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Building positive peace? : A gendered analysis of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 on women, peace and security

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**Building Positive Peace? A Gendered Analysis of United
Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women,
Peace and Security**

By

Annette M. Elliott

**A Thesis submitted to the University of Plymouth in partial fulfilment for the
degree of**

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Annette Elliott

Building Positive Peace? A Gendered Analysis of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security

Abstract

Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) forms part of the United Nations approach to international peacebuilding. Whereas the resolution has been critiqued in terms of its implementation, there is a gap in the existing analysis concerning a deeper critical understanding of gender and the significant link between the constructions of gender and cultures of violence and peace.

Grounded in a theoretical framework of a gendered analysis of peacebuilding theory, the empirical research combines policy analysis and qualitative interviews in order to examine how the concept of gender is understood within peacebuilding policy and how this impacts on implementation. Using the principle themes that emerge from SCR 1325 - gender mainstreaming, participation, and protection – this thesis presents an analysis of the different understandings of gender found in the policy making arena and locates these within perspectives for building more sustainable and positive peace.

It is argued that, in order to overcome the inertia in implementing gender aware perspectives and policies in the security arena, the focus of analysis must be broadened from a focus on women to include the relational nature of constructions of gender. It is thus necessary to examine the related issues of power, and the roles of femininities and masculinities, patriarchy and militarization in the field of peacebuilding policy. This involves moving beyond the confines of the prevailing liberal peace thesis towards a more transformative approach to building sustainable peace.

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Abbreviations and Acronyms

CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women
CSW	Commission on the Status of Women
DAW	Division for the Advancement of Women
DFID	UK Department for International Development
DPA	UN Department for Political Affairs
DPKO	UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations
ECOSOC	United Nations Economic and Social Council
FCO	UK Foreign and Commonwealth Office
HDI	Human Development Index
IA	International Alert
ICC	International Criminal Court
ICTR	International Criminal Tribunal of Rwanda
ICTY	International Criminal Court of Yugoslavia
IFI	international financial institution
ILO	International Labour Organisation
INSTRAW	UN International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women
IWTC	International Women's Tribune centre
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NGO	non-governmental organisation
NGOWG	Non-Governmental Organisation Working Group on Women, Peace and Security
OCHA	UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs

OHCHR	Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights
OSAGI	UN Office of the Special Advisor on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women
PBC	Peacebuilding Commission
SCR	Security Council Resolution
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNICEF	United Nations Children’s Fund
UNIFEM	United Nations Development Fund for Women
UNRISD	United Nations Research Institute for Social Development
WILPF	Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom

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Author's Declaration

At no time during the registration for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy has the author been registered for any other university award.

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Date.....*09/02/09*.....

Chapter One

Introduction: Building Positive Peace? A Gendered Analysis of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security.

Only together, women and men in parity and partnership, can we overcome obstacles and inertia, silence and frustration, and ensure the insight, political will, creative thinking and concrete actions needed for a global transition from the culture of violence to a culture of peace. (Statement on Women's Contribution to a Culture of Peace, UNESCO, September 1995)

The quotation above is taken from a UNESCO statement on the occasion of the Fourth World Conference on Women held in Beijing in September 1995. Made over a decade ago, this statement is still highly relevant to the question of peacebuilding today and is central to the orientation of this thesis. Violent armed conflict continues to destroy human life, degrade the environment, impede social development and stifle the fulfilment of human rights and human needs. War is often a product of cultures of violence and the perspective taken in this thesis is that for positive, sustainable outcomes, peacebuilding must be orientated towards transformation of cultures of violence into cultures of peace. It is argued here that building peace from a positive sustainable perspective requires understanding and addressing the root causes of violence. Without this it is unlikely that peace will become embedded in communities. A foundational premise of this thesis is that constructions of gender are critically important constituents of any analysis of peace, peacebuilding and the transformation of cultures of violence. It has been accepted in academic study

and in policy arenas that peace is inextricably linked with social and economic development, for example in the work of Galtung (1971, 1990, 1996), Burton (1972, 1990) and Lederach (1997, 2002). This is also acknowledged within United Nations policy (UN, Agenda For Peace, 1992; UN, Brahimi Report, 2000; UN, High level Panel Report, 2004). But it is far less often acknowledged that the concepts of peace and development are also integrally linked to gender. It is so deeply embedded as normal that it is mostly men that perpetrate direct physical violence, and orchestrate both wars and formal peace processes that the concept of constructions of gender has largely been left unaddressed in security policy making arenas.

In the decade since the UNESCO statement above, a significant move has been made in policy terms recognising the role of women in the sphere of peace and security with the unanimous passing of Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security by the United Nations Security Council in October 2000 (SCR 1325). Using a gender perspective this thesis will examine what SCR 1325 has contributed to advancing 'insight, political will, creative thinking and concrete actions' (UNESCO, 1995) required in any move towards building cultures of peace. There have been policy level evaluations and critiques of the resolution, largely in terms of the efficacy of implementation, from United Nations, governmental and non-governmental sources. There is, however, a gap in the existing analysis of the resolution concerning a critical understanding of the fundamental link between constructions of gender, masculinities and femininities, and their integral association with cultures of violence and cultures of peace. This thesis will contribute towards filling this gap in the literature by

linking a gender based approach to theories of peacebuilding and analysing the strengths and limitations of SCR 1325 within this intellectual framework. The intention of this thesis is to contribute to understandings of the link between constructions of gender and the concept of positive peacebuilding through an analysis that highlights the different implications for policy making that arise when the analytical focus moves from 'women' to gender. A primary focus of this research is to analyse if the broader understanding of the concept of peace which has developed at the global policy making level has integrated evolving understandings of the constructions of gender and whether these concepts have converged in the policy making and practices of the United Nations Security Council.

The principle research questions will therefore be: How is gender conceptualised within the peacebuilding policy of the United Nations Security Council and particularly within SCR 1325? How does this relate to theories of peacebuilding?

The approach used here to exploring this question will be to focus on the creation, implementation and evaluation of SCR 1325, the first resolution to emerge from the United Nations Security Council that recognises the different roles and experiences of women and men in the context of violent conflict. Prior to this resolution no acknowledgement of gender difference and its implications for policy had ever been made at this level of policy making. The resolution builds on commitments made in the General Assembly of the United Nations such as those contained in the Beijing Declaration and Platform for

Action (UN, GA, BPFA, 1995) and refers to the need to mainstream gender perspectives in multidimensional peace support operations as were laid out in the Windhoek Declaration and Namibia plan of Action (UN, GA, Windhoek Declaration and Namibia Plan of Action, 2000). It is significant to point out that although it is usually referred to as 'women, peace and security' policy, the term gender is also frequently attached to this area of policy and debate. The terms women and gender are often used as if they were synonymous.

It has been acknowledged across the spectrum of United Nations bodies that applying gender perspectives, promoting gender balance and introducing gender mainstreaming policies is a necessary step towards diminishing discrimination and exclusion and promoting equality (See for example UN, GA, BPFA, 1995: UN, ECOSOC 1997/2). A key issue here is to examine whether the social constructions of gender are fully acknowledged and their significance understood in the decision making arenas where United Nations peacebuilding policy is created and how this is then carried out in the implementation of policy. A key concern of this work is to explore if, and how, in the pursuit of policies supporting peacebuilding, the United Nations acknowledges the cultural acceptance of violence that is integrally related to constructions of masculinities and femininities that are deeply embedded into cultures.

Further issues arise out of the principle research questions: Is the focus of international peacebuilding and gender policy on bringing more women into existing structures, strategies and practices of peacebuilding? Are those structures, strategies and practices being analysed for their existing gender

bias? Is peacebuilding policy oriented towards transformation of cultures of violence or does it adopt a problem solving approach?

SCR 1325 will be analysed within a gendered framework that compares two linked but differing theoretical approaches to peace: the liberal peace model and the positive peace approach. The argument rests on three key normative points; firstly, that an analysis of the concept of peace requires an understanding of violence in all of its forms; secondly, that to create a just and sustainable peace it is necessary to adopt an expanded understanding of peacebuilding from a positive perspective; and thirdly, that gender is not only an essential element of personal identity but is also a fundamental constituent of political experience and institutional activity. As the level of analysis changes from the individual to the institutional the power relations inherent in gender constructions are embedded into the identity of the state, international institutions and hence the processes of international relations.

The methodological perspective of this research is qualitative, based on a critical feminist analysis and grounded on a constructivist ontological understanding. The theoretical framework is constructed through an analysis of gendered approaches to international relations and how two models for peacebuilding, positive peace and liberal peace, theoretically integrate a gendered approach. Within this theoretical framework the development of United Nations policy on gender equality is analysed and the growth of institutional awareness of the integrated nature of gender equality and peacebuilding is scrutinised. This culminates in a specific focus on the creation, adoption and implementation of SCR 1325. This resolution is

examined for its underpinning orientation, the significance of the use of language within the resolution and the central themes that emerge from it. Three dominant themes are identified within the resolution; the need to promote the mainstreaming of gender perspectives in policy making; the need to increase the participation of women in peacebuilding processes; and the need to improve the protection of women and girls during violent conflict. In order to provide a deeper understanding of how SCR 1325 is perceived in practice, a number of qualitative interviews are carried out with key experts in the field of gender and peacebuilding at United Nations, governmental and NGO level. The interview data is analysed using the thematic framework identified in the policy analysis. The methods used therefore comprise a combination of theoretical and historical analysis, documentary analysis and qualitative interview data analysis. These are used in a triangulated manner, each related to the other within an integrated and iterative framework.

Because the historical trajectory of understandings of gender rely on the isolation of the categories of men and women rather than through an understanding of the constructed and relational nature of masculinities and femininities, it is inevitable that the focus of some of this analysis turns to policy and processes aimed specifically at women. These have often been labelled 'women's issues'. This isolation of the category of women is an inherent part of the development of the phenomena of understandings of gender. It has been argued, with much justification, that the focus on women was, and still is, an essential and critical first step away from the androcentrism of the international political arena. However, the separation of women as a group is problematic

and particularly so when attempting to mainstream gender perspectives. These issues will be explored throughout the thesis. What is significant to this analysis is to discover whether sufficient progress has been made in the security policy making arena to move forward in the understanding that using the category 'women' does not equate to 'gender'. The first step of this process has been to acknowledge that women and men hold different roles and positions in society and have consequently often been affected by war and violent conflict differently. Their differential socialisation processes and different social positions have placed men and women generally, but not exclusively, into a different relationship with war, violence and peace. A necessary further step towards creating an environment conducive to sustainable positive peace and gender equality is to analyse the role of constructions of gender further and in particular the constructions of masculinities in relation to violence. It is critical not only to understand the different positionings of men and women according to the gender hierarchy but also to question *why* this hierarchical structure is as it is. Without such an analysis it can only be assumed that it is founded on some 'natural' or 'given' phenomenon. For example, to say that women are vulnerable to increased sexual violence during war and need protection from this is not enough. To promote cultures of peace it is necessary to ask why this is the case in order to transform it.

Although the focus of this work is on gender as a fundamental category in the analysis of violent conflict and processes of peacebuilding, it is important to acknowledge that gender is one of several defining characteristics of identity on

which society is organised and in which institutions are embedded. Gender alone, of course, does not explain the inequalities, grievances, greed, oppression and discriminations that constitute some of the causal factors which lead to violent conflict. However, encompassed within constructions of gender are these very factors of inequality, oppression and discrimination which contribute to cultures of violence. It is significant to acknowledge that the roles ascribed by gender are influenced by and interact with other facets of identity such as culture, race, class, ethnicity, nationality, religious and political affiliation and age. Identity is a composite of the interplay of these diverse factors, and any study of gender must acknowledge this diversity. Constructions of gender are interrelated with other aspects of culture, ideology and the processes of nation building and these all impact on the formation of attitudes, beliefs and practices around peace and conflict.

On a personal level this thesis has evolved from a deep seated awareness of the lack of gendered analysis in the teaching of International Relations theory and practice at undergraduate level. At best an added chapter on gender, usually at the end of a volume, or a single lecture within a course would confront issues that I believe to be foundational to any analysis of political discourse and practice. Combined with this was a mystification over the lack of integration of different levels of analysis of political processes within the discipline of International Relations. The result of this is to distort reality by creating over simplified theories and structures for the purpose of easy but imprecise analysis. How can we understand the workings of concepts such as the state, globalisation, and global governance without integrating an

understanding of the basic units, human beings, which constitute or create these conceptual structures and their political processes? Within the sphere of International Relations and particularly in traditional approaches to 'security', the distinction between public and private spheres and the lack of acknowledgement of the gendered nature of the subject matter seemed to lag far behind other disciplinary areas. What is 'known' in the field of International Relations is largely established within the boundaries of the experiences and perspectives of male, white, western and middle class theorists and practitioners. This experience is usually presented as 'reality'. Furthermore, tight disciplinary boundaries in traditional International Relations discourses severely restrict the ability to understand such a human phenomenon as creating peaceful communities. This requires a holistic approach integrating analyses from sociological, cultural, psychological, educational, ideological, and theological perspectives as well as political and economic theories. I felt that I was always waiting, largely in vain, for the debate to turn to a fundamental issue involving power and domination, conformity and discrimination that inevitably linked gender at the personal level with gendered institutions at the global level. I had expected that one of the most glaringly obvious factors in the world of politics and international relations, that is, the very poor representation of half of the world's population, would at least have figured more prominently on the academic agenda. A personal interest developed around the often unspoken complexities of continued and deeply embedded stereotypical representations of women as peacemakers and men as warriors even though these myths can be readily challenged. A combination of a critical interest in constructions of masculinities and femininities, and a deeply felt commitment to understanding

how societies can transform cultures of violence into cultures of peace has culminated in this research project.

The following discussion provides an introduction to some of the substantial issues on which this research is founded and which will be explored in the chapters that follow. In terms of peacebuilding the 'positive peace' paradigm has emerged from the field of peace research and focuses on understandings of peace at a human level of analysis with a normative goal of handling conflict creatively and non-violently. There is a strong emphasis on education for peace. This analysis of positive peace focuses particularly, but not exclusively, on the work of Johan Galtung and the concept of 'peace by peaceful means' (Galtung, 1995). This perspective was chosen because of its expanded understanding of what constitutes violence and what constitutes peace. This approach will be compared and contrasted with what is known as the liberal peace model. The prevailing liberal peace thesis, on which the international community bases its approach to peacebuilding, upholds the values of democracy, human rights, the rule of law and the promotion of a global free market economy. The liberal peace thesis has been critiqued by such scholars as Richmond (2005), Paris (2004) and Pugh (2000, 2004), but very little analysis has been made regarding the gendered nature of the foundational values that underpin this predominant institutional approach to building peace. To assume gender neutrality in the field of conflict resolution and peacebuilding is to pre-determine a partial, distorted view of reality which accepts discrimination as normal and natural. This cannot lead to the most favourable conditions for sustainable peace. The complex, multi-faceted nature of violent

conflict involves many possible constitutive parts, including conflicting values, ideologies, religious beliefs, cultural traditions and practices, all of which are gendered processes. The differentiated power relations that exist between, and within, the different gender roles impact heavily on these processes but are so embedded as normal that they frequently go unrecognised and unchallenged.

The pre-eminence of the rhetoric of democracy and human rights from national and international institutions over recent decades lends much credence to the struggle for gender equality and non-discrimination. In practice, however, gender inequality, both overt and covert, remains dominant across cultures (see the 2008 UNDP, Gender Related Development Index, for statistics on gender inequality). The problem of violence against women remains one of the most common violations of human rights world wide.

The sphere of international security, conflict and peacebuilding remains heavily dominated by males and masculinised practices and perspectives (Mazurana and McKay, 1999). However, in recognition of the gender imbalance the United Nations General Assembly and the Security Council have called for the inclusion of more women into peacebuilding processes (for example in the UN, BPFA, 1995, and UN SCR 1325, 2000). This leads to further questions that are relevant to this research: What are the ontological underpinnings of this call for greater participation? Is it to fulfil the demands of democratisation and meet basic standards of human rights and thus create greater legitimacy for the status quo? Or, is it founded on a belief that including more women has the

potential to make a difference to the processes and outcomes of peacebuilding? More fundamentally, can the principles of gender mainstreaming and gender balance be identified as positive factors in achieving a more sustainable peace? These questions will be addressed in the subsequent analysis.

Over the past two decades, in both academic discourse and in the rhetoric of international policy, the understanding of what 'peace' is has broadened to incorporate a concept that is much wider than the mere absence of war (Richmond, 2005; UN, Agenda for Peace, 1992). The opening up of the discourse on 'security' to the development and human rights discourses has led to the assumption that violent conflict and its 'resolution' cannot be addressed in isolation from wider economic, social and political factors (Duffield, 2001). The notion of peacebuilding in terms of United Nations policy has evolved out of existing concepts of peacemaking and peacekeeping efforts and now encompasses a variety of processes with the aim of rebuilding and restoring war torn societies. Critically we need to question whether *rebuilding and restoring societies in the peacebuilding process allows space for the transformations necessary to integrate gender equality into social frameworks.*

The perspective of this thesis is that building peace entails transforming cultures where violence is acceptable into cultures where creative and non-violent, non-discriminatory processes can be used to diffuse conflict before violence is resorted to. Many societies prior to violent conflict are based on strongly patriarchal structures which require transforming rather than restoring if progress towards equality is to be made. If the focus is on restoration the

concept of transformation and gender equality is likely to be marginalised or ignored completely.

Over the past two decades feminist scholarship has challenged the orientation of the discourse on gender and international relations to move from a focus on women and how to include or incorporate them into existing structures, towards a greater understanding that addressing gender requires a critical analysis of the constructions of masculinities and femininities (for example, see Zalewski and Parpart, 1998). Understanding the concept and implications of gender, therefore, must incorporate a focus not only on the different positions and roles of women and the positions and roles of men, but also on the origins of these roles and positions and the dependent and power based relationship between them. Central to this analysis is the question of whether the constructions of masculinities and femininities and their relationship to war and peace is reflected in the debate and policy that has developed over the past decade in attempts to draw more women into formal peacebuilding processes.

It is now widely acknowledged that women have been almost completely absent from peace negotiating tables and from formal decision making and policy making arenas (Mazurana and McKay, 1999; UN, 2002a, *Women, Peace and Security*). Largely through the impact of feminist scholarship and activism, it has also been recognised that many women have been deeply involved at a local level in a wide variety of activities that promote cooperation and reconciliation within and between communities in conflict (Mazurana et al, 2005; Meintjes et al, 2001; Cockburn, 1998, 2007; Skjelsbaek and Smith, 2001;

Sharoni, 2000). Internalised understandings of the differentiated roles expected of men and women and what is important in public life and what is not, means that these informal practices which often bind societies together, such as, welfare, nurturing, and educating, are seen as less significant in building sustainable peace than negotiating formal peace agreements from afar. Peace agreements are usually negotiated in a top down fashion and delegations are usually dominated by the militarised leaders of former warring parties.

Policy approaches to dealing with the problem of under representation of women and gender perspectives in formal peacebuilding processes appear to remain largely restricted to a focus on women used as a distinct and discreet category with ensuing policy labelled 'women, peace and security'. The field of security lags behind the development discourse where there has been a move away from focusing on 'women in development' towards looking at 'gender and development' (Rai, 2002) over the past two decades. Within the sphere of violent conflict and peace, issues of gender have tended to be relegated to a position of relative unimportance. This work sets out to analyse if the historical focus on women rather than on gender is still predominant in the United Nations policy that aims to promote gender balance and gender mainstreaming in the arena of peacemaking and peacebuilding. There are clearly a great many difficulties and complexities involved in this analysis because understandings of gender are so deeply embedded in personal and cultural identities. The issue here is to understand what progress is being made, both in terms of more women being actively involved in formal peacebuilding processes *and* in transforming existing understandings of

violence, war, peace and peacebuilding by using a gender aware framework for the analysis.

War and violent conflict are crucial sites where understandings about gender are embedded and reinforced (Elshtain 1995, Enloe 1990, 2000, Tickner, 1992, 2001). War is an activity that has been even more rigidly defined as a male arena than politics. This is not, of course, to say that biological men are inherently violent and biological women are inherently peaceful, but traditional constructions of masculinities are founded on concepts of warriorhood, strength, power, bravery, prowess and domination. These characteristics are widely reinforced through many different channels that are deeply embedded in cultures and processes of socialisation and can be identified within almost every culture. Existing representations and stereotypes that 'real' men are expected to be warrior equivalents or 'protectors' and that women are in need of such protection have been challenged by feminist research (for example Enloe 1990, 2000, Elshtain, 1995, Tickner, 1992, 2001). However, a question that has been less researched in relation to peacebuilding is, what is it that makes men (predominantly) turn to violence and violent ways of solving conflict and how does this relate to the constructions of masculinities and femininities? Examining these questions involves linking different levels of analysis from the personal and individual to the macro, state and global level. Addressing these questions is essential to this analysis of the place of gender in United Nations peacebuilding policy and understanding the creation of cultures of peace.

Structure of the Thesis

The thesis is organised to develop a clear structure in which to address the research question logically and methodically. Chapter Two explains the methodological approach taken. It outlines the epistemological and ontological foundations that underpin the work and provides a philosophical grounding for the research questions. The research strategy and design will be delineated and the explanation will provide a justification for the methods used to carry out the data collection and analysis. Chapters Three and Four set out the theoretical framework of the research. Chapter Three provides a theoretical analysis of gender, examining definitions and understandings of constructions of gender, how gender has been addressed in terms of international relations and how these constructions are fundamentally related to issues of war and peace. Stereotypical representations will be examined and the associations of masculinities with violence will be explored. Chapter Four presents an analysis of concepts of peace and peacebuilding. It explores the different approaches to peace embedded in the liberal peace thesis and the positive peace model and identifies the place of gender within these two approaches. Chapter Five provides an analysis of the development of United Nations policy regarding gender equality, tracing changes in the approaches and evaluating its successes and failures. The policy analysis culminates in a specific focus on gender within the sphere of peacebuilding and the adoption and implementation of SCR 1325. Chapters Six, Seven and Eight are structured to reflect the three dominant themes that emerge out of the analysis of SCR 1325. They are based largely on interview data analysis and some policy evaluation and are

organised to reflect the themes of gender mainstreaming, increasing the participation of women and improving the protection of women and girls in the context of violent conflict. Chapter Nine discusses the principle conclusions found in relation to the research questions and proposes potential further research initiatives.

Chapter Two

Methodological Analysis: Epistemological Perspective, Research Strategy and Design.

This research is based on a qualitative and interpretative epistemology. The purpose of this thesis is to generate a deeper understanding of why the category of gender is critical to the theoretical analysis and practical project of building sustainable peace. In addition to presenting an analysis of the current contextualisation of gender within peacebuilding theory and practice it is hoped that this research will also contribute towards the potential for a more positive and sustainable approach to peacebuilding. This chapter will begin by explaining the epistemological perspective of the research. It will then outline the ontological underpinnings of the approach taken and provide a justification for the research strategy chosen. The design of the research and the methods used for the data collection and analysis will then be delineated and evaluated.

This research is based on the perceived need to challenge the longstanding androcentric theoretical analysis and practice of security and peacebuilding policy. The theoretical framework is post-positivist in its orientation. More specifically its foundations lie in a critical feminist approach. It is a feminist approach that recognises the need to focus on the analysis of constructions of gender rather than focus exclusively on the position of women. This work seeks to ask questions that have often fallen outside of traditional International

Relations and Security Studies research agendas. In recent years some academic research in International Relations and some policy debate within the United Nations has raised the question – where are all the women in peacebuilding? But recognising the glaringly obvious has not automatically led to raising crucial further questions about constructions of gender and the power relations embedded within them in institutional structures, practices, and attitudes. In spite of advances in theoretical understandings of the social constructions of gender, it is rarely seriously questioned in policy making arenas how these constructions effect and are affected by violent conflict. In addition to focussing on improving the position of women in conflict situations further questions need to be asked about masculinities and their link to violence. *Why* it is that violent conflict is predominantly a male activity and *what* is it that encourages some men to be violent? These are key questions in understanding why gender is integrally related to constructing sustainable peace. Whilst this study will examine the attempts to integrate or incorporate more women into formal peacebuilding processes it will also keep the question of gender at the forefront of the interrogation. This research is not based on a rigid prior methodological commitment but is an iterative journey to discover possible answers to the questions posed. Since ideas play a vital role in shaping our world, theory is an integral part of reality and the primary data analysis here will be integrally linked to the theoretical analysis. The origins and perceived ‘reality’ of accepted ideas about war, peace, and women and men’s roles must be questioned in order to create the potential to move towards a more sustainable way of building peace.

The main research question seeks to examine how gender is conceptualised within United Nations peacebuilding policy, specifically within SCR 1325, and how this relates to building positive peace and creating cultures of peace. The research question is addressed using a three point focus which aims to examine the convergence of gender analysis, theories of peacebuilding, and policy making and implementation processes. The origins of the research questions stem from a gap in the research about individual and institutionalised understandings of gender in the policy making arena of security and peacebuilding. Central to the creation of the research question is the proposition that in order to improve the outcomes of peacebuilding activities it is crucial to integrate the advances in theoretical understandings of gender and of peace into established institutional cultures, policy making practices and implementation procedures. Because of the multi-dimensional and multi-level nature of the concepts of both gender and peace, the approach will require a fluidity of movement between different levels of analysis from the personal and individual through to the state and global level. This approach has hitherto been slow to infiltrate United Nations security policy debate and policy making processes.

The structure of the thesis is designed to provide a theoretical framework based on a critical analysis of existing 'knowledge' and contestations in the fields of feminist /gender studies and in security and peacebuilding theory and practice. Subsequent data analysis using both primary and secondary sources is then used to specifically address the research question. For the policy analysis component primary and secondary data is derived from United Nations policy documents concerned with gender equality and historical analyses of the

development of structures and policies for equality. This contextualises the development of gender equality policies in the United Nations and culminates in a focus on SCR 1325. As well as a detailed analysis of the text of the resolution, secondary data analysis is derived from evaluations and reports on SCR 1325 produced by United Nations entities, government and non-governmental organisations. Further original primary data is collected and analysed through a series of qualitative interviews with representatives from several United Nations entities, the UK government and non-governmental organisations who are experts in the field of gender and peacebuilding policy. The interview data analysis encompasses evaluating the perspectives of the interviewees thematically on the orientation, usefulness, relevance and practicality of the policy and its relation to the theoretical framework.

Effective critical research should be based on a careful scrutiny of what is taken to be unquestionable knowledge. Mason (1996) suggests that the researcher should develop a continuous process of asking her/himself difficult questions throughout the research process and it is this reflexive strategy that is adopted here. This will entail continuous reflection on epistemological questions about what counts as knowledge and on ontological questions about what constitutes the social world. Assumptions about the nature and source of knowledge and the strategies employed for investigation must be acknowledged and challenged if a critical understanding of existing systems and processes of peacebuilding is to be created. The following sections will outline the epistemological perspective of this research and locate the ontological foundations.

Epistemological Perspective:

Feminist and Peace Epistemologies

Within the discipline of International Relations the prevailing methodological approach has been based on models drawn from the natural sciences and economics which often focus the analysis at the level of the state and the international system. Although they stem from diverse ontological foundations most feminist approaches are usually based on analyses that place the individual, and the hierarchical social relations in which they are situated, at the core of their studies (Ackerly et al, 2006). Critical feminist approaches to international relations reveal the androcentrism of the structures that uphold and maintain the state system and the global capitalist economy (Tickner, 1992, 2000; Steans, 1998). There is no one feminist way to do research (Zalewski 1995; Ackerly et al, 2006) but, with a few exceptions, in the sphere of International Relations most feminist research falls within the methodological framework of a post-positivist approach (Tickner, 2005).

Feminist scholarship within the discipline of International Relations has sometimes been met with considerable opposition. According to Tickner (2005) one of the greatest sources of controversy and misunderstandings between traditional International Relations theorists and feminist International Relations scholars has been disagreement over methodological issues. There are fundamental epistemological and ontological differences between most feminist approaches and traditional social scientific approaches in understandings of the construction and purpose of knowledge which create methodological divides (see the work of Harding, 1987, 1991; Alcoff et al, 1992,

DeVault, 1999). In the past, prominent International Relations scholars have challenged feminists to conduct research within the traditional social scientific framework of using testable hypotheses (see for example, Keohane, 1989). Carver (2003, 289) points out that the 'gendering' of International Relations has been associated with, and the project of, a number of feminist scholars who have tended to fall on the side of 'the methodological divide that views the fact-value dichotomy with grave suspicion and overt hostility'. As Harding (1991, 109) asks, how can there be 'a 'disinterested knowledge' in a society that is deeply stratified by gender, race and class?' Women and men are assigned different roles and different kinds of activities within a power differentiated society and consequently their experiences, behaviour patterns and values are potentially different. Dominant knowledge claims have primarily been based on the lives of men of the dominant race, class and culture (Harding, 1991; Ackerly et al, 2006). By using women's lives, experiences and knowledge as legitimate data to criticise the dominant knowledge claims, feminist research can decrease the partialities and distortions in the picture of the social world that has traditionally been provided by the natural and social sciences (Harding, 1991). Millman and Moss Kanter (1975, vii) have pointed out that feminist perspectives make it possible 'for people to see the world in an enlarged perspective because they remove the covers and blinders that obscure knowledge and observation'

In order to be able to locate the research question within existing theory and knowledge about peacebuilding and gender and make an informed analysis of the data collected, it is necessary to understand how we 'know' what we know and why some forms of 'knowledge' are seen as more valid than others. In any

gender analysis important questions need to be asked about the relationship between power, knowledge and 'truth'. The work of Foucault in examining the interrelationship between 'knowledge', 'truth' and 'power' and the creation of regimes of truth is highly relevant to this understanding (See Foucault, 1990, 1991, 1993). In recent years some critical scholars within the field of International Relations have turned to the work of Foucault to draw on these conceptual tools in order to challenge established orthodoxies in the field and to deconstruct the concept of power (see the work of Ashley, 1988, Hutchings, 1996, and Weber, 1995). Although Foucault did not write from within any particular discipline and did not specifically address gender issues – indeed, his notion was to discredit rigid disciplinary knowledge and macro theoretical positions – his analysis of power and use of the concept of 'regimes of truth', or what is accepted as common knowledge, has provided a useful tool for feminist analytical approaches (Ramazanoglu, 1993). Explorations of hierarchies of power, both on a personal level and on an institutional level are essential to critical feminist scholarship.

Weber (2001, 82) suggests that traditional International Relations scholarship has had a 'paternalistic engagement' with feminist scholars. In response to Keohane's (1989) methodological challenge to feminist scholarship, Weber (1994, 338) argues that this kind of critique of feminist work is 'symptomatic of male paranoia' when the traditional boundaries of International Relations are threatened. Weber highlights that there are different ways of seeing the same phenomena. Keohane's 'privileging of unified western scientific ways of seeing' causes feminist International Relations scholarship to be evaluated in terms of its ability to compliment rather than challenge existing International

Relations theory (Weber, 1994, 341). The debate in the late 1990s between Jones (1996) and Carver, Cochran and Squires (1998) illustrates this controversy further. Jones' critique claims that feminism has limited its own contribution to International Relations by making the gender variable exclusive to women and feminist studies. Carver, Cochran and Squires counter this attack by pointing out that Jones uses 'classical tradition' as the standard by which to judge feminist contributions to International Relations. These exchanges reveal how traditional International Relations epistemologies have been resistant to the challenges made by the gendered analyses and post positivist methodologies of much feminist scholarship.

Feminist scholarship spans a broad spectrum of perspectives from liberal, through socialist, Marxist, standpoint, radical, post-modern and eco-feminisms. Consequently feminist perspectives are diverse and in the same way there is no unique feminist research method (Zalewski, 1995). Feminists have drawn from a variety of methods to conduct their research. However, in spite of this diversity there is, according to Tickner, usually a particular distinctive orientation to feminist research:

What makes feminist research unique...is a distinctive methodological perspective or framework which fundamentally challenges the often unseen androcentric or masculine biases in the way that knowledge has traditionally been constructed in all disciplines (Tickner, 2006, 20).

The kinds of questions that feminists are asking in International Relations are questions that could probably not be asked within the epistemological boundaries of positivist social scientific approaches to the discipline. These questions include the examination of the construction and maintenance of

power relationships within social structures, such as the concept of citizenship, the conceptual structure of the state and the systems of global governance. Much traditional positivist International Relations research is political in the sense that its function and effect, acknowledged or not, is to maintain the underlying political status quo. Much feminist scholarship is avowedly political with the intention of challenging existing systems and patterns of domination, oppression and disempowerment. Within the field of International Relations critical scholars question the very core assumptions of state centrality and definitions of security. The intention is to reveal and deconstruct the very structures and systems that are constitutive elements of the problem of inequality, oppression, insecurity and violent conflict.

Criticism in recent years that much feminist research has focussed too exclusively on women rather than on gender (see Carver 2003) has led to a reorientation of some feminist/gender studies. It has been suggested that:

Feminist approaches – even though rich, diverse and a much needed critique – are substantively narrow as their focus is women (Carpenter, 2002, 159).

Feminist research regarding the position of women has been profoundly significant and an indispensable bedrock in the development of critical analysis of International Relations theory and practice. However, in this thesis it is an expanded understanding of constructions of gender that is the primary focus of the critical analysis. It is clear that women are missing from formal and traditional forms of peacebuilding but what is often left unquestioned is what it is

about the structures and systems of global governance that steadfastly maintains this imbalance.

Peace research, like feminist research, cannot claim to be value free. Both acknowledge biases and preferences. Peace studies 'does not simply encourage the study of peace, but is in favour of peace', just as feminist scholarship, from whichever perspective it derives, is in favour of gender equality (Barash, 2000, 3). In many ways the epistemological concerns of much research from a peace studies perspective has a similar relationship with the boundaries of security studies that feminist research has had with International Relations. Whilst it is recognised that many attempts at peacebuilding have failed to produce long term and sustainable peace, security studies and particularly policy making bodies have been slow to incorporate a wider multi-disciplinary and multi-level approach to building peace.

