) remain disturbingly high with a female homicide rate six times the global average.

In addition, the patriarchal culture in South Africa's military and police remains a considerable challenge, with men in the military often displaying negative attitudes towards women, and with male peacekeepers and police implicated in sexual exploitation and abuse. Thus, gender dynamics within South Africa can be seen to affect its international engagement on peace and security. This is particularly relevant as South Africa plays an important role in matters of peace and security on the African continent.

This report demonstrates how the 2030 Agenda, and its Goals 5 and 16 in particular, provide a valuable tool for advancing the gender, peace and security agenda in South Africa and on the wider continent. It argues that the 2030 Agenda – through its developmental approach to gender equality, conflict and insecurity – complements the UNSCRs on women, peace and security, which focus solely on conflict and post-conflict situations.

First, the universal nature of the 2030 Agenda – with all countries having to take steps to become more peaceful and gender equal – can help build momentum around the gender, peace and security agenda. Second, the 2030 Agenda can serve as a means for South Africa to address structural barriers to peace, development and gender equality.

Third, it offers an entry-point for addressing violent notions of masculinity through its focus on addressing unequal structural power relations between men and women.

The 2030 Agenda, by providing for interlinkages between all its goals and targets, can also assist South Africa to achieve greater coherence and coordination in the implementation of relevant policy frameworks. It will be accompanied by a comprehensive follow-up and review mechanism, including a global indicator framework, which could help monitor progress towards meeting many of South Africa's gender, peace and security commitments in the 2030 Agenda and beyond.

Recommendations

- **Prioritise addressing root causes of violence and insecurity, and apply a gender perspective:** The violent masculinist culture in the security sector in particular and in society as a whole must be tackled. This will require investing in long-term research and programming aimed at challenging gender norms that drive violence and insecurity, as well as supporting existing initiatives to engage both men and women in rethinking gender norms.

- **Adopt an integrated approach to implementing gender, peace and security commitments:** Implementing gender, peace and security commitments in a joined-up manner will foster a comprehensive and gender-sensitive approach to violence and conflict prevention. This should include aligning national frameworks with international and regional frameworks related to the gender, peace and security agenda.

- **Promote a gender perspective in all international peace efforts:** South Africa should ensure that gendered impacts of conflict are taken into account and that its peace-building efforts address militarised masculinities and femininities that can fuel conflict and insecurity. These efforts should be linked to ongoing efforts to address root causes and drivers of violence and insecurity domestically.

- **Make preventing SGBV a national priority:** South Africa should take concerted steps to address high rates of SGBV – this will enable the country to implement its commitments to address SGBV in numerous international policy frameworks. Priorities should be to develop a National Strategic Plan on SGBV and to ensure an effective National Council on gender-based violence within the Presidency's office.

- **Support civil society to play a central role in advancing the gender, peace and security agenda:** South African civil society organisations (CSOs) have a key role to play in terms of ensuring accountability for, and implementation of, domestic and international commitments on gender, peace and security; therefore they should be included and consulted in relevant processes.

- **Monitor progress towards meeting gender, peace and security commitments:** Ensuring accountability on gender, peace and security commitments and evidence-based policy will require strengthened capacities for data collection, including by non-official data producers such as civil society and think thanks. South Africa should also consult with civil society regarding the 2030 Agenda follow-up and review process, including on the development of national indicators.

1

Introduction

THIS REPORT FOCUSES ON GENDER, PEACE AND SECURITY IN SOUTH AFRICA, and how it relates to the 2030 Agenda, as well as to the development of a National Action Plan (NAP) for implementing the eight United Nations Security Council Resolutions (UNSCRs)[1] on women, peace and security.

While there are overlaps between the two international frameworks, the 2030 Agenda is a set of global development outcomes that all countries have committed to, while the UNSCRs represent an international policy framework for addressing women, peace and security specifically. They should complement each other: the UNSCRs linking women's experiences of conflict to the international peace and security agenda, while the 2030 Agenda takes a developmental approach to gender equality, conflict and insecurity. This report examines both frameworks in relation to a variety of domestic and foreign policy gender-related issues.

There are a range of other policy frameworks related to gender, peace and security, such as the Southern African Development Community (SADC) Gender Protocol, the African Union (AU) Agenda 2063, the Beijing Platform for Action (BPfA), and the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) – and these are all referenced in the report. For example, the AU's Agenda 2063 has a strong focus on gender equality and women's empowerment. Our analysis – see table on page 20 – shows the many overlaps between the 2030 Agenda and Agenda 2063's gender, peace and security-related targets, encompassing aspects such as violence against women, and women's political and economic empowerment.

In addition, ambitious monitoring and follow-up and review mechanisms will accompany the 2030 Agenda, and these can be used to measure progress towards related aims, for example in Agenda 2063. Indeed, the comprehensive and inter-linked framework provided by the 2030 Agenda offers an opportunity to revive and redirect the promising early steps taken by South Africa with regard to gender, peace and security.

---

[1] When referring to a NAP for the implementation of UNSCR 1325 in the report, this refers to all eight UN Security Council Resolutions on women, peace and security.

2

The 2030 Agenda and gender, peace and security

Pope Francis addresses the General Assembly during his visit to United Nations headquarters at the Sustainable Development Summit during which the UN 2030 Agenda was adopted.
© UN PHOTO/RICK BAJORNAS

THE 2030 AGENDA FOR SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT and its 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)[2] – adopted by UN Member States in September 2015 – build on the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), which expired last year. The 2030 Agenda was developed through an inclusive process, which provided an opportunity to reflect on the successes and failures of the MDGs and draw lessons on how to accelerate the eradication of poverty.

As a result, the 2030 Agenda goes much further than the MDGs, by offering a more comprehensive agenda that provides for interlinkages between all SDGs, including those on gender,[3] peace, security and development. Indeed, evidence has demonstrated that these aspects tend to be mutually reinforcing: conflict can exacerbate gender

2 United Nations General Assembly (2015), 'Transforming our World: the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development'.
3 Saferworld and the Southern African Liaison Office (SALO) understand gender as a social construct and as a system of power which shapes the lives, opportunities, rights, relationships and access to resources of women, men, boys and girls.

inequality, for example, and increases in gender-based violence and women's double burden of productive and reproductive labour are seen during armed conflict. At the same time, patriarchal gender norms, which lie at the heart of gender inequality, can fuel violence and insecurity, particularly when militarised notions of masculinity are prevalent.[4]

Members of the One Man Can campaign in Sudan. The campaign aims to encourage positive forms of masculinity among DDR programme participants.

© UNDP PHOTO

Masculinities

Socially constructed gender norms play a key role in shaping the lives of people of all genders. Indeed, both women and men perpetuate stereotyped notions of masculinity and femininity. Notions of masculinity – anything which is associated with men and boys in any given culture – usually link manhood to power, dominance and control although they vary significantly within and between societies.[5]

There is strong evidence that gender norms, a system of beliefs and values that underpin gender inequality, can drive conflict and violence, particularly where militarised notions of masculinity are prevalent.[6] This is most obvious when discriminatory attitudes fuel gender-based violence; however, it can also be observed in armed conflict within and between communities.[7] Socially constructed notions of femininity often depict women as being weak, helpless and in need of protection, while militarised notions of masculinity encourage men to wield power, and use violence to defend those in need of protection.[8]

While recognising that there are many factors that drive conflict and insecurity, gender norms are one important factor that needs to be analysed and addressed. Militarisation of masculinities and femininities is not limited to contexts currently experiencing conflict and insecurity but also to those usually thought of as peaceful. Indeed, "training delivered to national security sectors through international peace operations may serve to import and valorise militarised masculinities within a foreign security sector."[9]

The recognition of these linkages in the 2030 Agenda is therefore crucial. Goal 16 on 'building peaceful and inclusive societies and promoting access to justice' and Goal 5 on 'gender equality and empowerment of women' in particular provide an opportunity for stakeholders worldwide to integrate gender into their peace and development efforts. This is a major milestone given that the 2030 Agenda sets out universal goals and targets to guide sustainable development over the next 15 years. In addition, the

4 Wright H (2013), 'Gender, peace and security and the post-2015 framework', *Saferworld*, October, p 2.
5 Saferworld (2015), 'Reviving conflict prevention in 1325', March.
6 A range of evidence and analysis is set out in Breines I et al. (2000), 'Male roles, masculinities and violence: a culture of peace perspective', UNESCO, (http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0012/001206/120683E.pdf).
7 Wright H, Tielemans S (2014), 'Gender, violence and peace', Saferworld and Conciliation Resources, February.
8 *Op cit* Saferworld (2015), 'Reviving conflict prevention in 1325'.
9 Fionnuala Ni Aolain (2009), 'Women, security, and the patriarchy of internationalised transitional justice' in *Human Rights Quarterly*, Vol. 31, No. 4, p 1072.

