Preventing Violence Against Women and Promoting Gender Equality in Peace Operations

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In association with

DCAF — Geneva Centre for Security Sector Governance

Series Editor

Ramona Taheri

DCAF Geneva Centre for Security Sector Governance

Peace Operations Training Institute®

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Cover Photo: Following recent attacks in the centre of Mali, the United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali (MINUSMA) has responded with more frequent and robust foot and vehicle patrols. In the Badiagara market, joint regular patrols are conducted by UNPOL officers and Malian Security Forces, with the aim to help build confidence amongst the local community and to contribute to durable peace in the area. The patrol convoys meet with government and military officials and speak with civilians along the way. Residents of Bandiagara. 3 June 2019. UN Photo by Gema Cortes.

This course is co-branded with the express agreement of DCAF — Geneva Centre for Security Sector Governance. It is based on a document written by Dr. AnnJanette Rosga, in association with Megan Bastick and Anja Ebnöther. We thank DCAF for its work and support in developing this course.

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1309 Jamestown Road, Suite 202
Williamsburg, VA 23185 USA
www.peaceopstraining.org

First edition: 2010 by AnnJanette Rosga, PhD
Second edition: 2019 by Jennifer Wittwer, CSM and Megan Bastick
Third edition: 2023 by Jennifer Wittwer, CSM

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Preface

DCAF — Geneva Centre for Security Sector Governance promotes good governance and reform of the security sector. The Centre conducts research on good practices, encourages the development of appropriate norms at the national and international levels, makes policy recommendations, and provides in-country advice and assistance programmes. Much of this effort has been directed towards understanding the link between inequality for and violence against women and their security. In particular, the importance of women's participation in peacebuilding, their protection from violence, and upholding their human rights as an essential element of sustainable peace and security.

In 2005, DCAF published the book *Women in an Insecure World*, a comprehensive study on violence against women in daily life, during armed conflict, and in post-conflict situations. *Women in an Insecure World* maps the pervasiveness of violence against women, analyses strategies to prevent and address that violence, and highlights the key roles that women play in peace processes and operations. *Women in an Insecure World* is a basis for DCAF's continuing work to provide security sector personnel and institutions with the knowledge and the tools to effectively address gender-based violence and discrimination. This book remains the basis for this course, which has been updated to include more recent material, case studies, data, and statistics.

This course aims to assist peace operations personnel to promote the human rights and security of women and girls. It emphasizes the nature and scope of violence against women and girls, the connections between gender inequality and violence in both public and domestic spheres, and on the community, national, regional, and international levels. The course also covers women's rights as human rights and the international United Nations mandates to involve women in key roles within peacemaking and peacebuilding processes at every stage and every level of authority.

— Jennifer Wittwer, CSM
International Consultant
September 2018

View a video introduction of this course at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bOw1XpK3B_o>.

Method of Study

This self-paced course aims to give students flexibility in their approach to learning. The following steps are meant to provide motivation and guidance about some possible strategies and minimum expectations for completing this course successfully:

- Before you begin studying, first browse through the entire course. Notice the lesson and section titles to get an overall idea of what will be involved as you proceed.
- The material is meant to be relevant and practical. Instead of memorizing individual details, strive to understand concepts and overall perspectives in regard to the United Nations system.
- Set personal guidelines and benchmarks regarding how you want to schedule your time.
- Study the lesson content and the learning objectives. At the beginning of each lesson, orient yourself to the main points. If possible, read the material twice to ensure maximum understanding and retention, and let time elapse between readings.
- At the end of each lesson, take the End-of-Lesson Quiz. Clarify any missed questions by rereading the appropriate sections, and focus on retaining the correct information.
- After you complete all of the lessons, prepare for the End-of-Course Examination by taking time to review the main points of each lesson. Then, when ready, log into your online student classroom and take the End-of-Course Examination in one sitting.

» ***Access your online classroom at <www.peaceopstraining.org/users/user_login> from virtually anywhere in the world.***

- Your exam will be scored electronically. If you achieve a passing grade of 75 per cent or higher on the exam, you will be awarded a Certificate of Completion. If you score below 75 per cent, you will be given one opportunity to take a second version of the End-of-Course Examination.
- A note about language: This course uses English spelling according to the standards of the *Oxford English Dictionary* (United Kingdom) and the *United Nations Editorial Manual*.

Key Features of Your Online Classroom »

- Access to all of your courses;
- A secure testing environment in which to complete your training;
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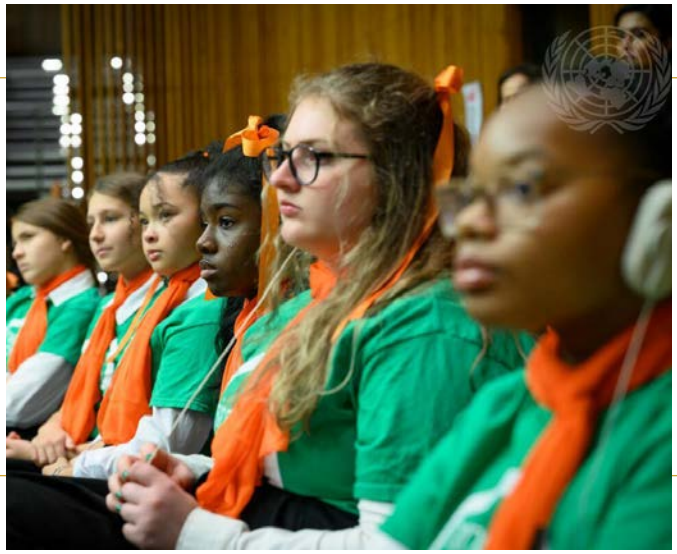
LESSON 1

Introduction to United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 and the Women, Peace, and Security Agenda



UN Photo by Loey Felipe.

The end of the Cold War in 1991 saw the United Nations move increasingly from traditional peace operations in conflict-ridden societies to what are known as multidimensional peace support operations.

In this lesson »

Section 1.1 Introduction

Section 1.2 Women, Peace, and the History of SCR 1325

Section 1.3 The Paradox of Women's Identity

Section 1.4 Implementing SCR 1325 and Gender Mainstreaming

Section 1.5 Conclusion

Lesson Objectives »

- Identify the main components of Security Council resolution (SCR) 1325.
- Explain the arguments that women's rights advocates have made about how gender inequality, development, and issues of peace and conflict relate to one another.
- Define and explain the paradox of identity.
- Identify the main approaches to gender mainstreaming that United Nations peace operations missions have taken and identify at least one guideline that might further improve these approaches.

Nigerian peacekeepers serving with the United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL) pack their belongings as their departure date approaches. 12 January 2018. UN Photo by Albert Gonzalez Farran.

Section 1.1 Introduction

The end of the Cold War in 1991 saw the United Nations increasingly move from traditional peace operations in conflict-affected societies to what are known as multidimensional peace support operations. Traditional peace operations include the monitoring of existing ceasefires, humanitarian aid deliveries, and more interventionist "peace enforcement" missions that compel warring parties to negotiate or stop fighting. In contrast, multidimensional peace support operations involve extensive engagement with many sectors of a reconstructing society (e.g., legal and judicial affairs, political and civilian administration, human rights, and humanitarian aid) to help its citizens develop the capacity to build sustainable peace in the aftermath of war.[1]

1) William J. Durch, "Keeping the Peace: Politics and Lessons of the 1990s", in *UN Peacekeeping, American Politics and the Uncivil Wars of the 1990s* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996), 1–34.

View a video introduction of this lesson at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QZpLOBdsDcM&t=9s>.

Content Warning »

Certain sections of this course contain discussions of graphic violence of a sexual nature that may be disturbing to some individuals.

This transition from traditional peace operations to multidimensional peace support operations required the United Nations to do more than simply replace portions of its primarily military forces with more civilian personnel (such as police and experts in human rights, gender, child protection, and political and civil affairs). It entailed a long and still-ongoing process of institutional reform aimed at identifying the differences between a "peace operation" and a "peacebuilding" orientation and at improving the organization's performance in its peacebuilding functions. Peacebuilding, therefore, requires competency in a variety of complex activities, including:

> "[…] ensuring the daily security of citizens; the establishment of effective reconciliation and justice processes; the reintegration of fighters back into society; the return and resettlement of displaced persons; economic reconstruction and development; the creation of an effectively functioning political system; the creation of police, military and judicial systems that support the rule of law; support for the reinvigoration of civil society; reform of land and property ownership laws; and the transformation of cultures themselves, including the norms and beliefs about roles of men and women in society."[2]

The recognition of the fact that "roughly half of all countries that emerge from conflict lapse back into violence within five years" led to a corresponding recognition that long-term, effective peacebuilding requires more than simply "keeping warring parties from shooting at each other".[3] In many cases, much more extensive peace support assistance is necessary. Where violence against women is widespread and where extreme gender inequalities are features of daily life, sustainable peace may require fundamental cultural change.

In 2000, the Security Council adopted resolution 1325 on women, peace, and security (WPS) as one of many larger efforts to improve United Nations peacebuilding capacities. SCR 1325 has four key components:

- It expresses in the strongest possible terms the United Nations official recognition and concern that armed conflicts increasingly target and disproportionately impact civilians — especially women and children. It also identifies the significance of this fact for the sustainability of peace and reconciliation efforts worldwide.
- It reaffirms "the need to implement fully international humanitarian and human rights law that protects the rights of women and girls during and after conflicts".
- It emphasizes the need to ensure that women have full and equal participation at every level of decision-making in peace and security-related matters, and it specifically describes the "need to mainstream a gender perspective into peace operations" as "urgent".
- It recognizes the urgent need for gender-sensitive relief and recovery and the mainstreaming of a gender perspective into peace operations.[4]

2) Gina Torry, ed., *Security Council Resolution 1325 On Women, Peace and Security — Six Years On Report* (New York: NGO Working Group on Women, Peace and Security. October 2006), viii.

3) Torry, *Security Council Resolution 1325 On Women, Peace and Security — Six Years On Report*, viii-ix.

