III. Gender, security and development

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Introduction

The bridging of security and development and the introduction of concepts such as 'human security' and 'fragile systems' have shifted considerable focus from the state to the individual as the primary referent in international studies.[1] As this intellectual space has opened, a more nuanced understanding of the linkages between local, national and global security and development processes has emerged, which includes insights gained from a gendered approach.

A gendered approach to security and development is one that is linked to empowerment of the individual, while identifying and analysing systemic features of gender norms, culture and roles in society.[2] In fragile systems, gendered approaches can be employed to identify the systemic inequalities that cultivate conflict and inhibit development.[3] The absence of a gendered approach has often reinforced the characterization of women as victims of war and poverty. Such approaches ignore the agency of women in key processes. For example, in many post-conflict environments, the 'womenandchildren' discourse can lead to disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) approaches that exclude women because they are presumed not to have been active combatants or key stakeholders in the peacebuilding process.[4] Recognizing the different experiences of men and women in conflict-affected and fragile environments is considered by many as the first step in transforming fragile societies into more equal and stable ones.[5]

An exploration of gender equality is particularly useful in the study of fragile systems, as certain kinds of inequality can act as a catalyst or amp-

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[1] Fragile systems are complex settings characterized by economic, environmental or political shocks, ineffective institutions or governance, creating a risk that unresolved contests become violence or armed conflict (see section I in this chapter). Also see Hudson, H., '"Doing" security as though humans matter: a feminist perspective on gender and the politics of human security', *Security Dialogue*, vol. 36, no. 2 (June 2005), pp. 162–63.

[2] Hoogensen, G. and Stuvøy, K., 'Gender, resistance and human security', *Security Dialogue*, vol. 37, no. 2 (June 2006), pp. 207–28.

[3] Berik, G., van der Meulen Rogers, Y. and Seguino, S., 'Feminist economics of inequality, development, and growth', *Feminist Economists*, vol. 15, no. 3 (July 2009), pp. 1–33; Berik et al. explain that systemic inequality must be examined in terms of both equality of opportunity and equality of outcomes, as unequal outcomes lead to unequal power distributions, which impacts on opportunities.

[4] Enloe, C., *Bananas, Beaches and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics* (University of California Press: Berkeley and Los Angeles, 2014); and Anderlini, S. N., *Women Building Peace: What They Do, Why It Matters* (Lynne Rienner Publishers: Boulder, CO, 2007).

[5] See Bjarnegård, E. et al., 'Gender, peace and armed conflict', chapter 4, section I, in this volume.

lifier of violence.[6] As discussed in the first section of the chapter, insecurity generated by conflict applies intense pressure on markets, public services and the environment—causing already delicate institutions to weaken or collapse—and ultimately leads to a rise in poverty.[7] Furthermore, socio-economic inequalities between men and women often render women more vulnerable in conflict and post-conflict environments.[8] For example, women are more likely to be displaced, which makes them susceptible to a wide range of secondary vulnerabilities.[9] A gendered approach considers how policy measures limit the voice and agency of different groups, as well as their access to resources.[10]

This section discusses how gender equality influences the way questions of security and development are answered. To demonstrate the impact of gendered approaches, it then summarizes key multilateral agreements concerning gender equality, with a specific focus on the agreements that sought to promote the inclusion of women in conflict and post-conflict negotiations. Finally, it reviews gender dimensions of security and development with examples from 2014.

Gender, gender equality, security and development

Unlike sex, which refers to the biological characteristics of men and women, gender is a set of culturally defined, socially constructed and symbolically articulated roles and characteristics attributed to men and women.[11] Gender is a fluid category and highlights that differences between the sexes are not immutable and may change, for example, during periods of armed conflict or as a result of development interventions.[12]

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[6] Melander, E., 'Gender equality and intrastate armed conflict', *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 49, 2005, pp. 695–714; Bjarnegård (note 5); and Stewart, F., 'Why horizontal inequalities are important for a shared society', *Development*, vol. 57, no. 1 (2014), pp. 46–54.

[7] World Bank, *World Bank Development Report 2011: Conflict, Security and Development* (Washington, DC: World Bank, 2011), F1.3.

[8] True, J., 'Feminist problems with international norms: gender mainstreaming in global governance', eds J. A. Tickner and L. Sjöberg, *Feminism and International Relations: Conversations about the Past, Present and Future* (Routledge: Oxon, 2013).

