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# MASTER THESIS

TITLE

**“Building Women, Building Peace”**

**The Role of NGOs for a gender-sensitive Peace**

**The Example of Ghana**

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angestrebter akademischer Grad

**Master of Arts (MA)**

Wien, 2015

Studienkennzahl lt. Studienblatt:

A 066 824

Studienrichtung lt. Studienblatt:

Masterstudium Politikwissenschaft

Betreut von:

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## **Acknowledgements**

First of all, I would like to thank Prof. Dr. Birgit Sauer for the support and time invested in the supervision of this thesis. The always constructive and positive atmosphere in her Master seminar was extremely helpful during the writing process.

This thesis would not have been possible without the help of all the great people I was lucky to meet in Ghana. First and foremost, I want to thank Aissa Fall, who not only welcomed and hosted me as an intern but who also wholeheartedly supported my research for this thesis. A big thank you goes to Dr. Jaye, Kesia-Onam Birch, Queeneth Tawo and Joana Opare for taking time to answer all of my questions. Further, I like to thank all the staff of WIPSEN for their support and all other people who made my stay in Ghana a unique experience.

Lastly, I thank my parents for their never-ending support, love and patience.



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## Abbreviations

AU	African Union
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
DOVVSU	Domestic Violence and Victim Support Unit
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
ECOWARN	ECOWAS Early Warning and Response Network
EU	European Union
GHANAP	Ghana National Action Plan
IDA	International Development Association
IR	International Relations
KAIPTC	Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre
MOWAC	Ministry of Women and Children's Affairs
MoGCSP	Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection
NAP	National Action Plan
NCWD	National Council on Women and Development
NDC	National Democratic Congress
NPP	New Patriotic Party
NGO	Non-governmental Organisation
SSR	Security Sector Reform
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNSCR	United Nations Security Council Resolution
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WACSI	West Africa Civil Society Institute

WANEP	West Africa Network for Peacebuilding
WAWEO	West Africa Women Election Observation
WADEP	Women and Development Project
WILPF	Women's International League for Peace and Freedom
WIPNET	Women Peacebuilding Network
WIPSEN	Women Peace and Security Network





# 1. Introduction

*“Building Women, Building Peace”* is the slogan of the *Women, Peace and Security Network Africa (WIPSEN-Africa)* a non-governmental organisation (NGO) based in Accra, Ghana. I borrowed their slogan as thesis title because it illustrates the aim of my thesis: To understand how the “building” of women can lead to a more gender-sensitive peace and how this is accomplished by NGOs in Ghana. Therefore, the work of the *Women, Peace and Security Network (WIPSEN)* and of the *West Africa Network for Peacebuilding (WANEP)* are analysed. Both NGOs are regional peacebuilding networks based in Ghana. WANEP was founded in 1998, as a response to the civil wars in West Africa in the 1990s. The organisation works in collaborative peacebuilding and has national networks and offices in every member state of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). WIPSEN was established in 2006 under the mandate to promote women’s strategic participation and leadership in peace and security governance in Africa. In addition to the central office in Ghana it maintains a second office in Liberia.

My personal interest for women as peacebuilders developed through the movie “Pray the Devil back to Hell” (by Abigail E. Disney and Gini Reticker 2008) which highlights the peace work of women in Liberia. The interest developed into academic curiosity and I started to research the United Nations (UN) ‘Women, Peace and Security Agenda’ (WPS agenda) and the theoretical controversies and debates around it. The WPS Agenda got worldwide attention through the adoption of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (UNSCR 1325) in 2000. The Resolution does not only highlight the important role of women in peacebuilding, it also recognises women’s *right* to participate in peacebuilding. The adoption of UNSCR 1325 is seen as a major policy shift towards a gender perspective in peace and security issues by the international community (Strickland/Duvvury 2003:11). Today, women serve in the military and few women reach high ranks in the centres of power. Nevertheless, they are still only a minority among the men who determine issues of war and peace and who engage in the policy-making for peace and security. The implementation progress of UNSCR 1325 is slow and there is a wide gap between rhetoric and reality. Cynthia Cockburn (2013:443) got to the heart of the matter by stating “[d]iscourse is one thing, however, change in practice is something else.” In October 2015, Resolution 1325 will be 15 years old. Therefore, 2015 is anticipated as an “important year for action and review of the Women, Peace and Security Agenda” (Peacewomen.org). The Security Council called for a High-level Review in October and in advance a Global Study on Women, Peace and Security will be prepared and published. The study will highlight good practice examples, implementation gaps and challenges (ibid.). In

preparation for this study, lead author Radhika Coomaraswamy met with civil society activists from all over the world for a consultation on the women peace and security agenda. This consultation resulted in several recommendations from participants for the global study. Among others these were to “address WPS [Women, Peace and Security] issues for *all women and regions*, not a selected group or limited Security Council agenda” (Peacewomen.org Civil Society Consultation:2, emphasis original). Furthermore, civil society actors emphasised on the necessity of strengthening the prevention pillar and the integrated human security approach. This includes peace education by women, socio-economic and political empowerment and “local, national, and regional work on women’s action for peace as a form of prevention” (ibid.). How the WPS agenda is addressed by NGOs in Ghana is the topic of this thesis.

In the summer of 2014, I got the chance to intern with WIPSEN in Ghana. The internship not only allowed me to gain valuable insights into the daily work of the NGO, it also made in-depth research in Ghana possible. Contacts of the NGO enabled me to reach out and conduct interviews with key people in the field of gender-sensitive peacebuilding in Ghana. Through their work in West Africa WIPSEN and WANEP both gained widespread recognition for their inclusive approaches to peacebuilding. As Ghana is a democratic country with no major conflict in the past decades, it is a particularly interesting case to analyse. A lot of studies assessed the utilization of UNSCR 1325 in post-conflict settings. Both NGOs were founded as response to civil war and have work experience in post-conflict countries. Therefore, it can be assumed that the NGOs apply their knowledge from post-conflict contexts in Ghana. This makes it an exceptional case to analyse how the women, peace and security agenda is applied in a ‘peaceful’ country by experienced actors.

### *Problem Statement*

The tool which is mainly used by NGOs to foster a gender-sensitive peace is UN Resolution 1325. However, as Barnes and Olonisakin (2010: 4) state the “understanding of the process whereby it [UNSCR 1325] is translated from a rhetorical commitment at the UN level into concrete progress on the ground is still lacking.” While a lot of the literature is concerned with women being at the peace table and being integrated by foreign peacekeeping and peacebuilding missions, the work on the ground by NGOs is overlooked. One problem is that the “dominant paradigm about the implementation of UNSCR [1325] has been that political elites at state level will move the resolutions agenda” (ACCORD Report 2011:30). This paradigm ignores the instruments and opportunities for transformation that lie below the state level. UNSCR 1325 faces the same dilemma as other international legal documents: they are

state-based and have limited practical value on the ground. Adequate legal frameworks are useful and desirable, however, the distance between norms and practice has not yet been overcome. The state orientation tends to leave civil society actors to the periphery in the implementation of the Resolution. The aim of the thesis is to fill this knowledge gap, by analysing the role of NGOs for a gender-sensitive peace in Ghana. A gender-sensitive peace is understood as a concept informed by feminist thought which will be derived from feminist theory.

This leads to the second problem that the WPS agenda faces which evolves around the question how UNSCR 1325 and the WPS agenda are understood and therefore applied by local and regional actors. Because the norm is vague, various actors understand and apply it differently (Joachim/Schneiker 2012). According to Heidi Hudson (2009a:5) a lack of understanding of the intention of UNSCR 1325 is one main reason for the implementation gap. For her the resolution has a “radical feminist consciousness and intent” as it links “patriarchy (in its many forms), violent conflict, militarism and the inability of the international community to provide long-term solutions to these conflicts.” From a feminist perspective, the implementation of UNSCR 1325 has to address structural changes to achieve its envisioned results. This includes the altering of power relations between man and women (Ceesay-Ebo 2011: 144). Since feminists assume that war and gender injustice determine each other, the achievement of peace depends not only on disarmament and demilitarization but also on gender justice and equality between women and men (Reardon 2001: 32). Therefore, the activities of the NGOs in Ghana are analysed from a feminist perspective, to understand how they as local actors understand and translate the WPS agenda.

The argument put forward here, is that the voices and work of local and regional organisations working towards a gender-sensitive peace in a country that did not experience a major conflict are widely ignored. Although, there is a strong NGO lobby for the full implementation of UNSCR 1325, the lobbying takes place on a global scale and is done by NGOs located in Northern countries. Strong constituency in the South and NGOs that develop a sense of ownership of the policy are seldom part of the debate. It is further argued, that the WPS agenda cannot be translated uniformly and it depends on the actors who implement it, if a feminist understanding of peace is aspired. Therefore, experiences and strategies used by local NGOs can nurture a better understanding of what constitutes peace.

### *Research questions*

In order to understand how NGOs in Ghana contribute to a gender-sensitive peace, the two aspects are reflected in two research questions. The first question focuses on the *role* the NGOs play by asking: *How do NGOs contribute as implementers, catalysts and partners to a gender-sensitive peace in Ghana?* The second part of the analyses concentrates on the NGOs as *actors* and interpreters of the women, peace and security agenda. The guiding question therefore is: *Do NGOs in Ghana implement the Women, Peace and Security agenda in accordance with a feminist understanding?*

The assumptions are that: First, the NGOs through their roles as catalysts, implementers and partners, determine how the WPS agenda is implemented in Ghana; and second, that they implement the WPS agenda in a feminist sense.

### *Structure of the thesis*

For a better understanding of the context in which the NGOs work, the following chapter presents a short introduction of Ghana, and especially of the status of women and the role of NGOs in the country. Further, the term peacebuilding is clarified and the evolution and implementation process of UNSCR 1325 is explained. The research approach chapter is subdivided into a theoretical framework and methods. For the theoretical embedding of the thesis, two strands of theory are combined: feminist theorizing in International Relations and theory on NGOs. First, the different roles that NGOs can adopt are carved out. These are catalysts, implementers and partners. To analyse the work of NGOs from a feminist perspective, the feminist vantage point on the key concepts violence, security and peace are laid out as a departure point. The traditional concept of peacebuilding is then contrasted with alternative approaches as well as feminist approaches, before the operationalization is presented. In the methods chapter the qualitative research design is illustrated as well as a description of the material and how it was evaluated. In order to answer the two research questions, the analysis is divided into two parts. For the first part of the analysis the three categories on the different roles of the NGOs are used to show how they contribute to a gender-sensitive peace. For a comprehensive understanding of the scope of the NGO work, the analysis differentiates between activities that are directly connected to UNSCR 1325 and therefore the WPS agenda, and activities that are not directly linked to it. In the second part of the analysis, different categories that were derived from a feminist understanding of peacebuilding are applied. To enhance the WPS agenda from a feminist standpoint, activities need to empower women,

prevent direct and indirect violence, transform patriarchal gender relations and build a culture of peace. The outcomes of the analyses are presented along the established categories and are summarized in a concluding chapter.

## **2. Context**

### ***2.1 Ghana***

Ghana is located on the coast of West Africa, bordered by Burkina Faso, Togo and Cote d'Ivoire (Naylor 2000:9). The population in Ghana is estimated at 24 million, divided into about 60 distinct ethnic groups each with their own traditions and languages (ibid.:6). Ghana is a leading exporter of cocoa, and the country's economy is dominated by agriculture, which employs around 40% of the working population (KAIPCTC Study 2011:83).

As first country in sub-Saharan Africa, Ghana gained independence from Great Britain on March 6, 1957 and Kwame Nkrumah, who was leading the independence movement, became the nation's founding president. Ghana was regarded as a model colony with a high literacy rate, a well-established middle class and an extensive communication and port infrastructure (Throup 2011:3). Thus, at independence, Ghana started out with a flourishing economy based on cocoa and mineral exports and with substantial sums in national accounts. However, mismanagement and corruption led to debt and inflation and Nkrumah started to convert the democratic rule into an authoritarian one-party state. In 1960, he pushed for constitutional changes so that he can be declared President for life and political opposition was clamped down. Nkrumah's rule ended in 1966 with a military coup as officers had felt increasingly dissatisfied with the economic and political situation of the country. For three years the country was led by the National Liberation Council that was made up of military personnel as well as civilians and in 1969 democratic elections were held. Continued economic problems led to a second coup in 1972, and this time a wholly military government was set up. The economic struggles continued, basic commodities were in short supply, the cocoa productions had dropped to half and the inflation was estimated at 300 per cent. In 1979, the military government planned to return to civilian rule. One month before the planned elections, the first violent coup took place by Flight Lieutenant J.J. Rawlings. Although heads and associates with the former military government were executed, the elections were held at the appointed time. However, after the new civilian regime could not manage to fight the economic crisis and corruption effectively, J.J. Rawlings staged his second coup in 1981. His fight against corruption and his pro-poor stance brought him a high degree of popularity and in 1985, against the backdrop of the beginnings of opposition to the regime, he decided to take the path back to democracy. Rwalings' ruling military junta, the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC), was metamorphosed in a political party with the reconstitution of the National Commission for Democracy (NDC). A new national constitution was being drafted and in 1992, national

parliamentary and presidential elections were held that were declared as free and fair by international observers (Naylor 2000: 19-31). Rawlings was elected President and the Fourth Republic was inaugurated in January 1993 (Frempong 2008:183).

Since then, Ghana is a constitutional democracy and has completed multiple elections. In the Constitution of 1992, Ghana declares its commitment to certain basic principles: Freedom, justice, probity, accountability; the sovereign will of the people; the principle of universal adult suffrage; the rule of law; and the preservation of fundamental human rights and freedoms (Constitution of Ghana: xxvii). The President, together with the Vice President and Ministers constitute the executive of the state. The President is elected for four years and for a maximum of two terms and the presidential candidate has to receive more than 50% of the total vote. The legislature is the parliament as single chamber with 230 members. Parliamentarians are elected after a simple majority voting system and they also serve a four year term. The judiciary consists of the Supreme Court, High Court, Court of Appeal and ten regional tribunals in each region (AU Country Profile: 6).

The democratization process also came with a decentralisation process to further people's participation in decision-making. Therefore, extensive powers and competencies were transferred to the 10 districts and 110 district assemblies were created. The assemblies are composed of representatives of the people in the districts and are headed by district chiefs or mayors nominated by the President of Ghana. Two thirds of the members of the assemblies are elected, the other third is appointed by the central government in consultation with traditional authorities and interest groups in the districts (Ofei-Aboagye 2000: 2).

Although there are more than 20 registered parties in Ghana (CIA World Factbook Ghana), the single-member district plurality system led to a stable two-party system, with the National Democratic Congress (NDC) and the New Patriotic Party (NPP) combining over 90% of the total votes cast (Morrison/Hong 2006:626/627). While the parliamentary elections of 1992 were highly disputed by opposition parties, Ghana had six consecutive national elections which have been peaceful, free and fair. The election in 2000 was historic since it was the first peaceful alternation of power from the ruling National Democratic Congress to the opposition New Patriotic Party (Frempong 2008:183/184). In 2012, the incumbent John Mahama from the NDC won the elections by scarce 50,7 percent (The Economist 2012). Thereupon, his opponent Nana Akufo-Addo contested the victory in court and made allegations of vote fraud, mismanagement and irregularities. These claims were however dismissed by the Supreme Court and President Mahama was declared as 'validly elected' (CNN 2013). Constant high voter turnouts between

60% and 80% since the 1996 elections indicate mass participation and show that Ghana succeeded in becoming a stable democracy (Frempong 2008:183/184).

### *Conflicts, Peace & Security*

Although Ghana never experienced a full-fledged civil war, the country experienced some violent inter-community conflicts, mainly in the northern region which is economically marginalized compared to the prosperous south. The North-South dichotomy in Ghana stems mainly from the unequal distribution of natural resources. In the South, the forest is valuable resource which can be exploited directly but also allows for producing cash crops such as cocoa. People in the North struggle with a short growing season and erratic rainfall which reduces the variety of crops that can be planted. The North-South divide is not only to be found in Ghana, almost every coastal West African country is characterized by it<sup>1</sup> (Tsikata/Seini 2004:6).

Between 1990 and 2002 there were 14 ethnic conflicts in Ghana (Odendaal 2010:55). Most of these conflicts evolve around chieftaincy and land rights. A source for conflicts are the different organisational structures of neighbouring ethnic groups. Some are organised like a state system with a chief as leader, others are organised as acephalous systems around lineage heads and other leaders but no chiefs. Animosities between these groups date back to the colonial system in which the colonial powers used chiefs as their proxies and imposed them with control and tax power, leading to political and economic oppression of non-chieftly groups (Kirby 2003: 1).

In 1994, the northern part experienced a major conflict that was named the *guinea fowl war* because it was triggered by a dispute at a market over the price of a fowl. The cause for this conflict was manifold, although Rachel Naylor (2000:75) assesses that the region's underdevelopment and poverty was the root cause. The conflict line was between ethnic groups led by chiefs and acephalous groups, latter feeling disadvantaged towards the chiefly groups. The conflict killed thousands of people and displaced at least 100,000. To settle the conflict a consortium of local and international aid organisations was founded and in the peace process the Northern Region Youth and Development Association was established, an organisation which aims at solving ethnic disputes before they become violent (ibid.:76). Although Ghana experienced many military coups, political violence has been sporadic, with several political

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<sup>1</sup> Especially Nigeria is affected from a stark north-south divide, which dates back to colonial policies. The underdevelopment of the North is one contextual factor that gave rise to and strengthened Boko Haram (Uzodike/Maiangwa 2012:109).



murders in 1981 and a violence outbreak at a protest against the government's introduction of value-added tax (VAT) in 1995 (Naylor 2000: 76).

In the 2014 Global Peace Index Ghana was listed 61 out of 162 countries, making it the 7<sup>th</sup> most peaceful country in sub-Saharan Africa (Global Peace Index 2014:9). As David Throup (2011:2) writes: “[B]y African standards, Ghana is a stable state.” It is unlikely that Ghana will relapse into civil war or large-scale ethnic conflict. However, instability through rising urban violence and crime or violence through a closely contested election is possible in the next decade (Throup 2011:2). Moreover, „the neo-colonial origins of statutory security institutions in West Africa render them vulnerable to external developments, influences and distortions, while the related, disarticulated nature of the state distances it from local security institutions and processes.” (Ebo 2012: 55)

In 2006, Ghana established a National Architecture for Peace, a national level framework for peace-building. The National Peace Architecture in Ghana is based on the National Peace Council Act 2011 also referred to as Act 818. This is an act “to establish the National Peace Council to promote peace in the country” (Act 818:3). The core mandate of the National Peace Council (NPC) is to prevent, manage and resolve conflict and build sustainable peace (MoGCSP Review Report 2014: 25). The act determines the establishment of a National Peace Council governed by a board, and the establishment of regional and district peace councils. Each of these councils is similar in its composition: One representative from eight different religious groups, one representative of the National House of Chiefs, two persons nominated by the President one of whom is a women and two persons nominated by “identifiable groups” (Act 818:5). The NPC adopted a five-year strategic plan (2013-2017) that advocates strategies for conflict prevention, management and resolution (MoGCSP Review Report 2014:25).

Ghana's security sector consists of the Ghana Armed Forces (army, navy and air force); the Ghana Police Service; paramilitary organisations like the Ghana Immigration Service; the Ghana Prisons Service; intelligence organisations; and private security organisations. The president exercises overall control of the security sector and there are three parliamentary bodies that are in charge of overseeing the security sector (Hutchful 2008:112/113). However, after the sporadic and interrupted existence of a parliament in Ghana, there are still some constraints in its oversight role. Due to its history, there is a political and institutional autonomy of the armed forces and the notion of civilian scrutiny has yet to be accepted by many in the military (ibid.: 123). Ghana is also an important actor in peacekeeping initiatives and has contributed to UN missions in Liberia, Sierra Leone, Cote d'Ivoire, Lebanon and the

Democratic Republic of the Congo. Roughly one-third of the Ghana Army is engaged in peacekeeping operations (Throup 2011: 6).

### *Economic Situation and Foreign Aid*

Ghana established an open economy that is well integrated in the global trade, leading to relative prosperity. While for the past 100 years, cocoa and gold have been the foundation of Ghana's economy, oil will be likely to become the main driver of economy in the future (Throup 2011:5). In the last five years, the oil boom lead to a GDP growth above 8 percent, making Ghana the poster star of African growth. However, mounting inflation and a weakening currency put the dream of new wealth on hold (Reuters 2014).

In the last decades, donor funds were an important source of financing in Ghana. Foreign aid in Ghana started in 1970s and 1980s. The aid flow corresponded with the political atmosphere; the aid level rose with the democratic elections in 1979 and declined after the 1981 coup. There are two Structural Adjustment Programs Ghana underwent. The first from 1983-1988 was an Economic Recovery Program which managed to stabilize the economy. The second program from 1988 until present seeks to promote good governance and address poverty (Andrew 2010: 98). As part of achieving this goal, Ghana put three consecutive Poverty Reduction Strategy Plans in place. The implementation of these plans is funded by key development partners like the African Development Fund (ADF Country Gender Profile 2008: vii). However, the efforts in good governance have not yet translated into practice and corruption is still a problem<sup>2</sup> (Andrew 2010: 98).

Currently, "aid accounts for approximately 20 percent of the total annual Government budget resources and 10 percent of Gross Domestic Product (GDP)" (Ghana Aid Policy 2010:11). There is a significant decline in aid. In 2000, aid disbursements to Ghana made up 25,2 percent of GDP, in 2008 it was only 9,8 percent. At the same time, the economy experienced positive growth from 3,7 percent in 2000 to 7,3 percent in 2008. The growth was however, inconsistent with high levels of inflation (ibid.).

In 2010, Ghana reached from a low-income status to a middle-income status which has several consequences for the country. The different income categorizations are used by international organisations to classify countries and determine access to aid and eligibility for financing windows (Moss/Majerowiz 2012:3). The biggest impact of the new status for Ghana is the gradual loss of access to concessional financing. In 2012, the World Bank's soft loan window,

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<sup>2</sup> Ghana scores 48 (100 being the highest, most desirable index) and ranks 61<sup>st</sup> out of 175 countries in the 2014 Corruption Perception Index (Transparency International).

the International Development Association (IDA) was Ghana's single largest donor. IDA eligibility however, is based on a capita income below a certain threshold and lack of credit-worthiness. Is a country above the income threshold for three consecutive years, it gradually loses access to IDA funds (ibid.: 4/5). Moreover, IDA-eligibility is also an important indication for other actors, especially the bilateral donors, who seek to focus their aid on the neediest countries. Thus, Ghana is expecting a reduction of funds over time (ibid.:14). As becoming a middle income country was part of the country's economic planning, the Governance of Ghana stated in 2010 (Ghana Aid Policy:16) that it has "taken cognizance of the need to reduce dependence on aid in the medium- to long-term, and therefore intends to redouble its efforts at mobilizing non-aid resources to fund its development objectives." However, in 2013, the World Bank endorsed a country partnership strategy which consists of an IDA portfolio with a total commitment of \$2,0292 billion (World Bank Ghana Overview). A study by Robert Osei et al. showed that aid in Ghana has been improved fiscal performance of the country and led to reduced domestic borrowing, increased tax effort and increased public spending. So in fiscal terms aid has been used sensibly by the governments in Ghana (Osei et al. 2003: 25).

### *NGOs in Ghana*

The evolution of the NGO sector in Ghana dates back to the colonial Gold Coast where charity and welfare activities were carried out by churches. Post-independence the number of NGOs grew rapidly, especially during the 1980s and 1990s, a reflection of increased donor attention and a worldwide growth of the NGO sector (Gary 1996: 157). The long period of military rule and non-representative government in Ghana also led to a spread of NGOs. Many have been concerned with service provisions, are not membership organizations and tend to focus on single issues and themes. As most NGOs are dependent from donors and international funding they have placed local concerns within the broader development framework in order to secure funding (Manuh 2007a:131).

To be recognized by the government, NGOs have to register at the Department of Social Welfare. The condition is that the organisation is "voluntary, independent and not-for-profit; working to improve circumstances and prospects of disadvantaged people who are unable to realize their potential or achieve their full rights in society" (Japan International Cooperation Agency 2011:2). It is difficult to get an exact number of NGOs operating in Ghana, though as of 2009 there were 4, 463 NGOs registered according to the Department of Social Welfare. In 2004, the number estimated was 3,000 meaning that in five years about 1,400 new NGOs got

registered. Thus, the actual numbers of NGOs in Ghana today is likely to be much higher (Wishes Alliance 2014).

The NGO sector in Ghana is very dynamic with new organisations appearing and existing ones are changing or disappearing. The NGOs are engaged in a variety of areas such as health, water, poverty reduction or education. While in the past a lot of NGOs have worked in isolation, many NGOs started networking recently. The relation between NGOs and the government vary. At the local level where NGOs deliver development services the relation between the organisations and particular government departments is often good, while on the policy-making level the relationship between NGOs and the government is often more difficult (Naylor 2000: 33/34).

There is a longstanding discussion about the state regulation of NGOs and Civil Society Organisations (CSOs). As there is a number of ‘bogus’ NGOs in Ghana, that profit from tax-free imports, the government has tried to install a new framework for the registration of NGOs. The first attempt of a regulatory framework was introduced 1993 but then withdrawn as NGOs have resisted it, arguing the Bill would not be consistent with various clauses of the 1992 Constitution (Naylor 2000:34). In 2000, the government collaborated with NGOs to produce a policy document, the Draft National Policy for Strategic Partnership with NGOs/ Civil Society Organisations (CSOs), to regulate NGO activities. It was agreed on, that this Draft would form the basis for further legislation and in 2006 a Trust Bill was introduced which included the regulation of NGOs. This however was criticised since the regulatory framework also includes for-profit companies which makes the regulation of NGOs sidelined (ModernGhana 2009). A more rigid regulation is demanded because there are many NGOs in Ghana that are questionable and lack transparency. In a BBC Interview in 2004, the then Chief Director of the Ministry of Employment and Social Welfare stated that most NGOs spend 80% of their money form government agencies or foreign sponsors for administrative costs. Furthermore, only 150 NGOs of the more than 3000 at this time had submitted an annual report and statements of accounts to the Social Welfare Department. He proclaimed that “NGOs are meant to be philanthropic, but many are fake and take a share of the money for their personal use” (BBC News 2004). As a consequence he announced a plan to blacklist non-performing NGOs, but no further action is documented.

