

I. The development of the women, peace and security agenda

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The women, peace and security (WPS) agenda consists of eight United Nations Security Council resolutions that address the importance of the equal participation, protection and full involvement of women in all efforts for maintaining and promoting peace and security.¹ The WPS foundational resolution—UN Resolution 1325—is divided into four priority areas: participation, prevention, protection and peacebuilding, and the follow-up resolutions strengthen these specific priority areas. This section explains the WPS agenda, the developments that led up to the ratification of the foundational resolution, as well as the WPS agenda's main stakeholders. It concludes with a focus on the resolutions and their different priority areas.

The developments leading to the ratification of UN Security Council Resolution 1325

When Security Council Resolution 1325 was adopted it was perceived as a landmark resolution in addressing women's roles in peace and security. In the past the Security Council had condemned atrocities against women but this was the first time women's roles as agents of peace had been recognized in a Security Council resolution, thereby emphasizing the importance of the issue at the highest forum of international security.² Under Article 25 of the UN Charter, Security Council resolutions are legally binding on all UN member states and UN entities.³ Today, the UN Security Council, UN Secretary-General and UN agencies are responsible for implementing and promoting the WPS agenda through various UN policies and the method of 'gender mainstreaming'.⁴ However, the UN has no legal measures to use if the member states do not implement the resolutions and policies.

The successful introduction and ratification of Security Council Resolution 1325 was mainly through decades of activism and advocacy by civil society and the women's movement, which has roots going back to at least the

¹ United Nations Security Council resolutions: 1325 (2000), 1820 (2008), 1888 (2009), 1889 (2009), 1960 (2010), 2106 (2013), 2122 (2013) and 2242 (2015).

² Hill, F., Aboitiz, M. and Poehlman-Doumbouya, S., 'Nongovernmental Organization's Role in the Buildup and Implementation of Security Council Resolution 1325', *Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, vol. 28, no. 4 (2003), p. 1255.

³ United Nations, *Charter of the United Nations*, 1946; and see also Shepart, L., 'Advancing the Women, Peace and Security agenda: 2015 and beyond', *Expert Analysis*, Norwegian Peacebuilding Resource Centre, Aug. 2014.

⁴ For a description of gender mainstreaming within the UN system, see United Nations, General Assembly, *Report of the Economic and Social Council for 1997*, A/52/3, 18 Sep. 1997, chapter IV.

early 20th century.⁵ This activism—at local, transnational and international levels—was instrumental in setting a new agenda which was sensitive to women’s and feminist concerns. Contemporary women activists were eventually able to mobilize enough support for Resolution 1325 from member states and UN agencies.⁶ The language in the resolution was built on earlier UN documents and treaties, of which arguably the most important was the 1995 Beijing Declaration.⁷ The Beijing Declaration and the Platform for Action strongly affirmed that women’s rights and gender equality are universal concerns and that the structure of society and all relations between men and women must be re-evaluated.⁸ Furthermore, one of the 17 Platforms for Action specifically addressed women and armed conflict, and focused on the link between gender equality and peace. It also recommended the mainstreaming of a gender perspective in all UN policies and programmes.

In the late 1990s, in order to meet the growing criticism from civil society and the women’s movement on the failure to incorporate gender perspectives in its policies, as well as to address the new threats and challenges in the post-cold war security landscape, the UN called for a reform process to review, assess and develop its own work, especially in the field of peacekeeping. The UN Department for Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) together with the Namibian Government initiated a project on Mainstreaming a Gender Perspective in Multidimensional Peace Operations. This resulted in the 2000 Windhoek Declaration and Namibia Plan of Action, designed to strengthen the UN’s gender-sensitive approach to conflict management. The text highlighted ‘the participation of women and men as equal partners and beneficiaries in all aspects of the peace process—peacekeeping, reconciliation and peace-building’.⁹ Civil society, especially the women’s peace movement, argued in parallel that women, as stakeholders in peace, disarmament and conflict prevention, could make significant contributions in this field;

⁵ The women’s peace movement generally refers to the international network of peace activists that is organized under the Women’s International League of Peace and Freedom (WILPF), which was established in The Hague in 1915. See the WILPF website, <<http://wilpf.org/wilpf/history/>>.