[9] Buvinic, M. et al., 'Violent conflict and gender equality: an overview', Policy Research Working Paper 6371, World Bank, Feb. 2013.

[10] The primacy of gender equality here builds on intersectional feminism, which considers gender inequality as 1 of many interconnected inequalities. Intersectional feminism interrogates the complex power relations embedded in social, cultural and economic structures. Like systems thinking, intersectional feminism is not confined by the traditional silos of the humanitarian, development, security and justice sectors. See Ferree, M. M., 'The discursive politics of gendering human security: beyond the binaries', eds A. M. Tripp, M. M. Ferree and C. Ewig, *Gender, Violence, and Human Security: Critical Feminist Perspectives* (New York University Press: New York, 2013), pp. 285–308; and Hudson (note 1).

[11] Pine, F., 'Gender', eds A. Barnard and J. Spencer, *Encyclopedia of Social and Cultural Anthropology* (Routledge: London, 2002), pp. 385–98. This definition reflects a constructionist view.

[12] Bastick, M., 'Integrating gender in post-conflict security sector reform', *SIPRI Yearbook 2008*, pp. 149–71.

Gender is also a way of structuring power relations. It serves as a symbolic system where characteristics associated with masculinity are valued differently than those associated with femininity.[13] The difference in how gender is valued influences society's expectations of men and women (and influences the type of jobs, activities and family roles perceived to be appropriate for women and men to pursue). This difference also influences society's perceptions of weapons and warfare and is reflected in political, economic and socio-cultural systems that marginalize women and individuals whose characteristics do not match gender constructs.[14]

Gender equality refers to 'the equal rights, responsibilities and opportunities of women and men', and implies that the interests, needs and priorities of both women and men are taken into consideration and that diversity among groups of women and men is recognized.[15] Quantitative research on gender equality includes the number of women in national legislatures, fertility rates, education levels, duration of female suffrage and the percentage of women in the labour force, whereas qualitative research largely considers shifts in values, norms and ideals that influence the relationships between men and women.[16]

Gender equality influences security and development outputs in fragile systems in a multitude of ways. For example, research has demonstrated that gender equality, especially within the areas of education and employment, contributes positively to economic growth.[17] The World Economic Forum's annual Global Gender Gap Report highlights that women become more significant consumers as they attain higher levels of economic independence. Unlike their male counterparts, women are also more likely to invest large proportions of their household income in their children's health and education.[18] Except in some high-income countries, economic growth does not necessarily increase gender equality.[19] This finding runs contrary to the belief that gender equality emerges organically as societies achieve greater levels of economic development. In addition to its direct impacts on economic growth, gender equality also impacts indirectly on development. For example, improvements in women's access to education,

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[13] Cohn, C., Hill, F. and Ruddick, S., 'The relevance of gender for eliminating weapons of mass destruction', The Weapons of Mass Destruction Commission, Working Paper no. 38 (2005).

[14] Cohn, Hill and Ruddick (note 13).

[15] United Nations Office of the Special Adviser on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women, 'Concepts and definitions', [n.d.], <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/osagi/conceptsandefinitions.htm>.

[16] Bjarnegård (note 5).

[17] Kabeer, N. and Natali, L., 'Gender equality and economic growth: is there a win–win?', Institute for Development Studies Working Paper, vol. 2013, no. 417, Feb. 2013, pp. 34–35.

[18] World Economic Forum, 'Global Gender Gap Report 2014', 2014, p. 43.

[19] Kabeer and Natali (note 17), pp. 32–34.

income and work positively impacts on health outcomes and contributes to lower fertility rates.[20]

Furthermore, societies with high levels of gender inequality are associated with intra-state armed conflict.[21] Other kinds of horizontal inequality—those between culturally defined or socially constructed groups—are also believed to contribute to inter-group conflicts, including civil war.[22] The correlation between different kinds of inequality and conflict has been attributed, in part, to structural violence. Gender inequality, as well as racial, religious and ethnic inequality, is an integral aspect of structural violence, which describes systems of institutionalized discrimination wherein resources (and power over resources) are unevenly distributed.[23] Violent groups often mobilize support for conflict using gendered appeals based on stereotypes, coercion and societal tolerance for violence. Increasing gender equality may diminish such recruitment efforts.[24] Finally, gender equality is a public good in its own right; it need not be instrumental to security and development to add value to a society.