Contributory factors in the failure to create sustainable positive peace may include narrow definitions and expectations of what constitutes peace, and ethnocentric and androcentric tendencies to impose peace in a top down fashion (Booth, 1997). Institutional approaches to peacebuilding often do not take into account the primacy of basic human needs, material and psychological, and the need for social justice and internally acceptable structures of community relations. They often ignore the specificity of different conflict contexts, diverse cultural values and traditions, and historical perspectives. They almost always ignore the significance of constructions of gender to peacebuilding.

According to Bellamy and Williams (2004) the predominant problem solving approach to peacekeeping does not challenge or reflect on the underlying global structures that contribute to human suffering and may lead to violent conflict. Bellamy and Williams claim that epistemologically and ontologically knowledge can be used in two ways (2004, 6). It can be used as a guide to help solve problems that arise within a certain perspective. It can also be used to reflect on the process of theorising itself and how this relates to other perspectives. This is crucial to understanding the difference between a positive peace approach and a liberal peace approach. The problem solving approach makes assumptions about certain types of knowledge and experience, for example, the widespread acceptance of the superiority of neo-liberal structures to implement peace and development. A positive approach to peace challenges existing systems of knowledge and practice.

Interpretation, Objectivity, and Reflexivity

The qualitative orientation of this work is grounded in the interpretative philosophical tradition. It is concerned with how particular aspects of the social world, the concepts of 'peace' and 'gender', are experienced, understood, produced, reproduced and institutionalised. The interpretative approach is based on the understanding that an individual's perspective of reality is formed through a combination of external factors and how these are experienced and explained internally. Interpretative approaches look for systems of meanings that actors use to make sense of their world. In a mutually constitutive way the individual is continually interpreting symbolic meanings within their environment and acting according to those interpretations as well as acting on those meanings (Taylor, 1992). Subjective meanings and patterns of behaviour

emerge as a result of socialisation and social conventions and are established through interactions. These interactions create 'reality' by ascribing meaning to events and experiences through the processes of intersubjectivity (Sarantakos, 1998, 37).

The kind of objectivity demanded, but also often in question, in natural scientific research, is inappropriate for research of an interpretative nature within the social world. As human beings situated within a social context researchers bring their own ideas about what questions are relevant and what are appropriate ways of looking for possible answers. As Denzin and Lincoln state, the socially situated researcher:

....speaks from within a distinct interpretative community, which configures, in its special way, the multi-cultural, gendered components of the research act (Denzin and Lincoln, 1998, 23).

Researchers views are always filtered through different lenses which depend upon diverse experiences including factors such as culture, gender, social class, race and language. This understanding is particularly relevant to a critical analysis of an area of study which has been dominated by white, western, middle class, males who have presented their analyses as neutral, value free, and natural. Clearly, understandings of issues as subjective as 'peace' and as personal as gender cannot fit neatly into a rigid, objective, scientific research strategy. Harding (1987, 9) claims that openly acknowledging the subjective element in the researchers analysis rather than leaving them unexamined will serve to increase the objectivity of the research. This claim is reiterated by Tickner:

In contrast to conventional social science methods, acknowledging the subjective element in one's analysis, which exists in all social science research, actually increases the objectivity of the research. (Tickner, 2006, 27)

Mies (1991, 66) points out that much feminist research takes place within everyday life processes, at the level of the individual, and she contrasts this with the concept of traditional empiricism in which research objects are detached from real life contexts. In the context of this thesis institutional understandings of the meaning of gender mainstreaming, greater participation of women in peacebuilding processes and the protection of women during conflict are not considered as concepts that exist at an institutional level in isolation from the individuals that are experiencing these phenomena.

It is critical as researchers to identify preconceptions in our own understandings of the world that may create a bias in the research questions or strategy undertaken. In this research some assumptions and value judgements are made: firstly that peace is better for human welfare than war, and secondly, that gender equality is better for human welfare than discrimination and oppression. Continuous self interrogation is necessary to carry out qualitative research which is intellectually refined and ethically acceptable Mason (1996). The critical and constructivist approach taken in this research is both reflexive and contextual and from this perspective the research process used here not only weaves back and forth linking theory to practice but also continuously links the personal level of analysis with the institutional level.

Values, Ethnocentricity and Cultural Relativism versus Universalism

The approach of this work is holistic and normative in nature. Whereas the background and experience of this researcher lies in the discipline of International Relations, the utmost significance to peacebuilding of a wide range of other disciplines is fully acknowledged. This researcher holds great respect for divergent 'knowledge' and recognises the diverse experiences and contexts of conflict, violence, oppression and inequality that require different approaches to building peace. The paramount importance of rigorous and honest collection and analysis of data is also acknowledged.

The contradictions involved in promoting the values of 'peace by peaceful means' as proposed by Galtung (1996) have been highlighted by some critics (see Sorenson, 1992; Lawler, 1995) and must be acknowledged. The fundamental principles underpinning Galtung's approach to peace are those of respect for basic human needs, human rights, social justice, inclusivity, local ownership of peace, and continuous dialogue at all levels of society. Sorenson (1992, 142) points out that in order to overcome the pitfalls of utopianism, peace research must recognise and address the contradictions and complexities involved in promoting such a position. This would include acknowledging arguments for contexts in which non-violence could be judged inappropriate such as fighting for liberation, against human rights abuses or in self defence. It must also acknowledge that violent conflict is advantageous to particular sectors of society in certain circumstances, for example, the arms industry, in the context of commodity wars, and for those who profit from shadow war economies. Although the debate about utopianism is not fully developed here, the complexities and sometimes contradictions of the 'peace by peaceful

means' route to sustainable peacebuilding are acknowledged rather than ignored. Having acknowledged these contradictions and complexities the approach taken here is that the promotion of non-violent means of conflict resolution through principles of inclusion, social justice and gender equality is upheld to be in the best interests of human welfare generally.

Misrepresentation and 'othering' continually creates misperceptions, stereotypes, distortions and biases in the understanding of the character and needs of people in different societies and cultures. This theme of characterising other cultures in a negative way, expounded in Said's seminal work *Orientalism* (1995), is continually at play in the contemporary popular media and is sometimes only thinly disguised in academic literature (see Said 1997, 1998, 2000; Sardar, 1999). Researchers, like all human beings are the products of their cultural environment and it is important to ask fundamental questions about norms that are consciously or sub-consciously upheld as the markers of 'civilised' societies. This is particularly significant to discourses which accept the assumed 'universality' of western principles of democracy, human rights, the rule of law and the free market economy and the impact this has on peacebuilding and gender equality worldwide.

Feminism is often portrayed and understood as a western concept and has been linked with post colonial forms of domination. The debate and tensions between universalism and cultural relativism is highly significant to this research in that feminisms' association with western domination can call into question its justification for promoting universal rights for women. No cultures put into practice full equality for women in spite of constitutional recognition of those

rights. Many cultures do not accept gender equality as a principle. From whatever tradition feminism emerges, its core concern is to challenge codes and practices of inequality between the sexes wherever this may occur. This brings feminism into confrontation with cultural relativism which holds that legitimate norms and values are derived from within the culture concerned. Feminist scholarship within International Relations is founded on challenging the false universalistic claims of a western, white, male elite and so should be aware of the dangers and pitfalls of universalising knowledge. However, feminist claims for the universal right of women to equality differ from the self interested claims of the supremacy of western liberal world order. Multiculturalism, respecting and celebrating difference is not inconsistent with a universal call for inalienable rights as human beings. Cultural relativism suggests a cohesion within cultures that does not exist. Cultures are not monolithic and unchanging and there are many women and men inside every culture contesting its understanding of gender equality. Women in Africa have campaigned long and hard against genital mutilation. Women in India have consistently campaigned against dowry and honour killings (Phillips, 2001). Fighting for human rights is not a western phenomenon alone. Those with the power to interpret a cultures position on women are almost invariably men and are rarely democratically accountable for their interpretations. The argument against cultural relativism is summed up by Phillips:

While the social meanings and significance of cultural practices are best understood by those who engage in them, the social constructions of preferences and aspirations can mean that those most oppressed by a particular practice become less able to recognise its inegalitarian character. A 'hands off' approach to cultural difference can then end up capitulating to unjust social power (Phillips, 2001).

Ontological Foundations

Our understanding of where knowledge comes from rests on assumptions about what constitutes the world we are studying. Thus epistemological and ontological concepts are intertwined with each other. Ontological assumptions are fundamental to the way research questions are formulated and how research is carried out. The ontological foundations of this work rest on an approach that is based on critical theory and feminism but also draws from constructivism. Social constructivism is based on the belief that the world is ever changing and that the systems and structures are in constant interaction with actors within the system. Locher and Prugl (2001) argue that although there are considerable differences, constructivism shares ontological ground with feminism and this can provide an opportunity for greater understanding of different perspectives within International Relations. Constructivism is characterised by its emphasis on the mutually constitutive relationship between agents and structures and on the importance of normative and ideational as well as material structures (Reus Smit, 2001, 209). It is also concerned with the role of social identities and how these are shaped by normative and ideational structures. Wendt (1992, 398) elaborates on how identities are constructed relationally. Institutions are not pre-given 'they are constituted through social interactions among identities' (Weber, 2001, 64), and in the same way identities are not pre-given but are 'formed through interactions with other identities and with collective social institutions' (ibid). Arguing that constructivism contributes a theory of agency to feminism, Locher and Prugl continue that 'feminism contributes to constructivism an understanding of power as an integral element of processes of construction' (2001, 113).

Although there is a continued debate about the pre-eminence given to the state in constructivist analysis, essentially it does not assume the pre-existence of social structures in isolation from the human population that inhabits them. The relationship between structure and agency is fluid and in constant interaction but social structures do, clearly, have a constraining effect on human behaviour. However, a positivist pre-occupation with the formal properties of organisations, the rules, procedures and processes, overlooks the degree to which social order is created and recreated by everyday interactions and neglects to take a contextual and historical perspective. Structures such as the state and the global economic system are not external realities that human beings have no control over. They are continually being shaped and reshaped. Whilst it is necessary to appreciate that culture has a reality that shapes perspectives and pre-dates the participation of particular people, it is not an inert objective reality that acts only as a constraint (Bryman, 2001, 18). Culture is also always in the process of being formed and reformed. It is only in the belief that the world is of our making (Onuf, 1998) that we can begin to work out how best to overcome the problems of violent conflict and the significance that constructions of gender has within this. The assumption in this research is that there is at least the possibility of moving some way towards a culture of peace that encompasses gender equality and social justice. The emphasis in this research is on the active and creative capacity of human beings rather than the passive and inert. A prominent example of this is the emphasis on women as active agents in peacebuilding during conflict and in post conflict situations, a perspective that has frequently been overlooked in the representation of women as passive victims of conflict (Mazurana et al, 2005; Meintjes et al, 2001). This study will look in detail at the social constructions of the categories of 'masculinities' and

'femininities' in the context of war and peace which are not seen as entities that have a natural and distinct existence outside of meanings attributed to them by social interaction (Enloe, 1990, 2000; Tickner, 1992, 2000; Sylvester 1998; Zalewski and Parpart, 1998). Meanings attributed to the categories of 'masculinities' and 'femininities' vary culturally, historically, geographically and ideologically.

In common with social constructivism then, feminists share an interest in constitutive questions. From a feminist perspective these questions are about socially constructed gender hierarchies and their relationship to the state, and the political and economic global systems. The emphasis on constitutive interaction and constructed meanings highlights the significance of analysing the use of language, both in the spoken word, through interviewing, and in policy documentation. Policy documents create, reinforce, and embed representations of stereotypical male and female roles and their relationship to violence and peace.

Since this research seeks to understand relational behaviour and its institutionalisation a qualitative interpretative research strategy was deemed the most appropriate approach. Quantitative data, for example, gender disaggregated statistics on economic, education and health status provided by entities such as the UNDP Human Development Index, is highly significant in substantiating qualitative arguments.

Research Design

Methods in social research are linked inextricably with particular ways of seeing and understanding the social world and thus they cannot be regarded as neutral tools. In this way the choice of research methods here are fully integrated into the ontological and epistemological position outlined above. The technique of methodological triangulation is used whereby data generated from different sources, in this case theoretical analysis, documentary, and interview data, are used in an integrated way with cross referencing in order to understand the convergence of theory, policy and practice (Bryman, 2001, 274).

Theoretical Framework

Chapters Three and Four construct the theoretical background and provide a context for the research question. These chapters provide a justification for the research question by revealing a deficit in the existing literature. The analysis that follows in subsequent chapters is grounded in this theoretical framework. It is essential to gain a sound understanding of the work that has gone before in order to locate the need for, and purpose of, the research question. Rather than simply an overview of the literature these chapters encompass critical debate and evaluation of the concepts, theories and arguments within the field of gender and peacebuilding. The purpose is not just to delineate what is already 'known' in the subject area but to interpret the debates and contestations and to synthesise it within the ontological approach taken in this work. The literature review intends to outline why the research question is important, what the existing theories and debates are, why certain

theories predominate and where the gaps in the research lie. The debate that emerges from the literature review leads directly to the research question being asked: how is gender understood and contextualised in the prevailing international approach to peacebuilding? And, how does SCR 1325 fit into theories for building peace?

Document Analysis

Chapter Five outlines and analyses the existing United Nations approaches and policy, initially with regard to gender equality, and subsequently focussing specifically on gender and peacebuilding. This chapter therefore encompasses a historical analysis of the development of approaches within the United Nations to women/gender and equality, and textual analysis of documents. Policy debates, policy documents and policy evaluation reports will be examined not only for their content but also for their ontological orientation and epistemological underpinnings. In this way a form of discourse analysis will be used. These texts are mediums through which particular political traditions and orientations are established as dominant approaches. Unlike content analysis which takes the texts at face value and studies the implications of what is written, discourse analysis views the texts as constructions of a particular political orientation and seeks to understand and reveal that orientation. Potter (1997, 146) describes discourse analysis as emphasising 'the way versions of the world are produced in discourse'. This analysis attempts to decode the ways in which versions of reality are created through the use of certain kinds of language. In this case the analysis centres on assumptions about gender and how this is portrayed. Documents are not neutral sources of information that

report social reality but are written by particular groups with particular interests. Authorship, context and bias must be taken into account. In critical policy analysis it is important to examine the agenda setting process and who has the power to control it. What is not said can be as important as what is said, and analysis should also encompass how the argument is presented and substantiated. The text of SCR 1325 will be explored for the kind of picture it constructs of gender in the context of violent conflict and peacebuilding. Discourses within policy documents do not just reflect social attitudes or beliefs they also construct and maintain them. The type and form of language used around issues of gender, equality, women, men and peace will be explored. The documentary analysis of SCR 1325 reveals three principle themes of gender mainstreaming, increasing participation of women and improving protection of women and girls, and these themes form the structure of the following three chapters. The documentary analysis assisted in identifying prime sites for the location of experts to interview and indicated principle themes for interview questions.

Interviewing

Why interview?

Data gathered from different sources and by different methods makes the research more holistic in its approach and adds to the depth of critical analysis. Documentary analysis will only reveal the formalised institutional approach to gender which may be very different from the personal experience of people working in the field. Gillam (2000, 10) suggests that 'the overpoweringly positive feature of the interview is the richness of the material it turns up'. It is this richness of data based on personal experience, observation, expertise,

opinion and activism that is needed to make comparisons and evaluate the claims made in the policy documentation. Semi-structured qualitative interviews are a valuable and appropriate means of connecting the personal level of understanding with the institutional level revealed in the policy analysis.

Locating interviewees

The research carried out for the policy analysis revealed key sources for the location of experts within the United Nations, the UK government and international non-governmental organisations. A list was compiled of significant entities in which to locate gender experts who were working with SCR 1325. At the United Nations level this included UNIFEM, DPKO, UNDP, OSAGI and DAW. At the UK government level it included DFID, the FCO and MOD. NGO's working in the field of peacebuilding and/or women's rights were identified at national and international level and included WILPF United Nations Office and UK section, International Alert, The NGO Working Group on Women Peace and Security, and the IWTC. These agents were contacted using email or telephone and appropriate experts in the field of gender and peacebuilding were located. The most appropriate person was often located through a snowballing effect whereby one contact would suggest another with relevant expertise. This was a time consuming process and often replies were slow to come largely due to excessive workloads in the departments concerned and difficulties arranging appropriate times to meet. Eventually an interview schedule was devised. This initially involved some interviews in London followed by a period for interviewing at the United Nations in New York.

Preparation of the Interview Questions

In preparation for the interviews a list of criteria suggested by Kvale (cited in Bryman, 2001, 318) against which to check the quality of the interviews was adopted (see Box 1)

- The interviewer must have a thorough knowledge of the subject matter that is the focus of the interview
- The structure of the interview should be outlined and the interviewee given time for any questions
- The questions should be clear and unambiguous
- The interviewer needs to adopt a sensitive and empathetic approach
- The interviewer should adopt a manner of openness and flexibility
- The interviewer should be able to steer the interview towards what they want to find out
- The interviewer must be able to challenge inconsistencies sensitively
- The interviewer should remember what has been said previously
- The interviewer should be able to interpret by clarifying and extending

Source: Kvale, 1996, cited in Bryman, 2001, 318

Box 1: Kvale's criteria for semi-structured interviews

In order to have the flexibility to explore areas of concern or significance raised by the individual interviewees, the interviews were designed to be semi-structured with a set of key themed questions but with the possibility to expand on significant related issues. Key themes identified as significant to the research question and relevant to the policy data analysis were:

- a) Approaches to and understandings of the concept of gender mainstreaming.
- b) Implementation of gender mainstreaming policies.

- c) Improvements in access to participation of women at different levels in peacebuilding – local, national and international.
- d) Opinions on improvements in the protection of women and girls in conflict situations.
- e) Questions of capacity building and problems with implementation.
- f) Opinions on the strengths and weaknesses of SCR 1325.
- g) Future plans for moving the process forward.

The research question constitutes the foundation of what needs to be understood and the interview questions should be designed to elicit data that facilitates that understanding (Maxwell, 1996). Reflective thought is required to ask the questions that will lead to the most focussed and relevant information to the specific research question. Although there were specific interview questions there was also flexibility to enable clarification and elaboration on the answers given. This enabled the researcher or the interviewee to expand on pertinent issues raised and created a dialogue rather than a question and answer session. Because the interviewees were experts in their field emphasis was placed on what they viewed as important in explaining and understanding events and behaviours within the bounds of the research question. Different interviewees had different areas of expertise so flexibility was essential to gain the most information possible.

Initially, using the set of themes identified as significant to the central research question, a repeated mapping exercise was carried out to determine and refine the most appropriate questions to elicit the information required. This process required much reflection to avoid leading or biased questions and numerous

practice runs were performed. Ultimately a set of questions was devised that was used flexibly and varied slightly according to the role and position of the interviewee. The interviews began with more general questions about the role of the organisation or body in terms of gender and peacebuilding. Following this were questions about understandings and implementation of gender mainstreaming processes moving on to more specific questions about SCR 1325, its implementation, its strengths and weaknesses, and possible ways to take it forward. Towards the end of the interview the interviewees were asked about constructions of gender and whether it was felt that this was a key area of concern.

Carrying out the interviews

The interviews took place between October 2006 and February 2007, with eight days spent in New York interviewing at the United Nations in January 2007. The initial interview in London with an NGO representative was used as a pilot to confirm the appropriateness of the questions and to develop an effective interview technique. The interviews varied in length between half an hour to an hour. Interviews with NGO representatives tended to go on longer and become less formal as workloads and time restrictions were slightly less rigid. The nature of the research was always explained at the beginning of each interview. It was planned to digitally record all of the interviews. One problem that arose was that on two occasions the interviewee asked me not to use the recorder. On one further occasion the recording equipment failed. For these interviews notes were taken. The majority of the interviews were recorded and transcribed in full. The process of meeting and talking to interviewees also led to invitations to attend meetings, such as a CSW meeting on SCR 1325 and an

NGOWG seminar on SCR 1325 in New York, in January 2007. Invitations to meetings and conferences in London included the WILPF International Executive Conference (September 8th-12th, 2006) a United Nations Association meeting on the progress of SCR 1325 (October 2006) and a Gender Action for Peace and Security expert seminar on involving men in the implementation of SCR 1325 (March, 2007). The data acquired through the qualitative interviews reveals the personal reflections and opinions of the people interviewed and not necessarily the official position of the department, agency or organisation they worked for.

Data Analysis

Data analysis includes scrutinising, categorising, comparing, evaluating and reflecting on the data. A thematic coded system was used to categorise the data obtained in the interviews based on the themes that arose out of the policy analysis. The data was coded manually as this was felt to be more appropriate to the amount of data and nature of the data. Decontextualising with rigid categorisation could lead to inaccurate interpretation. The system of coding used identified and categorised comments and opinions on gender mainstreaming policies; comments on increasing the participation of women in formal peacebuilding processes; comments on the issue of protection of women from harm in conflict contexts; opinions on the strengths and weaknesses of SCR1325; identification of problems with implementation; progress made with implementation; views expressed on constructions of gender in the context of conflict and peace; and the place of further research. Organising the data into conceptual categories and themes guided by the research questions creates a form of coding which is integral to the analysis. In this way some

order is imposed onto the data as it is organised into more manageable sections. Neuman (2000, 422) has suggested that the stage which focuses on the actual data is called 'open coding' and is followed by a stage called 'axial coding'. In the axial coding stage the focus is on the coded themes and they are scrutinised for relationships, interactions, conditions and causal links. Sequences, patterns and linkages may be distinguished and new questions are likely to emerge. As this research is based on an iterative and triangulated methodological structure the data analysis from the policy evaluation is interwoven with the interview data analysis. The analysis requires searching for patterns in the data which reveal recurring understandings or attitudes and opinions that concur or reinforce each other. These patterns are identified and interpreted in relation to the research question, the theoretical underpinnings of the research project, and the policy analysis. Concepts are the building blocks of theory and concepts both feed into data analysis in the form of categorisations and emerge from data analysis in the form of new observances and ideas (Strauss and Corbin, 1998, 101). Some themes may become dominant if they are supported by multiple examples from the data. For example, the view that gender mainstreaming is not fully understood in the United Nations system is confirmed by many interviewees and by some of the policy evaluations. Concern over the separation of women's agencies from the mainstream was expressed by some interviewees but did not appear in the policy evaluations.

A problem which may emerge from the coding of data and one that must be recognised and avoided is the threat of fragmentation and de-contextualisation of the data. Keeping the research question in the foreground and moving

constantly between theoretical, documentary and interview data helps to keep the analysis contextualised. Constant awareness of any ethical issues arising from the research process and data is of utmost importance.

Ethical Issues

A close regard for ethical issues is highly significant at every stage of the planning, preparation, implementation, analysis and evaluation of the research process. The appropriate ethical guidelines issued by the University of Plymouth and the Economic and Social Research Council are adhered to at each stage of the research process. Codes of ethical conduct focus on issues concerning the conduct of researchers and the methods they use. This research adhered to the ethics of non-exploitation of participants and the honest collecting, handling and use of data. The nature and purpose of the research was explained to each interviewee, who were given time to ask questions and were made aware that they could stop the interview at any time if they wished. It is important to be sensitive to the fact that although many of the interviewees were involved in policy making processes it was possible that they could have had first hand experience of conflict. Sensitivity about personal views on gender was also taken into consideration.

Chapter Three

Using Gender as a Critical Conceptual Tool for Analysing Effective Means of Building Positive Peace.

The locus of gender identity is not within the individual but in the transaction between individuals (Skjelsbaek, 2001, 50).

This chapter will analyse how and why gender is a critical factor in creating effective peacebuilding policy. The analysis will explore how constructions of masculinities and femininities are interwoven into all aspects of social life and are institutionalised into structures and processes at the state and international level. Because of this, and because of the close association of gender with the dichotomies of war and peace, gender is a highly significant category of analysis in any exploration of violent conflict and subsequent peacebuilding. This chapter will initially explore definitions of gender and key issues that arise out of these definitions, such as differential power relations, roles and the effect of stereotypical representations of 'manhood' and 'womanhood'. An understanding of the social constructions of masculinities and femininities leads to an analysis of patriarchy and gender discriminations embedded in the construction of the state, its institutions and international institutional structures and processes. This is inevitably integral to processes of international relations and has an impact on the causation, trajectory and effects of violent conflict and peacebuilding. The chapter will then examine more specifically the association of the constructions of masculinities with violence and how this is

related to conflict resolution and building positive peace. Finally, the problem of focusing on 'women' rather than 'gender' will be examined.

Definitions of Gender and Their Link to Violence and Peace

In academic discourse gender is generally taken to mean a complex set of socially constructed behavioural rules and characteristics defining male and female roles and positions in society (see, for example, the work of Grant and Newland, 1991; Tickner, 1995, 2001; Enloe, 1990, 2000; Elshtain, 1987; Sylvester, 1996, 1998). In these terms gender is not about biological 'men' and 'women' but about what it means to experience being male or female. Because biological differences generally divide men and women into two distinct groups, so, masculinities and femininities in their simplest forms have been constructed in terms of two assumed homogenous entities in opposition to each other. As Skjelsbaek (2001, 50) claims the concepts of masculinities and femininities are 'constructed in their distinction from each other'. Connell reiterates this theme in his claim that 'no masculinity or femininity arises except within a system of gender relations' (1995, 71). The transmission of socially constructed gender roles is a key factor in the formation of an individuals' understanding of their place in the world. Gendered constructions of appropriate roles, positions, practices and understandings are primary indicators of how individuals perceive their identity in social, cultural, religious, political and economic situations. Gender is a primary category in the way in which social practices are ordered and, thus, all social activity exists within gendered frameworks at all levels of analysis from the individual through to the global level.

Although in academic discourse the traditional biological determinist view of the origin of masculine and feminine differences has been largely discredited, in practice, in everyday life, such determinist views remain deeply embedded in culture (see, for example, Weber, 2000, Tickner, 1992, 2001; Enloe, 1990, 2000; Elshtain, 1987; Sylvester, 1996, 1998). Biological determinism is based on the belief that differences between men's and women's behaviour stems from their biological make up. In spite of the entrenched nature of these beliefs there is very little genetic evidence within psychological studies to support this argument (see Connell, 2000, 2005; Gilbert and Gilbert, 1998).

...sex differences are small, their origins unclear, and the variation within each sex far outweighs any differences between the sexes' (Segal 1990, 63, quoted in Gilbert & Gilbert, 1998, 44)

However, it is common place in everyday life to hear of behaviours either being justified or deemed impossible to change because of biological sex differences. The 'boys will be boys' syndrome that leads to acceptance of more aggressive and violent behaviour in males hinders progress in developing non-violent solutions to conflict. The biological perspective takes no account of the wide variety of behaviours between and within the sex differentiated groups and the variations in behaviour depending on different situational, relational and cultural contexts. The characteristics of gender stereotypes are not totally static in either time or place and they vary across cultures, races, classes, age groups and eras. Peterson and Runyon (1993, 17), among others, have pointed out that this changeability within different contexts suggests that notions of gender are associated with cultural ideas of sex differences rather than being based on

biological sex differences. Thus, the constructions of gender identities are linked with social, political and economic development, and the organisation of societies. As well as socialisation within the family, many cultural spheres of life such as TV, radio and film, the written media, the arts, cultural traditions, religion and many cultural symbols and rituals present and reinforce stereotypes of gendered roles. As discussed in Chapter Two, the use of language is a fundamental and powerful tool in reinforcing these stereotypes. Gendered roles contain within them disincentives to transgression as transgression not only means deviating from what is 'normal', expected and acceptable but also brings the transgressor into conflict with established social patterns that are bound up in differential power relations.

So, our beliefs about sexual differences play an important part in constructing social 'realities' and in informing our thinking and behaviour. It is argued that the common underlying themes in the constructions of masculinities and femininities are linked to the historically defined sexual division of power related to life-giving and life-taking capacities (see Miller 1991, 2001; Elshtain, 1987). Historically, women were socialised principally in relation to life giving and preserving skills aspiring to the characteristics of nurturing, caring, cooperation and collaboration, whilst men were principally socialised into life-taking roles, aspiring to characteristics of toughness, competitiveness, assertiveness, bravery and domination. Miller claims that the virtual exclusivity of war as a male domain throughout history and across cultures 'testifies to the primacy and pervasive nature of life-taking in defining masculinity and of establishing final authority in societal affairs' (2001, 85). Interestingly Miller links this life-

giving/life-taking dichotomy to the contemporary controversial debate over abortion and a women's right to take life. The principle of a woman's right to chose an abortion threatens the very traditional definition of masculinity (the life takers) by shifting the 'ancient foundation' of the definition of femininity as life-giving (Miller, 2001).

It is unsurprising given the association of femininity with passivity and masculinity with aggression that there is generally held to be a significant connection between women and peace and men and war. Considerable evidence can be drawn upon to support this argument as women have had a longstanding connection with peace movements. There are numerous examples of women's activist groups for peace over the last century. Some of the most prominent women's organisations for peace have been the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) founded in 1915 (Bussey and Tims, 1980; Alonso, 1993), women's involvement in the Greenham Common Peace Camp (Pettitt, 2006) and the Women in Black peace movement (for more information see Women in Black, 2008). Indeed, in most conflict and post conflict situations in the world there are women's groups and networks organising for peace, from Colombia to Sri Lanka, West Africa to Northern Ireland and former Yugoslavia to Myanmar (for examples of this see Mazurana et al, 2005; Meintjes et al, 2001; Cockburn, 1998, 2007; Sharoni, 1995, 2000; Peacewomen, 2008) .

Whether there is an 'essential nature' of women that tends towards peacefulness has been debated in the past by feminist scholars such as

Readon (1993) and Ruddick (1989). Establishing an epistemological basis for gender analysis is problematic in that it is easy to fall into the essentialist argument that women, by their very nature, have something special to bring to the field of conflict resolution and peacebuilding and that this forms the basis of an argument for greater inclusion in peacebuilding processes. As Smith points out attempts to base political strategies for gender equality on essentialist conceptions of particularistic traits of women fails to recognise the multiplicity of factors contributing to identity (2001, pp32-46). Essentialist arguments also exaggerate the stability of social and individual identities. If it is argued that women are by nature inherently different to men in terms of their relationship to violence and peace, then contentious arguments for division of labour and differentiated roles also hold credibility:

Mobilising women as women, however progressive the cause, must run the risk of playing directly into the hands of gender traditionalism, especially if traditional gender concepts are the basis of the mobilising appeal. (Smith, 2001,44).

Reardon (1993) bases her argument for the connection of women with peace on an essentialist view of motherhood, linking women's reproductive and nurturing functions with a sense of responsibility to foster peaceful relations. Such qualities as empathy, understanding, cooperation, open communication and a sense of fairness are invoked as those traits necessary for the optimum rearing of future generations and these qualities are seen as transferable to the international system in terms of a more human centred approach to peacebuilding and conflict resolution. Ruddick (1989) bases her argument on 'maternal thinking' and its connection to peace on a constructivist approach

emphasising the importance of socialisation and social practices and opens the way for the characteristics of peacefulness to be a potential for both men and women. Feminist scholarship has also pointed out that gender stereotypes are myths which prevail in the face of historical and empirical contradictions (Ruddick, 1989; Elshtain, 1987). As well as being prominent peace activists many women are supporters of war and some are combatants in war.

Skjelsbaek's case study analysis of the construction of femininity in the wars of former Yugoslavia, El Salvador and Vietnam reveal significant differences in women's reaction to wars (2001). Skjelsbaek reveals that the different groups of women reached different conclusions regarding either their rejection or their support of the conflict and their participation in combat. Whereas the Bosnian and Croatian women tended to remove their children from the conflict, the El-Salvadorian and Vietnamese women saw support and involvement in the conflict as essential to their children's future interests. Elshtain (1989) raises the question; if the concept of motherhood and nurturing is uppermost in images of femininity that are invoked in constructions of the peacefulness of women, how do we explain why so many mothers have actively supported or encouraged their husbands or sons to go to war? How also do we explain the rise in women's involvement and support of fundamentalism? Victor's (2004) analysis of what has motivated some Palestinian women to become suicide bombers provides some insight into issues of powerlessness and desperation.

Some political analyses of the policies of women who have held power in South Asia show them to be as corrupt, dictatorial and militaristic as when men are in power (Chenoy and Vanaik , 2001). Clearly being a male or a female is not enough to determine orientation towards peaceful or conflictual practices. Understanding these contradictions and complexities is important for an

analysis of gender and the war/peace dichotomy which is so often conceived of in terms of a binary concept.

The significance of the use of language to embed and reinforce gender stereotypes has been pointed out. Media coverage often encourages a sensational reaction when women's behaviour strays into realms designated for males. For example, the media coverage of events that concern women in combat roles remains very different from the media coverage of men in a similar situation. An example of this is the press coverage of the behaviour of US soldier, Lynndie England, in Iraq in 2003, who overstepped the boundaries of femininity at Abu Ghraib Prison by being involved in cruel, aggressive and degrading treatment of Iraqi prisoners (BBC news, 7th May 2004). A further example of the distinction in the portrayal of men and women as soldiers is the media coverage of the kidnapping of Private Jessica Lynch who was taken hostage in Iraq in March 2003 (Kampfner, 2003; Bragg, 2003). Both of these stories were sensationalised in different ways around the issue of gender, one condemning a women's behaviour and the other offering an image of a woman, albeit a soldier, in need of male protection. Reinforcement of cultural constructions of 'appropriate' gender roles through traditional representations and language is a crucial part of shaping, reinforcing and maintaining the understanding that men and women 'should' have a different relationship to war and violence. Numerous examples can be found in popular culture that reinforce men's relationship to masculinity and violence. A recent example of the reinforcement of what it means to be a 'real man' can be seen in the wording of a television series about commandoes. The programme was

entitled *Commandoes on the Frontline*, with a subtitle of 'a mission to become men' (ITV, October, 2007). Whilst many challenges have been made to the conventional view of men as war-makers and women as peace-makers, the constructions of masculinities and femininities associated with war and peace, are deeply embedded within the structures and beliefs of cultures and are reinforced and normalised through constant images and stereotyping.