The relative stability and democratic governments in Ghana make it an attractive partner for international donors. The country, sometimes even called “donor darling,” experienced a steady growth of donors from 18 in 1970 to 44 in 2010 (Lawson 2013:5). Despite the World Bank, the biggest donors in Ghana are the United Kingdom, the United States, the African Development Fund and Canada (OECD Statistics). The external funding that often involves strong ties

between NGOs and their international donors also carries a risk of conflict between governments and NGOs. Many NGOs implement the donor's vision rather than supporting national policy in a specific field which can cause resentment and grievances in government departments (Naylor 2000: 34).

The first time NGOs played a vital role in peacebuilding in Ghana was during and after the 1994 conflict. As a response to the conflict, NGOs that were mainly focused on development initiatives in the North formed the Inter-NGO Consortium to pool resources and coordinate the relief efforts. Although the NGOs accepted that the primary response for the maintenance of peace rested with the government, a mistrust of state initiatives prevented an adequate response to the conflict. This led NGOs to become active for peacebuilding. They identified individuals who were moderate in their views and interested in ending the conflict and brought in non-governmental peace experts from the Nairobi Peace Initiative and together facilitated the mediation of a peace agreement between the warring factions (Kaye/Béland 2009:187).

### *Situation of women in Ghana*

Under the present Constitution of Ghana women and men share equal rights. Article 17 states that "all persons shall be equal before the law" (1) and "a person shall not be discriminated against on grounds of gender race, colour, ethnic origin, religion, creed or social or economic status." (2) There are also provisions that address women's rights issues directly. Article 27 (1) calls for special care and paid leave before and after childbirth. Moreover, "facilities shall be provided for the care of children below school-going age to enable women, who have the traditional care for children, realise their full potential" (2) and "women shall be guaranteed equal rights to training and promotion without any impediments from any person." (3) Ghana is also committed under international law to secure equality for women. The country has signed and ratified, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), and the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights (Fenrich/Higgins 2002:260). Since 2001, the government's commitment to gender issues is represented by the Ministry of Women's and Children's Affairs<sup>3</sup> which is responsible for gender-responsive budgeting, introduction of new legislation and the initiation of gender-focused programmes (Manuh 2007.:130/131). In 2013, the ministry was re-designated and re-named Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection (MoGCSP). The re-designation expanded the mandate to "promote gender-equality; promotion and protection of children's rights and welfare; and

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<sup>3</sup> Many gender activists articulated concerns about the coupling of women's and children's affairs, as they cannot be treated synonymous (Manuh 2007:146).

empowerment of the vulnerable, excluded, the aged and persons with disabilities for sustainable national development.” (MoGCSP Review Report 2014: 35) The ministry also drafted a National Gender Policy (ibid.).

Nevertheless, the decades of authoritarian and military rule were not exactly women friendly and the policy advocacy culture during this time was weak. In the 2013 Gender Inequality Index Ghana was ranked 121 out of 148 countries. Only 8.3 percent of parliamentary seats are held by women and 45.7 percent of adult women have reached a secondary or higher level of education (UNDP Human Development Report Ghana 2013:4). Although the school life expectancy is only one year less for women, 11 years to 12 years for male, there is a gap in the literacy rate with only 65,3 percent of women know how to read and write compared to 78, 3 percent of men (CIA World Factbook). Despite an increase of women’s participation in the labour market they are disadvantaged. They have a higher risk of vulnerable employment, constitute a greater proportion of contributing family workers, they are less likely to engage in wage employment and often they do part-time or seasonal jobs in the informal sector. Particularly striking are the differences in wages: “It is estimated that average hourly earnings of women in Ghana is 57 percent of that of men and that regardless of the type of employment, education, age etc., women earn lower than men” (Inequalities Country Report Ghana 2014: 9). However, there is also progress being made. Education at the tertiary level for example showed an increase of the Gender Parity Index from 0.58 in 2000 to 0.71 in 2010 (ibid. 11).

Despite equality before the law, women in Ghana face discrimination, mainly due to cultural traditions. Family relations in Ghana are largely regulated by customary or traditional laws, which determine the requirements for marriage, duties of husbands and wives and ownership of property (Fenrich/Higgins 2002:268). One crucial problem for women in Ghana are inheritance rights. Traditionally widows have no right to inherit property that was acquired during the marriage. Family in Ghana refers to individuals related by blood and not by marriage. The lineage is more important than the nuclear family as it is a social institution that determines land rights and political organisation in the traditional system. There are female lineages (matrilineal) and male lineages (patrilineal) and the lineage consists of all descendents from either a common female ancestor or a common male ancestor (Fenrich/Higgins 2002:269/270). The two systems roughly coincided with the North/South divide in Ghana, the North with mostly patrilineal systems and the South being predominant matrilineal (AFD Country Gender Profile 2008:2). 80 percent of the land in Ghana is governed by customary law and land is considered to belong to the lineage. There is statutory law to make it easier for women to inherit land. The Interstate Succession Law (1985) provides equal inheritance rights for spouses. Nevertheless, there are great

difficulties in realizing this right and customary law determines how land is inherited. Although women usually have a lifelong use right for their land after their husband ceased, they cannot exercise independent control over the land or control the proceeds (Hughes/Knox 2011:2). This is especially discriminating since women play a crucial role in the country's agricultural sector as they produce about 70 percent of food crops, and they comprise 95 percent of agro-processing labour and 85 percent of food distribution jobs (AFD Country Gender Profile 2008: viii).

Marriages are also mostly contracted under the various systems of customary law which does not place men and women as equal partners. Even though the Constitution guarantees equality, the reality in marriage is different. There is for example, "the perceived 'right' of husbands and partners to 'correct' both actual and perceived transgressions of their wives, such as disobedience or stepping out of line" (Manuh 2007b:1). Physically assault and sexual abuse in marriage is not regarded as unusual in Ghanaian society and was even reinforced by law. Inherited from British jurisprudence, § 42 of Ghana's Criminal Code 1960 (Act 29), accepts the use of force in marriage through exempting spouses from revoking their consent given upon marriage. The law thus meant that "husbands could not be held criminally liable for raping their wives, their wives having perpetually consented to sex while married." (Archampong 2010:2) In 2007, with the enactment of a Domestic Violence Law (which will be introduced below) the use of violence on the basis of consent was declared unconstitutional, although the Act was not explicitly repealed. Husbands can now be prosecuted for marital rape but there is still no direct prohibition of it (ibid). The absence of full and direct criminalization of marital rapes makes it difficult to change the popular notion that marriage means an automatic consent to sex (Manuh 2007b:3).

There are however, ethnic affiliation and lineages which determine greater equality for women. In the ethnic group of the Akan for example, women take on important social and political roles and female elders gain authority. In many indigenous African societies women's position varied, with some having extensive authority. However, colonialism "imposed a legal and cultural apparatus that undermined women's traditional base of power" (O'Barr/Firmin-Sellers 1995:189). Colonial rule in Ghana restricted women's participation in economic and political roles outside the home (AFD Country Gender Profile 2008:2). The partial exclusion of women from the educational system and no opportunities for them to require training meant that they could not occupy positions in the political and public sphere and lead to a sharp distinction between the 'private' and the 'public' for women (Allah-Mensah 2005:13).

### *Political Participation*

Although an Affirmative Action Policy from 1998 set the target of 40% for women's representation in decision-making and executive positions in government, the female representation in the political sphere is rather poor. In the fourth Republic women made up between 8 percent to 9,5 percent from 1992 -2000 in the National Parliament. In 2000, the number increased to 15 percent but after the latest elections in 2012 the female representation sank to 10,9 percent, which measures up to 30 women versus 245 men. On the local level, female representation is even worse. In the district assemblies only 433 women versus 4301 men were elected in 2006. This is however an increase, in 1994 only 122 women became assembly members versus 4082 men (Torto 2013:44). The unequal representation applies not only for elective positions but also for the governmental administration with a low number of female civil servants (Ofei-Aboagye 2000:4). There are a few factors that explain this: "Lack of funds to support women's campaigns, verbal and psychological threats from male counterparts, harassment and insults from fellow women and men, chieftaincy and political affiliations and cultural stigmatisation." (Torto 2013: 44) Negative cultural and traditional practices, lack of education, and structural financial barriers are the obstacles women are dealing with and which hinder them to equal political participation. Women experience discrimination and gender inequality even as members in their political parties (Sossou 2011:4/5).

### *Violence against women*

According to the 2014 Beijing +20 Review Report, the number of incidences of violence against women is still high in Ghana. According to a study from 2008, 19 percent of married women have experienced physical partner violence and 8 percent of women reported having ever experienced sexual violence. The most recent statistics show mixed results. In 2011 the reported cases of domestic violence dropped sharply to 2470 from 17, 965 cases the year before and then rose to 99740 in 2013 (MoGCSP Review Report 2014:18/19).

Violence against women in Ghana is not only manifested in emotional, psychological and economic terms but also through cultural practices. Among others, these are widow inheritance, widowhood rites, forced marriages, female genital mutilation, or abuses related to pseudo-religious practices such as the 'trokosi'. This is a system of enslavement of young females to pay for past family crimes which is practiced among the Ewe ethnic group in the Volta region (Amoakohene 2004: 2375).



During the military rule from 1982 to 1993 and after the return to constitutional rule, Ghana represented itself as a progressive state, committed to equity and social justice as well as to gender issues and gender equity. Laws were issued to deal with longstanding traditional practices such as widow-hood rites (Manuh 2007a:130). The Criminal Code (1960, Act 29) Amendment Act in 1998 “[c]riminalises defilement, forced marriage, customary servitude, rape, female genital mutilation, harmful widowhood rites and violence against women singled out as ‘witches’” (Aning/Sjöberg 2011: 107). Another legislation is the National Gender and Children’s Policy (2004) that seeks to mainstream gender concerns in national development processes (ibid.). In 2007, the Parliament of Ghana passed a Domestic Violence Bill but public effort to address cases of abuse and domestic violence started in 1997, following a nation-wide study on gender based violence in Ghana which revealed that one in three women and girls had experienced abuse. As a consequence the Women and Juvenile Unit (WAJU, now Domestic Violence Victim Support Unit DOVVSU) was founded by the Police to respond to violence against women and children. Initially the Unit was only set up in Accra and Kumasi but by 2002 it had offices in every region. However, increases in domestic violence and inadequate attitudes of police personnel lead to pressure for a more comprehensive legislation. In 2002, four married women were killed by their husbands, leading to a protest march by a loose coalition of NGOs. In the same year the draft for the Domestic Violence Bill was prepared, which led to heated debates. It was not just about a new legislation but also about confronting a social system that tolerates violence against women, especially in the context of domestic sphere, and the Bill was seen as a threat to Ghanaian cultural beliefs and practices. The consequence was “an unprecedented nation-wide consultation on the grounds that its provisions had serious implications for family life and gender relations” (Manuh 2007b: 2). To win support for the legislation a national coalition was formed by CSOs and individuals that campaigned nation-wide. After debates on the content of the Bill in media and Parliament the law was finally passed with some amendments in 2007. The law prohibits domestic violence and it defines it to include physical, sexual, economic, and emotional abuse. The Act furthermore established a Victims of Domestic Violence Support Fund to ensure the basic material support of victims, the construction shelter for victims of domestic violence and training and capacity building (Manuh 2007b: 2/3). The above mentioned Domestic Violence Victims Support Unit is the law enforcement by the Ghana Police. Among other function the Unit seeks to “protect the rights of the vulnerable against all forms of abuse; provides advice on crime prevention to members of the public; arrest and prosecute where necessary; establish an effective database for crime detection, prevention and prosecution” (Ghana Police Service 2015). In addition, DOVVSU

has clinical psychologist and counsellors in most of its regional offices who can provide counselling for women (ibid.). In 2010, DOVVSU developed a five-year strategic plan to improve the Unit's work through capacity-building, institutional expansion and advocacy (MoGCSP Review Report 2014: 21).

According to Beatrice Torto (2013:45), women's empowerment and gender equality remain sensitive issues in Ghana. Despite of gender awareness programmes, projects and policies, she identifies cultural and structural factors that hinder the development of women. These are: "limited autonomy, low status poverty, gender-based violence, lack of access to justice and legal information, and lack of access to land and credit facilities."

### *Women in Peace and Security*

Low numbers and low level of participation of female personnel in the security sector is a key challenge for the democratic governance in Ghana. As a study in 2004 found out, the "male gender bias of the security sector is the most worrying aspect of Ghana's security sector governance" (Aning/Sjöberg 2011:105). Women's participation in the security sector is mainly hindered by structural, procedural and policy barriers. Among others, these are the recruitment standards, promotion policies, structure of the shift system and child care. None of the security institutions has institutional gender policies or gender focal points. The goal of 40 percent women's representation set in the 1998 Affirmative Action Policy applies not only to government institutions but also to the security sector. Although female representation in the security sector has increased since the early 1990s, women are still under-represented, especially in high-ranking positions. The Ghana Armed Forces has the lowest proportion of female personnel with only 9 percent, followed by the Police with 15.3 percent and the Ghana Prisons Service with the highest proportion of 28.1 percent female personnel. Only the Police and Prisons Service have female staff associations (ibid.:106). Even though the police has its special domestic violence unit (DOVVSU), there is no gender training institutionalised. Training for personnel is only provided by civil society and international actors on an ad hoc basis (ibid.: 108).

Women are also heavily under-represented in Ghana's National Peace Architecture. The composition of the Board of the National Peace Council is 8 percent females and 92 percent males. The sex ration of the seven Regional Peace Advisory Councils are 16:5, 25:3, 12:2, 11:1, 11:3, 10:1 male:female, and of eight Regional Peace Promotion Officers only one is a women (MoGCSP Review Report 2014:24/25).

## *Gender activism in Ghana*

Gender activism in Africa was set in motion from the mid-1970s. Through the United Nations Decade for Women (1975-1985), the development agencies began the sponsoring of research and projects with African women (Manuh 2007a:127). In Ghana, gender work as self-aware institutional practice can be traced back to the post-independence period. With the proclamation of the International Women's Year 1975 the government in Ghana sponsored a project to integrate women into development and the National Council on Women and Development (NCWD) was established to promote gender equality and monitor the implementation of international commitments (ibid.:130). Even though the NCWD succeeded in promoting certain laws addressing women's concerns, it suffered from a lack of sufficient political will to initiate key policy decisions and to establish a strong culture of women's empowerment (Mensah-Kutin/Dzah 2010:6). In 1982, the 31<sup>st</sup> December Women's Movement, named after the date of the 1981 coup, was founded and long dominated gender activism in Ghana. The Movement presented itself as the "women's wing of the revolution" and as a NGO, and can therefore be categorized as a 'governmental non-governmental organisation' (Gary 1996:161). The movement was headed by First Lady Nana Konadu Agyeman-Rawlings and with the help of the state and multilateral and bilateral donors its activities included setting up day care centres and promoting income generating projects for women. However, the activism for women was peripheral to the movement's role in supporting the ruling party (ibid.). Moreover, it is assumed that the state sponsored policies for women had limited effects as the state in Ghana is highly gendered and such policies are likely to not question the status quo but reinforce it (Manuh 2007a: 130). In the late 1990s, the field of gender activism diversified which also broadened the range of concerns that were addressed and that challenged the status quo. The *Ghana Association for the Welfare of Women* and the Ghanaian branch of the *International Federation of Women Lawyers* were influential to the above mentioned amendments to the Criminal Code. The *Gender Studies and Human Rights Documentation Centre* is vital in the fight against gender based violence. The NGO conducted the National survey and undertook a series of awareness-raising activities that led to the setting up of the Women and Juvenile Unit (WAJU) and later the Domestic Violence Bill. Several other NGOs like the *Ark Foundation* and *Women's Initiative for Self-Empowerment* (WISE) have contributed to the work on violence against women. Additionally to the work of NGOs, networks and coalitions have been formed around specific issues. One example is NETRIGHT, a coalition of groups and individuals formed to promote women's right and gender equality in Ghana. As a base for more effective lobbying, advocacy and campaigning the coalition has worked on different issues such as the

Ghana Poverty Reduction Strategy. Another example is the *Coalition on the Women's Manifesto for Ghana*, a broad coalition of NGOs to form and disseminated a Women's Manifesto for Ghana (Manuh 2007a: 132-134). This was initiated by *ABANTU for Development*, an African-wide gender and policy advocacy NGO that works on bringing a gender perspective in all policy initiatives (Mensah-Kutin/Dzah 2010:8). The Manifesto developed out of "concern about the insufficient attention given to critical issues affecting women. It is also a result of concern about the under-representation of women in politics, policy and decision-making levels and in public life in general" (Women's Manifesto 2004: 5). The Manifesto is divided into 10 themes, and each section begins with a gender analysis to identify the problems and then states concrete demands to various stakeholders to address the situation (Manuh 2007b:135). With the increase of NGOs in Ghana the scope of gender work in Ghana has broadened, with various NGOs and coalition of NGOs working on gender issues (ibid.:144).

## ***2.2 Peacebuilding and UN Security Council Resolution 1325***

The term peacebuilding found its way into the international vocabulary in 1992 when United Nations Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali introduced the „Agenda for Peace“. He named four areas of action: preventive diplomacy, peacemaking, peace-keeping and post-conflict peace-building (Montiel 2010:359/360). He defined peacebuilding as "action to identify and support structures which will tend to strengthen and solidify peace in order to avoid a relapse into conflict" (Boutros-Ghali 1992). Despite this definition little more is said about peacebuilding in the document. Furthermore, it promoted a limited view of what peacebuilding could be by restricting it to the final stage of violent conflict and underestimated the role that NGOs can play (Ryan 2013:28).

When trying to conceptualise peacebuilding it becomes clear that it is a very multifaceted term. The literature lacks conceptual and terminological precision as to what peacebuilding comprises (Labonte 2003:261). As Lisa Schirch (2008:2) puts it, the debates evolve around the questions whether conflict is something "to be managed, mitigated, negotiated, mediated, resolved, prevented or transformed?" And if "peace [is] something to be kept, made or built?" Thania Paffenholz differentiates between five different schools of thought in peacebuilding: management, resolution, transformation, complementary school and alternative discourse school. The Conflict Management School is the oldest approach which focuses on the short-term management of conflict through different diplomatic initiatives. This approach has been criticised because it tends to focus only on the top leadership. Conflict Resolution aims in solving the underlying causes of conflict, addressing the root causes with long-term resolution-oriented

approaches. The Complementary School is putting together the strengths of the above mentioned, approaching peacebuilding from the top and from below. Conflict Transformation builds on the Complementary School, but is based on a different understanding of peacebuilding (Paffenholz 2009:3/4). With the term transformation it is recognised that conflicts can continue in destructive or constructive ways and that it must not always be desirable to simply ‘stop’ a conflict (Garwec 2006: 439). For Lederach the term transformation is appropriate for two reasons: “conflict is normal in human relationships, and conflict is a motor of change.” (Lederach 2003:5) He emphasises the relational aspect of peacebuilding, since the ultimate aim of it is building healthy relationships (ibid.). The Alternative Discourse School shows that the peacebuilding discourse has lost its connection to the real world and pressures for a refocus on the everyday peace of ordinary people. It also emphasises that peacebuilding is mainly undertaken by Western institutions and needs to engage in a South/North dialogue (Paffenholz 2009:4).

Boutros Ghali’s introduction of the term peacebuilding as a bottom-up approach to peace in complementation to the state-centric top-down approach to peacemaking allowed for a major breakthrough for women advocates with the adoption of the Beijing Platform for Action in 1995 (Pratt/Richter-Devroe 2011:491). One of the twelve areas of concern of the Platform was ‘Women and armed conflict’ and it is stated in the Declaration that “the equal access and full participation of women in power structures and their full involvement in all efforts for the prevention and resolution of conflicts are essential for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security.” (Beijing Declaration 1995:57) A review of the Beijing Platform for Action in 2000 found that the area of women in armed conflict had not been implemented and as a result the *NGO Working Group on Women and Armed Conflict* (NGOWG) was founded by anti-war advocates and women, peace and human rights NGOs. The working group started lobbying for a UN Security Council Resolution to properly address the women, peace and security agenda. At this time, Namibia had the presidency of the Security Council. The country had earlier in the year passed the *Declaration and the Namibia Plan of Action on Mainstreaming a Gender Perspective in Multidimensional Peace Support Operations* and agreed to sponsor a session on Women, Peace and Security. After an Arria Formula meeting in which civil society organisations presented their experiences, a Security Council Resolution on Women, Peace and Security was passed unanimously on 31 October 2000 (Pratt/Richter-Devroe 2011:492). The adoption was facilitated by supportive Council members namely the delegations from Bangladesh, Jamaica, Canada, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom who supported the Resolution (Otto 2010: 100).

### *UN Security Council Resolution 1325*

Resolution 1325 (UNSCR 1325) on Women, Peace and Security is the institutional recognition of the important role of women in peace processes. Often called *landmark* resolution, UNSCR 1325 is the legal and political framework under which national governments, the UN, EU, African Union (AU), and other regional organisations are urged to address the women, peace and security agenda. The resolution came about following a long line of processes and follows on international agreements including the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) (1979); the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (1995); the Windhoek Declaration and the Namibia Plan of Action on Mainstreaming a Gender Perspective in Multidimensional Peace Support Operations (2000).

According to Dianne Otto (2009:5) the adoption of UNSCR 1325 was a “watershed.” Although the UN system started its commitment to gender mainstreaming several years earlier, the Security Council’s ‘social’ agenda, through the adoption of thematic resolutions, advanced a conservative gender understanding. Many of the resolutions addressed the need to protect civilians in armed conflict, especially children. Women were portrayed alongside children as victims and in need of protection (Otto 2009:5).

UNSCR 1325 has 18 operational paragraphs which cover a wide range of issues concerning women, peace and security. It can be summarised into ‘3 Ps’: the protection of women, the prevention of conflict and the increased participation of women. With the resolution, the UN acknowledged for the first time that the ways in which women, men, girls and boys experience and respond to armed conflict, peacekeeping, peacebuilding and reconstruction differ, as do their security concerns. Although it acknowledges the “special/different needs approach” to women, the Resolution shifts the focus from women as victims to women as active actors (von Schorlemer 2008:1146). Furthermore, the Resolution ascribed new legitimacy to peace efforts of women’s groups and activists (ibid: 1158). The commitment of the international community to the women, peace and security agenda has been renewed with the adoption of six other Security Council resolutions: UNSCR 1820 (2008), 1888 (2009), 1889 (2009), 1960 (2010), 2106 (2013), 2122 (2013). While UNSCR 1820, 1888, 1960, 2106 are concerned with sexual violence in conflict, UNSCR 1889 and 2106 focus on women’s participation.

Resolution 1325 and its succeeding resolutions are acknowledged for some major achievements. One achievement is new language that “more fully recognises women as subjects of international law, enjoying autonomy and rights, which displaces, or at least reduces in importance, the protective representations of women as a ‘vulnerable group’ or as the ‘victims’” (Otto 2010:103). Another achievement is the snowball effect of the Resolution on institutional

activity which resulted in the development of a lot of policies and programs throughout the UN system associated with the women, peace and security agenda. To ensure the integration of gender perspectives into all peace and security work in the UN, the *Inter Agency Network on Women and Gender Equality* established a Task Force on Women, Peace and Security (ibid.). The third major achievement is especially important for this thesis. According to Otto (2010:104), the resolutions on 'Women, Peace and Security' "are an instructive example of how formal institutional affirmation of women's participation and rights can be a powerful organising tool for informal local and international women's networks and movements, creating constituencies outside institutional control." UNSCR 1325 became a creative feminist organising tool which is used widely by local women's NGOs to lobby their government to adopt national action plans and to press UN agencies to be more responsive to the needs of women (ibid:105). The Resolution therefore not only effects the formal UN system but has also effects outside of the system and to be implemented, the resolution requires top-down as well as bottom-up efforts (Datan 2004:17).

### *Implementation*

Although the resolution marks the first time the UN has fully acknowledged women as constructive agents of peace and security it is not a treaty and there are no mechanisms for ratification, compliance or verification (Willett 2010:142). There is dispute about whether or not UN resolutions are binding for member states. Some argue that because the resolution is not covered by Chapter VII of the UN Charta, there are no enforcement mechanisms and non-compliance cannot be penalised (Boehme 2010:3). As non-Chapter VII resolutions are not backed by the formal power to bind member states there could be considered only recommendatory (Willett 2010:142). Some argue that UNSCR 1325 uses strong languages like 'call upon' and 'call on' (Miller et al. 2014:15). However, Swaine (2010:410) argues that the Resolution has been regarded as 'soft' rather than 'hard' law. The difference to what is seen as 'hard' issues like 'counter-terrorism' even shows in different wording. While UNSCR 1372 on counter-terrorism uses words like 'decides', 'directs', 'declares', UNSCR 1325 uses terms such 'express', 'emphasize', 'requests', 'encourages' which are propositional in nature (Swaine 2010:410). Although UNSCR 1325 and its subsequent resolutions advance a set of important ideas, "[i]t is basically up to member countries and other units such as regional organizations to move the ideal forward, and no formal sanctions or penalties exist for failing to do so." (Miller et al. 2014 :15/16)

Therefore, the implementation of the resolution is erratic. In his latest report on Women, Peace and Security, UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon stated that

specific measures are required to create mechanisms for sustained consultation between women and national and international decision makers. Without a significant implementation shift, women's perspectives will remain underrepresented in conflict prevention, resolution, protection and peacebuilding for the foreseeable future (UN Report S/2013/525:26).

