CHAPTER 4

NOT YET A FORCE FOR FREEDOM: THE PROTOCOL ON THE RIGHTS OF WOMEN IN AFRICA

Rights of Women in Africa: Launch of a Petition to the African Union

Mary Wandia
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THE AFRICAN CHARTER on Human and Peoples' Rights recognises the importance of women's rights through three main provisions. Article 18(3), covering the protection of the family, promises to ensure the elimination of all discrimination against women and also ensure protection of the rights of women. Article 2, the non-discrimination clause, provides that the rights and freedoms enshrined in the charter shall be enjoyed by all irrespective of race, ethnic group, colour, sex, language, religion, political or any other opinion, national and social origin, fortune, birth or other status. And Article 3, the equal protection clause, states that every individual shall be equal before the law and shall be entitled to the equal protection of the law.

However, the above provisions are not adequate to address the rights of women. For example, while Article 18 prohibits discrimination against women, it does so only in the context of the family. In addition, explicit provisions guaranteeing the right of consent to marriage and equality of spouses during and after marriage are absent. These omissions are compounded by the fact that the charter emphasises traditional African values and customs without addressing concerns that many customary practices, such as female genital mutilation, forced marriage, and wife inheritance, can be harmful or life threatening to women. By ignoring critical issues such as custom and marriage, the charter inadequately defends women's human rights.

The World Conference on Human Rights held in Vienna, Austria in 1993 made advances to human rights theory and practice with respect to women's human rights. The Declaration and Programme of Action of the World Conference on Human Rights at Vienna emphasised: 'The human rights of

women and of the girl child are an inalienable, integral and indivisible part of universal human rights.'

It also emphasised that the elimination of violence against women is a human-rights obligation for states. This was the first attempt to address the marginalisation of women's human rights from the work of mainstream human rights. Thus the slogan that emerged from Vienna was: 'Women's rights are human rights'. Following almost directly on from Vienna, it was imperative for the African Commission on Human and People's Rights (ACHPR) to expose the specific inequalities that impact negatively on the lives of women and thereby acknowledge that 'women's rights as human rights must be respected and observed'.

Developing the Protocol

Article 66 of the charter that provides for the establishment of protocols and agreements to supplement its provisions gave impetus to the consideration and subsequent formulation of the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa.

The process started with a meeting organised by Women in Law and Development in Africa (WiLDAF) on the theme 'The African Charter on Human and People's Rights and the Human Rights of Women in Africa' in March 1995 in Lome, Togo. The meeting called for the development of a protocol to the charter on women's rights. The meeting also called on the ACHPR to appoint a Special Rapporteur on Women's Rights in Africa. The assembly of heads of states and government of the Organisation of Africa Unity (OAU) at its 31st Ordinary Session in June 1995, in Addis Ababa, mandated the ACHPR to elaborate a Protocol on the Rights of Women in Africa.

The first draft was prepared by the experts group meeting organised by the ACHPR and the International Commission of Jurist (ICJ) in Nouakchott, Mauritania, April 1997. The experts comprising of members of the ACHPR, representatives of African NGOs and international observers prepared the first Draft Protocol that was submitted to the ACHPR during its 22nd Session held in October 1997 for consideration and comments. The draft was also circulated to NGOs for comments.

The 12th ICJ workshop on 'Participation in the African Commission on Human and People's Rights', October 30 to November 1, 1997, in The Gambia, provided the opportunity for NGOs to make input into the Draft Protocol and pass a resolution calling upon the ACHPR to ensure the completion of the Draft Protocol in time for presentation to the next session of the ACHPR.

The First Meeting of the Working Group on Women's Rights that brought together members of the ACHPR, the ICJ, WiLDAF and the African Centre for Democracy and Human Rights Studies (ACDHRS) was held in Banjul, the Gambia on 26-28 January 1998. The meeting amended the draft protocol and

developed the terms of reference for the appointment of a Special Rapporteur on the Rights of Women in Africa.

During its 23rd session, held in April 1998, the ACHPR endorsed the appointment of the first Special Rapporteur on Women Rights in Africa with a mandate that included working towards the adoption of the draft protocol on women's rights. The ACHPR forwarded the draft protocol to the OAU Secretariat in 1999. The Inter Africa Committee (IAC) and ACHPR met to merge the Draft Convention on Traditional Practices with the draft protocol in 2000, in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

The first OAU Government Experts Meeting on the draft protocol was held in November 2001, in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. The experts amended the draft protocol developed by the ACHPR and called on the OAU to schedule a second AU experts meeting in 2002 to consider the draft again before the hosting of an OAU ministerial meeting on the same issue. African women's organisations participated in the meeting as observers. The OAU scheduled the second experts meeting and ministerial meeting twice in 2002 but had to postpone them due to the lack of a quorum. Thus the draft was not presented for adoption by the inaugural summit of the African Union (AU) held in Durban, South Africa in July 2002 and it seemed that there was little political will among African governments to move this process forward.

In January 2003, African women's organisations from across the continent met in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia at a meeting convened by Equality Now, FEMNET and the Ethiopian Women Lawyers Association (EWLA) to come up with strategies to lobby the AU and individual governments to schedule and attend the expert and ministerial meetings on the draft protocol. Represented at the meeting were ACDHRS, Akina Mama Wa Africa, the Association of Malian Women Lawyers (AJM), the Association of Senegalese lawyers (AJS), Equality Now, EWLA, Femmes Afrique Solidarite (FAS), FEMNET, WILDAF, and WRAPA. These organisations pooled comments in a collective mark-up to strengthen the document and bring it into line with international standards. Following the meeting they met with officials of the AU, including the then Acting Commissioner for Peace and Security, who was in charge of the protocol, and urged him to call for the second experts and ministerial meetings on the protocol in March 2003 in an effort to ensure that the draft protocol was adopted by the AU summit in July 2003. The organisations further lobbied ministries of justice and gender at national level through their networks to confirm that they would be there ensure the AU obtained the required quorum.

The Second AU Experts Meeting followed by the Ministerial Meeting on the Draft Protocol was held in March 2003, in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. The meetings amended and adopted the draft protocol and recommended it for adoption by the Executive Council and Assembly of the AU. African women's organisations attended the meetings as observers and lobbied the experts and

ministers to strengthen the draft protocol to the level of regional and international human rights agreements on women.