2030 Agenda is accompanied by ambitious mechanisms for monitoring and account-ability as well as an agreement to generate financing for its implementation.[10] This stands in contrast to other relevant policy frameworks such as the BPfA,[11] which set out an ambitious call for gender equality and women's empowerment but for which the lack of political commitment and financial resources has been overwhelming.[12]

Given the well-documented impacts of conflict on gender relations and the need for greater support for women's participation in peacebuilding, Goal 16 has been criticised for not including gender-specific targets.[13] However, this can be remedied through linking it with Goal 5, which pays attention to the links between gender, violence and inclusive decision-making. The 2030 Agenda also addresses structural causes of inequality such as the unequal distribution of power, resources and opportunities in a number of its goals and targets, particularly in Goal 10. Finally, Goal 16 addresses many key drivers of violence and insecurity through targets on transparent and accountable governance and inclusive decision-making; equal access to justice and fundamental freedoms; and external factors such as flows of arms, drugs and illicit financial flows. Genuine concerns over the risk of securitisation of development that made Goal 16 the most controversial in the SDGs discussions[14] are addressed through its emphasis on inclusivity and promoting access to justice. This is a key aspect in pre-venting and remedying conflict and ensuring an inclusive human rights-based agenda.

With attention now turning to implementation, concerted efforts are required to ensure that a gender perspective is integrated into all implementation efforts. This can be achieved by linking relevant targets such as target 16.7 on inclusive decision-making and target 5.5 on women's full and effective participation in decision-making. This will be crucial in order to bridge existing silos separating gender, peace and security and development communities and to ensure that development strategies are inclusive of women's human security priorities.

---

10 These include the High-Level Political Forum (HLPF), which will meet once a year to review progress made on the SDGs; the global indicator framework, which will be used to measure progress towards achieving the SDGs; and the Addis Ababa Action Agenda (AAAA) on financing for development.

11 Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (1995), (www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/beijing/pdf/BDPfA%20E.pdf).

12 AWID, 'The Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action: 20 Years On', (www.awid.org/special-focus-sections/beijing-declaration-and-platform-action-20-years).

13 International Women's Development Agency (2016), 'The missing ingredient for success – Global goal 16 and women, peace and security', 20 January, (https://www.iwda.org.au/the-missing-ingredient-for-success-global-goal-16-and-women-peace-and-security/).

14 Spano L (2015), 'Will peace be discarded as an essential element to sustainable peace', Action Support Centre, 27 February, (www.actionsupportcentre.co.za/drums-of-change/the-transformative-potential-of-the-post-2015-development-agenda/will-peace-be-discarded-as-an-essential-element-to-sustainable-development/).

3

South Africa and the 2030 Agenda

SOUTH AFRICA WAS VERY ENGAGED IN THE 2030 AGENDA PROCESS, participating actively in the intergovernmental negotiations, and has continued to demonstrate a strong commitment to the Agenda after its adoption. President Zuma is one of nine world leaders who have joined a High-Level Group, which was launched by Sweden in September 2015 and which aims to ensure that the 2030 Agenda is implemented at all levels of society.[15] South Africa has also begun the process of identifying implementation structures – the overall responsibility and oversight of the implementation of the 2030 Agenda will most likely sit within the Presidency's office.[16]

Despite voicing concerns about unintended repercussions on the inclusion of a specific goal on peace, governance and justice during the intergovernmental negotiations, South Africa ultimately accepted the inclusion of Goal 16 in the 2030 Agenda by endorsing the new framework "without any reservations".[17] Significantly, South Africa was supportive of including gender-specific issues in the 2030 Agenda throughout the negotiation process and has emphasised its appreciation of the inclusion of a specific goal on gender equality.[18]

South Africa has committed to the Common African Position (CAP) on the 2030 Agenda, which includes peace and security as one of six key pillars. The CAP also has a strong focus on gender equality and women's empowerment as a cross-cutting issue and commits to supporting the inclusion of women in political, economic and public decision making and in conflict-prevention and peacebuilding efforts.[19] Finally, the CAP was an integral part of Agenda 2063 – an action plan for Africa's development over the next 50 years – which was adopted in January 2015.[20]

Finally, South Africa, as Co-Chair and one of the founding members of the Open Government Partnership (OGP) – a multilateral initiative aimed at securing "concrete commitments from governments to promote transparency, empower citizens, fight corruption, and harness new technologies to strengthen governance"[21] – has committed

15 Government Offices of Sweden (2015), 'Swedish Government initiates High-Level Group in UN', 25 September, (www.government.se/press-releases/2015/09/swedish-government-initiates-high-level-group-in-un/).

16 Informal exchange with South African civil society actors, December 2015.

17 President Jacob Zuma (2015), Statement at the 70th Session of the United Nations General Assembly, during the UN Summit for the Adoption of the 2030 Agenda, (www.southafrica-newyork.net/pmun/statements_2015/preszuma_summit_adoption_post2015_agenda_20150927.html).

18 *Ibid*.

19 African Union (2014), 'Common African Position on the Post-2015 Development Agenda'.

20 African Union Commission (2015), 'Agenda 2063: The Africa we want'.

21 See more at: www.opengovpartnership.org/about#sthash.jcrfSp2b.dpuf.

to using its influence to promote the implementation of the SDGs.[22] Clear evidence of this can be found in the OGP Declaration, adopted in September 2015, which outlines the importance of OGP's core values of transparency, accountability and citizen participation as a foundation for the success of the 2030 Agenda while linking it to Goal 16.[23]

Gender, peace and security in Africa

The adoption of UNSCR 1325 on the important role of women in peace efforts in 2000 recognised that women are not solely victims of war but can also play important roles in peacebuilding. Its adoption was also part of a conceptual shift – while by no means complete – away from state security, which dominated the Cold War area, to that of human security, which encompasses both freedom from fear and freedom from want.

In Africa, 17 countries[24] and two sub-regional organisations[25] have respectively developed national and regional action plans for the implementation of UNSCR 1325 and related subsequent resolutions. The inclusion of gender in the African Peace and Security Architecture and Agenda 2063 demonstrates that the AU regards peace, security, gender equality and women's empowerment as prerequisites for sustainable development.[26] These commitments have led to increased representation and participation of women in security sectors. Experiences from Liberia and Sierra Leone where security sector reforms have been implemented show marked progress in terms of both the number of women in security service institutions and the number of women deployed in UN peace missions.

In observance of International Women's Day, participants march from the centre of Monrovia to the Temple of Justice, home of the Liberian Supreme Court, where they staged a peaceful sit-in protest against gender-based violence.

© UN PHOTO/ERIC KANALSTEIN

Despite these policy commitments and gains, gaps remain. International policy frameworks such as UNSCR 1325 and the 2030 Agenda, though representing significant advancements, place the burden of transformation on women and emphasise an

22 The South African Government (2015), 'The 3rd South African Open Government Partnership Country Action Plan, 2015–2017', (www.gov.za/sites/www.gov.za/files/South%20African%203rd%20OGP%20Country%20Action%20Plan%202015.pdf).
23 Open Government Partnership (2015), 'Open Government Partnership Declaration in Support of 2030 Agenda', (www.opengovpartnership.org/blog/open-government-partnership/2015/09/27/press-release-open-government-partnership-declaration).
24 UN Women (2015), 'Preventing Conflict Transforming Justice Securing the Peace: A global study on the implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325', (http://wps.unwomen.org/~/media/files/un%20women/wps/highlights/unw-global-study-1325-2015.pdf).
25 UN Women (2014), 'Fifty-Ninth Session of the Commission on the Status of Women, UNHQ, New York, 9–20 March 2015', (www2.unwomen.org/~/media/headquarters/attachments/sections/news/stories/2015/osaa%20concept%20note%20%20%20csw%2059%20%20%20wps%2010%20march%20%20final.pdf?v=1&d=20150302T213337).
26 Fahmu & African Security Sector Network (2011), 'A Policy Dialogue: African Union's Security Sector Reform Policy', 27 February, (www.fahamu.org/dialogue_report_ep.pdf), Framework and Gender Transformation.

increased involvement of women in the political and economic sphere, without addressing the patriarchal values which underpin political and economic systems. With such policy frameworks speaking mainly to the inclusion of women and girls, they do not make explicit the need to consider the roles and behaviours of men and boys from a gender perspective. The absence of a gender analysis of the position of men and boys which pays attention to other systems of inequality such as race and class, misses opportunities to address the exclusion of already marginalised men and boys.

Gender, peace and security in South Africa

Given that South Africa's gender issues on the domestic front impact on its external engagement, this section will begin by looking at issues related to gender equality within South Africa – including women's political representation and sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV). It will then move on to a brief analysis of South Africa's international engagement on gender, peace and security.

The domestic context

The gender architecture

In light of the legacy of apartheid and the significant role of the women's movement in the transition to the democracy – including the lobbying and advocacy efforts of the Women's National Coalition (WNC) – since 1994, gender equality and empowerment of women has been a priority for the South African Government. Its various national policy frameworks and implementation mechanisms have all contributed to creating the architecture for promoting gender equality. This includes South Africa's progressive constitution – which created the basis for gender equality and a gender-representative security sector –, the Employment Equity Act, the National Policy Framework for Women's Empowerment and Gender Equality and, in terms of implementation mechanisms, the Commission for Gender Equality, the Human Rights Commission as well as gender units and gender focal points within the different government departments – collectively known as the 'gender machinery'.