Through the patterns of power and domination inherent in the opposing constructions of masculinities and femininities and through the historical primacy given to the values of masculinity in public life, gendered values have inevitably been institutionalised into the structures and practices of public bodies and institutions. The masculine/feminine dichotomy is closely linked to other dichotomies such as 'rational' versus 'emotional', 'strength' versus 'weakness', 'active' versus 'passive', 'competitive' versus 'collaborative', and 'war' versus 'peace'. In the political world of international relations the first term in each pair has generally been valued much more highly than the second. Cultural practices and social institutions keep gender hierarchies in place by regulating behaviour in terms of power, conformity and complicity. The historical development of the nation state, the concept of citizenship, and the impact on society of religious beliefs have embedded patriarchy deeply into the fabric of communities and cultures. The following section will examine the gendered nature of the development of the state and the ideologies of nationalism.

Patriarchy, State Building and Nationalisms

Societies have organised themselves in diverse ways and states have developed through differing processes, but the separation of public and private spheres have almost always been divided along gender differentiated lines, and almost invariably privilege masculine type attributes over feminine type attributes in terms of where public power lies. As many feminist scholars have identified, the state, the concept of citizenship and the ideology of nationalism are all highly gendered concepts (See for example the work of Pettman, 1996; Steans, 1998; and Moghadam, 1994). The process of state building has reinforced the historical differences in the roles of males and females and has embedded them deeply into the organisation of the state. The embryonic formation of states and flourishing of ideas of democracy in ancient Greece enhanced and established the domination of patriarchal units, as did the interpretation of the religious doctrines of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. The separation of the public and private sphere was established during the early phases of state formation. The emphasis on the male as 'citizen' and 'political actor' can be clearly found in the works of classical theorists such as Machiavelli (1513 (2005)) and Hobbes, (1660 (1998)). Tickner (2000, 54) points out that Hobbes' depiction of the Leviathan, 'a man in armour wearing a crown and carrying a sword, serves as a visual representation of this early modern form of sovereign authority'. The progressive development of the state worldwide has been dependent on women's largely unpaid and unrecognised work; reproductive, educative, social, domestic, welfare, sexual and agricultural (Steans, 1998). This kind of labour is traditionally seen as secondary to the 'important' work of public affairs. However, as Enloe (1990, 2000) and others

have pointed out, it is female labour and sexual and reproductive services that have supported and allowed the male/public/political realm to function.

The process of state building involves telling a particular story about the nation (Anderson, 1983; Steans, 1998; Moghadam, 1994). Anderson's concept of the myth of the nation is useful in understanding the notion of identity and the engendering of a feeling of solidarity with the entity of a sovereign nation (1983). Anderson does not address the gendered nature of 'nationhood' but he does suggest that nationalism is more analogous to kinship and religion than to ideology (1983, 15). This link to the organisation of the family may help us to understand the frequently assigned role of women within nationalist movements as the reproducers of community and bearers of cultural authenticity.

In Jayawardena's (1986) study of nationalism and feminism in Asia she shows how the two concepts were originally linked through the concept of emancipation. Resistance to imperialism and foreign domination provided a springboard in some instances for the movement of female emancipation. Steans (1998, 66) points out the conflicting qualities of nationalist discourse whereby nationalism presents itself as a modern project creating new identities, but at the same time draws on cultural values taken from an often mythical past. Nationalism frequently promotes a particular discourse on women. The burden often falls upon women to be the guardians of what is called cultural authenticity which imposes boundaries and constraints on them. Women have often been used as symbols for political goals or for cultural identity and authenticity during processes of state building or revolution. Cherifati-Merabtine (1994) and Tohidi

(1994) detail this assignment of cultural continuity on the heads of women in the cases of the struggle for independence in Algeria and during the Islamic revolution in Iran. As Moghadam (1994) points out, after an initial link through the goal of emancipation, the historical trajectory of the relationship between nationalism and feminism has been one fraught with contradictions and they now often view each other with suspicion or hostility.

Far from being the automatic concomitant of national liberation, women's liberation has been frequently regarded as inimical to the integrity and identity of the national group (Moghadam, 1994, 2).

What has often happened in war situations or liberation struggles is that women's positions of responsibility change because of the demographic consequences of men going away to fight (Mazurana et al, 2005). As Cherifati-Merabtine (1994) and Tohidi (1994) pointed out in some conflict situations women have been active participants during the war only to be denied any access to decision making and public power in the post war reconstruction period (See also Meintjes et al, 2001). Symbols and imagery around women and their roles have been used to create a sense of national consciousness in many parts of the world, both east and west. For example, the call in conservative parts of the west for the return to traditional family values has significant implications for women's roles. In this way the prescribed types of behaviour, range of activities and the appearance of women have often become the subject of political and cultural objectives of 'liberation' movements dominated by men. Women who fail to comply with these behavioural expectations have been labelled cultural traitors (Emmet, 1996, Lentin, 1998).

Emmet reveals how women peace activists in Israel during the years of the Likud government 1977-1992 were either patronisingly referred to as 'beautiful souls' or more often labelled as traitors and whores (1996, 1). Lentin documents that the Women in Black peace demonstrations in Israel were often countered by right wing demonstrations during which physical and verbal threats were common and the women were depicted as traitors to the Jewish collective (1998, 339). It has also been documented that no peace demonstrations that included men attracted as much counter demonstration violence as the all women vigils (Emmett, 1996, 29). In these demonstrations both political and gender boundaries were being challenged as the women insisted on their right as citizens to have a voice on the issue of peace. By acting in the public domain and usurping the traditional male role of protectors of the nation, these women were creating a double challenge.

In different parts of the world women are now facing a backlash against women's rights in the form of growing rightwing and fundamentalist movements which seek to undermine and marginalise feminism and women's rights to equality. The growth of identity politics, which usually calls for a return to an imagined and always patriarchal past, inevitably places women in a position of subordination (Moghadam, 1994). In nationalist independence movements women have often been identified and celebrated as reproducers of heroes and warriors (Elshtain, 1989). But as Abdo (1994, 148) among others has pointed out, a society that conceives of women's roles primarily as reproducers, does not have far to move from sexist discrimination and oppression to ethnic and racist discrimination.

The impact of modernity and the rise of nationalism meant a relocation of social and individual identity from the local to a much larger scale. Within the upsurge of identity politics and new nationalisms gender roles have been impacted by essentialist calls for women and men to resume their 'rightful' roles and positions in society (Smith, 2001). Much of the modern discourse about states and democracy assumes that 'citizens' and 'workers' are gender neutral whereas in reality state policies, mostly created by men, frequently affect men and women in different ways because of their different roles, responsibilities and experiences.

Patriarchy has been defined as a system of social structures and practices, in which men dominate, oppress and exploit women (Dahlerup, 1987). For Galtung, patriarchy is a clear example of what he defines as cultural violence. Galtung describes patriarchy as:

An institution of male dominance in vertical structures, with a very high correlation between position and gender, which is legitimated through the culture (e.g. in religion and language), and often emerging as direct violence with males as subjects and females as objects. (Galtung, 1996, 40).

Structural and cultural violence, which will be examined in Chapter Four, includes political, economic and social forms of oppression. Neo-liberal economic theory and practice, predominant in the western world since the end of the Second World War, assumes a gender neutral approach, but uses gendered language and practices. There is a strong emphasis on competition

and domination within the institutions of the neo-liberal state which create a particular type of hierarchy and usually places power in the hands of a particular group of men (Connell, 2000a, 25). Dominant within the neo-liberal economic system is the increasingly unregulated, unaccountable and excessively masculine world of transnational corporations. Connell describes a 'new hegemonic masculinity on a world scale' and claims that understanding transnational business masculinity is a crucial factor in future peace strategies:

Transnational business masculinity seems marked by increasing egocentrism, very conditional loyalties and a declining sense of responsibility for others. (Connell, 2000a, 26)

Alongside this is a growing commodification of relations with women with increased sex tourism, trafficking in women and girls and widespread availability of pornography. The neo-liberal world system claims to uphold the ethics of equality and human rights but there are important questions about inequality, exploitation, greed, environmental degradation and an undermining of democratic political processes by the practices of large corporations that should not be masked. The following section will examine the implications of the entrenchment of patriarchy for the prospects of positive peacebuilding by examining the construction of masculinity and its association with violence.

Masculinity and its Association with Violence

It has already been suggested that constructions of gender are probably most polarised in the context of war and violence. According to Cooke and Woollacott:

After biological reproduction, war is perhaps the arena where the sexual division of labour along gender lines has been the most obvious, and thus where sexual difference has seemed the most absolute and natural. (Cooke and Woollacott, 1993, ix).

Connell reminds us of the 'blood drenched narratives of warrior men battling for pride, land and possession of women in both Roman and Greek epics' (2000, 21). This has been a central theme in feminist approaches to international relations. As Miller claims 'war is the supreme expression of patriarchy and the warrior the ultimate symbol of masculinity' (2001, 85). If this is the case, then clearly any attempt to build sustainable peace and transform cultures of violence needs to include analysis of constructions of masculinity, femininity, patriarchy and the closely related concept of militarization. But resistance is solid, as Brienes et al (2000, 11) point out 'the lack of gender sensitivity tends to get stronger the closer one gets to international politics and defence issues'. Connell expresses the link between males, violence and strategies for peace clearly:

.... men predominate across the spectrum of violence. A strategy for peace must concern itself with this fact, the reasons for it and its implications for work to reduce violence. (Connell, 2000a, 22).

Most soldiers are men and it is almost always men who make the decisions regarding war. It is also largely, but not exclusively, men who commit most crimes of violence in private life. Clearly there are close links between masculinity and violence that must be explored in any understanding of the creation of peaceful societies. In the Rapporteur's Summary of the UNESCO led Expert Group Meeting on Male Roles and Masculinities in the Perspective of a Culture of Peace (1997), questions about why understanding masculinities is

vital in the construction of peace are clearly identified and reiterate what has been claimed in feminist scholarship:

In situations of armed conflict, in situations where ethnic nationalism is being mobilised, and in violent racist movements, polarised models of manhood and womanhood are typical, with men encouraged to show dominance and aggression. It is common in military training all around the world to link manliness with brutality, and to discredit fear and sensitivity as unmanly. (UNESCO, 1997)

Skjelsbaek and Smith have suggested that masculinity is constructed as something that can be reinforced through violence and that many violent acts perpetrated in armed conflicts are the result of men being convinced that this is the way to show their masculinity.

In such a social context, mobilising people for reconciliation may be impossible as long as the dynamics of the male-female division of labour are ignored. (Skjelsbaek and Smith, 2001, 3).

Brienes et al (2000, 15) point out that many national statistics are not sex disaggregated but when problems of violence, criminality and youth gangs are being discussed it is predominantly boys and men who are represented in the statistics. Men overwhelmingly make up the worlds armed forces and almost exclusively comprise the commanders. They also dominate the private security sector, the police force, and prison guards. Men also predominate in other spheres of civilian life that may adopt aggressive, highly competitive and sometimes violent behaviour such as body contact sports, and in the business world where 'highly motivated' and aggressively competitive managerial

methods prevail. Research has shown that certain institutions maintain a highly masculinised code of behaviour (Briennes et al, 2000), with the military in particular working hard to instil a narrowly defined hegemonic masculinity. This culture of domineering and aggressive masculinity can also often be found in boy's schools and in male dominated sporting institutions. It is men rather than women that predominate in the symbolism of violence associated with sports, mass media and in the political arena. Social structures usually place the means of violence such as weapons and military skills in the hands of men rather than women. But, if men are deemed to be naturally more violent why is it that social structures, especially the military, have to work so hard to instil this ideal of masculinity? And do the majority of men benefit from it?

Misunderstandings abound in attempts to highlight issues around masculinities. To recognise the close link between masculinity and violence is not the same as saying that men are inherently violent. As has been mentioned, evidence for essentialist arguments for biologically based violent behaviour is not conclusive (See for example, Connell, 1995, Galtung, 1996). Connell points out that whereas most killers are men, most men never kill or commit assault. Whereas most soldiers are men, most men are not soldiers (2000, 23). Highlighting masculinity in attempts to explain violent behaviour can easily be misunderstood as either blaming all men for war and violence or excusing male violence as being attributable to their inherent and natural masculine traits. Perhaps the focus should be on transforming socialisation processes and educational processes and reversing the institutionalisation of ideologies that reinforce aggression and violent ways of solving conflicts of interest. Many men

as well as women are victims of constructions of hegemonic masculinities.

Males, having been socialised into a culture where they feel they are entitled to a particular status and power due to their sex, can feel disempowered if they do not have that status, respect and power in the reality of their lives. Reactions to this sense of powerlessness may include violence against women over whom their power may be economic or simply greater physical strength. It may result in joining a street gang or racist group to enhance their power, or joining an army.

For some women their only connection to 'power' may be through supporting their husbands and sons nationalist struggles. To gain any power in their own right may be inconceivable. The psychological pressure to be a 'warrior' or a 'mother of warriors' may be very intense and internalised forcefully through symbols, slogans and stereotypes. It discourages men and women from taking alternative paths to resolving conflict as this would be conceived as disloyal and cowardly. Not all versions of masculinity have the same degree of power.

Hegemonic masculinity is generally that which is defined by holding positions of most power and influence within society (Connell, 2000). It is the roles that are masculinised and although in practice they are usually occupied by men, they could be, and on occasions are, occupied by women. Recent empirical research about masculinities across a variety of disciplines has revealed a new understanding of the diversity of masculinities, the embedding of masculinities in childhood and through ongoing socialisation processes and the institutionalisation of masculinities in the structures of societies (see Kimmel et al, 2005; Briennes et al, 2000). Hegemonic masculinity requires disrespect for

other forms of masculinity and for women's empowerment. It gives impunity to bullying, aggressive behaviour and violence between different groups of men, particularly violence against homosexual men, and against women. The implications of the hierarchy of masculinities are that large numbers of men and boys have a divided or unclear relationship to hegemonic masculinity.

Alternative methods or approaches are often discredited or despised by the hegemonic construction of masculinity and the institutionalisation of masculinity into structures such as the military create a major problem for devising transformative strategies for peace. The most powerful groups of men usually have few incentives to support any changes in gender structures. The socially constructed ideal of masculinity, then, may not correspond to the personalities of many men, but it does serve to sustain patriarchal authority and legitimises a patriarchal political and social order.

Again, the use of language is highly significant in the reinforcement of masculine roles and their relationship to aggression and violence. Rosenberg discusses the use of metaphors for military offensives such as 'Desert Storm' and 'Rolling Thunder', as not just giving a collective identity and sense of moral purpose but are also evocative of 'magisterial power, of manly endeavour and of righteous wrath' (1993, 45). These metaphors, it is claimed, serve to depersonalise war and create comradeship between soldiers. Several scholars have written about the emasculating experience of Vietnam to the American psyche and linked this to the spate of hyper-masculinised films of the 1980s. Boose claims that 'Schwarzenegger plumbs the deepest subtending fantasies of techno-masculinity', creating a fantasy of domination and real manhood

(1993, 74). Through the 'megabodied male', Rambo inculcated a vision of an invincible America whose right it was to dominate the world (Boose, 1993, 75). But the valorisation of war always ignores the suffering, degradation and squalor during and after conflict. Statistics originally gathered for Vietnam veterans about levels of alcoholism, drug addiction, homelessness, cancer related deaths, suicides and birth defective children became such an anathema to the Reagan administration that they issued a directive to cease recording Vietnam veterans statistics separately (Boose, 1993, 82).

The military, then, is one of the primary sites for the reinforcement and reproduction of masculinities. Enloe (1990, 2000) points out the profound implications militarisation has for relationships within wider society, communities and households. The militarised images of masculinity spill over into politics and sport and provide standards by which men are judged for their 'manliness'. The military can be seen to be obsessed with maintaining the hypermasculinist image and has been described as a place where subordinate males can become a part of the hegemonic masculinist vision (Parpart, 1998, 204). Military cultures encourage attitudes that are demeaning to anything feminised, hence their deep antagonism towards homosexuality. This is perpetuated through violent and aggressively sexualised and sexist language, derogatory jokes and drill chants. Galtung (1996, 42) discusses the possibility that part of the explanation for the male predominance in violence may be connected to the 'interface between male sexuality and male aggressiveness':

It was hardly by accident that, during the Gulf War, US (male) bomber pilots on the USS *Kennedy* watched porn videos before leaving on their sorties to destroy military and civilian targets and kill soldiers and civilians (reported by Associated Press but deleted by the censors as 'too embarrassing'). (Galtung, 1996, 42)

Sexual violence and rape has always been used in warfare and mass rape has become a weapon of war used to destabilise entire enemy communities. The scale of the use of rape in the conflicts in Bosnia, Sierra Leone, Rwanda, DRC and Darfur, amongst others, in the last two decades has reached endemic proportions and has been linked with ethnic cleansing (Rehn and Johnson Sirleaf, 2002; UN, Stop Rape Now, 2008). These acts of violence are linked to traditional images of the warrior with rape and pillage as the spoils of war. But it is deeper and more sinister than this when rape is used as a weapon of war rather than seen as a rightful reward. Women are not only perceived as the property of the enemy but they are perceived as so insignificant that their maternal blood line is deemed irrelevant to future generations within programmes of rape that are connected with ethnic cleansing. These issues and those of protection from harm are discussed further in Chapter Eight.

Because of the extent of such violence, oppression, and issues of power between men and women, exacerbated during times of violent conflict, what has tended to happen is that much feminist inspired work and activism has focussed on the vulnerable position and experiences of women. Intellectually and morally this is understandable and justifiable. It is also an indispensable first step on the road to understanding gender equality. The following section

examines the issues that are raised around continuing the focus on women or moving towards a gender based focus.

Women or Gender?

In spite of several decades of campaigning and several significant advances in policy terms, which are outlined in Chapter Five, women's economic, social and political rights worldwide are still not being progressively achieved. The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) produces a Gender Related Development Index within its Human Development Index and this shows clearly that women are lagging behind in areas of health, education, and income (See UNDP HDI, 2007). Domestic, community and care work still goes largely unrecognised and unrewarded and in many parts of the world vital agricultural labour is also unrecognised economically. A wealth of empirical evidence reveals that women figure disproportionately among those in absolute poverty, and those that have been dispossessed and displaced (UNDP, Human Development Report, 2007). The global economic crisis of debt, loan conditionality and structural adjustment plans have often affected women more immediately than men as state assistance in health care, education and welfare provision is withdrawn. With financial, trade and labour deregulation and the growth of transnational companies looking for cheap labour there has been a huge increase in a largely female marginalised and unprotected workforce. The continued emphasis on civil and political rights over and above social and economic rights has rendered many women vulnerable to economic exploitation worldwide. Both the UNDP and NGO's statistical findings reveal there is extensive structural violence against females in the form of greater poverty,

poorer access to education and nutrition, health care and employment (See Oxfam, Gender Equality Section, for extensive documentation, 2008; UNDP HDI, 2007).

Gender discrimination and oppression in the social and economic sphere often generates direct violence. In spite of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the adoption of the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Violence Against Women in 1979 (which has more reservations entered against it than any other resolution) in many states violent crimes against women go unpunished (See for example reports of Human Rights Watch, 2008) . Violence against women in their homes remains prevalent throughout the world and is probably the most pervasive yet least recognised abuse of human rights in the world. Unspoken acceptance of human rights abuses against women is highlighted in Spike Peterson's questioning:

Where is the outrage at female sexual slavery and sex tourism? At dowry deaths, bride burning, and genital mutilation? At restrictions of women's activities and regulation of their reproduction and their deaths through female infanticide? (Peterson, cited in Zalewski, 1995, 345).

The outrage is slow in coming. In the last third of the twentieth century feminist literature in various academic disciplines burgeoned. It is entirely understandable why it has largely focussed on the position and roles of women within society. More contemporary feminism, however, has opened up spaces for crucial issues about gender, violence and peace to be examined within a broader framework. Focus on the academic study of masculinities has been an

even more recent phenomenon. Connell has worked extensively on the concept and constructions of masculinities and the nature of sex differentiated roles and concludes that the theoretical debate about gender has moved beyond the 'sex role' framework to recognise that gender involves large scale institutions as well as inter personal relations (2000a, 23). In 1997, under the auspices of UNESCO, an Expert Group Meeting took place in Oslo to discuss male roles and masculinities in the perspective of a culture of peace. This was the first international discussion of the connection between men and masculinity and war and peace (Brienes et al, 2000, 9). The participants recognised that issues of gender had been marginalised or ignored completely and confirmed the great significance of these issues in the transformation of cultures of violence into cultures of peace. This new research on masculinities has a crucial part to play in efforts to build sustainable peace.

Conclusions

In order to understand how gender affects the processes of war and peace it is necessary to understand the personal and the international workings of masculinities. Building a culture of peace requires multi-disciplinary understandings of gender constructions including sociological, educational, historical, ethnographical and psychological fields as well as in the traditional field of international relations and security studies. It is imperative to look not just at the roles and positions of women and men in conflict situations but at the constructions of masculinities and femininities in the personal and in the international arenas. It is necessary to break down the stereotyping that constrains the understanding of the significance of constructions of gender. It

is contended here that it is in socially constructed masculinities rather than in biological differences that the main causes of much male violence is rooted. The focus should not be on simplistically blaming men for violence but on the transformation of constructions that encourage violent ways of reacting to conflicts of interest. The task is to build positive alternative approaches to conflict management that are not discredited because they do fall within traditional definitions of 'strong' masculine approaches. Understanding of the power relations inherent within constructions of masculinities must include economic, political and institutionalised forms of power and authority. Patriarchy does not only dominate and oppress women but also oppresses other men in different positions on the hierarchy. Critically, it also constrains and limits both men's and women's capacity to engage in the ethics of 'peace by peaceful means'.

Chapter Four

Theories of Peace and Peacebuilding

Since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed. (Constitution of UNESCO, 1945, Preamble)

A form of behaviour becomes out of date only when something else takes its place, and in order to invent forms of behaviour which will make war obsolete, it is a first requirement to believe that an invention is possible. (Mead, 2000, 22)

The gender analysis of the preceding chapter has revealed both the absence of women from the international and public affairs agenda and the significance of constructions of gender as a category of analysis in understanding violent conflict. In order to address the research question concerning how institutional understandings of gender relate to peacebuilding policy it is important to identify how peace is conceptualised, what constitutes peacebuilding and how this is operationalised in terms of the creation and implementation of policy.

Therefore, in order to develop the analysis this chapter will examine some contemporary understandings of peace and peacebuilding.

Attempting to define a phenomenon as subjective and contested as 'peace' brings with it considerable conceptual problems. The focus of analysis for this chapter will be on examining the theoretical foundations of the dominant liberal peace thesis and comparing it with the 'positive peace' model derived from the field of peace research. The liberal peace thesis provides the framework and legitimacy for contemporary institutional peacebuilding policy. The positive peace model was chosen as a comparison because of its broad understanding

of causal factors of violence and because of its tendency to have a multi-level focus of analysis. The intention of this chapter is to identify the underpinning ontology's for peace in these two models and to locate the significance attached to gender within them. Do either of these models adopt a critical approach to the impact of constructions of gender on violent conflict and hence it's significance for peacebuilding?

There is a distinction between how peace is conceptualised in the sphere of international relations and how it is studied in the field of peace research and it is from these diverse traditions that the two models used here derive. In the academic discipline of International Relations peace has traditionally been defined in political terms in relation to state or international security and it has often been described in a negative way as the absence of violent conflict. The liberal peace thesis has evolved largely from a western, institutionalised approach whose roots lie in the Enlightenment period (Richmond, 2005). In contrast to the institutionalised and policy approach to peacebuilding, the idea of positive peace derives from the field of peace research which has developed largely as an inter-disciplinary field and tends to focus on an individual level of analysis. It has traditionally remained distinct and separate from 'security policy' as created by national governments and the United Nations Security Council. In recent years, however, debates and analyses derived from the field of peace studies have been incorporated into the debates and agendas of some of the bodies that constitute the United Nations, such as UNESCO, UNDP and DAW, and into the agendas of some NGO's, such as International Alert, and the International Crisis Group. Critical analyses of these two approaches

to peace and peacebuilding will follow an initial review of how war and peace have been conceptualised.

Conceptualising War and Peace

Although 'peace' has been proclaimed in public, national and international life as an objective goal to be achieved between communities or nations, the concept of peace itself remains ill-defined. Peace is essentially a contested concept but is often spoken of in political terms as if it were a universal goal. Defining the concept of peace is dependent on many variables including the social, cultural, economic and political contexts and types of violence experienced. As Chapter Three outlined, war and peace are highly gendered phenomenon. Richmond (2005, 2) has pointed out that a key problem with understanding the concept of peace is that the focus on states and empires as the main building blocks of peace has largely disregarded the role and agency of individuals and societies in the construction and sustainability of peace. If the significance of individuals to peacebuilding is ignored it is unlikely that the gendered nature of conflict and peace will be acknowledged. From a critical perspective questions need to be asked not about a universal or objective definition of peace but about what constitutes peace in different contexts, who are the architects and owners of peace, and in whose interest is peace oriented. Richmond suggests that objective questions, such as, what is peace, or, how can peace be constructed, suggest an expectation of universal answers. Whereas subjective questions, such as what are the different discourses on peace, who defines peace and who benefits from it, suggest multiple and contextual answers (2005, 16).

Within the discipline of International Relations peace research has often been relegated to the sphere of 'idealism' as opposed to the 'realism' of political life. Lawler suggests that this dualism is 'reiterated in a variety of forms and remains highly resistant to change' (1994, 2). One of the problems of integrating understandings of gender into policy making is breaking down the barrier between the, so-called, 'objective realism' of the 'political' world and the subjective nature of gender relations. This dualism between idealism and realism, between assumed objective and subjective approaches to building peace reflects the dichotomy between institutionalised policymaking for peacebuilding and the discourses of some critical peace research. This is particularly significant to an analysis of gender and peacebuilding where the boundaries between the political and personal have been very resistant to change.

The removal of overt and direct violence is clearly crucial to building peace but in terms of building 'positive' peace definitions must incorporate something much broader than the mere absence of war or direct violence. This has been acknowledged within the institutions of the United Nations responsible for security and will be examined later in this chapter (UN, Agenda for Peace, 1992; UN, Brahimi Report, 2000; UN, High Level Panel Report, 2004). From a positive peace perspective peace and peacebuilding are understood in normative and broad terms encompassing attempts to transform the acceptance of violence in any of its forms into cultures that promote inclusion, equality, consensus and social justice (Galtung, 1996; Lederach 1997, 2002) Much physical, structural and cultural violence occurs when 'war' is not present (Galtung, 1971, 1990). Building sustainable and positive peace requires

understanding the impact on societies of cultures that have violence built into them even when war has ended. To create a 'peace' that is sustainable and accepted at the local level involves embedding non-violent ways of dealing with conflicts of interest (Galtung et al, 2000). Embedding peace in communities is done on a personal level and thus analyses of war and peace must be multi-level and accept that political practice is a multi-level phenomenon. Whilst the personal level of analysis has often been dismissed as inappropriate to the realpolitik of cease fires, peace negotiations and top level peace agreements, it remains crucial to recognise that the building blocks of sustainable and positive peace at the community level are individuals and how they relate to each other (Chopra, 2006). When individuals relate to each other gender is a highly significant factor in the interactions. As discussed in Chapter Three, this phenomenon does not disappear when the level of analysis is moved from the individual to the institutional level as gender relations then become embodied in patriarchy and are institutionalised in structures of governance. In the move from the individual to the institutional level understandings and definitions of peace often change. Peace in its broadest sense of human security becomes depersonalised and is relegated to the realm of idealism which has been regarded as inappropriate to the sphere of security policy.

It has been suggested by Johansen (2005) that a major problem of peace research is that it has focused too heavily on war rather than on situations where conflict has been resolved peacefully. Whereas, a greater focus on understanding and developing existing positive routes to peaceful conflict resolution may be helpful, it is also necessary to further develop the analysis of the complex and diverse underlying causes of violence and violent conflict.

Keen has suggested that it is significant to understand both the differences and the similarities between war and peace: 'In order to think sensibly about peace, we need to think clearly about what war actually is' (Keen, 2001, 2). It follows that until the multi-dimensional nature and motivations of war are understood, and crucially *who* is benefiting from it and *why*, attempts to build sustainable peace will be flawed. Where does war end and peace begin?

'War' as an enduring probability and 'peace' as an ideal state have been an eternal puzzle to humanity across history and across cultures. The diverse discourses and different levels of analysis of war and peace have spanned psychological analyses and philosophies on human nature, religious and spiritual approaches, political, economic and social ideologies, as well as state and international relations interpretations. How peace and war have been defined has been shaped by diverse historical, religious, ideological, cultural and geographical contexts. Historically, the causation and nature of violent conflict described as war has been attributed to different factors in different eras. The dilemmas and contradictions of the war/peace dichotomy have been evident throughout the history of organised and established religious beliefs and practices. Although fundamentally linked to ideals of peacefulness, the major world religions have also been causal factors, motivators and supporters of wars. As the sovereign state developed in the west as the primary political unit it became seen as the sole legitimate source of warfare. Throughout the Westphalian era war was traditionally depicted in the western world as violent conflict between states, usually for territorial, resource or geopolitical gain. The events of the twentieth century changed the orientation and interpretation of war. During the Cold War the dominant explanation for armed conflict was

linked to ideological differences with the expansion of political influence and allegiance uppermost rather than territorial gain. Since the end of the Cold War the ways in which conflict has been analysed has changed considerably with the accentuation of ethnopolitics and identity struggles (Kaldor, 1999) and the linking of violent conflict and security to the development discourse (Duffield, 2001). Lederach (1997) suggests that in contemporary conflicts cohesion and identity tend to form within increasingly narrower lines than those of the state. The dynamics created by more localised forms of identification fosters factionalism and the diffusion of power. These conflicts are often based on powerful images of the enemy as 'other'. Whilst this is not a new phenomenon in war, changes in technology, media, communications and social organisation make this different in scale and depth than previously experienced.

Many contemporary conflicts are defined as intra-state but are also regionalised or internationalised in that there is usually involvement of actors from neighbouring countries, international criminal network links and cross border flows of weapons, money, goods and people. Internal conflicts contribute to national, regional and global instability. Kaldor's analysis of the 'new wars' in terms of a change in the structure of organised violence, oriented around a combination of war, organised criminal activity and human rights abuses is highly significant to developing new approaches to peacebuilding (Kaldor, 1999). These new wars are orchestrated by local, regional and global actors working across state borders who operate outside of the traditional boundaries of authority in the context of organised violence. Although there is, to date, no statistical evidence to support this assumption, power and control of these new agents of violence appears to be overwhelmingly patriarchal.

Contemporary conflicts are frequently events without clear beginnings and ends but are part of broader processes of social change that have been defined as 'complex political emergencies' rather than wars in the traditional sense (Goodhand and Hulme, 1999; Pearce, 1999; Duffield, 2001). The media image of war still frequently portrays two opposing sides fighting to win a particular goal. But there are often complex agendas, systems of collusion and less overt aims that need to be examined:

Part of the functions of war may be that it offers a more promising environment for the pursuit of aims that are also prominent in peacetime. (Keen, 2001).

For some actors continuing a war may be a more important goal than 'winning' it. War is thus not dysfunctional for all its actors. Many profit from war either financially or in terms of power and influence. The paradox that war has been and continues to be functional for the arms industries and entire military/industrial complexes of the developed world, those same countries that are the creators and donors of United Nations institutions that promote the principles of peacebuilding, should not be overlooked here. Although charged with the primary responsibility for promoting global security, the five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council are still responsible for 85% of the global arms sales (Keen, 2001, 5).

NGO research has highlighted the significance of gender in the effective implementation of the 2001 United Nations Programme of Action to Prevent, Combat and Eradicate the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects (PoA) and makes key recommendations for incorporating gender inclusive approaches to implementation in a hitherto gender blind area of policy

making (Johnston et al, 2005). In addition to the effect of the continuation of the trade in small arms, the post Cold War decline in superpower financial support has led to an increase in the use of commodities such as diamonds, timber, arms and narcotics to fund the continuation of violent conflict (Cooper, 2001). Economic factors inevitably affect the trajectory and duration of violent conflict. Further research has highlighted the significance of analysing the political economies that develop during armed conflict, their impact on the spread and duration of regional unrest and violence and the implications this has for peacebuilding (Cooper et al, 2004, Ballentine et al 2003; Cooper, 2005). Violent conflict frequently involves transnational criminal activity, transnational identity groups and trans-border movements of people, goods and money. The significance of the nature of these regional war economies to peacebuilding policy is still in the process of being recognised and analysed. Unstable borderlands reliant on shadow economies are often overlooked in official peacebuilding policy.

Security should not be seen as existing only at the level of the global or the national. In fact, in a post conflict situation, marginalised populations living along borderlands often rely on illicit networks and other shadow activities for survival (Studdard, 2004, 2).

Over the past decade there has been a re-interpretation and re-orientation of the nature of security that has become integrated into the emerging structures and processes of global governance (Duffield, 2001). A new interpretation of the security threats of underdevelopment has led to a 'securitisation' of the field of development and a militarization of some humanitarian interventions. The focus of concern for the new security agenda is the fear that underdevelopment will lead to instability, criminality and a disturbance of the prevailing world order.

As a result of this Duffield argues that the discourse and practice of development has been radicalised to incorporate the transformation of 'underdeveloped' societies into western models of liberal democratic, free market states:

Indeed, contained within the shift in aid policy towards conflict resolution and societal reconstruction, Northern governments have found new methods and systems of governance through which to reassert their authority (Duffield, 2001, 8)

Although the foundation of the liberal peace rests on the state it is increasingly focussed on the workings of strategic complexes of agents of global governance, that is, governments, intergovernmental organisations, NGOs, militaries and the corporate sector. As the notion of peacebuilding at the institutional level has expanded to include a wide range of functions for political and economic repair and reconstruction, so the locus of authority has become dispersed between a variety of actors. Duffield points out the similarities between these structures or strategic complexes for peacebuilding and the organisation of the 'new wars' arguing that they are both based on 'increasingly privatised networks of state-non-state actors working beyond the conventional competence of territorial defined governments' (2001, 13). The growth of shadow markets and war related economies, and the emergence of new forms of protectionism and legitimacy outside of traditional state structures reflect the patterns of globalisation that have reduced state authority. This has significant implications for a gendered analysis of peacebuilding. Although the state has often been slow to recognise women's human rights it is likely that the state can offer a potentially higher degree of security for women than the protection that these new highly masculinised and militarised networks could offer.