The dilemma of Resolutions like 1325, which developed from global networking, is how to make sure that they not only have a rhetorical dimension but that “they are implemented effectively in a gender and culture specific way at all levels.” (Bunch 2004: 83) Therefore, women's peace activism needs to be local and global, responding to specific needs but also impacting the larger global structures so that a pro-active vision of positive peace is possible (Bunch 2004: 83/84).

The responsibility of implementing the resolution lies with national governments and the UN. In 2002, the Security Council encouraged “[m]ember States, the entities of the United Nations system, civil society and other relevant actors, to develop clear strategies and action plans with goals and timetables.” (UN S/PRST/2002/32) The urge for action plan was since emphasised as means of implementation by the Security Council (UN S/PRST/2007/5) and Secretary-General (UN S/2004/814). The utility of developing specific action plans has been contested among lobbyists and advocates as many prefer a gender mainstreaming approach. From this standpoint, the resolution should be mainstreamed into national and international policies. There is also the fear, that specific action plans divides women's concerns into a separate area demanding for separate treatment without the chance to reform established structures. The counter argument is that the track of mainstreaming measures in the UN system shows that these measures are not adequate and without specific measures the possibilities of UNSCR 1325 can get lost at the implementation level. The purpose of action plans is to outline the relevant actors, their responsibilities and how to achieve specific outcomes. Furthermore, action plans enhance coordination, raise awareness and create ownership. Therefore, the UN, NGOs and most states agree on the need to develop separate action plans on implementation of UNSCR 1325. Action plans are seen as a tool to implement the Resolution and to address implementation deficits. These can be national, regional or institutional<sup>4</sup> action plans (Swaine 2010: 411-413).

As more and more states launched NAPs in recent years, a lot of attention has been drawn on them. A NAP however, does not imply that implementation work is actually done. However, the Security Council also recognized “the important contribution of civil society to the implementation of resolution 1325 (2000) and encourages Member States to continue to

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<sup>4</sup> The UN adopted a ‘System-wide action plan for the implementation of Security Council Resolution 1325’, the EU and NATO have also adopted measures for implementation.



collaborate with civil society, in particular with local women's networks and organizations, in order to strengthen implementation" (S/PRST/2004/40:3). Von Schorlemer (2008: 1158) noticed that "so far, only privileged women may make use of the new participation tools offered by SC Res. 1325 (2000) and the gap between the empowerment of local women and "international" women UN missions and NGOs remains striking."

### *Criticism*

As discussed above, one criticism is that too little is happening too slow in terms of implementation and the development of NAPs by member states (Miller et al. 2014:16). However, the Resolution and the WPS agenda that developed around its implementation are themselves cause of criticism. It is criticised mainly for its failure to consider the structural causes of gender inequality and the subordination of women. Furthermore, it is criticised that the WPS agenda reproduces essential assumptions of 'natural sex roles' instead of contributing to the elimination of gender-based stereotypes. Women are portrayed as victims in need for protection and men are constructed as protectors and policymakers and since men are only mentioned once in UNSCR 1325, gender is mainly equated with women. The dominant masculine and militaristic discourse remains untouched and gender-mainstreaming within the UN does not go to the heart of institutional power relations that structure gender relations (Dornig/Goede 2010:7/8). Susan Willett (2010:144) even assesses that the "gender discourse has been submerged into the dominant epistemology of hegemonic masculinity, militarism and war."

### 3. State of the Art

The thesis is placed in between two strands of literature. On the one hand, there are many publications discussing the role of women and peacebuilding in general. On the other hand, there are many studies and impact assessments on UNSCR 1325. Before the resolution was adopted in 2000, literature on women, peace and security was limited. Dyan Mazurana and Susan McKay published an essay titled *Women & Peacebuilding* in 1999. They built upon feminist peace researches like Betty Reardon (1985), Cynthia Enloe (1990), and Birgit Brock-Utne (1989). With the adoption of UNSCR 1325, the literature evolved and became more comprehensive, like Sanam Naraghi Anderlini's (2007) monograph *Women Building Peace: What They Do, Why It Matters* (see also Hunt/Posa 2001, Pankhurst 2003, Porter 2003/2007, McKay 2004, McCarthy 2011). Some literature also broadens the focus and deals with gender instead of only women in peacebuilding (McKay/Mazurana 2001, Strickland/Duvvury 2003, Sweetman 2005, De la Rey/McKay 2006, Hudson 2009b, El-Bushra 2012). Others deal with gender roles in conflict, men as the warrior, and with the essentialist women-as-peacemakers view and ask "[a]re Women Peaceful?" (Munro 2000, Charlesworth 2008, El-Bushra 2007)

A lot of literature focuses on post-conflict peacebuilding, the role of women during conflicts and in the aftermath of conflicts and uses case studies of peacebuilding processes (Sweetman 2005, Hudson 2009b). There are many studies with a regional focus on Africa (Rehn/Sirleaf 2002, Puechguribal 2004, Rodriguez/Natukunda-Togoba 2005, Alaga 2010) and especially Liberia. After two devastating civil wars, the country is viewed as positive example for the inclusion of women in peace processes (Sewell 2007, Pedersen 2008).

As Ghana never experienced a major intrastate conflict, literature on peacebuilding in Ghana is limited. There are studies analysing the peacebuilding mechanisms that were developed in response to ethnic conflicts in the country (Kirby 2003, Sowatey 2005, Kaye/Béland 2009). There is however no literature that assesses the women, peace and security agenda in Ghana. To fill this gap the Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Center (KAIPTC 2011), which is based in Ghana, has commissioned a baseline study on the state of women, peace and security in Africa, analysing the cases of Liberia, Guinea-Bissau, Ghana and Cote d'Ivoire. The study recognized that "[a]lthough a number of valuable studies on gender, peace and security exist globally, [...] very little has been written by Ghanaians or with Ghana as a case study" (KAIPTC 2011:97). There is another study (Gaanderse/Valasek 2011) which analyses security sectors and gender in West Africa and includes Ghana as a case study. The weak data base and the lack of critical mass of gender researches due to the brain drain and low priority given to social science, is a major constraint to the development of African-focused gender research.

The second strand of literature deals with UNSCR 1325. Since the Resolution is getting close to its fifteenth birthday, there is a vast amount of literature assessing the implementation. The year 2010 marked a peak in publications, assessing the global status of the Resolution. The overall assessment of the implementation is that it is erratic (Willett 2010), that it is a slow progress (GAPS 2010), and that the resolution is predominantly rhetoric in nature (Dorning/Goede 2010). The International Feminist Journal of Politics dedicated a whole issue (2011 No. 4) to “Critically Examining UNSCR 1325.” The criticism deals with what sort of feminism is represented by the Resolution, and the transformative power of it (Pratt/Richter-Devroe 2011).

There are also studies with a regional focus assessing the impact UNSCR 1325 has on Africa and difficulties that it faces in the regional context (Olonisakin 2010, Alaga 2010). One case study examines the extent to which the Resolution has permeated activities of peace and security in West Africa and identifies gaps in the ECOWAS peace and security policy (Ceasay-Ebo 2011). Apart from the publications and material of the NGOs which work on the implementation of UNSCR 1325 in Ghana, which will be analysed in this thesis, there are no publications on the implementation status in Ghana. There exist some assessments of the role of NGOs in gender-sensitive peacebuilding in general (McKay/Mazurana 2001) and the role of civil society in conflict prevention in West Africa (Ekiyor 2008) but most literature that addresses the role of NGOs for a gender-sensitive peace, focus only on women NGOs (Mbuh 2007).

Taken all together there is a clear gap in the literature on how NGOs use UNSCR 1325 as a tool to push the women, peace and security agenda forward and how the situation on the implementation process is in Ghana. While the literature and studies draw a lot of attention on the missing and shortcomings of the implementation of UNSCR 1325, there is minimal focus on distinctive ideas and strategies for a sustainable implementation of the resolution and on how civil society organisations and NGOs contribute to the WPS agenda on a local level. This gap is addressed through the case study of Ghana. As it discusses the concept of gender which is context dependent, a short introduction of an African perspective is given.

### *Perspectives on Gender in Africa*

Filomina Chioma Steady (2005: 319) argues that gender is a highly contested concept when applied to Africa, as it carries a western bias: “It tends to be myopic, inventive, and can obscure other differences [...] based on race, class, ethnicity, age, nationality and so forth.” In African societies other concepts than hierarchical, oppositional and biological ones are used to order

social life. Age and changes in lifecycle is one which can alter women's status (ibid.). In many African societies, gender has a close relation to seniority. Has a man or women achieved the position of an elder he or she embodies a different gender. This shows the flexibility and multiplicity of gender in Africa (Miescher 2007:253). If gender is used as a metaphor representing male/female power relations, power relations based on race, class, ethnicity and so forth are ignored (Steady 2005: 319).

One difference between the understanding of gender in North America and Europe is that gender in Africa usually connotes women. While many in Africa have been suspicious of feminism because its origins in family structures, values and social conditions which were not indigenous to Africa, gender has been widely adopted as well as adapted (Miescher et al. 2007:3). Although there is little agreement about what gender really means the concept of gender gained importance in Africanist research today as well as among the general populace in Africa (ibid.:2).

## 4. Research Approach

In the following chapter central terms are defined, and the theoretical foundation and methods which are used for the analysis are introduced. In order to analyse the work of peacebuilding NGOs in Ghana, two theoretical strands are utilized. First, feminist theorizing in International Relations is examined to understand the different stance regarding violence, security and peace and to gain a feminist perspective for the analysis. The second theoretical backdrop is NGO theorizing in International Relations from which a framework for analysis is derived. First, some important terms are defined.

### 4.1 Terms and Definitions

#### *Gender*

Laura Sjoberg (2010: 3) defines gender as “a system of symbolic meaning that creates social hierarchies based on perceived associations with masculine and feminine characteristics.” Unlike sex which describes physiological differences, gender is a social construction: “*Femininity* and *masculinity*, the terms that denote one’s gender, refer to a complex set of characteristics and behaviours prescribed for a particular sex by society and learned through the socialization experience” (Peterson/Runyan 1993:17, emphasis original). Because in most parts of the world masculine activities are more highly valued than feminine activities, the social construction of gender is a system of power. It places men and masculinity above women and feminine and values more highly institutions and practices that are male dominated (ibid.:18). Gender is a dynamic and changeable concept and “gender roles and definitions are socially constructed and culturally conditioned ideas that determine what it means to be a woman or a man” (Reardon 2001:33). Gender allows for the study of men as well as women, and places greater emphasis on relational analysis between the sexes (Miescher et al. 2007:2). It is an important category of analysis with cultural, political, anthropological and historical implications (Nfah-Abbenyi 2005:260). By applying the concept of gender, “feminists analyze relations of power involving men and women, how that power is exerted, and how that interaction has been habitually, historically, and socially implemented over time” (Ruiz 2011:1).

#### *African Feminism*

Feminism is a contested term. Peterson and Runyan (1993: 19) suggest that “the common thread among feminisms is an orientation valuing women’s diverse experiences and taking seriously

women's interests in and capacities for bringing about social and political change." Obioma Nnaemeka (2005:31) explains that African women are "fighting against two colonialisms- that is, internally induced patriarchal structures and externally engineered imperialistic contexts." African feminist scholars make the case for diverse positions on feminism: "to speak of feminism in Africa is to speak of feminisms in the plural within Africa and between Africa and other continents in recognition of the multiplicity of perspectives" (ibid.). According to Nnaemek (2005:32) the feminist spirit in Africa is so complex and diffused that it is intractable. To her "it is *what* they [women] do and *how* they do it that provide the 'framework'" for African feminism. While for some African feminism has a distinctive set of principles, others postulate a more radical epistemological and political break with Western feminism (Cornwall 2005:3).

### *Gender inequality*

A gender order that is characterized by the supremacy of men and masculinity and the subordination of women and femininity is called patriarchy. A term originally coined the rule of the father which was extended to describe the rule by men in the private and public realm. In a patriarchal order, men and masculinity are "authoritative, combative, and prone to coercion, while women and femininity are submissive, supportive and nurturing" (Cockburn 2010:108). Such gender relations are particularly fitted to the needs of militarism (ibid.).

### *Gender sensitive*

As Antonia Potter (2008:55) noticed: „The phrase 'gender sensitivity' is perhaps an unfortunate piece of jargon, but it is a convenient shorthand since a better, simpler and less loaded phrase does not yet present itself." Gender sensitivity means "being aware of and honouring the differences between men and women and understanding the distinctions between biologically and culturally derived differences, and sensitive to the functions and significance of gender" (Reardon 2001: 37).

## **4.2 Theoretical Framework**

### *4.2.1 Feminist Perspectives on Peace and Security*

The discipline of International Relations (IR) has long resisted the introduction of gender into its discourse and it was not before the end of the 1980s that feminist approaches entered the discipline, around the same time of the beginning of the "postpositivist era" (Tickner 2006: 19).

According to Blanchard (2003: 1290) the functions of feminist scholarship are: “the critique of existing theory, the reconceptualization of core concepts, and the expansion of empirical knowledge.” Ann Tickner (1992:5) suggests that international politics has always been a gendered activity in the modern state system. Foreign and military policy-making is largely undertaken by men, hence, IR as discipline that analyses these activities is primarily about men and masculinity. A feminist perspective on IR theory reveals its gendered structure. One of the classic IR text by Kenneth Waltz *Man, the State and War* (1959), is a clear illustration of what concerns IR theorists: Masculine high politics in which statesmen, diplomats and the military conduct the business of states and war (Blanchard 2003: 1292). In general, feminist theory argues that most of the key persons in IR, policymakers, heads of states, diplomats and academic professionals, are males who come from patriarchal social backgrounds and therefore, discussions in IR lack consideration of women’s role in world politics (Ruiz 2011:1).

For the theoretical embedding, different feminist strands in International Relations and their understanding of violence, security, and peace will be outlined. According to Spike Peterson feminism „is neither just about women, nor the addition of women to malestream constructions; it is about transforming ways of being and knowing” (1992:205). Since there is a gender bias in the core concepts of IR, namely violence, war, peace and security, these concepts need to be newly defined, taken that bias into account (Sjoberg 2010:4). In general, feminist scholars in IR argue that it is not possible to separate the feminist perspective from the ‘traditional’ perspective on global politics. The main objective in feminist IR is to ask where women and gender are in global politics (Sjoberg/Tickner 2011:2). Taking into account the feminist perspective explains not only why the gender-sensitive peacebuilding work of the NGOs is important but also why it is necessary in a seemingly ‘peaceful’ country.

According to Ann Tickner (2001:11) “the key concern for feminist theory is to explain women’s subordination or the unjustified asymmetry between women’s and men’s social and economic positions and to seek prescriptions for ending it.” As in most theory strands, feminists have different understandings of the reasons for women’s subordination and the solutions to overcome it (ibid). Even though feminist scholars agree on the importance of gender as category there is not one perspective or one feminist approach but many. These different strands in feminism with sometimes conflicting views result in debates within feminism (Goldstein/Pevehouse 2008:107). Feminism in International Relations (IR) derives from different IR theories such as Liberalism or Constructivism. It is therefore difficult to separate it in the way Realism can be separated from Liberalism. Tickner (2008:276) points out that “since all global actors have a gender identity, gender is present in all global processes.”

Liberal feminism is also named the ‘add women and stir’ approach as it accepts the conventional framework of IR and adds women and their issues (Daddow 2009:150). Liberal feminists “document various aspects of women’s subordination” and highlight the contribution women made for society in order to call for greater equality. In their view this can be achieved by removing legal obstacles (Tickner/Sjoberg 2007:188/189). This is a point of disagreement with other IR feminists. Post-liberal feminists point out that even in countries where formal legal equality has been established gender inequalities still exist. To explain and overcome these inequalities one must look deeper into gender hierarchies (Tickner 2008:266/267). Compared to the other feminists strands liberal feminists do not criticise realism for its masculine nature but rather criticise the state practices which exclude and marginalise women in international politics (Goldstein 2008:114).

While liberal feminism uses gender as a variable in analysing foreign policy, critical feminism goes beyond it. Oriented at Marxist and Critical Theorists work, they focus on the key term gender and how it influences policies and practices. They state that material conditions as well as ideas that men and women have about their relationship constitute the meaning of gender (Tickner 2008: 267). They focus on the power of ideas and ideologies in reproducing gender relations (Steans 2006:15).

This approach builds on Social Constructivism. It focuses on the “process whereby ideas about gender influence global politics as well as the ways that global politics shape ideas about gender” (Tickner 2008: 267). Moreover, they are interested in the causes of these ideas and the language through which these ideas about gender are expressed (Daddow 2009:151).

Even more focused on language is the postmodern approach, questioning the ways we make sense of the world through our language. They focus on the relationship between knowledge and power. Those who create knowledge gain power. Men usually create knowledge which is based on men’s live (Tickner 2008:267). Consequently, postmodern feminists rethink what is referred to as ‘objective knowledge’ by western science. They also apply this thinking to IR and expose how the language sets up artificial binaries in IR, for example order/anarchy, state/failed state or secure/insecure (Daddow 2009:151/152).

In the same way in which postmodern feminist criticize that Western knowledge is mainly constructed from men’s live, post-colonial feminist see feminist knowledge as knowledge created mostly by Western women. They argue that cultural, religious and ethnic difference should be taken into account instead of using an universal understanding of women’s needs (Tickner 2008:268).



Summarized, liberal feminism is the only approach which focuses on the inequalities solely in the practice of IR. All other approaches emphasize the inequalities not only in practice but also in the theorizing about IR (Daddow 2009:153). Nevertheless, all IR feminists look through a gender lens to understand the inequalities between men and women and its impact on global politics. According to Tickner (2004: 45) there are difficulties, distance and lack of understanding between international theory and feminist theory. She contests an incompatibility of subject matters as well as epistemological differences. International theory sees the state as unitary rational actor and analysis inter-state relations whereas feminist theory starts at the level of the individual and its embedding in hierarchical social, political, and economic structures. In order to point out feminist perspectives on peacebuilding, it should be recognized first, that violence, security and peace are understood differently by feminists.

### *Violence*

Cynthia Cockburn (2007: 190) understands violence as a continuum in terms of the place it occurs and in terms of time and that “even where there’s no direct violence, economic, social and political coercion may exist.” This understanding of violence is in line with Galtung’s term structural violence. He sees violence as “avoidable insults to basic human needs, and more generally to life, lowering the real level of needs satisfaction below what is potentially possible” (Galtung 1996: 197). As the four basic human needs he identifies survival, well-being, identity-and-meaning and freedom (ibid.). To achieve the satisfaction of these basic needs and as a corrective to the neo-realist concept of security, the concept of human security evolved, which will be discussed below (Cockburn 2007: 234).

Galtung understands structural violence as systematic exploitation that becomes part of the social order. It has four basic components: exploitation based on a division of labor, control by the exploiters over the consciousness of the exploited, fragmentation, meaning that the exploited are separated from each other and marginalization, making the exploiters a privileged class with their own rules (Galtung 1975:264-265).

Although Galtung focused on economic inequality, the four manifestations of structural violence can also be applied to gender inequalities in societies, which lead to “highly differential possibilities for personal security, development, and prosperity, even in today’s world” (Hudson et al. 2009: 20). The exploitation for example takes place when women get paid less than men for the same work. Second, the manipulation of consciousness to ensure acquiescence is maintained through gender stereotyping and a constant threat of domestic violence. Greater family responsibilities of women lead to fragmentation through minimizing

social access and the prevention of networking among women (ibid.). Marginalization is then the clear separation between men and women, “leaving no doubt as to who are first class and who are second class” (Galtung 1975:265). Structural violence arises and is sustained by cultural norms. Cultural violence is “the day-to-day use of overt or implicit force to obtain one’s ends in social relations” (Hudson et al. 2009:21). Norms of cultural violence emerge from language, ideology, religion, art and other aspects of culture. It is used to justify and legitimize structural violence (Caprioli 2005:164). According to Galtung (1990:291) “cultural violence makes direct and structural violence look, even feel, right or at least not wrong.”

Although women struggle successfully for equality in many societies, violence remains an enduring component between men and women (Hudson et al. 2009: 21). In all acts of violence, inequality of power is a common thread and the structural inequality between men and women creates conditions for the social control over women. Thus, gender is the basis of structural inequality and therefore an integral aspect of structural and cultural violence (Caprioli 2005: 164).

Domestic or gendered violence in its different forms (physical, sexual, psychological, emotional and economic) is a brutal form of unequal gender relations. It is not an exceptional phenomenon but one which occurs in every society through all social classes. In war, violence against women is a strategy of warfare, mainly to humiliate the (male) enemy. Feminists believe that there is a connection between violence against women in peace and wartimes. During war, men do not rape because the rules of civilisation are abandoned, but rather because the ordinary structures of gendered violence are reinforced by the logic of war (Zwingel 2002:178). As Tickner (1992:22) noticed “moving the consideration of violence beyond its relation to physical violence allows us to move beyond simplistic dichotomies between war and peace to a consideration of the conditions necessary for a just peace, defined more broadly than simply the absence of war.”

In the same vein, Cockburn (2004:43) emphasises that “a gender analysis suggests that it is meaningless to make a sharp distinction between peace and war, prewar and postwar.” The violence persists through all phases and it always has a gendered dimension. Moreover, the continuum of violence also runs through the social, economic and political sphere and gender relations pervade all these spheres (ibid.).

### *Security*

Security has become a contested concept in International Relations. The traditional understanding of (international) security is that provision of security is entrusted to the states,

in a system of sovereign and self-interested nation-states with a main focus on military strategies. Feminists however, started to ask who is being secured by these security policies. Moreover, feminists have questioned the irrelevance of women in international security politics and investigated the invisibility of women in international theory and their exclusion from decision-making roles. Many feminist scholars also contest discourses that link women unreflectively with peace (Blanchard 2003: 1289/1290).

Feminist security theory and peace research overlap in the notion of structural violence. Ann Tickner (1992: 69) uses this term to describe the “insecurity of individuals whose life expectancy was reduced, not by the direct violence of war but by domestic and international structures of political and economic oppression.” Tickner sees the feminist approach towards security as a multidimensional and a multilevel one. Feminists use gender as category to understand the negative impact of unequal social structures and gender hierarchies on the security of individuals and groups. Moreover, feminist scholarship uses the bottom-up approach to analyze the impact of war on women (Tickner 2001:48). This means starting the other way round: Instead of starting with the security of states or the international system as in realism, feminists emphasize on the security of the individual or community. Feminists argue that the more a state is preoccupied with national security, the less it can provide physical security for its citizens, especially for women. While this applies mainly to war torn states, states which are formally at peace spend a lot of money for huge military budgets which means less money for social spending (Tickner 2008:271). At the core of feminist theorizing about security lies the question whose security is being secured. This question leads to the introduction of the human security concept.

### *Human Security*

The concept of human security first appeared in the 1994 Human Development Report published by the UNDP. The report criticised that “the concept of security has for too long been interpreted narrowly: as security of territory from external aggression, or as protection of national interests in foreign policy or as global security from the threat of a nuclear holocaust” (UNDP Report 1994: 22). The new form of security, human security is then defined in two aspects: First, “safety from such chronic threats as hunger, disease and repression” and second, “protection from sudden and hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily life-whether in homes, in jobs or in communities” (UNDP Report 1994:23). Human security’s essential characteristics are that it is universal, interdependent, and people-centred concept and that it is easier to ensure through early prevention (ibid.: 22/23). Furthermore, the report lists seven specific elements

that comprise human security: economic security, food security, health security, environmental security, personal security, community security and political security (ibid.:24/25). Nevertheless, human security remains a very broad concept and in its 'all-encompassing' nature it is difficult to determine if there is anything that is excluded from the definition (Paris 2001:91).

As Roland Paris assess, the idea of human security is mainly carried forward by middle power states, development agencies and NGOs which shift the attention and resources from conventional security issues to issues that formerly regarded as development problems. This coalition of actors is interested in keeping the term vague so it encompasses the perspectives of all the members of the coalition (Paris 2001:89).

Although the UNDP definition is the most authoritative definition of human security and widely cited, different actors have customized the definition (ibid.: 90). Conceptualisations are either narrow, focusing on political and military violence, or broad focusing on more complex issues like health, environment and poverty (Robinson 2011:48).

There are several obstacles to the concept of human security. For human security to be universally relevant a participative, bottom-up approach is needed. Furthermore, security needs to be assessed in its social and political context and should be inclusive of qualitative dimensions. Another issue are the hierarchies in traditional security discourses that need to be dismantled. These are "the placement of security above development, the state above the individual, men above women and protection above empowerment." (Svensson 2007: 3) Moreover, the broad conceptualisation of human security endangers its application. If it "means almost everything, then it effectively means nothing" (Paris 2001: 94). The lack of a consensual definition and the lack of assumptions about how human security for individuals can be achieved became gradually a watered down concept. Nevertheless, the human security paradigm led to a radical break from the well-established realist security paradigm as it rejects state-centric security and focuses on individuals as fundamental referents of security (Nuruzzaman 2006:292/293).

### *Feminist perspectives on Human Security*

Comparing the concept of human security and feminist paradigms of security, it becomes clear that they are very similar. Both put the individual at the centre of security and emphasise on the non-military sources of insecurity. The reason for feminist to refuse the state as referent of security is because it represents the interest of men and discriminates against women (Nuruzzaman 2006: 297). Long before the human security concept was introduced feminist

scholars have questioned the role of the state as security provider and suggested that states can be threatening their own population's security (Tickner 2004: 46).