The Second Ordinary Summit of the AU adopted the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa on 11 July 2003 in Maputo, Mozambique. The assembly appealed to all member states to sign and ratify the protocol in order to ensure its speedy entry into force. The protocol will enter into force after 15 countries have ratified it. The protocol will complement the African charter in ensuring the promotion and protection of the human rights of women in Africa.

Content and Meaning for Women in Africa

Mainstream international human rights standards are defined in relation to men's experience, and stated in terms of discrete violations of rights in the public realm whereas most violations of women's human rights occur in private. The private/public dichotomy that is detrimental to women continues to exist. In most African countries, the same constitutional provisions that guarantee gender equality allow exceptions in the so-called 'private law' areas of customary law, personal law and family law. Serious violations of women's human rights such as violence against women and provisions that discriminate against them are found in that private sphere.

Human rights guarantees in the legally binding human rights conventions such as the right to life, to bodily integrity, and to be free from torture, cruel and degrading treatment, have not been interpreted to include such acts as domestic violence, rape, female genital mutilation, forced sterilisation, forced childbirth, and numerous other forms in which violence against women and girls is manifested in Africa.

Provisions on women's human rights in the UN Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), and the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action have not involved a conceptual shift or effected structural changes needed to implement their resolutions. The protocol primarily complements the African charter and international human rights conventions by focusing on concrete actions and goals to grant women rights. It further domesticates CEDAW and the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action in the African context.

The protocol is in three sections. The first section covers the rationale behind its elaboration, making reference to both regional and international commitments on women's human rights. The second section outlines the rights to be upheld by the protocol. And the third and final section covers implementation by addressing the manner in which it is to be adopted and monitored, as well as the process through which it may be amended. The protocol affirms four broad categories of rights: civil and political rights; economic, social and cultural rights; the rights to development and peace; and reproductive and sexual rights.

Status of Ratification

Almost a year after its adoption, only one member state of the AU, the Comoros, has signed and ratified it. Twenty-eight member states have signed but are yet to ratify it as of 12 May 2004. This calls for 14 more countries to ratify in order for it to come into force. Its entry into force is critical because it will commit governments to:

- Submit periodic reports to the ACHPR on legislative and other measures they have undertaken to ensure the full realisation of rights recognised under the protocol
- Integrate a gender perspective in their policy decisions, legislation, development plans and activities and ensure the overall well-being of women
- Include in their national constitutions and other legislative instruments fundamental principles of the protocol and ensure their effective implementation
- Eliminate all forms of violence and discrimination against women in Africa and promote equality between men and women.

Advocacy Needs and Initiatives

Given the time and effort necessary to persuade governments to adopt this protocol compared with the desperate urgency to promote, protect and safeguard women's human rights in Africa, African civil society organisations have to campaign and lobby governments to sign and ratify the protocol as soon as possible and in any event, as a gesture of commitment, before the next AU Summit to be held in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia in July 2004.

Oxfam GB, Equality Now, FEMNET, CREDO for Freedom of Expression and Associated Rights and Fahamu have started a campaign targeting 14 countries that have already signed with the aim of lobbying them to ratify the protocol. They have drafted a petition to be presented to the AU Summit in July 2004. Please sign up at http://www.pambazuka.org/petition/petition.php?id=1

To supplement their efforts you could as an individual or organisation:

- Contact relevant government officials in ministries of foreign affairs, women's affairs, and justice and urge them to ratify the protocol
- Urge governments to be fully involved in the full realisation of the human rights of women, if they have not done so
- Encourage government officials to include the issue of the protocol in contacts with other governments and to state their positions publicly in the media or other events
- Inform and increase public awareness about the protocol by putting women's issues on the human rights agenda at various fora
- Mobilise national and local support for the protocol among academics, parliamentarians, and the media

■ Work on creating a better and common understanding of issues as provided for in the protocol;
■ Support the organisation of local focal points on the protocol to lobby and monitor government positions. The focal points will later be effective in the monitoring of implementation of the protocol by governments.

Conclusion

The protocol, once it comes into force, will usher in a new and significant era in the promotion and protection of the rights of women in Africa and end impunity for all forms of violations of the human rights of women in Africa. As Dr Angela Melo, Special Rapporteur on the Rights of Women, ACHPR notes:

> The women of Africa who have suffered for long, their efforts at building our beloved continent have gone on for long without acknowledgement, and the men of Africa should be equally committed to the task. The urgent need to work towards the ratification and effective implementation of the protocol urgently is a great challenge, yet a duty we all owe to posterity and to Africa.

Unfinished Business – African Leaders Must Act Now to Ratify the Protocol on the Rights of Women

Faiza Jama Mohamed
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IT TOOK ALMOST a decade (eight years to be precise) for African leaders to finally agree on a text and adopt the Protocol on the Rights of Women in Africa at the Second Ordinary Summit of the African Union held in Maputo in July 2003. The protocol is a legal framework for African women to use in exercising their rights. It is comprehensive in that it addresses various concerns of women of different ages and conditions based on the realities of their lives. For that reason it is welcomed and celebrated by all African women.

Before it finally came onto the agenda of the heads of states meeting last year, several obstacles had to be overcome. The first experts meeting convened by the OAU (now the African Union) in November 2001 brought together officials who in the majority regrettably had little legal or gender expertise. As a result, the draft document that came out of that meeting had serious gaps and was of a lower standard than other comparable international law instruments such as the Convention on Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), which most African states had already ratified.

The experts meeting also failed to reach agreement on some aspects of the draft. A future date was set to finalise the outstanding provisions, but this and other meetings called by the OAU/African Union had to be cancelled for lack of a quorum. Activists around Africa saw two problems: the document was weak and did not adequately address the specific issues relating to African women, and progress was slow because of the repeated lack of a quorum. This illustrated the low priority accorded to women – although they make up over 50 per cent of Africa's population – by the very governments they have voted into office.

Activists then decided it was time to refocus their efforts. Various consultations were held around Africa among civil society organisations. Equality Now, an international human rights organisation, joined the process in July 2002 at a meeting convened by the United Nations Fund for Women (UNIFEM) in Nairobi. Equality Now also consulted with the African Women's Development and Communications Network (FEMNET), the African Centre for Democracy and Human Rights Studies (ACDHRS), Women in Law and Development in Africa (WiLDAF), and other regional and national groups that were most actively engaged in working toward the passage of a strong protocol for the protection and promotion of women's rights.