4) United Nations Security Council, resolution 1325 (2000), S/RES/1325 (2000), 31 October 2000. See Appendix C for the full text. Available from: <https://undocs.org/Home/Mobile?FinalSymbol=S%2FRES%2F1325(2000)&Language=E&DeviceType=Desktop&LangRequested=False>.

The Security Council unanimously adopts resolution 2493 (2019) on Women and Peace and Security, urging Member States to fully implement the provisions of all previous Security Council resolutions pertaining to the Women, Peace and Security agenda and to reinforce their efforts in this regard. 29 October 2019. UN Photo by Eskinder Debebe.

SCR 1325 also refers to a press statement by the Security Council president on 8 March 2000 that stressed: "peace is inextricably linked with equality between women and men".[5] SCR 1325 also expresses agreement with the Security Council president and stresses "specialized training for all peacekeeping personnel on the protection, special needs and human rights of women and children in conflict situations".[6]

Students should see this course as one effort among many to answer the call for specialized training related to SCR 1325. In particular, this course examines:

- The complex relationships between gender inequality and violence — especially violence against women — around the world today; and
- The international legal and political frameworks that have developed over approximately the past 30 years to address the fact that, in most areas of the world, women generally do not have equal decision-making power and the same access to resources as men have.

This course argues that the problem of violence against women cannot be solved without remedying the global pattern of women's lesser power and control over resources in relation to men. The same is true in reverse: discrimination against women — and their situation of relative inequality in relation to men — cannot significantly change without addressing the patterns of violence against them in both public and private spheres.

As this course will detail (especially in Lesson 6), the world's major international human rights organizations and the Member States of the United Nations have laid out and endorsed this basic argument through their ratification of various conventions and treaties.[7] Lessons in this course will define the following terms and explain these claims:

- Gender-based violence (GBV) enforces and maintains gender inequality and can itself be a form of it.
- Gender inequality justifies and legitimates GBV.

5) United Nations Security Council, *Peace Inextricably Linked with Equality between Women and Men Says Security Council, in International Women's Day Statement*, Press release, SC/6816, 8 March 2000. Available from: <https://www.securitycouncilreport.org/un-documents/document/sc6816.php>.

6) United Nations Security Council, Resolution 1325 (2000), S/RES/1325 (2000), 31 October 2000. Available from: <https://press.un.org/en/2000/20000308.sc6816.doc.html>.

7) "The human rights of women and of the girl-child are an inalienable, integral and indivisible part of universal human rights. The full and equal participation of women in political, civil, economic, social and cultural life, at the national, regional and international levels, and the eradication of all forms of discrimination on grounds of sex are priority objectives of the international community". Source: OHCHR, *Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action*, 25 June 1993, sect. 1, para. 18. Available from: <https://www.ohchr.org/en/instruments-mechanisms/instruments/vienna-declaration-and-programme-action>.

The remainder of this lesson will first detail the history of SCR 1325, place it into the historical context of women's peace and human rights activism throughout the twentieth century, and describe the changing conceptions of women over time within the United Nations. Specifically, the lesson discusses the persistent tension between representing women as especially vulnerable victims of male violence on the one hand, and on the other hand, as active, independent, and powerful agents of change who are capable of participating in global political affairs on their behalf. The section goes on to describe how this tension manifests in international women's human rights and the struggle to combat violence against women.

Section 1.3, "The Paradox of Women's Identity", describes a dilemma that confronts the entire course: attempting to generalize women when no two individual women are exactly alike. This is compounded by differences in age, culture, class, religious, ethnic, racial, sexual, regional, linguistic, and other identity groups. The course opens with a discussion of this dilemma, not to solve it — for it is, unfortunately, insoluble — but to call the readers' attention to the issues this paradox will inevitably raise throughout the remainder of the course.

The lesson then resumes the discussion of SCR 1325, with attention to its current means of implementation. This section examines how peace support operations incorporate gender via "gender mainstreaming" and the use of "gender focal points" and "gender experts", and it defines these terms. The lesson concludes with some suggestions on how to improve gender mainstreaming and the implementation of SCR 1325. It offers additional guidelines for possible consideration in peace support operations.

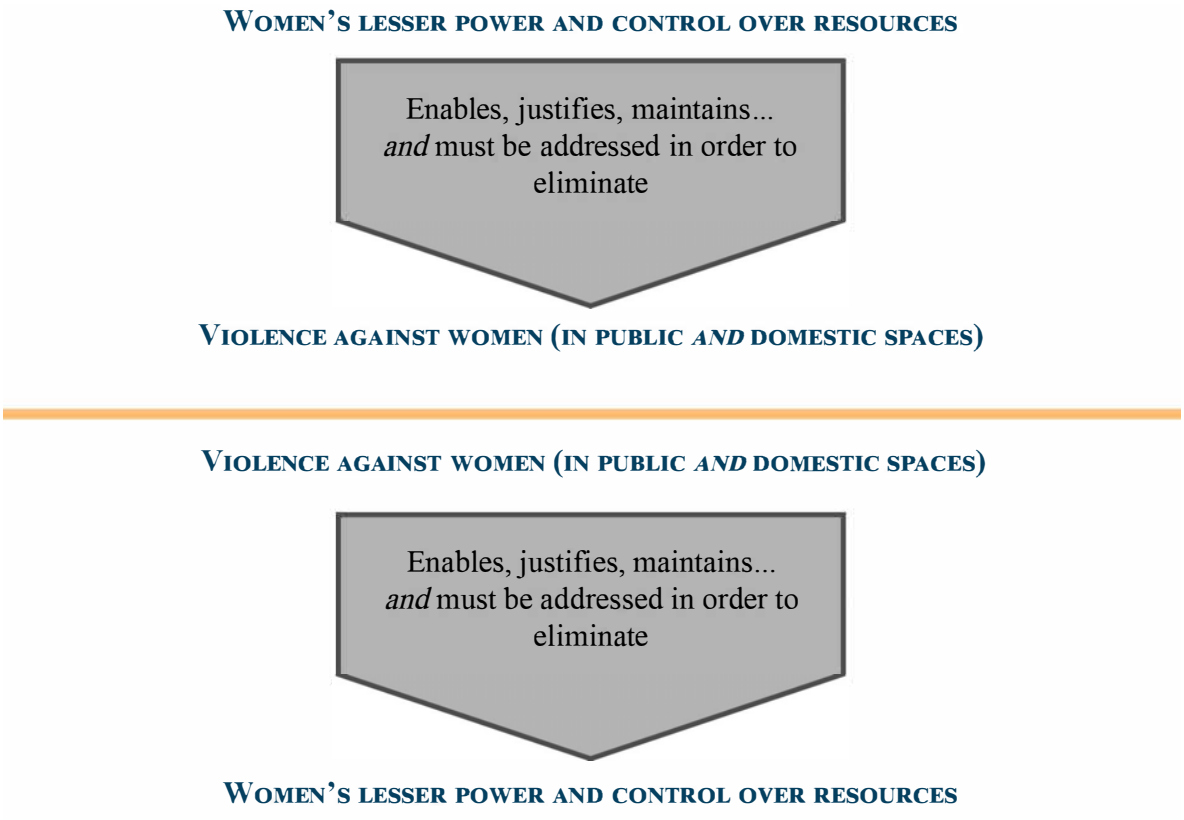


Figure 1-1: Cycle of Gender Violence and Inequality

Section 1.2 Women, Peace, and the History of SCR 1325

The notion that women are less violent and aggressive than men and, therefore, more interested in and better at peacebuilding is strong in the traditions of many cultures. Women may be seen as gentler or more empathetic and compassionate. These beliefs may come from socialization processes, biological traits such as their capacity to bear children, or cultural traits such as the likelihood that women will play a greater role in raising children. In the Western European and American context, associations between women and peacefulness became particularly widespread in the post-industrialization era as new class and family formations developed in which men worked for wages away from home while middle and upper-class women stayed at home. In part to resist the image of women as mere bearers of children (with no role to play in government and politics), some variants of Western European and American feminism have embraced the positive aspects of the stereotype of "women are peaceful" as a way to advocate for increasing women's voices in public affairs (such as the right to vote).

One important example of this comes from the 1938 book *Three Guineas* by British novelist and peace activist Virginia Woolf. *Three Guineas* is a manifesto against patriarchy[8], nationalism, and war, three societal evils that Woolf believed were interconnected and dependent upon one another:

> "'Our' country […] throughout the greater part of its history has treated me as a slave; it has denied me education or any share in its possessions. 'Our' country still ceases to be mine if I marry a foreigner. 'Our' country denies me the means of protecting myself, forces me to pay others a very large sum annually to protect me, and is so little able, even so, to protect me that Air Raid precautions are written on the wall. Therefore, if you insist on fighting to protect me, or 'our' country, let it be understood, soberly and rationally between us, that you are fighting to gratify a sex instinct which I cannot share; to procure benefits which I have not shared and probably will not share; but not to gratify my instincts, or to protect either myself or my country. For […] in fact, as a woman I have no country. As a woman I want no country. As a woman, my country is the whole world.
>
> […] [We women] can best help you [men] to prevent war not by repeating your words and following your methods but by finding new words and creating new methods. We can best help you to prevent war not by joining your society [for the prevention of war] but by remaining outside your society but in co-operation with its aim."[9]

8) A patriarchy is any social or political system in which, for the most part, men hold power and women are largely excluded from it.

9) Virginia Woolf, *Three Guineas* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1938), 108, 143.

Natalia Kanem, Executive Director of the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), addresses the General Assembly high-level meeting on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Fourth World Conference on Women. 1 October 2020. UN Photo by Eskinder Debebe.