From the late 1990s onwards, it has become increasingly clear that the legislative and policy gains made have had a far more limited impact on the everyday lives of women than anticipated. The overemphasis on demands for legal protections had been flagged right from the start, and was one of the points of contention within the WNC. As a result, addressing gender equality within the state has been prioritised over addressing structural barriers to women's liberation, such as gendered identities that promote violent masculinity and position women as being men's property.[27]

In addition, after the general elections of 1994, there was a relative de-politicisation of the women's rights and feminist agenda in South Africa. Some feminist activists have been either incorporated into the apparatus of government, or absorbed into a civil society culture that has become increasingly focused on influencing formal policy through collaboration with decision-makers. Because of the political context, civil society initiatives were increasingly expected to be in line with government policy to be eligible for funding, which limited the extent to which organisations could retain their critical distance and oppose policies or programmes that did not promote gender equity or protect women's rights. To compound this challenge, donors from the development and philanthropy sectors that had previously funded more critical civil society began channelling aid towards democratic consensus-building activities, and strengthening the formal and procedural aspects of liberal democracy.[28]

27 De Nobrega C (2014), 'South Africa; Gender Equality and Morality as Citizenship', *Open Democracy*, 27 February 2016, (https://www.opendemocracy.net/5050/chantelle-de-nobrega/south-africa-gender-equality-and-morality-as-citizenship) accessed on 27 February 2016.
28 *Ibid*.

As seen in most parts of the world, poverty is highly feminised in South Africa.[29] Women continue to face significant challenges of inequality, unemployment and poverty. Statistics also demonstrate that women are more impoverished than men[30] and, partly a result of less schooling, women are more likely to enter the labour market at generally lower-level, lower-paying and under-valued jobs in the formal and informal economy.[31] Although a few South African civil society organisations (CSOs) and think tanks remain very engaged in terms of advocating for improved gender policies, policy-level impact remains minimal.

Women march in Soweto on National Women's Day on Saturday 9 August 2014 re-enacting the historical march 58 years ago when 20,000 women protested against apartheid and the laws enforcing racial discrimination.
© JACQUES COETZER/SAPA

Women's political representation

South Africa's progressive constitution created the basis for gender equality in political representation. Indeed, South Africa ranks top ten in the world on women in politics; with 51 per cent of South Africa's population being female, parliament is made up of 40 per cent women, and cabinet 41 per cent, compared to 2.7 per cent in 1994. However, these high figures were obtained because of the adoption of a 30 per cent quota by the ruling African National Congress (ANC).[32] It therefore implies that if the ANC loses support the number of women in parliament may decline, as is evident in the 2014 election results.[33]

Further, it has been argued that the success of the women in parliament has come at a price as it absorbed all the strong leaders from the women's movement. This has meant that those in parliament no longer have the support of a women's movement "that propelled them to success".[34] Research has shown that women Members of Parliament (MPs) in South Africa often find it challenging to mobilise within their parties and advance gender equality platforms, or are unwilling to challenge their respective parties that helped them secure the positions. In addition, patriarchal structures within governance institutions continue to make it difficult for women MPs who seek to work

29 The 'feminisation of poverty' thesis asserts that women have a higher incidence of poverty than men and that their poverty is more severe than that of men. See for example BRIDGE (2001) Briefing Paper on the 'Feminisation of Poverty', (www.bridge.ids.ac.uk/sites/bridge.ids.ac.uk/files/reports/femofpov.pdf).

30 Statistics South Africa (2014), 'Poverty trends in South Africa: An examination of absolute poverty between 2006 and 2011', (www.statssa.gov.za/publications/Report-03-10-06/Report-03-10-06March2014.pdf).

31 The Republic of South Africa (2015), 'The status of women in the South African Economy', *Department of Women*, August, (www.gov.za/sites/www.gov.za/files/Status_of_women_in_SA_economy.pdf).

32 Inter-Parliamentary Union (2015), 'Women in National Parliaments', (www.ipu.org/wmn-e/classif.htm).

33 The number of women in parliament dropped from 44 per cent, in 2009, to 40 per cent in 2014 as opposition parties do not have a quota system. See the annual editions of the *SADC Gender Protocol Barometer* (ed) Colleen Lowe Morna and Loveness Nyakujurah for an overview of the number of women in South African Parliament and Cabinet. Also see (www.ipu.org/wmn-e/classif.htm).

34 Geisler G (2000) 'Parliament is another terrain of struggle: women, men and politics in South Africa, *Journal of Modern African Studies* Vol 38, No. 4.

for gender equality.[35] Thus, quotas have failed to ensure gender equality on the ground and have not transformed gender norms.

Of late, gender has taken a back seat in the national political debates and in the mobilisation of support for political parties, as is evident from the manifestos of many of the political parties in the 2014 election.[36] As competing interests and challenges have emerged, such as a declining ANC support base, crime, corruption, economic and health issues, the focus on gender has somewhat shifted.

Gender mainstreaming in the security sector

South Africa has done very well in terms of women's inclusion into the security sector, ranking among the top in the world.[37] In 1994, women constituted only 12 per cent of the defence force but this has increased to 30 per cent in 2015.[38] Five of its major generals and 37 of its brigadier generals are women. South Africa is also known for its relatively large deployment of female peacekeepers. While women only constitute 3 per cent of military personnel and 10 per cent of police personnel in UN peacekeeping missions overall,[39] women constitute 15 per cent of South Africa's peacekeepers in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and 10 per cent of its deployment in Sudan.[40] The defence force, through its Equal Opportunities Directorate, has put a lot of effort into mainstreaming gender over the years, hence these encouraging numbers. They have also put in place gender-sensitive policies such as the gender mainstreaming strategy, sexual harassment policies and gender-sensitive recruitment, retention and training policies.[41]

Although South Africa has made great strides in the inclusion of women in the defence force, there are still many gender-related challenges that need to be addressed. Women, despite being allowed into combat positions, remain predominantly in support functions. There is often an expectation on many women to justify their effectiveness in the security sector – this is something which men generally do not face.[42]

A South African troop with the African Union-United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur (UNAMID) is pictured in Kutum, North Darfur, during celebrations for South Africa's National Women's Day.
© UN PHOTO/
ALBERT GONZALEZ FARRAN

35 Nzomo M (2013), 'Women and political governance in Africa: A feminist perspective', Same Story: Different Narratives, *Journal of African Women's Studies Centre*.

36 See Johnston H (2014), 'Voting for Change, Women and Gender Equality in the 2014 South African Elections', Heinrich Böll Stiftung Southern Africa NPC, (http://za.boell.org/2014/05/05/voting-change-women-and-gender-equality-2014-south-african-elections).

37 Institute for Security Studies (2015), 'Women in Africa's top brass: it's not just about the numbers', 10 June, (https://www.issafrica.org/iss-today/women-in-africas-top-brass-its-not-just-about-the-numbers).

38 See chapter 8 on 'Conflict Resolution and Peacebuilding' by Cheryl Hendricks in the *SADC Gender Protocol Barometer 2015*, ed. Collen Lowe Morna and Sifiso Dube.

39 United Nations (2014), 'Women in peacekeeping', (www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/issues/women/womeninpk.shtml).

40 Statistics presented by the SANDF at the Institute for Security Studies Workshop on Gender and Security, June 2015.

41 Hendricks C (2012), 'Transformation of Gender Relations in the South African National Defence Force: Real or Presumed?', *Gender and Peacebuilding in Africa*, Pambazuka Press, No 4.

42 *Ibid*.

In addition, a masculinist culture in the military and police institutions remains a challenge. In the military, the masculinist culture has slowed transformation due to the negative attitudes that men in the military often display towards women.[43] Sexual harassment is under-reported and South African male peacekeepers have been implicated in misconduct, including sexual exploitation and abuse. Although the same counts for peacekeepers from many other countries, a UN Office of Internal Oversight Services report on sexual offences (May 2015) allocated the highest number of substantiated allegations of sexual abuse and exploitation to South African troops.[44] It seems therefore that these allegations have persisted despite the entry of more female peacekeepers. There are fears that a reintroduction of a militarised culture into the police sector may negatively impact gender relations within the South African Police Service (SAPS). Male policing staff are already being implicated in acts of ill-discipline, corruption and sexual violence.[45]

Worldwide, the security sector is characterised by a masculinist culture, and the one on the African continent is no exception. Although the AU and SADC subscribe to UNSCR 1325 in their relevant legal frameworks,[46] African security institutions – as seen elsewhere – remain largely dominated by men.[47] In addition, the male-dominated military and the increasingly offensive nature of peace missions makes it difficult to incorporate and retain women in this sector – challenges include safety concerns, cultural attitudes, persistent gender biases and a lack of training opportunities.[48]

Sexual and gender-based violence

Perhaps the most telling example of the limited impact of gender mainstreaming in the security sector in South Africa is the lack of correspondence between the high number of women in this sector – accompanied by the number of policies and programmes to address SGBV – against the actual security of women in the country as a whole. For example, available information demonstrates that between 2010 and 2011, 56,272 cases of rape were reported.[49] Homicides of women remain disturbingly high – South Africa has a female homicide rate six times the global average, with half of the murdered women killed by an intimate partner.[50] Strikingly, one quarter of homicides of girls under the age of 18 are estimated to be linked to sexual assaults.[51] Although SGBV figures in South Africa are disputed, the available statistics are all alarming, especially in light of the fact that these crimes are always under-reported.