⁶ Kuehnast, K., de Jonge Oudraat, C. and Hernes (eds), *Women and War* (United States Institute for Peace Press: Washington, DC, 2014), p. 2.

⁷ United Nations, *Beijing Declaration and Platform of Action, adopted at the Fourth World Conference on Women*, 27 Oct. 1995. Other important documents include United Nations (note 3); United Nations, *Commission on the Status of Women*, July 1946; United Nations, General Assembly, *Convention on the Rights of the Child*, 20 Nov. 1989; United Nations, General Assembly, *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, 10 Dec. 1948; United Nations, General Assembly, *Declaration on the Protection of Women and Children in Emergency and Armed Conflict*, A/RES/3318(XXIX), 14 Dec. 1974; and United Nations, General Assembly, *Women’s Participation in the strengthening of International Peace and Security*, A/RES/30/3519, 15 Dec. 1975.

⁸ Kardam, N., ‘The emerging global gender equality regime’, *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, vol. 6, no. 1 (Mar. 2004), pp. 85–109.

⁹ Windhoek Declaration, Namibia Plan of Action on Mainstreaming a Gender Perspective in Multidimensional Peace Support Operations, Windhoek, Namibia, May 2000.

and that women had been effectively excluded from peacebuilding and peace negotiations, even though they are profoundly affected by conflict.¹⁰

In addition to the longstanding civil society activism there were other global developments that encouraged the support of a WPS resolution. For example, the growing attention in the 1990s to the use of sexual violence as a weapon of war consequently led to a call for the need for protection of women and girls from this targeted violence. In particular, civil wars in Rwanda, Liberia, Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and Bosnia-Herzegovina further increased public awareness of sexual violence in conflict. Atrocities such as rape, sexual slavery, forced pregnancies and the transmission of HIV/AIDS through sexual violence were documented and reported by the UN and the international media.¹¹ Furthermore, the growing emphasis on human security and the well-being of the individual rather than the security of the state, made women's issues more relevant to the work of international organizations while providing an opportunity to reframe the agenda within the Security Council.¹²

By 2000 these political and historical developments had highlighted the pressing need to address the situation of women in armed conflict and post-conflict settings, and consequently a large-scale civil society lobbying campaign was launched with the ultimate aim of persuading the Security Council to adopt a specific WPS resolution.¹³ The campaign was led by the NGO Working Group on Women, Peace and Security (NGOWPS), that sought to find common ground with like-minded states, such as Bangladesh, Canada and Namibia, as well as several UN agencies.¹⁴ In March 2000 the Bangladesh delegation presented the first draft of the text for resolution

¹⁰ Ruby, F., 'Security Council Resolution 1325: A Tool for Conflict Prevention?', eds, G. Heathcote and D. Otto, *Rethinking Peacekeeping, Gender Equality and Collective Security* (Palgrave Macmillan: New York, 2014), pp.173–84.

¹¹ United Nations, Division for the Advancement of Women Department of Economic and Social Affairs, *Women 2000, Sexual Violence and Armed Conflict: United Nations Response*, Apr. 1998, p 1.

¹² The concept of human security became influential within the Security Council largely due to the work of the Canadian delegation during Jan. 1999–Dec. 2000, and the Canadian government incorporating human security within its foreign policy. Three thematic UN Security Council resolutions emerged: Resolution 1314, 11 Aug. 2000; Resolution 1296, 19 Apr. 2000; and Resolution 1325, 31 Oct. 2000. See Tadjbakhsh, S. and Chenoy, A. M., *Human Security: Concepts and implications* (Routledge: New York, 2007), pp. 30–31.