In other words, Woolf thought that ideas of male superiority over women were connected to early twentieth-century nationalist ideologies of superiority over other nations, as well as to the notion that expending vast amounts of wealth and countless human lives in military combat could solve international problems. Woolf was not alone. For centuries, women had a significant presence in both pacifist and anti-war movements, even when the wars they opposed were widely considered holy, as in the Middle Ages.[10] More recently, the early twentieth century saw some of the largest non-violent protests against militarism, racism, colonialism, capitalism, and sexism the world has ever seen. Although largely forgotten by subsequent generations, there were substantial peace protests against the First World War. In this, as in virtually all anti-war movements, women were prominent leaders and participants. In the very midst of the First World War, over one thousand women held an anti-war conference, the International Congress of Women, at The Hague in 1915. This gathering resulted in the creation of the still-active Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF).[11]

Woolf claims that men fight to "gratify a sex instinct" that she does not share and that women are capable of preventing war by "remaining outside" the men's war prevention society. Many people, both men and women, believe the idea of "finding new words and creating new methods" to be very persuasive. In many ways, it is an idea that is hard to refute, given the predominance of men in armed conflicts and violent crime. At various points, this course will attempt to challenge such broad generalizations. Nonetheless, the ideal Woolf describes of women's special capacity to prevent war is one that has inspired a great deal of activism on the part of women against violence worldwide. Not least, the ideal has been a strong motivating force in history leading up to the adoption of SCR 1325 on WPS.

10) Palmer A. Throop, *Criticism of the Crusade: A Study of Public Opinion and Crusade Propaganda* (Amsterdam: N.V. Swets & Zeitlinger, 1940).

11) John Paull, "The Women Who Tried to Stop the Great War," *Advances in Electronic Government, Digital Divide, and Regional Development*, 2018, 249-266. https://doi.org/10.4018/978-1-5225-4993-2.ch012.

SCR 1325

The Security Council adopted resolution 1325 on WPS on 31 October 2000. The resolution reaffirms the important role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts, peace negotiations, peacebuilding, peace operations, humanitarian response, and post-conflict reconstruction, and stresses the importance of their equal participation and of the prevention of sexual abuse and violence, in situations of armed conflict.

The resolution provides several important operational mandates with implications for Member States and the entities of the United Nations system. According to SCR 1325, Member States, United Nations agencies, and others must act to ensure that gender issues are taken into account in all aspects of conflict prevention, peace operations, and post-conflict reconstruction.

Since the adoption of Security Council resolution 1325, the normative framework for the protection of women's rights in conflict and post-conflict settings has expanded dramatically, focusing on obligations to protect women in conflict settings, including from sexual violence. In response to persistent pressure from civil society, the Security Council has adopted a further nine resolutions on WPS: 1820[12] (2009), 1888[13] (2009), 1889[14] (2010), 1960[15] (2011), 2106[16] (2013), 2122[17] (2013), 2242[18] (2015), 2467 (2019)[19] and 2493 (2019)[20]. These 10 resolutions make up the WPS agenda. They guide the work to promote gender equality and strengthen women's participation, protection, and rights in conflict prevention and in post-conflict reconstruction contexts.[21]

Five of these resolutions (1820, 1888, 1960, and 2106, and 2467) have required United Nations peace operations personnel to receive training on how to prevent, recognize, and respond to sexual violence; instructed that the United Nations sanctions regime should include those who commit sexual violence in conflict; and established the position of Special Representative of the Secretary-General on Sexual Violence in Conflict.[22]

12) United Nations Security Council, resolution 1820 (2008), S/RES/1820 (2008), 19 June 2008. Available from: <https://undocs.org/Home/Mobile?FinalSymbol=S%2FRES%2F1820(2008)&Language=E&DeviceType=Desktop&LangRequested=False>.With a focus on addressing systematic SGBV in conflict as a matter of security.

13) United Nations Security Council, resolution 1888 (2009), S/RES/1888 (2009), 30 September 2008. Available from: <https://undocs.org/Home/Mobile?FinalSymbol=S%2FRES%2F1888(2009)&Language=E&DeviceType=Desktop&LangRequested=False>. Appointment of a UN SRSG SVC, investing in data and statistics, women's protection advisers in peace operations.

14) United Nations Security Council, resolution 1889 (2009), S/RES/1889 (2009), 5 October 2009. Available from: <https://undocs.org/Home/Mobile?FinalSymbol=S%2FRES%2F1889(2009)&Language=E&DeviceType=Desktop&LangRequested=False>. Reaffirms the importance of 1325 (2000) and 1820 (2008) plus monitoring and reporting.

15) United Nations Security Council, resolution 1960 (2010), S/RES/1960 (2010), 16 December 2010. Available from: <https://undocs.org/Home/Mobile?FinalSymbol=S%2FRES%2F1960(2010)&Language=E&DeviceType=Desktop&LangRequested=False>. Monitoring, analysis and reporting on CR SGBV and ending impunity and sexual violence as war crime.

16) United Nations Security Council, resolution 2106 (2013), S/RES/2106 (2013), 24 June 2013. Available from: <https://undocs.org/Home/Mobile?FinalSymbol=S%2FRES%2F2106(2013)&Language=E&DeviceType=Desktop&LangRequested=False>. Preventing CRSV and post-conflict situations (men and boys), focusing on accountability for perpetrators.

17) United Nations Security Council, resolution 2122 (2013), S/RES/2122 (2013), 18 October 2013. Available from: <https://undocs.org/Home/Mobile?FinalSymbol=S%2Fres%2F2122(2013)&Language=E&DeviceType=Desktop&LangRequested=False>. Focus on rule of law and transitional justice, addresses the persistent gaps.

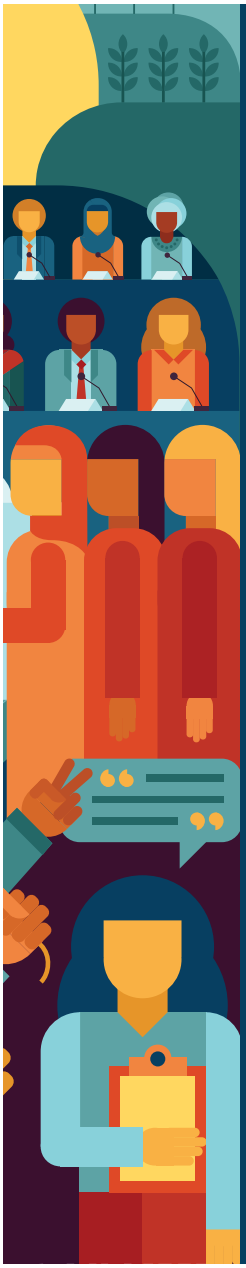
18) United Nations Security Council, resolution 2242 (2015), S/RES/2242 (2015), 13 October 2015. Available from: <https://undocs.org/Home/Mobile?FinalSymbol=S%2FRES%2F2242(2015)&Language=E&DeviceType=Desktop&LangRequested=False>. Women's roles in countering violent extremism and terrorism.

19) United Nations Security Council, resolution 2467 (2019), S/RES/2467 (2019), 23 April 2019. Available from: <https://undocs.org/Home/Mobile?FinalSymbol=S%2FRES%2F2467(2019)&Language=E&DeviceType=Desktop&LangRequested=False>. Strengthening access to justice for victims including via reparations and strengthened criminal law, including removing procedural impediments to justice.

20) United Nations Security Council, resolution 2493 (2019), S/RES/2493/2019, 29 October 2019. Available from: <https://undocs.org/Home/Mobile?FinalSymbol=S%2FRES%2F2493(2019)&Language=E&DeviceType=Desktop&LangRequested=False>. Fully implements the provisions of all UNSCRs WPS agenda and to reinforces their efforts in this regard.

21) Peace Women, "The Resolutions". Available from: <http://www.peacewomen.org/why-WPS/solutions/resolutions>.

22) UN-Women, *Preventing Conflict, Transforming Justice, Securing the Peace: A Global Study on the Implementation of United Nations Security Council resolution 1325* (New York: United Nations, 2015), 30.



Women's Leadership in Peace Making and Conflict Prevention

YEAR RESOLUTION	OVERVIEW
2000 1325	Affirms the importance of the participation of women and the inclusion of gender perspectives in peace negotiations, humanitarian planning, peacekeeping operations, and post-conflict peacebuilding and governance.
2009 1889	Stresses the need to strengthen implementation and establishes indicators for the monitoring of resolution 1325; calls for the Secretary-General to submit a report to the Security Council on women's participation and inclusion in peacebuilding.
2013 2122	Addresses persistent gaps in implementing the WPS agenda; positions gender equality and women's empowerment as critical to international peace and security; recognizes the differential impact of all violations in conflict on women and girls, and calls for consistent application of WPS across the Security Council's work.
2015 2242	Establishes the Informal Experts Group (IEG); addresses persistent obstacles to implementation including financing and institutional reforms; focuses on greater integration of the agendas on WPS and counter-terrorism and countering violent extremism; calls for improved Security Council working methods on WPS.

Prevention of and Response to Conflict-related Sexual Violence

YEAR RESOLUTION	OVERVIEW
2008 1820	Recognizes sexual violence as a tactic of war and a matter of international peace and security that necessitates a security response.
2009 1888	Strengthens efforts to end sexual violence in conflict by establishing a Special Representative of the Secretary-General and team of experts on rule of law and sexual violence in conflict, deploying expertise and improving coordination among stakeholders involved in addressing conflict-related sexual violence.
2010 1960	Establishes a monitoring and reporting mechanism on sexual violence in conflict.
2013 2106	Focuses on accountability for perpetrators of sexual violence in conflict; stresses women's political and economic empowerment.

Figure 1-2: United Nations Security Council Resolutions on Women, Peace and Security

Source: UN-Women, "Security Council resolutions: Women peace and security", 2017. Available from: <https://www.unwomen.org/en/digital-library/publications/2017/1/poster-security-council-resolutions>.

What does this mean? By the end of this lesson — and, certainly, by the end of this course — the reader will have a much better idea of what "taking gender issues into account" means. At the end of this lesson, a list of real implications of gender mainstreaming for peace operations is included. It is important to note that SCR 1325 advances both a women's agenda and a gender agenda in promoting more sustainable peace and security efforts.