However, feminists go further and insist that "girls and women experience human insecurity differently from men and are subject to gender hierarchies and power inequities that exacerbate their insecurity" (McKay 2004: 153). The understanding of the fundamental differences between women's and men's security is a missing element in the human security concept. According to Beth Woroniuk (1999:1) there are five key gendered dimensions missing in the human security discussions. These are (1) violence against women, (2) gender inequalities in control over resources, (3) gender inequalities in power and decision-making, (4) women's human rights, and (5) women (and men) as actors, not victims. One key concern of feminists is that the human security paradigm suggest that rights and threat to these rights "apply universally to the ungendered "human" subject " (Robinson 2011:52). Although, human security is inclusive regarding the extent of threats to the individual, it risks the presumption of universality in how security and development affect individuals (Svensson 2007: 4). Reardon argues that security should incorporate social justice, economic equity, and ecological balance. She points to the four critical feminist dimensions of human security developed by the Women's International Network for Gender and Security: a healthy planet, meeting basic human needs, respecting and fulfilling human rights and renunciation of violence and armed conflict in favour of non-violent modes of struggle for change and conflict resolution (Reardon 2001: 127/128). Some scholars point out that there is also a lack of analysis regarding men and human security, and the danger of privileging women over men. However, given the lower status women have worldwide, the risk that their security is privileged over men's seems remote (McKay 2004: 154). Nevertheless, a focus on women sets them up in opposition to men and thus maintaining the dichotomous ontologies that most feminists seek to overcome. Moreover, such a focus can lead to a partial conceptualization of human security that is only relevant to women (Robinson 2011: 52).

Some feminists also emphasize on context and relationality. They argue that the meaning of security is context dependent and human security must be conceptualized in terms of relationships. It is especially important to look at relationships of dominance and non-dominance that determine who defines norms and practices and who must follow them (Robinson 2011:53). From a feminist standpoint, a "truly comprehensive security cannot be achieved until gender relations of domination and subordination are eliminated" (Tickner 1992:23).

A security approach which accommodates the feminist demands is Inclusive Security which is a “diverse, citizen-driven approach to global stability that emphasizes women’s agency, not their vulnerability” (Hunt/Pose 2001: 38). This approach expands the existing tools to collaborate with local efforts (ibid.). An inclusive security approach means that state security should be translated into the security of the individual citizens of the state. However, threats to security often have a global dimension and transnational character. Therefore, not only international organisations but also regional organisations, NGOs, the private sector as well as individuals themselves should be seen as potential agents of peace and development (Svensson 2007: 11). There are more means to security than protection, namely empowerment strategies and local ownership which are also essential for inclusive security (ibid.). As Ebo (2007:58) assesses: “[G]ood governance of the security sector is a peacebuilding strategy.” Is the security sector responsive to the needs of the population and responsible, it is less likely that it gets instrumentalised by a repressive regime (ibid.).

### *Peace*

Focusing on women and peace (and war) there are two dominant perspectives. One is that women are naturally pacifistic. This perspective is advocated by radical feminists and conservatives. The second perspective sees women as war prone as men if they would not be denied access to the military (Leitz 2010:403). The construct of war and peace is an important point of discussion in feminist debates. Historically, war has been associated with masculinity while peace has been associated with women and the feminine. The question if women are indeed more peaceful than men is an often discussed thesis (Steans 2006:48). The idea of the natural peacefulness of women was used by early women’s peace organisations, such as the Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF). By using imagery of motherhood, sisterhood and womanhood they bound women’s organizations together for peace. They argued that the experience of maternity and the obligation to care leads to a special relationship to peace (Steans 2006:59). This essentialist idea that men’s nature is to be aggressive and that women are inherent more peaceful is important for the following discussion, since it is often used to emphasize the importance of women’s participation in peacebuilding. Skjelsbaek stresses that femininity is not inherently peaceful. It is much more the value-system that leads to war which is male-related. She argues that as long as the value-system remains stable, giving women access to male-dominated areas will not automatically change the likelihood of war. However, more women in power could change the value-system as they are potential bearers of peaceful thinking and therefore femininity can be seen as potentially

peaceful (Skjelsbaek 2001:64/65). Tickner sees such speculation as a distraction from the real issues faced by women. According to her, IR feminists have concentrated on the question why so few women are in positions of power and not on the speculation that women might be more peaceful (Tickner 2006:23). Janet Radcliffe Richards (2010: 224) states that the pursuit of peace is no part of feminism. She argues that “if women are good at brining about peace, giving women their far share of power and influence will certainly advance the cause of peace. That, however, does not mean that peace is a feminist issue, or that it should be regarded as in some way the special property of women.”

In the end, both perspectives, the women/peace nexus and the women/war nexus, are over simplified. The latter ignores the gender experiences and socialization and the first one relies only on the biological aspect (Leitz 2010:403). Afshar also points out that it is too simple to assume that women are inherent peaceful and men are fighting wars. For ages women were not only the cares and providers but active participants. Afshar even suggests that in time of war gender differences can lower or disappear and some women even gain important positions (Afshar 2004: 43-45). Rehn and Johnson-Sirleaf argue that women “actively work to improve their situation, and they often actively support one side or another in conflict. [They] become combatants, provide medical help, protect and feed armed groups.” (Rehn/Sirleaf 2002:10)

As it becomes clear the relationship between women and war is, as stated by Ross-Sheriff and Swigonski (2006: 129) “complex and contradictory.” They see women’s contributions to war and peace as underestimated or invisible in the literature (ibid.). Cynthia Cockburn sees gender relations as cause and consequence of war. Gender relations are not only shaped by war but can also be a precondition for war (Cockburn 2010:114).

Warren and Cady (1994: 6) assess that feminism and peace share an important conceptual connection:

Both are critical of, and committed to the elimination of, coercive power-over privilege systems of domination as a basis of interaction between individuals and groups. A feminist critique and development of any peace politics, therefore, ultimately is a critique of systems of unjustified domination.

Generally, feminists start from the conditions of women’s lives which are often shaped by violence, unhappiness and distress. Therefore, they define peace as a condition which enables people to gain control over their lives (Steans 2006:60). El-Bushra (2008:140) suggests a definition of peace “which encompasses the totality of women’s needs and interests and which puts the accent on structural change towards justice and towards representativity in political decision making.”

Militarism is an important aspect discussed by feminist when it comes to peace. Cynthia Enloe defines militarism as a package of ideas, assumptions, values and beliefs. Among others the militaristic core beliefs are

a) that armed force is the ultimate resolver of tensions; b) that human nature is prone to conflict; c) that having enemies is a natural condition; d) that hierarchical relations produce effective action (Enloe 2002: 23).

Militarization understood as a preparation for war, is a form of structural violence, since its structures cause avoidable injury or deaths. When decision-makers choose military spending over social spending such as food, healthcare, or environmental protection, injuries and deaths to civilians occur. That “just 4 percent of the world’s military budget could raise global literacy to 50 percent” shows that even the redirecting of small amounts of military expenditures could improve social well-being (Du Nann Winter et al. 2008: 141). Militarisation is an issue in every country since “most militarizing processes occur during what is misleadingly labelled ‘peacetime’ (Enloe 2002: 24).

Cynthia Cockburn demonstrates how factors like economic distress, militarization and shifts in ideology can be warning signs for an uneasy peace. She stresses that economic distress does not necessarily leads to violence but combined with other factors it can be a potential danger. Feminist analyses of such a situation can lead to valuable insights. High unemployment and decreasing wages can force or attract young men to crime and violence. Under economic pressure male breadwinner can destabilise family relations and reductions in welfare spending hit women especially hard (Cockburn 2004: 31).

Chris Cuomo (1996: 31) argues that “neglecting the omnipresence of militarism allows the false belief that the absence of declared armed conflicts *is* peace, the polar opposite of war” (emphasis original). In her opinion, theory that does not investigate the omnipresence of militarism, cannot address the everyday effects of militarism on women, members of military institutions and on the environment (ibid.). She questions the ontological distinction between war and peace and rather favours analyses of war “as part of enmeshed continua or spectra of state-sponsored and other systemic patriarchal and racist violence” (Cuomo 1996: 36). The war/peace dichotomy is criticised by many feminist who compare this distinction with the sharp distinction between the public and the private sphere (Sjoberg 2013: 179).

Hence, from a feminist perspective, peace is more than just the absence of war and threats to peace are also gendered militarism, gendered power politics and gendered structural violence (Sjoberg 2013: 180). War defined by feminists is “a continuum, and not an event; a system, and not a random occurrence; and a part of daily life, rather than an anomaly” (Sjoberg 2013:180).



Hence, “peace is not something that can be *declared* but something that must be *built*.” (Ibid., emphasis original) It cannot be imposed from the top down but must be constructed from the bottom-up with citizen participation (ibid.). Returning to Galtung (1976:298/303) who states that “peace has a structure” and that more particularly “structures must be found that remove causes of wars and offer alternatives to war in situations where wars might occur,” bridges to the question how such structures can be built from a feminist perspective.

### *Feminist Peacebuilding*

As there has not yet developed a clear conceptual basis for a gendered approach to peacebuilding (El-Bushra 2012: 17), the following perspective on peacebuilding and the established categories are deduced from the feminist theorizing around the matter. A feminist approach to peacebuilding builds on Johan Galtung who is credited with the invention of the term peacebuilding in 1976. He laid out a tripartite conflict resolution strategy that also included peacekeeping and peacemaking. His ideas were neglected until the start of the 1990s. With the end of the Cold War, a number of developments made it seem an accurate approach. First, there was a change in the nature of conflicts, the decline of inter-state wars and the rise of “ethnic conflicts” or “new wars” (Ryan 2013: 26). With this development the recognition emerged that human rights protection was more important than respect for state sovereignty (ibid.) (see human security above).

If peace is defined as a relation between different parties like persons, groups or states, direct violence is intended negative relations or violence. If it is unintended it is referred to as structural or indirect violence as introduced above (Galtung 2010: 352.). From this idea Johan Galtung derived two concepts of peace: *negative* and *positive* peace. He got inspired by medical science where health can be defined as the absence of illness but also as building a healthy body which is capable of resisting diseases on its own (Galtung 1985:11). Negative peace means simply the absence of violence. Positive peace in contrast is a desirable social condition in which not only violence is absent but also the underlying causes of conflict, namely structural violence. Compared to the normal use of the term (direct) violence, which is mostly defined as direct and physical infliction of pain, structural violence is more indirect and has many facets (Barash/Webel 2009: 7/8).

In Galtung’s understanding of positive and negative peace, he also distinguishes between the ways to get there. Again, referring to an ill state of a patient there is curative and preventive therapy. Is a system almost symptom free with no or very little violence it is the negative case which still is an unstable equilibrium and a minor insult can lead to an ill-system. Such a system

needs curative therapy. In the positive case of the scenario the system may not be entirely symptom free but the equilibrium is more stable. In such a case preventive therapy is needed (Galtung 1996: 1). As it becomes clear with the term, focusing on structural violence leads to “efforts to transform violence-pregnant structures into less violent once” (Galtung 1985:13). Galtung’s positive peace includes the ideas of harmony, cooperation and integration (ibid.:11) Michelle Gawerc (2006:439) names also justice and equity as important components for building a positive peace.

Although, peacebuilding as a means to build a positive peace is widely recognized, one oddment from the Agenda for Peace peacebuilding definition that remained is the focus of peacebuilding on post-conflict settings. Stephen Ryan (2013:28) critics this label because “no society is ‘post-conflict’, since conflict is ubiquitous – maybe post-violence would be a better term, though a violence-free society is also hard to imagine.”

However, some scholars also developed alternative approaches to peacebuilding. Sam Gbaydee Doe for instance introduced the term *proventive Peacebuilding*. He argues that “linking peacebuilding and human security exclusively to conflict or the effects after conflict is a terrible limitation of a grand process that encompasses everything that has to do with the quality of life of the human person” (Doe 2009:148). The term proventive was coined by John Burton (1990) to “signify a proactive response to conflict by addressing structural or systemic factors”. Doe (2009:148) uses the term prevention as a combination of proactivity and intervention. Based on the assumption that conflict is rooted in a lack of opportunities to satisfy one’s needs, proventive peacebuilding focuses on values, instruments, and processes that nurture and sustain a healthy society. Doe differentiates between conflict-generating factors and peace-generating factors. While addressing the conflict generating issues assure relative stability or negative peace, addressing peace-generating factors nurture a positive peace. In contrast to the traditional problem-focused intervention, proventive peacebuilding starts by identifying what is good in a society and what generates peace in a society (ibid.) The approach argues that “the problems in society are a consequence of either the deviation from its quality values and institutions or that the institutions are nonprogressive and therefore unresponsive to current exigencies.” (Ibid.) Proventive peacebuilding should not be a marginal activity or a mere twist of jargons. Therefore, Doe pleads for “a significant paradigmatic shift from conflict orientation to peace orientation, from risk to opportunity, from impossibility to possibility” (ibid.:149).

Feminists argue similar to Doe and plead for a peace orientation in peacebuilding. A gendered perspective on peacebuilding cannot only be confined to addressing human/women rights violations and women’s economic, social and justice needs, it has to be a process of inclusion

(USIP Guide 2012:1). Because peacebuilding still is a male dominated activity, “engendering peacebuilding [...] means broadening the term peacebuilding to include notions of positive peace, and bringing the important voices and activities of women as well as men into the approach with the goal of sustainable peace and gender equality.” (Munro 2000: 3) According to Mazurana and McKay’s comprehensive definition of peacebuilding (1999:9) it has to include “gender-aware and women-empowering political, social and economic human rights” and “[i]t fosters the ability of women, men, girls and boys in their own cultures to promote conditions of nonviolence, equality, justice, and human rights of all people.” Heidi Hudson (2009b: 289) emphasizes that a culturally contextual gender analysis is key tool for a feminist peacebuilding approach, instead of including women because of their essential qualities. For her a central element in peacebuilding has to be gender justice. From a legal perspective, gender justice addresses the normative and cultural roots of practices and laws that subordinate women. Another part of gender justice tackles the unequal distribution of resources, social privileges and political rights (ibid.:295). According to Donna Pankhurst (2000: 9) the common weaknesses in existing peacebuilding strategies are “the lack of attention to women's needs; the marginalisation of gender analyses; and the absence of efforts to challenge particularly ‘unpeaceful’ forms of masculinity in institutions and in society more widely.” Therefore, the key peacebuilding elements that can be identified from the feminist perspectives on peace and security are: The empowerment of women, prevention of direct and indirect violence, challenging and transforming patriarchal gender structures and building a culture of peace.

### *Culture of Peace*

From a feminist perspective, equality, development and peace are inextricably linked. Mazurana and McKay (1999:4) define women’s peacebuilding activities as „any actions that seek as their goal the building of a culture of peace.” A culture of peace is a set of “values, attitudes and modes of behaviour based on non-violence and respect for the fundamental rights and freedom of all people” (Adams 1997:4). For creating a culture of peace it is also essential to eliminate “all forms of discrimination against women through their empowerment and equal representation at all levels of decision-making” (A/ RES/53/243 1999). Feminists see peacebuilding as “the practice of nonviolence; the recognition of, and respect for, human rights; the promotion of intercultural tolerance and understanding; and women’s empowerment in economic, social, cultural and political spheres.” (Mazurana/McKay 1999:1) Schirch and Sewak (2005:4/5) emphasise on the relational aspect of an ‘architecture of peace’ that can be built through “peacebuilding networks or “platforms” that allow people to cooperate and

coordinate to constructively address and prevent violent conflict.” Acknowledging that, the UNESCO established a Women and a Culture of Peace Programme as early as 1996. The programme aimed at supporting women’s initiatives for peace, empowering women for democratic participation and gender-sensitive socialization and training for non-violence and egalitarian partnerships (UNESCO Projects).

### *Women Empowerment*

In 2005, former UN secretary-general Kofi Annan stated that “study after study has taught us that there is no tool for development more effective than the education of girls and the empowerment of women [...] no policy is more important in preventing conflict, or in achieving reconciliation after conflict has ended” (in World Vision 2009: 5). Empowerment deals with the economic status of women, equal participation of women in decision-making and leadership and equitable health and education outcomes (Porter 2013:4). Elisabeth Porter (2013:3) emphasises that the empowerment process in connection with the realisation of equal rights, must be locally driven. Gendered power relations that are legitimised by local traditions must be addressed to prevent the stereotypical views that gender equals women and women’s empowerment needs a certain set of tools. She further assesses that there are cultural relevant nuances to the local understandings of the concept of empowerment. Therefore, she defines empowerment as a concept that “responds to difference, thrives on security, mobilises insecure communities to deal with conflict and is transformative in creating practical changes, including women’s participation in decision-making across all levels of social, political, religious and cultural life.” (Porter 2003: 10) If peace is defined as the absence of violence and insecurity rather than the absence of declared war, it is pushed out of the security arena and into the economic area. Social injustice and economic violence are then obstacles to peace, too (Sjoberg 2013:180/181). A feminist definition of peace according to Enloe (cited in Pankhurst 2003:157) is “women’s achievement of control over their lives.” Women’s increased participation in public policy is recognized as fundamental to expanding economic growth, improving health status, reducing poverty, sustaining the environment, and consolidating democracy” (King 2005:31).

### *Prevention of direct and indirect violence*

A central concern of women’s peacebuilding is the presence and prevention of direct and indirect violence in the lives of girls and women. Susan McKay states that “a major goal of

women's peace-building is to call attention to women's and girls' oppression, marginalization, and threatened security, and to establish a peace-building agenda that involves women as key actors." (McKay 2004:167/168). From a feminist stance, discrimination against women increases the likelihood of internal conflict in a state as there is a link between gender inequality and violence. Peacebuilding therefore needs an agenda to work on violence against women and has to look at the interplay between categories of structural violence. Peacebuilding needs "to prevent, reduce, transform, and help people recover from violence in all forms, even structural violence that has not yet led to massive civil unrest" (Schirch/ Sewak 2005:4).

### *Transformation of patriarchal gender relations*

From a feminist perspective it shows that in traditional patriarchal organised societies the security sector is male dominated and inherits an institutional culture of masculine images and practices and quite often these have grown in an institutional identity (Wisotzki 2003:27). They are hierarchical in structure with a top-down leadership, and images of success and achievement are associated with images of force and strength. These masculinities have effects which are not only become apparent in the commission of violent acts but also in the structure and functioning of key institutions responsible for organising war or managing peace. The implication then is that "transformation of the masculine nature of such institutions is of central importance in any peace-building strategy." (Pankhurst 2003:167) Otherwise, achieving a positive peace will be difficult. Although, there is no certainty that a stronger presence of women in these institutions would lead to a sustained challenge in the masculine culture, participation of women is an essential precondition to challenge the masculine patterns (ibid.:168).

As social norms about masculinity influence the tendency to and prevalence of a violent expression of conflict, peacebuilding should challenge these norms. The increase of women's representation is a first step. However, it is not enough to only support women in their efforts to challenge gender stereotypes, working with men is equal important. Supporting men's work as peace activists and trainers does not only contribute to peacebuilding but also helps to counteract perceptions that such activities are 'women's work'. Another important aspect is to train men, especially in key institutions such as the security sector. Training in gender awareness issues enables men to contribute to reforming gender relations (Pankhurst 2000: 20). According to Elisabeth Porter (2013:2) "[s]tructural and political changes are necessary not only to overcome subordination, oppression and coercive power relations but also to instigate transformations with positive development outcomes." To achieve structural changes, personal

and relational changes are necessary. Therefore, peace education is an important tool. Peace education is “the process whereby knowledge, attitudes and skills necessary for the building up of a just and peaceful social order are imparted to the young and the wider public” (John 2006:142). A socialisation for peace can change patterns of gender roles impressed on girls and boys (ibid.).

#### 4.2.2 *NGO Theory*

A lot of the literature concerning NGOs dates back to the 1990s when civil society was “suddenly all the rage in social science” (Hutchful 1995: 54). Although NGOs became important political actors in the last decades, especially in the developing world, there is a minor contribution to the body of literature by political scientists (Clarke 1998: 38). Clarke identifies lacks in the common NGO literature, “especially the reluctance to see NGOs as important institutional vehicles in shaping political discourse and in mobilizing collective interests” (Clarke 1998:38/39). Moreover, a lot of the literature in the past was donor driven as it has been produced by NGOs activists or social scientist with links to funding agencies (ibid.). The recently published book *The NGO Challenge for International Relations Theory* (DeMars/Dijkzeul 2015) demonstrates the omissions in the NGO theorizing field. Especially International Relations literature lacks theorizing regarding NGOs and often ignores and overlooks their impact. There is also a lack of literature concerning the reconfiguration of authority and power between states and NGOs, which has implications for the socioeconomic development in developing countries (Haque 2002: 412).

As the above has shown there was a significant shift in IR challenging conventional definitions of security and peace and opening the field to gender issues. In addition, the state is not necessarily viewed as the dominant actor anymore and the study of transnational institutions, organisations and social movements has gained importance. Because many issues in IR transcend global borders today, NGOs are acknowledged as important actors in world politics (Peterson/Runyan 1993: 31). In the last decades there was a massive proliferation of NGOs all over the world, especially in the developing world (Haque 2002: 411). Oliver Richmond sees a development from a Westphalian state-system in which states have access to all tools required to manage security, to a post-Westphalian models in which “a multiplicity of actors, private and public, are involved in addressing the many different aspects of international-social conflict” (Richmond 2001). The hegemony of states as sole actors is displaced by identity, representation and human security issues. Richmond assesses that currently the international system is in a

late-Westphalian phase, in which NGOs derive increasing levels of legitimacy though their focus on human security and conflict resolution approaches (ibid.).

A general definition of NGOs is “an independent organization that is neither run by government nor driven by the profit motive like private sector businesses” (Lewis/Kanji 2009:2). The term NGO originates from the formation of the United Nations. In the UN Charter which was drafted 1945 the term non-governmental organisation was ascribed to international non-state organisations with consultative status in UN activities (Lewis/Kanji 2009: 8). One way to categorize NGOs is to see them as part of is called the ‘third sector’. It derives from the idea to divide the world of institutions in three categories: the first sector is the government, the second sector constitutes for-profit businesses and the third sector characterises the social space between government and market with not-for profit, voluntary or non-governmental organisations. This is the wider area under which NGOs operate. However, there is a wider range of NGOs<sup>5</sup> and no singular definition for what the many labels contain. However, there are five characteristics defining a third sector organisation: First, it is formal, meaning that the organisation has an office, regular meetings and the like. Second, it is private and therefore institutionally separated from government. Third, it is non-profit distributing and a financial surplus cannot go to owners or directors. Fourth, it is self-governing and finally, it is voluntary (Lewis/Kanji 2009:8/9).

In the last decades there was a shift in International Politics often called a “privatization of world politics” meaning the expansion of activities of NGOs and private companies (Debiel/Sticht 2005: 9). This took place due to a number of factors. First, new information technologies and mass media made transnational networking for non-state actors a lot easier. Then, the end of the Cold War led to an end of the generously support of the big powers to the South, which forced tendencies towards privatization. A third factor were the world conferences in the 1990s which offered “a substantial incentive to found new NGOs or to enlarge the radius of action of existing NGOs” (Debiel/Sticht 2005:9). Another major factor is the breakthrough of the neoliberal system in the 1980s. The neoliberal approach features privatisation of state welfare and infrastructure services, trade liberalisation and flexibilisation of work. The sceptical attitude towards the state and the consequent emphasis on subsidiarity and privatisation of services previously provided by the state, led to the assignment of new service functions to NGOs, especially in the social and health sector (ibid.: 9/10). Not only development and disaster relief NGOs have become increasingly involved in the last decades, the number of NGOs in the

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<sup>5</sup> Lewis and Kanji (2009: 9) list over 47 different acronyms that refer to NGOs around the world

conflict prevention field has also risen. Their work profile includes “training measures for social multipliers, dialogue forums and problem-solving workshops aimed at middle-level social or leadership circles to good services, nondirective facilitation activities, and direct mediation at the political decision making level.” (ibid.: 27)

NGOs have some strategic advantages in their work compared to governments or international governmental organisations (IGOs). They “can operate with a minimum of filtration of their services through governmental channels” (Gordenker/Weiss 1997: 446). Moreover, the operating style of NGOs encourages informal contacts to government personnel and other NGOs and information is exchanged among them. They also do not necessarily depend on the government for the execution of their policies and thereby give effect to international policies without domination of the donor or recipient government. However, their work can seldom be done completely outside of governmental grasp (ibid.).

#### *NGOs and the state*

The relationship between the state and NGOs is an important factor. NGOs can run parallel activities, play oppositional roles or represent weaker members of society and organizing them to become more influential in decision making and resource allocation. The relationship of the state and the NGO sector influences the capacity of NGOs to operate and to grow (Clark 1995: 595). A healthy relationship requires shared objectives of both parties. If the government's commitment to the NGO's objective is weak, dialogue and collaboration is likely to be difficult. A positive social agenda by the government or even by individual ministries makes a strong relationship between the state and NGOs more likely. However, mutual distrust and jealousy makes genuine partnerships between governments and NGOs rare. Governments fear the erosion of their political power and NGOs mistrust the motivation of the government (Clark 1995: 595).

There are implications for the state, regarding a restructuring of power between the government and NGOs. In contrast to government agencies, NGOs have “gained prominence in terms of their societal roles, public image, and capacity to command external support” (Haque 2002: 412). While in many states the scope of the public sector as well as public spending is being reduced, NGOs have proliferated, increased their membership and multiplied the assistance of external agencies. Haque even suggests that “in fact, the local institutional linkages of government have been weakened by the growing networks of NGOs at the grassroots level” (2002:412). The rise of NGOs and their increase in power is also due to the multitude of new concerns such as human rights, gender equality and the environment (ibid.).