In January 2003, Equality Now convened a strategy meeting of activists in Addis Ababa, proceeding with the meeting although the governmental meeting it was scheduled to coincide with was again cancelled for lack of a quorum. The meeting discussed, reviewed and strengthened the text of the draft protocol with the help of women's rights organisations from across Africa. The collective mark-up thus produced was widely distributed across the continent for promotion with national governments. The coalition of activists also lobbied African governments to send delegates with legal and human rights expertise to the scheduled meeting of the African Union.

Equality Now was nominated to take on a coordinating role and to work closely with the Secretariat of the African Union to encourage a successful meeting. In response to the campaign several countries held national consultation meetings with civil society organisations to review the mark-up. Several countries also brought members from civil society as part of their delegation to the experts meeting.

All in all, countries were much better prepared when they came to the experts meeting in March 2003 and many were also open to improving the existing document. Immediately prior to the meeting of experts and the African Union Ministerial Meeting in Addis Ababa, Equality Now's Africa office convened another meeting of women's rights activists and organisations, in order to coordinate a strategic plan for advocacy and to ensure that the substantive provisions of the draft protocol were strengthened during the course of the experts' and ministerial meetings. These advocacy efforts had a dramatic impact on the draft protocol, which was significantly improved during the course of the meeting. Subsequently, on 11 July 2003, the African Union adopted the Protocol on the Rights of Women in Africa.

The campaign by activists for the Protocol on the Rights of African Women represents a successful model of cooperation among national, regional and international women's NGOs that led to concrete results. The African Union's Commissioner Djinnit Said also saw the campaign around the protocol as an excellent model for collaboration between the African Union and civil society organisations and said as much in a meeting the African Union hosted earlier in the year to consult with African civil society organisations.

One year after its adoption, however, only 30 countries have signed the protocol and only one (the Comoros) has ratified it. It needs 15 ratifications to enter into force. Until then these rights remain hypothetical! All the past efforts by civil society will have been wasted if the protocol is not ratified. And the majority of women in Africa will continue to be deprived of protection under international law of many of their basic rights. For this reason, activists have once again pooled their resources, energy and focus to urge governments to honour their commitments to uphold women's rights by ratifying the protocol as soon as possible, ideally by the heads of state summit in July 2004.

Women around Africa are daily monitoring the website of the African Union taking note of which of their leaders are true to their commitments. Women's organisations and human rights organisations in Africa have launched national campaigns to lobby their respective governments, engaging in dialogue with the relevant ministries of justice, foreign affairs, gender and in some cases even the heads of states offices to impress upon them the importance of ratifying the protocol without delay.

With a concerted effort, together we can achieve ratification. That is why activists in Guinea-Conakry are working hard to sensitise parliamentarians and decision-makers through workshops and meetings in an effort to win support for the ratification of the protocol. Groups in Kenya are engaging in dialogue with several ministries (Ministry of Gender, Sports and Culture; Ministry of Home Affairs and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs) to sensitise them and discuss the process of ratification and the need to speed up the ratification process. In Mali women are planning to hold information and sensitisation forums with parliamentarians as well as mobilising women's organisations to make a declaration urging the government to ratify the protocol. In South Africa plans are underway to inform the Office of the President and the Department of Foreign Affairs and the State Law advisors as well as the Parliamentary Commissions on Justice, Quality of Life and the Status of Women about the protocol and discuss the obstacles to its early ratification. And these are just some of the activities planned around the continent to press for ratification. It is imperative that governments heed our urgent call for women to be guaranteed equal status to men and equal protection of their rights.

The Protocol for the Rights of Women in Africa as it stands now is a piece of paper without any force. By ratifying it, governments will be taking the first step towards recognising the equal worth of women. Implementation will then be critical. The protocol makes many equality advances for women under international law, including affording special protection to vulnerable groups such as widows, the disabled and those from marginalised groups. It is only by protecting and promoting the rights of all its peoples that Africa will be able to access its full resources and lead the continent to prosperity. The Beijing +10 review process offers African governments an opportunity to demonstrate their determination to lead their peoples along the path to development. One concrete benchmark is the seriousness that they give to the Protocol on the Rights of Women in Africa. If they ratify it now they will have a concrete achievement to bring to the table later this year when the continent comes together for the Beijing +10 conference, as a gesture of recognition for the human rights of women as a priority agenda of the continent.

We call on African leaders to honour their commitments to women and act now to ratify the protocol!

A Plea for Ratification

Zeinab Kamil Ali
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SOME BIG EVENTS in life pass by unnoticed by human intelligence. We must generally wait for the analysis of historians several decades later to see if the events classify as historic. It is often said quite mechanically that history is repeating itself, without thinking about the lessons to be drawn from such pronouncements. Must we wait for the end of the century to recognise the historical value of the Protocol on the Rights of Women?

With the Constitutive Act of the African Union, it seems that Africa has taken a step forward. In fact, with strong regional structures and decisions that have been redynamised and honoured by the visionary leadership of the heads of states, Africa is now adorned with an essential that it had lacked: she is now equipped with a common will, a real union to mobilise her energies and forge a common objective in the fight against underdevelopment and the numerous ills that this entails.

There is no doubt that the highlight is the recognition of women as equal partners with men and the need for women's involvement in the running of African affairs, state affairs and family or private affairs. The African woman is now on at the centre of the credo of all political discussions. The consecration of the concept of gender parity in the Constitutive Act of the African Union, in the recruitment of commissioners and all other technical personnel brilliantly marks the end of an era where action to promote women was only included under pressure from donors, and without any concern for the improvement in the condition of African women.

The adoption of an African instrument specific to the rights of women reveals in plain language the appropriation by the African states of the principles of equality and non-discrimination.

In all the big meetings in the history of Africa, Africans have known how to show their courage and mobilise their energies so that their people's cause is heard. Through this protocol, which solemnly reaffirms their rights, the protection of their dignity and their non-disputable role in the management of the affairs of the state and in the decision-making spheres, Africans are recovering their traditional values. What does the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and People's Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa say?