An important note to remember: it is through taking gender issues into account, or mainstreaming gender into peace operations, that the protection of women's and girls' rights, including the prevention of violence, can be fully realized.

Changing conceptions of women over time in United Nations documents: Precursors to SCR 1325

Women are the same as men

A vast amount of literature exists on women's links to peace processes and rights to participate within the United Nations since its establishment in 1945.[23] Article 8 of the Charter of the United Nations, signed on 26 June 1945, specifies that the United Nations should place no restrictions on the eligibility of men and women to participate in any capacity and under conditions of equality in its principal and subsidiary organs. The 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights has recognized and affirmed equality and rights for all men and women as the foundation for freedom, justice, and peace. However, in that period of history, few women participated at the highest level of decision-making in either national governments or international organizations.[24]

For many years, the formal "equality" between women and men that existed on paper within United Nations recommendations, decisions, and standards effectively meant that women were assumed to have the same needs and concerns as men or had to be treated the same as men.

Women's exposure to different impacts and experiences

The first resolution, specifically recognizing gender as a factor that could produce differential impacts on, and experiences of, women and men, was one that protected women and children in emergencies and armed conflict, and it was adopted by the General Assembly on 16 December 1966.[25] However, this resolution only identified women as victims in need of help rather than as participants who might have unique contributions to offer in negotiating their security.

A community commemoration is organized by UN Police (UNPOL) and South Sudan Police at the Yei checkpoint near the camp for internally displaced people (IDP) in Juba, South Sudan. Terese Lago, a UNPOL Officer from Sweden, and a group of women prepare meat for cooking. 22 July 2021. UN Photo by Gregorio Cunha.

23) The information on the historical background on resolution 1325 has been summarized from a report written by a WILPF consultant to the Peacewomen Project: Sara Poehlman-Doumbouya, *Women and Peace in United Nations Documents: An Analysis* (New York: WILPF, 2002).

24) For this reason, it is even more noteworthy that the United States' First Lady at the time, Eleanor Roosevelt, championed the cause of women during and after the Second World War. Less well known is the fact that during the negotiations leading up to the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, it was a female delegate from India who put forward the amendment to Article 25 that added sex to the list of identity classes protected from discrimination (along with such terms as ethnic origin, colour, religion, and belief).

25) United Nations General Assembly, *International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights [1966] UNGA 63*; A/RES/2200 (XXI), 16 December 1966. Available from: <http://www.worldlii.org/int/other/UNGA/1966/63.pdf>.

Women as active agents and participants

Throughout the decolonization struggles of the 1960s, women made enormous contributions and sacrifices in countries fighting for national liberation, even when women's rights were not on the agenda of international conferences or the General Assembly. Nevertheless, the equality of rights between men and women was becoming a controversial issue in the United Nations Trusteeship Council and elsewhere in international discussions and within some national campaigns. A large network of groups and organizations was slowly and quietly evolving to promote the concept of meaningful gender equality and to persuade governments that women in the economy and in society should be seen not only as recipients of aid but also as active participants in development and peace processes. Many of the newly independent countries recognized and incorporated gender equality clauses in their constitutions. The first United Nations World Conference on Women in Mexico in 1975, and its associated documents, "World Plan of Action for the Implementation of the Objectives of the International Women's Year" and the "Declaration of Mexico on the Equality of Women and their Contribution to Development and Peace, 1975",[26] called for greater representation of women in international discussions of peace and security issues.

The decade from 1985 to 1995 brought sharper attention to the issue of violence against women, thus returning to a focus on women as victims. However, emerging United Nations documents continued to emphasize this basic point: women's political and economic equality with men, especially women's active participation in decision-making at all levels, together with sustainable global development, are necessary preconditions for peace.

By 1995, the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing linked women with special vulnerabilities to violence, as well as to peace initiatives once again. This time, however, it connected more directly and concretely to a demand that more women occupy highly ranked decision-making positions in peace and security. The resulting "Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action"[27] asserted that advancing the goals of equality, development, and peace for all women was in the interests of all humanity, and it was seen as the most progressive blueprint ever for advancing women's rights.

Bringing it all together at Windhoek

The intensity and degree of violence against women have allowed advocates to gain ground on their behalf — on the behalf, that is, of women defined as a population in need of special protection. However, it has been difficult to change the fact that women were largely missing from discussions on the means to achieve peace and security. Women continued to be seen more as passive victims than as active agents capable of direct involvement in decision-making about conflict resolution and peacebuilding.

During a comprehensive review of United Nations peace operations in Windhoek, Namibia, in 2000, participants developed a new strategy for promoting women's inclusion and participation in United Nations peace operations. This is known as the *Windhoek Declaration*,[28] and it was accompanied by the more operational *Namibia Plan of Action on Mainstreaming a Gender Perspective in Multidimensional Peace Support Operations.*[29]

26) United Nations, *Report of the World Conference of the International Women's Year*, 1976. Available from: <https://undocs.org/Home/Mobile?FinalSymbol=E%2FCONF.66%2F34&Language=E&DeviceType=Desktop&LangRequested=False>.

27) United Nations, *Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action*, 15 September 1995. Available from: <https://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/beijing/pdf/BDPfA%20E.pdf>.

28) United Nations General Assembly and Security Council, *Windhoek Declaration on the tenth anniversary of the United Nations Transition Assistance Group*, A/55/138–S/2000/693, 14 July 2000. Available from: <https://www.un.org/womenwatch/osagi/wps/windhoek_declaration.pdf>.

29) United Nations General Assembly and Security Council, *Letter dated 12 July 2000 from the Permanent Representative of Namibia to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General*, 14 July 2000, A/55/138-S/2000/693. Available from: <https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/422307?ln=en>.

Activism emerging from Windhoek coalesced with other efforts by women's rights advocates that began at the beginning of 1999 (described in detail in Lesson 10). Ultimately, this led to several organizations coming together to lobby successfully for the drafting and eventual adoption of SCR 1325. This resolution on WPS addresses the special concerns of women as victims of armed conflict and calls on signatories to both enforce existing women's rights and ensure that women are incorporated fully and equally into participation at every level of decision-making in positions having to do with peace and security issues. Thus, the resolution describes women both as in need of protection and as important sources of strength and wisdom in providing solutions to the problems that endanger peace and security for all.

Despite this major success, SCR 1325 and its advocates face two dilemmas. The first is a dilemma confronting all United Nations treaties and resolutions, a dilemma known as the "limits of aspiration". The second will be described below as "the paradox of women's identity".

Confronting the limits of aspiration

In a 2006 report by a coalition of organizations known as the NGO Working Group on Women, Peace, and Security, the implementation of SCR 1325 was evaluated "six years on" in relation to the work of the Peacebuilding Commission (PBC). The PBC was set up to "advise and propose integrated peacebuilding, development and reconstruction strategies for countries emerging from violent conflict" and was specifically obliged to implement SCR 1325 in "the achievement of durable peace and development".[30] The *Six Years On Report* concluded that:

> "Despite a few rhetorical flourishes, to which women's rights advocates might refer in an effort to hold the United Nations accountable to its commitments, the short, sad fact is that, to date, there are no structural or institutionalized mechanisms to ensure women's participation or representation in the PBC or to ensure that women's needs, capacities, interests and rights are addressed in the PBC's work. Six years after SCR 1325's adoption, the international community must recognize this grave and dangerous omission, and take swift action to redress it."[31]

Given this history of activism, advocacy, and United Nations commitment, and to mark the fifteenth anniversary of the adoption of SCR 1325 in 2015, the Security Council adopted resolution 2242 (2015) inviting the Secretary-General, among other things, to conduct a review regarding the implementation of SCR 1325. This review — *Preventing Conflict, Transforming Justice, Securing the Peace: A Global Study on the Implementation of United Nations Security Council resolution 1325*[32] (hereafter the *Global Study*) — was conducted in 2015 in the context of a changing world and the shifting dynamics for peace and security and identified gaps, challenges, emerging trends, and priorities for action. The *Global Study* reinforced the Security Council's original crucial recognition of the power of engaging women in peace with compelling proof. It showed that women's participation and inclusion made

30) Torry, *Security Council Resolution 1325 On Women, Peace and Security — Six Years On Report*, cover page.

31) Torry, *Security Council Resolution 1325 On Women, Peace and Security — Six Years On Report*, ix.

32) UN-Women, *Preventing Conflict, Transforming Justice, Securing the Peace*, 12 October 2015. Available from: <https://reliefweb.int/report/world/preventing-conflict-transforming-justice-securing-peace-global-study-implementation>.

humanitarian assistance more effective, strengthened the protection efforts of peace operations personnel, contributed to the conclusion of peace talks and the achievement of sustainable peace, accelerated economic recovery, and helped counter violent extremism. This study and a growing evidence base made the full implementation of SCR 1325 even more urgent and necessary.

The study added two more important elements to help push this agenda forward. It compiled multiple examples of good practice. It also took a hard look at implementation and enforcement and the missing incentives and accountability measures that should nudge all actors into complying with these norms and living up to their promises. What emerges from these ideas is a clear and ambitious road map for the way forward on WPS. In the foreword of the study, Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka, the then Executive Director of UN-Women, said:

> "We have an enormous responsibility to ensure that the normative framework spurred by resolution 1325 is not just given periodic visibility and attention, but that it lies at the heart of the UN's work on peace and security."[33]

Neither of these examples means that SCR 1325 has not been implemented at all; this is far from the case, as will be seen in the sections below. Indeed, the *Global Study* provided a sound assessment of significant achievements to date and a road map for future action on implementation. However, it does mean that many barriers of institutional inertia and lack of political will remain between the ideals articulated within SCR 1325 and their full actualization in practice. This is hardly unique to issues related to women's rights. Many of the ideals expressed in human rights and humanitarian law remain stronger in language than in implementation. However, this has been true historically of all major social advances: ideals precede their execution, sometimes by decades or even centuries. This course is designed to help the learner move the process of operationalizing SCR 1325 forward.