As has been suggested, war versus peace is not a simple duality. Violence may be embedded in peace, for instance in peace agreements that are seen as unjust, biased and discriminatory (for example, see Smith, 2007, for an account of the various Middle East Peace Agreements). Peace agreements that have no representation for women are unlikely to fully address issues of gender discrimination (Mazurana et al, 2005, Meintjes et al, 2001; Ashrawi, 1996). Most countries that are officially at peace unofficially accept or tolerate violence against women. Research shows that domestic violence against women frequently increases at the end of formal conflict (Rehn and Johnson 2002; Meintjes et al, 2001). The issues of the protection of women from physical harm, in war and peace, and the association between constructions of masculinities and violence will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Eight.

Understanding the impact of structural and cultural violence as well as direct violence is of utmost significance in understanding the place of gender in peacebuilding. The effect of changes in social structures and the spread of the global capitalist economy frequently impacts differently on men and women because of their differentiated social and labour roles. The phenomenon known as the 'feminisation of poverty' has spread across large parts of the globe, both North and South, and gender differentiated statistics from United Nations and NGO sources confirm this (See for example UNDP, HDI, 2008; Oxfam, 2008). In some parts of the world state building and democratisation processes have led to the formation of large militaries and the ensuing militarization of societies (Enloe, 1990, 2000). Democracy itself can reinforce the power of vested interests or bolster underlying sectarian divisions (for

example see Sharma, 1999). Neither development in itself nor the imposition of the rule of law are necessarily devoid of violence. Indirect violence in the form of discrimination can be institutionalised under the guise of 'peace'. The re-establishment of patriarchal power structures within new institutions is a prime example of this.

Having established that there are multiple causal factors that produce violent conflict, what is of primary interest in this analysis is how constructions of gender affect the trajectory of the violence and hence can be instrumental in the building of peace. What all the recent analyses of war and contemporary forms of political and economic violence have in common is their failure to fully address gender as a critical component in their analyses. The analyses of complex political emergencies, emerging political complexes, the growth of commodity wars and the effect of war economies all fail to address gender as a significant category of analysis in violent conflict and peacebuilding. It is significant to highlight that advances made at the global and state level for greater gender equality in conflict and peacebuilding contexts (see Chapter Five) may be threatened by the new structures and processes of conflict that exist outside of the constraints of national or international frameworks for 'human rights', 'women's rights', or international legislation on the protection of civilians. The following sections will assess the extent to which the liberal peace approach and the positive peace approach have acknowledged or integrated gender issues into their models for peacebuilding.

The Liberal Peace Thesis

Within the 'international community', in academic literature and in policy discourses conceptions of peace are dominated by the liberal peace thesis. Richmond (2005) identifies within the liberal peace the hybridisation of four different trajectories of peace; the victor's peace; the institutional peace; the constitutional peace and the civil peace. The evolution of the liberal peace thesis is firmly established in classical androcentric scholarship and ideas developed in the western world. It was foreshadowed by the philosophy of Kant who outlined some of the founding principles of the link between peace and constitutional government in his work *Perpetual Peace* in 1795. Kant set out the idea that a domestic rule of law based on a set of moral principles could be extended to international relations to promote peace between states. Some of the conditions set out in *Perpetual Peace* were reflected much later in the principles embodied in the United Nations Charter. This largely western 'consensus' for peace has evolved in the global structures that have dominated international 'security' over the latter half of the twentieth century and became more firmly embedded following the end of the Cold War. The consensus rests on the promotion of the principles of democratisation, the rule of law, human rights and the endorsement of free market economies as the best way to reduce violent conflict. The contention is that liberal democracies do not go to war with each other. That peace is rooted in certain forms of 'good' governance is generally accepted by United Nations policy makers, International Financial Institutions, liberal governments, NGO's and many academics.

During the 1990s critical approaches to security studies such as the work of Booth (1997) and Walker (1997) began to establish an academic base from

which to challenge the orientation of the policy makers. Following the brief euphoria at the end of the Cold War it was acknowledged by the United Nations leadership that a broader approach to traditional peacekeeping was necessary. It was recognised that attempts to establish peace needed to go beyond military and state security to address issues of governance, democracy, development and human rights. The term 'peacebuilding' was first introduced into the United Nations vocabulary at the Security Council level by Boutros-Ghali in *An Agenda for Peace* in 1992 (UN, 1992). The document proposed four main areas of focus: preventive diplomacy, peacemaking, peacekeeping and post conflict peacebuilding. Post conflict peacebuilding would involve much closer links between a variety of actors within the United Nations system, including the major financial institutions. However, the use of the term peacebuilding in *An Agenda for Peace* is largely restricted to post conflict technical rebuilding of war torn communities. This approach to peace treats the violence/peace phenomenon as a linear process. The peacebuilding process was to come after the peacemaking had established an agreed settlement and peacekeeping had affected a successful end to armed hostilities. The process of peacebuilding would include overseeing disarmament, the restoration of law and order, the repatriation of refugees, the monitoring of elections and the training of civilian police forces and reforming or strengthening government institutions (UN, *Agenda for Peace*, 1992, 61). Although limited in its interpretation of the breadth of peacebuilding, this report did refer to 'an integrated approach to human security' that should address the causes of conflict including economic crisis, social justice and political oppression (Cockell, 2000, 17).

Although the United Nations has undoubtedly brought relief of suffering to many people and has provided peace missions in times of crisis, its image has also been discredited by instances where it has been slow to respond or has been controlled by vested interests in responding to threats to world peace. At times the United Nations has appeared to be a powerless onlooker in crisis situations and at other times it has appeared to be partisan in its intervention. It remains largely subject to the will and resources of its most powerful member states (Purnell, 1998). In spite of this, the principle of peacebuilding as defined in United Nations terms is widely assumed to be legitimate as a humanitarian act on the part of the international community. Various critical scholars have pointed out that although the liberal peace has been critiqued in terms of its application, its theoretical underpinnings have largely been unchallenged until recently (Pugh, 2000, 2004; Paris, 2004; Richmond, 2005). Cousens has pointed out one of the failures of the United Nations definitions of peacebuilding as laid out in the *Agenda for Peace*:

This approach emphasised the 'what' and the 'who' of peacebuilding over the 'how', 'why' and 'to what end?' (Cousens, 2001, 5)

Pugh also has argued that one of the problems with the United Nations programme of peacebuilding is:

The absence of extended discussion about the legitimacy of peacebuilding and about principles on which it might be operated. (Pugh, 1995, 325).

The proposed reform of governance structures and economic systems requires significant resources, and as Richmond (2005) points out, the power to allocate and control these resources is often the new site of power and domination in

post conflict societies. The liberal framework acknowledges that interventionist strategies may be necessary in order to create the political, economic and social conditions conducive to the creation of peace. Although essentially a western concept it is almost always discussed in highly universalistic terms. Paris (2002) contends that international peacebuilders have promulgated a particular vision of how states should be reconstructed based on the principles of liberal democracy and market oriented economies, which is much like a more benign version of the colonial belief that the western powers had a duty to civilise the less developed parts of the world:

Peacebuilding missions are not merely exercises in conflict management, but instances of a much larger phenomenon: the globalisation of a particular model of domestic governance – liberal market democracy – from the core to the periphery of the international system. (Paris, 2002, 638).

Peacebuilding in international policy terms has largely been presented as operations of technical and non-ideological conflict management with little analysis of the theoretical and ideological underpinnings (Pugh, 1995). The liberal peace thesis is based on the concept that those who 'know peace' have the duty to create it for those who do not. Reminiscent of Orientalism (Said, 1995) this involves an assumed enlightened actor creating both the discourse and the practical imposition of their 'civilised' interpretation of peace. It also implies that actors involved in war are somehow inferior, deluded or obsessed by violence, identity claims, power, territory or resources (Richmond, 2005, 5). Pugh (2004) has provided a deconstruction of the role of peace support operations which suggests that such operations sustain a particular political world order that continues to privilege the rich and powerful states in their efforts to control unruly parts of the world. According to Pugh, the underlying

purpose of such operations is: ‘...to doctor the dysfunction of the global political economy within a framework of liberal imperialism’ (Pugh, 2004, 39). With the increasing acceptance that intervention is a necessary part of instilling the liberal peace, whether that be in the guise of assistance with governance structures or with work of a humanitarian nature, power, resources and expertise remain largely in the hands of an epistemic western community.

It has been argued that there are elements in the liberal peace which move towards a positive approach to peacebuilding particularly in the recognition of the need to establish a civil peace (Richmond, 2005). However, this does not address gender discrimination in that many civil society organisations are predominantly male focussed and male dominated. The practical application of the liberal peace has involved delegation to local and international NGO’s and private agencies but the resources that fund these still lies in the hands of the western donors. The liberal peace remains more of an imposed than a locally owned peace. As the analysis in Chapter Three highlighted the spread of a liberal democratic and capitalist based economy is often not based on inclusive, equalitarian principles or on any understanding of the significance of gender in the inherent power based relationships. Human rights, the rule of law and the acceptance of gender equality are theoretically essential components of the liberal peace thesis but the reality of how individuals are able to access these rights within an international framework based on androcentric power structures and the supremacy of the free market economy is not addressed. Beyond the occasional mention of gender equality, usually in the context of human rights, gender is not discussed in detail anywhere in the literature of the liberal peace thesis. The following section will assess the

contribution of positive peace theory to understanding the role of gender in the different contexts of peace and violent conflict.

The Positive Peace Approach

According to Barash (2000, 2) the goal of positive peace can and must include not only the absence of war but also the establishment of 'life affirming and life enhancing values and structures'. For Lederach (1997, 17) peace is not a stage in time or a condition, but it is a dynamic social construct that involves the building of relationships and supportive social infrastructures as well as material and institutional reconstruction. The absence of direct violent conflict, 'negative peace' is a prerequisite for building peace but is not a sufficient condition in itself for positive peace to develop. A more optimistic approach to understanding and promoting peace is the amalgamation of understanding of human needs in conflict situations (Burton, 1990) together with developing expertise in resolving conflict non-violently (Galtung, 1996; Galtung et al, 2000). Galtung's approach is one that he describes as 'peace by peaceful means' (1996). Galtung links the personal and the political in his analysis by likening the social cosmology of a civilisation to the psychological construct of a personality in a human individual (Lawler, 1995, 192).

Fundamental to achieving peaceful ways of handling conflict of interest is to recognise and reject war/violence based cultures in which conflict is seen as a struggle between good and evil, and in which conflict is seen as a zero sum game with the victory of one based on the defeat of the other. The core of Galtung's work lies on the foundation of his analysis of structural violence and

his attempts to develop a structural theory of imperialism (Galtung, 1971). This theory distinguishes between Centre (industrialised, developed) countries and Periphery (underdeveloped, poor) countries and argues that those in power in the former have a community of interest with those in power in the latter. This, together with the disharmony of interest between the peripheral parts of the Centre and peripheral parts of the Periphery because of competition, creates a relationship of dominance in favour of the majority of people in the Centre countries. From this perspective it can be argued that the capitalist global economy embeds structural violence into the state system and into many social and cultural institutions without there being a direct war situation. Just as violence is not limited to direct forms of aggression, so imperialism is not limited to political colonialism or economic neo-colonialism. To understand peace there must be an understanding of the different dimensions of violence, and this extended concept of violence leads to an extended concept of peace (Galtung, 1990b,13). Galtung explains structural violence in this way:

The important point here is that if people are starving when this is objectively avoidable, then violence is committed, regardless of whether there is a clear subject-action-object relation, as during a siege yesterday, or no such clear relation, as in the way world economic relations are organised today. (Galtung, 1990b, 11).

The three corners of Galtung's 'violence triangle' model are 'direct violence', 'structural violence' and 'cultural violence' (Galtung, 1990a, Brand-Jacobsen, 2000). Direct violence takes the form of war, murder, infanticide, and other direct abuse. Structural violence, which is built into social, political and economic systems that govern societies, states and the world, includes the allocation of goods, resources and opportunities between different groups.

Brand-Jacobsen (2000) describes the nature of structural violence and its relationship to direct violence as:

Similar to that of the bottom nine tenths of an ice-berg, hidden from view, while only the tip juts out. Apartheid, patriarchy, slavery, colonialism, imperialism, globalisation. In terms of lives lost and human suffering structural violence is far more devastating and destructive. (Brand-Jacobsen, 2000, 17)

Cultural violence, the third point on the triangle represents those aspects of culture that legitimise violence or make it seem an acceptable means of responding to conflict. Galtung describes cultural violence as an 'invariant' or 'permanence' that flows steadily through time 'providing a substratum from which the other two can derive their nutrients' (Galtung, 1990, 294). Galtung goes on to claim that violent culture:

Preaches, teaches, admonishes, eggs on and dulls us into seeing exploitation and/or repression as normal, or natural, or into not seeing them (particularly exploitation) at all. (Galtung, 1990, 295).

This analysis of different types of violence embedded in societies is fundamental to understanding how to begin to build a lasting peace that can be meaningful at the individual and community level. It is also highly significant to a gender analysis of violence and peacebuilding. Even direct violence towards women is often ignored, with structural and cultural violence so deeply embedded in cultures that it is often seen as natural or, more frequently, not 'seen' at all. Cultural violence is built into societies through means such as socialisation, language, custom and religion and it legitimises both structural and direct forms of violence. Polarisation and dehumanisation are key factors in the process that moves a situation of incompatible goals to a situation of

violence (Galtung, 2000, 3). A component of cultural violence is the dehumanising of 'the other' leading to racism, xenophobia, cultures of imperialism and patriarchy. Galtung identifies patriarchy as the institutionalisation of male dominance in vertical structures which is legitimised through, for example, language, custom and religion:

Failure to perceive the reality of patriarchy in human society can perhaps best be explained as an example of cultural violence at work....Patriarchy, like any other deeply violent social formation...combines direct, structural and cultural violence in a vicious triangle. (Galtung, 1996, 40).

As discussed in Chapter Three, direct violence is overwhelmingly a male phenomenon (Connell, 1995, 2000; Briennes et al, 2000). The correlation between gender and violence are not only very high but also appear to be space and time invariant. Galtung suggests that:

...such correlations are too high to be visible: social scientists work usually with modest percentage differences. The evident has escaped serious attention for too long (Galtung, 1996, 41)

The acceptance of structural violence makes it easier to accept direct violence whilst cultural violence internalises and naturalises the acceptance of violence. This analysis in relation to patriarchy is vital to understanding the problems inherent in producing and implementing policies of gender mainstreaming, increasing participation of women and providing protection for women and girls during and after violent conflict.

Galtung suggests that the key to creating non-violent 'locally owned' processes for conflict resolution or redefinition is to nurture dialogues at every level of

society and to develop local culturally sensitive frameworks for peace that are essentially home-grown. The word 'dialogue' figures prominently in Galtung's work; dialogue between cultures and civilisations and between epistemologies for peace. Lederach concurs with this approach to local ownership of peace, claiming that peacebuilding 'must be rooted in and responsive to the experiential and subjective realities shaping peoples perspectives and needs' (Lederach, 1997, 23). To make dialogues for peace open to all parties and at all levels of the conflict is to reduce the exclusion of those whose interests lie in perpetuating the violence. Questions about why and how certain interests are being met by continued violence must be addressed. Exclusion and marginalisation of groups who benefit from the conflict situation merely perpetuates unresolved conflict. The ongoing nature of building peace is expressed by Lederach (1997, 20) who suggests that peacebuilding involves a range of activities and functions that both precede and follow formal peace accords. Galtung claims that 'there is no place to start and certainly no place to end policies for peace' (Galtung, 1996, 3).

In his earlier work Lawler (1995) suggests that Galtung was pursuing the ideal of a 'science of peace'. His later work increasingly focussed on such phenomena as civilisations, social cosmologies and cultural violence in an attempt to understand how violence is embedded into social life. Lawler (1995,191) describes Galtung's philosophical orientation as 'something of a mysterious blend of Eastern and Western influences'. The influence of Gandhian philosophy and of Buddhism is clearly evident in his work (see the dialogue between Galtung and Ikeda, 1995). The Gandhian approach to resolution of conflict by non-violent means emphasises the embodiment of the

goals to be struggled for in the conduct of the struggle itself (Ambler, 1990, 199). One of Galtung's interests lies in translating the principles of Buddhism into a practical discourse for peace:

...the contemporary Galtung employs from Buddhism the spatial imagery of a spiritually unified humanity in a multicentric socio-political order. Galtung's Buddhistic vision is characterised by the absence of hierarchy and hegemony, the logics of power that make the prevailing world order so fractious. Above all what he takes from Buddhist philosophy is the moral premise that in spite of our differences all of humanity is bound together within a spiritual and moral web from which it cannot escape. (Lawler, 1995, 233).

Galtung's work brings a moral and philosophical dimension to peace research and contains many elements that link it to a feminist approach to peace. In attempting to draw from both Eastern and Western philosophies it avoids the ethnocentrism of the liberal peace thesis. In common with other peace scholars Galtung examines the promotion of democracy and the transformation of the organisation of global institutions as routes towards embedding a broader sense of peace. Most peace researchers acknowledge the importance of gender equality and the need to integrate women into the peace process but Galtung goes further than this by examining gender relations as a prime site for understanding the nature of violence (Galtung, 1996, Chapter 3). Galtung identifies patriarchy as direct, structural and cultural violence by exploring the relationship between gender and direct violence and between masculinities and male aggressiveness.

A further element that links a positive approach to peace with critical feminist approaches is an emphasis on a broad education for peace. Cultures that

foster competition, aggression, conquest and violence create societies that go to war (Brock-Utne, 1985). Peace education is oriented towards transforming values and beliefs that glorify conquest and mastery, and to developing commitments to end racism, sexism and other discriminations that are built into cultures. Traditionally, the ideal and practice of peace education has fallen within the sphere of religious and civil peace activist groups and more recently peace related NGO's. The Hague Appeal for Peace, an international network of organisations dedicated to making peace a human right, defines its peace education mission thus:

Peace education is a participatory holistic process that includes teaching for and about democracy and human rights, nonviolence, social and economic justice, gender equality, environmental sustainability, disarmament, traditional peace practices, international law, and human security (Hague Appeal for Peace, 2008)

The ideals of peace education have now been incorporated into the agenda of UNESCO. The UNESCO programme to create cultures of peace defines its peace education mission in this way:

Access to education and to various forms of learning is a necessary but not sufficient condition for a culture of peace. A comprehensive system of education and training is needed for all groups of people at all levels and forms of education, both formal and non-formal. The development of a holistic approach, based on participatory methods and taking into account the various dimensions of education for a culture of peace (peace and non-violence, human rights, democracy, tolerance, international and intercultural understanding, cultural and linguistic diversity) is its main objective. (UNESCO, Education for a Culture of Peace, 2008)

The TRANSCEND project, an international network for peace and development founded by Galtung, advocates transformative ways of handling conflict and

proposes that the skills to impart these should become part of civic education (Galtung et al, 2000). The TRANSCEND project seeks to promote creative methods of handling conflict to avert violence. This is not based on a naïve or idealistic premise of a world without conflict but on continuing to expand and develop on an already existing foundation of positive peace research, action and education as a driving force towards creating a culture that has the tools to transform violence creatively and proactively. The prevailing assumption in an approach that seeks to 'civilise' and 'develop' those parts of the world that are experiencing violent conflict is that conflict and violence are the same thing and that violence is an inevitable outcome of conflict. The work of peace educationalists is to find creative and constructive ways of dealing with conflict which transcend the war and violence based models which predominate. Burton, in his human needs approach to conflict resolution, recognises the essentially creative aspect of conflict:

Conflict, like sex, is an essential creative element in human relationships. It is the means to change, the means by which our social values of welfare, security, justice and opportunities for personal development can be achieved...the existence of a flow of conflict is the only guarantee that the aspirations of society will be attained. (Burton, 1972, 137).

It is the processes that lead from conflict of interest towards violence that need to be understood and transformed. Burton (1990), like Gurr (1993) and others have hypothesised the link between the frustrations to fulfil the basic human needs for identity, security, recognition, autonomy, and dignity with the development of violent means of solving conflicts. Reimann (2002) has critiqued Burton's approach to human needs for the gender neutral assumptions in his presentation of 'human' needs thus highlighting the continuous need to

question and deconstruct the ontological roots of what is accepted as normal for humans.

Although Galtung's work has provided the basis for much peace research it has been criticised for its insistence on focussing on structural and cultural violence and thus bringing too many variables into the peace equation (Richmond, 2005, 8). It has also been criticised for leaving unclear how the eradication of structural and cultural violence should be achieved (Lawler, 1995). Galtung has addressed gender in some of his work but it is not consistently explicit in all of his work. What he has done is to bring a much broader definition of peace and, crucially, a moral philosophical dimension to the understanding of peace.

Conclusions

Violent conflict and its underpinning causes are not static phenomena that cease with official announcements of peace agreements. Violence and the causes of violence are dynamic processes that are endemic within cultures that have discrimination and oppression built into accepted patterns of social organisation. Gender discrimination, overt or covert, is one form of oppression that is built into almost all societies. Addressing the effects of constructions of gender on violent conflict and on peacebuilding is therefore critical.

This analysis suggests that an optimal framework for building positive peace must include a number of provisions and conditions. Peacebuilding needs to be based on broad historical, cultural and geopolitical analyses of the causes, contexts and conditions of violence, both direct and indirect. A broad base of consensus for decision making and solutions must be achieved at the local level

with the integration of civil society actors, NGOs and local authorities so that agreements do not have to be sustained from the outside. The well being of people at all levels of society should be prioritised, with the acceptance that basic human needs are not negotiable. For peace to become embedded within a society a sense of justice and security must be experienced and a belief that a better society is possible. The strategies used and the structures created need to be ones that endure long past the critical immediate post conflict stage and they must be locally acceptable and, in the longer term, internally sustainable. There must be recognition that discrimination in relation to gender, race, religion and sexuality is linked to more direct violence. All parties and all actors must be included in decisions and solutions which should be meaningful, practical and achievable and the purpose, role and intentions of external interveners should be open for public scrutiny. Crucially, open, inclusive and continuous dialogue is needed at all levels of society and the discourse itself on peace and security should be open to continuous dialogue and transformation. It must also be recognised that although these principles form a framework for creating the potential for more positive and sustainable peace they do not provide a universal blueprint. Many of these principles have been recognised by critical scholars in International Relations, in Peace Research and in policy rhetoric. Critically, in addition to this list of pre-requisites for positive peace, specifically understanding and addressing gender at every stage and at every level must be added. Deconstructing androcentric modes of operating, breaking down gender blind attitudes and processes, recognising that women constitute more than half the population of the world rather than treating them as a victimised minority, and recognising the critical

link between constructions of masculinities and violence is crucial. All of these factors affect the potential for creating positive peace for men and women.

Whereas some attempt has been made to embed some of the principles above into policy rhetoric, their practical application remains problematic because of the constraints of the liberal foundations of international peacebuilding. The significance of constructions of gender have not been recognised or debated in the liberal peace thesis. The approaches of positive peace theorists, although not consistent in their recognition of gender as a crucial category of analysis, are more open and oriented towards understanding constructions of gender because of their human level of analysis. Positive peace theorists emphasise meeting human needs as well as providing for human rights and this can more easily be identified with a critical feminist perspective on gender awareness within a multidisciplinary approach to peacebuilding.

With the exception of biological accounts there has been little research until recently into explanations for the massive prevalence of male violence at all social levels in criminal, political and legitimised armed violence. If male violence is understood as a biological feature violent conflict may, at best, be only slightly modified. But if violence is often rooted in socialisation processes and cultures, then it is more open to transformation through processes of peacebuilding that address issues much broader and deeper than the establishment of neo-liberal institutions.

Chapter Five

Gender Equality, Women's Rights and Gender Mainstreaming: The Development of International Policy

The focus of this chapter will be to form a link between the theoretical framework and the application of gender perspectives in the formation and implementation of policy for peacebuilding within the United Nations. The research question is particularly concerned with understandings of the concept of gender that are embedded in SCR 1325. In order to contextualise this resolution it is necessary to outline the historical development of normative and substantive structures and policies within the United Nations that have been designed to promote gender equality. Chapters Three and Four outlined the significance of using gender perspectives in the promotion of sustainable and positive peace. This chapter will initially trace the development of approaches to gender equality within the United Nations in order to situate SCR 1325 and will then focus specifically on a critical analysis of the resolution. The resolution will be scrutinised for its content and for its approach to gender and to peacebuilding.

Any policy analysis needs to be located within its broader historical, cultural, political and economic context. Policy is not produced in a vacuum and the changing economic, political and cultural circumstances of the latter half of the twentieth century impacted greatly on attitudes, opinions, practices and consequently policy formation. Throughout the second half of the twentieth century academics, feminists and women's activist groups developed new

understandings of the constructions of gender and the power relations inherent in them. New strategies were created to advocate for change to androcentric attitudes, policies and practices. The 1960s and 1970s were a time of great change for the United Nations with the expansion of membership created by the formation of newly independent states. The United Nations had to expand its focus to incorporate the concerns of developing nations and the ideas of inclusion and empowerment. At the same time there was a growing awareness of inequality and discrimination against women and a rise in women's movements to combat various forms of oppression and discrimination. Since the creation of the United Nations in 1945 a vast network of global, regional and local institutions and bodies have evolved and contributed to the changing nature of global governance structures. The end of the Cold War opened up new spaces for the furtherance of women's rights to be upheld as human rights, as the United Nations became more accessible to non-governmental organisations (Joachim, 1999, 151). There has been a burgeoning of non-governmental organisations, civil society groups and advocacy groups many of which attempt to have an impact on agenda setting and public policy making. The emerging global governance complex encompasses international institutions, states, transnational networks, business and financial institutions, international and local civil society groups and advocacy groups. The phenomenon of global governance has been described as:

The evolving system of (formal and informal) political coordination – across multiple levels from the local to the global among public authorities (states and IGOs) and private agencies seeking to realise common purposes or resolve collective problems. (Held and McGrew, 2002, 9).

Power and authority vary greatly within and between these actors but together they form a complex, multi-layered and pluralistic form of governance. The former Secretary General of the United Nations acknowledged the changing role of non-governmental organisations within the global governance complex:

NGOs and other civil society actors are now perceived not only as disseminators of information or providers of services but also as shapers of policy, be it in peace and security matters, in development or in humanitarian affairs' (UN, Kofi Annan, 2000a, para 213).

However, the outward appearance of establishing consensual norms and rules in policy making may conceal often unquestioned power structures in terms of who decides what is on the agenda and how policy frameworks are constructed (Steans, 2002, 87). From a critical perspective it is crucial to identify the structures of power within policy making processes that lie beneath the surface of the global governance system. Who decides what, and how, issues are discussed and what is feasible or acceptable within policy frameworks? To understand the implications for gender relations of the development of global governance with regard to peace and security it is necessary to understand the broader economic and political context in which it takes place. As discussed in Chapter Three, the goal of gender equality in the peace and security arena is inextricably linked with wider issues of women's access to education, health, employment and financial security and to the empowerment of women in political and civil bodies.

From a legal perspective Charlesworth and Chinkin (2000) have highlighted the androcentric dimensions of international law which has a direct bearing on the effectiveness of international law concerning women and their access to rights.

As has been discussed previously, the state and security centred approach upon which much international law is based frequently overlooks the concerns of many women as well as other marginalised groups.

Different approaches to creating gender equality policy can be identified within the United Nations policy making practices (Hafner- Burton and Pollack, 2002, 341). These include a rights based approach which rests on creating formal legal rights of equality for men and women. A second approach is specifically to target women for positive action with the intention of overcoming their starting point of inequality. And a third approach is that of gender mainstreaming which is founded on the integration of gender perspectives throughout all of the policy making process. All of these approaches can be seen in the development and evolution of gender aware policies within the United Nations. In tracing the development of the principles of gender equality the focus inevitably often falls on women rather than on gender. The first section of this chapter will trace the development of concepts and practices within the United Nations that led to the adoption of gender mainstreaming as a policy framework. The intellectual foundations of the concept will be explored and SCR 1325 will be analysed to determine how far it takes a gender mainstreaming approach over other approaches.

The United Nations

Founding Principles

It is the United Nations, as the embodiment of the international community, which is usually looked upon to take the lead in providing international policy and practical provision to alleviate threats to international peace and security. The Preamble to the United Nations Charter declares the goal of establishing 'conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained' (UN, 1945, Preamble). Article 25 of the United Nations Charter provides that member states 'agree to accept and carry out the decisions of the Security Council' (UN, 1945). The United Nations Charter not only places upon the organisation the responsibility of saving 'succeeding generations from the scourge of war' but also charges it with the task of reaffirming 'faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, *in equal rights of both men and women* and of nations large and small' (UN Charter, preamble, 1945). A founding principle of the United Nations then is that of equality of rights for all and cooperation between member states for the good of humanity as a whole. Of the 160 original signatories to the Charter only four were women (Boutros-Ghali, 1995). After six decades the United Nations is still dominated by men, particularly so with regard to senior positions and in the arenas concerned with security (see Box 5, 212). A brief look at the relevant policy making bodies and structures of the United Nations will provide a framework in which to understand the policy process.

The Structures of the United Nations

Structurally the United Nations is made of six principle organs, the role and structure of each being defined in the Charter. These organs are: the General Assembly, which consists of all Member States; the Security Council, which has five permanent and ten elected members; the Economic and Social Council; the International Court of Justice; the Secretariat; and the Trusteeship Council. Resolutions passed by the General Assembly cannot be enforced against unwilling Member States. The General Assembly, in conjunction with the Economic and Social Council, is responsible for a number of United Nations programmes and subsidiary entities, including INSTRAW (the International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women), OHCHR (the Office of the High Commissioner on Human Rights), UNIFEM (the United Nations Fund for Women) and UNICEF (the United Nations Children's Fund). Unlike General Assembly resolutions Security Council resolutions are binding on all Member States. Substantive decisions of the Security Council require the approval of nine members, including the concurring votes of all permanent members.

ECOSOC (The Economic and Social Council) encompasses a broader approach and coordinates the work of many of the United Nations specialised organisations and agencies. Through its subsidiary organisations, it serves as a forum for discussing and formulating solutions for social and economic problems. The CSW (Commission on the Status of Women) is one of the nine functional committees that ECOSOC coordinates. ECOSOC shares with the General Assembly responsibility for groups like UNICEF, INSTRAW, and UNIFEM. The World Health Organisation (WTO), the International Monetary

Fund (IMF) and the World Bank Group (WB) are also part of the ECOSOC structure, but the financial institutions effectively operate independently. A significant function of ECOSOC is to coordinate the process of consultative status with the United Nations for NGOs. Obtaining this status provides one of the best ways for NGOs to access, participate in and influence the United Nations system. NGO's with consultative status may send observers to relevant meetings, they may submit written statements to the Council and they may consult with members of the Secretariat. These points of access have been critical for the promotion of women's rights through the work of non-governmental activist groups and civil society groups.

The Secretary General, who has always been male, is the head of the Secretariat which carries out the day to day work of the United Nations and includes, among other offices and programmes, the running of the DPKO (Department of Peacekeeping Operations), the DPA (Department of Political Affairs) and OCHA (Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs).

The following section will describe and analyse the structures set up by the United Nations to address the growing realisation that women were frequently not empowered to participate in efforts for development, peace and security.

United Nations Structures: Recognising Women and Gender Equality

The Commission on the Status of Women

The United Nations Commission on the Status of Women (CSW) was originally set up in February 1946 as a Sub-Commission of the Commission on Human Rights, but it became a fully fledged functional Commission of the Economic and Social Council on 21st June 1946. The mandate of CSW was to 'prepare recommendations and reports to the ECOSOC on promoting women's rights in political, economic, civil, social and educational fields' and to make recommendations 'on urgent problems requiring immediate attention in the field of women's rights' (UN, ECOSOC, 21 June 1946). The CSW was unique in the United Nations for two reasons; it was predominantly made up of women representatives; and from the early days it worked to promote close relations with non-governmental organisations. Several international women's organisations addressed the CSW at its first session in February 1947 and this openness to civil society has been a continuing feature of the Commission (Boutros-Ghali, 1995, 14). The CSW also worked closely with the international human rights treaty bodies and specialised agencies such as UNICEF and UNESCO. One of the guiding principles of the CSW declared in its first session was:

To raise the status of women, irrespective of nationality, race, language or religion, to equality with men in all fields of human enterprise, and to eliminate all discrimination against women in the provision of statutory law, in legal maxims or rules, or in interpretation of customary law' (UN, CSW, 25 February 1947)

The goal of non-discrimination of women in the provision of statutory or customary law is highly significant in recognising women's human rights. As a guiding principle it also establishes the emphasis on legal rights at the expense

of a focus on social, cultural and economic rights that has been reflected in United Nations policy towards women. The language used here indicates an understanding of equality that assumes that what women need is to achieve parity with men. In all fields of human enterprise the level of men appears to be taken as the norm to be aspired to.

During the drafting of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights the CSW was involved in promoting the use of gender sensitive language, arguing against the use of the term 'men' as a synonym for humanity (Jain, D, 2005, 19-20).

However, the outcome reveals little success when the language of the final Declaration is examined. The term 'man' is still used to signify humanity in the preamble; the term 'brotherhood' is used in Article 1; and wherever a personal pronoun is required the Declaration uses 'he', 'him', 'himself' or 'his' (Articles 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 17,18, 21, 22, 23, 25, 27,29, Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948). The Declaration also confirms a traditional, patriarchal view of the family – 'everyone who works has the right to a just and favourable remuneration ensuring for himself and his family an existence worthy of human dignity' (Article 23).