In security governance the role of NGOs and Civil Society organisations take on the role of watchdogs, agents of change and they can give technical input and generate local ownership of security governance (Ebo 2007:62). Lewis and Kanji define three roles of NGOs: implementers, catalysts and partners. Implementers mobilise resources, provide goods and services. They are more and more “‘contracted’ by governments and donors with governance reform and privatization policies to carry out specific tasks in return for payment” (Lewis 2010: 1057). This includes a wide range of activities in diverse fields such as healthcare or human rights. A NGO takes on the catalyst role when it is able to “inspire, facilitate or contribute to improved thinking and action to promote change” (Lewis/Kanji 2009: 13). This can take place among other actors as governments or donors and may include lobbying and advocacy work, undertaking research, influencing policy processes and gender and empowerment. The partner role emerges from the trend for NGOs to work together with the government, donors, other NGOs or the community, for example for capacity-building work (Lewis/Kanji 2009: 13). The rhetoric of partnership “seeks to bring NGOs into mutually beneficial relationships with these other sectors.” (Lewis 2010:1057) Most NGOs are not confined to one of these roles but combine all in their work (ibid.). For the analyses of the role of NGOs in Ghana, this framework will be used. The three roles described are especially helpful since they also allow a focus and analysis of the relational aspect between NGOs, between the NGO and the government and between NGOs and their donors.

### *NGOs and Peacebuilding*

NGOs are still under theorized in the discipline of IR and in peacebuilding. And yet “NGOs are worthy of study, not because they are omnipotent, but because they are increasingly involved in peace processes, taking on roles that states cannot perform or do not want” (Richmond 2003:3). The above discussed focused on ‘post-conflict’ peacebuilding is eminently in the literature on NGOs in peacebuilding. A majority of text and studies concentrates on NGO roles in a post-conflict environment in which NGO activities are centred mainly on humanitarian assistance. However, with a changing approach to peacebuilding that looks beyond immediate relief and focuses more on long term strategies, the scope and impact of NGOs is broadening as well. NGOs increasingly cover areas like “advocacy work; awareness-raising and peace education; organization of peace marches, rallies, and other manifestations for peace; bringing together persons from different ethnic groups; research and information; informal diplomacy” (Mbuh 2007:24/25).

Through the UN's *An Agenda for Peace* and the broadening of activities in peacekeeping and peacebuilding NGOs can play a more vital role in the context of a broader understanding of security. NGOs link domestic civil society with global civil society through their legitimization in international organizations like the UN. NGOs have the capacity to inform and mobilize opinion, they have expertise, are flexible and are committed to provide essential services necessary in local environments (Richmond 2003: 5). Barnes suggests that "partnerships for peace may be the antidote to systems and networks sustaining war. Yet to achieve this potential, we need to acknowledge the legitimacy of CSOs in peace and security matters and to strengthen official recognition of their roles in the conflict prevention partnership." (Barnes 2006: 14)

The assessment of the role of NGOs in peacebuilding depends on one's understanding of security: state security or human security. The two versions of security imply different conceptions of international relations and of the roles and responsibilities of the state and non-state actors. The debate evolves around the particular capacity of NGOs to assist in establishing human security. This notion is challenged by pragmatic arguments that NGOs can have a role as long as they are controlled by intergovernmental institutions and their member states and as long as their activities do not interfere with the preservation of state security and stability (Richmond 2003:6/7).

NGOs are closer to communities and enable ordinary people to articulate their needs. Moreover, they are considered as being more flexible, adaptive and innovative than governmental institutions. Their organisational structure is often unbureaucratic with flat decision-making structures and with easy access for staff to the leaders (Verkoren 2008: 56). However, the flexibility is depending on the learning capacity of the NGO. The adaption to changing circumstances or an increase of their effectiveness requires the capacity to study the circumstances and monitor the own effectiveness (Verkoren 2008: 57). NGOs can add value to peace processes as they "do not only seek to get things done, they embody a particular set of values or way of thinking about the world. Therefore, [...] NGOs' values and ways of thinking interact with ideational and discursive aspects of war and peace" (Goodhand 2006:121/122). Typical activities of NGOs in the field of peacebuilding are: Dialogue and reconciliation; peace education; civilian mediation; peace zones and civilian peacekeeping; representing a particular group; organisational development, training and networking; disarmament, demobilisation, reintegration and rehabilitation; early warning for early response; and addressing broader structural issues of democracy, human rights and development (Verkoren 2008:59-61).

## *NGOs and the Women, Peace and Security Agenda*

Through the adoption of UNSCR 1325, women, peace and security has emerged as a norm and the WPS agenda has become a priority for the international community (Domingo et al. 2014:1). Torunn Tryggestad (2014:9) describes the WPS agenda as a ‘prescriptive normative framework’. UNSCR 1325 and the other resolutions under the WPS umbrella are non-coercive but carry a normative imperative that is intended to influence behaviour (ibid.).

A lot of activism on the women, peace and security agenda is going on at the international level. The *NGO Working Group on Women, Peace and Security* that formed in 2000 to call for the Security Council Resolution now focuses on its implementation. Members of the working group are some of the big international NGOs like *Amnesty International*, *Human Rights Watch* and *Femmes Africa Solidarité*. According to their website the NGOWG plays “an important global role in monitoring policy and practice on women, peace and security.” (womenpeaceandsecurity.org) But how do local/national/regional NGOs relate to these transnational actors? This can be answered by regarding NGOs as agents of norm diffusion.

Finnemore and Sikkink (1998:891) developed the Norm ‘life cycle’ to show how norms become influential in policy development. They define a norm as “a standard of appropriate behaviour for actors with a given identity.” The appropriate behaviour that most of the UN member states would like to identify themselves with is associated with liberal values of human rights, democracy and the rule of law. All of these values are in the provisions of UNSCR 1325. The two authors understand norm influence as a three-stage process. The first stage is “norm emergence”, the second stage is broad norm acceptance, termed “norm cascade” or diffusion. These first two stages are divided by a “tipping” point, at which a critical mass of relevant state actors adopt the norm. The third stage is internalization (ibid.:895). For the first stage ‘norm entrepreneurs’ are critical because they call attention to issues. At the international level the norm promoters need an organizational platform. These can be constructed only for the purpose of promoting the norm or they have other agendas than simply promoting a specific norm. Most emergent norms must become institutionalized in specific sets of international rules and organisations in order to reach the second stage. In the second stage socialization is the dominant mechanism of norm cascade (or diffusion) which is the spread of norms. Finnemore and Sikkink argue that states comply with norms for reasons that relate to their identities as members of an international society. Is a norm internalized by the actors in the third stage it achieves a “taken-for-granted” quality (Finnemore/Sikking 1998: 895- 904). According to Tryggestad (2014: 59) the WPS norm has entered the phase of norm cascade (or diffusion) with the tipping point being around the 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary of UNSCR 1325 in 2010. As Finnemore and

Sikkink (1998) propose, for a norm to diffuse, three forms of institutionalization have to take place: institutionalization within international law, organizational institutionalization, and institutionalization in foreign policies of member states. With the adoption of UNSCR 1325 and the subsequent resolutions, the WPS agenda was institutionalised in international law. The transnational advocacy network on WPS has been crucial in advocating for the adoption of additional resolutions and was even involved in the drafting of the text of these resolutions. For organisational institutionalisation *UN Women* has been instrumental. A *Standing Committee on Women, Peace and Security* has been established that is chaired by UN Women and follows up on the UN system-wide implementation of the WPS agenda. The growing number of National Action Plans adopted by UN member states shows the norm institutionalisation in domestic and foreign policies of states (Tryggestad 2014: 59-67).

As this assessment of norm diffusion shows, a lot of attention is drawn to the top-down approach with strong nations and transnational civil society as main norm diffusers (Glass 2012:3). The role of local actors is often ignored and marginalized. However, they contextualise, redefine and localize transnational ideas and even develop new norms. It is therefore important to understand how local NGOs relate to transnational actors. According to Amitav Acharya (2012:2) too much focus is on

the role of a transnational civil society, operating from major Western countries, at the expense of the normative role of local actors, including NGOs and their networks, in the developing world, which are often closely and more directly involved with the targeted impact area of global norms.

To fill this gap in theory, Acharya developed the concept of norm localization, an agent centric approach highlighting the role of local actors. Localizations is defined as “the active construction through discourse, framing, grafting and cultural selection of foreign ideas by local actors, which results in the former developing significant congruence with local beliefs and practices” (Acharya 2004:245). Actors of localization can be NGOs “whose primary commitment is to localize a normative order and whose main task is to legitimize and enhance that order by building congruence with outside ideas” (Acharya 2004: 249). One concept of localization is ‘local initiative’ whereby “ideas are not imposed through force or purchased through commerce or aid; instead local actors proactively seek out foreign ideas that they find morally appealing or political empowering” (Archarya 2012: 2).

Local and regional NGOs cannot be seen as entirely local as they are looking to international norms for ways to improve. They can act as brokers between international and local norms. Donors, as part of the international elite, often do not fully understand the needs of a certain population. NGOs can act as mediators between locals and donors and can balance the needs

of locals with the desires of donors and international norms. Moreover, NGOs “understand and are able to articulate both local needs and international ideas [and they] are able to successfully navigate both local and international norms making them ideal mediators.” (Glass 2012: 10/11) Norm diffusion by local NGOs is motivated by three main factors: (1) localizing foreign ideas and approaches to development, security and rights, (2) filling gaps by operating in areas where foreign NGOs fear to tread or banned from operating, and (3) devising and implementing projects that are locally relevant and useful (Acharya 2012:5). In the process of norm localization state and non-state actors can work together when they believe that they each need the other to be successful (ibid.).

As the WPS agenda is characterised by a global constituency of civil society organisations, with prominent NGOs based in Europe and North America having their own programmes, it is even more difficult for local and regional NGOs to be seen as important actors in norm diffusion (Tryggestad 2014: 70). One of the challenges surrounding UNSCR 1325 is the need to operationalise and contextualise it, “to ensure that each country – and region – comes up with its own particular programme for achieving the laudable goals set out in the resolution” (Ceesay-Ebo 2011: 132).

#### *4.2.3 Summary*

Gender is a relation of power which intersects with other dimensions of power such as economic class. Patriarchal gender relations constitute men and masculinity sharply contrasted to women and femininity. These gender relations “predispose societies to war, while militarization and war violence in turn produce them” (Cockburn 2010:110). Therefore, the transformation of gender relations is necessary for a sustainable peace. As it is shown above, a feminist perspective on violence, peace and security focuses on different aspects than the conventional understanding of these concepts. The key elements that were identified as crucial for a gender-sensitive peace are the empowerment of women, the prevention of direct and indirect violence, the transformation of patriarchal gender-relations and a culture of peace. Therefore, a feminist analysis of the NGOs work in Ghana will be analysed under these aspects. NGOs are especially important actors as they translated the women, peace and security agenda from an international to a local level. A “philosophy that recognizes the centrality of people” that many NGOs incorporate, makes them suitable actors for norm localization (Lewis/Kanji 2009: 16). How they contribute to a gender-sensitive peace in Ghana is analysed based on the three categories: catalysts, implementers and partners.

### 4.3 Methods

For this study a qualitative approach is used to analyse the contributions of NGOs for a gender-sensitive peace. Qualitative research designs

are naturalistic to the extent that the research takes place in real-world settings and the researcher does not attempt to manipulate the phenomenon of interest (e.g., a group, event, program, community, relationship, or interaction). The phenomenon of interest unfolds naturally in that it has no predetermined course established by the researcher (Patton 2002:39).

Qualitative research uses a rather small number of cases and sacrifices scope for detail. While quantitative studies emphasize the measurement and analysis of casual relationships between variables, “qualitative researches stress the socially constructed nature of reality, the intimate relationship between the researcher and what is studied, and the situational constraints that shape inquiry” (Denzin/Lincoln 2005: 10).

However, there is no single agreed model within qualitative research. Some qualitative research focuses on the study of perceptions, meanings and emotions, while others focus on social construction and what people *do* (Silverman 2005:10, emphasis original).

#### *Feminist methodology*

Feminists „have relied more on hermeneutic, historical, narrative, and case study methodological orientations rather than on causal analysis of unproblematically defined empirical patterns.“ (Tickner 2006:24) Feminist research builds on the assumption that women’s lives are important. According to Reinharz it is “making the invisible visible, bringing the margin to the centre, rendering the trivial important, putting the spotlight on women as competent actors, understanding women as subjects in their own right rather than objects for men- all continue to be elements of feminist research” (Reinharz 1992: 248). In feminist studies there is a consensus that social research always is a value charged activity and therefore, the own normative motivation has to be laid out (Behnke/Meuser 1999: 17). As it is the case in most feminist studies, my thesis aims at making women and their work visible. Although the focus of the study lies on the contribution of NGOs and not of single women, the gender focus of the researched NGOs spotlights women. As Elizabteh Tisdell states “the hope in feminist research is that the interests of women will be served or that the research will contribute to knowledge construction through the research process” (2008: 334).

Another important factor is that “the values and biases of the researcher are inevitably injected into the research.” (Steady 2005: 6). A researcher has a certain obligation to become involved with the realities and problems of the studied object and as Steady emphasises “research in

Africa has to be geared towards a certain degree of involvement and inter-subjectivity” (Steady 2005:6). As an intern of one of the NGOs I was directly involved in their work and not a neutral observer. However, I was educated in a western system with mainly western standpoints and although I am trying to involve African perspectives, the analysis is likely to be biased.

Another issue is power, positionality and relationship in research. The own positionality such as gender, class, culture affects the research process. Researches with differing positionality from the research participants may need to work more on establishing a relationship and trust (Tisdell 2008: 334). In my case, the positionality as a white german student differed a lot from the participants, mainly in age, cultural background and race. On the other hand, all participants had an academic background, and therefore, understood the means of my work which lead to balanced and supportive relationships

The method used for analysis is a case study. Behind a case study stands the idea “that one case (or perhaps a small number of cases) will be studied in detail, using whatever methods seem appropriate” and the general objective is “to develop as full an understanding of that case as possible” (Punch 1998:150).

### *Description of material*

The basis for the analysis constitute expert interviews, reports published by the NGOs, media articles about NGO activities and fieldnotes. Interviews are an adequate method when the access to the field is difficult as they can facilitate access. In the case of this study, the first reference person in the field mediated all other contacts. Furthermore, it enables the researcher to get insider knowledge without the need of longstanding observations (Bogner/Menz 2005:7). The expert interview is not so much for collecting facts, but rather to reconstruct subjective explanations and interpretations and to gather information (Bogner et al. 2014:2).

During September and October 2014, 5 persons from the field were interviewed in Accra, Ghana. The key informants were Aissatou Fall, Director of Programmes at WIPSEN; Kesia-Onam Birch, Programme Officer Women in Peacebuilding Network (WIPNET) WANEP; Queeneth Tawo Regional Coordinator WANEP; Dr. Thomas Jaye, Deputy Director of Research, KAIPTC; Joana Opare, independent gender consultant and former adviser to the Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection. All informants have extended knowledge about the women, peace and security agenda in Ghana. Ms. Fall, Mrs. Birch, Mrs. Tawo and Mrs. Opare were all involved directly in the implementation process of UNSCR 1325 in Ghana. Dr. Jaye is a peacebuilding expert, specialized in peace and conflict research in West Africa. The interviews were conducted with the help of an interview guide, in order to make sure that

the same topics are covered by a range of people. Such a guide “provides topics or subjects areas within which the interviewer is free to explore, probe, and ask questions that will elucidate and illuminate that particular subject” (Patton 1980:200). Thus the interviewer remains free to build a conversation and to word questions spontaneously. As head and staff of the researched NGOs, Ms. Fall, Mrs. Birch and Mrs. Tawo were mainly asked to the organisational activities in the implementation process of UNSCR 1325 and the women, peace and security agenda. Mrs Opare as an independent gender consultant was inquired about the development of the National Action Plan in Ghana and the roles of NGOs in it. Dr. Jaye was questioned about the general situation in Ghana regarding peace and conflict and the role of civil society and NGOs. The interviews were tape-recorded and then transcribed in a timely manner.

Besides the interviews, a small survey in form of a questionnaire was done at one workshop conducted by WIPSEN to train female security personnel. After a short introduction of my research, questionnaires with three questions were handed out at the end of the workshop, which the participants could fill in voluntarily and anonymous. Fourteen questionnaires were handed back and could be evaluated. The questions asked if the women were aware of UNSCR 1325 before the workshop, and how the Resolution and WIPSEN had impacted their work in the security sector.

In addition, observations will be used in the analysis. During the stay in the field, fieldnotes were written down in a field work journal in a systematic way. Fieldnotes are used to record “in-depth descriptive details of people, places, things and events” (Brodsky 2008: 341). These observations regard mainly the conduct of work in one of the two objective NGOs. It is therefore a participant observation “grounded in the establishment of considerable rapport between the researcher and the host community and requiring a long-term immersion of the researcher in the everyday life of that community” (Angrosino 2005:732). In this case the everyday working procedures of the NGO. The fieldnotes were written down by hand in a notebook and later systematically transferred. Thereby, they were summarized under different organisational aspects such as networking, donors and workshops.

Further materials used are NGOs reports, newspaper coverage of activities and websites. Both NGOs produce regularly reports and concept notes on their activities, but not all of them are published and therefore accessible. WIPSEN granted me access to some internal documents to complete the information from the interview.



### *Evaluation of material*

The above described material was evaluated with the help of a qualitative content analysis. In a first step the material was analysed on the basis of the three categories implementers, catalysts and partners described by Lewis and Kranji as typical roles for NGOs. The NGO activities are scrutinized under the aspect of either catalysing or implementing the women, peace and security agenda. Furthermore, the partnerships of the NGOs with the state, other civil society actors and with donors are examined. To identify how the NGOs design their programmes along UNSCR 1325, the activities of the NGOs are subcategorized in directly referring to UNSCR 1325 and not directly referring to the UNSCR 1325 framework. In a second step, the material is evaluated based on the framework for peacebuilding from a feminist perspective. The categories that were derived from feminist theory are: The empowerment of women, the prevention of direct and indirect violence, the transformation of patriarchal gender-relations and a culture of peace. The NGO activities are examined with the help of these established categories to identify how the WPS agenda is enforced by the NGOs and how this is in line with feminist thought.

### *Limitations*

The mere focus on gender brings a clear limitation with it. As Judith Butler said “a restrictive discourse on gender that insists on the binary of man and woman as the exclusive way to understand the gender field performs a regulatory operation of power that naturalizes the hegemonic instance and forecloses the thinkability of its disruption” (Butler 2004:41/42). As postcolonial feminist theory shows, gender does not operate independent from other forms of power as it is constituted through and constitutive of race, sexuality, class and other power relations (Kunz 2014:607). Another limitation is the representation of women as a group with same security needs. This hides differences and power dynamics among women (Hudson 2009b:291).

## **5. The role of NGOs for a gender-sensitive Peace in Ghana**

The two NGOs this case study is based on are the *Women, Peace and Security Network Africa* (WIPSEN-Africa, in the following only WIPSEN) and the *West Africa Network for Peacebuilding* (WANEP). Both Networks are very well established and very well known in Ghana and West Africa (Interview A).

WANEP is a non-profit organisation founded in 1998 as a response to the Civil Wars in West Africa. The Organisation works in collaborative peacebuilding and has national networks in every member state of ECOWAS. To establish a platform for dialogue, experience sharing and learning, WANEP works with diverse actors from civil society, governments, intergovernmental bodies and women groups. Prior to its founding, the founders toured the region and talked to various members of civil society about the needs for peacebuilding (Verkoren 2008: 64). The NGO was established to facilitate mechanisms for cooperation among peacebuilding practitioners to increase the capabilities of practitioners in the field and to promote the traditional values and practices of peacebuilding in West Africa through research and publication (Doe 1998). In November 2001, WANEP launched a Women in Peacebuilding Network (WIPNET) Programme. It aims at enhancing women's roles in peacebuilding and post-conflict reconstruction in West Africa, through increasing the number of trained women practitioners as trainers, researchers, mediators and advocates in peacebuilding. The programme also strives to provide a forum for women at the grassroots level and mobilize communities. The need for a Women in Peacebuilding program was seen because "in West Africa where cultural and tradition has made patriarchal practices a norm, women's roles and their voices as critical stakeholders in societal or community peacebuilding have been underutilized and/or undermined" (WIPNET Report 2010:3). WANEP believes, that peacebuilding cannot be effective if it is not all inclusive and takes into account women (ibid.).

WIPSEN-Africa is „a women-focused, women-led Pan-African Non-Governmental Organization with the core mandate to promote women's strategic participation and leadership in peace and security governance in Africa." (WIPSEN homepage) The organisation is based in Accra, Ghana, and its activities are mainly scattered in West Africa, with a special focus on Ghana in the recent years. Their work aims at institutionalising and mainstreaming "women, peace and security by enhancing women's leadership capacity and promoting constructive, innovative and collaborative approaches to non-violent transformation of conflicts, peace building and human security in Africa" (ibid.). The NGO has a clear thematic and institutional focus on women in the area of peacebuilding. According to Ecoma Alaga, co-founder and

former director of programmes of WIPSEN, “the choice of a thematic area ‘women in peacebuilding’ was based on the realisation that ‘gender and peacebuilding’ would not adequately fill or respond to the vacuum which exists” (2010: 6). To establish gender-equality in the field of peace and security, the main focus and primary beneficiaries of WIPSEN’s work are women and girls. Their vision is a violence free, non-discriminatory continent that fosters peaceful coexistence, equality, collective ownership and the full participation of particularly women in decision making on peace and security. Through their work they seek to enable, enhance and promote African women's leadership and rights to participation in peace, security and sustainable development. To achieve this goal WIPSEN has defined three broad strategic objectives:

1. Provide a platform for women and girls across all levels of African societies to exchange, share, and harmonize strategies for women's leadership and build coalitions to promote peace and security.
  2. Strengthen women and girls' leadership capacities and skills to engage in Peace and Security processes.
  3. Promote gender mainstreaming in Security Sector Institutions and Policies.
- (WIPSEN homepage)

The following analysis is subdivided in two parts. The first part assessed the role of the NGOs as catalysts, implementers and partners.

### **5.1 Catalysts, Implementers, Partners?**

The Analysis seeks not be an impact assessment and judge about how effective the work of the NGOs is. It rather seeks to introduce the work of the NGOs as catalysts, implementers and partners to build a gender-sensitive peace. For the sake of chronology, the role as catalyst is highlighted first because for a policy to be implemented, it first has to be lobbied for.

#### ***Catalysts***

As stated above, as catalysts, NGOs facilitate, contribute to improved thinking and are active to promote change. They are lobbying, advocating, and doing research on specific topics. The activities that fall under this category are subdivided according to their reference to UNSCR 1325.

#### ***Inside the UNSCR 1325 framework***

In 2010, WANEF hosted an expert meeting for the development of a guide on how to implement UNSCR 1325 in West Africa. At this time only three countries in West Africa already had a

National Action Plan in place and three more were in the process of developing one (Ghana being one of them). Through their work, especially the WIPNET program WANEP realized the “need for a comprehensive guide informed by practice to direct the thorough formulation and implementation of National Action Plans” (WANEP Concept Note 2010:2). The need for such a guideline was seen because “WANEP’s on-the-ground presence and work with local community based, national and regional groups in West Africa reveals that up to date, no comprehensive practical guidance exists to offer national governments, civil society and other stakeholders principles and strategies for developing the National Action Plans through which the Resolution is to be implemented.” (Ibid.) WANEP in collaboration with the ECOWAS gender directorate conducted a survey to find out what the situation on UNSCR 1325 was. The survey was presented at a workshop in Abuja. Through the process of consultations it was revealed by WANEP that the two main reasons for non-implementation of UNSCR 1325 are lack of political will and lack of technical know-how. While political will can be attained through awareness-raising and constant lobbying, technical know-how must be built through different measures (Interview C). Therefore, WANEP saw the need to publish “a simple step-by-step guide to the formulation and implementation of NAPs that can be used by all national governments and government institutions, regional organizations, non-state actors and institutions interested in the advancement of the women, peace and security agenda” (WANEP Implementation Guide:1). It is emphasized in the guide that there is no one-size-fit all solution and that the context of each country differs and so will the focus of the NAP in each country (Interview C).

In 2012, WANEP published the guideline for the development and implementation of National Action Plans on UNSCR 1325. The guideline is divided into five sections. The first section introduces Resolution 1325 and its subsequent resolutions and explains why a National Action Plan is an adequate tool for implementation. Section two is a guide on the process of developments of NAPs and who should lead and coordinate the process. In this section it is emphasized that the development of a NAP should be a participatory process between the government and CSOs. Such a process will take longer and “can be a source of great frustration but it has a better chance of success with action plans that are implemented at multiple levels and in close coordination” (10). Furthermore, the benefits of a cooperation with CSOs are listed. Among others, these are that CSOs work on a wide range of issues, they provide important knowledge, input and critical views on security and gender related issues, and they are a source for data collection, documentation and dissemination. Then there is a step-by-step instruction on how to develop a NAP. Section three deals with implementation arrangements and lists

requirements for “moving NAPS from “Paper to Action” (18). The first requirement is a dedicated budget, as funding is the most serious challenge to implementation. The development of a set of indicators, identifying specific outcomes, time frames, and a monitor and evaluation plan and structure are other important requirements. Monitoring and Evaluation (M&E) is also the topic of section four, as it is key to successful implementation. M&E mechanisms allow for tracking of results, inform future planning and identify what works and what does not work. Evaluation should be done external as it allows “to challenge implicit assumptions and organizational norms that have become standard practice, independent of political interests or bureaucratic fatigue” (20). The last section titles “Envisaged Challenges” and list possibly challenges in the development of NAPs and in the implementation process. One of the challenges for the implementation is lack of capacity. Every person involved in the implementation process needs to be equipped with adequate tools and knowledge which is best acquired through training (22). The guide is mainly directed to governments, gender ministries and NGOs who can use it as a resource for planning. It is written in an easy, clear and informative manner. Annexed to the guide are the text of UNSCR 1325, a list of potential stakeholders and a matrix for monitoring and evaluation. According to WANEP there has been a lot of improvement and progress since the guideline was published and a lot of people have testified that they follow the guidelines (Interview C).