As a regional instrument, it flows from the African Charter on Human and People's Rights adopted in 1981. The provisions of the protocol protect the rights of African women such as they are recognised and guaranteed to all

human beings and particularly by the international instruments on human rights, namely the Universal Declaration on Human Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women and its optional protocols, the African Charter on the Rights and Well Being of the Child and all other conventions and international treaties on women's rights as human rights, inalienable, interdependent and indivisible.

The 12th consideration in the preamble provides the framework for understanding the protocol.

The Rights Protected by the Protocol

The rights protected in the protocol are diverse and are not exhaustively discussed in this paper. However the principle of equality cuts across them all. With its corollary, the principle of non-discrimination, the principle of equality is recognised in all African constitutions.

The francophone countries recognise equality between men and women formally and in law. In the other countries, however, there are specific mechanisms for putting into effect these legal principles. The protocol goes beyond the abstract of laws protecting women's rights. There are specific provisions to ensure that the laws are implemented with specific actions given to guide such processes. These are found in the provisions on the right to life, to integrity, security, elimination of all harmful practices, access to justice and equal protection before the law. The need for concrete application reverberates through the whole document and economic rights of women as well as the right to social protection are recognised.

The protocol is worded to take account of the African experience. The right to food security, the encouragement of the creation of a system of social protection in favour of women working in the informal sector makes real sense to African women. The protocol takes women's rights from a universal setting to one where all are able to access them. This is why it must be ratified. The majority of African constitutions possess the necessary legislative mechanisms to protect the rights of women. The ratification of the protocol will stir the constitutional mechanisms into action. Where they are absent, ratification will allow them to be established.

Further by virtue of Article 26 the states have an obligation to include the level of implementation of the protocol in their periodic reports to the African Commission on Human Rights. Paragraph 2 of Article 26 makes an interesting provision in as far as the budgetary question goes and this is indeed a soft spot for African states: African states must allocate enough funds for the implementation of the protocol. Hitherto the budgetary allocations have been very weak for women's issues.

Innovation of the Protocol

The protocol takes into account elderly as well as handicapped and illiterate women. This indicates the evolution of African society and further offers special protection for women in situations of distress, women in prison, and pregnant and lactating mothers. The recognition of the rights of widows is a further indication of this evolution as widows suffer a lot from traditional practices and a blatant disregard for their rights upon the death of their husbands. The rights of women to political participation and decision making is recognised as well, even though these rights are recognised in the ICCPR and its predecessor, the 1952 convention.

Article 9 introduces the term parity for the first time and paves the way for affirmative action in legislation in the member states. A distinction is made in the article between equality of chances and equality in result. It is noted that women must be made equal partners with men in decision-making processes as well as in policy formulation.

Women must be able to offer themselves to the electorate in a democracy and this can only happen if the political parties make it possible for them to do so. Political participation and its constituent characteristics must be looked at from the perspective of the rights of women.

Peace and development are interdependent in the same way that democracy and respect for human rights are interdependent. Human rights cannot be dissociated from women's rights. The human genus is made up of men and women. Harmony can only be attained if the rights of both are respected.

The right to peace and the right to development are hardly ever recognised in international conventions. This protocol is a first as hitherto these rights have only been mentioned in the General Assembly of the UN without being given real protection.

The main advantage of the protocol is that it seeks to harmonise the different systems regulating the rights of the family and women. The contradictions of the African systems are evident in the plural judicial systems, which often lead to confusion. The family in many African states is managed by traditional laws and by sharia in the Muslim states. As such, substantial breaches to the principles of equality and non-discrimination are entrenched in the constitutions – the supreme laws of these states. Article 6 shows the will to reconcile these opposing and fundamental differences in legal systems. Article 7 gives the courts and the judicial systems the duty to arbitrate over personal law and laws of the family.

Article 6c addresses the issues of marriage and highlights the objective harmonisation of the conflicting laws. It also brings to the fore the search for a new Africa based on harmony and free of contradictions. The preservation of African values rests with women, the custodians of legends and traditions known in our time for their unending fight for peace, liberty, dignity, justice

and solidarity. I believe that this is argument enough to encourage the heads of states to emulate the Comoros in ratifying the protocol to the African Charter on Human and People's Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa.

The Entry into Force of the Protocol on the Rights of Women in Africa: a Challenge for Africa and Women

Kafui Adjamagbo-Johnson
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THE ADOPTION OF the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and People's Rights on the Rights of Women by the conference of the heads of state and government at the African Union meeting in Maputo in July 2003 was undeniably an important event in the history of African women's struggle for the recognition of their rights.

This protocol, the fruits of exemplary collaboration between the African Commission for Human and People's Rights and civil society organisations, was identified as a priority for the promotion and protection of the rights of African women during a workshop in March 1995 on women's rights, organised by the commission, in collaboration with Women in Law and Development in Africa/Femmes, Droit et Développement en Afrique (WiLDAF/FeDDAF) and the International Commission of Jurists, based in Geneva.

The workshop recommended that a protocol on women's rights should be established and a Special Rapporteur on the rights of women should be nominated. The conference of the former Organisation of African Unity (OAU) mandated the commission to initiate and coordinate the process of developing a preliminary draft of the protocol. A working group was put in place to propose a text. Since the beginning, the process has been very participatory.

Civil society organisations mobilised themselves to enrich the first version written by the working group. This mobilisation increased during the process, as more and more organisations became interested in all steps of the development of the protocol. The numerous ups and downs that punctuated the process sometimes worried civil society members. The long wait between the first and the second meetings, due to successive postponement of the second one, and in the absence of a quorum, was one of the most difficult moments.

However, the lobbying efforts of civil society and the determination of officers of the African Union resulted in the second meeting of experts. This was followed by a meeting of ministers implicated in the process, who succeeded in registering the protocol on the agenda of the council of ministers in July 2003. Eight years after the beginning of the process, the protocol was thus finally adopted by heads of state.

I relive the joy manifested by the lobby of women's organisations at the announcement of the protocol's adoption, and salute the cooperation that coalesced between certain commissioners and these women. But nobody was

fooled! Once the protocol was adopted, there remained many equally important steps to take: to obtain the necessary signatures and ratifications for its entry into force and to respond to the challenge of its effective implementation.