Explanations for these high levels of violence in general, and for SGBV in particular, are rooted not only in the conditions of structural violence – such as high levels of inequality, poverty and marginalisation – but also in the violent notions of masculinities and the patriarchal system that continue to subordinate women in the household.[52]

43   See the work of Heinecken L and Van der Waag-Cowling N (2009), 'The Politics of Race and Gender in the South African Armed Forces: Issues, Challenges and Lessons' in *Commonwealth and Comparative Politics* Vol 47 No. 4 and Hendricks C (2012), 'Transformation of Gender Relations in the South African National Defence Force', *Occasional Paper in Gender and Peacebuilding In Africa* Series, Pambazuka Press and Monethi D (2013), 'Transformation in the South African National Defence Force With Specific Reference to Gender Equity', Master of Public Administration Thesis, University of Stellenbosch.

44   United Nations Office of Internal Oversight and Services (2015), 'Evaluation of the Enforcement and Remedial Assistance Efforts for Sexual Exploitation and Abuse by the United Nations and Related Personnel in Peacekeeping Operations', 27 February 2016, (www.scribd.com/doc/269555628/UN-Report-on-Sexual-Violence).

45   See Ivkovic S and Sauerman A (2012), 'The Code of Silence: Revisiting South African Police Integrity', *SA Crime Quarterly*, No. 40.

46   The relevant legal frameworks here would be The Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa, the AU Framework on Post-Conflict Reconstruction and Development, the African Union Policy Framework on Security Sector Reform and the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development.

47   Clarke Y (2008), 'Security Sector Reform in Africa: A Lost Opportunity to Deconstruct Militarised Masculinities?', *Feminist Africa: Militarism, Conflict and Women's Activism*, Issue 10.

48   Hendricks C (2011), 'Gender and Security in Africa', Discussion Paper 63, Nordic African Institute, Uppsala, p 21.

49   Vetten L (2014), 'Rape and other forms of sexual violence in South Africa', November, (https://www.issafrica.org/uploads/PolBrief72.pdf).

50   Mathews S et al. (2011), 'I had a hard life', *The British Journal of Criminology*, Vol. 51, Issue 6, (http://bjc.oxfordjournals.org/content/51/6/960.abstract).

51   Mathews S et al. (2013), 'The epidemiology of child homicides in South Africa', *Bulletin World Health Organization*, Vol. 91, Issue 8, (www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC3738312/).

52   Sathiparsad R et al. (2008), 'Patriarchy and Family Life: Alternative Views of Male Youth in Rural South Africa', Agenda: Empowering Women for Gender Equity, *Family Politics*, No. 76, pp 4–16.

A wall painting on stopping child and women abuse in Khayelitsha, South Africa.
© DAVID GOUGH/IRIN FILMS

The South African Government has taken various measures to address the high rate of SGBV in the country. For example, South Africa adopted a Domestic Violence Act in 1998 and the Kopanong Declaration was adopted in 2006, which initiated the 365 days NAP to end violence against women and children.[53] The declaration outlines priority actions for the government, which had up until then primarily focused on response and support mechanisms such as establishing victim support units and safe houses. In addition, the Kopanong Declaration calls for the passing of a Sexual Offences Bill (amendment passed in 2007), the re-establishment of Sexual Offences Courts and an integrated system of planning to deal with violence against women.[54] The National Development Plan 2030 has listed safety and security as one of the key priorities to be addressed. In this regard, the South African Police Service (SAPS) has identified five areas for attention, namely, strengthening the criminal justice system, professionalising the police services, demilitarising the police services, adopting an integrated approach, and enabling greater community participation.[55]

Evidence on the ground, however, suggests that measures to address SGBV still fall short in ensuring behavioural and cultural change. The structures set up to deal with SGBV – including the victim support units – are either no longer functioning in most instances or are severely under-resourced.[56] A range of South African CSOs have identified lack of political will to address SGBV as a major problem, citing the government's failure to deliver on earlier promises such as the development of a National Strategic Plan on gender-based violence and establishment of a functioning National Council on GBV (NSGBV). In addition, civil society has been unable to engage with the Department of Women on this issue, which no longer has a mandate to address SGBV.[57] On a positive note, there are CSOs that work to engage men and women in rethinking masculinities and gender norms. For example, the Sonke Gender Justice Network runs the One Man Can campaign, which works to challenge understandings of masculinity and femininity and encourages men to become actively engaged in advocating for gender equality and preventing SGBV.[58] The programme has been implemented in South Africa's nine provinces, with more than 25,000 men participating in activities each year.[59]

53 Economic Commission for Africa, African Women's Rights Observatory, (www1.uneca.org/awro/CountrySpecificInformation SouthAfrica.aspx).

54 The Kopanong Declaration: 365 days of action to end violence against women and children, 5 May 2006, (www.unicef.org/southafrica/SAF_resources_365daysdeclaration.pdf).

55 South African Police Service (2014), 'Women taking the lead in the SAPS', August, (www.saps.gov.za/resource_centre/publications/police_mag/aug_2014.pdf).

56 *Op cit* Vetten L (2014), 'Rape and other forms of sexual violence in South Africa', p.5. (https://www.issafrica.org/uploads/PolBrief72.pdf)

57 Sonke Gender Justice (2015), 'No word from the National Council on gender-based violence', (www.genderjustice.org.za/news-item/no-word-from-the-national-council-on-gender-based-violence/).

58 Sonke Gender Justice, One Man Can Campaign, (www.genderjustice.org.za/community-education-mobilisation/one-man-can/).

59 Colvin C et al. (2009), 'Report on formative research conducted for Sonke Gender Justice Network's "One Man Can" campaign', Sonke Gender Justice Network.

Sonke Gender Justice Network addresses problems of gendered violence and HIV across South Africa.
© SONKE GENDER JUSTICE NETWORK

The international context

Gender, peace and security in foreign policy

South Africa's key foreign policy instruments determining its engagement internationally vary in terms of their focus on gender, peace and security. While the Draft White Papers on Foreign Policy (2011) and on International Peace Missions (1998) both draw on the values enshrined in South Africa's constitution of non-discrimination, equality, peace, freedom and human dignity, only the Draft White Paper on International Peace Missions is explicit on mainstreaming gender in peace missions and the promotion of gender equality. The government has stated that its rationale behind including this commitment was its belief in "the principle of equal rights, full and effective representation and participation of women and men in decision-making processes and programmes for conflict prevention, peacemaking, peacekeeping, post-conflict reconstruction and development".[60] The Draft White Paper on Foreign Policy (2011) on the other hand makes no specific mention of UNSCR 1325 or to gender, peace and security broadly.[61] The Parliament has not yet approved these two Draft White Papers.

South Africa subscribes to relevant international and regional policy frameworks including the UNSCRs on women, peace and security, the SADC Gender Protocol, BPfA, the 2030 Agenda and Agenda 2063. South Africa has expressed support for the gender, peace and security agenda in official UN debates,[62] co-sponsored UNSCR 1820 on sexual violence in conflict in 2008 and participates actively in the annual meetings of the Commission on the Status of Women (CSW), in which it has been active in advocating for better access to justice for survivors of SGBV.[63] The UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) also adopted South Africa as a pilot country for developing a NAP for the implementation of UNSCR 1325.[64]

However, progress in terms of developing a UNSCR 1325 NAP has been slow. While South Africa announced its ambition to implement the UNSCR in 2007, it was not

60 NCOP Trade and International Relations (2014), 'White Paper on South African Policy and Revised White Paper on South Africa's Participation in International Peace Missions: Departmental briefing', February, (https://pmg.org.za/committee-meeting/16893/).

61 Government of South Africa (2011), 'Building a Better World: The Diplomacy of Ubuntu', *White Paper on South Africa's Foreign Policy*, (www.gov.za/sites/www.gov.za/files/foreignpolicy_0.pdf).

62 See for example a statement delivered by Ambassador Sangqu at the UN Security Council Open Debate on Women Peace and Security, 7 August 2009, in which he remarked that "it is our view that member states should develop enhanced policies and strategies for local ownership of resolutions 1325 and 1820, with the objective of empowering women at different stages of the conflict and its aftermath", (www.southafrica-newyork.net/speeches_pmun/view_speech.php?speech=3555024).

63 See for example a statement delivered by Ms. Lulu Xingwana, Minister for Women, Children and People with Disabilities on the occasion of the 57th Session of the Commission on the Status of Women, (www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/csw/csw57/generaldiscussion/memberstates/southafrica.pdf).

64 International Legal Assistance Consortium (2007), 'Advancing Gender Justice in Conflict Affected Countries', Report on the Africa Regional Meeting on Gender Justice, Cape Town, South Africa 21–23 March.

until 2015 that South Africa's Department of Defence (DoD) organised a preliminary key multi-stakeholder meeting to discuss the development of the NAP.[65] Although the government has recently become more engaged, the process of developing a NAP has so far been very much driven by the South African civil society.[66]

Moreover, stakeholders within South African civil society have expressed concern that progress in women's empowerment has significantly regressed. The uneven implementation of regional and international protocols on women, peace and security and the lax reporting on issues related to gender equality in international fora were cited as particular concerns.[67] Significantly, South Africa failed to submit a report to CEDAW in 2001 and 2005. In addition, its 2008 CEDAW country report was criticised by the Commission for Gender Equality, for example for failing to demonstrate the effectiveness of adopted laws and policies in practice and whether they have benefited women.[68] In addition, the process of setting up the South Africa Development Partnerships (SADPA) has stalled,[69] which makes difficult to determine whether the South African Government will prioritise gender-related issues as part of its development assistance.