Both NGOs were also actively lobbying for the development for a National Action Plan in Ghana (GHANAP). In 2010, WIPSEN, in collaboration with the High Commission of Canada in Ghana started a project on the theme “*UNSC Resolution 1325: Moving beyond the Rhetoric towards Accountable Implementation in the Security Sector*”. This project was conducted as a policy dialogue series with the objectives to (1) raise awareness on UNSCR 1325 in the Ghana Security Sector; (2) Identify gaps and entry points for supporting the implementation of the Resolution and its accompanying Resolutions in the Security Sector; (3) document existing best practices and lessons learned (WIPSEN Policy Leaflet 2010:6). To achieve these objectives eight roundtable discussions with eight different security sector institutions in Ghana were held. Furthermore, one debrief session on the policy dialogue series was held with Members of the Parliament. The security institutions were Police Service, Immigration Service, Customs, Exercise & Preventative Service, Armed Forces, Fire Service, Prison Service, Narcotic Control Board and Private Security Firms. The ultimate goal of the roundtable discussions was to present recommendations that arose from the findings of the policy series to the Ghana Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection as a contribution to Ghana’s National Action Plan (ibid.).

The policy series allowed for some valuable insights into the security sector in Ghana and its gendered gaps. The findings in 2010 were that there was no national security policy in place, not to mention one that is gender-sensitive. The police service was the only institution with a gender focal point and a gender policy. Although there are no policies restricting the recruitment of women, none of the institutions reached 20% of female staff. Women working in the security sector tended to be excluded from operational and technical duties and their number in senior ranking and decision-making levels remained low (ibid.:7/8). WIPSEN also formulated recommendations for each institution and the gender ministry. Among others these were gender training for all police personnel and the abolition of the discriminatory practice in the Immigration Service that women need to seek written permission before getting married (ibid. 10). These were some of the inputs WIPSEN made as part of the consultation process. The NGO assesses its role in the development and finalization of the document as key to the outcome of the GHANAP (Interview A).

WANEP also assesses its role in the drafting of the GHANAP as quite instrumental. The NGO was invited as Civil Society in the consultative meeting at the beginning of the process. As they have been working with UNSCR 1325 and had activities since 2001 “we fell into it perfectly. Because of our work in the sub region the gender ministry knew our work and asked how to proceed. We were able to give them a little bit of guidance” (Interview B). Both NGOs also held a statement at the official launch of GHANAP on October 31<sup>st</sup>, 2012.

#### *Outside the UNSCR 1325 framework*

WIPSEN’s major project to influence policy is the *West African Women’s Policy Forum*. The first West African Women’s Policy Forum took place on the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> of December 2008 in Accra under the slogan “Assessing the Gains, Advancing the Agenda”. It was organised by WIPSEN in collaboration with the West Africa Civil Society Institute (WACSI). The Forum intended to

provide a platform for women’s groups, associations, coalitions and women in government and other decision making positions to reflect on women’s roles and participation in governance, development, peace and security in the region and to design concrete strategies for influencing and informing policy processes.” (WACSI/WIPSEN Report 2008: 2)

The four main objectives of the forum were

- (1) to establish a platform for women across West Africa to strategise on maximising efforts towards influencing policies on women’s issues;
- (2) to enhance collaboration between women in civil society and governments;
- (3) to serve as an annual reflection space for a cross section of women in the region;

(4) to provide an avenue for West Africa women to form linkages with women working in other regions of the world. (WACSI/WIPSEN Report 2008: 2)

The second Women's policy Forum took place a year later from 12-13 November 2009, this time under the slogan "Our Politics in NOW!: Moving Beyond the Rhetoric of Women's Political Participation". The fact that between 2010 and 2012, eight out of the fifteen countries in West Africa have been holding general elections "impelled practical recommendations which aimed to augment women's old style of political participation such as carrying placard for men during election campaign rallies, waiting to be nominated for political positions after men had won power democratically, playing the subordinate roles as *Vice* and *Deputies* amongst many other auxiliary positions." (WACSI/WIPSEN Forum Report 2009: 2/3, emphasis original)

The third forum in 2010, build on the thematic focus of 2009 and was for reviewing existing strategies in increasing women's political participation and how women could seize the opportunities of the elections in 2011 and 2012. One particular important accomplishment at this forum was the decision to set up an all-female observation team, that should consist of trained women and be mainstreamed into the existing ECOWAS regional observation mechanisms (WACSI/WIPSEN Forum Report 2010:1-3).

The fourth forum 2011, titled "Win with Women: Best Practices in Promoting Women's Quantitative and Qualitative Representation in Decision Making". As the title indicates, the forum was used to develop a practical guide to provide women's right activists, female politicians and party activists with practical knowledge about advocating, lobbying and collaboration (WACSI/WIPSEN Forum Report 2011:17).

The last policy forum took place in 2012 under the theme "Consolidating our strategies for enhanced women's engagement in political discourse in West Africa" and aimed at revisiting and emphasising the recommendations and policies that have arisen from the former conferences (WIPSEN homepage). Although WIPSEN was planning on reviving the policy forum, a lack of resources prevented them from doing so. Apart from the lack of funding, there was also a lack of staff and time. As WIPSEN experienced a big staff turnover in the last two years, the capacity lasts only for the current two projects that are introduced in the following (Interview A).

Another project through which WIPSEN proved to be catalyst is the above mentioned *West African Women Elections Observation Team* (WAWEO). Its invention followed the third women's policy forum and it serves as a "strategic tool to protect and promote the interest of women (candidates, politicians and voters) in forthcoming elections across the sub-region through regular observation mission/deployment" (WAWEO Training Narrative Report

2011:3). The team consists of two representatives from each of the fifteen ECOWAS member states and it is envisioned that the team complements the work of the ECOWAS Elections Observer Mission. Its team members are experienced women from civil society (including NGOs and women networks) as well as active politicians (ibid.: 1/2).

In 2012, the WAWEO team had its 5<sup>th</sup> deployment during the general elections in Ghana. Team members were sent to four regions in the country to observe the election. Twelve WAWEO members took part in the ECOWAS Commission observation. Before the actual observer team was deployed, there was a wide consultation by an advance team with important stakeholders like members of the National Electoral Commission, the Director of Operations of the Ghana Police Service, representatives of Political Parties and civil society groups. This consultation was done to observe the general preparedness for the elections in Ghana (Ghana Web 2012). However, as the final report on the WAWEO mission is still not published, the results and findings of the observation are unknown (Interview A).

### ***Implementers***

As implementers, NGOS mobilise resources, provide goods and services. Implementation is a key concern for both NGOs. As Ecoma Alaga (2010:9), co-founder and former Director of Programmes at WIPSEN noticed: “there is a growing political support for women’s peace activism from international organisations, governments and civil society. The challenge now is on how to ensure that these policy instruments and other recommendations are implemented and not in a ‘token’ manner that will ‘implement for women,’ but in a way that demonstrates that women are really partners in the process. ”

### ***Inside the UNSCR 1325 framework***

As it is noticed above, the first step for the implementation of UNSCR 1325 is a National Action Plan. The Ghana National Action Plan (GHANAP) was launched in 2012. Both NGOs were involved in the consultation and development process of the GHANAP. The launch of the actual Action Plan was pushed constantly by the NGOs. This is acknowledged in the preliminary part of the GHANAP where it is stated “we highly applaud and acknowledge the dedication and commitment of the institutions that contributed to the process of the development of the Ghana National Action Plan on UNSCR 1325, namely: [...] the Women Peace and Security Network Africa (WIPSEN-Africa), the West African Network for Peacebuilding (WANEP)” (GHANAP: 4). During the consultation process for the GHANAP, the NGOs mapped their



activities and discussed with the Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection which NGOs are in the position to implement activities in specific areas (Interview A).

Like UNSCR 1325, GHANAP is based on three pillars: (1) protection and promotion of human rights of women and girls in situations of conflict and in peace support operations; (2) participation of women in conflict prevention, peace and security institutions and processes; (3) prevention of violence against women including, sexual, gender-based and conflict related violence (GHANAP:8). To achieve this for each pillar, different activities are laid out in seven categories: output objectives, strategies, specific activities, indicators, primary stakeholder, lead agency, other partners and timeframe. While the primary stakeholder is always the Ministry for Women and Children's Affairs (MoWAC)<sup>6</sup>, WIPSEN and WANEP are listed as partners. Through the participatory process of developing the GHANAP, the NGOs indicated which of their activities fits into the different areas of UNSCR 1325. None of the NGOs is listed under the protection pillar activities. Their partnership for implementation concentrates on participation and prevention.

To foster participation, WIPSEN and WANEP are listed as partners for the following outcome objectives:

- *Increase the level of deployment of women to peace support operations by 30% over current level.*
- *Increase women's participation in early warning, conflict prevention and resolution structures.*
- *Promote mechanisms to ensure increased recruitment, retention and advancement of women in security (including justice and non-state) institutions.*
- *Mainstream peace and security into the work of women's groups and institutions (GHANAP: 18-23)*

Under the Prevention pillar they are partners to

- *Raise awareness and sensitize stakeholders on the need for zero tolerance for sexual and gender based violence, especially against women and girls;*
- *Institute mechanisms for preventing and/or responding to conflict and violence against women including through policies, procedures, and codes of conduct for the security sector;*
- *Build a culture of peace and nonviolence, especially among youths to prevent the likelihood of future acts of violence against women and girls (GHANAP:24-28)*

Neither WIPSEN nor WANEP designed activities purposefully for the implementation of the GHANAP. As the Director of Programmes of WIPSEN stated:

If you are an organisation, you have a clear mandate, you have clearly defined goals and programme. If you are trying to implement something like the Resolution 1325, the best way you can do it, is see how you can mainstream it through your mandate. What we are doing cannot be like: in this project we purely implement 1325. For me we are mainstreaming it, the spirit of 1325 cuts across everything we are doing. (Interview A)

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<sup>6</sup> Later renamed into Ministry for Gender, Children and Social Protection

Coherent with WIPSEN's Policy Dialogue Series with the Ghana Security Sector, WIPSEN's contribution to the implementation of UNSCR 1325 is their current project titled *Enhancing Gender Responsiveness and Mainstreaming Gender within the Security Sector*. It is a two-year project funded by the Norway Ministry of Foreign Affairs and is created within the framework of the implementation of the UNSCR 1325.

The engagement with the security sector builds on previous experience in Sierra Leone and Liberia, where the project first started. It was titled *Security Sector Reform in West Africa: Strengthening the Integration of Gender and Enhancing the Capacities of Female Security Sector Personnel* and was implemented in collaboration with the Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF). The first two phases of the project featured a needs assessment study and national consultations with female security personnel and other stakeholders. The outcome highlighted a need for training and capacity building, not only for security personnel but also parliamentarians, civil society, the media and government institutions with oversight over the security sector. This project was assessed as quite successful and the project in Ghana is a duplication of this one (Interview A). It is also the legacy from this project that the project in Ghana was dubbed and will be referenced to as *Gender and SSR* (Security Sector Reform) project, although there is no security sector reform going on in Ghana. The goal of the project is to promote gender mainstreaming within the security sector in Ghana and enhance its gender responsiveness, by enhancing the capacities of senior ranking officials and commanding officers in gender mainstreaming within four security sector institutions in Ghana; building the capacity of 20 national and local women's organizations in Ghana for effective civil society oversight of the security sector on gender mainstreaming; contributing to increasing the representation of female security sector personnel at decision making level; and advocating for a gender review of security sector policies and procedures that discriminate against female security personnel (WIPSEN Consultative Meeting Report 2013:5).

The project started off with meetings with key partners in the Ministry of Defence, Ministry of Interior, and the Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection. Moreover there was a "wide sensitization with a whole lot of security sector institutions before this project started and then four of them were sampled to be partners in this project and beneficiaries" (Interview A). The four institutions WIPSEN is working with are the Ghana Prison Service, the Ghana Immigration Service, the Ghana Armed Forces and the Ghana Police Service. The next step was to find out the specific gaps and discriminatory policies and procedures for each of the four institutions through a survey. To identify gender gaps on policy and procedure in each of the

security institutions the survey was conducted along different categories. Policies and procedures that protect women's rights were identified, the awareness of UNSCR 1325 was elevated and women's representation measured. Other categories were marriage, family and health issues; promotion and advancement of women; training; education, and female staff association where they exist. While the surveys were conducted, WIPSEN held two training and one advocacy planning meeting for civil society organisations. The goal was to sensitize and encourage other civil society organisations to engage with the security sector, to have more oversight over the implementation of UNSCR 1325 in the security sector. The trainings were held in different regions of Ghana to expand the radius and reach more local civil society organisations. In order to convey the key findings of the survey in gender sensitivity to the heads of the institutions, there were consultative meetings with each institution. They also served to develop a common understanding of gender mainstreaming efforts and to attain commitment from the institutions to support WIPSEN's activities (WIPSEN Consultative Meeting Report 2013:5).

In June and July 2014, WIPSEN held Leadership and Confidence Building Workshops which were held in June 2014 and July 2014, with two of the four security sector institutions at a time. Based on the surveys, it was acknowledged that the missing of female personnel in high ranking positions is due to a lack of certain leadership skills as well as lack of confidence of women in the security sector. Thus, the training was constructed to "enhance the confidence level, assertiveness, and equip female security personnel with skill to reach the highest level of their career" (WIPSEN Leadership Report 2014: 4). Despite the survey, during the workshops participants were encouraged to share the challenges they experienced at their workplace. It was also discussed how female staff associations can help and be useful to the female staff. Another topic was academic opportunities for female staff. This session was conducted in partnership with the Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre (KAPITC) which is offering two Master's programs in Conflict, Peace and Security and Gender, Peace and Security (ibid.: 16-18). Higher education between male and female staff was one gap identified by the surveys. This affects women's promotion and advancement prospects (WIPSEN Consultative Report 2013:8).

Another workshop was organized to strengthen the negotiation and advocacy skills of the senior female personnel and leaders of female staff associations of the security sector institutions. The workshop was not only meant to build skills but also to allow cross sharing of experience between the women and to elaborate on the specific needs in terms of gender mainstreaming of each security institution. WIPSEN is planning to use these insights from the workshop to draft

a gender mainstreaming advocacy document for each institution that will be presented to the commands of the institutions (WIPSEN Advocacy Workshop Concept Note 2014). The workshops in the Gender and SSR project were also designed to build an interactive platform for female security sector personnel. WIPSEN's goal is to provide a space for female security personnel to actively engage and discuss their experiences and the way forward. Future activities are gender briefings and gender trainings for High Ranking Officers, strategizing sessions and reflection sessions with the Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection (Interview A).

Unlike WIPSEN, WANEP has no single activity that can be associated with the implementation process of UNSCR 1325. One strategy of WANEP is to use their national networks to accompany the gender ministry in each country that a NAP is drafted and not only accepted but also implemented. They want "to ensure to accompany each country anytime they think they need guidance, whatever support they need from civil society." Each national office can contact the gender desk (WIPNET) of the regional office and gets guidance (Interview B). WANEP has a bottom-up and top-down approach on their work: "We do lot of policy work, advocacy and then we also work at the grassroots. For instance, training women in mediation, market women, farmers, at the various country levels, all those things are happening while at the regional level we try to also influence policy" (Interview B).

WANEP's main activity in relation to UNSCR 1325 in Ghana is to push for a consistent implementation of the National Action Plan. In 2013, WANEP in collaboration with ECOWAS conducted a baseline survey to ascertain the progress in the implementation of National Action Plans in the ECOWAS region. The survey was supported by the gender ministries of the countries. The study allowed WANEP to specify their technical support to the implementation process (WANEP Quarterly Highlight July-September 2013:3).

Following this survey, WANEP held an experience sharing conference on April 2 and 3, 2014 in Lagos under the theme: "*UNSCR 1325 in West Africa: Women in Dialogue and Mediation*". This conference was attended by officials from the gender ministries in the region and civil society organisations, in order to track the implementation process. Apart from sharing experiences, the conference provided the avenue for ministerial officials and CSOs to meet and discuss their collaboration (WANEP homepage). This opportunity was also seized to strengthen the implementation process in Ghana. At the conference the Ghana Gender Ministry was presented by the Deputy Minister, who reported that not much work has been done on the implementation. WANEP therefore decided "to now go knock at their door and hold a meeting with them as civil society and find out where can we help in the implementation of the NAP,

what are the gaps, what is happening that there hasn't been much activity. Unfortunately, when we're about to have the meeting with her, she moved to another ministry so we have to start the process all over again." (Interview B)

As identified by the above mentioned baseline study conducted by WANEP, one obstacle of the successful implementation of the National Action Plans is the missing of effective M&E measures and the lack of capacity to meaningful monitoring and implementation. As the responsibility for the implementation of UNSCR 1325 sits with the leading ministries, they need to ensure that M&E takes place. In order to close this gap, WANEP in cooperation with the Kofi Anan Peacekeeping Training Centre (KAIPTC) held a three day workshop on M&E for staff from gender and social protection ministries of the West African countries (WANEP homepage). The training was very important to enable the ministerial staff to put in place the right indicators for country specific monitoring of progress:

At that training it was clear that the generic indicators that we have on 1325 was not suitable for West Africa, hence the difficulty of monitoring and evaluating the various NAPs. [The participants] came with their [National Action] plan, when they had any M& E on it they presented it and we did a simple basic training and we came up with indicators that they themselves find legit, that they are using now. (Interview B)

Despite the efforts of WANEP and WIPSEN to further the implementation process, both NGOs assess the progress through the National Action Plan as remote. The GHANAP "was developed and put on a shelf and it has been there until now" (Interview C). There was not done much in terms of implementation and even though the time frame has ended in 2014, there is no M&E team set up yet (Interview E). Both NGOs feel a lack of commitment from the Gender Ministry, which they see as responsible for coordinating the implementation. It is clearly not a priority of the ministry and they are not "really outreaching to the various stakeholders, it is not consistent. They're just not focused on it." (Interview B) One plan of the ministry was to sensitize the district assemblies on GHANAP, however, the interviewee did not know if this has happened (Interview E). But not only the Ministry lacks in implementation activities, there are several other civil society organisations who are listed as partners in the GHANAP, but "not doing anything on 1325" (Interview A).

#### *Outside the UNSCR 1325 framework*

Another project that WIPSEN adopted from its earlier work in Liberia is the *Young Girls Transformative Leadership Project* that is funded by UN Women. In the peace process in Liberia, WIPSEN noticed that there were rarely any girls among the peace movement and that there was a big intergenerational gap. To close this gap WIPSEN created a mentorship

programme to prepare young women to take leadership roles in local governance. The project “is intended to contribute to young girls’ leadership capacities, increase opportunities and strategic dialogue among women leaders and girls and increase public awareness on gender equality issues through training and mentorship.” It targets young women between 14 and 24 in two districts in the Volta Region, the Nkwanta North and South (WIPSEN Young Girls Leaflet).

The 30 girls who are trained under the project will then become mentors, who will be able to train girls themselves. The project seeks to increase the opportunities for strategic dialogue and collaboration among the young women in their districts. It furthermore aims at increasing public awareness on gender equality issues through improved communication products and community events. These events are organized by the girls to sensitize the community members. The mentors should also assist the girls to plan their lives at an early stage and to become effective leaders in the future. The long term goal is to empower young girls to build a critical mass of young women to fill leadership positions and to promote peace and security (ibid.). Gender-based discrimination, forced marriages and sexual violence are negative cultural practices that prevent women and girls in the Nkwanta District to realise their potential and to be involved in public life. In 2010, only one woman in the Nkwanta District contested in the District Assembly Elections. Patriarchy is still engraved in the society in the region and women are not expected to participate in community decision-making forums (Ghana News Agency 2014). For this project a training manual was developed that can be used by the trained girls to act as mentors to other girls. The topics the girls are trained and mentored in are leadership; human rights, sexual health and reproductive rights; gender based violence, women, peace and security; women in decision making; and economic empowerment and technology (WIPSEN Young Girls Report 2014: 2).

One cornerstone of the work of WANEP is its own Early Warning and Early Response Program (WARN) that “focuses on enhancing human security in West Africa by detecting and preventing conflicts that could turn violent; prevent or mitigate ongoing conflicts from further escalation” (WANEP homepage). The objectives of the programme are to build institutional capacity for early warning and to build the capacity of civil society to prevent conflicts. WANEP trains field monitors and analysts and produces weekly or monthly early warning reports and situation reports. Through the use of its regional network, WANEP can ensure a comprehensive overview of the security situation in West Africa. The early warning efforts are coordinated at the Peace Monitoring Centre which is based in Accra. Since 2003, WANEP is an official partner of ECOWAS and implements the ECOWAS Early Warning and Response

Network (ECOWARN) the observation and monitoring tool for conflict prevention and decision-making of ECOWAS (WANEP homepage). To effectively operationalize the ECOWARN system WANEP established National Early Warning Systems (NEWS) and trains Managers and National Conflict Analysts (WANEP Activity Report 2<sup>nd</sup> Quarter 2014:2)

According to WANEP there is a frustration in Ghana, especially among the poor, that the many years of democratic rule have not translated into improvements in their socio-economic well-being. This frustration endangers democracy as it is exacerbating the contest for control of power and political space and has made communities less tolerant. WANEP observed that “political contests have degenerated into a bitter and acrimonious fight that does not augur well for the deepening of democracy in the country” (WANEP Field Report 2013: 2). Therefore, WANEP conducted the project *Transforming the Culture of Political Violence: Building Capacity for Response* which was funded by *Strengthening Transparency Accountability and Responsiveness* in Ghana (STAR-Ghana). WANEP collaborated with women groups and community leaders including Queen Mothers “to monitor election dispute indicators, mitigate them through innovative strategies using dialogue and mediation” (ibid.) It used the Peace Monitoring Centre as complementing structure for analysis of the indicators the community leaders worked with. Prior to the election process WANEP published an Election Dispute Management Practice Guide for West Africa which was based on the NGO’s experience with election disputes across the sub region. In the guide, women are separately identified as strategic stakeholders. The preparation for the election monitoring revealed an under representation of women in the National Peace Council and WANEP started advocating for an inclusion of women at the District and Regional Peace Councils. Ghana’s National Peace Architecture is a unique project, but also one that exemplifies the gaps that lie between the peace work orchestrated by the government and peace work by the NGOs.

In the architecture of each of these peace councils there is the provision for one woman. Other than that, women are only mentioned among the functions of the National Peace Council, one being the strengthening of capacities “for conflict prevention, management, resolution and sustainable peace in the country including but not limited to chiefs, women, youth groups and community organisations” (Act 818: 4). In 2013, the National Peace Council published a strategic five year plan from 2013-2017. As opposed to the Act 818, gender as a factor finds consideration in it, although in a very superficial way. In an external environmental analysis, gender is listed under social/cultural factors. The Peace Council emphasises that women constitute 51,3 percent of the population in Ghana and nevertheless they “have long been marginalized in decision making and peace negotiations” (NPC Strategic Plan 2013:16).

Under the election project, WANEP trained 20 eminent persons from the 10 regions of Ghana in dialogue and mediation. The persons were Chiefs and Queen Mothers, representative of Faith Bases Organizations and Civil Society. Interestingly, WANEP applied its gender policy which means selecting persons at a ratio of 65 percent female to 35 percent male, to level the glaring disparity between the participation of men and women in peace processes. The report also highlights the achievements of women in the process. One was to ensure equal gender representation in the National Peace Council, by submitting CVs of 25 qualified women to the Public Service Commission which is responsible for recruitment. The Queen Mothers also used their training for settling conflicts in their communities or to pass on their knowledge. One Queen Mother trained another 30 Queen Mothers in dialogue and conflict mediation (ibid.:4). In some instances, WANEP also facilitated peace forums which were organised by the eminent persons to settle a conflict. The trained eminent persons were also deployed to monitor elections in their localities additional to international election observers. After the elections, the monitors met at a debrief session in order to share best practices and lessons learned in regard to WANEP's engagement and intervention (ibid.:5). To educate voters, WANEP distributed material in all 10 regions to communicate simple peace messages which were captured on t-shirts, brochures, car sticker and danglers (ibid.:4).

WANEP also hosts the Africa Desk of the Women Peacemakers Program which was established in 2007. The Desk "is committed to enhancing the capacity of African women to transform societies for peace through gender sensitive active nonviolence" (IANSA 2010). The project aims at amplifying the voices of African women in peacebuilding through capacity building. This is ensured through a Training of Trainers (ToTs) programme. In this programme qualified women trainers are identified, their capacities are enhanced and a database of resource people is created. The TOTs is designed to enable the participants to carry out follow-up trainings in their communities "as a step-down approach to disseminating information" (Women Peacemakers Report 2010:1). Thereby a network of local resource persons will be created that ensures the knowledge transfer at community levels.

In 2011, WANEP-Ghana conducted a training workshop under the theme: *Enhancing women's capacities for peace in Northern Ghana* in partnership with the Canadian High Commission. The peace workshop which was conducted in the northern district Buiepe and was supported by the District Assembly, involved 30 women. Buiepe was selected as beneficiary district, due to a protracted chieftaincy dispute in the past (ModernGhana March 2011).