One year on, where are we at in the process? Thirty signatures and one ratification had been registered by 15 June 2004, less than three weeks before the next AU heads of state and government conference. Twelve of the signatory countries are in West Africa, eight in East African and five in southern Africa. Lobbying work must continue in all the regions of Africa, particularly in Central and North Africa, where only three and two signatures, respectively, have been registered. It is important to note that we are still far, very far, from the 15 ratifications necessary for the entry into force of the protocol. And the question of its ratification must absolutely, in one way or another, be added to the agenda of the July 2004 summit in Addis Ababa, in the interests of women, African populations and the African Union.

But why is ratification of the protocol so important?

For African women, the entry into force of the protocol will be an essential step towards the recognition of their rights, the daily violations of which are the source of immense suffering. The protocol will offer, following the example of the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) a legal framework of reference, allowing diverse actors, as well as the population, to daily work towards the effective respect of women's rights. But, in addition to CEDAW, the legal framework of the protocol reflects specific violations to African women. Its preamble justifies the adoption of the protocol by citing the continued existence of discriminations against women and harmful traditional practices, despite commitments made by states at regional and international levels. It also expresses leaders' formal support to the principle of equality between men and women.

In addition to these declarations, the protocol contains provisions to respond to problems as crucial as the multiple violations of rights in marital relations, violence and grave risks to the life, physical and moral integrity, and security of women and girls, the pressing reality of which we cannot deny in our societies. The entry into force of the protocol offers an invaluable framework for ending violations against civilian, refugee and combatant women and children, particularly girls, in periods of conflict, and for upholding the challenge of peace in Africa, a condition sine qua non for development.

The fight against traditional practices harmful to the health of women and girls needs the protocol, which provides guidelines for eliminating them. Economic and social rights as vital as the right to health, including reproductive health, to education and to inheritance rights for widows and girls, which are daily transgressed out of ignorance or deliberately, would be better protected if actions taken could rely on adequate measures, such as those recommended in the protocol. Definitively, there is no doubt that, in the interests of

hundreds of thousands of women and girls in Africa, the protocol on women's rights must be ratified as quickly as possible.

For African populations and societies, the absence of a legal framework of reference to fight against violations of women's rights currently constitutes a real handicap for the optimal participation of women in the development of their countries and of Africa, even though they constitute more than 50 per cent of the population of the continent.

Finally, the credibility of the African Union, which demonstrated its commitment to promoting women's participation and gender equality, notably through parity in the African Union Commission and in the equitable representation of judges of the African Court for Human and People's Rights, rests on proving its coherence and consistency by implementing the protocol without delay. By doing so, the AU and its member states will show the world that, for them also, women's rights are truly an integral part of human rights, and that they are determined to promote and protect them without any discrimination.

The imminent entry into force of the protocol will mark, in sum, a decisive step towards entrenching a culture of respect and exercising the human rights of women in African societies. For all these reasons, every human rights defender, man or woman, should feel concerned and lobby governmental and parliamentary authorities in order to convince them to ratify the protocol on women's rights and take steps for its effective implementation. Our mothers, our daughters and our sisters, including those who are rarely accustomed to demand their rights, cry for help in a meaningful silence, but are often too quickly assimilated into resignation. It depends on each person to ensure that the voice of the voiceless are finally heard by those who are responsible for the fate of African populations.

African States: Equal to the Task?

Hannah Forster
Pambazuka News 162, 24 June 2004

Background

An important step to establish a legal framework for the promotion and protection of the rights of women throughout the African continent was taken when the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa was adopted on 11 July 2003 by the Assembly of the African Union during its second summit in Maputo, Mozambique.

Scope

The new protocol will complement the African charter in advancing and ensuring the human rights of the African woman. It covers a broad range of human rights issues, including:

- Access to justice and equal protection before the law
- The right to life, integrity and security of person; the right to inheritance, and calls for affirmative action to promote equal participation in the political and decision making process; equal representation of women in the judiciary and law enforcement agencies as an integral part of equal protection and benefit of the law
- The broad range of economic, social and cultural rights for women i.e. the right to equal pay for equal work and the right to adequate and paid maternity leave in both private and public sectors; the rights of particularly vulnerable groups of women i.e. elderly women, disabled women, widows, 'women in distress' – pregnant or nursing women in detention, poor women, women from marginalised population groups are all recognised; protection against harmful traditional practice; for women in armed conflict; refugee women; right to food security and adequate housing; and recognition of the right of women to participate in the promotion and maintenance of peace.

Landmark Provisions

- The reproductive right of women to medical abortion when pregnancy results from rape or incest or when the continuation of pregnancy endangers the health or life of the mother
- The legal prohibition of female genital mutilation.

The African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights will supervise the implementation of the protocol pending the establishment of the African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights.

States parties to the protocol commit themselves among others things:

- To indicate in their periodic reports to the African Commission the legislative and other measures undertaken to ensure the full realisation of the rights recognised in the protocol
- To include in their national constitutions and other legislative instruments these fundamental principles and ensure their effective implementation
- To integrate a gender perspective in their policy decisions, legislation, development plans, and activities and to ensure the overall well-being of women
- To take effective measure to prevent the exploitation and abuse of women in advertising and pornography.

The protocol will enter into force 30 days after the deposit of the 15th instrument of ratification. The African Centre for Democracy and Human Rights Studies (ACDHRS) has followed the process of the protocol with keen interest since the beginning of the discourse in the early 1990s. The lobby for the protocol has mobilised a wide number of networks when the inadequacies of the African charter in providing for the rights of women was realised. ACDHRS served as a member of the working group set up by the African Commission to develop and formulate the first draft, which was forwarded to the AU (then the OAU). Over the years, the centre continued to work closely with other organisations and activists on the continent to maximise our collective collaborative resources to advance this giant step in the cause of human rights.

The adoption of the protocol ushers in a new and significant era in the promotion and protection of the rights of women in Africa. To date, only one country has ratified the protocol on the Rights of Women in Africa, while 30 have signed, thus indicating their intention to do so.