Recent events (such as the shooting of Malala Yosafzai by the Taliban in Pakistan; the gang rape of a student in India; and reports of sexual harassment by female protestors in Tahrir Square in Cairo) drew global media attention to the issue of violence against women. These events have also illustrated the global nature of structural violence against women and increased discussions around women's participation in the public sphere and security discourses.[25]

Although gender equality affects society as a whole, it is often labelled a 'women's issue' and relegated to the category of 'special interest advocacy'.[26] This asymmetric perception of gender equality may alienate men,

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[20] Fertility rates often reflect the cultural norms, gender power structures and availability of birth control, which affect women's reproductive rights. As societies develop economically, fertility rates tend to decrease to a certain threshold.

[21] Melander (note 6); and Bjarnegård (note 5).

[22] Stewart, F. 'Why horizontal inequalities are important for a shared society', *Development*, vol. 57, no. 1 (Sep. 2014), pp. 46–54.

[23] Galtung, J. 'Violence, peace, and peace research', *Journal of Peace Research*, vol. 6, no. 3 (1969), p. 171.

[24] Caprioli, M., 'Gender equality and civil wars', Conflict Prevention and Reconstruction Unit Working Paper no. 8, World Bank (Sep. 2003), pp. 4–5.

[25] United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), 'Sustaining human progress: reducing vulnerabilities and building resilience', *Human Development Report 2014*, 2014, <http://hdr.undp.org/en/2014-report>.

[26] Sawer, M., 'Gender assessment literature review', prepared for the Australian Government Office for Women within the Department of Families, Housing, Community Services and Indigenous Affairs (FaHCSIA), 7 Nov. 2014, <https://www.dss.gov.au/our-responsibilities/women/publications-articles/government-international/fahcsia-literature-review-on-gender-assessment>, p. 10; and Schratzenstaller, M., 'Gender impact assessment in Austria', *Exchange of Good Practices on Gender Equality: Gender Impact Assessment*, Discussion Paper, Austria (European Commission: Brussels, June 2014), <http://ec.europa.eu/justice/gender-equality/files/exchange_of_good_practices_at/at_discussion_paper_at_2014_en.pdf>, p. 8.

thus discouraging their participation in the gender equality discourse.[27] Moreover, this perception ignores how the construction of masculinity affects conflict and post-conflict reconciliation.[28] Notions of masculinity are often linked to the possession of weapons and the heroism of combatants. As a result, male ex-combatants who are unable to fulfil traditional roles (e.g. as head of the household and main income earner) or who have been traumatized by war often face identity crises, which have been linked to increased domestic violence and substance abuse. The stereotype of men as perpetrators of violence also discourages them from reporting incidents in which they have been victimized.[29] Further, in order for DDR to be effective, it is also important to consider men's gender identities in order to explore ways of transforming violent masculine identities into non-violent ones.[30]

There are many ways to evaluate gender equality in peacebuilding. Two key measures are: (*a*) the presence of both women and men at the negotiating table; and (*b*) the inclusion of gender issues in the associated discussions. As of 2012, women's participation in negotiating delegations averaged nine per cent, while four per cent of signatories in peace processes were women. Although female participation in peace negotiations remains low, there are several concrete examples of inclusive peacebuilding where women played a significant role. In Kenya, for example, Graça Machel served as one of three mediators in the 2008 peace negotiations led by the African Union; and two women were among the eight delegates to the post-election peace talks.[31]

The level and quality of female engagement in peace processes is also important. In DDR programmes the role of women is not always meaningful or reflective of their diverse roles in conflict. Poorly designed DDR programmes can inadvertently exclude women. For instance, research in Liberia and Sierra Leone suggests that some women did not enrol in DDR programmes due to social stigma and safety concerns related to the increased risk of sexual violence.[32] Other women, who had served as combatants, were not invited to participate in certain DDR activities as they were assumed to have played a non-violent role in the conflict.[33]

[27] Schratzenstaller (note 26), p. 9.

[28] Schäuble, M., *Narrating Victimhood: Gender, Religion and the Making of Place in Post-War Croatia* (Berghahn Books: New York, 2014).

[29] Schäuble (note 28).

[30] United Nations, *Operational guide to the integrated disarmament, demobilization and reintegration standards*, UN Inter-Agency Working Group on DDR, 2014, p. 207; and Bastick (note 12).