The initial focus of the CSW then was on promoting women's political rights and equality within the parameters of an institution with a particular understanding of the scope and meaning of equality. However, the CSW did focus on looking at changing discriminatory legislation and at raising global awareness of women's issues. This could not be done without accumulating supportive data and analysis about the position of women in practice on the ground and so fact finding missions and research projects were initiated. This empirical research

has provided vital evidence for pushing the agenda of women and equality forward. In 1945, only 25 of the original 51 United Nations Member States permitted women equal voting rights with men (Boutros-Ghali, 1995). Following extensive debate, the CSW drafted the Convention on the Political Rights of Women which was adopted by the General Assembly on 20th December 1952 (UN, GA Resolution 640). This was the first instrument of international law to recognise and protect the political rights of women, demanding that women were entitled to vote in any election, run for election to any office and hold any public office. Throughout the 1950's the CSW worked on issues related to discrimination in marriage and conventions were adopted by the General Assembly on the Nationality of Married Women, January, 1957, and on Consent to Marriage, Minimum Age for Marriage and Registration of Marriages, November, 1962 (Boutros-Ghali, 1995). The CSW also worked with UNESCO to develop programmes for promoting women's literacy and equality of access to education and with the International Labour Organisation (ILO) to develop programmes to promote women's economic rights. The principle of equal pay for equal work was enshrined in the 1951 Convention on Equal Remuneration for Men and Women Workers for Work of Equal Value (ILO, June 1951). Some tentative attention was given in the 1950s to issues of traditional practices harmful to women and girls and resolutions were adopted by ECOSOC in 1952 and the General Assembly in 1954 urging Member States to take measures to abolish practices that violated the physical integrity and human rights of women (UN, Womenwatch, 2007). However, the practice of female genital mutilation remained a sensitive issue and was not fully recognised as a form of violence against women until the mid-1980s. Thus, it is clear that the rhetoric of human rights for all did not extend to the

transgression of the principles of sovereignty and, with regard to women, acceptance of cultural difference in terms of their treatment. A United Nations culture that acquiesced to cultural differences on rights, issues of sovereignty and patriarchy, superseded securing the human rights of women from physical harm.

In the 1960s and 1970s empirical evidence arising from the growth of development studies and academic work such as that of Boserup (1970) highlighted the disproportionate effect of poverty on women and the Commission's focus changed somewhat to be centred on women and rural development, agricultural work and family planning and health issues.

Whilst it is clear that the CSW continued to work in support of the advancement of women, an assessment of its effectiveness as a body has suggested that:

After early successes in including and codifying women's political and civil rights in international conventions, the CSW became a ghetto for 'women's issues' in subsequent decades, lacking sufficient funding, staff and political clout to carry out their mission fully (Prugl E and Meyer, M, 1999, 7).

One reason for this failure was that the decision making bodies of the Commissions were made up of women diplomats representing their governments and as such could easily be coerced by governments who held women's equality to be a low national priority. Although the highest proportion of women diplomats within ECOSOC can be found in CSW, because they sit as representatives of their governments, whose interests they are paid to serve, the CSW has been described at times as both 'marginalised and limited' (D'Amico, 1999, 5).

A significant issue to consider here is the implication of why, and with what longer term effect, did women campaign for a separate United Nations body to deal with women's status and women's human rights. Clearly it was felt at an early date that women would be overlooked by the body set up to promote universal human rights, equality and non-discrimination. A question that arises here is how the creation of the CSW and the eventual adoption of the Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) permitted other human rights institutions and agencies to ignore the gender dimensions of their work in the belief that this was dealt with elsewhere. This marginalisation and compartmentalisation of affairs concerning women has had long term effects that are still prevalent in current attempts to mainstream gender perspectives across the whole spectrum of the United Nations. There has been ongoing debate about the necessity for specialised women's agencies against the need to mainstream gender which will be taken up later in this chapter.

Awareness of the importance of social, economic and cultural issues as well as the restrictions that still held back political and civil rights was significantly raised by the United Nations World Conferences on Women held between 1975 and 1995.

The United Nations World Conferences on Women 1975-1995

As a result of the growth of empirical studies and changing political patterns in the late 1960s and early 1970s awareness of the extent of poverty among women began to be regarded by some entities of the United Nations as a problem that should be addressed. At the recommendation of the CSW, and to celebrate 25 years of its existence, 1975 was designated by the United Nations General Assembly as International Women's Year. This was designed to 'remind the international community that discrimination against women, entrenched in law and deeply rooted cultural beliefs, was a persistent problem in much of the world' (Boutros-Ghali, 1995, 33).

Originally the Commission proposed to focus on the themes of equality and development but the General Assembly added a third theme – the recognition of women's increasing contribution to the strengthening of world peace (UN GA resolution 3010, 18 December, 1972). The agenda was thus a three pronged one of the advancement of women in terms of equality, development and peace and security. This was a significant move on the part of the General Assembly and indicated an expansion of the goal of equality through establishing rights to the positive recognition of what women could and were contributing towards peace.

The General Assembly approved the request for an international conference on women to be held in Mexico City to coincide with the International Women's Year. 133 governments with over 1000 delegates participated in this conference. An estimated 6000 representatives of NGOs attended a parallel forum set up to debate the issues, exchange information, and network for

greater lobbying and advocacy capacity (Boutros Ghali, 1995, 34). This alternative forum was the first large scale consciousness-raising session of its kind and began what was to become a highly significant platform for activists, civil society and advocacy groups and alternative agendas. Its purpose was to create an alternative forum that was much more open and inclusive and where delegates were not tied to government agendas. The NGO meeting was initially called the International Women's Year Tribune and eventually consolidated into the International Women's Tribune Centre (IWTC) which became a permanent NGO centre for research, communications and documentation on issues of gender equality (IWCT - 2008). The General Assembly endorsed the Mexico City Plan of Action in December 1975 and declared that 1976 -1985 would become the United Nations Decade for Women: Equality, Development and Peace (UN, 15 December, 1975). This General Assembly resolution also established INSTRAW (the International Institute for the Advancement of Women) and decided to hold the Second World Conference on Women in 1980 in Copenhagen to assess the progress on achieving the goals set in Mexico.

The Copenhagen Conference in 1980 focussed on the specific issues of employment, education and health as areas of urgent concern. The official agenda of this conference has been described as excessively politicised, with Zionism being equated with racism, governments being condemned for authoritarianism and the South condemning the North for political and economic neo-colonial attitudes and policies (West, 1999, 180; Snyder, 2003, 15). The World Conference to Review and Appraise the Achievements of the United Nations Decade for Women: Equality, Development and Peace was held in Nairobi in 1985 and had a mandate to establish measures to overcome the

obstacles to achieving the goals set by the decade. Forum 85, the NGO parallel conference, attracted around 12,000 participants from over 150 countries and ran over 1,100 workshops around the themes and sub themes of gendered approaches to equality, development, peace, education and health (UN, Womenwatch, 2008).

Throughout the Decade for Women, the reporting and implementation mechanisms for the advancement of the goals set became more diffused throughout the United Nations system, thus sowing some seeds for the later development of gender mainstreaming policies. In addition to INSTRAW, in 1984 the General Assembly transformed the Voluntary Fund for the United Nations Decade for Women into a permanent autonomous body, UNIFEM. Although, as has been shown, women's integral involvement with peace and security issues had been mentioned in past statements on gender equality, its first significant formal inclusion into the developing gender approach in the United Nations was at the Fourth World Conference on Women held in Beijing in 1995. The official United Nations meeting and the NGO forum were the largest gatherings of government, NGO and media representatives ever held for a United Nations Conference. Three important factors shaped the political background of the Beijing Conference; firstly, United Nations empirical studies had revealed that women's global status was not improving significantly; Secondly, other international conferences had addressed issues of gender and thus introduced the concept of gender mainstreaming into other areas of the United Nations structures; And thirdly, the increasing globalisation of women's networks and the proliferation of feminist NGOs (West, 1999, 183). The Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (BPFA) is of major significance in

moving forward the discourse on gender and the integration of gender mainstreaming policies. It introduced innovative concepts and strategies for dealing with conflict and clarified and unified past discussions on the significance of gender awareness and gender perspectives in the field of conflict, peace and security. This will be discussed in the policy outcome and evaluation that follows later in this chapter.

During the 1990s a further series of global conferences were held to promote understanding and develop policies on issues of development, the environment, population and health. Gender equality and empowerment of women were particularly significant at the 1992 Conference on Environment and Development (Rio de Janeiro), the 1993 World Conference on Human Rights (Vienna) and the 1994 International Conference on Population and Development (Cairo). Pressure from women's activist groups, NGOs and from gender aware sectors within the United Nations raised awareness of the integrated nature of gender equality and women's empowerment in the discourse and policy making on development and its components of environment, health, population, human rights, social development and food security. During the later 1990s the convergence of the development discourse with the security discourse was to lead to a gradual increase in the awareness of the significance of linking gender equality with the peace and security policy environment.

The Role of NGOs

The United Nations Women's Conferences were both a marker of the cultural changes occurring and also a catalyst for generating a greater awareness of feminist approaches to issues of equality, development and peace. They were pivotal forums for advancing the development of alternative forms of power (West, 1999). The growing number of NGOs involved in the parallel conferences indicated a greater civil society participation in international affairs. A significant impact of the conferences was to increase the provision of quantitative data on the status of women around the globe. Within the networks of global governance structures the influence of NGOs has increased over the past few decades to a position whereby the power of traditional structures of decision making within the state and international institutions have been challenged. Access for NGOs to the meetings and committees of the United Nations was first allowed in ECOSOC but as the interaction proved mutually beneficial it was followed by other United Nations bodies. Their role in influencing policy has been greatly enhanced by their participation in the United Nations conferences aimed at raising consciousness on issues around gender, the environment, development, human rights and population, throughout the 1970's, 1980's and 1990's (Tinker, 1999, 89). The NGO forums that accompanied the United Nations women's conferences have 'constituted a kind of counter politics that has provided alternative structures for networking and organising' (West, 1999, 177). These forums have sometimes been unorthodox and contentious, but they have been open to many voices that have not been represented in the United Nations bodies. Advances in communications and the spread of knowledge through the World Wide Web, together with the contacts made at these conferences have led to the creation

of global networks of activists. This has facilitated the accumulation of empirical knowledge which can provide authenticity to claims for policy requirements. Participation in the conferences was a great learning process for NGOs and women's activist groups. International women's groups discovered that it was critical to be involved in the preparatory processes to the conference where crucial agenda setting takes place (Snyder, 2003). They learned the importance of getting women into government delegations and becoming knowledgeable about United Nations practices and procedures. Governments and intergovernmental bodies have increasingly recognised the significance of working together with civil society and NGO groups not only in terms of the expertise and specific knowledge that they possess but also in terms of the legitimacy and support for policy implementation that they can offer. The increased activism and networking that developed in the preparation for the Vienna Conference of 1993 and the Fourth World Conference on Women in 1995 created increased opportunities for gender dimensions of armed conflict to be analysed within the relief and refugee agencies (Jacobson, 2005, 138).

Prugl and Meyer (1999, 6) concur that second wave feminism is closely linked with the United Nations Decade for Women, a time when previously marginalised groups were given a voice. As well as criticising the language that assumed that women could all be put into one category and that they were all oppressed in the same way, this opened new opportunities to explore ways of creating cooperation and agreement amongst diverse groups of women on the development of policies for inclusive peace, security and development.

This analysis will now examine the policy outcomes that have developed as a result of the structures put in place by the United Nations for the advancement of women.

United Nations Policy: Recognising Women and Gender Equality.

Recognition that discrimination against women was widespread in 1963 prompted the General Assembly to request the CSW to draft a Declaration on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women. This Declaration was adopted by the General Assembly on 7 November 1967 (UN, General Assembly, 7 November, 1967). However, it was soon clear that implementation would be problematic as reporting procedures were voluntary and government support was limited (UN Womenwatch, 2008). The 1975 Mexico Conference adopted the World Plan of Action: the Declaration of Mexico on the Equality of Women and Their Contribution to Development and Peace which included this statement calling for the for the elimination of all obstacles standing in the way of women's full integration into national development and peace:

In order to involve more women in the promotion of international cooperation, the development of friendly relations among nations, in the strengthening of international peace and disarmament....the peace efforts of women as individuals and in groups, and in national and international organisations should be recognised and encouraged. (UN, E/CONF 1976)

Thus by 1976 the United Nations had taken some initial steps to recognise the significance of women to issues of peace and security. The Mexico Conference called upon governments to formulate national strategies and

identify targets and priorities in order to promote the equal participation of women. The Declaration on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women provided the foundations for the creation of a legally binding Convention that specifically defined women's rights. The Plan of Action adopted at the Mexico City Conference mandated the drafting of the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW).

The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women.

The text of the Convention was prepared by CSW with extensive collaboration with a working group of the Third Committee of the General Assembly.

CEDAW was finally adopted by the General Assembly in 1979. The Convention acknowledges that 'extensive discrimination against women continues to exist' and that this 'violates the principles of equality of rights and respect for human dignity' (UN, CEDAW, 1979, preamble). It was adopted by a vote of 130 Member States with 10 abstentions and it entered into force on 3rd September 1981, just 30 days after the twentieth state had ratified it, which is faster than any previous human rights convention (UN Womenwatch, 2008).

Discrimination is defined by the Convention as:

....any distinction, exclusion or restriction made on the basis of sex which has the effect or purpose of impairing or nullifying the recognition, enjoyment or exercise by women, irrespective of their marital status, on a basis of equality of men and women, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural, civil or any other field. (CEDAW, 1979, Art 1).

As of February 2008 185 countries, over 90% of the members of the United Nations are party to the Convention. These countries are legally bound by the Conventions provisions and are committed to submit national reports at least every four years to outline measures they have taken to comply with the treaty obligations. The Convention provides the basis for ensuring women's equal access to education, health, employment, political participation and involvement in public life, including the right to vote and to stand for election. States who have signed the Convention have committed themselves to adopt measures to end discrimination against women in all forms including:

- 1) To incorporate the principles of equality of men and women in their legal system, abolish all discriminatory laws and adopt appropriate ones prohibiting discrimination against women;
- 2) To establish tribunals and other public institutions to ensure the effective protection of women against discrimination;
- 3) To ensure elimination of all acts of discrimination against women by persons, organisations or enterprises. (UN, CEDAW, 1979).

CEDAW, however, remains difficult to implement because of poor enforcement mechanisms. The CEDAW Committee, in its recommendations on violence against women, recognised that violent conflict situations lead to increased sexual assault of women and increased prostitution and trafficking in women. Whilst the Geneva Conventions adopted in 1949 and their additional protocols adopted in 1977, form the main basis of international humanitarian law with regard to conflict situations, their mandates on the protection and treatment of women and children do not entail the same obligations to prevent or punish as

do what are considered 'grave breaches' of the Convention. Rape and enforced prostitution were listed as acts against which women must be protected, but there was no specific recognition of these acts as grave breaches of the Convention. The establishment of the International Criminal Court (ICC) in the Rome Statute of 1999 made historic steps forward with regard to violence against women in both armed conflict and in peacetime. It incorporates core crimes of sexual and gender violence including rape, sexual slavery, enforced prostitution, forced pregnancy, enforced sterilisation and other forms of sexual violence and lists these acts as crimes against humanity (Article 7) and war crimes in international armed conflict (Article 8 (2) (e), UN Rome Statute, 1999).

In March 1994 a United Nations Special Rapporteur on violence against women was appointed to investigate and report on all aspects of violence against women, its causes and its consequences. The rapporteur liaises with the CSW, the CEDAW Committee and reports to the Commission on Human Rights thus forging greater links between the CSW and the Human Rights machinery.

Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action

The Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action that emerged out of the Fourth World Conference on Women in 1995 provides a significant step forward in linking women, peace and security. It declares that 'peace is inextricably linked with equality between men and women and development' (UN, BPFA, para131) and claims that:

Local, national, regional and global peace is attainable and is inextricably linked with the advancement of women, who are a fundamental force for leadership, conflict resolution and the promotion of lasting peace at all levels' (UN, Beijing Declaration, 1995, para 18).

With particular reference to women and armed conflict the Beijing Platform for Action in Strategic Objective E1 calls for measures to:

...increase the participation of women in conflict resolution at decision-making levels and protect women living in situations of armed and other conflicts or under foreign occupation' (UN, BPFA, 1995,)

The Platform for Action introduces the possibility for new approaches to dealing with conflict, linking 'cooperative approaches' with the 'equal access and full participation of women in power structures and their full involvement in all efforts for the prevention and resolution of conflicts' (BPFA, 1995, para 134).

Women's often unrecognised contribution as peace educators in families and in communities is acknowledged (BPFA, 1995, para, 39). The Platform for Action embraces an approach to education that will foster 'a culture of peace that upholds justice and tolerance for all nations and all peoples' which should include 'elements of conflict resolution, mediation, reduction of prejudice and respect for diversity (BPFA, 1995, para 140). Also, significantly linked to the promotion of a philosophy of building positive peace, Strategic Objective E4 proposes to 'promote women's contribution to fostering a culture of peace' by encouraging:

the further development of peace research, involving the participation of women, to examine the impact of armed conflict on women and children and the nature and contribution of women's participation in national, regional and international peace movements' (UN, BPFA, 1995, para 146, b).

Strategic Objective E4 also suggests 'establishing educational programmes for girls and boys to foster a culture of peace, focussing on conflict resolution by

non-violent means and the promotion of tolerance'. Strategic Objective E3 aims to promote non-violent forms of conflict resolution and to reduce the incidence of human rights abuses in conflict situations by upholding international instruments for the protection of women in armed conflict, respecting the norms of international humanitarian law and strengthening the role and ensuring equal representation of women at all decision making levels.

The concept of gender mainstreaming is introduced in the Beijing Platform for Action and Member States are called upon to mainstream gender issues across all policy processes so that before decisions are taken, analysis is made on the effects on women and men respectively. Governments and international and regional intergovernmental institutions are requested to include the integration of:

...a gender perspective in the resolution of armed conflict and aim for gender balance when nominating or promoting candidates for judicial and other positions in all relevant international bodies' (UN, BPFA, para 142 b).

The Beijing Platform for Action does provide an agenda both for women's empowerment and for transformative ways of tackling conflict and peacebuilding. Mazurana and McKay (1999) concur that of all the documents they researched for their study of women and peacebuilding, the Beijing Platform for Action is the one that:

Involved and encompassed the most perspectives; most thoroughly documents the gendered aspects of oppression, violence, conflict

management, peacemaking and peacebuilding (though this term is not used); and most clearly makes recommendations to multiple groups on the ways in which individuals, women's groups, NGOs, governments and inter-governmental organisations can curb these oppressions and promote the advancement of women. (Mazurana and Mckay, 1999,70)

The introduction of the tool of gender mainstreaming has significant implications for the future direction of policy formation and the integration of gender into all aspects of policy making, implementation and evaluation.

Gender Mainstreaming

The policy tool of gender mainstreaming was further enhanced by the ECOSOC agreed conclusions (1997/2) which established a clear definition of the principles of gender mainstreaming as:

...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 equality. (ECOSOC, 1997/2).

If the policy was fully implemented the implications of gender mainstreaming is transformative in nature. It proposes a revolutionary change in policy processes, both international and domestic, in which gender issues must become integrated into the work of all actors across a wide range of issue areas and not confined to specific departments and ministries dealing with women. Furthermore it must occur at all stages in the policy process from conception, policy creation, implementation and evaluation (Hafner-Burton and Pollack, 2002, 340).

There are various analytical tasks involved with attempts to mainstream a gender perspective. Questions need to be asked about the roles, responsibilities, activities, interests and priorities of both women and men and how their experiences and strategies differ. To integrate gender into all policy areas it is fundamental to understand why these differences and inequalities are relevant to the particular policy area concerned. It is critical to question assumptions about definitions and language used, for example, what constitutes a 'household' or a 'family'? Gender is a major influence on responsibilities and access to resources. Frequently resources and power of decision making are not distributed equally within households and family members' responsibilities differ widely. There is a great need for more sex disaggregated data to be collected, for example in terms of family responsibilities, economic activities and access to resources (UN, Gender Mainstreaming, 2002b, 3). As discussed in Chapter Three, it is also crucial not to essentialise gender and to be aware that needs and perspectives are defined by a range of factors of which gender is one. In terms of peacekeeping and peacebuilding, the mainstreaming of gender in policy and practice in peace operations must include a thorough understanding of the situation of women and men in the host country in which the operations are functioning. Adjusting the operation to the situation on the ground entails understanding the specific gender relations within the host country. As Olsson (2005, 169) claims 'gender awareness in peacekeeping needs to proceed in the opposite manner of a one size fits all model'. The task of creating a culture conducive to mainstreaming gender perspectives is vast and encompasses the need to review structures, procedures and cultures:

Achieving greater equality between women and men will require changes at many levels, including changes in attitude and relationships, changes in institutions and legal frameworks, changes in economic institutions and changes in political decision making structures (UN 2002b, 1).

In order for gender mainstreaming to be fully implemented extraordinary changes are required in the perspectives and organisational structures of international organisations and domestic governments. This would require very significant changes in orientation of institutions concerned with peace and security.

Whilst the concept of gender mainstreaming had gained some recognition within some areas of the United Nations system, it had had little impact in the bodies concerned with peace and security. The next section will examine how the concept of gender mainstreaming has been introduced into the arena of security policy within the United Nations.

Bringing Gender Mainstreaming into Peacebuilding

The acknowledgement of the need for a more gender aware approach to peace and security concerns was enhanced by a statement issued by the President of the Security Council, Anwarul Karim Chowdhury, on behalf of the Security Council on 8th March 2000, International Women's Day. The statement reiterated that peace was inextricably linked to equality between men and women:

As the first International Women's Day of the new millennium is observed throughout the world, members of the Security Council recognise that peace is inextricably linked with equality between women and men. They affirm that the equal access and full participation of women in power structures and their full involvement in all efforts for the prevention and resolution of conflicts are essential for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security. In this context, members welcome the review of the Fourth World Conference on Women as an essential element in achieving this goal. (UN, SC Presidential Statement, 2000).

The statement also refers to empowerment and representation at all decision-making levels and at all stages of the process from pre-conflict to reconstruction. The language used suggests a positive approach to the concept of creating peace and acknowledges women's existing active agency within the sphere of peacebuilding, referring to reconciliation and the crucial role of women in preserving the social order and as peace educators in fostering a culture of peace in strife torn communities.

In 1999 the Division for the Advancement of Women (DAW) and the Lessons Learned Unit (now known as the Peacekeeping Best Practices Unit (PBPU) of the DPKO) launched the study *Mainstreaming a Gender Perspective in Multi-Dimensional Peacekeeping Operations*, which reported in July 2000 (UN, DPKO, 2000). The aim of this report, which focussed on case studies of gender dimensions within peacekeeping operations in El Salvador, Namibia, Cambodia, Bosnia-Herzegovina and South Africa, was to enhance the understanding of the significance of gender perspectives at all stages within peacekeeping processes. The report concludes that while it is difficult to demonstrate empirically the uniqueness of women's contributions to peacekeeping, the interviews and case studies reveal that women's presence make a positive difference to the outcome:

Women's presence improves access and support for local women; it makes men peacekeepers more reflective and responsible; and it broadens the repertoire of skills and styles available within the mission, often with the effect of reducing conflict and confrontation. Gender mainstreaming, then, is not just fair, it is beneficial (UN, DPKO, 2000, 4).

The report emphasises that peacekeeping operations must be analysed in the context of the peace agreement that precedes it and the peacebuilding process that follows it. The peace process is crucial to the construction of the mandate and, as was discussed in Chapter Four, has traditionally been dominated by individuals representing militarised groups or states (UN, DPKO, 2000, 7). The report confirms that women's positive contribution to peacebuilding is far more effective if they have been involved in the complex ongoing processes for conflict resolution from the beginning, rather than being allowed in at a later stage. This concurs with the findings of the academic and empirical studies on women and the post-conflict transition period discussed in Chapter Four (see for example Meintjes et al, 2001). The report concludes that while the concept of gender balance is well understood, the meaning and significance of gender mainstreaming is less well understood. Paragraph 48 of the conclusions points out that the military tradition of DPKO is largely a male dominated preserve and thus particularly dedicated efforts are required to instil an understanding and practice of gender mainstreaming principles (UN, DPKO, 2000, 28).

Based on the ongoing nature of the report, in March 2000 UNIFEM was asked by the government of Namibia to prepare background material for a debate on women, peace and security. On the tenth anniversary of the United Nations Transitional Assistance Group to Namibia (UNTAG), a seminar on

'Mainstreaming a Gender Perspective in Multi-dimensional Peace Support Operations' was organised in Windhoek, Namibia, by the Lessons Learned Unit of the DPKO. This was hosted by the government of Namibia and explored practical ways to address the problem of inadequate incorporation of a gender perspective in multi-dimensional peace support operations. The Windhoek Declaration of May 31st 2000 was highly significant in the process that led to the adoption of Security Council Resolution 1325 and issues of gender being discussed seriously within the United Nations departments responsible for peace and security. The Windhoek Declaration acknowledged that:

In order to ensure the effectiveness of peace support operations the principles of gender equality must permeate the entire mission, at all levels, thus ensuring the participation of women and men as equal partners and beneficiaries in all aspects of the peace process – from peacekeeping, reconciliation and peacebuilding, towards a situation of political stability in which women and men play an equal part in the political, economic and social development of their country. (UN, Windhoek Declaration, 2000).

The recommendations of this seminar were presented to the Secretary General of the United Nations in the *Namibia Plan of Action on Mainstreaming a Gender Perspective in Multidimensional Peace Support* (UN, Namibia Plan of Action, 2000), which urges appropriate follow up measures, consultation and review to bring these aims to realisation. The Namibia Plan of Action addresses issues of gender equality in nine principle areas: peace negotiations; peace support operation mandates; leadership; planning structures and resources of missions; recruitment; training; procedures; monitoring, evaluation and accountability; and public awareness. The recommendations urge that gender issues should be on the peace agreement agenda and that they should be fully addressed in the

agreement. In order to facilitate gender balance in managerial and decision making positions a comprehensive data base of possible female candidates should be a standard component of all missions and that the United Nations and particularly the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions give priority to gender mainstreaming. It was recommended that a Senior Gender Advisor post be set up within the DPKO and filled as a matter of urgency and that reports of the Secretary General should include progress on gender mainstreaming.

It is very pertinent to this analysis to highlight that at the same time as these advances were being made in the recognition of the importance of gender perspectives in peacekeeping and peacebuilding processes, the Secretary General convened an Expert Panel on United Nations Peace Operations which was to undertake a thorough review of the United Nations peace and security operations. Its remit was 'to assess the shortcomings of the existing system and make frank, specific and realistic recommendations for change' (UN, 2000, Report of the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations, Executive Summary, 1). The review comprised an extensive survey of operational, policy and organisational responses to armed conflict and peace operations. This panel's report, often referred to as the Brahimi Report, was presented to the Secretary General on 17 August 2000. The report goes some way in addressing problems of coordination, coherence, funding and implementation of existing United Nations approaches to peacebuilding.

Whilst recognising that the report did fill a number of existing gaps in approaches to peace operations, for those who felt that gender mainstreaming

was or should be moving forward in policy terms, it has been described as a 'striking disappointment' and 'bordered on the offensive' (Olsson and Tryggestad, 2001, 3). The word 'gender' is used only twice in the 58 page report, once when referring to a list of potential special representatives, 'from a broad geographic and equitable gender distribution' (UN, Brahimi Report, 2000, para 96), and once when referring to the conduct of United Nations personnel who are recommended to 'treat one another with respect and dignity, with particular sensitivity towards gender and cultural differences' (UN, Brahimi Report, 2000, para 272). There is no reference to the role of women in conflict prevention, early warning, peacemaking or peacebuilding. The NGO Coalition on Women, Peace and Security welcomed some of the recommendations of the Brahimi Report but critically called for the highlighting of the gender dimension of peace support operations including the positive potential of the inclusion of women (Hill, 2000). Box 2 shows the recommendations of the Coalition for inclusion into the Panel recommendations.

The Brahimi Report has been criticised as lacking a nuanced analysis of the causes or impact of conflict or the different ways communities experience it (Raven-Roberts, 2005, 46). That the Brahimi Report neither acknowledges the work of the DAW /DPKO Report *Mainstreaming a Gender Perspective in Multidimensional Peace Operations*, nor appears to have been influenced at all by its recommendations reflects the marginalisation of gender issues in the United Nations (Olsson and Tryggestad, 2001, 3; Raven-Roberts, 48).

Running parallel but apparently not integrated at all into this significant shift in the United Nations approach to peace and peacebuilding is the run up to the adoption of Security Council resolution 1325 on women, peace and security.

- I. Creation of a Gender Unit at DPKO funded under regular budgets.
- II. Appointment of a senior grade gender advisor in DPKO to act as gender focal point for field missions and to liaise with local gender experts and local women's groups, funded under regular budgets
- III. Senior level representation on gender and armed conflict on the Executive Committee on Peace and Security.
- IV. Inclusion of a mechanism for gender advisors and civil society to have input to the Integrated and Strategic Analysis Secretariat (ISAS).
- V. Gender advisors to be included in the proposed integrated Mission Task Forces.
- VI. The DPA to establish and maintain a comprehensive database on expert women peacemakers with experience in conflict prevention and mediation to be drawn on for missions and peace processes.
- VII. The DPKO to establish a database of female candidates with military and civilian qualifications for rapid emergency deployment.
- VIII. The DPKO to review and update operating procedures and codes of conduct to comprehensively address gender.
- IX. UN Protection Advisors to be appointed to be charged with mobilising immediate community and international support for the protection of women and girls experiencing violence.
- X. To ensure that women and men benefit equally from reconstruction initiatives and that the needs of female ex-combatants and civilians are met in demobilisation and reconstruction programmes.
- XI. To ensure that refugee and IDP women participate in the design and management of humanitarian activities and that they have equal access to services, education and micro-enterprise programmes.

Source: Hill, 2000

Box 2: Recommendations of the NGO Coalition on Women, Peace and Security

Security Council Resolution 1325

Although completely overlooked in the Brahimi Report, the work of DAW, the Lessons Learned Unit of DPKO, UNIFEM, supportive Member States and numerous non-governmental women's groups, had its own impact on future policy. Following on from the recommendations of the Windhoek Declaration and the Namibia Plan of Action an Aria Formula meeting was arranged on 23rd October 2000 where representatives of women's organisations met with United Nations agencies, Security Council members and NGOs to present their views and answer questions. During this meeting UNIFEM and the NGO Working Group on Women, Peace and Security supported women advocates from Guatemala, Somalia, Sierra Leone and the Organisation of African Unity Women's Committee for Peace and Development to speak to Security Council members. Isha Dyfan (peacewomen (a), 2008) representing WILPF in Sierra Leone, reported on the atrocities committed against women in Sierra Leone and pointed out that the Lome Peace Accord (June, 1999, article 28, para 2) states that 'given that women have been particularly victimised during the war' special attention should be paid to the needs and potentials of women in formulating and implementing national rehabilitation, reconstruction and development'. Dyfan questions why such prior suffering is necessary before women are supported in their international human right of political participation. The NGOWG on Women, Peace and Security called for attention to the positive agency of women who 'have shown courage and leadership as problem solvers and peacemakers, reaching across the conflict divide to seek resolution and common ground' (Peacewomen (a), 2008). Examples of the rarely acknowledged or recognised peacebuilding work being done by women

are cited from South Africa, Latin America, Mali, Liberia, the Philippines, Bosnia, Burundi and Israel and Palestine. Faiza Jama Mohamed, who spoke on behalf of Somali women, highlights the fact that the United Nations has traditionally attempted to resolve conflicts by exclusively focussing on warring sides to negotiate peace, thus undermining the voices of civil society which are the fundamental building blocks to create and sustain peace (peacewomen (b), 2008).

On the day following the Aria Formula meeting there was an official Open Debate of the Security Council where the representative of Namibia, holding the Presidency of the Council at that time, presented a draft resolution for debate. The final draft of this resolution was unanimously accepted and adopted on 31st October 2000 as Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security. Box 3 summarises the paragraphs of the resolution (See Appendix 1 for the resolution in full)

Box 3: Summary of SCR 1325

Paragraph 1 – The Security Council urges member states to increase representation of women at all decision-making levels in national, regional and international institutions and mechanisms for the prevention, management and resolution of conflict.

Paragraph 2 – The Security Council encourages the Secretary General to implement his strategic plan of action 1999 (A/49/587), which calls for the achievement of gender equality within the United Nations by the beginning of the twenty-first century through a phased and focussed strategy based on promotion and recruitment of women. The plan incorporates strategies as well as targets and envisages cultural, training and managerial change as well as improvement of recruitment procedures. Overall this paragraph calls for an increase in the participation of women at decision-making levels in conflict resolution and peace processes.

Paragraph 3 - The Security Council urges the secretary General to appoint more women as special representatives and envoys in peace support operations and calls on member states to provide prospective candidates for inclusion on a regularly updated centralised roster of women to be considered for senior United Nations appointments.

Paragraph 4 – The Security Council also urges the Secretary General to expand the role and contribution of women in United Nations field based operations and especially among military observers, civilian police, human rights and humanitarian personnel.

Paragraph 5 - The Security Council expresses its intention to incorporate a gender perspective into peacekeeping operations and ensure that field operations include a gender component.

Paragraph 6 – The Security Council requests that the Secretary General provides to Member States training guidelines and materials on the protection, rights and needs of women, as well as on the importance of involving women in all peacekeeping and peacebuilding measures. This training must be incorporated into national training programmes for military and civilian police personnel prior to deployment and also into the training of civilian personnel of peacekeeping operations.

Paragraph 7 – The Security Council urges Member States to increase their voluntary financial, technical and logistical support for gender sensitive training efforts on the national level. It also asks that they give financial, technical and logistical support to the work of UNIFEM, UNICEF and UNHCR.

Paragraph 8 – The Security Council requests that all actors involved in negotiating and implementing peace agreements adopt a gender perspective. This paragraph specifically points out the special needs of women and girls during repatriation and resettlement, and for their involvement in rehabilitation, reintegration and post-conflict reconstruction. It also calls for measures that support local women's peace initiatives and indigenous processes for conflict resolution and the involvement of women in all of the implementation mechanisms of the peace agreements. Finally it calls for further measures to ensure the protection of and respect for the human rights of women and girls particularly in relation to constitutions, electoral systems, the police and the judiciary.

Paragraph 9 – The Security Council calls upon all parties to armed conflict to respect international law concerning the rights and protection of women and girls as civilians. It recalls the obligations of the Geneva Conventions of 1949 and the Additional Protocols of 1977, the Refugee Convention of 1951 and the Protocol of 1967, the Convention on the Elimination of All Discrimination Against Women of 1979 and the Optional Protocol of 1999, and the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child and the two Optional Protocols of 2000. It also points to the relevant provisions of the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court.

Paragraph 10 – The Security Council calls on all parties to armed conflict to take special measures to protect women and girls from gender-based violence, particularly rape and other forms of sexual abuse and violence within armed conflict situations.