The Appeal

While the African Centre for Democracy and Human Rights Studies congratulates African governments for adopting the protocol, we would wish to urge member states to pursue the process of ratification of the protocol with much vigour and speed to ensure a prompt entry into force of the instrument and therefore its implementation. If the protocol is ratified and fully implemented, it has the potential to become an important framework to end impunity for all forms of violations of the human rights of women in Africa. Furthermore, the process of ratifying and ushering in implementation would reinforce sates' commitment to ending discrimination and violence against women. The women of Africa who have suffered for so long, whose efforts at building our beloved continent have gone on for too long without acknowledgement, and indeed the men of Africa, should be equal to the task. This is a challenge and a duty we all owe to posterity and to Africa.

We therefore add our voice to all those of our brothers and sisters calling on

states to stand up to this challenge and perform the duty it requires. The momentum should not be lost less history judges us unequal to the responsibility.

Putting an End to Female Genital Mutilation: the African Protocol on the Rights of Women

Faiza Jama Mohamed
Pambazuka News 173, 9 September 2004

IN JULY 2003 African Heads of States adopted the Protocol on the Rights of Women in Africa at their summit in Maputo (full text of the protocol is available at http://www.africa-union.org/). A little over a year later only four countries (the Comoros, Libya, Rwanda and Namibia) have ratified it. This is far from the required 15 ratifications for the protocol to come into force.

One might ask why ratification of the protocol is so important and what value it brings to African women. The protocol offers women in Africa not only a bill of rights that addresses issues in the African context, but it also obligates states to take action and allocate resources to ensure that African women enjoy these rights. The protocol offers a concrete blueprint to go beyond lip service and make states' undertakings accountable. These rights will, however, remain fictitious until member states of the African Union ratify and implement the protocol into their domestic legislation.

Amongst the rights articulated in the protocol is the right in Article 5 'not to be subjected to harmful traditional practices including female genital mutilation (FGM)'. Female genital mutilation is a harmful traditional practice that afflicts an estimated 130 million girls and women. According to the World Health Organisation (WHO), 6,000 girls per day are subjected to FGM around the world but mostly in Africa.

It is a practice that translates into the partial or total removal of the clitoris (clitoridectomy), the removal of the entire clitoris and the cutting of the labia minora (excision), or in its most extreme form the removal of all external genitalia and the stitching together of the two sides of the vulva (infibulation). The cutting is done generally without anesthetic and those who survive it experience lifelong health consequences including chronic infection, severe pain during menstruation, sexual intercourse and childbirth, and psychological trauma.

Communities that practice FGM defend it as a rite of passage and a social prerequisite of marriage. But it is also used as a way to control women's sexuality by safeguarding virginity and suppressing sexual desire. We, at Equality Now (www.equalitynow.org), an international human rights organisation that works to promote and protect the human rights of women around the world, consider FGM a human rights violation and an extreme form of violence and discrimination against women and girls. We welcome the protocol as a new tool that has potential effectiveness in protecting the human rights of women in Africa.

What the Maputo protocol offers is a comprehensive set of provisions that creates a framework for putting an end to harmful practices. It goes beyond a call to ending harmful traditional practices such as FGM and directs member states to take concrete action by:

- Criminalising the practice and bringing to justice those who perpetrate it
- Providing counselling support and treatment to victims of FGM
- Initiating public awareness-raising campaigns to end the practice
- Intervening to prevent FGM cases thereby saving girls before it happens to them.

African states must indeed urgently take responsibility to follow through with these obligations. Burkina Faso offers a good case in point, and is leading the way in the fight against FGM. Burkina Faso criminalised FGM in 1996 and followed that with national campaigns to inform its people about the law and why FGM must be ended. It also offered helplines for potential victims and concerned citizens to contact the authorities in good time to prevent the crime, and has put in place harsh punishment to demotivate those still determined to carry on with it. Furthermore, arrests and prosecutions of those responsible for subjecting girls to FGM were and continue to be publicised through the media to discourage potential perpetrators. As a result, Burkina Faso has seen the prevalence rate of FGM fall considerably over the years.

In some other African countries, even though they have adopted legislation to ban FGM, they have not followed through with the full programme of rights set out in the protocol and so have not produced similar results to those in Burkina Faso.

To save the thousands of girls affected each day by this harmful practice (and 6,000 girls is an enormous number with which to contend), African governments have an affirmative duty not to delay any further the ratification of the Protocol on the Rights of Women.

During 16-18 September, Kenya is hosting an international conference on FGM titled 'Developing a Political, Legal and Social Environment to implement the Maputo Protocol'. Linah Kilimo, Kenyan Minister for Home Affairs, and a long time activist against FGM, is leading the meeting and has secured President Kibaki's support for it. At the end of the conference, it is anticipated that the president or his foreign minister will officially hand over Kenya's instrument of ratification to the chair of the African Union Commission, Alpha Oumar Konare. If this plan succeeds, Kenya will be the fifth country to ratify the protocol following Namibia, which ratified it last month, and thereby laying out a legal framework to fight the practice and preserve the human rights of Kenyan women and girls.

Kenya appears to be on track and other African states also need to follow the example of the Comoros, Libya, Rwanda and Namibia in formally expressing their commitment to the human rights of women in Africa. As the continent

next month gathers at the Seventh Conference on Women's Rights in Addis Ababa to review progress made in honouring commitments undertaken in Beijing and Dakar 10 years ago, ratifying the Protocol on the Rights of Women could well serve as an achievement to bring to the table.

From Beijing to Addis Ababa: What Progress for African Women?

Kafui Adjamagbo-Johnson
Pambazuka News 157, 20 May 2004

THE FOURTH WORLD Conference on Women held in Beijing in September 1995 raised hopes of a substantial improvement in women's condition across the world and particularly in Africa. The Beijing Declaration and programme of action considered by the United Nations' Secretary General to be 'one of the most remarkable documents ever produced by an intergovernmental conference' commits states to taking concrete action in 12 priority areas in relation to women's autonomy. Ten years after Beijing and on the heels of the seventh regional conference at Addis Ababa, where are we now? Have African women and girls really made remarkable gains in such essential areas as education, fundamental human rights, violence against women, their participation in decision-making, health and the fight against poverty?