Gender, peace and security in peace efforts

South Africa has taken significant steps to include women in peacekeeping, peace-making, peacebuilding and mediation efforts. This includes appointing women to a number of high-profile and strategic roles – for example Ministers of Defence and of International Relations. South Africa also fought hard to have Dr Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma elected as Chair of the AU in 2012.[70]

In addition, South African women have also been instrumental in participating in the development of the instruments and in acting as role models for what could be done in terms of gender, peace and security. For example, South Africa's former Vice President, Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka, is the Executive Director of UN Women, and Geraldine Fraser-Moleketi is the Special Gender Envoy of the African Development Bank (AfDB). South Africa also had a woman representative on the Panel of the Wise of the AU – one of the pillars of the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA)[71] – and has had women in its mediation teams, for example, in the negotiations in Zimbabwe.[72]

Though these women have played formidable roles, the extent to which they have contributed to the integration of gender perspectives still remains to be seen. It is notable, however, that women like Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma have further facilitated more involvement for women, for example the appointment of Ms Benita Diop as the AU's Special Envoy on Women, Peace and Security in 2014.[73] South Africa is also the UN's largest contributor of women peacekeepers. All of its peacekeepers are trained on the UNSCRs on women, peace and security, and gender advisers are trained and deployed.[74] South Africa, in partnership with Norway, also runs a training program for female mediators from across Africa.[75]

65 Musyoka G. (2015). 'South Africa Consolidates Its Efforts On Gender, Peace And Security In The Development Of A National Action Plan On The UNSCR 1325', (www.accord.org.za/news/88-women/1402-south-africa-consolidates-its-efforts-on-gender-peace-and-security-in-the-development-of-a-national-action-plan-on-the-unscr-1325)

66 Informal workshop with South African CSOs and think tanks in November 2015.

67 Informal workshop with South African CSOs and think tanks in November 2015.

68 Commission for Gender Equality (2010), 'Report to the CEDAW Committee on South Africa's implementation of CEDAW: 1998–2008', (http://pmg-assets.s3-website-eu-west-1.amazonaws.com/docs/100811report.pdf).

69 Lucey A (2015), 'South Africa's Development Cooperation: Opportunities in the Global Arena', United Nations University Centre for Policy Research, November, p 2.

70 Institute for Security Studies (2016), 'Dlamini Zuma still keeping mum on succession', 15 February, (https://www.issafrica.org/pscreport/addis-insights/dlamini-zuma-still-keeping-mum-on-succession).

71 African Union, Panel of the Wise, (www.peaceau.org/en/page/29-panel-of-the-wise-pow).

72 Human Rights Watch (2014), 'World Report 2014: Zimbabwe', (https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2014/country-chapters/zimbabwe).

73 African Union (2014), 'AU Chairperson appoints Special Envoy for Women, Peace and Security', February, (http://summits.au.int/en/22ndsummit/events/au-chairperson-appoints-special-envoy-women-peace-and-security).

74 Lowe Morna C et al. (2013), 'SADC Gender Protocol Barometer 2013', Gender Links, pp 260–261.

75 Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2015), 'Norway and South Africa seeking to increase the number of women mediators', *Gender in Norway*, (https://www.regjeringen.no/en/aktuelt/women_mediators/id2405556/).

Nelson Mandela, Facilitator for the Burundi Peace Process and Nkosazana C. Dlamini Zuma, Minister for Foreign Affairs of South Africa attend a Security Council meeting on Burundi. 15 November 2001, United Nations, New York.

© UN PHOTO/SOPHIA PARIS

South Africa in Burundi

The peace process in Burundi, for which President Mandela was appointed as the mediator in 1999, resulted in the signing of the Arusha Peace and Reconciliation Agreement in 2000. Although it was heralded as a success – paving the way for a transitional government, a new constitution and, in 2005, multiparty elections – only two per cent of the members of the negotiating parties were women.[76]

About two years into the process, United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) – now merged into UN Women – demanded representation for women at the peace table. Two UNIFEM technical experts were invited in as part of the facilitation team[77] and seven Burundian women received observer status.[78] Burundian women, however, were largely spectators to the process. Although the Agreement called for gender equity to be applied to reintegration programmes, property rights to be guaranteed for all men, women and children, and assistance for vulnerable groups,[79] it was not explicit about gender representation or gender equality. However, in 2004, the South African Women in Dialogue (SAWID) – to which the South African Government provided funds – and the South African CSO African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes (ACCORD), held a dialogue with 100 Burundian women in South Africa, sharing their experiences of ensuring a commitment to gender equality.[80] The Burundian constitution, adopted in 2005, has a number of gender-sensitive provisions – for example, it secures 30 per cent representation of women in parliament.[81]

South Africa, along with actors such as UNIFEM, played an enabling role for women's participation in the peace process and in the post-conflict Burundian government. However, given its own history – one in which women occupied a third of the negotiating party representation – it could have done much more to facilitate women's participation in the peace process and to advocate for an agreement that was gender-sensitive. The facilitation team were in a strategic position to provide leadership in this regard.[82] It was largely South Africa women's organisations that spearheaded the campaign to assist Burundian women to have a gender-sensitive constitution and gender representation in government. South Africa, post-2009 when the peacekeepers departed, has not played as active a role in supporting peacebuilding in Burundi. This role has largely been left to a South African CSO, ACCORD.[83]

76 UN Women (2012), 'Women's participation in peace negotiations: Connections between presence and influence', (http://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/03AWomenPeaceNeg.pdf).

77 UN Development Fund for Women (2000), 'Breakthrough for Women at the Burundi Peace Negotiations', Reliefweb, 27 June, (http://reliefweb.int/report/burundi/breakthrough-women-burundi-peace-negotiations).

78 Africa Recovery (2000), 'Burundi: Women Strengthen Peace Talks', Vol. 14, No. 2, (www.un.org/en/africarenewal/subjindx/142wm3.htm).

79 Arusha Peace and Reconciliation Agreement of Burundi (2000).

80 Funeka April Y (2009), 'Assessing South Africa's strategic options of soft power application through civic interest groups, African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes, p 124.

81 UNDP (2012), 'Gender equality and women's empowerment in public administration: Burundi case study', (www.undp.org/content/dam/undp/library/Democratic%20Governance/Women-s%20Empowerment/BurundiFinal%20-%20HiRes.pdf).

82 Note that though President Mandela was appointed as the facilitator, Jacob Zuma and later Charles Nqakula effectively acted as facilitators.

83 See Hendricks C, Lucey A (2013), 'Burundi: Missed Opportunities for South African Post Conflict Development and Peacebuilding', *ISS Policy Brief 48*. See also Hendricks C (2015), 'South Africa's Approach to Conflict management in Burundi and the DRC: Promoting Human Security?', *Strategic Review of Southern Africa*, Vol. 37, No. 1.

Congolese Women Rejoice after Signing of Peace Accord in Goma. Women representatives of the local civil society rejoice at the signing of the peace accord between the representatives of the rebel movements and the government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo to end fighting in the east of the country.
© UN PHOTO/MARIE FRECHON

South Africa in the DRC

The Sun City peace process that aimed to bring about peace in the DRC had only 11 per cent (40 out of 340 delegates) women represented at the first round of talks in 2002.[84] In the 2003 Sun City talks, women constituted five per cent of the signatories and none of the mediators.[85]

Similarly to the peace process in Burundi, SAWID and UNIFEM played a key role in assisting the women from the DRC to mobilise for participation, and they were able to provide 'expert' advice on the side. It was predominantly CSOs who worked with government departments to achieve objectives such as promoting gender equality and gender-sensitive security sector reform policies. The agreement reached was not particularly gender-sensitive, although the subsequent constitution called for no discrimination, women's participation in building the nation and for gender parity in institutions.[86]

South Africa played a role in post-conflict peacebuilding in the DRC and continues to deploy quite a few women peacekeepers, as infantry and in support functions, to the DRC,[87] where it is engaged as part of the Force Intervention Brigade. However, the peacekeeping mission United Nations Organisation Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo (MONUSCO), to which South Africa, Tanzania and Malawi have contributed 3,000 troops, has been criticised for not doing enough to protect civilians.[88] South African CSOs have played a role in assisting women from the DRC to participate in elections and gender and security sector reform. These issues, however, require long-term interventions, whereas South African CSOs have predominately adopted one-off interventions.[89]

While South Africa can provide considerable country lessons on gender mainstreaming, the deployment of women in high-level positions within the field of peace and security has not necessarily translated into peace gains for women on the ground in South Africa or in the greater continent. Although South Africa is at the forefront of African peace interventions with its democratic transition having served as a model for many of the conflict management processes on the continent, women's participation and the quest for gender-sensitive peace agreements in the peace processes facilitated by South Africa has been largely ad hoc and often driven by civil society, as seen in cases such as Burundi and the DRC.

There is a need to move beyond the rhetoric of mainstreaming gender into conflict management by promoting UNSCR 1325 in peace and security interventions. At the

84   Mpoumou D (2004), 'Women's Participation in peace negotiations: Discourse in the Democratic Republic of Congo', *The Implementation of Quotas: African Experiences*, International IDEA.

85   Hendricks C (2015), 'Women, peace and security in Africa', *African Security Review*, Vol. 24, No. 4.

86   Mbambi A, Faray-Kele M (2010), 'Gender Equality and Social institutions in the DR Congo', Peacewomen, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, (www.peacewomen.org/assets/file/Resources/NGO/hrinst_genderinequalityinthedrc_wilpf_december2010english.pdf).