[31] Castillo Diaz, P. and Tordjman, S., 'Women's participation in peace negotiations: connections between presence and influence', United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and Women (Oct. 2012), <http://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/03AWomenPeaceNeg.pdf>.

[32] United Nations (note 30), p. 207; and Bastick (note 12).

[33] MacKenzie, M., 'Securitization and desecuritization: female soldiers and the reconstruction of women in post-conflict Sierra Leone', *Security Studies*, vol. 18, no. 2 (May 2009), pp. 241–61.

In addition to serving as armed combatants, women also provide logistical, communication and fundraising support to warring factions. DDR programmes that associate the combatant's status solely with the possession of weapons exclude a stakeholder group that was key to sustaining the conflict.[34] In fragile societies ignoring existing codes of masculinity can reinforce the marginalization of women, and prevent the type of socio-economic development that supports sustainable peace.[35] Reintegration programmes that distribute benefits—financial compensation, vocational training and land—equitably among ex-combatants, support groups and their communities can better address the structural inequalities and exploitative patterns that provoke conflict.[36] South Sudan is currently pursuing an inclusive DDR programme of this nature.[37]

Gender perspectives in the international community

The relationship between gender equality, development and peace is acknowledged in the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (section E on Women and Armed Conflict), adopted at the Fourth World Conference on Women in 1995. Today, the discussion on gender issues within the international security context often references United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 and its follow-up resolutions.[38] Adopted in 2000, the landmark resolution on women, peace and security acknowledges the different challenges faced by women in armed conflict. At the time it was the most comprehensive international policy document describing the role of women in peacebuilding and post-conflict reconstruction. It focused on the need for female participation at all political levels in the prevention, management and resolution of conflict. Resolution 1325 also calls for the protection of women from sexual and gender-based violence, a concept that was further developed in 2002 when the UN Convention on the Status of Refugees was revised to provide victims of gender-based violence committed by state-based actors the right to claim asylum as refugees.[39] To date, 48 countries have adopted a National Action Plan (NAP) for the

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[34] Dudouet, V., Giessmann, H. and Planta, K., 'From combatants to peacebuilders: a case for inclusive, participatory and holistic security transitions', The Berghof Foundation, 2012.

[35] Dudouet, Giessmann and Planta (note 34).

[36] Dudouet, Giessmann and Planta (note 34).

[37] Small Arms Survey, 'Human security baseline assessment (HSBA) for Sudan and South Sudan', 21 June 2013, <http://www.smallarmssurveysudan.org/fileadmin/docs/facts-figures/ddr/HSBA-DDR-in-Sudan-June-2013.pdf>; Dudouet, Giessmann and Planta (note 34); and Munive, J. and Finne Jakobsen, S., 'Revisiting DDR in Liberia: exploring the power, agency and interests of local and international actors in the "making" and "unmaking" of combatants', *Conflict, Security & Development*, vol. 12, no. 4 (2012), p. 362.

[38] United Nations Peacekeeping, 'Women, peace and security', [n.d.], <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/issues/women/wps.shtml>.

[39] Ferree (note 10), p. 291.

Box 8.2. Key points of United Nations Security Council resolutions subsequent to UN Security Council Resolution 1325

Resolution 1820 (2008): focuses on the need for the protection of women from gender-based violence; and highlights women's victimization versus women's empowerment.

Resolution 1888 (2009): promotes accountability mechanisms; complements Resolution 1820 on gender-based violence in conflict; and calls for the appointment of a Special Representative of the Secretary-General to advance the UN work on sexual violence.

Resolution 1889 (2009): builds on the theme of increased implementation measures; and includes the concept of women's empowerment (more progressive than resolutions 1820 and 1888).

Resolution 1960 (2010): emphasizes the need to address sexual violence in conflict and by UN personnel/peacekeepers; praises the work of gender advisors and anticipates the appointment of women protection advisers in peacekeeping missions; and asks states to deploy greater numbers of female police and military personnel in peacekeeping operations.

Resolution 2106 (2013): addresses impunity and operationalizes guidance on sexual violence in conflict (no new concepts); and addresses areas of justice, women's empowerment, armaments, women's human rights and civil society engagement.

Resolution 2122 (2013): builds on participation elements of the women, peace and security (WPS) agenda; furthers Resolution 1325 implementation; substantially addresses issues of women's empowerment, access to justice, information and documentation of human rights violations and civil society engagement; and requests more Security Council briefings by various entities on WPS issues.