Progress and Challenges in Education

Education, a fundamental human right for women, is also a tool for transformation and an essential means of implementing egalitarian objectives, development and peace. In ten years of implementation of the Beijing platform, noticeable progress has been made in education and training for women and girls. Efforts to bring about universal primary education for all, positive discrimination in favour of women's and girls' education and training in areas apparently reserved for men, and awareness-raising campaigns have had encouraging results. However, there are still major constraints on equal access to education for men and women. Cultural practices and stereotypes have a negative influence on access, maintenance and development of girls across the whole school curriculum. Credits allocated are usually insufficient and girls continue to be the object of sexual harassment in educational institutions, as is evidenced by the concept of 'sexually transmitted marks', which persists under different appellations in several African countries. These are only a few of the challenges to be faced before women and girls enjoy full human rights in education and training.

For the complete article in English see: http://www.pambazuka.org/index.php?id=24944

Women and Other Gender Concerns in Post-Conflict Reconstruction

Eugenia Date-Bah
Pambazuka News 179, 21 October 2004

PEOPLE'S EXPERIENCES during conflict are not gender neutral. The impacts of armed conflict as well as the coping strategies adopted by people tend to differ between men and women. Gender as an important element in determining vulnerability becomes even more acute in the conflict-affected situation.

However, men and women cannot be defined as homogeneous categories whose conflict experiences can be crudely divided along their gender-prescribed roles. It has to be recognised that, besides numerous gender-sensitive constraints, conflict also accentuates resourcefulness in the adoption of coping and survival strategies. This can lead to progressive and empowering gender role changes and fluidity.

The post-conflict reintegration and reconstruction processes offer a window of opportunity for enhancing women's and men's socio-economic security rather than for re-establishing the status quo ante, including the gender stereotypes and traditional gender divisions of labour. Therefore, the promotion of a more equitable, just and inclusive society with women and other previously vulnerable and socially excluded groups becoming full players should be one of the overall goals of post-conflict interventions.

Nevertheless, the new post-conflict reconstruction, institutions, structures, policies and laws that are put in place tend to lack the special gender sensitivity required in this context, and therefore they reintroduce the pre-war gender-biased positions and emphasise women's reproductive roles, eroding the strategic gains that accrue to women during war. Women's associations and groups therefore have important advocacy and advisory roles to play to ensure serious consideration of gender concerns.

The importance of including gender concerns in all peace-building, post-conflict recovery and reconstruction has been recognised by a number of UN resolutions (such as UN Security Council Resolution 1325), meetings and other events in recent years. For example, both the 1995 Beijing Fourth World Conference on Women and the 2000 Beijing +5 Conference covered this subject among other issues.

Despite this trend, consideration of women's concerns and other gender issues in post-conflict contexts, as well as in the general reintegration, reconstruction and peace-building processes, continues to be inadequate in research, policies, action programmes and debates on current conflicts. Thus the gender differences in human security in post-conflict situations continue to require focus.

Although the consequences of armed conflicts affect all population groups, women appear to bear a disproportionate burden owing to the nature of today's conflicts. As far back as 1944, the International Labour Organisation drew attention to the situation of women post-conflict through the adoption of some standards on the issue. One of these standards is the International Labour Recommendation No. 71 concerning Employment Organisation, Transition from War to Peace, which covers some of the vulnerable groups in the conflict and post-conflict context, especially young people, women and disabled people. With specific reference to women and gender equality, the recommendation states that: 'The redistribution of the women workers in the economy should be organised on the principle of complete equality of opportunity for men and women on the basis of their individual merit, skill and experience, without prejudice to the provisions of the international labour conventions and recommendations concerning the employment of women.'

A resolution adopted at the International Labour Conference in 1944 on the conflict issue covered a number of concerns including the employment of women. This recognised that special action is necessary to ensure that women as well as men benefit from the training, retraining and other employment measures and that the principle of gender equality must be observed.

The consideration given to women's special employment needs can be used as one indicator of the general lack of gender perspective. An ILO Expert Meeting on the Design of Guidelines for Training and Employment of Ex-Combatants (July 1995), for example, observed that 'there has been inadequate planning for women' in post-conflict societies and, therefore, called for action in this area. The pursuit of peace, reintegration and reconstruction needs to go along with equality to avoid compounding old problems, such as discrimination against women, social exclusion and the feminisation of poverty.

The Platform for Action adopted by the Fourth World Conference on Women (September 1995) acknowledges this and, therefore, has as one of its critical areas of concern 'the effects of armed or other kinds of conflict on women, including those living under foreign occupation'. It recognises that a peaceful environment is vital for women's advancement. It notes the serious human rights violations against women in these circumstances (such as systematic rape, enforced prostitution, sexual slavery and other indecent assaults) as well as the large numbers of women and children among refugees, internally displaced persons and civilian casualties, who tend to outnumber the casualties among combatants. Additionally, it draws attention to the heavy increase in the burden of women stemming from the rapid escalation of female heads of households and from caring for the large numbers of injured people. It acknowledges the important role of women and their resourcefulness in such situations. It calls, among other things, for women's greater participation in decision-making, conflict resolution and peace-building; the protection of

women in situations of armed conflict; a reduction in human rights abuses; the promotion of vocational and other skills training so that women can become self-reliant; and the promotion of the human rights of women who have been affected by conflict. Gender analysis and planning require serious integration in conflict and post-conflict programming, such as in the fields of skills training and employment promotion, to ensure that gender equality is promoted.

Armed conflicts have significant impacts on households and the community. As confirmed in ILO studies, household structures are characterised by a drastic decline in the male population and an increase in the number of female-headed households. As a result, more women may engage in income-generating work, while some may lose access to land and labour or more secure livelihoods. In addition, women's work in the household increases because of the increase in the size of households, which is often accompanied by a greater number of dependants, as well as because of the general deterioration of working and living conditions.

The drastic decline in the male population also means that there are large numbers of widows and single mothers in conflict-affected countries. Widowhood affects women's social status, physical safety, identity and mobility and their access to services as well as their rights to property, land and inheritance. Women whose husbands are declared missing face even more difficulties, since their status is not officially recognised. Furthermore, displacement and the increase of violence contribute to the overall feeling of insecurity, uncertainty, and isolation, thus breaking social structures and community support mechanisms. Rebuilding depleted trust and cohesion within the communities is an important part of post-conflict recovery.

The erosion of social capital has important gender implications during and after a conflict. Recent research shows that gender identities that play an important role in determining and restoring trust have significant implications for the roles of different organisations in rebuilding social capital. Institutions, organisations and informal networks that are major actors in shaping the conflict and the post-conflict recovery, and in which, consequently, the social capital often erodes, are more usually men dominated. On the other hand, experience shows that women and women-run organisations that often build on solidarity arising from fear, violence and traumas tend to gain more trust in the community and so can play a critical role in bringing about peace and rebuilding the trust and cohesion in communities.