Section 1.3 The Paradox of Women's Identity

The second dilemma confronting previous efforts to implement SCR 1325 — indeed, a dilemma confronting all efforts to redress gender inequality by specifically naming and describing women's rights — is linked to the problem of describing women as a group at all. Any time one generalizes about a group of people on the basis of identity, such as gender, race, religion, age, culture, or nationality, one inevitably and immediately encounters the following five problems:

1. **The apparent erasure of all differences within that identity group**. To speak of women as a group worldwide is to seem to ignore many differences among women — differences and intersections in culture, age, race, ethnicity, heritage, sexuality, gender identity, social class, family origin, and so on.
2. **To speak of women primarily seems to privilege gender as though it is the most important of all other possible identities (even when simultaneous multiple identities are acknowledged)**. This is not at all how every woman feels about her gender. Nor is it necessarily how most women experience their gender all the time, any more than most men experience themselves as specifically male (as opposed to simply human) all the time.

33) UN-Women, *Preventing Conflict, Transforming Justice, Securing the Peace*, 5.

3. **Reinforcing the (false) idea that women will always and everywhere have more in common with one another than they will with any given group of men**. As will be discussed in Lesson 2, while men and women do differ consistently in a few traits related to biological sex (genitalia, reproductive organs, etc.), for most characteristics, the range of differences within large separate-sex groups of men or women tends to be greater than the averaged differences between the sexes. Thus, when speaking of women as a group, the mistaken idea that they are always more alike as a group (and more different from men as a group) is strengthened.
4. **Supporting negative stereotypes by simple opposition**. If women are stereotyped as having X or Y characteristics in any given society, the problem is not simply that the characteristics are described inaccurately. The problem is describing all women as though they are the same. Hence, in the very countering of stereotypes, one can end up replacing one stereotype with another. For example, the statement "all women are vulnerable and weak" might be countered with the claim that "women can be protective and strong". Even though the second statement is less inclusive, both statements still generalize.
5. **Supporting positive stereotypes by opposition or endorsement**. This is the same problem as above, with a different twist. For example, if women are stereotyped as being empathic and peaceful, one counterstrategy would be to object that many women are insensitive and violent; another would be to embrace this stereotype as one worth owning. In that case, one might argue, just as Virginia Woolf did, that yes, in fact, women are more empathic and peaceful. Once again, both kinds of counterclaims end up generalizing, which in turn brings the argument back to problems one through three.

Together, these problems make up the paradox of identity. Stereotypes about any group facilitate systems of inequality in which one group has been discriminated against on the basis of identity. As the Tunisian scholar Albert Memmi famously wrote in his 1957 book, *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, the colonizer produces an artificial image of the colonized whereby the latter becomes the "Other". This perception enables the colonizer to justify colonization.[34] In fighting for equality, the subordinated group finds it necessary to counter these stereotypes. Paradoxically, in countering the stereotypes, it is difficult for the group to avoid generalizing about itself in the name of liberation.

However, the *Global Study* highlighted above was premised on the understanding that women are not a homogeneous group and recognized that gender is simply one axis of difference that intersects with many other forms of identity and experience. Nationality, ethnicity, political and religious affiliation, social class, indigeneity, marital status, disability, age, sexual orientation, and gender identity and expression: all of these and more are important factors in determining women's lived experiences of conflict and recovery.[35]

Since there is no way for a course about protecting women's human rights in conflict and peace operations to avoid generalizing about women, this introduction simply calls attention to the fact that such generalizations carry the inherent risks listed above.

34) In analogizing Memmi's theory to feminism, United States philosopher Nancy Hartsock summarizes Memmi as follows: "First, the Other is always seen as […] lacking in the valued qualities of the society, whatever those qualities may be. Second, the humanity of the Other becomes 'opaque.' Colonizers can frequently be heard making statements such as 'you never know what they think. Do they think? Or do they instead operate according to intuition? […] Third, the Others are not seen as fellow individual members of the human community, but rather as part of […] [an] anonymous collectivity" (160, 161). Nancy Hartsock, "Foucault on Power: A Theory for Women?" in *Feminism/Postmodernism* (New York: Routledge, 1990), 157–175; Albert Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized* [Boston: Beacon Press, 1967], 83, 85).

35) UN-Women, *Preventing Conflict, Transforming Justice, Securing the Peace*, 34.

Why SCR 1325 is relevant

Former Secretary-General Kofi Annan gave these comments in his 2002 statement to the Security Council:

> "Existing inequalities between women and men, and patterns of discrimination against women and girls, tend to be exacerbated in armed conflict. Women and girls become particularly vulnerable to sexual violence and exploitation. Women and children make up the majority of the world's refugees and internally displaced persons. […] Some women may be forced to follow camps of armed forces, providing domestic services and/or being used as sexual slaves.
>
> "But if women suffer the impact of conflict disproportionately, they are also the key to the solution of conflict. […] The world can no longer afford to neglect the abuses to which women and girls are subjected in armed conflict and its aftermath, or to ignore the contributions that women make to the search for peace. It is time they are given the voice in formal peacebuilding and peace-making processes that they deserve. Sustainable peace and security will not be achieved without their full and equal participation."[36]

One could argue that this statement contains stereotyped images of women as victims as well as categorizing women as being especially capable of peacebuilding. First, the former Secretary-General says, women suffer terribly from conflict, even more so than men, because of systemic gender inequalities that are worsened by conditions of war. Second, for this very reason, women must be given a full voice in formal peacemaking processes. They are "the key to the solution of conflict".

Claims of women's victimization do not challenge gender roles in many societies because they stay comfortably within stereotypes of women's relative weakness compared with men or their vulnerability to men's violence. They also either bring to mind images of men in their stereotypical roles as protectors or remind listeners of men's other stereotypical roles as victimizers. However, while it may not undermine stereotypes to say that women suffer, it is challenging in many contexts to demand that this suffering be addressed as an urgent problem with worldwide consequences of the utmost importance.

The argument here is not that women are victimized or that they are vulnerable because of weaknesses inherent in the female sex. Rather, it is that socially organized systems of gender inequality significantly increase women's vulnerability. In other words, women's greater vulnerability, especially but not solely in conditions of armed conflict, stems from social structures that tend to give most men more access to resources and decision-making power than most women possess (see Lesson 3).

The second point in the former Secretary-General's quote above signals the struggle for women to be seen as agents or actors — as powerful individuals and collectives themselves able to change

36) United Nations, *Secretary-General's Statement to the Security Council on Women, Peace and Security*, Press Release, 28 October 2002. Available from: <https://www.un.org/sg/en/content/sg/statement/2002-10-28/secretary-generals-statement-security-council-women-peace-and>.

Erika Brockmann, formerly a member of the Plurinational Legislative Assembly of Bolivia and presently a master trainer for the National Democratic Institute, addresses the event "Beyond the Pandemic: Opening the Doors to Women's Meaningful Participation". The event celebrates the 20th anniversary of United Nations Security Council resolution 1325 (2000) on women, peace and security. 28 October 2020. UN Photo by Eskinder Debebe.

social systems and to make policies that can transform the nature of security and conflict resolution. The history of women's limited representation in positions of power within the world's governments; its most powerful economic, legal, and political institutions; and within the United Nations itself provides abundant evidence that formal gender equality in law is only a beginning. Real gender equality will require significant institutional change.

These are the reasons advocates believed that a resolution like SCR 1325 was necessary, even those who worried it might reinforce stereotypical thinking about women as victims or women as especially peaceful. This course, in turn, risks generalizing about women, first, because research has shown that violence is greatest in conditions of inequality; second, as subsequent lessons will show, GBV can link to systemic patterns of inequality between men and women, even across otherwise widely differing social and cultural contexts. The Member States of the United Nations have recognized this fact and endorsed several measures designed to eliminate gender discrimination and to reduce, prevent, and punish violence against women. SCR 1325 is the resolution most relevant to peace operations personnel in this respect, which is why this course opens with it.

Above all, the adoption of SCR 1325 has represented at least a partial success in the struggle to achieve international recognition of the connections between, on the one hand, gender inequality and violence and, on the other hand, the specific gender inequalities that have excluded women from peacebuilding processes.

With that said, the *Global Study* acknowledges that while the WPS framework focuses on women as victims (most frequently as victims of sexual violence), it also serves to promote women as powerful actors. "Women are political and religious leaders, public servants, peace negotiators, and community organizers. Although women are a powerful force for peace, women also serve in armed groups and terrorist groups. The *Global Study* aims to recognize the diversity of women's experiences and perspectives in conflict and postconflict societies".[37]

The remainder of this lesson will discuss some of the ways SCR 1325 has been interpreted and implemented thus far, as well as the challenges ahead in improving its implementation.

37) UN-Women, *Preventing Conflict, Transforming Justice, Securing the Peace*, 34.

Section 1.4 Implementing SCR 1325 and Gender Mainstreaming

In a report on the resources required to incorporate gender perspectives into all phases of peace support operations, the Secretary-General provided the following guidelines:

> "[…] beginning with needs assessment missions through post-conflict peace-building. Gender perspectives should be considered in analyses, policy and strategy development and planning of peace support operations, as well as training programmes and instruments developed to support effective implementation of those operations, such as guidelines, handbooks and codes of conduct. All aspects and all levels of peace support operations require attention to gender perspectives […]".[38]

The report goes on to list the following specific contexts in which attention to gender perspectives is critical:

- Political analysis;
- Military operations;
- Civilian police activities;
- Electoral assistance;
- Human rights support;
- Humanitarian assistance, including for refugees and displaced persons;
- Development and reconstruction activities;
- Public information;
- Training of troops and civilian police on gender issues;
- Balance of personnel in interim governments; and
- Capacity-building to ensure gender balance in interim bodies.