¹³ Nobel Women's Initiative, *War on Women: Time for Action to End Sexual Violence in Conflict*, May 2011, p. 2.

¹⁴ The NGO working group on Women, Peace and Security was established in 2000. Its members are Amnesty International; Consortium on Gender, Security and Human Rights; Femmes Africa Solidarité; Global Justice Center; Human Rights Watch; The Institute for Inclusive Security; International Rescue Committee; MADRE; Refugees International; Open Society Foundations; Oxfam International; Women's Refugee Commission; Women's Action for New Directions; and Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. See Hill, Aboitiz and Poehlman-Doumbouya (note 2), pp. 1256–57.

1325, which was originally drafted by NGOWPS.¹⁵ After consultations with civil society and further deliberations in the UN Security Council, Resolution 1325 was unanimously adopted during the Presidency of Namibia in October 2000.

Civil society continues to have a leading role in developing and monitoring the implementation of the WPS agenda, as well as in explaining linkages between the resolutions and other international and national policy making areas. Resolution 1325 has influenced how gender can be understood in the context of peace and security. In addition, the concepts of gender and gender mainstreaming have not only influenced the work of the UN and the Security Council, but have also ensured that organizations such as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the crisis management procedures of some member states now incorporate a gender perspective in their work.¹⁶

Feminism and women, peace and security

Feminist and gender theories in international relations (IR), in which the WPS agenda has its intellectual foundation, question the structural power relationships that affect women and men differently. The gendered division in societies is unequal between men and women due to gendered roles and because societies put different values on masculine and feminine behaviours.¹⁷ Male identified roles typically have a higher status in most societies, leading to a male dominance and thus a patriarchal structure that affects women negatively.¹⁸

Traditional approaches to security identify the sovereign state as its primary reference and privilege masculine attitudes to state behaviour.¹⁹ Feminist scholars challenge masculine and state-centric approaches primarily because they tend to exclude women. Armed conflicts affect women and men differently, leading to calls from feminists for a broader and a gender aware approach to security at the international policy level.²⁰ In the post-cold war era the feminist debate became an established field of

¹⁵ Anderlini, S., 'Translating Global Agreements into National and Local Commitments' eds, Kuenhnast, de Jonge Oudraat and Hernes (note 6), p. 20.

¹⁶ Kronsell, A. and Svedberg, A., eds, *Making Gender, Making War: Violence, Military and Peace-keeping Practices* (Routledge: New York, 2012), pp. 10–15.

¹⁷ The definition of gender generally refers to social differences and relations between men and women which are learned and transformed. The term gender does not replace the term sex, which refers exclusively to biological differences between men and women.

¹⁸ Peterson, V. S. and Runyan, S., *Global Gender Issues: Dilemmas in World Politics*, (Westview Press: Oxford, 1999), pp. 5–6.

¹⁹ Tickner, A., *Gender in International Relations: Feminist Perspectives on Achieving Global Security* (Columbia University Press: New York, 1992), p. 18.

²⁰ Steans, J., *Gender and International Relations: An Introduction* (Polity Press: Cambridge, 2003), p. 46. On feminist theory, see Tickner (note 19) and Enloe, C., *Bananas, Beaches and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics* (University of California Press: Berkeley and Los Angeles, 2014). On gender in international relations, see Peterson and Runyan (note 18).

study within mainstream IR and gave voice to feminist-informed reform proposals to international law and institutions. Within this debate there is tension between feminist scholars with different ontological standpoints, broadly divided between the technocrats and reformists that have a liberal foundation and the radical feminists.²¹ The ‘reformists’ seek to understand, support and reform the process on gender and security within the UN and other institutions through acts of legislation that will remove barriers for women. The ‘radicals’ seek to reorganize the world structure in order to dissolve patriarchy, and not just through legislative approaches. According to radical feminists, violence is at the core of maintaining the gender order of male supremacy and female subordination, and thus that the gender order and militarism are interdependent.²²