As identified in the ILO and other studies, armed conflicts challenge the traditional gender roles, and men and women may be pressured to adhere to the traditionally imposed ideals of masculinity and femininity. Men are often portrayed as the defenders of their culture and are expected to be aggressive, dominating and violent. On the contrary, women are proclaimed 'mothers of the nation' and are expected to support their brothers, husbands and fathers.

The ability of men and women to adhere to these prescribed gender roles may cause frustration, loss of self-respect and trigger violence. For example, an ACORD study in Northern Uganda has found that the conflict crucially challenged the traditional norms of masculinity such as marriage, fatherhood, and material and security provision. Heavy militarisation and displacement limited the ability of many men to provide for their families and fulfil their duties as husbands and fathers. Due to the lack of opportunities to gain assets (cattle or cash) necessary to enter married life, many young men were prevented from starting their families and getting recognition from their community. The study also showed that, although many men were not able to behave according to the norms of masculinity, it was difficult for them not to try to conform to these norms. Men's inability to reach these gender-constructed norms often means disempowerment in the public sphere, to which some retaliate by exercising power in the domestic sphere over their children and wives.

On the other hand, ideals of femininity in many cultures often embody willingness to find non-confrontational solutions and to work for the good of the community. As such, women are often connected to the rejection of war and conflict. However, women are also active members of political movements and armed forces because they are committed to the political, religious or economic goals of those involved in conflict. While during the conflict their participation is often welcomed, their gender identity becomes problematic once the communities start to recover.

Women's personal experiences of increased participation in the political, social and economic sphere may challenge the existing gender relations and norms, because for many women entering into the public sphere represents an empowering experience. The traditional gender division of labour may break down as more women enter the labour market, often engaging in traditionally male occupations. However, the conflict and post-conflict recovery period may also revive traditional values, thus pressuring women to resume their traditional gender roles.

Since the nature of conflict and its impacts are likely to differ between and within communities of a conflict-affected country, it is best to undertake a community-based needs assessment utilising participatory methodologies in order to understand and thus address localised issues in an inclusive manner.

Particular attention needs to be paid to those who might be excluded from regular community structures, as social exclusion is likely to increase for some groups during and after conflict (e.g. female ex-combatants, women who are viewed by their communities to have adopted socially unacceptable practices, those who are known to have contracted STDs including HIV/AIDS, etc). This approach is more likely to increase the visibility of women and the gender differentiated needs and interests arising out of conflict.

With respect to demographic changes, the evidence presented illustrates that

the number of women who become the sole providers for their families increases as a consequence of conflict. Therefore, this increases their need for women and other gender concerns in post-conflict reconstruction. At the same time, the burden of women within the home tends to intensify. In order for women to participate in employment and training programmes which will assist them in achieving economic self-sufficiency, consideration must be given to the timing and location of training programmes so that they take account of the extent and nature of women's obligations.

Experience shows that reintegration programmes for refugee and internally displaced populations tend to neglect 'remainee' populations, thus producing further conflicts and tensions. This situation therefore argues again for a more holistic approach to programming, with opportunities open to all community members rather than to specific beneficiary groups. Furthermore, it should be remembered that in Mozambique and Guatemala refugee women lost out because the skills they gained during their period of refuge were not sustained or followed up. Efforts should be made to utilise skills which have been acquired, such as training of trainers, etc. It should also be recognised that some refugees and displaced persons will not return to their places of origin and will construct a new life or continue in a new community. The line blurs between displacement and resettlement.

An opportunity emerges to correct gender stereotypes in educational materials and to increase the number of women trainers. In addition, there is an opportunity to draw women into non-traditional skill areas, given the shift in gender roles during conflict. The challenge is to identify skill areas into which women have moved and to support them (e.g. appropriate extension services in agriculture). Training in life skills is needed to assist people to adapt to the new environments in which they may find themselves (e.g. rural-urban migration).

Deterioration in the health of both the women themselves and their family members as a result of the conflict may be a prohibiting factor to their participation in employment and training programmes and may restrict the kinds of activities they are able to undertake. However, additional income is necessary to pay for medical care.

It is necessary to identify survival or coping strategies which have had a positive transformative role in gender relations at the household and community level and to work toward supporting them through the extension of appropriate employment and training opportunities. Additionally, it is essential to reduce women having to resort to sex work by providing them with alternatives and reaching out to those who may have become socially excluded and increasingly more vulnerable due to the coping mechanisms they have had to adopt.

The non-involvement of women in government and policy-making arenas and the frequent failure to cover gender issues in peace accords and other

framework documents may indicate a lack of commitment to and possible hostility toward adopting gender-sensitive policies. Yet the fluid post-conflict situation can create a window of opportunity to promote gender equality in the employment field through national policy and commitment to international labour standards and the implementation of appropriate labour market interventions.

Failing to seize this opportunity may further marginalise women and allow gender inequality to persist. Hence, there is a need to build institutional partnerships in an effort to more systematically ensure that gender is taken into account at all levels and across all programme areas.

Finally, the collection and analysis of gender-sensitive labour data may be an important contribution to conflict prevention as part of essential early warning and response work. For example, recent studies suggest that a large percentage of unemployed young men are an indicator of potential instability, as they are prone to entering into the illegal drugs and arms trade or the ranks of militants and fighters. Consequently, the retraining or employment-creation response at the micro level may provide alternatives to participation in armed forces. Clearly there is a need for pre-conflict preparedness and mitigation strategies, with a special focus on the micro level, to ensure proactive and effective post-conflict responses.

This article is based on extracts from 'Women and other Gender Concerns in Post-Conflict Reconstruction and Job Creation Efforts'. The article is part of a collection of articles in a book entitled Jobs After War: A Critical Challenge in the Peace and Reconstruction Puzzle*, edited by Eugenia Date-Bah and published by the InFocus Programme on Crisis Response and Reconstruction of the ILO. The publication documents some of the ILO's experience in tackling the post-conflict job challenge. ILO publications can be purchased on line at http://www.ilo.org/publns or email pubvente@ilo.org*