Paragraph 11 – The Security Council calls on all states to put an end to impunity and to prosecute those responsible for genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes including those relating to sexual violence against women and girls. This paragraph specifies that crimes against women should not be included in amnesty provisions of peace treaties.

Paragraph 12 – The Security Council calls on all parties to armed conflict to respect the civilian and humanitarian nature of refugee camps. This paragraph emphasises that the particular needs of women and girls must be taken into account in the design of the camps which has a particular significance for the physical security of women and children. Women should actively participate in the design of camps.

Paragraph 13 – The Security Council urges those involved in the planning for disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration to consider the different needs of female and male ex-combatants and the needs of their dependents.

Paragraph 14 – In this paragraph the Security Council reaffirms its obligations under Article 41 of the United Nations Charter to give consideration to the effect of the measures on the civilian population, bearing in mind the particular needs of women and girls. Article 41 refers to a range of possible measures, including sanctions which do not involve the use of armed force.

Paragraph 15 – In this paragraph the Security Council reiterates that gender considerations and the rights of women will be taken into account within its missions. It specifically emphasises consultation with local and international women's groups.

Paragraph 16 – The Security Council requests that the Secretary general carry out a study on the impact of armed conflict on women and girls, the role of women in peacebuilding and the gender dimensions of peace processes and conflict resolution. It also requests that a report be submitted to the Security Council on the results of this study and that it is made available to all Member States of the United Nations.

Paragraph 17 – The Secretary General is requested by the Security Council to include in his reporting to the Council progress on gender mainstreaming throughout peacekeeping missions and all other aspects relating to women and girls.

Paragraph 18 – The Security Council decides to remain seized of the matter. By this the Security Council is telling the General Assembly that it is and will continue to be engaged with the issue. It does not preclude other parts of the United Nations system from addressing the issue but acknowledges that the Security Council has recognised the significance of the issue to its mandate and that it remains on its agenda.

Box 3: A summary of SCR 1325

The eighteen paragraphs fall largely into the categories of participation and gender balance; gender awareness training; acknowledgement of gender specific needs; protection; and the need for further research.

The implications are highly significant in both the breadth of the issues addressed and in the depth of change necessary to secure its implementation.

The resolution addresses issues of gender awareness and integration with regard to conflict prevention, peace negotiations and post-conflict peacebuilding as well as issues of protection. Its implementation requires changes in assessment, procedures, delivery and attitudes. It was the first time that the Security Council had formally recognised the under-utilised and under-valued contributions of women to conflict prevention, conflict resolution and peacebuilding. The resolution also acknowledges the disproportionate impact

of armed conflict on non-combatants, the escalating cycles of violence that this creates and the impact of this on efforts for peace and reconciliation. The important role of women in prevention and resolution of conflicts is reaffirmed and the significance of their equal participation in efforts for promotion of peace and decision making procedures is clearly acknowledged.

The next section will focus specifically on how the resolution addresses key issues of gender and the potential impact of the resolution. Having a Security Council resolution has the potential to raise the profile of the debate about gender, peace and security, but there are questions to be asked about goals and motivations to fully implement gender mainstreaming policies. Three principle themes emerge from the resolution: mainstreaming gender perspectives in peace operations and setting up gender training schemes; increasing the participation of women in decision making and peace processes; and improving the protection of women during violent conflict.

Mainstreaming Gender Perspectives and Gender Awareness Training

The resolution endorses the need for taking gender perspectives in the context of policymaking for conflict resolution and peacebuilding. In paragraph five the Security Council expresses its willingness to incorporate a gender perspective into peacekeeping operations, and again in paragraph eight, all actors involved are called upon to adopt a gender perspective when negotiating and implementing peace agreements. Defining exactly what is meant by taking a gender perspective is not specified in the resolution and it must be assumed that it relies on understandings of prior statements such as that of the Beijing

Platform for Action and the Windhoek Declaration and Namibia Plan of Action. A clear definition of gender mainstreaming in the resolution would provide clarification and avoid the practice of simply adding 'and gender' into pre-existing documents and negotiation procedures. In paragraph five the Secretary General is urged to ensure that there is a gender component in field operations. However, the phrase 'where appropriate' is added, which leaves open the highly significant question of when would a gender component not be appropriate in a field operation? Similar wording is used again in paragraph seventeen which requests the Secretary General 'where appropriate' to include in his reporting to the Security Council progress on gender mainstreaming throughout peacekeeping missions. The nature of gender mainstreaming should mean that gender is always appropriate to *all stages* and in *all areas* of policy making, implementation, evaluation and reporting. Using the phrase 'in his' reporting also gives the impression that the powerful domain of Secretary General of the Security Council naturally has and will continue to lie with a man. Paragraph six requests the Secretary General to provide Member States with training guidelines and materials on the 'protection, rights and particular needs of women as well as the importance of involving women in all peacekeeping and peacebuilding measures'. Gender awareness training is a crucial aspect of promoting understanding and equality and this is addressed in the resolution. However, the emphasis again lies heavily on 'bringing in' or 'involving more women' in existing peace processes without acknowledgement of the need to change structures and recognise existing and alternative strategies that women's groups frequently use at a local level to foster cooperation, reconciliation and the building of trust between conflicting parties.

In four separate places in the resolution the phrase 'special needs' is used when referring to the needs of women. Apart from the essentialising nature of this use of language it is significant to point out that using the word 'special' implies that it is different from the norm, which is taken to be what has always been centred on male needs. The retention of this sort of language in the resolution detracts from its attempts to take a genuine gender perspective on issues of peace and security. Many women may have different and particular needs, from each other and from men, in different conflict situations. This is due to the roles they play and the gender power hierarchies embedded in their societies. To describe the needs of women firstly as a homogenous group and secondly as 'special' is contradictory. Half the human population cannot have 'special' needs. Again, the perspective implies an acceptance of existing androcentric practices as normal or natural.

Although paragraph seven urges states to contribute towards gender sensitive training efforts, it does not guarantee or mandate financial and logistical support for this process. Thus, there is no firm commitment of additional funds for gender training and again no monitoring or evaluation mechanisms are put in place. Mainstreaming a gender perspective will be explored further in Chapter Six.

Participation

The first four paragraphs of the resolution are concerned with increasing the participation of women in what is presumably a move towards achieving a greater degree of gender balance, although this aim is not directly stated. In paragraphs one to four the resolution firmly endorses the need to increase the

number of women in decision making positions in national, regional and international institutions. Paragraph eight is also of particular significance here in that it endorses support for participation of local women's peace initiatives and indigenous processes for conflict resolution in peace processes. This is an unprecedented position and calls for the involvement of women in all of the implementation mechanisms of peace agreements. However, the resolution specifies no timeframe for this to be achieved and suggests no quota system or any monitoring or evaluation mechanisms. Paragraph fifteen expresses the willingness of the Security Council to ensure that missions take into account gender considerations of the rights of women, 'including through consultation with local and international women's groups'. The endorsement of the participation of women's groups and indigenous processes in peace negotiations and in implementation of peace agreements is unprecedented. This part of the resolution could be interpreted as creating a positive and inclusive approach to peacebuilding, as it recognises the importance of local, grassroots involvement and perhaps offers some potential for local ownership. However, it is significant to point out that 'consultation' cannot be interpreted as analogous with the full, open and continuous dialogue necessary for transformative approaches to peacebuilding. 'Consultation' may be limited and could constitute occasional or infrequent meetings, the outcomes of which may be marginalised from policy making decisions. In the same way, 'involvement' in peace processes is not analogous to ownership of that process. Involvement could be interpreted at many different levels, from minimal to substantial input. The wording of the resolution needs to be more specific to avoid tokenism and accountability and monitoring mechanisms should be specified.

The implications of the word 'participation' also need to be examined. Participation often implies involving women in pre-existing peacekeeping and peacebuilding measures. The wording could suggest co-opting more women into systems and structures that already exist rather than requiring any transformation or reappraisal of different approaches to peacebuilding. It does not necessarily recognise the significance of change that is needed in structures and approaches and fails to recognise what is already being done by many women at grass roots level to promote peaceful coexistence. Increasing the participation of women falls into the category of attempts at gender balancing but does not in itself necessarily promote gender mainstreaming. These issues are examined in more detail in Chapter Seven.

Protection

There are several paragraphs in the resolution that refer to the protection of women and girls and to upholding their human rights. Section (c) of paragraph eight calls for the protection of and respect for the human rights of women and girls 'particularly as they relate to the constitution, the electoral system, the police and the judiciary'. These are areas of critical concern for women's human rights particularly in the transition period following violent conflict. However, as discussed in Chapter Three, focussing only on civil and political rights leaves many social, economic and cultural rights, that are integral to the implementation of political rights, unaddressed. Paragraphs nine and ten are concerned with the physical protection of women from harm. Without falling into the trap of making 'victims' of women, it is clear that without critical protection from physical harm and sexual exploitation, women's empowerment will be

severely restricted. All parties to armed conflict are called upon to take special measures to protect women and girls from gender based violence, particularly rape and other forms of violence. It is significant that both state and non-state actors can be held accountable for violence against women in conflict settings. However, there is no specification of what those measures should be, no suggestion of effective means of ensuring implementation and no monitoring process set up. Chapter Eight will provide a more detailed analysis of the issues of protection as laid out in the resolution.

Conclusions

Clearly there has been a long struggle for the recognition of women's rights as human rights. And, indeed, the focus on legal rights as the ultimate goal has been challenged by some scholars as an approach embedded in androcentric perspectives (Carlesworth and Chinkin, 2000) Women's rights have been extremely difficult to implement but there has been limited analysis of why this is so, beyond a general acceptance of culturally embedded power differentials between the sexes. From the outset of the United Nations attempts to define and codify universal human rights, it was clear to some that the policy instruments put in place would not ensure that woman's human rights would be upheld. In the mainstream, however, understandings of the androcentric nature of the power structures within the international sphere and the impact this has on policy agendas and policy outcomes were limited. The United Nations has always been dominated by men and the orientation of the Security Council in particular has been based on traditional masculinised, military and state centred concepts. Gender analysis in the field of International Relations

has revealed these concepts and many of the policy processes involved to be deeply interconnected with constructions of gender and acceptance of stereotypical gender roles which are institutionalised. However, it is clear that establishing basic, fundamental and inalienable human rights is a precursor to achieving gender equality and is a step towards being able to recognise the significance of taking gender as a crucial category of analysis in understanding all aspects of war and peace.

From the early days of the United Nations 'women's issues' and 'women's rights' were separated from the mainstream. While it was undoubtedly necessary for the recognition of women's unequal position to create this separate structure, it also enhanced the development of women's concerns as compartmentalised and marginalised from the mainstream. As we can see from the policy analysis, this compartmentalisation and marginalisation is still a significant issue in policy formation in spite of the rhetoric of gender mainstreaming. Tracing the trajectory of the discourse of women and gender at the United Nations we can see evidence of movement from early approaches of equality of rights, through programmes targeting women for special attention, towards attempts to integrate gender into the mainstream of the United Nations. The work of the CSW and the purpose of CEDAW were to confer on women rights that were (supposedly) conferred on all through the apparatus of the Human Rights Bills. From a liberal feminist perspective this was a laudable aim. However, from a critical perspective the nature of the meaning of equality needed to be questioned. Rather than simply bringing women to a level with men in terms of status, critical feminist perspectives question the nature and

structure of power and suggest that alternative structures and strategies with different ontological underpinnings need to be considered.

The adoption of the concept of gender mainstreaming introduced by the Beijing Platform for Action signified the potential for a change in direction at policy level. This was advanced more directly into the arena of peace and security by the Windhoek Declaration and Namibia Plan of Action and ultimately by SCR 1325. However, as the analysis has shown, there are limitations in how far progress can be made in really integrating gender perspectives clearly into policy. Institutionalised assumptions and accepted definitions of gender have affected policy outcomes as can be seen in the continued separation of policy on women and women's issues and the lack of any firm acknowledgement of the significance of constructions of gender and particularly the role of the construction of masculinities in the causation of conflict. Likewise, institutionalised liberal assumptions about peace and security can be seen in the lack of progress in promoting the significance of alternative and transformative approaches to peace in policy making at Security Council level. The concept of creating a culture of peace through emphasising the importance of education for peace, strategies for reconciliation, dialogue and inclusiveness are not yet a significant part of the Security Council's approach to peacebuilding. Outside of the United Nations the current prevalent approaches to international security emerging from the US with its Manichean dichotomies of good and evil and its emphasis on 'war on terror' and militarised approaches to both peace and humanitarian affairs, indicates that there is a very long way to go to instil transformative approaches to creating peace by peaceful means.

Social realities and human needs have often been ignored amidst entrenched ideas of what is appropriate in the policy arenas of security.

SCR 1325 as a policy document can be seen to have to have some strengths and some weaknesses. The strengths lie in the fact that the Security Council has acknowledged that violent conflict often affects men and women differently and that women should be better represented in peacebuilding process. The resolution may be seen as a mandate for change and is a tool that can be called upon to demand attention to gender perspectives, greater access and participation of women in peace processes and improved protection of women and girls in times of violent conflict. From a rights perspective the language of 1325 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 also 'calls upon parties to armed conflict to respect fully international law applicable to the rights and protection of women and girls'. Resolution 1325 does bridge some of the divides that traditionally separate the public from the private sphere and which have never been addressed at Security Council level before. In emphasising women's needs and women's perspectives in conflict situations elements of what has been considered the private sphere have been introduced into the public domain of security policy. The resolution has the potential to raise awareness in the Security Council and other bodies of the United Nations of women's experiences, concerns and involvement in conflict and peacebuilding and potentially then to begin to question issues of gender. It also has the potential to provide local women's groups within conflict areas with a tool and a mandate about what support is

being offered at the top level from the United Nations. A tentative framework has been set up from which to move forward.

Ontologically, the weaknesses stem from the lack of a focus on gender. On a practical level implementation weaknesses stem from a lack of any accountability, monitoring or evaluation mechanisms. There have been weak implementation mechanisms for women's rights generally with poor resourcing and lack of women in senior roles in both United Nations and national governments. SCR 1325 is a very broad and general instrument. It sets out to recognise the needs and rights of women in the context of armed conflict and it provides a mandate for constructing a framework for the inclusion of women in peace processes. It has been acknowledged that the social, cultural and economic constraints that many women encounter render many of the advances made on paper at United Nations level at best limited and at worst irrelevant. It is important to keep this wider context in mind in the following analysis which is focussed specifically on the orientation and significance of SCR 1325.

SCR 1325 may potentially be a first step in international law towards recognising differing concepts of peace and security and their relationship to gender but there are limitations on how far the resolution goes in its present form in recognising alternative approaches to peace. How the resolution has been taken up and used and the problems that have arisen will be examined in the following chapters which are organised under the themes of gender mainstreaming, increasing participation and improving protection of women in conflict situations.

Chapter 6

Mainstreaming a Gender Perspective in Peacebuilding Policy

The themes highlighted in Chapter Five are all inextricably interlinked with achieving integrated gender perspectives within policy and practice and are all critical elements of achieving gender justice, human rights and more sustainable peacebuilding practices. This chapter will focus on an analysis of how the policy of gender mainstreaming is understood within the bodies of the United Nations concerned with peacebuilding, how SCR 1325 has facilitated this understanding and what progress has been made in translating the requirements of SCR 1325 into positive action. Fundamental to the implementation of a gender mainstreaming approach is a consistent and widely dispersed understanding of the concept of gender. Gender mainstreaming requires a much more complex and multi factorial understanding of constructions of gender than an approach that merely tries to incorporate more women into peacebuilding processes.

This chapter will address such issues as the focus on women rather than gender, the problem of separation and marginalisation of 'women's issues', the difficulties in institutionalising a gender aware approach to policy making, and the lack of political will and resources to implement policy objectives. The chapter is organised into two sections. The first section explores understandings of gender and the second section assesses how the policy of gender mainstreaming is being translated into practice within these entities. The second section will look at the Security Council Open Debates on SCR

1325, the formation of Action Plans and the implications of the creation of the Peace Building Commission and the structural reform of the United Nations on gender mainstreaming policy. The chapter will finally turn to look at the significance of the work of NGO's in raising awareness of SCR 1325 and in advocacy work bringing the local and global levels together.

In 2006 an INSTRAW Report stated that:

Though many initiatives exist around the world on women, peace and security issues, mandates such as SCR 1325 are not being systematically or sustainably implemented. (UN INSTRAW, 2006, i)

The issues raised in this chapter may give an indication as to where some of the difficulties of implementation lie.

Understanding the Concept of Gender Mainstreaming

Since resolution 1325 recalls the commitments of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action as well as noting the Windhoek Declaration and Namibia Plan of Action, it is pertinent to assume that it is intended to be grounded in a gender mainstreaming approach. In SCR 1325 the Security Council commits itself to 'incorporate a gender perspective into peacekeeping operations' (section 5); it calls on all actors, when negotiating and implementing peace agreements, to adopt a 'gender perspective' (section 8); and expresses its willingness to ensure that Security Council missions 'take into account gender considerations and the rights of women including through consultation with local and international women's groups' (section 15).

Clearly, for gender mainstreaming to go beyond policy rhetoric there needs to be institutional development and capacity building and one of the first prerequisites for this is a shared understanding of the concept in order to ensure a consistent and comprehensive commitment to it. It must be noted that from a critical perspective the analysis of gender mainstreaming needs to go beyond examining what the gender differences are in relation to conflict and peace and also ask questions relating to why the differences and inequalities exist. The analysis of the discourse of SCR 1325 in Chapter Five reveals a limited exploration of the concept of gender. A United Nations Report on Gender Mainstreaming in 2002 concludes that a number of constraints remain that impede the implementation of gender mainstreaming across the spectrum of its work, including:

Conceptual confusion, inadequate understanding of the linkages between gender and perspectives and different areas of work of the UN and gaps in the capacity to address gender perspectives once identified. (UN, Gender Mainstreaming, 2002b, vi)

The Secretary General's report 'Women, Peace and Security' pursuant to section 16 of resolution 1325, also alludes to this conceptual confusion in terms of gender but does not clarify the issue:

There is often confusion and misunderstanding of whether or not a gender analysis is the same as a focus on women. This study focuses on the experiences of women and girls. It has, however, used gender analysis for the basis of understanding what happens to women and girls in armed conflict and to develop effective operational responses' (UN, 2002a, paragraph 50)

This adds to the confusion about exactly what a gender analysis is. The above report does indeed look in some detail at what is happening to women and girls in armed conflict but it looks in much less detail at why this is happening and how this relates to gender. The theme of poor understanding of gender and conceptual confusion of gender mainstreaming policies was one that was reiterated in interview data obtained in 2007. There were many comments to the effect that gender mainstreaming is still often a poorly understood concept:

There is still a widespread lack of understanding about what taking a gender perspective is. (Interview, UNDP, 2007).

I think there's a long way to go before the UN can be considered gender mainstreamed' (Interview, UK mission to UN, 2007).

We still have a long long way to go...we have not reached cruising level by any stretch of the imagination...a lot of people in DPKO don't get past issues around recruiting more women (Interview, DPKO, 2007)

The same theme was reiterated in the interviews with members of government departments and NGO members. Interviewees expressed views that it was still often assumed that gender is either not relevant or is unimportant to the issues under discussion or that policies are assumed to be gender neutral (Interview, WILPF UK, 2006). A United Nations interviewee commented that it was easy to become insular and 'forget how it (taking gender perspectives) is still not part of the mainstream' (Interview, DAW, 2007). Discussing advocacy work with decision makers and policy makers an NGO worker expressed the opinion that there is very often not a good understanding of the concept of gender either in the United Nations, government departments or sometimes in NGOs (Interview, IA, 2006). The interviewee from DPKO explained how much work there was still to do:

We are a long way away...but we have put a lot in place...I hope that down the line in a few years there will be a culture established.... because gender issues are not considered core within peacekeeping. It will take time for people to change, build the understanding and recognise the value of this approach to strengthening peacekeeping. (Interview, DPKO, 2007)

Understanding the concept of gender mainstreaming and its distinction from gender balance, and producing a good gender analysis is a complex process which cannot happen without considerable training and knowledge and requires changes in both personal and institutional attitudes and practices. The complexity of these issues and the limitations on what can be expected was acknowledged by many of the interviewees:

I think we still struggle to make clear to people what it really means when we talk about gender mainstreaming – integrating a gender perspective (interview, DAW, 2007).

We cannot expect everybody to be a gender expert – I mean doing a good gender analysis – not everyone can do that (interview, UNDP, 2007);

Unless you are quite a good practitioner of gender issues it's a hard concept. I am not a gender specialist and I struggle with some of the deeper concepts and issues (interview, UK mission to the UN, 2007)

These comments clearly indicate the need for good quality training programmes in raising awareness of gender issues across all programmes. But speaking of the difficulties involved in bringing gender issues into the Security Council, an NGO representative pointed out that existing gender training had a limited effect:

Even in people who have, for example, been through a training on 1325 – they will say that's good, fantastic, we will incorporate that in resolutions – but patriarchy is so deeply embedded and it's not

something 'other', it's here, it's everywhere – and I think it's more damaging in places where it's assumed not to exist (Interview, UN WILPF, 2007).

Evaluations and interview data reveal that the lack of a clear understanding of gender mainstreaming means that in many areas it continues to be accorded a low priority status and has failed to become institutionalised. One of the reasons for this is likely to be that understandings of gender are still so largely focussed on women. Throughout the interviews and discussions it was often commented that the term gender is still widely seen as synonymous with women. Not only are the issues under discussion about 'women' but the participants doing the discussing are also often predominantly women. An interviewee from the UN commented:

Go to any meeting here on gender and you go to a room full of women....gender issues have become so identified with women and I'm not sure how we get beyond that' (Interview, DAW, 2007).

There was one example that did not fit this pattern. At an Expert Panel Discussion in March 2007 organised by the UK NGO network Gender Action for Peace and Security (GAPS) in conjunction with the UK High Commission for Canada, one of the lead speakers, opened the discussion with the observation that it was:

Very refreshing to be in a meeting discussing gender where all of the panel speakers are men. (Expert Panel member, GAPS, March 13th, 2007).

The speaker continued with accounts of past experiences when he had attended meetings on gender and peace as the only man present and where he had been accorded observer status rather than expert status because he was not a woman. The irony of this was felt as he juxtaposed this situation with a common scenario:

The only people who were discussing this (gender and peace) in a serious way would be women although when you got along later on and had some big speeches and big international platforms...I would imagine at that point the women were in the observer status. (Expert Panel member, GAPS, March 13th, 2007)

This expert discussion panel was unusual and highly significant in acknowledging the crucial exclusion of men and masculinities in the discussions around SCR 1325. The frustration felt by the extremely slow pace of progress with SCR 1325 was expressed and it was suggested that one reason for this is:

...that by sticking to gender equals women everybody can stay in a comfort zone. There's really nothing to challenge anybody if you stay with that assumption. You never have to voice it or defend it. It's kind of a default position (Expert Panel member, GAPS, March 13th, 2007)

The discussion focused on the real difficulties that had been encountered in engaging men seriously in promoting SCR 1325. The second default position after managing to get beyond 'gender equals women', is usually that it means greater participation. Both of these positions fail to understand that gender is about a relationship that has two components. The panel debate focussed around the relational nature of gender and its relevance to such issues as disarmament, demobilisation and rehabilitation. Using Liberia as a case study, the gendered nature of demobilisation policy was given as an example. Offering cash incentives to hand in weapons often excludes women ex-

combatants who often do not have weapons. The programme was shown to increase prostitution and create conditions conducive to the development of a flourishing underworld. Taking a gendered perspective and thinking about the relationships between men and women in the crucial transition phase from violent conflict to peace may reduce the potential displacement of violence from a war situation to a different kind of underworld violence. Likewise, in security sector reform, if issues of gender based violence are not seriously addressed by police services, courts of law and cultural practices then cycles of violent behaviour reinforces a lack of inhibition about using violence to deal with conflict.

Although within the interview data there was some disagreement on how far the discussion on gender constructions had got and how far it could feasibly be expected to go, it was generally acknowledged that it was important to understand the construction of masculinities and femininities and the effect of militarization on conflict. If, as Briennes et al (2000, 10) suggest, 'existing masculinities are often part of a culture of violence' it becomes critical to examine why these issues have not been acknowledged in peacebuilding processes. The interview data revealed that it is only very recently and in very small pockets of the United Nations that the concept of the relational nature of gender has been discussed. The need to look beyond the category of 'women' to understand why women are excluded and marginalised has been slow to be recognised. The interview data revealed some divergent ideas on the level of incorporation of this concept. Within UNIFEM there has clearly been some discussion of this:

We have parts of UNIFEM that are very much in favour of working with men not only as advocates but also working on issues of positive masculinity. We have other parts of UNIFEM that very much believe that there are so many other organisations that implicitly support men that we should not be putting our energy there (Interview, UNIFEM, 2007).

It appears that there are some tentative moves towards a broader understanding of gender that incorporates both masculine and feminine aspects of gender, but opinion was not united on the issue:

I think it is very important that we look at the issue of gender and not just women...somewhere, time-wise, we have to start on it now if we want to do it in ten years. No, I don't think it is too much for the UN – we've had discussions on it even in the Taskforces. (Interview, UNDP, 2007)

I'm not sure whether it would complicate the discussion too much – that discussion obviously takes place in the NGOs and probably within UNIFEM and OSAGI but there's some point at which I think it would make it more difficult because unless you are quite a good practitioner of gender issues it's quite a hard concept' (Interview UK mission to UN, 2007)

Isolated pockets within the UN have discussed issues of the construction of gender and its relation to war and peace. Both DAW and UNESCO have produced studies on the role of men and boys in promoting gender equality, development and peace. In 1997 an Expert Group Meeting on Male Roles and Masculinities in the Perspective of a Culture of Peace was held under the auspices of UNESCO, and led to the publication of the first international discussion of the connection between men and masculinity and war and peace (Brienes et al, 2000, 9). In 2003 DAW produced The Report of the Expert Group Meeting on the Role of Men and Boys in Achieving Gender Equality

which points out the critical role that men and boys play in achievement of gender equality:

It is recognised that a better understanding of gender roles and relations, and related structural inequalities, increases opportunities for effective policy measures and actions for overcoming inequalities. The role of men and boys in challenging and changing unequal power relations is critical. (UN, DAW, 2003, 3).

This report formed part of the preparation by DAW for the forty-eighth session of the Commission on the Status of Women in March 2004 with the purpose of furthering the understanding of the topic and influencing the work of the United Nations system on the promotion of gender equality (UN, DAW, 2003, 6). This represents an attempt to incorporate an understanding of gender into the institutional processes and practices of the United Nations and to acknowledge the significance of academic work in the field of masculinities to policy making practices:

The formations of dominant and violent military masculinities in conflict zones around the world create extreme forms of gender oppression. The active involvement of men and boys in promoting gender equality is a critical resource in peacebuilding, peacekeeping, reconstruction and in eliminating displacement created by conflicts (UN, DAW, 2003, 13).

One interviewee, however, was very sceptical about progress on this issue within the Security Council:

Issues of construction of gender, masculinities and patriarchy are never going to be acknowledged in the Security Council. It's hard enough to get them to deal with the theme of women. It's never going to be the language of the Security Council. (Interview, WILPF UN, 2007)

This raises the issue of institutional resistance to recognising gender at all. An issue raised repeatedly within the interviews was the lack of institutionalisation of gender awareness and the significance of motivated individuals in keeping the issue on the agenda:

I think it is correct to say that it is very personality driven rather than institutionalised. (Interview, OSAGI, 2007)

A lot depends on personalities - that is so for gender equality within the UN. (Interview, UNDP, 2007).

So much at the moment is personality based, personality driven' (Interview, UK mission to UN, 2007).

A 2006 report evaluating gender mainstreaming within the UNDP reiterates this in its conclusion:

While there are many committed individuals and some 'islands of success', the organisation lacks a systematic approach to gender mainstreaming. (UNDP, 2006, iii)

Whilst the policy advocating gender mainstreaming is in place the lack of understanding of gender and lack of political will for change have contributed to a failure to institutionalise these policies and practices.

In order to be seen to acknowledge 'gender issues', or pay lip service to it, the practice has often been to create a system of gender focal points within different departments. Over the past six years there has been some uneven progress

towards creating permanent, dedicated gender advisor positions within the different departments and agencies of the United Nations system (NGOWG, 2004). In many departments, both at national and at United Nations level there has been a system of gender focal points which in practice has often meant assigning that title to a relatively junior member of staff, almost always a woman, with limited time and resources and limited authority. This was verified by several of the interview participants. One interviewee, talking about the United Nations system as a whole, presented a particularly demoralising picture of the status of gender focal points:

It has overall been frustrating to see that people who have been placed within the system as responsible for gender mainstreaming, so the gender focal points and gender officers – they are not just marginalised, they are almost denigrated or it's a tag line onto their job description, or they just happen to be the women in the office and therefore become the gender focal point – and it's unfortunate and it means people often work in isolation with a lot of confusion when they reach out or hostility – neither of which is productive' (Interview, UNIFEM, 2007)

Another interviewee explained that 'gender focal points had often had to 'stand alone' with no support from personnel at decision making levels. She commented that:

We have a focal point system within UNDP meaning that in every office and every group we have a focal point which is not necessarily a gender expert. It's a focal point and we always say that they may spend 15% of their time on gender issues but it varies. Some people are not given time or space to develop. (Interview, UNDP, 2007).

This issue was raised by a senior development officer from DFID who stated that accountability at the senior level should cover, among other things:

that managers send officials of an appropriate level to task force meetings and not, as often happens, send junior staff who do not have the authority to implement anything' (Expert Panel member, GAPS, March 13th, 2007)

After considerable pressure from NGOs and some United Nations entities (NGOWG, 2004), DPKO now has a designated gender advisor. An interviewee commented that:

DPKO is probably the biggest department that we have and probably the department that can get new posts most easily and it was a long struggle for DPKO to understand that they needed gender expertise in their own department. For a long time they were arguing that they didn't need that because there was OSAGI. OSAGI can make recommendations and provide material but has no direct control (Interview, DAW, 2007).

There was praise for the work of the DPKO gender advisor from across the spectrum of interviewees. All acknowledged the difficulties of the role within a department so traditionally focused on military security. The DPKO interviewee talked about the difficulties of engaging the three different cultures internally within the department, the civilian, the police and the military with the significance of gender issues to all areas of their work. At the same time the department is interfacing all the time with member states, troop contributing countries, and members of the Security Council. She emphasised the difficulties and significance of consistency in their work:

Our work is possible only by making sure that we can ensure on-going dialogue with all of these very different constituencies, so that we all have to be on the same page in understanding what gender issues are. It's always a challenge. It's such a broad and disparate group. (Interview, DPKO, 2007).

At the time of writing the DPA still does not have a designated gender advisor although this has been repeatedly called for. Speaking of the woman who acts as gender focal point for the DPA, an interviewee said:

She has done some very good work but on the hierarchy of the UN - she is very low on that hierarchy – which reflects ultimately on the commitment of the department as a whole (Interview DAW, 2007).

During a discussion about the lack of inclusion of women, peace and security issues in the reports that go to the Security Council as preparatory work for resolutions, I was told that a lot of their information comes from the DPA. A brief comment indicating the difficulty I might have finding anyone to speak to within the DPA revealed the impression of a lack of openness but this was qualified by an assertion that ‘there are some individuals there whose awareness is raised and who try to put things in’ (Interview UN WILPF, 2007). The interviewee from OSAGI spoke of proposals for training staff on DPA political missions about SCR 1325 but disappointingly at the time of writing it was unknown whether funds would be made available for this (Interview, OSAGI, 2007).

At the UK governmental level some difficulty was encountered trying to locate a person responsible for SCR 1325 and women, peace and security at both the FCO and MOD. The person located in the FCO who was responsible for overseeing the progress on SCR 1325 also had many other responsibilities in the peacekeeping and peacebuilding team (Interview, UK FCO, 2006).

Linked to the complexity of the concept of gender mainstreaming is the longstanding debate about the continuing need for specialised focal points for the promotion of gender perspectives whilst at the same time promoting the integration of gender perspectives into all mainstream areas. How do you balance the need for centres of expertise on gender, which are focussed on women, with the need for full integration of gender into the mainstream?

The Beijing Platform for Action calls for a dual strategy of gender mainstreaming complimented with actions to address specific gaps in gender equality (BPFA, 1995). The 2002 Gender Mainstreaming report also stresses that gender mainstreaming does not preclude the need for specific targeted interventions to address women's empowerment and gender equality (UN, 2002b, vi). This is reiterated again in the Women, Peace and Security Report:

Mainstreaming does not replace the need for targeted, women specific policies and programmes and positive legislation; nor does it do away with the need for gender units or focal points' (UN, 2002a, para 13).

There was evidence of much ongoing discussion within the gender arena about the issues of separation, marginalisation and integration of gender into policy and institutional structures. The opinion across the spectrum of interviewees was clear in advocating that it was currently necessary to maintain specialist gender centres whilst at the same time attempting to integrate gender fully into mainstream policy and practice. Comments such as 'there is too much of a power deficit not to have specific focal points' (Interview, DFID, 2007) reinforced the view that progress in mainstreaming a gender perspective was far from the point where specialist gender expertise was no longer necessary. However,

the difficulties of this separation and yet integration approach were acknowledged. The view was expressed that at both the United Nations and national levels if there is a ministry or department for gender, or more often for 'women's affairs', then everything supposedly relating to women is pushed into that department and therefore remains segregated and marginalised. This was clearly a significant issue that was raised repeatedly at the discussions and interviews:

It has been and is a challenge that people think that if there is a department that deals with gender issues then it's not their issue to deal with....issues about gender if they are received at the head of the entity it goes down to the gender advisor when it should be dealt with by say the military division. (Interview, OSAGI, 2007).

Reiterating the same theme another interviewee commented:

You can have a military advisor in the field who says well why do I have to understand gender when I can get my gender advisor to do it?
(Interview, UK mission to UN, 2007)

The United Nations Report on Gender Mainstreaming (2002) recommended several components to be addressed in order to develop institutional capacity building for gender mainstreaming. One of the significant recommendations was the importance of a 'catalytic presence', such as a unit responsible for gender equality but with a mandate to act as a catalyst rather than to hold overall responsibility (UN, 2002b, 25). At the national level there are inevitably differences between Member States as to their progress on issues of gender. It was commented that there had been some pressure from the Nordic countries to reduce the gender focal point approach. The discourse in their own countries had gone beyond the need for separate focal points and they were

able to more seriously integrate gender into the mainstream (Interview, UNIFEM, 2007).