The report also states that "All reports on individual missions to the Security Council should include explicit routine reporting on progress in integrating gender perspectives as well as information on the number and levels of women involved in all aspects of the mission."[39]

To return to a question posed earlier in this lesson: what do phrases like "attention to gender issues" or "incorporation of gender perspectives" really mean? A detailed discussion of the term "gender" will follow in Lesson 2, but for now, a preliminary answer exists in the United Nations' definition of gender mainstreaming. Official United Nations policy defines gender mainstreaming as:

38) United Nations General Assembly, *Report of the Secretary-General on Resource Requirements for Implementation of the Report of the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations*, 27 October 2000 (A/55/507/Add.1). Available from: <https://undocs.org/Home/Mobile?FinalSymbol=A%2F55%2F507%2FAdd.1&Language=E&DeviceType=Desktop&LangRequested=False>.

39) United Nations General Assembly, *Report of the Secretary-General on Resource Requirements for Implementation of the Report of the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations*.

> "[…] the process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programmes, in all areas and at all levels. It is a strategy for making women's as well as men's concerns and experiences an integral dimension of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programmes in all political, economic and societal spheres so that women and men benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated. The ultimate goal is to achieve gender equality."[40]

In applying gender mainstreaming to the implementation of SCR 1325, the United Nations has generally followed one or more of three basic approaches:

- The inclusion of gender mainstreaming tools directly into the mission's mandate;
- Integration of a gender dimension to all substantial activities of a mission; and
- Dispatching experts on gender issues (Gender Advisers) to missions.

The initial implementation of these mandates in peace operation mission mandates was uneven. However, since 2018, with the release of the then Department of Peacekeeping Operations[41] policy on Gender Responsive United Nations Peacekeeping Operations, missions have been obligated to implement SCR 1325 across all peace operation functions. This may include external international, regional, and national partnerships; rule of law; national institutions and political processes; security sector reform; justice and corrections; disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration; and mine action. In particular, protection functions such as UN Police, military, human rights, protection of civilians, sexual and gender-based violence prevention, HIV/AIDS, and sexual exploitation and abuse prevention, as well as support and other functions, are required to ensure appropriate gender-sensitive provisions and policy development in all their work. Gender analysis and approaches must be applied as well. To support this work, Gender Advisers are deployed to all multidimensional peace operations to support the integration of gender perspectives across all peace operation functions.[42]

Including gender mainstreaming tools in the mission mandate

A mission's mandate establishes the type and range of activities of the mission. In this approach, the mandate of a peace operation includes gender issues to the same degree that humanitarian aid, child protection, political analysis, and military concerns or human rights issues are included. The United Nations has provided significant guidance to missions on how to mainstream gender into all peace operation functions, as well as identifying key personnel and positions responsible for assisting the mission leadership to do this. While gender mainstreaming does not rely on the gender of the head of mission (HOM) or Force Commander to do this, it is encouraging that, as of 2021, there was one female HOM — Major General Cheryl Pearce of Australia, Force Commander of the United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP). Prior to this, Major General Kristin Lund of Norway was the Force Commander of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO). She was also previously the HOM and Force Commander of the UNFICYP from 2014 to 2016.

40) United Nations, *Report Of The Economic And Social Council For 1997*, A/52/3/Rev.1, 18 September 1997, 28.

41) The Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) was reorganized into the Department of Peace Operations (DPO) on 1 January 2019.

42) Department of Peacekeeping Operations, *Gender Responsive United Nations Peacekeeping Operations*, 1 February 2018. Available from: <https://peacekeeping.un.org/sites/default/files/gender-responsive-un-peacekeeping-operations-policy-en_0.pdf>.

Alizeta Kabore Kinda (seated left), Chief Warrant Officer with the United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali (MINUSMA) and recipient of the 2022 United Nations Woman Police Officer of the Year Award, speaks with Jean-Pierre Lacroix, Under-Secretary-General for Peace Operations, during the UN-Women Police Officer of the Year Award Ceremony. 31 August 2022. UN Photo by Loey Felipe.

As of December 2022, there were 11 women serving as special representatives of the Secretary-General:

- Virginia Gamba, for Children and Armed Conflict (since April 2017);
- Pramila Patten, for Sexual Violence in Conflict (since April 2017);
- Natalia Gherman, for Central Asia and Head of the United Nations Regional Centre for Preventative Diplomacy for Central Asia (since September 2017);
- Mami Mizutori, for Disaster Risk Reduction, United Nations Office for Disaster Risk Reduction (UNDRR) (since January 2018);
- Jeanine Antoinette Plasschaert, for Iraq and Head, United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq (from August 2018);
- Najat Maalla M'jid, on Violence against Children (since May 2019);
- Damilola Ogunbiyi, for Sustainable Energy for All (since October 2019);
- Joan W. McDonald, for the United Nations International School;
- Bintou Keita, for the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Head of the United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (since January 2021);
- Caroline Ziadeh, for Kosovo and Head of the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (since November 2021); and
- Valentine Rugwabiza, for the Central African Republic and Head of the United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in the Central African Republic (since February 2022).

According to the United Nations Security Council "Report of the Secretary-General on the Work of the Organization", in February 2021, women represented 48 per cent of HOMs and deputy HOMs[43], a substantial increase from 20 per cent in 2015.[44] The issue of leadership is important considering the Secretary-General's "System-wide strategy on gender parity", released in 2017,[45] which focused on increasing women's representation at all levels in the United Nations system, including in peace operation missions. While fundamentally a right, gender parity is increasingly necessary for the efficiency, impact, and credibility of the United Nations. Greater diversity directly correlates in both the public and private sectors with significant gains in operational effectiveness and efficiency. This is particularly important as the United Nations is being asked to do more with less while increasing effectiveness in all quarters. Across the three pillars, the impact of an inclusive workforce on the ability of the United Nations to deliver on its mandates is clear. The "System-wide strategy on gender parity" claims that bringing more women into the labour force would unlock trillions of dollars for developing economies, that there is no greater protection mechanism for women's rights than empowerment, and that women's meaningful participation has a direct impact on the sustainability of peace, an assertion that is now quantifiable.[46]

Additionally, when gender mainstreaming tools have been built into the mandate and strongly supported through ties to local women's communities, the results have been promising. An example of this comes from Burundi:

> "SCR 1545, which established the UN operation in Burundi (ONUB) in May 2004, makes specific mention of SCR 1325 and requests that attention be given to the special needs of women and children in relation to disarmament, demobilization and reintegration and the protection of human rights. Furthermore, it requests that the Secretary-General ensure that 'ONUB's personnel give special attention to issues related to gender equality'."[47]

Without a doubt, the groundwork laid by years of activism in Burundi before the establishment of ONUB greatly facilitated both the decision to include gender equality in the ONUB mandate and the mission's subsequent active engagement with women's organizations. Four years earlier, despite exclusion from formal peace negotiations in Arusha, women and women's organizations were already advocating strongly for the inclusion of their concerns in the peace process. Continued activism by women's groups in Burundi led to a requirement in the new constitution that 30 per cent of all government seats go to women, and elections in 2005 landed an even higher percentage of posts for women. Further reinforcing these positive precedents. In a speech on 20 September 2006, Burundi President Pierre Nkurunziza called on the PBC and the UN System to make gender equality a priority, emphasizing that his government regarded this as crucial to alleviating poverty" and thus avoiding a relapse into violence.[48]

43) United Nations Security Council, *Report of the Secretary-General on the Work of the Organization*, A/76/1, 12 January 2021, 54. Available from: <https://www.un.org/annualreport/files/2022/09/ARWO-2022-WEB-Spread-EN.pdf>.

44) UN-Women, "Facts and figures: Women, peace, and security", October 2021. Available from: <https://www.unwomen.org/en/what-we-do/peace-and-security/facts-and-figures>.

45) United Nations, *System-wide strategy on gender parity*, 6 October 2017. Available from: <https://www.un.org/gender/sites/www.un.org.gender/files/gender_parity_strategy_october_2017.pdf>.

46) United Nations, *System-wide strategy on gender parity*, 2.

47) Torry, *Security Council Resolution 1325 On Women, Peace and Security — Six Years On Report*, 39.

48) In relation to Security Council resolution 1545 of 2004. Torry, *Security Council Resolution 1325 On Women, Peace and Security — Six Years On Report*, 39.

Integrating a gender dimension into all of a mission's substantial activities

The second approach to implementing SCR 1325 begins with addressing gender concerns in the initial phase of a mission (i.e., during the needs assessment, operations planning, and policy development). Once the mission is under way, gender perspectives are incorporated into the instruments used to support the implementation of operations on the ground, such as guidelines, codes of conduct, and standards of behaviour. In the end, the extent to which gender was integrated throughout the mission is included in the monitoring and reporting system. This last requirement is one specifically mentioned in SCR 1325; the reporting situation in 2000 was deemed far from satisfactory, and implementation of the resolution cannot be evaluated without an improved understanding of the different impacts of armed conflicts on men and women as well as an assessment of how missions are performing.

In 2003, the then United Nations Office of the Special Adviser on Gender Issues and the Advancement of Women (later subsumed into UN-Women)[49] undertook a study of 243 Secretary-General's reports to the Security Council for the period between January 2000 and September 2003. The study aimed to analyse to what extent the reports included gender perspectives, as required by different official documents, particularly SCR 1325. This analysis revealed that only 17 per cent of the reports made multiple references to gender concerns, 16 per cent made minimal reference, and 67 per cent of the reports made no, or only one, mention of women or gender issues. The vast majority of the reports citing gender concerns mentioned the impact of conflict on women and girls as victims — not as potential dynamic actors in reconciliation, peacebuilding, or post-conflict reconstruction.[50]

In 2017, the Secretary-General noted in his annual report on WPS[51] that, while it was crucial for the Security Council to maintain its focus on the WPS agenda, inconsistencies remained and gender equality and WPS issues continued to be neglected in emerging or deteriorating crises or when discussing counter-terrorism or the deployment of troops. The Secretary-General called upon his Special Representatives and principals of United Nations entities to continue their efforts to enhance the quality of gender and conflict analysis in their reporting to the Security Council.[52] Some improvement was shown in the Secretary-General's 2021 report, which highlighted that of the 41 reports prepared by the Department of Political and Peacebuilding Affairs in 2020, 88 per cent included recommendations on WPS, a percentage that has increased annually, up from 63 per cent in 2017.[53]

Dispatching gender experts to missions

This approach has been most heavily utilized in implementing SCR 1325. The United Nations makes use of at least two kinds of gender expert positions in missions: gender advisers and gender focal points. Both of these roles constitute a strong advantage for the integration of gender perspectives in all work components of a peace operation mission, including military, police, and civilian components.