87   Gaestel A, Shelley A (2015), 'Female UN peacekeepers: an all-too-rare sight', *The Guardian*, (www.theguardian.com/global-development/2015/jan/22/female-united-nations-peacekeepers-congo-drc).

88   Al Jazeera (2016), 'UN peacekeepers in the DRC no longer trusted to protect', 18 January, (www.aljazeera.com/indepth/features/2016/01/peacekeepers-drc-longer-trusted-protect-160112081436110.html).

89   See Hendricks C, Lucey A (2013), 'South Africa's Post Conflict Development and Peacebuilding Experiences in the DRC', *ISS Policy Brief 47*.

international level, "hard" security concerns still dominate and tend to override gender concerns. In this way the gender agenda falls through policy gaps of peace and security, ultimately failing to address the nexus between peace and security and development.

Linking gender, peace and security and the 2030 Agenda: a way forward

The 2030 Agenda – a global commitment to gender, peace and security

The 2030 Agenda is a global commitment, which was negotiated and adopted unanimously by UN Member States through an inclusive consultation process involving representatives from government, civil society, academia, international organisations and the private sector. This stands in sharp contrast to other international frameworks such as the UNSCRs on women, peace and security; although civil society lobbied for these and has been able to provide input, they were adopted through a top-down approach by the UN Security Council, which itself is an undemocratic institution.[90] In addition, numerous global, regional and national dialogues and consultations on how to implement the 2030 Agenda are ongoing.

The universality of the Agenda also means a shift away from the uneven donor-recipient power relationship, which is an important departure from the MDGs. Indeed, *all* countries will need to undertake concerted efforts to address violence, insecurity and gender inequality. Thus, the 2030 Agenda gives new impetus to and can help build momentum around the gender, peace and security agenda.

National Women's Peace Dialogue in Juba. A two-day National Women's Peace Dialogue was held at the Nyakuron Cultural Centre in Juba on 24–25 November 2015, under the theme "The South Sudan We Want".
© UNMISS

The 2030 Agenda offers a comprehensive vision of peaceful and inclusive societies

The 2030 Agenda can serve as a means for South Africa to address many of the structural and developmental barriers to peace, development and gender equality identified above. Indeed, it includes numerous targets that can contribute to sustainable peace, including those focusing on gender equality, violence reduction, reconciliation and tolerance between different social groups, equal access to justice, fair access to social services and inclusive decision-making at all levels.[91] The 2030 Agenda will provide

90   Heathcote G (2011), 'Feminist politics and the use of force: Theorising feminist action and Security Council Resolution 1325', *Socio-legal Review*, SOAS Research Online, Vol. 7.

91   Saferworld (2015), 'From agreement to action: Building peaceful, just and inclusive societies through the 2030 Agenda', September.

a vehicle through which governments are held accountable for their commitments – indicators for these targets can be used to point to gaps between policies and outcomes for people on the ground.

The new development framework can also ensure that greater attention is given to the conflict-prevention elements of the women, peace and security agenda. The UNSCRs on women, peace and security are limited to conflict and post-conflict settings and do not offer a longer-term approach which addresses the underlying causes of violence and insecurity. The 2030 Agenda, in contrast, is universal and applies to all countries. Although the UN Strategic Results Framework on Women, Peace and Security describes the 'prevention' pillar as including "prevention of conflict", it is often narrowly interpreted in practice as referring to the prevention of SGBV in conflict and not the prevention of the conflict itself.[92] Thus, the 2030 Agenda could – through its preventive approach to conflict and insecurity – inform the ongoing discussions on developing a NAP for South Africa's implementation of UNSCR 1325 to ensure a broader interpretation of the 'prevention' pillar.

The 2030 Agenda can give impetus to efforts to address violent masculinities

While the 2030 Agenda does not explicitly refer to masculinities, it can offer an entry point for addressing violent notions of masculinity through its focus on addressing structural unequal power relations between men and women – including in the political, social and economic sphere – in a number of its goals and targets, such as Goal 1 on poverty, Goal 10 on equality and Goal 5. Through this broad approach to gender equality – together with its monitoring and accountability mechanisms – the 2030 Agenda could serve as a useful complement to UNSCR 1325. Some relevant SDG targets include target 1.4 on equal right to economic resources and access to basic services for women and men, target 10.2 on social, economic and political inclusion of all and target 4.7 on the acquisition of the knowledge and skills needed to promote sustainable development including "human rights, gender equality, promotion of a culture of peace and non-violence…".[93] Thus, the 2030 Agenda and its targets can be used to ensure that efforts are directed towards addressing the masculine norms that drive violence and insecurity.

The 2030 Agenda can help ensure an integrated approach to gender, peace and security

UN Member States have recognised that the 2030 Agenda and its SDGs and targets are indivisible and interlinked. The new development framework can therefore serve as a tool for South Africa to achieve greater coherence and coordination in the implementation of the numerous global, regional and national frameworks that address gender, peace and security issues. This will be key in order to avoid duplications of efforts, identify gaps and bridge the silos separating peace, security, development and gender communities.

Indeed, as noted in the table on pages 20–21, the overlaps between the 2030 Agenda, Agenda 2063 and the UNSCRs on women, peace and security are many. The major difference is that the 2030 Agenda and Agenda 2063 offer a holistic and developmental approach to gender, peace and security whereas the UNSCRs solely focus on conflict and post-conflict situations. Policy makers and civil society actors could use this mapping as a starting point in order to better connect and leverage existing initiatives and actions.

92 Saferworld (2015), 'Reviving conflict prevention in 1325', March.
93 United Nations General Assembly (2015), 'Transforming our World: the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development'.

The 2030 Agenda can help ensure accountability for meeting gender, peace and security commitments

While the 2030 Agenda is a voluntary framework, it will be accompanied by a comprehensive follow-up and review mechanism, which is currently being negotiated and will be agreed by UN Member States. This will include a comprehensive global indicator framework, capturing all 169 targets, as well as a High-Level Political Forum (HLPF), which will meet yearly to review progress towards meeting the SDGs. UN Member States have also recognised that "disaggregated data will be needed to help with the measurement of progress and to ensure that no one is left behind".[94] As a result, there are ongoing efforts at both global and national levels to strengthen data capacity and to ensure that data can be sufficiently disaggregated.[95]

This is a painting by the artist Tom Erik Smith, who specialises in digital painting.

94 *Ibid*.
95 See for example the Global Partnership for Sustainable Development Data, (www.data4sdgs.org/historic-launch-press-release/).

These efforts can help monitor progress towards meeting many of the gender, peace and security commitments that South Africa has made, including in Agenda 2063, the 2030 Agenda and UNSCRs on women, peace and security. Significantly, the global indicator framework for the 2030 Agenda includes a number of gender-specific indicators that can complement the global indicators that have been developed to monitor progress in meeting the UNSCRs on women, peace and security. Although there are several overlaps – for example in terms of sexual violence and women's political participation, the global indicators for UNSCRs[96] mostly focus on conflict and post-conflict situations while the tentative SDG indicators capture progress made on broader gender-related issues such as access to justice, non-discrimination, time spent on unpaid domestic work, violence and reproductive health.[97] In addition, indicators for targets across the 2030 Agenda will be gender-disaggregated – this will thus be a powerful tool for monitoring women's place in development across a range of issues such as access to land and confidence in service provision. For example, many of the Goal 16 indicators will be useful, especially since many of them are perception-based, which is central to any effort to measure overall progress towards lasting peace.[98] The collection of data on this wide set of issues could be used to guide evidence-based policy-making and to ensure accountability.

96 United Nations (2011), 'UN Strategic Results Framework on Women, Peace and Security: 2011–2020', (www.un.org/womenwatch/ianwge/taskforces/wps/Strategic_Framework_2011-2020.pdf).

97 See the annex on page 25.

98 ECOSOC (2016), 'Report of the Inter-Agency and Expert Group on Sustainable Development Goal Indicators', UN Statistical Commission, E/CN.3/2016/2/Rev.1, 19 February 2016.