Another interviewee discussed the practice of paying lip service to gender in ways that often belie any real integration into the mainstream:

Every so often some members of the Security Council go to a conflict area and meet with women's organisations, but I'm never sure they talk about women's issues or gender equality in all their meetings. Yes, they go to Kosovo or Burundi and talk with representatives of women's organisations to hear their views which is wonderful and which they must do...but I also wonder when they meet the police officer do they talk about violence against women? Or when they talk to the people running elections do they say what measures are you putting in place for the safety of women on election day? Or the safety of candidates? (Interview, DAW, 2007)

A fundamental part of mainstreaming gender is to be able to ensure that all programmes, policies and missions include a gender perspective from the beginning. An inevitable and often mentioned problem linked to the lack of understanding of the concept of gender was the frequency with which it is assumed that you have 'done gender' by simply adding a bit on to existing programmes and policies, perhaps a training session or creating a 'gender focal point':

If women are not there from the beginning it is hard to bring them in at a later stage. I have heard this reiterated from the field. It requires dedicated human and financial resources from our side to make sure something happens (Interview, UNDP, 2007)

The Independent Experts Assessment, 2002 concludes on this issue that gender expertise had not been utilised during assessment missions or technical

surveys conducted prior to the design of United Nations peacekeeping operations nor in the blueprints for action, the concept of operation or the budget (Rehn and Johnson Sirleaf, 2002, 17). Structures and programmes need to be designed from the outset to address the different needs of different women and men for protection, support in peacebuilding activities, justice and reconstruction. Nearly five years later this issue is still a priority:

What often happens is the question (about gender) is asked too late... How do we get the concerns in at the beginning - in programme design? If you don't have it in at the programme design stage it affects so many things. You might not have the right staff for it, you might not have the resources and you might not have set up the monitoring and accountability....You cannot simply, later on in the project, add gender advisor and stir. It's not going to work and unfortunately there's not enough happening before project design happens and before the initiatives. (Interview, UN WILPF, 2007).

Political will, funding and capacity building are integrally linked to understandings of the concept of gender mainstreaming and the links between equality and sustainable peace. It has been observed in both interviews and official documents that common challenges to implementation of the resolution include lack of political will, lack of funding, lack of capacity, and lack of coordination, monitoring and evaluation systems (UN INSTRAW, 2006, iv). The link between understanding and resources was reiterated by some of the interviewees:

It's a chicken and egg situation – because we don't have the resources we can't spread the understanding – because we don't have the understanding we don't get the resources. A spiral downward! (Interview, UNDP, 2007).

The crucial question remains that even if understanding gender is improved at the top level of decision making, how do you actually put it into practice in a global setting where the principles of gender equality are far from being universally accepted? The comment below represents, in simple terms, the problem that a lot of people brought up about implementing gender mainstreaming:

So a lot of people say 'sure, I want to do something about gender, but how? And what am I expected to do?' (Interview, UNDP, 2007).

How can raising gender awareness at the top level lead to action that has an impact at all levels? In 2006 INSTRAW produced a guide to policy and planning on Women, Peace and Security (UN INSTRAW, 2006). The opening words of the executive summary of this report highlight the concerns of transforming written words into reality:

One of today's greatest development challenges is turning policy into practice. This is especially the case in the realm of women's rights and gender equality, where the commitments made at international and national levels remains far from the day-to-day realities of women's lives (UN INSTRAW, 2006, i).

Having discussed different opinions on the levels of understanding of gender and the difficulties encountered in challenging traditional modes of thinking and practice, the next section will examine what steps have been taken to implement the policy commitments made at international and national levels.

Transforming words into reality: How do you implement gender mainstreaming?

This section will identify the key entities which have been active in pushing forward gender mainstreaming in the peace and security arena and will analyse the strategies that have been used to do this. The primary focus of this section will be the tools and strategies developed at United Nations and national levels for implementing the provisions of SCR 1325 and raising awareness of gender mainstreaming in this respect. Much of the work of the various United Nations entities has focussed on introducing gender training and incorporating gender expertise into programmes and policies and the effectiveness of this will be examined here. The slow progress in implementation has led to the proposal for action plans at the global and national levels. This section will analyse the strengths of adopting action plans and the prospects for further efficiency in promoting the mainstreaming of gender into peace and security concerns. The role of NGOs in raising awareness and campaigning for full implementation of the resolution will be examined.

United Nations Strategies for implementation

Essentially, at the United Nations level, the official tools that have been used to further the implementation of SCR 1325 have been the annual Security Council Open Debates on the resolution held in October each year. The Open Debates are intended to assess the progress being made with implementation and have resulted in five Presidential Statements and a press release reaffirming the advancements and identifying the gaps in the implementation of the resolution.

The Report of the Secretary General on Women, Peace and Security in October 2002 calls on the Security Council to:

Incorporate gender perspectives explicitly into mandates of all peacekeeping missions, including provisions to systematically address the issue in all reports to the Security Council. (UN SC, 2002a, article 10)

However, the commitment of the Security Council to integrate the resolution into its daily work and to ensure that a gender perspective is integrated into mandates for all peacekeeping missions and all terms of reference of Security Council missions has not been fully implemented. The NGO Working Group on Women, Peace and Security *Five Years on Report* states that:

From the adoption of SCR 1325 in 2000 to 2004, only 39 out of 261 Security Council (country specific and thematic) resolutions included references to gender perspectives or women. In 2004 alone, out of 59 resolutions adopted by the Security Council, only 8 resolutions recalled or reaffirmed SCR 1325 and its provisions, 7 out of 59 mentioned gender or women and only 5 out of 59 resolutions addressed violence against women (NGOWG, 2005, 6).

A further analysis carried out by OSAGI for the period July 2004 to July 2005 revealed that 47.1 per cent of the reports of the Secretary General to the Security Council made multiple references to gender concerns, 21.9 per cent made minimal references, while 31 per cent of the reports made no or only one mention of women or gender issues (UN SC, 2005, paragraph 21).

The Presidential Statement at the end of the second Open Debate in 2002 requested the Secretary General to prepare a report by October 2004 following up on the implementation of the recommendations of the 2002 study *Women, Peace and Security* (UN, Security Council Presidential Statement, 2002). The

third Open Debate held in October 2003 under the presidency of the United States did not result in a Presidential Statement but a press release was made highlighting some of the main points discussed. The NGO Working Group on Women Peace and Security reports that many of the speakers called for better follow-up by the Security Council in implementing SCR 1325 and recommended naming a Security Council member to be responsible for tracking implementation (NGOWG, 2005, 4). This has not been followed through and the mainstreaming of gender perspectives in Security Council resolutions has been sporadic and inconsistent. For example, Resolution 1577 on the situation in Burundi does not include reference to gender perspectives or the situation of women (UN, SCR 1577, 2004). Resolution 1528 regarding Cote D'Ivoire does however have a number of references to SCR 1325 (UN SCR 1528, 2004). It was not until the fourth Open Debate in 2004, under the leadership of the UK, that a speaker from civil society was invited to address the debate. Ms Agathe Rwankuba, a lawyer from the Democratic Republic of Congo spoke to the Council about the gender based violence experienced by women in her country and called for an independent international inquiry into the situation (NGOWG, 2005, 5).

Several interviewees raised concerns over what was described as the ritualistic nature of the yearly debates on women, peace and security. The comments suggest the construction of a discourse around SCR 1325 may give the impression of some focussed efforts but, as the statement below indicates, there is little real progress within the United Nations on implementation beyond these annual 'debates'.

Sometimes I am a little worried that we have developed this culture of celebrating 1325, you know, once a year. Whoever is President of the Security Council in October is very keen to hold an Open Debate and it's becoming an annual ritual to hold an anniversary debate but when you really look at what they say it's a whole day of one prepared statement after another and sometimes it feels as if they are saying the same things as last year and the year before and I always feel maybe we should abolish that October event but be much more focussed on the Security Council members when they discuss country issues. There is some progress in doing that in that more resolutions make reference to 1325 in country contexts but not enough. (Interview DAW, 2007).

The statements and reports ensuing from the Security Council Open Debates agree on the need to improve incorporation of a gender perspective into the peace and security arena, but they do not make clear what exactly this entails or contain a detailed plan of how to implement the demands that the resolution makes. In October 2004, in recognition of these problems the Secretary General requested the creation of Action Plans.

Action Plans

The Presidential Statement of October 2004 requested that the Secretary General submit to the Council by October 2005:

An action plan with time lines for implementing resolution 1325 (2000) across the United Nations system with a view to strengthening commitment and accountability at the highest levels, as well as to allow for improved accountability, monitoring and reporting on progress on implementation within the United Nations system. (UN SC, 2004).

In his 2004 Report the Secretary General committed to developing a comprehensive system wide strategy and action plan for increasing attention to gender perspectives in conflict prevention and for mainstreaming gender

perspectives into peacekeeping activities at the headquarters level and in peacekeeping operations, with specific monitoring and reporting mechanisms (UN SC 2004, 5). The System-Wide Action Plan was to replace the existing Inter-Agency Action Plan which mapped current and anticipated activities in relation to the implementation of SCR 1325 but lacked provision for systematic consultations at headquarters and country level and had no time bound targets, evaluation or accountability mechanisms (NGOWG, 2005, 15),

The creation of Action Plans opens up the potential for improved consultation processes with all stakeholders and the capacity to initiate strategic actions to fulfil defined goals. As part of the process of improving coordination, cohesion and clarity of what is required it provides the space for increasing awareness of gender issues across diverse departments and entities thus playing a critical role in the gender mainstreaming process itself. An Action Plan in this sense is a written document that describes the efforts and resources required in order to implement a specific goal, within a specific period of time. As pointed out by the INSTRAW study (2006, 1) crucially, the plan should also state who is responsible for its implementation. In theory then, Action Plans, embody the process of translating policies and strategies into executable, measurable and accountable actions. But measuring or assessing changes in gender awareness is not straightforward. OSAGI, which coordinated the study *Women, Peace and Security* in 2002 within the framework of the Inter-Agency Taskforce on Women, Peace and Security, was given responsibility for coordinating and monitoring the development of Action Plans. Clearly there have been great challenges involved in preparing the United Nations System Wide Action Plan:

The UN system is so big and it is so difficult to coordinate with different mandates and some are policy makers, some operational – so what was done as a first step was basically to get everyone together and to see what they were actually doing – so maybe that was not an action plan per se but it was a move to start getting the system together under the umbrella of resolution 1325. (Interview, OSAGI, 2007).

An interviewee who had been working in OSAGI at the time of the initial preparation of the Action Plans said:

It was a struggle putting it together because what we ended up doing was putting together a list of activities by different entities (Interview, DAW, 2007).

An organisation as vast and diverse as the United Nations makes the creation of such a system wide plan extremely difficult, but its very size and diversity also make the creation of such a plan essential if any cohesion is to be achieved. This attempt at coordination is in itself a part of a mainstreaming process, highlighting gender issues within the vast range of entities that were involved in responding to the formation of the Action Plan. In this way it has the potential to push the process of implementation further forwards than the annual Open Debates and Presidential Statements of the early years. The first System-Wide Action Plan on Implementation of SCR 1325 was presented as an Annexe to the Report of the Secretary General on Women, Peace and Security on October 10th, 2005. The policy framework is constructed around 'the importance of bringing a gender perspective to the centre of all United Nations efforts related to peace and security' and called for action under a number of thematic and cross-cutting areas (UN SC, 2005, paragraph 5). The action plan has twelve thematic areas of action (see Box 4) and involved the participation of 37 different United Nations entities. Taking a gender perspective and gender

mainstreaming are critical to the success of all of the twelve themes laid out as areas for action.

Areas of Action:

- A. Conflict prevention and early warning
- B. Peacemaking and peacebuilding
- C. Peacekeeping operations
- D. Humanitarian response
- E. Post-conflict reconstruction and rehabilitation
- F. Disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration
- G. Preventing and responding to gender-based violence in armed conflict
- H. Preventing and responding to sexual exploitation and abuse by United Nations staff, related personnel and partners.
- I. Gender balance
- J. Coordination and partnership
- K. Monitoring and reporting
- L. financial resources

Source: Report of the Secretary General on Women, Peace and Security, October 2005.

Box 4: Areas of Action: System Wide Action Plan for the Implementation of SCR 1325

The Action Plan lays out its goals under each of these themed headings and collates the responses of the different entities in terms of their strategies and actions designed to meet these goals, the outputs achieved so far and a time line for implementation. It is interesting to note that in section B.3. on ensuring that gender perspectives 'are taken into account' in negotiating and implementing peace agreements, the language used still includes 'in particular the special needs and priorities of women and girls' (UN, SC, 2005, 16). It is still questionable whether the phrase 'taking into account' can be equated with a fully integrated mainstreaming of gender. The debate about the use of language including the 'special needs' of women and girls was discussed in Chapter Five but it is significant to note that this document was written five

years after the initial resolution and is still calling for the same approach and using the same language. The ILO and OHCHR entry for section B.3 reveals the most gender aware use of language calling for a thoroughly integrated approach to:

Develop gender-sensitive negotiation strategies and peace agreements, integrate gender analysis into all aspects of the agreement and encourage the adoption of a gender sensitive approach, experience sharing and lessons learned. (UN SC, 2005, 17).

The language used by different entities reveals considerable differences in approach and understanding of gender mainstreaming. For example, 'Developing gender sensitive negotiation strategies and peace agreements' suggests that gender is intended to be a fully integrated component of the approach to peacebuilding rather than the segregated approach of, for example, the DPAs entry 'support the inclusion of gender specific provisions in peace agreements' which suggests that only some sections of the process may address gender issues. Section B.5. focuses on the provision of systematic training on gender issues for all personnel involved in peacemaking and peacebuilding efforts. The strategies and actions focus on awareness raising and education for gender equality with outputs being gender sensitive workshops and training modules.

DPKO has produced extensive resources around gender training. The Peacekeeping Best practices Unit (PBPU) produced a *Handbook on Multidimensional Peacekeeping Operations* in December 2003 which contains a chapter on Gender Mainstreaming (UN, DPKO, 2003). The chapter does give a comprehensive account of the significance and benefits of gender

mainstreaming in peacekeeping operations, acknowledging the socially constructed nature of gender and existing inequalities and accepts that gender roles are learned and therefore can be changed but again it fails to take the analysis a step further on from a focus on women to questions about gender relations and the role of men and boys in relation to conflict, peacekeeping and peacebuilding. The chapter concludes:

By focusing on improving women's health, education, and welfare, a peacekeeping operation gives local women the tools to lay the groundwork for the rebuilding of a peaceful and sustainable social order. (UN, DPKO, PBPU, 2003, 123).

While it is highly significant for peacekeeping operations to promote women's health, education and welfare rights, care should be taken that the language does not imply a one-way benevolent 'giving' rather than an 'experience sharing' and learning processes.

In 2004 the PBPU produced a very extensive Gender Resource Package designed to explain the concept of gender mainstreaming to peacekeeping personnel at headquarters and in missions (UN, DPKO, PBPU, 2004). The DPKO has a twofold responsibility for gender mainstreaming; firstly incorporating gender perspectives into its own work and secondly assisting the affected population in post-conflict countries to integrate gender perspectives into the work of rebuilding and redesigning their institutions and practices. This second responsibility relies heavily on the mandate of the peace operation and hence the significance of incorporating a gender perspective into all of the work of the Security Council in the creation of peacekeeping mandates. Two further issues to consider here are the difficulties involved in working within a culture

that may have a very different concept of gender and also the diverse cultural make up of peacekeeping forces.

All of the entities who engaged in the creation of the Action Plan have policy documents relating to gender awareness and gender training. Throughout my interviewing the participants all spoke of the significance of good quality gender training programmes but some scepticism was also expressed about their effectiveness:

....(gender) training also competes with the human rights based training and the HIV/AIDS training and everything else. I think it is useful to have them but I don't know what the impact actually is (Interview, UNIFEM, 2007).

Again, it seems that there is often a gap between what is prioritised on paper and what is put into practice. For example, the 2006 evaluation of gender mainstreaming within UNDP revealed that, in spite of considerable documentation on gender, the UNDP had 'not effectively and successfully engendered its development programmes' (UNDP, 2006, iii).

A process has been set up to review the United Nations System Wide Action Plan. In 2006 OSAGI worked with external consultants to see what was working and what was not (Interview, OSAGI, 2007). The consultants met with actors from within the United Nations system, with member states and with the NGO Working Group on Women Peace and Security to look at where the gaps were in terms of institutional structures. The report that was prepared highlighted issues of accountability, evaluation and the development of indicators (Interview, OSAGI, 2007). A key issue raised is how to define

indicators to measure progress (Interview, DAW, 2007). Indicators may be clearer in monitoring participation but it is more difficult to monitor the subtle changes in attitudes and openness that gender mainstreaming requires. It remains a difficult conceptual area to formally measure. OSAGI was working in 2007 on issues raised by the consultants report:

Our office is trying to institutionalise things by looking at the next Action Plan to see how we can make it more strategic and have more consultations and have indicators and mechanisms for accountability...And also to look at ways of strengthening the Task Force because you need the commitment from the higher levels. So these are the steps that we are taking right now and working on following up on the recommendations from the consultants review and what was presented to the Security Council. (Interview, OSAGI, 2007).

Views from other interviewees on the progress made on the Action Plan were mixed. One interviewee commented that progress 'was not going too well' (interview, UNDP, 2007), whilst another saw some progress being made:

It is working to an extent, it's going forward – there's a gender Task Force in place and there are meetings and there's certainly more discussion of gender at the UN than there has ever been. But how you actually implement the Action Plan is the most difficult step and how you make individuals accountable is a mystery a lot of the time to a lot of people. (Interview, UK mission to UN, 2007).

That there is more discussion of gender at the United Nations than there has been before is an encouraging development and one that seemed universally agreed upon. It may be questionable how much the focus of discussion is on gender rather than on women but perhaps this is an essential pre-requisite to a more holistic understanding of gender and it is certainly a move away from the invisibility of women in many parts of the United Nations in the past.

National Action Plans

As the United Nations is composed of nation states it is critical to analyse what is happening at the national level with regard to implementation of gender mainstreaming policies. The 2006 INSTRAW document was designed to help facilitate the provision of efficient and workable action plans through examples of best practice, guidelines and recommendations (UN, INSTRAW, 2006). To date, the UK, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Canada, Switzerland and Fiji have either produced National Action Plans or are in the process of doing so.

OSAGI has been active in planning consultations at regional level with national actors on National Action Plans and on the issue of gender training. The concept is to work more closely with countries that have already developed National Action Plans in order to see what the components are and what can be used as a model for best practice (Interview OSAGI, 2007).

The UK National Action Plan was launched on International Women's Day on March 8th 2006. DFID, the FCO and the MOD are all equal stakeholders in the development of the plan which links humanitarian, conflict, defence and diplomacy work (EPLO, 2009). According to the leader of the Associate Parliamentary Group on 1325, addressing gender issues specifically and calling for effective collaboration between these three departments is in itself a substantial move forward (Ruddick, Open Meeting on SCR 1325, 2006).

Overall, the UK National Action Plan is significant in addressing some of the issues of SCR 1325 and creating an outline plan of action to be taken.

Although the document shows clear commitment to SCR 1325, the language of the Action Plan, which is an evolving document, is disappointing in places. The action points propose, amongst other things, to ensure gender perspectives are

included in all Security Council mandates for peacekeeping and peacebuilding operations which is a positive step. Action Point One declares that Her Majesties Government will ensure that 'gender elements' are incorporated into the objectives of Security Council missions and will make recommendations relating to women and girls in any follow up reports. 'Gender elements' and 'gender components' implies entities separate from the mainstream purpose of the work, which seems to run contrary to the idea of mainstreaming gender perspectives into *all* of the work of the Security Council. The UK Action Plan does propose crucial financial support for gender units and support to the UNDP/ Bureau of Crisis Prevention and Recovery for gender mainstreaming work and, at Point Twelve, proposes to liaise with NGOs, civil society and parliamentarians on implementation of SCR 1325. A tripartite group called the Associate Parliamentary Group on SCR 1325 has been set up and is comprised of MPs, civil servants and NGO members. This group should facilitate dialogue, coordination and support and also act as a monitor to ensure that the government puts into practice the requirements of the Action Plan. The progress of gender awareness within DFID appears to have gained some momentum recently. Following a major evaluation about how gender issues were dealt with across the department, the findings confirmed that although the commitment at policy and strategy level had been strong they had failed to be translated fully and consistently into actions that would make a difference on the ground (Expert Panel member, GAPS, March, 2007). As a result of this a Gender Equality Action Plan has been adopted with overall responsibility for implementation lying with one of the three Director Generals at DFID. A panel member at the GAPS Expert Seminar explained that:

He (the director general) has stated that one of his objectives for success is that gender equality and women's empowerment have to appear in every issue, every country and every activity, not just in gender projects but integrated across everything we do. That's no easy target. (Expert Panel Member, GAPS, March 2007).

This is indeed 'no easy target' but using this kind of language of total integration of gender into all areas of work is a very positive move and shows the potential that Action Plans on SCR 1325 can have in moving the status of gender issues up the agenda.

In addition to Action Plans there are two structural changes within the United Nations that could have an impact on gender, peace and security concerns. These are the establishment of the Peacebuilding Commission and the new gender architecture under the proposed reform of the structure of the United Nations.

The Peacebuilding Commission

The Peacebuilding Commission (PBC) was set up following the adoption of concurrent resolutions in the Security Council and the General Assembly in December 2005 (UN GA 60/180, and UN SCR 1645). It has been created in an attempt to address some of the problems around the failure of the United Nations and the international community to efficiently coordinate and adequately resource complex peace support operations. The PBC is an outcome of the High Level Panel Report of December 2004. There has been criticism of the lack of integration of gender and incorporation of the commitments of SCR 1325 into the establishment of the Peacebuilding Commission:

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 recognise this grave and dangerous omission, and take swift action to redress it. (NGOWG, 2006, ix).

Interview data revealed that the position of gender within the Peacebuilding Commission was not yet clearly defined and would depend on various factors. In spite of the criticism of its founding mandate, it was generally felt that the new Commission had the potential to take a positive role in pushing the gender agenda forward, but there was also some caution:

It will be heavily reliant on the consultation process...it will depend how much political space gender is given, women's rights issues are given, within the support office. (Interview, UNIFEM, 2007).

At the time of writing it was still unsure what the exact role of the Peacebuilding Support Office would be. There was some concern over whether it would have a secretariat role or whether it could develop into more of a resource centre incorporating lessons and best practices:

If it develops like that there is a lot of scope for the gender advisor to have a big impact. (Interview, UK mission to UN, 2007).

But it was also felt that there were limitations to what the PBC would be able to do:

The idea is that the Peacebuilding Commission will inform the Security Council and provide information and advice and help it going forward but it comes in at too late a stage to start with the initial implementation of mandates...it could help with the renewal of mandates. (Interview, UK Mission to UN, 2007)

New Gender Structure

A further imminent structural change that will affect the way gender is dealt with within the United Nations is the new gender architecture proposed by the High Level Panel on United Nations System–Wide Coherence in the Areas of Development, Humanitarian Assistance and the Environment (UN, November 9th, 2006) The outcome is as yet unsure but the report suggests consolidating OSAGI, UNIFEM and DAW into ‘an enhanced and independent gender entity’ headed by an Executive Director with the rank of Under Secretary General. It proposes that gender equality would be a component of all United Nations one country programmes. Comments on the proposed new structure included both optimism and caution:

I think it's advantageous in that it gives greater political credibility – so I think around political space, resource issues – I think it is advantageous.... But it does depend on the political will that goes into it. Creating a structure isn't going to solve the problems of how you staff the structure, how much funding you give it. (Interview, UNIFEM, 2007).

One interviewee said they were generally encouraged by the possibility of an Under Secretary General on gender equality but expressed caution over the issue of separation and marginalisation:

I have heard the attitude that – ‘oh we are getting a new gender structure – we don't need to do anything anymore’ – which has also been an excuse used in the past in the case of UNIFEM. (Interview, UNDP, 2007).

This caution was reinforced by another interviewee:

Just putting everyone under one roof is not going to change anything but if we get resources and they are really serious about it I think it could be positive...our office was a bit concerned when the proposal first came up – is it going to draw away from resources and attention from what the big entities and agencies are supposed to be doing...we will see how it goes because that really is a key concern. (Interview OSAGI, 2007).

Recognition of the significance of gender equality and progress towards taking gender perspectives in policymaking is clearly on the agenda at the United Nations. How it develops and how far it is integrated into the mainstream remains unclear. A review of the progress of gender mainstreaming would be incomplete without examining the crucial part played by NGOs in advancing awareness of these issues at local, national and international levels.

The Role of NGOs in the Promotion of Gender Awareness

Raising awareness about gender is critical not only within decision making institutions but within communities and wider cultural settings. Long held and culturally embedded stereotypes cannot be easily challenged if change is perceived to be being imposed either from above or from a different cultural perspective. Local, national, regional and international NGOs and civil society groups have been key players in disseminating information, creating networks and advocating for change. Much of the work of NGO's in the field of gender and peacebuilding is of a bridge building nature with information flowing both ways between the local and the global. NGOs disseminate information at ground level about what is happening at policy making level and, just as

crucially, they facilitate bringing the voices and concerns of the people on the ground up to the top decision making level. This two-way communication, awareness raising and capacity building role is critical to increasing the understanding of gender. The interview data revealed frequent reference to the significance of the work of particular NGOs in the field of gender, peace and security:

I think it is critical (the work of NGOs) because they can say things more clearly and directly....I think NGOs can be more direct and might bring in data that the government doesn't want to show. (Interview, DAW, 2007)

I think they can play a big role, particularly because they are more 'bottom-up', less 'top-down' than we are, and more specified, so they will be much more aware and knowledgeable and be able to implement certain aspects. (Interview, UNDP, 2007)

I think nationally based and locally based NGOs have an incredibly strong role to play. It creates national accountability – knowing that their country is also accountable to this resolution. (Interview, UNIFEM, 2007)

NGOs often have access to specialised and localised information about culturally specific gender issues and what women are doing locally in conflict areas that governmental or United Nations bodies may not have easy access to, or may not want to reveal. A wide variety of NGOs whose work is focussed on humanitarian issues, human rights, development or women's empowerment are involved in various ways with gender, peace and conflict issues. The international network NGO Working Group on Women, Peace and Security is especially significant for its work at both United Nations level and its support for local women's groups in areas of conflict. This network was formed in May 2000 to advocate for the adoption of SCR 1325, and is composed of a number of NGOs including Amnesty International, The Hague Appeal for Peace, Human

Rights Watch, The International Women's Tribune centre, International Alert and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. The diversity of membership has meant that a broad range of expertise has been brought to the network. Following the adoption of SCR 1325 the network continued to advocate for gender mainstreaming in the peace and security sphere and to press for the full implementation of the resolution. The group collaborates with United Nations entities, member states and civil society partners including other women's peace groups, human rights and humanitarian organisations (Interview, NGOWG, 2007). Its United Nations partners include UNIFEM, the Inter Agency Taskforce, OSAGI and DAW and it is an active partner in the Friends of SCR 1325 group of Member States. The NGOWG on Women, Peace and Security has worked consistently to influence the decision making bodies, using their expertise, specialist knowledge, local contacts and lobbying skills. They were very influential in calling for the creation of clear mechanisms for the implementation of SCR 1325 and have produced several significant reports and evaluations on implementation (NGOWG, 2005, 2006). As well as calling for action plans, in the lead up to the 2004 Open Debate the NGOWG has requested that the Security Council identify a Security Council Member State on an annual basis to act as a focal point for the full implementation of SCR 1325 and to establish an expert level working group on implementation of SCR 1325 (NGOWG, 2005, 10).

International Alert has also been prominent in its work on gender and peacebuilding. Established in 1986 with the objective of working to support sustainable peace in areas affected by or threatened by violent conflict, International Alert works both at field level and at governmental, EU and United

Nations level to influence policy development with their practical expertise and research knowledge. Their role is one of advocacy and awareness raising, giving voice to the people who are affected by conflict and by the policies created by the decision makers in their attempts to resolve conflicts (Interview, International Alert, 2007). International Alert has a well established gender division which grew out of a 1999 campaign and publication *Mainstreaming Gender in Peacebuilding: A Framework for Action: From Village Council to the Negotiating Table* which was instrumental in the advocacy that led to the adoption of resolution 1325. The primary commitments of the gender division are to conduct research to develop a gender aware understanding and analysis of conflict and peacebuilding; to provide policy recommendations at both national and international level; to develop capacity building at the local level and to provide specialist advice on gender issues to the group's regional programmes and policy development (Interview, IA, 2006). The interviewee explained how the focus of the division had changed from women to gender over the past few years. In 2004, in collaboration with the Women Waging Peace network, International Alert produced a highly significant and detailed resource package *Inclusive Security, Sustainable Peace: A Toolkit for Advocacy and Action*. This Toolkit is important in raising awareness of gender mainstreaming and promoting the understanding and use of SCR 1325. Although the Toolkit was developed specifically for women peace activists, advocates and practitioners in conflict situations, the authors have found that other related actors such as policymakers and staff of major multilateral institutions, donor countries and INGOs have also found the information relevant and useful (International Alert, 2004, 3)

In terms of awareness raising the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) has played a crucial role in their facilitation of the translation of the SCR 1325 into 95 languages with several more translations pending (Peacewoman, 2008). WILPF has a huge network of contacts and information available on its website (Peacewomen, 2008). The group was established in 1915 and has a longstanding commitment to the achievement of peace and justice. It has National Sections in more than 40 countries, covering all continents and has an International Secretariat based in Geneva and a United Nations office in New York. The organisation brings together women from all over the world who are opposed to war, violence, exploitation and oppression and who wish to establish peace by non-violent means based on political, economic and social justice for all (Interview, UK, WILPF, 2008). The organisation has consultative status with ECOSOC, UNESCO, UNCTAD and has special relations with ILO, FOA and UNICEF among others.

The International Women's Tribune Centre (IWTC) has also contributed to increasing the awareness of SCR 1325 at the local level. Much of the awareness raising and advocacy work of the IWTC is done through utilising local media outlets using local staff to spread information and facilitate discussion (Interview, IWTC, 2007).

In recent years NGOs have increasingly created a place for themselves at the discussions and inputs preceding policy and decision making. Chapter Five documented the acceptance of a degree of collaboration with NGOs within ECOSOC and particularly within the CSW. The Security Council, however, has traditionally been a completely closed and highly politicised body. But some

tentative changes in the operations of the Security Council can be seen, for example in its opening up to presentations from country delegates following the Fourth Open Debate in 2004.

The mainstreaming of gender perspectives is a concept that needs to pervade all levels of society from global, through national to local decision making bodies and into the wider community. NGOs have a critical role to play in this process. International NGOs must at the same time be aware of their responsibilities to reflect local opinion and needs through inclusive and participatory procedures.

Gender Mainstreaming and SCR 1325 – Concluding Remarks

Two principle conclusions arise from this analysis of gender mainstreaming in peacebuilding processes. The first is that the concept of gender is not clearly or consistently understood throughout the United Nations entities. The focus of analysis frequently remains on the category classified as 'women's issues'. The implications of the constructions of gender are only recognised in isolated pockets. The second major conclusion is that SCR 1325 cannot in itself be seen as the ultimate policy tool for mainstreaming a gender perspective into peacebuilding policy. It is a very important starting point in that it recognises that women and men experience violent conflict differently. But there are many further questions that need to be asked about why this is so, what causes it, and how can it be transformed, before gender can be mainstreamed into peacebuilding practices. The following quotation supports the view that SCR is a starting point:

Some of the problems that I spoke about at the beginning regarding gender equals women are in a way reflected in the resolution itself and for this reason I cannot think of 1325 as the text that provides the mandate. In a much more general sense it is just the license. It's the license to open up these questions – to start asking these questions (member of expert panel discussion, GAPS, 2007).

It is possible that a culture has developed around women, peace and security issues that incorporates a degree of ownership of SCR 1325 by the women centred entities of the United Nations and women centred NGOs. There is also the potential that the resolution has been elevated into something that it is not, especially with regard to its conceptualising of gender. The resolution and the work around its advocacy and its implementation have had a very significant impact on raising awareness about gender issues both inside the United Nations and at the local level. The provisions of SCR 1325 are very broad and general and could not be expected to transform the gender blind attitudes and practices that often prevail in decision making bodies in the arena of peace and security. Understanding the issues and challenging the structures that underpin the different positions that men and women find themselves in during conflict is critical to moving the process forward. SCR 1325 has contributed towards this by allowing further questions to be raised. The kind of debates that are being had within UNESCO and DAW about cultures of peace and the significance of constructions of masculinities with regard to violent conflict are extremely significant. A way needs to be found to incorporate these debates into policy making.

There is clearly a gap between rhetorical commitment to and implementation of gender mainstreaming. Many of the reports, statements and evaluations

indicate acceptance of the importance of integrating a gender perspective and of encouraging women's involvement in efforts to maintain and promote peace. But the analysis that these claims are founded on rarely question the gendered links between masculinities and violence. They also rarely suggest that approaches to peace that may be associated with feminine attributes may be different from approaches to peace that are associated with masculine attributes. They do not explicitly associate the integration of gender perspectives with transformative strategies for building positive sustainable peace. The rights based approach predominates, but we should be asking what kind of empowerment is being offered. Is it to be included in a system whose masculinised foundations remain largely unchallenged? Another question that arises is how can we measure improvement in the incorporation of gender perspectives? How do we measure subtle changes in strategy or approach? And even if we could how can we define what those changes are due to? The 2005 Secretary General's Report talks about preparing guidelines on how to 'institutionalise women's contributions' (UN SC, 2005, paragraph 19). But does 'institutionalise' mean mould to fit the right shape of the predominant institutions and their practices?