Even though feminists challenge masculine and state-centric approaches there are internal disagreements on whether the state is inherently patriarchal or a place where patriarchy is constructed.²³ The feminist debate on whether women’s participation in military activity, as an integral part of state practices, promotes or discourages emancipatory purposes illustrates these differences. This debate has been characterized by two main arguments, integration versus separation. Feminists with a liberal approach argue that women’s right to participate in military activities would deconstruct traditional gender contracts and improve the status of women, while radical feminists argue that women participating in the military legitimizes a patriarchal institution whose violence particularly affects women.²⁴

The different approaches within the feminist movement also result in diverse interpretations of the WPS agenda, often expressed in distinctive critiques of its implementation. The radical feminists point to key parts of the earlier draft of the resolution text—in which, for example, civil society called for a more radical reorganization of world structures—that were deleted during the drafting process.²⁵ They also critique the fact that the resolution is being implemented by the systems and actors that are upholding militarism and enforced violence.²⁶ To this end, therefore, increasing women’s representation in the military or police forces as a method of implementing Resolution 1325 is regarded as insufficient to change the underlying

²¹ Olsson, L. and Gizelis, T. I., *Gender, Peace and Security: Implementing UN Security Council Resolution 1325* (Routledge: New York, 2015), p. 2.

²² Kronsell and Svedberg (note 16), p. 15.

²³ Steans (note 20), p. 104.

²⁴ Carter, A., ‘Should women be soldiers or pacifists?’, *Peace Review: A Journal of Social Justice*, vol. 8, no. 3, (1996), pp. 331–35.

²⁵ United Nations, *Preventing Conflict Transforming Justice Securing Peace, The Global Study on the Implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325*, UN Women, 2015, p. 30.

²⁶ United Nations (note 25), p. 28.

Box 8.1. National action plans: from paper to practice

To date, 58 countries have adopted national action plans (NAPs), which provide an opportunity for national stakeholders to identify priorities, determine roles and responsibilities, develop objectives and activities for implementation, set time frames and allocate resources. The first NAP was adopted by Denmark in 2005, and the first generation of NAPs was characterized by stronger processes than outcomes and actual impact. These plans often lacked a clear division between objectives and strategic actions, clear roles and responsibilities, budget, timelines, and coordinating and oversight mechanisms. More recent second- and third-generation NAPs have attempted to address these flaws, with varying degrees of success.

A positive development in 2015 was the commitment by some UN member states to develop NAPs on WPS. During the Open Debate on Resolution 1325 in the Security Council in October the following states pledged to develop WPS-related NAPs: Angola, Brazil, Kazakhstan, Kenya, Latvia, Portugal, Thailand and Tanzania.

In recent years, a range of 'localization' initiatives have been employed to ensure that Resolution 1325 and the NAPs are implemented at the local level in conflict affected communities. In Bosnia and Herzegovina, for example, the government and civil society have used the NAP as a tool to achieve meaningful change at the community level, with local NAPs being developed in five pilot municipalities. Resolution 1325 has also been incorporated into local development plans in Colombia, Liberia, Nepal and the Philippines, with the support of the Global Network of Women Peacebuilders.

Sources: National Action Plan Resource Center, <<https://actionplans.inclusivesecurity.org/>>; United Nations, *Preventing Conflict Transforming Justice, Securing Peace: The Global Study on the Implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325*, UN Women, 2015, pp. 240–43; United Nations, Security Council, 'Women and peace and security', S/PV.7533 (Resumption 1), 14 Oct. 2015; and the Global Network of Women Peacebuilders, <www.gnwp.org>.

structural gender inequalities, and does not necessarily increase sensitivity to gender issues in armed conflicts.²⁷

Women, peace and security: the resolutions

Resolution 1325 can be divided into four main pillars: (a) participation of women at all levels—national, regional and international—of peace processes and security policy; (b) the overall protection of women and women's rights during armed conflict and post-conflict, in particular from sexual violence; (c) prevention of the impact of armed conflict on women, and recognition that women are an integral part of the measures taken to prevent conflict; and (d) peacebuilding, sometimes also referred to as the 'relief and recovery' pillar, emphasizing that women's and girls' specific needs and priorities are to be addressed during the recovery phase in post-conflict settings.