Another important part of WANEP's work is peace education. The peace education programme was tested in seven countries in West Africa, including Ghana and afterwards a practice guide



was published, so that educational institutions can develop road maps to include peace in the school curriculum. The project targeted primary and post primary students and aimed at equipping them with knowledge and skills of non-violence and conflict resolution (WANEP Peace Education Guide 2012).

## **Partners**

As the names of both NGOs demonstrate, networking is key in their work. WANEP is comprised of one big network, having national offices in each member state of ECOWAS as well as many member groups. WIPSEN is a much smaller organisation and therefore network, with one additional office in Liberia and member groups for the implementation of projects in rural areas. In the following, the networking and partnership among the organisations as well as the relationship to donors and the government is analysed.

The most interesting and probably the most important partnership for building a gender-sensitive peace is the one between the NGOs and the government and the ministries respectively. As the wide consultation for the implementation of UNSCR 1325 and the gender and SSR project has shown, both NGOs collaborate with the government in Ghana.

For WIPSEN “the Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection are one of the main key strategic partners apart of the ministry of defence and the ministry of interior and anytime we needed their support, expertise in the meeting, they have attended our meetings in mass, I would say.” (Interview A) The experience of WIPSEN regarding the collaboration with the ministries is very good, as the wider consultation meetings for integrating in the security sector has shown.

WIPSEN does not assess itself as compensational or competitive to the government work:

In terms of dealing with gender equality, dealing with women issues in Ghana the ministry of gender, children and social protection should be the main reference for anybody who wants to contribute in the improvement of the lives of girls and women in Ghana. If you don't involve the ministry, it's like you are being disconnected from the mainstream and I believe that: ok, we have a ministry of gender, we have the different CSOs implementing [UNSCR 1325], but my opinion is that all the activities that the CSOs are doing are all cheered towards improving the lives of women and girls in Ghana, which the ministry of gender, children and social protection has a full mandate to do. (Interview A)

Most of the time WIPSEN is contacting the ministries, but when the ministries need information they will also contact the NGO and they are willing to share their expertise with them. WIPSEN, for example, suggested a meeting with officials from the Ministry for Gender, Children and Social Protection to see how the issues of women in the security sector that were detected through their gender and SSR programme could be crafted in the broader gender policy of the ministry (Interview A).

WANEP's experience with working with government institutions is also very positive. The relationship with the Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection is described as cordial. Their main contact person is the deputy minister as the minister herself is out of the country a lot of times participating in conferences and meetings, so it is difficult to get through to her. But "anytime we go talking to them we find somebody to talk to." (Interview B) They also see their work as accompanying to government efforts. Their capacity training for example "complemented the efforts of Government in building national capacities for the prevention of conflicts thus paving the way for smooth collaboration between the eminent persons and the National Peace Council (NPC) of Ghana" (WANEP Field Report 2013:4).

However, a big issue the NGOs face in collaboration with government institutions is the bureaucracy and the change of personnel. For a fruitful collaboration, channels and relationships to officials in the relevant ministries have to be established. This proves to be difficult, if there is a frequent staff turnover. As was described by one interviewee:

You work with this official today, you have lofty plans you are planning to do a lot of activities, within three months the person is changed, another person comes in and then you go back to the joint table and there first of all you have to bring the new person into the picture, cause the new person may not even have come from that ministry, if it has been another transfer from a different ministry that is not directly involved in the implementation of 1325, so you start from the beginning. (Interview C)

Another issue is the personal commitment of state officials that is a prerequisite to build political will. Some are just not interested to work on UNSCR 1325, which makes it difficult for the NGOs to build an effective collaboration. Other times, staff in the ministries is really committed but the bureaucracy stands in the way (Interview B).

A high staff turnover also makes the tracking of progress by the government difficult. One interviewee had spoken with an official of the Ministry for Gender, Children and Social Protection who had recently changed to another ministry. Although she was involved in the development of the GHANAP, she could not say anything on the status of the implementation of UNSCR 1325 because it was not part of her new assignment (Interview E).

How important commitment in the relevant institutions is shows an example of the latest advocacy and negotiation workshop from WIPSEN. The NGO cannot influence who will participate in their workshop, they can only specify who is eligible. The advocacy workshop was addressed to senior female personnel and leaders of female staff associations of the security sector institutions. It is up to those responsible in each institution to nominate participants. As the Immigration Service is yet the only institution who has a gender desk and gender focal person, WIPSEN relies on the contacts established through the former workshops. A formal

written invitation letter and concept note is send to the institutions with the appeal to nominate the claimed number of staff for the workshop. In the case of the last workshop WIPSEN conducted, there was no answer from the police service. After some inquiry, it was revealed that the letter did not reach the focal person WIPSEN was usually working with. It was assumed that someone in the Police Service got hold of the letter and did not see any need for female staff to attend this workshop. Due to the hierarchic structure, the focal person in the service had no lever to nominate staff and the workshop ultimately was not attended by staff from the police service (Interview A).

### *Collaboration among NGOs*

Personal and structural commitment is an advantage of NGOs. Even when staff of NGOs is changing, they are likely to keep working in the same thematic area and therefore, can better keep track of progress that was made. This also allows for better networking and the establishment of inter-personal relations between different NGOs. From observations in the field it becomes quite clear that personal networking is as much as important as organisational networking, or even more important. A lot of staff is recruited from one organisation to the other and a personal network can prove immensely helpful in pushing a certain agenda. The current director of programmes of WIPSEN, was head of the Women, Peace and Security Institute (WPSI) of the Kofi Anan Peacekeeping Training Centre (KAIPTC) before changing to WIPSEN. She had longstanding experience in the field, built an expertise and was aware of the activities of various actors in the field (Fieldnotes Networking).

The KAIPTC is an important partner for both NGOs. The Centre provides training, education and research in African peace and security matters. It also hosts the Women, Peace and Security Institute which runs a Master of Arts programme in Gender, Peace and Security. The KAIPTC is not a pure Civil Society Organisation, but a hybrid form, as it also has a military component and trains a lot of peacekeepers from all over Africa. It operates on behalf of the ECOWAS states to provide training for personnel involved in Peace Support Operations (Interview D). The closeness of the KAIPTC to the military has helped WIPSEN immensely to implement the gender and ssr project:

Of course, when you are engaging with security sector you have to pass through the right channels and we are a network, so part of what helped us to kickstart the project were the contacts that we made with key partners from the Kofi Annan Peacekeeping Training Centre that supported us in contacting some of the key people and then we wrote letters went to official meetings to meet the officials and then the project was very well explained, it made sense to them and now we are getting their support in the implementation. (Interview A)

The KAIPTC is an important source for the NGOs as it is a leading institution in knowledge acquisition, academia and training in the field of peace and security (Interview D). WIPSEN in collaboration with the KAIPTC and the ECOWAS Gender Development Centre created a Manual for Mainstreaming Gender in Multidimensional Peace Support Operations. This project was also designed to strengthen institutional networking between regional peace and security actors and civil society organisations (WIPSEN Report 2008:3).

WANEP collaborates with the KAIPTC to conduct its West Africa Peacebuilding Institute (WAPI). Each year a three-week intensive West-African Peacebuilding training programme is offered to provide specialized, culturally sensitive training for individuals, policy-makers, civil-society organisations and others (WANEP homepage).

As WIPSEN knows from its own experience, engaging with the security sector as a civil society institution is difficult. Therefore, in May 2013, they organised two training workshops for civil society organisations from all around Ghana, to equip participants with the capacity to engage with security sector institutions for the implementation of the GHANAP. The two training workshops were followed by an advocacy planning meeting in August 2013, which was attended by 18 women's CSOs from the Greater Accra, Ashanti, Volta and Central regions. The meeting aimed at introducing the participants to advocacy techniques, discussing appropriate and efficient channels to advocate for a gender responsive security sector in Ghana and setting up an advocacy plan on how the CSOs can support the efforts of WIPSEN to gender mainstream the four security institutions. WIPSEN targeted other women CSOs as they have in-depth knowledge about the wider culture of gender relations within Ghana and can therefore provide new insights. The training workshops and the advocacy workshop had the goal to create a new network of CSOs committed to address gender, peace and security in their work (ASSET Report 2013:9). Unfortunately, in the aftermath of these activities, it became clear, that most civil society organisations shy away from engaging directly with security sector institutions. WIPSEN did not hear back from most of the organisations and the network idea did not prove as fruitful as WIPSEN had hoped for (Interview A). As WIPSEN's Young Girls Transformative Project is based in the Volta Region of Ghana, they collaborate with the local NGO *Women and Development Project* (WADEP) which is based in the region. WADEP is implementing the programme under the supervision of WIPSEN. For WIPSEN it was crucial to find a partner organisation to implement the project. Although, staff of WIPSEN regularly travels to the region, for logistical reasons a partner on the ground is needed to oversee the project and conducts activities. Furthermore, a local NGOs knows the context and has important personal

relationships that help to build a broad consent among the people in the region to the project (Interview A).

Another important partnership is between WANEP and the Women Peacemakers Program (WPP). WPP is an “independent, women-led organization, dedicated to advancing sustainable peace through gender-sensitive active nonviolence” (WPP Homepage). The partnership with WPP facilitates a much broader knowledge exchange. In 2011, the WPP-Africa Board (hosted by WANEP) met with the Asia Women Peacemakers Program in Manila. Issues that were discussed were the social construction of gender and the system of values, norms and mechanisms that perpetuate unequal gender relations in society (WANEP Report WPP-Africa Board Exchange 2011:1).

In the beginning of 2014, representatives of the NGO ABANTU for Development met with WANEP staff at its regional office to discuss possible areas of collaboration between the two organisations on women, peace and security. Both NGOs are working to put this agenda forward and concluded that areas of collaboration could be capacity building, advocacy and the dissemination of the National Action Plan (WANEP Activity Report 1<sup>st</sup> Quarter 2014).

A direct collaboration between WANEP and WIPSEN took place in August 2010, at the Policy Review on UNSCR 1325 within the Ghana Prison Services Institution which was jointly organized by WIPSEN and the Canadian High Commission in Ghana (WANEP Annual Report 2010:18). At the international level, WANEP is part of the West Africa Regional Representative of the Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict (GPPAC).

One difficulty in the cooperation between NGOs with similar objectives is the competition among them for funding. As Ghana was recently upgraded to a middle-income country, funding for NGOs becomes scarce. Besides running projects and giving accounts to the project donors, the NGOs need to find funding for future projects to secure their existence (Fieldnotes Donors).

### *Donor relations*

Despite the good relationships both NGOs have with government institutions, both do not receive any funding from the government of Ghana. The funding chain is even reversed. WANEP received a proposal from the Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection asking for funding to implement some activities of the GHANAP. This is possible because “as part of our strategy we [WANEP] have a little bit of funding that we can use to accompany if there is demand for it.” However, after the proposal was send, nobody from the ministry followed up on it and WANEP never got a reply. “We still think somebody there really wanted

this to move on but because of the bureaucracy and the politics that sometimes get mixed up with the work, things just don't get done, unfortunately" (Interview B).

Neither WANEP nor WIPSEN fall into the typical development chain, in which northern governments fund northern or international NGOs who in turn fund partner organisations in the South. Both NGOs acquire direct funding from either governments or the UN. The north south chain however remains. WANEP lists as donors the governments of Sweden, Denmark and Finland, the Austrian Development Cooperation, USAID and ECOWAS (WANEP homepage). WIPSEN's activities are funded by the government of Norway, Canada and UN Women. As the multiple activities of the NGOs are mostly funded by different donors it is difficult to assess the relations between the NGOs and them. As far as WIPSEN is concerned, representatives from the sponsoring institutions are invited to the respective activities and events their sponsoring (Fieldnotes workshop). Both NGOs also acknowledge their donors in publications, concept notes and reports.

However, donors do not only provide the needed funding, they themselves can be capacity builders. USAID for example, was looking for a contractor to provide capacity building services for WANEP to "strengthen the international monitoring and evaluation systems [...] to a level where it satisfies USAID funding requirements and the organization is eligible to directly receive and manage USAID funds." (USAID 2013) Now, WANEP is eligible for direct funding by USAID and in February 2015, the NGO signed a five-year contract over \$ U.S. 2.5 million to implement a project on electoral violence. WANEP therewith evolved to a direct partner of USAID. This shows a maturing of the NGO that started as USAID sub-implementer and grant beneficiary (Ghana News Agency 2015).

## **5.2 WIPSEN/WANEP – Feminist Peacebuilders?**

As identified in the theory chapter of this thesis, peacebuilding from a feminist perspective has some distinctive features. It is about women's empowerment, the prevention of direct and indirect violence, transforming patriarchal gender relations and building a culture of peace. In the following, the work of WIPSEN and WANEP is analysed based on these categories.

### *Empowerment of Women*

For WIPSEN, empowerment of women and girls is an important part of their work: "We are trying to give leadership skills to people, we are trying to make these voiceless women and young girls in affected areas where gender inequality is highly present heard, we are trying to

strengthen their skills to give them the courage to say something in their community.” (Interview A) WIPSEN’s current programmes as well as past activities have empowering components. As far as the advancement of women in political participation and decision-making is concerned, WIPSEN’s policy forum was used not only to demand increased participation but also to equip participants with knowledge and skills. At the end of each forum key policy recommendations were formulated, directed at ECOWAS, national governments and civil society. The governments were advised to close the gap between signing and adopting instruments and the implementation. Furthermore, it was demanded that governments should ensure at least 30 percent of women in all level of government and that women in government positions should view women in civil society as allies and forge more strategic relationships. Concerning civil society the recommendations specific for women groups were to increase their visibility by playing more critical roles in policy formulation processes (WACSI/WIPSEN Report 2008: 2-5). With the number of women in parliament in Ghana and other countries in West Africa remaining low, the overarching goal for the conferences was to review women’s participation in politics. Therefore, themes of the forums included a feminist analysis of political parties and the possibilities for women’s visibility, building skills and techniques for political campaigning and how to access financial support for women’s political participation. Recommendations were also extended to political parties and electoral commissions (Forum Report 2009: 3-5). Concerning peace and security, it was recommended that “all actors should enhance efforts to domesticate the implementation of [...] 1325” (WACSI/WIPSEN Report 2008: 5). Moreover it was stressed that “given the male dominated state of the security sector in countries across West Africa, women’s advocacy on engendering the security sector should increase. This advocacy should involve calling for institutional gender policies that guide the recruitment, retention and protection of women in the security sector” (ibid.).

Another important activity to ensure women’s political empowerment is the Women Elections Observation team. The need for such an election observer mission is seen because “[w]omen observers with gender expertise are better placed than male observers to understand how electoral procedures affect women’s participation in elections and the need to protect women’s interests, promote women’s participation in politics.” (WAWEO Training Narrative Report 2011: 2) To prepare the observation team for upcoming elections in West Africa, including the general elections in Ghana 2012, WIPSEN together with WACSI conducted a 2-day Elections Observation training in 2011. This workshop aimed at equipping the women with the necessary skills, techniques and procedures to observe electoral processes (WACSI Training Narrative Report 2011:2). The workshop was followed by a five-day training in Accra in September 2012,

to train women on gender-sensitive election observation, reporting, policy advocacy and gender disaggregated data collection. The training aimed at enabling women to identify challenges and successes of women during electoral processes (Vibeghana 2012). The trainings for election observation were also used as experience sharing platform and participants reflected on how easy or difficult it is for women to contest in their countries. For Ghana, women shared the experience that “political parties do not support women. They rather use politics as a sex game. They accuse women in politics of lesbian, divorced and rogue. The negative ideas about women in politics shy women off though nothing in legislations prevent women” (WACSI Training Narrative Report 2011: 9). The election observation initiative therefore not only tries to ensure that women can freely express their votes without intimidations and violence, but also enables women as members of the team to gather necessary skills and knowledge and to share experiences through the workshops and trainings.

Following its own recommendations, WIPSEN works on enhancing female participation in the security sector. The training and workshops for women intend to build important skills for them to be able to advance in their institutions. These are leadership, advocacy and negotiation skills. In the survey that was conducted after a training workshop one participant stated that UNSCR 1325 and the training she received “has created some higher confidence and a lot of courage in me when working with male counterparts, in particular when dealing with women issues as it always serves as my point of reference to achieve my objectives.” (Survey 9) Another participant expressed: “The work of WIPSEN-Africa is throwing more light on the importance of giving women a chance. Their activities and training programs are also empowering these women.” (Survey 13). The training enables women to “come out of their shells to take up challenges.” (Survey 10)

Empowerment is also an important aspect in WIPSEN’s young girls project. The trainings for the girls evolve around important empowerment schemes such as participation in decision making and economic empowerment. The girls are introduced to the decision making structures in Ghana and the functions of the different government institutions. Especially the role of district assemblies is emphasized as their decisions have a direct impact on the people in the district. The girls are furthermore encouraged to take up leadership roles in their schools and communities. The topic that covers economic empowerment teaches the girls essentials about the earning of incomes, the importance to economic independence and they learn how to make simple objects to earn their own income. Therefore, they were taught how to bake doughnuts and how to design beads for necklaces and bracelets to sell as potential sources of income. Another session was about the usage of technology, how to use a computer and how to use the



internet to enable the girls to communicate outside their communities (Young Girls Report 2014: 17/18).

There is no activity or project of WANEP that directly targets the empowerment of women, although the NGO recognizes that “women must be positioned to be able to join the team of men in making decisions through the various parliaments, executives and other arms of government in order to ensure that women and their issues are constantly on the fore of policy makers.” (WANEP concept note 2010: 4). WANEP is engaged to build female capacity in the field of peacebuilding. The various trainings WANEP conducts such as the Training of Trainers programme and the peace workshop for women in Northern Ghana enables the participants not only to acquire important skills but also to communicate among each other and establish a network.

The main tool to empower women that is used by both NGOs are trainings to enhance capacities and skills for women. This means there is a stronger focus on quality aspects rather than quantity. How many girls and women can be trained by WIPSEN always depends on the budget that is available for the respective project (Fieldnotes Donors).

#### *Prevention of direct and indirect violence*

With its early warning system GHANAWARN, WANEP clearly contributes to the prevention of violence in Ghana. The NGO observes and keeps track of potential security issues and lists them in their quarterly activity report. For the third quarter of 2014 (July-September) a cholera outbreak with at least 100 deaths and over 5000 cases combined with Ebola preventive measures in Ghana was stretching the capacity of health institutions. Furthermore, in July, a series of demonstrations by the Trade Union Congress as well as harsh economic conditions were named potential threats to the country's stability and security (WANEP Activity Report 3<sup>rd</sup> Quarter 2014:2). This shows how WANEP defines security much broader and also recognises factors of indirect violence as a threat to security. Thereby, WANEP is also engaged to ensure gender-sensitivity in its National Early Warning indicators and that they capture the impacts of conflicts on both, men and women (WANEP Activity Report 3<sup>rd</sup> Quarter 2013). Through the National Warning Network WANEP established through its regional office in the North of Ghana, it has direct access to communities in the conflict prone areas, which enables them to rapidly respond to local conflicts. Through trainings in mediation, negotiation and conflict prevention in regions where conflicts were identified by the early warning system, WANEP intends to build the skills of a critical mass of people to resolve conflicts at the community level (ModernGhana March 2011). WANEP's training for women as peacebuilders

is also an important factor for the prevention of violence. As a WANEP-Ghana board member stated women “easily realise that there is conflict when the men begin to act in very unusual ways, such as meeting at odd times and giving unnecessary caution to their wives in relation to how they relate with other people.” (Nurudeen 2011) Therefore, peace workshops conducted by WANEP are not only aimed at equipping the women with necessary skills for conflict resolution, but also to provide a platform where dialogue between women is facilitated and issues, concerns and fears of the women are discussed. Through dialogue between the women of different factions and ethnic groups, conflicts can be prevented.

Furthermore, WANEP is aware of the connection between violence against women and security of the state. As it stated in a concept note for the development of the National Action Plan guide: “Women [...] are systematically experiencing various forms of violence that affect their lives, hinder their personal development as well as that of their countries and the sub region in general” (WANEP Concept Note 2010:1). It is this perspective that leads WANEP to push for the implementation of UNSCR 1325 in Ghana thereby highlighting the preventive dimension. For the NGO using the resolution as a tool for only post-conflict countries is not righteous, “because when you look at the various pillars, prevention is one of them. And you don’t have to be a post-conflict country in order to develop violence or violent conflicts” (Interview B). Under its women peacebuilding programme (WIPNET) WANEP has started to engage women peacebuilders under the campaign “Arms Know No Gender.” The campaign draws attention to the threat small arms and light weapons constitute for peace and human security. In Ghana, an estimated 80.000 illicit small arms are in hands of civilians and 80% of crimes are committed using locally manufactured guns. This does not only endanger the peaceful management of election disputes or chieftaincy but has also consequences regarding domestic violence. As it is stated in a news article there are rising incidences in Ghana of “people shooting partners over frivolous reasons such as being denied sex.” (GhanaWeb 2014) As many studies of various countries showed, firearms play a significant role in violence against women, especially in the home. The relationship between firearms, gender constructs/relations and security is often underestimated or overlooked, be it in non-war scenarios with high levels of armed violence or in contexts with lower rates of armed violence (Santos et al. 2013: 25). With its campaign, WANEP put a spotlight on the interconnection between small arms proliferation and violence against women. In commemoration of International Women’s Day in 2010, WANEP published a Press Release stating

whether committed with boots or fists or weapons, this violence is rooted in pervasive discrimination, which subjugates women and deters them from attaining their full potentials. It occurs in a variety of contexts and cuts across borders, religions and class. This is not because

violence against women is natural or inevitable, but is rooted on suppressive social and cultural systems that increase the vulnerability of women to such violence (WANEP Press Release International Women's Day 2010).

Although the campaign did raise awareness for the issue, no further action was taken by WANEP against small arms and light weapon proliferation in Ghana.

One objective of WIPSEN's Gender and SSR project is to push the security institutions to adapt a gender or sexual harassment policy. Without such a policy, there are no redress mechanisms for gender and sexual violence at the workplace in the security institutions (WIPSEN Policy Series 2010). This is however, the only aspect of the project that targets the prevention of violence directly.

WIPSEN's training of young girls comprises a unit on gender based violence. The girls are educated on the different forms of violence: physical, economical, emotional, sexual and psychological. Examples of domestic violence that were identified by the girls were: "Bad treatment to other in the homes that tends to harm them; rape by a relative; infringement of right of children to express their views or ideas" (Young Girls Report 2014: 10). An important aspect of the training on violence is that the girls learn about the Domestic Violent Act in Ghana and that perpetrators of abuses can be punished by law (ibid.). However, it is questionable how the simple knowledge about the different forms of violence will help to prevent violence, especially in a rural area in which traditional values are still important.

### *Transforming patriarchal gender-relations*

In order to transform gender relations, it is important to be aware of them and how they lead to power structures. WANEP, through its Women in Peacebuilding Programme (WIPNET), "has been mobilizing women's groups to challenge patriarchal systems, which fortify their exclusion, and to promote social justice" (WIPNET Report 2010: 6). In WANEP's guide for the implementation of UNSCR 1325, patriarchy is listed as challenges in the development of National Action Plans, as well as inadequate representation of women on decision making positions and inadequate number of women in hitherto male dominated sectors (Implementation Guide:22). And Alimou Diallo, then Regional Programmes and Network Development Coordinator at WANEP stated at an Expert gathering on exchange on gender-sensitive conflict analysis: "The agenda for gender equality will be achieved when men stand as allies with women to challenge and transform notions of dominant masculinities across cultures and promote positive masculinities and social justice. Men also have much to gain in health, general wellbeing and safety through this change" (GPPAC Press Release Expert Gathering 2012).

WANEP also uses deliberately the category gender and tries to raise awareness for gender issues in the Ghanaian society. This is highlighted by WANEP because “people don’t really make that distinction that gender is gender, woman is woman. They always jump to the conclusion once you discuss gender: oh, is now women issues and they dismiss it and they trivialise it.” (Interview C) It is clear that there is organisational awareness of the patriarchal structures in Ghana and the need to change them. Therefore, it cannot be assessed that WANEP is only ‘adding’ women to their programmes. Nevertheless, WANEP has no project that directly targets structural change in gender-relations. The only project that can be associated with a gender transformative approach is the Peace Education Programme which fosters gender-balanced peace education. In the implementation guide (2012:31) for the Peace Education Programme it is stated: “When a new gender culture of peace is taught, it will lead to a critical mass of young change agents that will be responsible men and women of tomorrow.” How this “new gender culture” looks like is however not explained. Moreover, the need for gender inclusiveness is derived from an essentialist understanding of “a unique peacebuilding role of women” and “intrinsic” qualities of women in peacemaking (ibid.). Therefore, it is questionable if such a peace education approach can change gender role patterns, despite the inclusion of a gender dimension.

WIPSEN in contrast, is more focused on structural changes. WIPSEN’s work in the security sector is primarily targeted at the enhancement of women in peace and security and to increase their representation in security institutions. However, “the focus of the project is not just to train female security personnel but also change procedures and policies” (WIPSEN Leadership Report 2014:6). WIPSEN emphasises that work on gender-relations “has to be on a particular context, that you have studied, that you have understood. And that is what WIPSEN-Africa did. Before we started the [Gender and SSR] project, we did a survey, trying to sketch the discriminatory issues in the institutions which might not appear as discriminatory for the institutions, because they have their rules and regulations.” (Interview A) Then the project was designed to not only enhance the number of women in the security sector but also to tackle these structural issues.