49) On 2 July 2010, the General Assembly established the United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women (UN-Women) by consolidating and transferring to the entity the existing mandates and functions of the Office of the Special Adviser on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women (OSAGI) and the Division for the Advancement of Women of the Secretariat (DAW) as well as those of the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) and the International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (INSTRAW). The new organization was meant to function both as a secretariat and to carry out operational activities at the country level. UN-Women was operational by 1 January 2011. January 2000–May 2003

50) Office of the Special Adviser for Gender Issues and Advancement of Women, *An Analysis of the Gender Content of Secretary-General's Reports to the Security Council: January 2000–May 2003*, 1 August 2003.

51) United Nations Security Council, *Report of the Secretary-General on women, peace and security*, S/2017/861, 25 October 2017, 25. Available from: <http://www.securitycouncilreport.org/atf/cf/%7B65BFCF9B-6D27-4E9C-8CD3-CF6E4FF96FF9%7D/s_2017_861.pdf>.

52) United Nations Security Council, *Report of the Secretary-General on women, peace and security*, 16.

53) United Nations Security Council, *Women and peace and security: report of the Secretary-General*, S/2021/827, 27 September 2021, 32–33. Available from: <https://www.securitycouncilreport.org/atf/cf/%7B65BFCF9B-6D27-4E9C-8CD3-CF6E4FF96FF9%7D/s_2021_827.pdf>.

Peace operations personnel from the African Union-United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur (UNAMID) register women and children as they await medical care at the UNAMID base in Labado, Sudan. 20 October 2014. UN Photo by Albert Gonzalez Ferran.

They form a necessary capacity from which mission leadership, including Force Commanders, police commissioners, heads of sections, and staff members, can draw to facilitate gender mainstreaming into their work plans and activities.

Gender advisers are deployed to all multidimensional peace operations to oversee gender mainstreaming, as mandated by the Security Council resolutions on WPS. Gender advisers make sure that the voices, needs, and priorities of women and girls are included in all areas of peace operations to promote their political participation and ensure that they are protected from sexual and GBV. The work of gender advisers includes:

- Providing strategic advice to senior leadership on advancing gender equality and WPS principles into mission mandates and assisting senior leadership in monitoring progress and ensuring accountability and compliance by all personnel;
- Operationalizing, facilitating and coordinating the implementation of gender equality and WPS across all functions and components in line with the mission's mandate; and
- Strengthening the capacity of all United Nations peace operations personnel — civilian, police, and military — to advance gender equality and WPS;

Specifically, Gender Advisers facilitate the implementation of gender equality and WPS mandates through:

- Leading and guiding gender analysis that informs the various stages of peace operation planning, particularly in mission start-ups, strategic reviews, mandate renewals, transitions and drawdowns;
- Advocating and promoting the inclusion of women in political and electoral processes, in national governance and security sector structures, in peace processes, as oversight observers in ceasefire agreements and in conflict management and prevention;
- Coordinating efforts to promote a protective environment for women and girls from sexual and gender-based violence; and
- Advocating for strengthening and developing gender-responsive security, justice, and corrections institutions.[54]

54) United Nations Peacekeeping, "Promoting Women, Peace and Security". Available from: <https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/promoting-women-peace-and-security>.

Gender focal points are generally appointed across components in headquarters and missions to support section and unit-level planning and implementation of gender equality and WPS mandates. They are primarily responsible for:

- Providing day-to-day support to their respective sections or units on the integration of gender and WPS;
- Identifying entry points for integrating gender within specific functions; and
- Liaising with gender units for technical and substantive support.[55]

There has been concrete progress in efforts to integrate a gender perspective into United Nations peace operations. In 2000, only the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) and the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) had gender advisers, and only a fifth of all peace operations had a specialized Gender Unit, usually comprising a sole officer freshly appointed to what was then a brand-new post. As of 2021, nine United Nations missions included a deployed military gender adviser capability.[56]

Multidimensional peace operation missions with a specific mandate also deploy women's protection advisers (WPAs), and, as first mandated in Security Council resolution 1888 in 2009, all multidimensional peace operation missions have gender units.[57] In countries with evidence of conflict-related sexual violence (CRSV), senior WPAs (SWPAs) are deployed in addition to gender advisers and have complementary roles to the gender advisers. SWPAs focus specifically on the integration of CRSV considerations in the activities of the peace operation missions, including monitoring, analysis, and reporting on sexual violence and advocating and engaging with parties to the conflict regarding their obligations to prevent and address CRSV. The protection of women and girls in these situations is taken into consideration in protection of civilians (POC) activities and the incorporation of a gender perspective across all tiers of the mission's POC efforts. Their responsibilities include:

- Advising mission leadership and military, police, and civilian components on the integration of all CRSV issues;
- Establishing and overseeing the implementation of a monitoring, analysis, and reporting arrangement on CRSV and promoting early warning and accountability of perpetrators of CRSV, working closely with human rights components;
- Engaging in dialogue with all parties to the conflict to obtain commitments to prevent and ensure accountability for incidents and patterns of CRSV;
- Coordinating responses to cases of CRSV and promoting accountability of perpetrators of CRSV; and
- Delivering training on CRSV to all peace operation personnel.[58]

Several examples of the work and accomplishments of gender advisers and Gender Units can be cited. In the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC),

55) Department of Peacekeeping Operations, *Gender Responsive United Nations Peacekeeping Operations*, 2018. Available from: <https://peacekeeping.un.org/sites/default/files/gender-responsive-un-peacekeeping-operations-policy-en_0.pdf>.

56) Brown, Sarah, Gordon, Eleanor, Lee-Koo, Katrina and Wittwer, Jennifer. "A Global Review of the Development of Military Gender Advisor Capabilities", 2022, 11, Melbourne: Monash University. Available from: <https://bridges.monash.edu/articles/report/A_Global_Review_of_the_Development_of_Military_Gender_Advisor_Capabilities/19729966/1>.

57) UN-Women, *Preventing Conflict, Transforming Justice, Securing the Peace*, 144.

58) Department of Peacekeeping Operations, *Gender Responsive United Nations Peacekeeping Operations*, 35.

the senior gender adviser developed a two-pronged strategy to ensure that a gender perspective was integrated into the mission's policies and programmes and to interface with civil society organizations, especially women's groups. In UNTAET, the Gender Unit assisted the East Timorese Women's Network in implementing the Beijing Platform for Action (see Lesson 6). In Sierra Leone, the gender adviser was placed in the Human Rights Unit through an agreement between the Department of Peacekeeping (now DPO) and the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR). She created a Women's Task Force for the Truth and Reconciliation Commission to give particular attention to GBV during armed conflict. She also researched war-related sexual abuses with a non-government organization whose focus was the promotion and protection of women's rights in post-conflict societies.

More recently, the gender adviser in South Sudan implemented training programmes for the women in the South Sudanese military. In Darfur, the Gender Unit established a SCR 1325 Committees to monitor how state governments implement their commitments to SCR 1325 and make sure women's experiences are included in peace and security initiatives. In the Central African Republic, the gender advisers identified the protection needs of female ex-combatants and introduced initiatives that encouraged women to develop skills to generate their income, preparing them for employment and keeping them from taking up arms. In Haiti, the mission radio station, MINUSTAH FM, had a weekly programme dedicated to gender issues. During the electoral period, this programme focused on women's participation in elections and encouraged women to vote.[59]

The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) launched its pilot projects within the Integrated Crisis Prevention and Recovery Programme "Strengthening national capacities for Early Recovery, Peace Building and Reconciliation" at the United Nations Protection of Civilians (POC) site in Juba, South Sudan. UNDP developed the programme in response to the crisis gripping South Sudan since December 2013. 20 October 2014. UN Photo by JC McIlwaine.

59) United Nations, "Promoting Women, Peace, and Security".

Section 1.5 Conclusion

As this course will argue, the reasons behind the limits of the "gender expert approach" are complex and go beyond the simple failure to sufficiently fund high-level gender advisory posts or write clear operational mandates for gender mainstreaming. They have to do with the fundamentally misguided way in which gender issues can be and have been conceptualized, including how gendered roles affect women and men in conflict. While women and girls make up half the population or more in many post-conflict countries, issues affecting women have been typically treated as special or separate issues to be considered after plans have already been made. In practice, this approach creates peace support operations that assume whole societies are male — or at least that those societies have only the needs and concerns that come to mind for some male policymakers who are designing operations. It assumes that it is possible to construct a general approach that will work for everyone, and that women's needs will vary only a little. These are the critical themes of gender mainstreaming and SCR 1325 that this course addresses.

Real gender mainstreaming requires a fundamental change of orientation in this thinking. As one report puts it:

> "In every aspect of reconstruction — from rebuilding roads to rebuilding political structures — every decision taken, every project funded, and every policy implemented will have a gendered impact. The impact may be to reinforce the status quo, or to change it, but no matter whether peacebuilders consciously analyze the gendered effects of their programs or not, they are *de facto* making decisions about gender. When preparing to hold elections, for example, planners de facto reinforce men's political dominance if they do not consciously ask questions such as: do men and women in the society get their information in different locations, or from different media?; do men and women require different kinds of voter education or respond to different 'get out the vote' messages?; will women be willing to stand on line and vote next to men?; what provisions will be made for the care of young children while women stand on line for hours in the hot sun?; do women have different physical security needs when they vote than men do? Whether or not one thinks it desirable to wait and deal with gender 'further down the road', it simply is not possible, as gender is a part of every action in the present. The question, then, is not when to turn to thinking about gender; it is whether or not an individual is thinking in an informed manner about the gendered impact of every aspect of his or her work."[60]

Here, one runs immediately into the paradox of identity. Do all women respond to one kind of voter education and all men another? Are all women responsible for all the childcare in this community? Are women the only ones with physical security needs? Beginning by asking these kinds of questions about gender is a crucial first step.