Source: Adapted with permission from Miller, B., Pournik, M. and Swaine, A., Women in Peace and Security through United Nations Security Resolution 1325: Literature Review, Content Analysis of National Action Plans, and Implementation, George Washington University Institute for Global and International Studies Working Paper 13/Global Gender Program Working Paper 09 (George Washington University: Washington DC, May 2014).

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implementation of Resolution 1325.[40] Box 8.2 summarizes relevant follow-on resolutions.[41]

During the UN Conference on the Arms Trade Treaty in 2013, gender-based violence and the risk of serious violence against women and children was discussed for the first time in the treaty's multi-year negotiations.[42] The call to strengthen the treaty's criterion on preventing gender-based violence was supported by 100 states, due in a large part to lobbying by civil society organizations.[43]

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[40] Peacewomen.org, 'List of national action plans', [n.d.], <http://peacewomen.org>.

[41] Miller, B., Pournik, M. and Swaine, A., *Women in Peace and Security through United Nations Security Resolution 1325: Literature Review, Content Analysis of National Action Plans, and Implementation*, George Washington University Institute for Global and International Studies Working Paper 13/Global Gender Program Working Paper 09 (George Washington University: Washington DC, May 2014).

[42] See the discussion on the ATT in chapter 15, section I, of this volume.

[43] Holtom, P., 'The Arms Trade Treaty', *SIPRI Yearbook 2014*, p. 447; and the Government Offices of Sweden, *Budgetpropositionen för 2015, Utgiftsområde 5: Internationell Samverkan* [Budget bill for 2015, category 5: international cooperation], p. 21.

Gender equality has been included in prominent international agreements within the development sector, namely the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness (2005) and Accra Agenda for Action (2008).[44] The Busan Partnership for Effective Development Co-operation (2011) expanded on these documents, highlighting the need to increase commitment to gender equality, including the necessity for better gender disaggregated data on development indicators.[45] A commitment to gender disaggregated data is also a component of the International Dialogue for Peacebuilding and Statebuilding's New Deal for Engagement in Fragile States, which recognizes the need for women's empowerment and participation in political processes.[46] Finally, at the time of writing, the proposed fifth Sustainable Development Goal (discussed earlier) reads: 'Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls.' These agreements and documents reflect global consensus on the important role of gender equality in promoting sustainable development.

Gender dimensions of recent fragile systems

This sub-section describes a number of recent developments in security and development from a gender perspective. The examples are indicative of the gender dimensions of complex challenges associated with promoting sustainable development in fragile systems.

The Ebola outbreak in West Africa

The 2014 outbreak of Ebola in West Africa discussed in section II illustrates the policy implications of gender and structural violence in fragile systems, since the outbreak affected women and men quite differently. In Liberia women represent 65 per cent of all reported cases of Ebola and across West Africa they represent 75 per cent.[47] This is largely due to their customary roles as carers and their part in traditional funeral rites, which brings them into closer contact with infected people.[48] Yet, the asymmetry in exposure is also linked to economic factors and has further

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[44] Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), 'The Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness and the Accra Agenda for Action', 2005/2008.

[45] OECD, 'The Busan Partnership for Effective Development Cooperation', July 2012, <http://www.oecd.org/dac/effectiveness/Busan%20partnership.pdf>.

[46] International Dialogue for Peacebuilding and Statebuilding, 'A New Deal for engagement in fragile states', [n.d.], <http://www.newdeal4peace.org/wp-content/themes/newdeal/docs/new-deal-for-engagement-in-fragile-states-en.pdf>.

[47] Ministry of Gender and Development, Republic of Liberia, interview between Ebola Deeply and Julia Duncan-Cassell, Liberia's Minister of Gender, on Ebola and Women, 30 Oct. 2014, <http://www.eboladeeply.org/articles/2014/10/6411/ebola-women-julia-duncan-cassell-liberias-minister-gender/>; and Unicef, 'Ebola outbreak response in West Africa', 2014 <http://www.unicef.org/appeals/files/HAC_Ebola_Response.pdf>.