Comparison of policy frameworks related to gender, peace and security

Key issues for peace	UNSCRs on women, peace and security
Reducing violence and making the public feel secure	End of gender-based violence, including sexual violence, and all other forms of violence against women and girls in armed conflict and post-conflict situations (see UNSCRs 1325, 1820, 1888, 1960, 2106).
	Integration of a gender perspective into peacekeeping operations and the negotiation and implementation of peace agreements (UNSCRs 1325, 2242).
	Training of all military and police personnel on sexual and gender-based violence (UNSCR 1960).
Voice and participation in decision making	Women's full participation at all levels of decision making in peace processes ensured, including in conflict resolution, post-conflict planning and peacebuilding (UNSCRs 1325, 1820, 1889, 1960, 2106, 2122, 2242).
	Gender equality and women's empowerment in conflict and post-conflict situations increased (UNSCRs 1889, 2122, 2242).
Ending impunity and ensuring access to justice	Women's access to justice in conflict and post-conflict situations ensured and human rights of women and girls protected and respected (UNSCRs 1325, 1889, 2122).
	End to impunity for all crimes of violence in situations of armed conflict committed against women and girls, including rape and other sexual violence (UNSCRs 1325, 1820, 1888, 1889, 2106, 2242).
	Zero tolerance on sexual exploitation and abuse by UN peacekeeping and humanitarian personnel (UNSCRs 1820, 1888, 1960, 2106, 2242).
	Accountability for war crimes, genocide, crimes against humanity ensured (UNSCR 2122).
Transparency, accountability and controls on corruption	
Fair access to social services and resources	Women's access to basic services, in particular health services, ensured in post-conflict situations (UNSCR 1889).
	Access to services, including health care and psychosocial support, provided for victims of sexual violence in armed conflict and post-conflict situations (UNSCRs 1820, 1888, 2106).
Addressing the external stresses that lead to conflict	Women's full and meaningful participation in efforts to combat and eradicate illicit arms flows (UNSCRs 2122, 2242).
Shared economic growth and opportunities for decent livelihoods	
The ability of states to manage revenues and perform core functions effectively and accountably	

Agenda 2030	Agenda 2063
Elimination of all forms of violence against women including trafficking (see target 5.2).	Elimination of all forms of gender-based violence against women and girls (see target 51, 37).
Significant reduction of all forms of violence and related deaths everywhere (see target 16.1).	Reduction of violent crimes, armed conflict, terrorism, extremism and ensuring prosperity, human security and safety for all citizens (see targets 34, 37 and 36).
Education in human rights, gender equality, promotion of a culture of peace and non-violence (see target 4.7).	Elimination of all harmful social practices including female genital mutilation and child marriages (see target 51).
End of abuse, exploitation trafficking and all forms of violence against children and elimination of all harmful practices such as child, early forced marriage and female genital mutilations (see targets 16.2 and 5.3).	Functional mechanisms for peaceful prevention and resolution of conflict at all levels and a culture of peace and tolerance nurtured in Africa's children through peace education (see target 32).
Women's full and effective participation and equal opportunities at all levels of decision making in political, economic, and public life ensured (see target 5.5).	Full gender parity with women occupying at least 50 per cent of elected public offices at all levels as well as 50 per cent of managerial positions in the public and private sectors (see target 52).
Responsive, inclusive, participatory and representative decision making at all levels ensured (see target 16.7).	Active involvement of all African citizens in decision making in all aspects of development including social, economic, political and environmental aspects (see targets 47 and 48).
Social, economic and political inclusion of all irrespective of age, sex, disability, race, ethnicity, origin, religion or economic or other status (see target 10.2).	Elimination of exclusion of all irrespective of gender, political affiliation, religion, ethnic affiliation, locality, age or other factors (see target 47).
Public access to information ensured and fundamental freedoms protected, in accordance with national legislation and international agreements (see target 16.10).	A universal culture of good governance, democratic values, gender equality and respect for human rights achieved (see target 27).
All forms of discrimination against all women and girls ended everywhere (see target 5.1).	An end to all kinds of oppression including gender (see target 22).
Enforceable legislation for the promotion of gender equality and the empowerment of all women and girls at all levels adopted and strengthened (see target 5.c).	29. Access to justice in a timely and affordable manner for all (see target 29).
The rule of law promoted at the national and international levels and equal access to justice for all ensured (see target 16.3).	A universal culture of respect for justice and rule of law achieved (see target 27).
Promotion and enforcement of non-discriminatory laws and policies for sustainable development (16.b).	Elimination of all forms of systemic inequalities, exploitation, marginalisation and discrimination of young people (see target 56).
Substantive reduction of corruption and bribery in all its forms (see target 16.5).	Corruption and impunity ended (see target 29).
Equal rights of women and men to economic resources and access to basic services, ownership and control over land and other forms of property, inheritance, national resources, appropriate new technology and financial services ensured (see target 1.4 and 5.a).	Provision of basic services ensured and full empowerment of African women in all spheres with equal social, political and economic rights including the right to own and inherit property, and access to land, credit, inputs and financial services for rural women (see target 11).
Significant reduction of illicit financial and arms flows, strengthening of recovery and return of stolen assets and combating all forms of organised crime (see target 16.4).	Elimination of drugs, organised crime including arms trade and piracy and the illicit trade in and proliferation of small arms and light weapons (see target 37).
Shared income growth and full employment and decent work for all women and men, including young people and persons with disabilities and equal pay for work of equal value (see targets 10.1 and 8.5).	Structural transformation of economies to create shared growth, decent jobs and economic opportunities for all (see target 10).
Effective, accountable and transparent institutions at all levels (see target 16.6).	Capable, developmental, democratic and accountable institutions and transformative leadership in place at all levels (see targets 28 and 30).

4

Policy recommendations

DESPITE THE PROGRESS MADE, there is still much that needs to be done if South Africa is to redress its own gender, peace and security challenges and to effectively integrate gender into its peacemaking, peacekeeping and peacebuilding agenda. Saferworld and SALO make the following recommendations to South African policy makers:

Prioritise longer-term approaches, which address root causes and drivers of violence and insecurity:

South Africa's deep-rooted and multifaceted problems that underscore its high prevalence of violence and insecurity will not be solved through short-term measures such as introducing more women in the police force or the parliament, or more training of the police on SGBV. Although these measures are important, they are not a panacea – South Africa also needs to focus on longer-term approaches, which address the underlying causes of violence and insecurity and apply a gender perspective to them. Significantly, the militarised culture of the security sector should be addressed and more positive and progressive re-inscription of masculinity and femininity need to be promoted in the society as a whole.

This will require investing in longer-term research and programming aimed at challenging gender norms that drive violence and insecurity, going beyond approaches that only focus on women. South Africa could support existing initiatives to engage both men and women in rethinking masculine and feminine identities and gender norms, as well as further analysis and research to enable these approaches to inform conflict prevention, peacebuilding, and security sector reform. This work could also contribute to achieving SDG target 4.7 on the need for all learners to acquire the knowledge and skills needed to promote human rights, gender equality and a culture of peace and non-violence.

Adopt an integrated approach to implementing gender, peace and security commitments:

For the South African Government, it will be essential to promote efforts to implement all relevant gender, peace and security commitments simultaneously in order to ensure a comprehensive approach to violence and conflict prevention to which a gender perspective is applied. The many interlinkages and overlaps between individual targets as well as between relevant policy frameworks highlight the need to avoid working in silos when implementing gender, peace and security commitments. Such an approach

would also respond to the plea from South African CSOs and think tanks for greater coherence and coordination between relevant departments and policy makers.[99]

This approach should include aligning national policy frameworks with relevant international and regional frameworks. For example, the development of a NAP for the implementation of UNSCR 1325 should be accelerated while ensuring a strong focus on conflict prevention, as outlined in the 2030 Agenda, through addressing root causes and drivers of violence and insecurity with a specific focus on gender inequality and discrimination. Indeed, the NAP has the potential to drive a far deeper and more wide-ranging transformation agenda, which will require consistent political commitment and a-whole-of-government approach. South Africa should also adopt a comprehensive peacebuilding policy. The adoption of the White Papers on Foreign Policy and International Peace Missions would be an important step forward. First, however, both documents will need to be aligned with frameworks such as the 2030 Agenda, Agenda 2063 and the UNSCRs on women, peace and security in order to ensure that a strong focus on gender, peace and security is integrated into South Africa's peacebuilding efforts.

Ensure that a gender perspective is integrated in all international peace efforts:

Conflict prevention remains a key priority for the South African Government.[100] As part of its current efforts to review its peacebuilding infrastructure,[101] it should ensure that it takes gendered impacts of conflict into account and that its peacebuilding efforts address militarised masculinities and femininities that can fuel conflict and insecurity. These efforts need to be linked to ongoing efforts to address root causes and drivers of violence and insecurity domestically. For example, efforts to address the violent masculinist culture in South Africa's security sector could also have an impact on the norms and beliefs among South African peacekeepers about gender roles.

Through renewed efforts to address the root causes of violence, insecurity domestically, South Africa will be able to use these experiences in its international peacemaking efforts. This should include leveraging its networks and leadership position within institutions such as the AU, SADC and the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) and encourage other countries to address root causes and drivers of violence and insecurity through the implementation of relevant regional and international frameworks on gender, peace and security. Indeed, gender will not be effectively included into South Africa's peacebuilding efforts unless the country makes genuine efforts to address gender issues on the domestic front.

Make preventing SGBV a national priority:

It is vital that South Africa undertakes concerted efforts to address the high rates of SGBV, which continues to pose a major challenge to people's – and especially women's – security, wellbeing and development. This would also enable South Africa to implement its commitments on addressing SGBV in numerous international policy frameworks including the 2030 Agenda, Agenda 2063, the SADC Gender Protocol and the UNSCRs on women, peace and security. There is an urgent need to develop a National Strategic Plan on SGBV and to ensure an effective National Council on GBV within the Presidency's office. Existing structures to deal with SGBV will also need to be adequately funded and supported.

99 Informal workshop with South African CSOs and think tanks, November 2015.

100 Government of South Africa, International Relations, (www.gov.za/about-sa/international-relations).

101 Musyoka G (2015), 'South Africa consolidates its efforts on gender, peace and security in the development of a National Action Plan on the UNSCR 1325', 27 February 2016, (www.accord.org.za/news/88-women/1402-south-africa-consolidates-its-efforts-on-gender-peace-and-security-in-the-development-of-a-national-action-plan-on-the-unscr-1325).