Some of the major issues that came out during the survey was that we always think that it is women who are the victims. But we could also see from the feedback that we got from the interviews that sometimes it is also women who victimize other women. Whether it is within the security sector or other areas, we shouldn’t have a fixed view that if we talk about gender mainstreaming the actions we have to do is to sensitize the men only, no. Because some women don’t understand it like that. It has to cut across, we sensitize everybody. We also take into consideration the needs of the male and the needs of the female, because otherwise people can also tell me that you are being discriminatory. It has to be something that is really equitable (Interview A).

Although the “project targets both male and female [...] specific emphasis has to be done sometimes on the specific issues that women are facing” (Interview A). During the consultation phase (high-ranking) men were included but because WIPSEN’s resources are limited the training workshops are only for women. Nevertheless, it is emphasized that the work of WIPSEN also benefits men in the security sector. Case in point was the gap that was identified in the Ghana Police Service that men were not entitled to take paternity leave: “During the consultations there were some issues that were related to the female, some were related to the men. For instance, all our meetings were attended by male and female and some male were telling us: well, things have improved. Because for them they could not see the reason why they could not get paternity leave.” Now the police service has started to allow paternity leave (Interview A). Nevertheless, the security sector in Ghana features a male dominant culture and intimidation by men is something that many women have experienced at their workplace in the security sector (WIPSEN Leadership Report 2014: 12). Therefore, one objective of WIPSEN’s work is “to demilitarize the concept of security. So our work is predominantly to make room for women, not just in quotas but in all of the policies and the technicalities involved with the security sector.” (SGI Quarterly 2011) To achieve this, WIPSEN uses UNSCR 1325 as instrument and reference point but broadens its provisions:

A lot of people, in particular in the security sector institution now know about this instrument, know that there is something that can be done to improve upon the gender issues and women issues in their institutions. Now, there are beginning to talk about it through the female staff associations [...]. But also in this project we hope that by the end we would have been able to strengthen them and make those female staff associations where they exist be able to tackle much more important issues that can contribute to the improvement of them being in the security sector institution and also being a female staff without any discrimination. (Interview A)

The work of WIPSEN already achieved some changes in quantitative terms, as one workshop participant from the Immigration Service attested: “More women are being recruited into the service. Even though the numbers are nowhere near that of the men, there have been significant increases. Women are also given fair chances in competition for positions in the service.” (Survey 13) Although, the increase of women in the security sector is an important part of the project, WIPSEN is aware that for a transformation of the deep-rooted masculine culture in the security sector, it is not enough to train and increase the number of women in the security sector. As the title of WIPSEN’s “Young Girls *Transformative* Leadership Project” reveals, structural change is also part of this project. In contrast to the work in the security sector, the young girls projects is much smaller in scale as it only targets communities in two districts. However, the project is an example of how the women, peace and security agenda can be translated to the local level. This is an important part of WIPSEN’s work as stated by the director of

programmes: “For me, yes, there is an international level, regional level but change has to come from within. So we shouldn’t think that the kind of work we are doing on the community level is of less importance because that is where change has to start and emulate.” (Interview A) One part of the project is to raise awareness on gender equality in the communities. As the trained young women become peer educators it is intended that they reach out and organise community events to sensitize the community on gender equality. Therefore, the girls are educated on different gender roles and cultural influences on these roles. Community Outreach events include “awareness and sensitization through route march and/or campaign on issues affecting women and girls in the community, such as teenage pregnancy, lack of parental care, forced/early marriage” (WADEP Facebook). The Peer Educators also distribute flyers and postages “that contain change messages” and held group and radio discussions (ibid.) In March, the peer educators used a community outreach event to call on traditional rulers to stop child marriages in their districts. They stated that “child marriage, teenage pregnancy and lack of parental care continue to suppress the progress of girl children in the two districts.” (Ghana News Agency March 2015). The peer educators identified these issues as “negative cultural practices” that can only be changed with support from chiefs (ibid.). One of the community events was even covered by a local television channel (Youtube WADEP). This implies that the system of peer educators can have a sustainable impact on gender-equality issues in communities. One weakness of the project is however, that no boys are trained or educated. Although the project clearly targets gender roles and emphasises on a “specific focus on sensitizing males” no special training for them is provided. Including them in gender-sensitive trainings and enhancing their understanding on patriarchal gender roles would allow for a more sustainable change in gender-relations.

### *Building a culture of peace*

WANEP aims at realizing a culture of peace through its peace educator programme. The programme intends to combine academic study with practical applications towards societal transformation and promoting values such as compassion, interdependence, diversity, equality and nonviolence (WANEP Peace Education Guide 2012:22). The cornerstones of WANEP’s peace education approach are non-violence and peer mediation. The latter is understood as “training a small group of students to help resolve school disputes.” (ibid.18) To help build such a culture, they started the programme *The role of children on promoting a culture of peace in Ghana*. 150 pupils from 10 different schools in the Tamale region in Northern Ghana are trained as peace Ambassadors. In partnership with the Ghana Education Service, Parent Teacher

Associations and School Management Committees, in each of the selected 10 schools peace clubs were formed with 15 members each. The project followed the realisation of the NGO that its programmes overly target adults and leaves out the youth. For WANEP “it is important that we tackle the issue right from the grassroots, at the basic level and inculcate the culture of peace, culture of non-violence, culture of diversity that will ensure that these people behave in a way and cultivate the attitude that is enduring so that when they grow up they will be able to understand what they need to do so that peace will prevail in our communities.” (Ghana Web 2014) The project is especially important in the region as it experienced violence incidents that involved youth (ibid.).

WIPSEN’s Young Girls project is also beneficial to a culture of peace. The girls are taught that conflict occurs in every community and how they can resolve such conflicts peacefully. WIPSEN also passes on its own understanding of peacebuilding which includes all activities that aim at improving the quality of life of people, to prevent reduce and transform violence and to help people to recover from violence of all kinds. As peer educators, the young women are encouraged to disseminate their knowledge and sensitize their communities (WIPSEN Young Girls Report 2014: 17). However, as is stated above, the project only targets girls and women and is therefore not inclusive.

## 6. Conclusion

In the course of this thesis, the contributions of NGOs to a gender-sensitive peace in Ghana were analysed. The research questions addressed two levels of NGO contributions. In the first part of the analysis it was shown, that NGOs in Ghana play an important role as catalysts, implementers and partners for the women, peace and security agenda. The second part of the analysis examined the work of the NGOs through a feminist lens.

The catalyst role is filled by both NGOs in important ways. WANEP mainly pushed for the adoption of a National Action Plan in Ghana and therefore, developed an implementation guide on UNSCR 1325, as a tool for governments and other NGOs. It is a step-by-step guide that highlights important issues and obstacles of an implementation process. The active lobbying for a NAP in Ghana is also an important part of the catalyst role. WIPSEN conducted a policy series to identify gender gaps in the security sector and responds to them. In the development process of the National Action Plan in Ghana, the Ministry for Gender, Children and Social Protection consulted both NGOs and asked them for input. Outside the framework of UNSCR 1325, WIPSEN conducted an annual Women's Policy Forum that aimed at reflecting and enhancing women's participation in governance, peace and security. Out of this forum WIPSEN initiated the first ever all female election observation mission that is employed to observe elections under the aspect of women's participation and discriminatory practices against female candidates and voters.

Despite the efforts to influence policy, the NGOs core role is the implementation of projects to enhance peace and security in Ghana. WIPSEN implements a project that is directly crafted under the UNSCR 1325 framework and another project that is not distinctly connected to the Resolution. The project which is seen as part of the implementation of UNSCR 1325, is the enhancement and mainstreaming of gender in the security sector. After identifying gender gaps in security institutions in Ghana, WIPSEN crafted a series of trainings and consultation meetings to close these gaps and increase the participation and promote the advancement of women in security institutions. The project which is not directly linked to UNSCR 1325 is the training and promotion of girls and young women in leadership. The project is implemented in two rural districts in Ghana to enhance leadership skills of 30 girls who will also be trained to become peer educators.

To ensure the implementation of UNSCR 1325, WANEP takes on the role of a watchdog, following up on the implementation activities of the state. Thereby, it provides guidance and knowledge to the Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection and other CSOs and also



creates platforms for interaction. Outside the UNSCR 1325 framework, WANEP has an Early Warning and Early Response programme to prevent conflict and enhance human security in Ghana. Through this programme the NGO gets aware of possible areas of conflicts and can react by implementing projects that mitigate the tensions. Through a Training of Trainers programme, WANEP ensures the qualification of women in the peacebuilding field and a Peace Education Programme seeks to incorporate education on non-violence and conflict resolution in the school curriculum.

The strong partnership of both NGOs with the Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection demonstrates that they do not position themselves as competitive to the state but rather as supporters. At the same time, they are proactively pushing the government to adapt certain measures like the development of a National Action Plan on UNSCR 1325. They also highlight the shortcomings of government institutions that prevent the active involvement of the state and hinder progress on the WPS agenda: A lack of political will, lack of technical know-how and lack of resources. This gap is filled by the NGOs through resources allocation, capacity building and the training of men and women to ensure the security of all the citizens of Ghana, especially of women. The emphasis on the partner role showed that building a gender-sensitive peace is nothing that NGOs can achieve by themselves. It needs a broad coalition of government agencies, NGOs and public awareness. Therefore, both NGOs partner up with other CSOs and do broad networking.

The first assumption, that the NGOs determine how the WPS agenda is implemented can be verified through the analysis. As catalyst, implementers and partners, the NGOs are at the forefront of shaping the WPS agenda in Ghana. Even to the degree, that the NGOs consult the government and gender ministry on drafting a National Action Plan. The activities outside of the UNSCR 1325 framework showed that both NGOs do not simply use the Resolution as a tool. They mainstreamed the Resolution into existing activities, but also implement projects that seem to have no direct relation to the women, peace and security agenda. This indicates that the NGOs have a broader understanding of peace. To what extent the activities are in line with feminist thought was examined in the second part of the analysis.

From feminist theory on women, peace and security, a comprehensive framework for a gender-sensitive peace was established. To build such a peace, women's empowerment, the prevention of direct and indirect violence, the transformation of patriarchal gender relations and a culture of peace are crucial components. The analysis of the NGOs activities under these aspects revealed mixed results. Through its programme in the security sector and its work with young girls in a rural area in Ghana, WIPSEN is enhancing the empowerment of women and the

transformation of structural gender relations. There are no provisions in their work for the prevention of violence and only a marginal impact on a culture of peace. WANEP on the other hand, contributes to the prevention of violence in Ghana through the implementation of a National Early Warning Network. Through its Peace Educator Programme it also directly targets a culture of peace in Ghana. The empowerment of women and the transformation of gender relations however, are not pursued by WANEP. Thus, neither of the NGOs builds a comprehensive feminist informed gender-sensitive peace. However, WANEP and WIPSEN supplement each other, and taken together, there are activities implemented for each feminist category. This is not a coincidence. WIPSEN as a “women-focused” peacebuilding NGO clearly places women at the centre of its work. Therefore, its emphasis on women empowerment and the transformation of gender-relations is a logical consequence. WANEP, although having a women peacebuilding programme, focuses on a much broader peacebuilding approach, that aims at being inclusive but there is no exclusive focus on women. As the feminist analysis showed, this can be beneficial for a gender-sensitive peace as it broadens the scope of the WPS agenda. What the feminist analysis revealed is that the majority of the NGO contributions to a gender-sensitive peace are projects that were crafted and implemented outside of the UNSCR 1325 framework. Apart from WIPSEN’s Gender and SSR project that has a clear reference to UNSCR 1325 and has empowering and transforming elements, all other activities that were identified as important for a gender-sensitive peace have no direct reference. The feminist analysis demonstrates that the important aspects of the work of WANEP for women, peace and security were not those activities that fall under the UNSCR 1325 category. Although activities like the lobbying for a National Action Plan and the provision of technical know-how for the Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection to implement UNSCR 1325 are important activities, they do not empower women, or prevent violence, or transform gender-relations or build a culture of peace. In the end, the NGOs invested a lot of time and energy to help develop a National Action Plan which then became another document “sitting on a shelf” without a real impact (Interview C). The fact that a lot of important activities in Ghana were initiated outside of UNSCR 1325 provisions raises the question of how adequate UNSCR 1325 is as a tool for a gender-sensitive peace. As the limitations of UNSCR 1325 become quite clear through the analysis, enhancing the WPS agenda should not only focus on the implementation of the Resolution. While the concrete actions undertaken to implement 1325 have a narrow focus on the participation of women, it is mainly the activities outside the 1325 framework that fits a transformative feminist approach. Such an approach prioritizes human security, invests in

conflict prevention and disarmament and in building a culture of peace (WPP Policy Brief 2014:2).

As the case study of Ghana showed, NGOs are vital actors on the ground for enhancing and defining the women, peace and security agenda. The multiple roles local NGOs adopt and their activism for a gender-sensitive peace needs further investigation and more attention needs to be paid to what NGOs can achieve, especially in the debates around women, peace and security but also in the theoretical discourse on peacebuilding. As it is often the case, practice outpaces theory. In my opinion, the peacebuilding theorizing to date is reinforcing the dichotomies that particularly feminists refuse: peace/war, women/men, pre-conflict/post-conflict. Therefore, a feminist perspective can lead the way towards a more comprehensive and inclusive understanding of peace. While civil society actors and NGOs in peacebuilding are often considered “small players who can make only small differences” (Verkoren 2008: 67) this holds not true for WANEP and WIPSEN. As it is demonstrated, both NGOs are key actors for building a gender-sensitive peace in Ghana. Their close collaboration with ministries, organisations like ECOWAS and the networking among civil society organisations enhances their level of influence.

“Building women, building peace” is a promising approach to a gender-sensitive peace, it is however not enough. Gender hierarchies and their connections to violence, security and peace are revealed through a feminist perspective, and their transformation requires a cohesive approach to peacebuilding that is not restricted to actual conflict and that aims at building structures without any gendered subordinations.

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## **8. Appendix**

(1) UN Security Council Resolution 1325

(2) Abstract

(3) Zusammenfassung

(4) Curriculum Vitae

**Security Council**

Distr.: General  
31 October 2000

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**Resolution 1325 (2000)**

**Adopted by the Security Council at its 4213th meeting, on  
31 October 2000**

*The Security Council,*

*Recalling* its resolutions 1261 (1999) of 25 August 1999, 1265 (1999) of 17 September 1999, 1296 (2000) of 19 April 2000 and 1314 (2000) of 11 August 2000, as well as relevant statements of its President, and *recalling also* the statement of its President to the press on the occasion of the United Nations Day for Women's Rights and International Peace (International Women's Day) of 8 March 2000 (SC/6816),

*Recalling also* the commitments of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (A/52/231) as well as those contained in the outcome document of the twenty-third Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly entitled "Women 2000: Gender Equality, Development and Peace for the Twenty-First Century" (A/S-23/10/Rev.1), in particular those concerning women and armed conflict,

*Bearing in mind* the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the primary responsibility of the Security Council under the Charter for the maintenance of international peace and security,

*Expressing* concern that civilians, particularly women and children, account for the vast majority of those adversely affected by armed conflict, including as refugees and internally displaced persons, and increasingly are targeted by combatants and armed elements, and *recognizing* the consequent impact this has on durable peace and reconciliation,

*Reaffirming* the important role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts and in peace-building, and *stressing* the importance of their equal participation and full involvement in all efforts for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security, and the need to increase their role in decision-making with regard to conflict prevention and resolution,

*Reaffirming also* the need to implement fully international humanitarian and human rights law that protects the rights of women and girls during and after conflicts,

*Emphasizing* the need for all parties to ensure that mine clearance and mine awareness programmes take into account the special needs of women and girls,

*Recognizing* the urgent need to mainstream a gender perspective into peacekeeping operations, and in this regard *noting* the Windhoek Declaration and the Namibia Plan of Action on Mainstreaming a Gender Perspective in Multidimensional Peace Support Operations (S/2000/693),

*Recognizing also* the importance of the recommendation contained in the statement of its President to the press of 8 March 2000 for specialized training for all peacekeeping personnel on the protection, special needs and human rights of women and children in conflict situations,

*Recognizing* that an understanding of the impact of armed conflict on women and girls, effective institutional arrangements to guarantee their protection and full participation in the peace process can significantly contribute to the maintenance and promotion of international peace and security,

*Noting* the need to consolidate data on the impact of armed conflict on women and girls,

1. *Urges* Member States to ensure increased representation of women at all decision-making levels in national, regional and international institutions and mechanisms for the prevention, management, and resolution of conflict;

2. *Encourages* the Secretary-General to implement his strategic plan of action (A/49/587) calling for an increase in the participation of women at decision-making levels in conflict resolution and peace processes;

3. *Urges* the Secretary-General to appoint more women as special representatives and envoys to pursue good offices on his behalf, and in this regard *calls on* Member States to provide candidates to the Secretary-General, for inclusion in a regularly updated centralized roster;

4. *Further urges* the Secretary-General to seek to expand the role and contribution of women in United Nations field-based operations, and especially among military observers, civilian police, human rights and humanitarian personnel;

5. *Expresses* its willingness to incorporate a gender perspective into peacekeeping operations, and *urges* the Secretary-General to ensure that, where appropriate, field operations include a gender component;

6. *Requests* the Secretary-General to provide to Member States training guidelines and materials on the protection, rights and the particular needs of women, as well as on the importance of involving women in all peacekeeping and peace-building measures, *invites* Member States to incorporate these elements as well as HIV/AIDS awareness training into their national training programmes for military and civilian police personnel in preparation for deployment, and *further requests* the Secretary-General to ensure that civilian personnel of peacekeeping operations receive similar training;

7. *Urges* Member States to increase their voluntary financial, technical and logistical support for gender-sensitive training efforts, including those undertaken by relevant funds and programmes, inter alia, the United Nations Fund for Women and United Nations Children's Fund, and by the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and other relevant bodies;



8. *Calls on* all actors involved, when negotiating and implementing peace agreements, to adopt a gender perspective, including, inter alia:

(a) The special needs of women and girls during repatriation and resettlement and for rehabilitation, reintegration and post-conflict reconstruction;

(b) Measures that support local women's peace initiatives and indigenous processes for conflict resolution, and that involve women in all of the implementation mechanisms of the peace agreements;

(c) Measures that ensure the protection of and respect for human rights of women and girls, particularly as they relate to the constitution, the electoral system, the police and the judiciary;

9. *Calls upon* all parties to armed conflict to respect fully international law applicable to the rights and protection of women and girls, especially as civilians, in particular the obligations applicable to them under the Geneva Conventions of 1949 and the Additional Protocols thereto of 1977, the Refugee Convention of 1951 and the Protocol thereto of 1967, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women of 1979 and the Optional Protocol thereto of 1999 and the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child of 1989 and the two Optional Protocols thereto of 25 May 2000, and to bear in mind the relevant provisions of the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court;

10. *Calls on* all parties to armed conflict to take special measures to protect women and girls from gender-based violence, particularly rape and other forms of sexual abuse, and all other forms of violence in situations of armed conflict;

11. *Emphasizes* the responsibility of all States to put an end to impunity and to prosecute those responsible for genocide, crimes against humanity, and war crimes including those relating to sexual and other violence against women and girls, and in this regard *stresses* the need to exclude these crimes, where feasible from amnesty provisions;

12. *Calls upon* all parties to armed conflict to respect the civilian and humanitarian character of refugee camps and settlements, and to take into account the particular needs of women and girls, including in their design, and recalls its resolutions 1208 (1998) of 19 November 1998 and 1296 (2000) of 19 April 2000;

13. *Encourages* all those involved in the planning for disarmament, demobilization and reintegration to consider the different needs of female and male ex-combatants and to take into account the needs of their dependants;

14. *Reaffirms* its readiness, whenever measures are adopted under Article 41 of the Charter of the United Nations, to give consideration to their potential impact on the civilian population, bearing in mind the special needs of women and girls, in order to consider appropriate humanitarian exemptions;

15. *Expresses* its willingness to ensure that Security Council missions take into account gender considerations and the rights of women, including through consultation with local and international women's groups;

16. *Invites* the Secretary-General to carry out a study on the impact of armed conflict on women and girls, the role of women in peace-building and the gender dimensions of peace processes and conflict resolution, and *further invites* him to

submit a report to the Security Council on the results of this study and to make this available to all Member States of the United Nations;

17. *Requests* the Secretary-General, where appropriate, to include in his reporting to the Security Council progress on gender mainstreaming throughout peacekeeping missions and all other aspects relating to women and girls;

18. *Decides* to remain actively seized of the matter.

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## Abstract

This thesis analyses the contributions of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) to a gender-sensitive peace in Ghana. Therefore, the role and work of the *Women, Peace and Security Network* (WIPSEN) and the *West Africa Network of Peacebuilding* (WANEP) are analysed. In October 2000, the UN Security Council adopted Resolution 1325 (UNSCR 1325) on Women, Peace and Security. Although, the adoption of UNSCR 1325 is seen as a major policy shift towards a gender perspective in peace and security issues by the international community, there is a lack of understanding how the Resolution is translated into practice on the ground. This case study of Ghana shows that NGOs are vital actors for enhancing and defining the Women, Peace and Security (WPS) agenda. The thesis analyses the role of the two NGOs as implementers, catalysts and partners. A second part of the analyses concentrates on how the NGOs implement the WPS agenda in accordance with a feminist understanding. Derived from feminist theory on violence, peace and security, a comprehensive framework for a gender-sensitive peace is established. In order to build such a peace, women's empowerment, the prevention of direct and indirect violence, the transformation of patriarchal gender relations and a culture of peace are crucial components. The analysis reveals that the NGOs are at the forefront of shaping the women, peace and security agenda in Ghana and determine how it is implemented. Thereby, both NGOs do not simply use UNSCR 1325 as a tool, but mainstream the Resolution into existing activities and implement projects outside the UNSCR 1325 framework. Through the work with women in the security sector and with young women in rural areas in Ghana, WIPSEN is enhancing the empowerment of women and the transformation of patriarchal gender relations. WANEP contributes to the prevention of violence through the implementation of a National Early Warning Network; and through its Peace Educator Programme the NGO directly targets a culture of peace in Ghana. The analysis indicates that the NGOs in Ghana have a broader understanding of peace and follow a cohesive approach to peacebuilding that is not restricted to actual conflict and that aims at building structures without any gendered subordinations.

## **Zusammenfassung**

Die vorliegende Masterarbeit untersucht den Beitrag von Nichtregierungsorganisationen (NGOs) zu einem gender-sensitiven Frieden in Ghana. Hierfür wurde die Arbeit des *Women, Peace and Security Networks* (WIPSEN) und des *West Africa Network for Peacebuilding* (WANEP) analysiert. Im Oktober 2000 verabschiedete der UN Sicherheitsrat Resolution 1325 zu Frauen, Frieden und Sicherheit. Zwar hat durch die Resolution eine Genderperspektive Eingang in die internationale Sicherheitspolitik gefunden aber es ist nicht klar, wie die Resolution in der Praxis umgesetzt wird. Diese Fallstudie zu Ghana zeigt, dass NGOs wichtige Akteure für die Umsetzung der UNO-Agenda zu Frauen, Frieden und Sicherheit sind. Im analytischen Teil der Arbeit wird die Rolle der beiden NGOs bei dieser Umsetzung als Implementierer, Katalysator und Partner untersucht. In einem zweiten Teil wird die Arbeit der NGOs aus einer feministischen Perspektive analysiert. Abgeleitet von feministischer Theorie zu Gewalt, Frieden und Sicherheit wurde ein umfassendes Framework für einen gender-sensitiven Frieden entwickelt. Um diesen Frieden herzustellen, sind das Empowerment von Frauen, die Prävention von direkter und indirekter Gewalt, die Umwandlung von patriarchalen Geschlechterrollen und eine Kultur des Friedens elementare Bestandteile. Die Untersuchung ergab, dass die NGOs in Ghana an vorderster Front die Umsetzung der Agenda zu Frauen, Frieden und Sicherheit in Ghana gewährleisten und determinieren wie UN Resolution 1325 implementiert wird. Die NGOs entwickeln und implementieren jedoch auch Projekte außerhalb der von der Resolution abgedeckten Bereiche. Durch die Arbeit mit Frauen im Sicherheitssektor und mit Mädchen in ländlichen Gebieten in Ghana fördert WIPSEN das Empowerment von Frauen und die Transformation von Geschlechterrollen. WANEP trägt durch die Implementierung eines Nationalen Frühwarnsystems zur Prävention von Gewalt bei und fördert durch ein Friedenserziehungsprogramm eine Kultur des Friedens. Die Analyse zeigt, dass die NGOs in Ghana ein breites Friedensverständnis haben und einen ganzheitlichen Peacebuilding-Ansatz verfolgen, der darauf abzielt Strukturen ohne geschlechtsspezifische Unterordnungen aufzubauen.

# Curriculum Vitae

## Persönliche Daten

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Name: Teresa Ewen

## Studium

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seit 10/2012 Masterstudium der Politikwissenschaft an der Universität Wien

10/2008- 07/2012 Bachelorstudium der Politikwissenschaft und der interkulturellen Wirtschaftskommunikation an der Friedrich - Schiller- Universität Jena

09/2010-06/2011 Auslandsstudium an der University of Aberdeen in Schottland im Rahmen des Erasmus-Programms mit dem Studienschwerpunkt Internationale Beziehungen

## Praktika

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08-10/2014 Women, Peace and Security Network Africa (WIPSEN-Africa), Ghana (Programmassistenz Bereich Gender und Security Sector Reform)

08-10/2011 Terres des Femmes e.V. Tübingen (inhaltliche sowie administrative Aufgaben bei der Vorbereitung des Filmfestes Frauenwelten)

## Sprachen

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Deutsch	Muttersprache
Englisch	Fließend in Wort und Schrift
Spanisch	Gut in Wort und Schrift
Französisch	Grundkenntnisse