Women experience conflicts differently to men as victims of sexual violence, internally displaced persons (IDPs), refugees, combatants, heads of

²⁷ Simic, O., 'Does the Presence of Women Really Matter? Towards Combating Male Sexual Violence in Peacekeeping Operations', *International Peacekeeping*, vol. 17, no. 2 (2010), p. 194.

households and political and peace activists. While there is a lack of sex-disaggregated data on the different impact of violence on men and women, studies indicate a high incidence of men among violent war deaths.²⁸ However, women's mobility and ability to protect themselves are often limited during and after conflict, while their ability to take part in peace processes is frequently restricted. Hence, the resolution calls for a gender perspective when planning refugee camps and peacekeeping operations, and recognizes the importance of the representation of women when reconstructing war-torn societies.²⁹ It focuses on the importance of having women at the table when negotiating peace agreements and the need for reporting on the situation of women and children during peacekeeping and peacebuilding. The resolution identifies women as both victims and participants in armed conflict, as well as 'agents of change'. Furthermore, it highlights the need to familiarise UN civilian and military staff with a gender perspective when dealing with women in armed conflicts and thus includes gender training for them.

The resolution urges member states to address these issues at the national level. To date, 58 UN member states have adopted a National Action Plan (NAP), which is a set of priorities and strategies on how to implement Resolution 1325 at the national level (as detailed in box 8.1).

UN Security Council resolutions subsequent to Resolution 1325

To strengthen the language and commitments of Resolution 1325 regarding protection, UN Security Council Resolution 1820 was adopted in 2008. It addresses the need to eradicate sexual violence in armed conflict and post-conflict situations. The resolution urges zero tolerance of sexual abuse and exploitation perpetrated by UN peacekeeping personnel and stresses that sexual violence threatens national security.³⁰

UN Security Council Resolution 1888 appointed a UN Special Representative of the Secretary-General on sexual violence in conflict (SRSG- SVC).³¹ UN Security Council Resolution 1889 was adopted to underline the requirement that all states should implement NAPs and outlined the need for global indicators to map implementation of Resolution 1325.³² Resolutions 1960 and 2106 further developed the UN's work on conflict-related sexual violence (CRSV) and challenging impunity and the lack of accountability for CRSV.³³ The resolutions make important reference to the International Criminal Court (ICC) with the aim of ending impunity, increasing accountability and

²⁸ Bjarnegård, E. et al., 'Gender, peace and armed conflict', *SIPRI Yearbook 2015*, pp. 101–109.

²⁹ Shepart (note 3).

³⁰ UN Security Council Resolution 1820, 19 June 2008.

³¹ UN Security Council Resolution 1888, 30 Sep. 2009.

³² UN Security Council Resolution 1889, 5 Oct. 2009.

³³ UN Security Council Resolution 1960, 16 Dec. 2010; and UN Security Council Resolution 2106, 24 June 2013.

Box 8.2. Sexual violence in conflict: the legal framework

The Geneva Conventions of 1949 and Protocol II (1977) explicitly forbid the use of rape in armed conflict. Although most international humanitarian law (IHL) is intentionally gender neutral, the Fourth Geneva Convention states that ‘women shall be especially protected against any attack on their honour, in particular against rape, enforced prostitution, or any form of indecent assault’. Article 3, common to the four conventions, forbids ‘outrages upon personal dignity, in particular humiliating and degrading treatment’, and Protocol II specifically mentions ‘rape, enforced prostitution and any form or indecent assault’.