Support civil society to play a key role in advancing the gender, peace and security agenda:

South African CSOs have a key role to play in terms of ensuring accountability for and implementation of commitments made on gender, peace and security and they should be meaningfully included and consulted in order to help ensure that people's security concerns and priorities are taken into account. All segments of civil society – ranging from women's organisations at the grassroots level to policy-oriented think tanks – will need to be mobilised in order to participate fully in national debates on how the gender, peace and security agenda should be advanced. Efforts that aim to connect CSOs with various existing networks and platforms should be supported. These networks can be used to learn about key gender issues and to advocate more effectively for implementation of the gender-related aspects of international and regional policy frameworks such as the 2030 Agenda and Agenda 2063. An example of such collaboration is the National Task Team (NTT) on lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and intersex (LGBTI) issues convened by the Department of Justice and Constitutional Development with strategic linkages to other departments, provincial governments and LGBT CSOs nationwide to ensure inclusion of this interest group.[102]

Monitor progress towards meeting gender, peace and security commitments:

Ensuring accountability on gender, peace and security commitments and evidence-based policy will require concerted efforts to strengthen capacities for data collection. This should include supporting non-official data producers – such as civil society, think tanks and academia – in their efforts to collect data on gender, peace and security issues. In addition, South Africa should include civil society in the monitoring, follow-up and review process related to the 2030 Agenda, for example in discussions on what context-specific national indicators that need to be developed to complement the global indicators. Additional national indicators on SGBV could be developed, given the centrality of this issue in the South African context. The South African Department of Monitoring and Evaluation, which sits under the Presidency, can play a role in this regard given its Framework for Strengthening Citizen-Government Partnerships for Monitoring Frontline Service Delivery, which consists of a number of government agencies and civil society representatives.[103]

102 See LGBTI National Task Team Website: www.nationallgbtitaskteam.co.za/.

103 Department of Performance Monitoring and Evaluation, (2014),' Strengthening Citizen-Government Monitoring Partnerships', 27 February 2016, (www.dpme.gov.za/keyfocusareas/cbmSite/CBM%20Documents/CBM%20Update_ June%202014.pdf).

ANNEX: Global indicators for the UN 2030 Agenda's Goal 5 and Goal 16

Goal 5. Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls

5.1 End all forms of discrimination against all women and girls everywhere	5.1.1 Whether or not legal frameworks are in place to promote, enforce and monitor equality and non-discrimination on the basis of sex
5.2 Eliminate all forms of violence against all women and girls in the public and private spheres, including trafficking and sexual and other types of exploitation	5.2.1 Proportion of ever-partnered women and girls aged 15 years and older subjected to physical, sexual or psychological violence by a current or former intimate partner, in the previous 12 months, by form of violence and by age
	5.2.2 Proportion of women and girls aged 15 years and older subjected to sexual violence by persons other than an intimate partner, in the previous 12 months, by age and place of occurrence
5.3 Eliminate all harmful practices, such as child, early and forced marriage and female genital mutilation	5.3.1 Proportion of women aged 20–24 years who were married or in a union before age 15 and before age 18
	5.3.2 Proportion of girls and women aged 15–49 years who have undergone female genital mutilation/cutting, by age
5.4 Recognize and value unpaid care and domestic work through the provision of public services, infrastructure and social protection policies and the promotion of shared responsibility within the household and the family as nationally appropriate	5.4.1 Proportion of time spent on unpaid domestic and care work, by sex, age and location
5.5 Ensure women's full and effective participation and equal opportunities for leadership at all levels of decision-making in political, economic and public life	5.5.1 Proportion of seats held by women in national parliaments and local governments
	5.5.2 Proportion of women in managerial positions
5.6 Ensure universal access to sexual and reproductive health and reproductive rights as agreed in accordance with the Programme of Action of the International Conference on Population and Development and the Beijing Platform for Action and the outcome documents of their review conferences	5.6.1 Proportion of women aged 15–49 years who make their own informed decisions regarding sexual relations, contraceptive use and reproductive health care
	5.6.2 Number of countries with laws and regulations that guarantee women aged 15–49 years access to sexual and reproductive health care, information and education
5.a Undertake reforms to give women equal rights to economic resources, as well as access to ownership and control over land and other forms of property, financial services, inheritance and natural resources, in accordance with national laws	5.a.1 (a) Proportion of total agricultural population with ownership or secure rights over agricultural land, by sex; and (b) share of women among owners or rights-bearers of agricultural land, by type of tenure
	5.a.2 Proportion of countries where the legal framework (including customary law) guarantees women's equal rights to land ownership and/or control
5.b Enhance the use of enabling technology, in particular information and communications technology, to promote the empowerment of women	5.b.1 Proportion of individuals who own a mobile telephone, by sex
5.c Adopt and strengthen sound policies and enforceable legislation for the promotion of gender equality and the empowerment of all women and girls at all levels	5.c.1 Proportion of countries with systems to track and make public allocations for gender equality and women's empowerment

Goal 16. Promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels

16.1 Significantly reduce all forms of violence and related death rates everywhere	16.1.1 Number of victims of intentional homicide per 100,000 population, by sex and age
	16.1.2 Conflict-related deaths per 100,000 population, by sex, age and cause
	16.1.3 Proportion of population subjected to physical, psychological or sexual violence in the previous 12 months
	16.1.4 Proportion of population that feel safe walking alone around the area they live

16.2 End abuse, exploitation, trafficking and all forms of violence against and torture of children	16.2.1 Percentage of children aged 1–17 years who experienced any physical punishment and/or psychological aggression by caregivers in the past month
	16.2.2 Number of victims of human trafficking per 100,000 population, by sex, age group and form of exploitation
	16.2.3 Proportion of young women and men aged 18–29 years who experienced sexual violence by age 18
16.3 Promote the rule of law at the national and international levels and ensure equal access to justice for all	16.3.1 Proportion of victims of violence in the previous 12 months who reported their victimization to competent authorities or other officially recognized conflict resolution mechanisms
	16.3.2 Unsentenced detainees as a percentage of overall prison population
16.4 By 2030, significantly reduce illicit financial and arms flows, strengthen the recovery and return of stolen assets and combat all forms of organized crime	16.4.1 Total value of inward and outward illicit financial flows (in current United States dollars)
	16.4.2 Percentage of seized small arms and light weapons that are recorded and traced, in accordance with international standards and legal instruments
16.5 Substantially reduce corruption and bribery in all their forms	16.5.1 Proportion of persons who had at least one contact with a public official and who paid a bribe to a public official, or were asked for a bribe by those public officials, during the previous 12 months
	16.5.2 Proportion of businesses that had at least one contact with a public official and that paid a bribe to a public official, or were asked for a bribe by those public officials during the previous 12 months
16.6 Develop effective, accountable and transparent institutions at all levels	16.6.1 Primary government expenditures as a proportion of original approved budget, disaggregated by sector (or by budget codes or similar)
	16.6.2 Proportion of the population satisfied with their last experience of public services
16.7 Ensure responsive, inclusive, participatory and representative decision-making at all levels	16.7.1 Proportions of positions (by sex, age, persons with disabilities and population groups) in public institutions (national and local legislatures, public service, and judiciary) compared to national distributions
	16.7.2 Proportion of population who believe decision-making is inclusive and responsive, by sex, age, disability and population group
16.8 Broaden and strengthen the participation of developing countries in the institutions of global governance	16.8.1 Proportion of members and voting rights of developing countries in international organizations
16.9 By 2030, provide legal identity for all, including birth registration	16.9.1 Proportion of children under 5 years of age whose births have been registered with a civil authority, by age
16.10 Ensure public access to information and protect fundamental freedoms, in accordance with national legislation and international agreements	16.10.1 Number of verified cases of killing, kidnapping, enforced disappearance, arbitrary detention and torture of journalists, associated media personnel, trade unionists and human rights advocates in the previous 12 months
	16.10.2 Number of countries that adopt and implement constitutional, statutory and/or policy guarantees for public access to information
16.a Strengthen relevant national institutions, including through international cooperation, for building capacity at all levels, in particular in developing countries, to prevent violence and combat terrorism and crime	16.a.1 Existence of independent national human rights institutions in compliance with the Paris Principles
16.b Promote and enforce non-discriminatory laws and policies for sustainable development	16.b.1 Proportion of population reporting having personally felt discriminated against or harassed in the previous 12 months on the basis of a ground of discrimination prohibited under international human rights law

Saferworld is an independent international organisation working to prevent violent conflict and build safer lives. We work with local people affected by conflict to improve their safety and sense of security, and conduct wider research and analysis. We use this evidence and learning to improve local, national and international policies and practices that can help build lasting peace. Our priority is people – we believe in a world where everyone can lead peaceful, fulfilling lives, free from fear and insecurity.

We are a not-for-profit organisation with programmes in nearly 20 countries and territories across Africa, the Middle East, Asia and Europe.

SALO is a South African-based civil society organisation which contributes to peace and security through facilitating dialogue and building consensus between national, regional and international actors. Focused predominantly on Southern Africa, SALO is now increasingly being consulted on the Great Lakes Region, the Horn of Africa and across the Middle East and North Africa. SALO's approach to building international consensus includes creating 'safe spaces' for formal and informal dialogues among and between state and non-state actors, informing key policy makers, and generating in-depth research and analysis.

COVER PHOTO: Women march to the Union Buildings in Pretoria, 9 August 2014, as part of South African's Women's Day celebrations. In 1956 20,000 women of all races marched to the government headquarters demanding the banning of pass books. © MICHEL BEGA/THE CITIZEN