[48] Diggens, J. and Mills, E., 'The pathology of inequality: gender and Ebola in West Africa', Institute of Development Studies, IDS Practice Paper in Brief 23 (24 Feb. 2015).

economic impacts. In Liberia and Sierra Leone, for example, women are key players in food production and are responsible for 70 per cent of the cross-border trade. Certain measures taken to prevent the epidemic's spread—such as trade restrictions and the border closure—have diminished women's ability to earn money, thus disproportionately impacting female-led households.[49]

The Ebola outbreak is a clear example of the importance of applying a systems approach in order to gain an understanding of how hierarchies interact and the need to reconfigure the institutions that bear the legacy of entrenched structural violence to prevent deepening gendered gaps. The outbreak is also a reminder of the interlinkages between health and trade systems and of how gender inequalities and power are visible within them.

Political representation in Rwanda

In 2014 Rwanda was the only country in the world where women made up more than 50 per cent of the positions in government (including parliament), a significant increase from the 10–15 per cent held by women in the Rwandan Parliament in 1994.[50] This development could be partially attributed to the gender imbalance resulting from the genocide in 1994, but subsequent changes toward gender equality—including granting women the right to own and inherit land in the 1990s; the establishment of a quota system for women in government in 2003; efforts to mainstream gender and increase female participation in the Rwandan Defence Force; and the establishment of a Gender Monitoring Office in 2010—suggest some durable progress on gender equality.[51]

However, these positive indications of improved gender equality, economic expansion and relatively low levels of crime are increasingly overshadowed by signs of deepening authoritarianism (such as severe limitations of freedom of the press and regular monitoring and repression of civil society organizations by government authorities).[52] Moreover, gender inequality persists in many parts of Rwanda, particularly among the poor, due to long-standing attitudes about gender roles and an urban–rural disconnection that is reflected in the country's gender equality policies.[53]

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[49] Diggens and Mills (note 48).

[50] Bennett, E., 'Rwanda strides towards gender equality in government', *The Harvard Kennedy School Review*, 15 Aug. 2014, <http://harvardkennedyschoolreview.com/Rwanda-strides-towards-gender-equality-in-government/>.

[51] Bennett (note 50); Herbert, L., '"Women run the show"?: Gender violence reform and the "stretching" of human rights in Rwanda', *Journal of Human Rights* (2014), p. 5; and Holmes, G., 'Gendering the Rwanda defence force: a critical assessment', *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding*, vol. 8, no. 4 (Dec. 2014), p. 321.

[52] Herbert (note 51), p. 5. Although it was removed from the OECD's failed states list in 2014, Rwanda ranked 34 on the Fund for Peace's Failed States Index in 2014, up from 38 in 2013.

[53] Herbert (note 551), p. 7; and Holmes (note 551), p. 323.

Women in the Ukraine conflict

In Ukraine, women's voices and gender concerns appear to have been almost wholly absent from discussions on the ongoing conflict with pro-Russian separatists.[54] The UN's 2015 Humanitarian Response Plan for Ukraine elaborates that, despite extensive legislation on gender equality, women are largely excluded from political and decision-making processes in Ukraine and have had limited involvement in conflict- and peace-related negotiations.[55] The absence of a gender perspective may have serious repercussions for regional peace, security and human rights. The UN reports that women in the Ukrainian conflict zone are increasingly vulnerable to sexual violence, domestic violence and trafficking due to displacement and structural issues. Further, the UN acknowledges that the conflict's economic consequences acutely affect women.[56]

Gender equality and violent extremism

In UN Security Resolution 2178 (September 2014) the UN Security Council identified women's empowerment as a means of countering violent extremism for the first time.[57] The concept was reiterated a month later in a statement by the President of the Security Council, which emphasized the role of women in conflict prevention and resolution.[58] In light of recent reports on the deliberate and increasing recruitment of women by radical groups such as the Islamic State, Boko Haram and al-Qaeda, there have been similar calls among civil society organizations and the media to engage more women in the anti-radicalization agenda and to promote gender equality as a security measure.[59]

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[54] For a discussion of the Ukraine conflict, see chapter 3 in this volume.

[55] Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (UNHCR), 'Report on the human rights situation in Ukraine: 1 December 2014 to 15 February 2015', p. 16; and United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, '2015 Humanitarian Response Plan for Ukraine: Summary', 2015.

[56] Office of the UNHCR (note 55).

[57] United Nations Security Council Resolution 2178, 24 Sep. 2014. See United Nations, 'Security Council unanimously adopts resolution condemning violent extremism, underscoring need to prevent travel, support for foreign terrorist fighters', Press release, 24 Sep. 2014, <http://www.un.org/press/en/2014/sc11580.doc.htm>.

[58] United Nations, Security Council, Statement by the President of the Security Council, S/PRST/2014/21, 28 Oct. 2014.