The 1998 Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court (ICC) builds on the Geneva Conventions and was the first mechanism for holding heads of state and government accountable for genocide and other serious international crimes. ‘Rape, sexual slavery, enforced prostitution, forced pregnancy, enforced sterilization and any other forms of sexual violence of comparable gravity’ were recognized as crimes against humanity and war crimes in IHL.

The Rome Statute, which entered into force in 2002, represents a milestone in gender crimes jurisprudence as it legally prohibits crimes against civilians that are committed because of, among other things, gender. However, critics have argued that the classification of sexual and gender based violence as crimes in the Rome Statute has had no significant preventative or deterrent effect on sexual violence during conflicts and in post-conflict settings. Even though sexual violence in conflict now falls under the umbrella of Crimes against Humanity in the Rome Statute, as of December 2015 no one has been convicted of sexual violence in the ICC, and only a few people have been convicted of such offences in the national tribunals in Rwanda and the Balkans, where sexual violence against women had been widespread before, during and after the conflict. In addition, UN Security Council Resolution 1960 and the UN Secretary-General reports on conflict-related sexual violence have addressed impunity and the long-term effects of sexual violence.

Sources: The Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court, article 7 (g), ‘Crimes against humanity’; Dallman, A., ‘Prosecuting conflict-related sexual violence at the International Criminal Court’, SIPRI Insights on Peace and Security no. 2009/1, May 2009; UN Secretary-General reports: S/2012/33; S/2013/149; S/2014/181; S/2015/203, 2015; and United Nations, *Preventing Conflict Transforming Justice, Securing Peace: The Global Study on the Implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325*, UN Women, 2015, p. 104.

creating a deterrence effect for these types of CRSV crimes—as discussed in box 8.2.

While the WPS agenda has helped to develop a framework within the UN and the international community on how to protect women and girls during armed conflict and in the post-conflict phase, the evidence suggests that the framework still needs to be implemented more effectively on the ground.³⁴ Furthermore, some feminists argue that the framework essentially reinforces claims of women as victims and in need of protection and consequently denies them agency. Concern has also been raised as to the disproportionate emphasis on the ‘protection’ pillar of Resolution 1325 at the expense of

³⁴ United Nations (note 25), pp. 14–15.

the ‘participation’ pillar (i.e. less development and focus on increasing the number of women in decision making and peace negotiations).³⁵

Critics also argue that the narrow focus on sexual violence ignores the array of violence prevalent in conflicts and post-conflict settings.³⁶ Furthermore, the uneven balance between the foundational pillars of Resolution 1325 is mirrored in the academic research on sexual and gender-based violence, which is well established in comparison to the empirical research on women’s participation in peace negotiations.³⁷ Resolution 2122 was adopted in 2013 to reiterate the importance of women’s agency, the participation pillar and the meaningful participation of women in peace and security governance at all levels.³⁸ Resolution 2122 also resulted in more pressure being placed on the Security Council to implement the WPS agenda and acted as a call for more coherent coordination within the UN and for UN Women, the DPKO and the Department of Political Affairs (DPA) to brief the Security Council more regularly. The resolution also requested the Secretary-General to commission a global study to examine the implementation of the WPS agenda, which is discussed in detail in section II of this chapter along with Resolution 2242.³⁹

³⁵ Olsson and Gizelis (note 21), p. 8.

³⁶ Eriksson Baaz, M. and Stern, M., *The Complexity of Violence: A Critical Analysis of Sexual Violence in the Democratic Republic of Congo* (Sida: Stockholm, 2010), p. 45.

³⁷ Olsson, L. and Gizelis, (note 21), p. 8.

³⁸ UN Security Council Resolution 2122, 18 Oct. 2013.

³⁹ UN Security Council Resolution 2122 (note 38), para. 16. Also see Shepart (note 3).