60) Torry, *Security Council Resolution 1325 On Women, Peace and Security — Six Years On Report*, 18.

The following example from Mali, although it describes a situation that is now some years in the past, provides an excellent illustration of how much is gained by including thoroughgoing attention to women in a disarmament programme. Such programmes, because they deal with arms — and typically men are associated with armaments — have historically been designed with only men in mind. This case study shows how short-sighted and ineffective, such designs have been and how much more effective they can be when they take women into account. At the same time, the study reveals the risks of assuming all women are alike.

This lesson and this course suggest the following guidelines for rethinking gender mainstreaming and the implementation of SCR 1325:

- Gender mainstreaming means, first, thinking about women. Second, it means thinking about women and men relationally — how a society arranges its gender roles for relationships between women and men. Third, it means thinking about how every action taken may affect each group differently and affect the relational dynamics between them.
- Attention to gender perspectives requires recognition that gender is culturally contextual and that cultures are not homogeneous. Every culture has within it a range of different roles for women and men (see Lessons 2 and 5). At any given time, people may be entirely, or only partially, going along with their society's accepted gender roles, or they may be resisting them.
- Gender mainstreaming means creating the widest possible space for women and men to have equal access to resources and power and be equally involved in decisions.
- Gender mainstreaming may mean doing things differently so that more kinds of people can participate. It may mean dealing with women and men separately at some times and together at others.

Ménaka, located 1500 km from Bamako in the northeast of Mali, has experienced increasing insecurity due to attacks by terrorist groups and other armed groups. United Nations police (UNPOL) serving with United Nations Stabilization Mission in Mali (MINUSMA) carry out daily patrols to secure the civilian population. A woman looks on as United Nations police conduct a foot patrol in Ménaka. 12 June 2021. UN Photo by Gema Cortes.

The Relevance of Women's Role in Microdisarmament: The United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research (UNIDIR) Case Study in Mali »

Among microdisarmament policies, the exchange of development aid for weapons held by civilians in post-conflict areas is becoming increasingly popular with donors. Although such policies are often aimed at men, who generally tend to hold the weapons, UNIDIR's field research in Mali in March 2003 found that successful projects tend to involve the avid participation of the entire community, that is, of both men and women.

In Mali, women played an indispensable part in securing a favourable climate for handing over weapons. In the face of violence, women served to persuade men as their wives, sisters, mothers, and in-laws to give up their weapons. They organized inter-community meetings, involved the media, visited cantonment areas, and persuaded male family members to hand over arms. In a certain village, an elder woman told the UNIDIR research team that she had threatened her young male family members by saying that she would go naked in public unless they handed over their weapons. Women played a major role in the early process of peacebuilding, and the male community members highly appreciated their contribution. Women also tend to maintain a holistic view of the goal of weapons collection. In Mali, both men and women agreed that the final goal of weapons collection is to eradicate poverty and bring peace to the community. However, when asked to elaborate on this thought, men and women reacted differently. For women, weapons collection programmes aimed to bring reconciliation between the various ethnic factions in the community, resumption of free transportation, and provision of opportunities for young men. Male community members tended to focus on reducing the number of weapons in circulation. While men could identify the most effective procedures for collecting weapons correctly, women emphasized that the ultimate purpose of collecting weapons was peacebuilding in the community.

Women in Mali also proved to be capable of identifying effective aid incentives for weapons collection projects. When asked how to judge the success of weapons collection projects, men focused on such material factors as the number of weapons collected and destroyed and the reduction of gun-related crime and injuries. They also identified the building of roads and bridges as appropriate incentives for handing over weapons. Compared with men, women stressed the need to address the causes of violent conflict. Moreover, women deemed projects such as the provision of water wells, grain mills, and cereal banks — projects that provide basic needs for daily life such as water and food — as the best sort of incentives to be provided in exchange for weapons. Women also explained that effective weapons-for-development projects should consider the underlying causes of small arms and light weapons problems. In particular, they emphasized the importance of job creation for young men in economically marginalized communities. This suggests that involving women in project design and evaluation can help donors in the selection of incentives for weapons collection programmes.

The Relevance of Women's Role in Microdisarmament: The United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research (UNIDIR) Case Study in Mali (continued) »

From the Mali experience, it would seem that men and women contribute to each stage of a weapons collection process in a complementary manner. Gender consideration in programmes of weapons collection seems to be a matter of pragmatics. Involving both men and women in design, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation is key for effective projects, but how can the contribution of women in this respect be maximized? First and foremost, the international assistance community should make sure that the decision-making process involves women. Although there is a desire to involve them, they are often left aside when projects are implemented. In Mali, once weapons collection began, women's role in the process decreased. Therefore, the international community needs to pay more attention to maintaining women's participation throughout the implementation of such projects.

One way to encourage women's participation would be to incorporate participatory monitoring and evaluation techniques into weapons collection programmes. These methods, long practised in the fields of health and development, have the potential to facilitate communication among the actual beneficiaries of the projects. The techniques involve group discussion and visual aids, such as flow charts, to enable as many members of the community as possible to participate. Even paying attention to meeting times is important. In Mali, urban women had less difficulty in participating in disarmament processes than rural women who generally tend to have less spare time to devote to meetings. In this case, holding a meeting late in the afternoon (after daytime errands, before the preparation of dinner), for example, might allow more women to participate. When women are involved, their "heterogeneousness" should not be overlooked. In Mali, women are narrowly defined as wives and mothers. However, if they are unmarried, or do not fit in the social strata, they might be excluded from consideration — even by fellow women. An illustrative example is female excombatants. During its field research, the UNIDIR team came upon a few female excombatants in a community. When the research team asked to involve them in an excombatants' discussion group, the male members of the group refused, because "they were women". Likewise, when women were asked to integrate the female excombatants in their discussion group, they too declined, because "those women were fighters, not civilians". Participatory monitoring and evaluation techniques are strong tools to involve various beneficiaries in aid programmes. However, one still needs to be sensitive to local conditions and to refine methodologies according to the local context to make all voices heard.

Source: M. Vlachová and L. Biason (eds.), *Women in an Insecure World: Violence against women — facts, figures and analysis*, (Geneva: Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces, 2005) 198.

End-of-Lesson Quiz »

1. UNSCR 1325 was adopted in which year?

A. 1999
B. 2005
C. 2000
D. 2013

2. What are the four main components of SCR 1325?

3. How has the United Nations addressed the "limits of aspirations" previously attached to the progress of the implementation of UNSCR 1325?

4. Which key document was described as the most progressive blueprint for advancing women's rights?

A. UNSCR 1325
B. The 1995 *Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action*
C. The 2000 *Windhoek Declaration* and the *Namibia Plan of Action on Mainstreaming a Gender Perspective In Multidimensional Peace Support Operations*
D. The 1975 *Mexico Plan of Action*

5. Which of the following is a key element of the official United Nations definition of gender mainstreaming?

A. Ensuring that an equal number of men and women work for every major mission and office of the United Nations
B. Ensuring that both men and women are trained to complete every task in the mission
C. Assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies, or programmes, in all areas and at all levels
D. Consideration of gender as a primary factor when filling positions for Heads of Mission and Special Representatives of the Secretary-General in peace operation missions

6. In applying gender mainstreaming to the implementation of SCR 1325, the United Nations has generally followed one or more of three basic approaches. What are they?

7. List three of the different responsibilities of Gender Advisers and gender focal points.

8. What has been the main problem with the most commonly used approach to gender mainstreaming in peace operation missions so far?

A. It focuses on gender to the exclusion of other important social issues affecting missions.
B. It simply has not worked.
C. It has cost too much money.
D. It has treated women (and/or gender) as a separate issue to be added on after plans have already been made.

9. Gender mainstreaming means _____.

A. making it possible for men and women to have equal access to resources and power
B. making sure women make all important decisions
C. prioritizing gender differences over differences in age, social group, or religion
D. treating men and women of all cultures the same

10. The British novelist Virginia Woolf perceived three societal evils that are interconnected and dependent on one another. They are _____.

A. patriarchy, nationalism, and war
B. patriarchy, violence, and patriotism
C. matriarchy, nationalism, and colonialism
D. colonialism, impingement on the rights of children, and religion

Answer Key provided on the next page.

End-of-Lesson Quiz »

Answer Key »

1. C
2. (1) Recognition/concern that armed conflicts target, and disproportionately impact, civilians — especially women and children; says this is significant for the sustainability of peace and reconciliation efforts worldwide. (2) Calls for full implementation of all international human rights and humanitarian laws protecting women and girls during and post-conflict. (3) Calls for women's full and equal participation at every level of decision-making in peace and security-related matters; says gender mainstreaming in peace operations is urgent. (4) Calls for the mainstreaming of the gender perspective into all peace operations.
3. UNSCR 2242 (2015) required the Secretary-General to conduct a review of the progress of the implementation of SCR 1325. This study – "Preventing Conflict, Transforming Justice, Securing the Peace; a Global Study on the Implementation of United Nations Security Council resolution 1325", conducted in 2015, identified the gaps and challenges, as well as emerging trends and priorities for action, and provides a sound road map for future efforts.
4. B
5. C
6. Including gender mainstreaming tools in the mission's mandate; integrating gender in all mission activities; sending gender experts to missions
7. Gender Advisers: incorporate gender concerns in all mission activities; Raise awareness and conduct training on gender issues for all staff; train military and civilian personnel on gender issues; empower local women to increase their participation in peace processes. Gender focal points: improve gender balance in peace operations; work on personnel issues such as recruitment, promotions, employment discrimination, and sexual harassment.
8. D
9. A
10. A