[59] Neer, T. and O'Toole, M. E., 'The violence of the Islamic State of Syria (ISIS): a behavioural perspective', *Violence and Gender*, vol. 1, no. 4 (Dec. 2014), pp. 149–50; The Global Center on Cooperative Security and Hedayah, 'Different roles of women in countering violent extremism', Project description, Feb. 2015, <http://www.globalcenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/10/WomenCVE-Project-Desc_Feb2015_FINAL.pdf>; and Mlambo-Ngcukua, P. and Coomaraswamy, R., 'Women are the best weapon in the war against terrorism', *Foreign Policy*, 10 Feb. 2015, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2015/02/10/women-are-the-best-weapon-in-the-war-against-terrorism/>.

Developments in Sweden

Recent initiatives in developed countries may also have gender equality implications for fragile states. The September 2014 general election in Sweden resulted in a government that became the first in the world to declare itself feminist and announce its intention to pursue an explicitly feminist foreign policy. Although this policy is still being formulated, it may have implications for fragile systems, as Sweden is a large provider of international development aid and in 2013 it was the sixth largest donor in the OECD.[60] In addition, together with the other Nordic countries, Sweden has proposed the appointment of an EU representative for gender equality and the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1325.[61]

Implementation of a systems approach: the relevance of gender

Gender represents one of many non-dominant perspectives which can be usefully incorporated into security frameworks, in order to better address the interrelated causes of conflict and identify solutions within fragile systems. Although many constitutive theories have moved away from the state-centric view of international relations—offering instead comprehensive analyses of actors, structures and their transformations—few explicitly consider the role of gender in existing power structures. This is noteworthy because gender is one of the most pervasive inequalities, often compounding other types of inequalities based on ethnicity, class and race.[62] A gender perspective is relevant as it reframes traditionally constructed meanings of security that marginalize women and individuals whose characteristics do not match gender constructs.[63]

Identity and social cohesion are intrinsically linked to questions of fragility, as inter-group conflict and a lack of social cohesion have a tendency to reduce state capacity.[64] Gender serves as a useful lens by focusing on inter-group relations and established power structures. Incorporating a gender perspective into a systems approach allows for a deeper understanding of the complexity of security within fragile systems, and thereby potentially facilitating a more effective response.[65]

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[60] OECD, 'Aid to developing countries rebounds in 2013 to reach an all-time high', 8 Apr. 2014, <http://www.oecd.org/newsroom/aid-to-developing-countries-rebounds-in-2013-to-reach-an-all-time-high.htm>.

[61] Government Offices of Sweden, 'Statement of foreign policy in the parliamentary debate on foreign affairs 2015', 11 Feb. 2015, <http://www.government.se/sb/d/5298/a/254119>.

[62] Hoogensen and Stuvøy (note 2).

[63] Cohn, Hill and Ruddick (note 13).

[64] Kaplan, S., 'Identity in fragile states: social cohesion and state building', *Development*, vol. 52, no. 4 (2009), pp. 466–72.

[65] A systems approach examines key actors, institutions and processes in terms of their relationships within a system and enables an analysis of that system's outputs, capacity and resilience in various contexts (see section I in this chapter).

The securitization of gender in Resolution 1325 highlighted women's unique vulnerabilities in times of war as well as their importance as agents of peace. However, the resolution does not fully address how gender inequality and other components of structural violence contribute to conflict, or the interplay between inequalities and other sources of human insecurity, such as poverty. Despite Resolution 1325's ambition to engage women as key stakeholders in peace negotiations, armed conflicts and reconciliation processes, it has been criticized for reinforcing the gender stereotype of women as victims in need of protection.[66] Resolution 1325's follow-up resolutions have, to some degree, made progress toward overcoming this challenge. Nonetheless, critics point to the resolution's failure to deal with underlying gender roles, as well as cultural and structural violence, that legitimize wider forms of violence and conflict.[67]

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[66] True (note 8), p. 85; Pratt, N. and Richter-Devroe, S., 'Critically examining UNSCR 1325 on women, peace and security', *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, vol. 13, no. 4 (2011), pp. 489–503; and Puechguirbal, N., 'Peacekeeping', ed. Laura Shepherd, *Gender Matters in Global Politics: A Feminist Introduction to International Relations* (Routledge: New York, 2015), p. 254.

[67] True (note 8), p. 84.