It is clear from this analysis that at a policy level things are moving slowly forward with regard to implementing SCR 1325, and notwithstanding the important questions above there are parts of the Action Plans that show great potential for moving the profile of gender forward. However, since using gender analysis is the critical starting point for gender mainstreaming and gender analysis generally remains a poorly understood concept, perhaps the difficulties

encountered and the slow progression made are to be expected. As one interviewee commented perhaps we are expecting too much too soon:

There's been a lot of criticism of gender mainstreaming not working but the counter argument is that it hasn't been around long enough to work and we all know that stereotypes, deeply entrenched stereotypes about women, take a long time to disappear. (Interview, DAW, 2007).

But gender mainstreaming is an integral part of recognising human rights, human needs and social justice, both necessary precursors of positive, sustainable peace. These issues that have been on the international agenda for long enough. Finding a way to implement the provisions of SCR1325 is a necessary first step towards gender equality in issues of peace and security but inequality between men and women will not be resolved through a focus on women alone. More attention needs to be brought to the socially constructed nature of gender and to such issues as divisions of labour, access to and control over resources and potential impact on decision making. Questions need to be asked about how gender stereotypes contribute to the development of either violence or peace.

Chapter 7

Participation: Access to Decision Making, Representation and Consultation.

Participation is an ongoing process – get it right from the beginning and it can help shift power from the powerful to the powerless. (Buhaenko et al, 2004, 1)

I have worked, boots on the ground, as a civilian in Kosovo, Sierra Leone, Afghanistan and Iraq, and have seen the same damaging mistakes made repeatedly by the international community because they ignore the participation and perspective of women in peace initiatives, post-conflict programmes and policies (Abdela, 2005)

In order to fully realise gender equality and the mainstreaming of gender perspectives and practices in the peacebuilding arena there must be a goal of equal participation of men and women in policy making processes. The United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 recognises the importance of women's equal participation and full involvement in all efforts for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security. But what does participation actually mean? Although greater participation of women has been called for in recent peacebuilding policy, the interview data, the literature, and the policy analyses, reveals that the concept of participation is often a very imprecisely defined goal. Participation can be understood in terms of increased access to decision making, fair representation and effective consultation.

On one level the goal of greater participation and fairer representation of women may be seen as a more straightforward concept than understanding the complex constructions of gender that is required for the full integration of gender

perspectives. Consequently, greater participation and representation of women may be perceived as a more easily addressed and quantifiable issue. However, from a critical perspective there are important questions about what participation means and what values underpin it, that frequently remain unanswered. The same problematic issues of the 'incorporation' of women into pre-existing masculinised structures arise when considering increasing participation as were raised in the analysis of attempts to incorporate gender perspectives into policy and policy making procedures. Further critical questions to ask are: Which women? And how many women?

The first section of this chapter will examine the meaning of participation in the context of peacebuilding and what values underpin the call for greater participation of women. The focus will then turn to an examination of how the policy objectives of the United Nations for increasing the participation of women in peacebuilding processes are being put into practice. This will involve analysing gender balance strategies, representation, consultation, awareness raising and capacity building. How are these issues addressed by SCR 1325? And what has been done by the Secretariat and entities of the UN, national governments and NGOs to support and implement these proposals? The limitations and problems encountered in the implementation of the goals will be analysed.

What is Participation?

It is important to establish what counts as participation. The term 'participation' can mean different things to different people and is often used without qualification or clear definition. It can be interpreted in a restricted and passive sense where people are only marginally involved and are largely merely informed of what is to happen. They have little or no power over the actual decision making process. Participation may be said to have occurred if consultation processes are set up. Peoples' opinions may be sought but may or may not be acted upon by those with power in the decision making process. The following description from an Oxfam report on gender and participation indicates the difference in understandings of participation between those with power in the decision making process and those without:

What someone with power considers to be participation (we asked the public what they thought) and what those without power consider to be participation (they asked us but did not listen) are very different. (Buhaenko et al, 20004, 3).

Issues of participation are intricately linked to power and go beyond 'being consulted' or 'invited to join in'. In this thesis the term participation is taken to mean the empowerment to be fully involved in all stages of the decision making process including agenda setting. For a process to be participatory it requires the meaningful involvement of a wide and representative cross section of community members who are fully integrated into the agenda setting, planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policy processes.

The capacity of women to participate in peace making and peacebuilding processes is inextricably related to gender inequality and to broader access to political participation at all levels. This includes not only formal political processes but also involvement in civil society and in local, national and international economic decision making structures. The empowerment to participate in public decision making structures is critically related to the concepts of citizenship, human rights and democracy discussed in Chapter Three. Even countries whose systems of government are democratic fail to put into practice the ideals of equal participation regardless of sex, class or ethnicity. Women remain the biggest category of people globally that are denied full citizenship rights.

Governance structures range from village councils to international institutions and in spite of centuries of discourse on citizenship and, more recently on human rights, there is still frequently a lack of acknowledgement of how social and gender inequalities compromise and restrict the practice of equal rights to participate at different levels of governance. Research into gender and participation specifically in the field of peacebuilding is very limited but considerable work has been done within the development discourse which is useful to this analysis:

The word participation has been used in development projects with a range of meanings. While it can refer to genuine intent to hand over the power to interpret, analyse and come up with solutions, in some cases, imposition of donor agendas has been justified by cursory consultation processes which are then referred to as participatory. (Akerkar, 2001, 2)

This definition of 'the power to interpret, analyse and come up with solutions' as a goal for a more meaningful understanding of participation is significant and goes further in terms of empowerment than is often the case within peacebuilding arenas. Within the development discourse, Sweetman (2003, 3) speaks of 'a vision of empowerment through awareness raising and popular participation' that has been attempted by some development organisations. Although the process of awareness raising at all levels is one that has been taken seriously by NGO's and various women's peace activist groups, the closed and securitised nature of the top decision making structures in peacebuilding has created barriers to advancing the goals of this kind of empowerment. This does not apply exclusively to gender.

Any critical analysis of the goal of increased participation of women in the field of peace and security must be situated in the broader social, political and economic context in which it operates. There are difficulties involved in calling for women's participation in formal peacebuilding processes when on the ground they frequently have little access to the routes of power that would enable them to participate on equal terms within existing structures. Limited access to education and employment also inhibits access to the particular type of prescribed 'knowledge' and skills required for formal participation in institutional processes. This is not to say that women at the local level do not have a wealth of knowledge and expertise in informal but vital peacebuilding practices. But their knowledge often falls outside of formalised processes.

In addition to considering levels of women's access to political participation it is also crucial to consider broader economic factors and changing global power structures when assessing women's progress in decision making capacities:

Today women have won some influence in political decision making in many countries. At the same time, the globalisation of the economy and deregulation seem to have removed power from national parliaments, and left women mostly as spectators to the many summits of the few ruling men – the new global elite (Dahlerup, 2001, 121).

The limitations imposed on states and national parliaments by the increasingly diverse and undemocratic forms of economic organisations poses a significant threat to the advancement of women in some areas of decision making.

What Values Underpin the Call for Greater Participation?

It is important to be aware of the parameters of the debate about women's participation in that most analyses of women's roles are based on a perspective that sees traditional mainstream public life as the standard by which we are judging what 'participation' occurs. Fundamentally, much of what many women do in their everyday lives in terms of nurturing, educating, and caring comprises unrecognised levels of participation in the maintenance of social cohesion. In conflict contexts these activities that bind societies together, and are also often performed across conflict boundaries, constitute a significant contribution to peacebuilding in its broadest sense, even if women's role in 'public' life is very limited. A reading of SCR 1325 and subsequent United Nations evaluations creates the impression that the main issue at stake is to encourage more women to participate in existing formal peace processes

facilitated under the auspices of the United Nations or other intergovernmental bodies. The existing United Nations and national structures, strategies and policies for peacebuilding remain the focal point around which incorporation needs to be facilitated. This is exacerbated by the fact that gender has not been incorporated into the mainstream analyses of peace and security policies as was discussed in Chapter Six, and again reflects the boundaries of the public/private divide. Integrating and linking equal participation with transformative processes for peace and broader explorations of alternative routes and strategies has been largely overlooked.

The call for greater participation can arise from different foundations. Firstly, there is the perspective that a move for increased participation and fair representation can be based on a simple call for justice and human rights. Secondly, it has been argued that women have different experiences and values to men which need to be represented in order to have a more holistic and legitimate approach. Within this perspective it has also been claimed by some feminists that women and men have conflicting interests and that traditionally women's interests have been oppressed and this must be rectified. So there is also a call for justice here. A third argument suggests that women may have the potential for creating change because they have traditionally operated outside of the industrial-military complex and government systems (Dahlerup, 2001, 105). This rests on the assumption that a view from the outside may offer something new and innovative. The first perspective does not necessarily incorporate any views on the potential for the increased participation of women to effect any change on policy. The second and third

perspectives suggest that having fairer representation and participation may have the potential to enhance peacebuilding. With the third perspective, however, there is a problem. If women have the potential for change because of their traditional exclusion from formal systems of power, by what means can they be integrated into structures of decision making without losing that potential? These questions open up significant issues about changing political cultures and structures of power and cannot be ignored. SCR 1325 does not, of course, expound on the political or philosophical underpinnings of the call for greater participation of women in decision making, but it is significant to ask these questions if an understanding of how to create more sustainable peace is at the core of the debate.

The NGOWG on Women, Peace and Security has suggested that it is the responsibility of governments not only to draw on women's experiences as a resource in formal peacebuilding but also to ask the question:

....how an attention to gender *refigures* peacekeeping and peacebuilding efforts, rather than assuming that the inclusion of women solves the question a priori (NGOWG, 2005, 48)

Refiguring peacebuilding could include a much greater emphasis on local participation and local ownership of processes for peace as well as decreasing the militarization of peacekeeping and peacebuilding and placing much greater emphasis on civilian components of missions. Integrating more women into the formal processes of decision making must be an essential element in

breaking down the entrenched patriarchal structures and androcentric perspectives that have dominated the field of security. The result of breaking down traditional structures and facilitating broader participatory processes could lead to a greater sense of shared ownership of peace. Since peace needs to be embedded in communities to be sustainable it needs to be clear that community members' interests in peace are heard.

Whose peace? Participation and Ownership of Peace.

Women have traditionally had little access to ownership of peace through public participation in peace processes. A factor that has emerged from the interview data, and has been raised in the academic literature (see for example, Mazurana et al, 2005; Meintjes et al, 2001; Cockburn, 2007) is that a key issue for many women working in the sphere of peace and security is the lack of recognition of what is already being done in informal processes of peacebuilding. In this context it is misleading to view SCR 1325 as a primary instigator of women's participation and involvement in peacebuilding. Women's activist groups, NGO's and civil society groups were fundamentally responsible for instigating SCR 1325, which has subsequently largely been seen as a United Nations initiative and tool. The crucial part played by local women's groups in the impetus for SCR 1325 was emphasised by an interviewee who had been working for UNIFEM from 1996 to 2000, a critical period in the build up to the adoption of the resolution:

One of the things that I appreciated about that whole period leading up was that a lot of the work, a lot of the advocacy, surrounding the need to

look at how women engage in peace processes and the need to mobilise their capacity for peace came from countries in conflict themselves. I think that was a very important point – that there was in the late 1990s a growing movement of women, largely through NGOs but some also from governments of countries in conflict from around the world. Women from the Balkans, women from Africa, who basically lead, I would say, and I think we at the UN should be more modest because we actually got carried away with it. The initiative came from them and then some support from the UN and having a member state that was willing to become more innovative on the Security Council. (Interview, DPKO, 2007).

This view highlights a factor that frequently appears to be overlooked in United Nation's policy making attempts to incorporate gender issues and perspectives. That factor is the significance of recognising and utilising what is already being done in the informal structures of peacebuilding at a local level. Understanding what is being done and what can be done at the local community level is very relevant to understanding how peace becomes embedded in communities.

During an interview, an NGO worker optimistically reflected that:

What the resolution does in many ways is reflect and ask for those outside parties, the UN, member states, agencies, warring parties and the rest to recognise something that happens in any event, so local women's peace initiatives are not something born of 1325. The intention of 1325 was forcing people to look at and deal with things that are already happening. (Interview WILPF, 2007).

Although many women's peace initiatives long pre-existed the resolution, and drawing attention to these was a primary objective of many of the groups who worked to promote and support the adoption of the resolution, this is not reflected to any great extent in the text of the resolution. The only two sections of the resolution that specifically refer to supporting existing initiatives for peace are sections 8b) and section 15. Paragraph 8b) calls on all actors involved,

when negotiating and implementing peace agreements to adopt a gender perspective including, inter alia, measures that support local women's peace initiatives and indigenous processes for conflict resolution. Paragraph 15 calls for consultation with local and international women's groups (UN, SCR 1325, 2000). The failure to really pick up on using local expertise and knowledge, and to utilise locally based, transformative and innovative ways of promoting reconciliation has been a major failing of peace processes.

In spite of growing discussion about widening the participation of women, deeply entrenched and discriminatory patriarchal attitudes towards the participation of women in conflict and post-conflict situations have remained evident as can be seen in the following description of the situation in Kosovo at the end of the NATO bombing:

With one exception, all senior posts in the OSCE mission as well as the UN mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) were held by men. Ignoring the majority gender, OSCE men regularly discussed what percentage of Serbs, Bosniaks, Albanians and other ethnic groups should be represented on judicial, political and public bodies. No-one mentioned women. No thought of similar percentage representation of women occurred to these senior male diplomats. When I pointed this out I was told that women in leadership posts would be 'alien to local culture and tradition' and, in any case, 'no women in Kosovo are interested in participation in politics or public life'. (Abdela, 2005).

It has been common practice not to address gender balance even when there are attempts to address other ethnic or religious imbalances in representation in post conflict reconstruction of political institutions. In 2003 early efforts for reconstruction in Iraq, led by the US and Britain 'failed to adequately include

women either in leadership positions or as participants in the post war reconstruction process' (UNIFEM, 2006). The legal team that was appointed by the coalition to amend Iraq's legal code was made up exclusively of male lawyers and judges (ibid). In interviews carried out for the New York Times in 2005 many women said they had been shut out of discussions about the formation of the new government (Worth, 2005).

In Kosovo not a single women was appointed by the special representative of the UN Secretary General in Kosovo, Bernard Kouchner, to the Kosovar Transitional Governing Council. Kosovar women's NGOs and networks are reported as criticising the international community for marginalising women in a way that had not happened before (Abdela, 2005). This seriously calls into question any progress the United Nations is making in actively promoting and facilitating gender equality and greater participation of women in peacebuilding processes.

The lack of utilisation of local knowledge raises further questions about participatory processes. If the United Nations' policy intention is to integrate more women into decision making processes which women are most likely to be integrated or incorporated? And are they likely to be representative of a wide cross section of women?

Widening Participation - Which Women?

Any analysis of the policy of increasing the participation of women in decision making processes needs to address the question of which women are most likely to be included or incorporated into public life. As has been discussed previously, the potential for access to participating in public life relates strongly to factors such as socio-economic status, race, ethnicity, geographic location and family and kinship ties. As well as the pre-existing barriers to political participation, the specific impact of armed conflict on local women creates additional barriers to their participation in public life. Changing roles, increased burdens of responsibility and an increased threat to women's physical safety during times of conflict and in the post conflict period have a significant impact on their capacity to participate. The threat of direct physical violence clearly impedes the opportunity and capacity to participate in public life.

On the ground women's knowledge of local problems and strategies to deal with them often do not fit into formal structures and processes for peacebuilding. The following quotation highlights the position of local women in the challenge to fit into those formal structures:

Without the relevant information and training, our local women will not be able to rise to this challenge. We need to instil in them a belief in themselves and the belief that their knowledge and their strategies are just as important as someone who wears a tailored suit and speaks the language of the policy makers (Bagwan Rolls, 2005, quoted in NGOWG, 2005, 82).

The problem of empowerment for those with equally valid knowledge expressed here can be widely applied across many conflict situations. Local women peace activists are often outside of the culture of public policy making. Different factors may place them outside of these processes; geographic location, ability to travel, language spoken, style of language used, ways of presentation of knowledge, and lack of expertise or understanding of the procedures of formal decision making bodies. Snyder (2003) gives an insightful account of the need for insider and prior knowledge of agenda setting procedures that are necessary to ensure voices are heard. Snyder points out that local women from conflict affected areas often have a narrative approach in expressing their experiences of conflict and their peacebuilding strategies and this form of expression is incompatible with the formal, impersonal, policy language of the public officials and prescribed procedures (Snyder, 2003). This has clear implications for which women will get their voices heard.

Although socio-economic status and cultural traditions play a significant part in the barriers that prevent the participation of women in processes for peace, patriarchal and discriminatory attitudes also impede full participation in western democratic countries and in intergovernmental institutions. In 2000 Maj Britt Theorin, a Swedish MEP and chairperson of the Committee of Women's Rights and Equality in the European Parliament introduced a resolution on women and conflict to the European Parliament and was met by this response from the chair of the Foreign Affairs Committee: 'You women should not involve yourselves in such matters. Don't you understand that we men fight – for you' (Theorin, 2005).

Barriers to widening the participation of women in formal peacebuilding processes come in many forms and cut across culture, geographic location, class, race, and educational status. It must be acknowledged that there is great diversity in the views and approaches that women take towards conflict and peace. However, a further debate of significance when considering which women may get their voices heard is the contested issue of the co-option of women. There has often been an implicit assumption in feminist thought that women in positions of political power would automatically advance the cause of gender equality and women's rights and would champion change in policies and attitudes on issues such as social justice, development, conflict and peace. Linked to this is the debate about whether a critical mass of women in political institutions could transform the nature of politics (Dahlerup, 2001). The argument that transformation of politics would be possible through an increase in the numbers of women participating is based on the assumption that a critical mass of women would facilitate alternative or different values incorporating greater cooperation and collaboration superseding the existing power based politics that dominates public life. It is easy to fall into an essentialist trap when discussing participation and assume that we can conflate increasing the numbers of women with increased commitment to social justice and equality. The argument is hypothetical to the extent that we have virtually no examples of complete gender balance in political institutions to hold up for scrutiny in these terms.

Whilst we should consider the significance of personal preference and political orientation of women as individuals and not as a homogenous group and the

importance of other factors such as socio-economic status, ethnicity, religion and so on, we should also consider an argument about the power of political institutions to co-opt or corrupt:

There is widespread agreement among feminist thinkers and activists that we seriously underestimated the power of existing modes of politics to corrupt, co-opt or marginalise women. We did not fully understand how women would be compelled or manipulated to compromise their goals for narrow party interests. We failed to address the possibility that many of the women who gained entry into the formal political sphere would be advocates of patriarchal, mainstream, elitist or fundamentalist ideologies (Batliwala, 2005, Open Democracy).

This theme was discussed by a member of the Iraqi Women for Peace and Democracy Campaign, in October 2006, who claimed that in Iraq the women who had been elected were often tokens or puppets, some of whom were advocating for the introduction of Sharia law (UK UNA meeting, 2006). She stated that SCR 1325 had been used very little in Iraq and that most of the elected women either did not know about it or were not interested in it. The US administrators in Iraq had pushed for a quota system of nearly one third of women in the Iraqi parliament but critics have claimed that this has worked against women's rights because the male leaders of the Shia parties have stacked the lists with women who have few qualifications or political ambitions of their own and who would unquestioningly support the parties' agendas (Philp, 2005). A similar account of coercion and control was given by a speaker at an open meeting on SCR 1325 about the situation of women elected in Afghanistan (WOMANKIND worldwide meeting, October, 2006).

However, it is also important to look beyond the tendency to categorise women who do not have an agenda for transformation as coerced or co-opted. An example here is the diversity of Iraqi women parliamentarians some of whom fit neither unquestionably into a category of coercion or into a category of working for greater freedoms for women in any western sense:

As a devout Shia Muslim and one of eighty-nine women sitting in the new parliament, she (Dr Jenan Al-Udeadey) knows what her first priority there is: to implement Islamic law. When Dr Udeadey took her seat at last week's assembly opening, she found herself among an increasingly powerful group of religious women politicians who are seeking to repeal old laws giving women some of the same rights as men and replace them with Sharia, Islam's divine law. (Philp, 2005).

Because of the difficulty in understanding the motivation behind this kind of stance, which is open to an interpretation of disloyalty to woman, it is often either ignored in feminist debate or assigned to the category of coercion. An article in the New York Times (April 12, 2005) entitled 'In jeans or veils, how Iraqi women are split on new political power' claims that women in Iraq's new assembly are deeply divided. But hope is expressed that out of a starting point of deep division progress is being made through dialogue towards greater understanding between traditionalist and secularist women. It is not, however, a straightforward Islamist versus secularist split:

'I am more afraid of the conservative powers than the Islamic powers' said Salam Smeasim, a secularist who is an economic advisor in the interim Women's Affairs Ministry. 'Even the Communist men here don't want women to be active or to have powerful positions.' (New York Times, April 12, 2005)

The question is not only which women can and are participating in decision making processes for peace but also in what ways are they participating. This chapter will now turn to examine how women are represented at the top level of decision making in terms of achieving gender balance and then will examine what processes of consultation and awareness raising is happening at a more local level.

Achieving Gender Balance: The Representation of Women in Decision Making Within the United Nations

It has been acknowledged that if women do not participate in the political decision making structures of a society they are unlikely to become involved in formal decisions about conflict and peace other than as token gestures to inclusion. The United Nations Secretary General has also acknowledged this:

Often women are excluded because they are not military leaders or political decision makers or because they did not participate in the conflict as combatants. Women are assumed to lack the appropriate expertise to negotiate, or they are left out owing to discrimination and stereotypical thinking (UN, 2002a, IV, para 28).

Yet both the Beijing Platform for Action, 1995, and the Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination against Women, 1979, called for equal participation and the full involvement of women in all efforts for the promotion of peace and security. More recently ECOSOC (2006, 81) has claimed that increasing women's representation in political office is now a widely held development goal and indeed it is an indicator for tracking the progress of the

third Millennium Development Goal, to promote gender equality and empower women. However, the evidence shows that the rhetoric is slow to be transformed into reality.

In SCR 1325 greater representation of women at the top level of decision making is called for in the first four paragraphs within a framework of defining the responsibilities of the Secretary General and Member States. Member States are urged to ensure increased representation of women at all decision making levels in national, regional and international institutions and mechanisms for the prevention, management and resolution of conflict. Member states are also called upon to provide suitable candidates to the Secretary General for inclusion in a regularly updated roster. The Secretary General is encouraged to implement the strategic plan of action (A/49/587) which calls for an increase in the participation of women at decision making levels in conflict resolution and peace processes. The Secretary General is also urged to appoint more women as special representatives and envoys and is asked to seek to expand the role and contribution of women in field based operations, and especially among military observers, civilian police, human rights and humanitarian personnel (UN SCR 1325, 2000). The following data in Box 5 shows the status of women in terms of gender balance within the United Nations Secretariat.

The Status of Women in the United Nations Secretariat (as of December 2005)

Overall

- Women comprise 37.2% (2223 out of 5976) of all staff in the professional and higher categories with appointments of one year or more. This represents a 0.1% increase since December 2004.
- Women comprise 42.9% (1118 out of 2606) of all staff in the more restricted category of professional and higher-level posts subject to geographical distribution. This represents an increase of 0.2% since 31 December 2004.

Women at the senior policy-making levels

Under Secretary Generals

- The proportion of women decreased by 2.5% since December 2004, dropping from 17.5% to 15% (6 out of 40).

Assistant Secretary Generals

- At the Assistant Secretary General level the proportion of women is 20.4% (10 out of 49). This represents a decrease of 1.8% since 31 December 2004.

Departments or offices with 20 or more professional staff

- Five departments or offices achieved gender balance:
 - Department of Management/Office of Human Resources Management – 58.4%
 - Office of the United Nations Commissioner for human Rights – 52.2%
 - Department of Management/Office of Programme Planning, Budget and accounts – 52.1%
 - Department of public Information – 52%
 - Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs – 51.2%

In ten departments or offices women accounted for 40 to 49% of staff:

- Office of the Secretary General – 49%
- Department of Political Affairs – 47.3%
- Office of Legal Affairs – 46.3%
- Department of Economic and Social Affairs – 46.3%
- United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime – 46.2%
- Department of Management – 44.8%
- Department for the General Assembly and Conference Management – 43.7%

- Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia – 43.5%
 - United Nations compensation Commission – 43.3%
 - United Nations Office at Vienna – 41.4%
- In five departments or offices women accounted for fewer than 30% of staff:
 - Department of Peacekeeping Operations/Field Mission Administration – 27.9%.
 - Department of Disarmament Affairs - 26.7%
 - Department of Management/Office of central Support services – 26.5%
 - Department of Safety and Security – 23.5%
 - United Nations Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission – 20.5%

Organisations of the United Nations System

- Gender balance was achieved in two organisations: The United Nations Institute for Training and Research (56%, 15 out of 27) and the United Nations Population Fund (50%, 192 out of 381). UNCEF and UNESCO are close to achieving gender balance.

Source : OSAGI – Office of the Focal Point for Women in the United Nations – The Status of Women in the United Nations System and in the Secretariat. Gender Balance Statistics.

Box 5: The Status of Women in the United Nations Secretariat (as of December 2005)

The areas in which women's representation is lowest within the United Nations are those most specifically concerned with security and the military, which incorporates the United Nations peacekeeping and peacebuilding entities. In spite of progress made in some areas such as the creation of a permanent gender advisory post at DPKO Headquarters, little progress has been made in achieving gender balance or the appointment of women to senior leadership

positions. By 2004 there were still only two women Special Representatives of the Secretary General, those heading the United Nations missions in Georgia and Burundi (NGOWG, 2005, 3). The gender statistics of the military components of peacekeeping missions (shown in Appendix 2) show consistently low levels of females throughout the categories of military observers, staff officers and contingent troops.

The language used in SCR 1325 and in subsequent reviews has been weak regarding any enforcement mechanisms for increasing participation. There are no time bound targets, quotas or monitoring mechanisms in place. In terms of increasing gender balance in peacekeeping forces a considerable problem lies in national governments reluctance to recruit women into their national armies which are the principle source for peacekeeping forces. Some suggestions have been put forward to counteract this problem. The government of Nigeria has advocated developing specific strategies of recruitment targeting women and the government of Sweden has suggested increasing the civilian component of missions rather than having to rely on recruiting women into national militaries (NGOWG, 2005, 24). The second option would fit much more closely into attempts to demilitarise peacekeeping and peacebuilding that lie at the heart of transformative approaches to building positive peace. However, as yet these suggestions have not been formally incorporated into plans or policy. The current strategy of global and national action plans may have some potential to increase the participation of women at different levels of decision making.

Global and National Action Plans

The concept of greater participation underlies all twelve areas of action within the System Wide Action Plan for the implementation of Security Council resolution 1325 (UN, SC, 2005). The INSTRAW study on the preparation and use of action plans, 2006, highlights the need for actors from all sectors of institutions and governments to be involved in the planning and preparation of action plans in order for a common sense of commitment and ownership. Participatory planning methods are necessary in order to create an action plan that represents and addresses the interests and needs of the stakeholders (UN INSTRAW, 2006, iii). If the process of creating an action plan is widely participatory it is also a process of awareness raising and capacity building, opening up spaces for discussion, information exchange and training which can strengthen understanding and commitment:

A participatory process that emphasises increased understanding of WPS (women, peace and security) issues and the importance of implementing SCR 1325 will boost the sense of ownership and responsibility when it comes time to implement the plan of action (UN INSTRAW, 2006, 5).

INSTRAW describes participatory planning as an approach that builds on strategic planning methods and the momentum of empowerment and democratisation movements taking place around the world. The aim is to transform processes of planning that are based on a 'top-down' approach:

Participatory planning, in contrast, prioritises the engagement of all stakeholders within an institution, country or community throughout the

different stages of planning. This methodology is rooted in the recognition of diversity and differences in power, and seeks to ensure that inequalities do not pre-determine the outcomes of planning processes (UN, INSTRAW, 2006, 23).

Several United Nations entities have proposed plans to increase consultative mechanisms with NGOs and women's groups and to facilitate capacity building in areas such as conflict prevention, early warning, peacebuilding, peacekeeping operations, post-conflict reconstruction, and gender based violence in conflict situations. Written commitments to greater participation can be found throughout the System Wide Action Plan for the implementation of SCR 1325 (UN, SC, 2005). Within the conflict prevention and early warning action area, section A2 commits the United Nations system 'to ensure full participation of women in all conflict prevention work and decision making' (UN, 2005, A2). Within the peacemaking and peacebuilding action area the first action point commits to:

Develop strategies, including training and capacity-building initiatives, to ensure women's full participation in all stages of the peace process, including in the negotiation and implementation of peace agreements, drafting and negotiation of constitutions and development of strategies for resettlement and rebuilding (UN, 2005, B1).

Each of the participating United Nations entities has laid out their proposed strategies and actions in support of these and other commitments but virtually no targets are included and no monitoring and evaluation mechanisms are outlined. Even within the gender balance action area only three United Nations entities give targets to be met: OCHA commits to a strategy of gender balance policy through a monitoring system to ensure meeting a 50-50 target, but it

gives no target timeframe for this; UNDP commits to pursue a gender balance in staff at all levels by 2010; and WFP commits to 75% of recruits of food aid monitors to be female (UN, 2005, 11). So, commitments have been made to greater gender balance in the United Nations System Wide Action Plan but they remain largely in unspecified terms with few targets and no monitoring or accountability structures to ensure their implementation. Resourcing the implementation of the action plans at any level, global, national and local is often problematic. The following view was expressed by an interviewee on the problem of resourcing the implementation of 1325:

I think where resources would be needed most is at country level. I think that at the normative level we have come quite far but what do the UN country teams do on the ground? ((Interview, DAW, 2007).

National governments play a critical part in ensuring whether women are given agency in peace processes or whether existing structures of discrimination are maintained. The UK National Action Plan talks about incorporating gender perspectives and taking into consideration gender issues in several of its Action Points but does not emphasise increasing participation of women specifically or in any clearly defined way. In Action Point 7 the UK government, international institutions, civil society and the United Nations Member States are to be encouraged to identify suitably qualified female candidates for positions at senior decision making level, but there are no targets and no monitoring mechanisms put in place. Action Point 8 commits the government to continue to deploy, *where appropriate*, female personnel to operations. This is a reflection of the weak and non-specific language of the resolution itself. To

'continue to deploy' does not even represent a commitment to increase participation and representation of women in the peacekeeping and peacebuilding arena. The wording of Action Point 8 raises the same argument over what is 'appropriate' involvement that was discussed in Chapter Five. Action Point 12 commits the government to liaise with NGOs, civil society and parliamentarians on the implementation of SCR 1325 with a key outcome being identified as regular discussions with NGOs and information sharing with the government on conflict, security and gender issues (UK NAP, 2006). Again, the language remains vague with no guidelines of what 'regular discussions' means, no account of the status of consultations and no clear definition of what constitutes participation. One of the obstacles and challenges noted in the NGOWG's examination of the draft UK National Action Plan was that due to resource constraints there was limited coordination with persons outside of the government such as NGOs, researchers and grassroots peacebuilders (NGOWG, 2005, 58). The planning process, then, appears to have fallen short of the participatory and shared ownership principles described by INSTRAW in its recommendations document (INSTRAW, 2006).

The creation of National Actions Plans is in its infancy and it remains to be seen how effective they will be in improving participation but if more committed work is done on shared planning, target setting, accountability structures and monitoring and evaluation mechanisms they have the potential to move the process of increasing participation forward. An analysis of the processes of creating National Action Plans, or the alternative processes taken up by countries such as Norway and Fiji of integrating SCR 1325 into a broader

framework of gender policy, reveals the critical significance of continued pressure from civil society groups in keeping gender and participation on the agenda. In addition to the creation of Action Plans another recent development within the United Nations structure that is relevant to the issue of participation is the establishment of the Peacebuilding Commission.

The Peacebuilding Commission and Participation

Created in early 2006 the Peacebuilding Commission is still in the process of setting out some of its critical procedural processes including how it will deal with civil society. For this reason there was some hesitancy by the interviewees to predict what the Commissions role would be in facilitating increased participation. However, it was generally felt that the PBC had the potential to make a difference in the consultation process at the level of the individual countries in which it was working:

I think it will depend a bit on how much work is actually done on the ground, in sourcing the perspectives of women who have been involved or affected by the post conflict situation. I think it will be heavily dependent on the consultation process. (Interview, UNIFEM, 2007).

The provisional rules of procedure place responsibility for consultation with civil society and women's groups and other private actors with the Chair of the Commission, in consultation with members (NGOWG, 2006, 6). Carolyn McAskie, the Assistant Secretary General at the Peacebuilding Support Office has made these claims for the PBC:

The PBC must develop into an organ that can meet the challenge both of understanding the root causes of conflict and developing new tools and knowledge to help each country to identify its own path to peace and how to stay the course....It would be unthinkable to head down this path without an understanding of how women have been affected by conflict and the roles they can and must play in a sustainable approach to peace. Too often peace processes, which must of necessity involve the warring parties in negotiating cease fire agreements, do not go far enough in involving communities affected by the war who will be instrumental in building peace. The PBC must avoid this pitfall. (McAskie, Foreword, NGOWG, 2006, vi).

The mandate of the Peacebuilding Commission is to provide advice on peacebuilding strategies and to serve as a forum for coordination and exchange of information and views of major stakeholders. In the report of the General Secretary's High Level Panel on 'Threats, Challenges and Change' (2004), it was noted that there was a need for 'greater consultations with and involvement in peace processes of important voices from civil society, especially those of women, who are often neglected during negotiations' (UN, 2004, n1). Yet, in spite of this acknowledgement the Secretary General's 2005 report, 'In Larger Freedom', in which the creation of the PBC is proposed, does not highlight the need for women's participation in the work of the Commission. Also, early proposals on the Commission membership did not include any reference to civil society or women, despite the recognition of the significance of local ownership of peace (NGOWG, 2006, 7). Although the preambular statements of the concurrent General Assembly and Security Council resolutions that establish the Commission recognise the important contribution of civil society and NGOs, including women's groups, to peacebuilding efforts, and recognise the importance of equal participation and full involvement of women, they makes no specific reference to SCR 1325 (UN GA 60/180, and UN SCR 1645). The recommendations of the NGOWG include the creation of mechanisms to ensure

participation of women's civil society groups alongside other international actors. They also call for the acquisition of expertise and knowledge in peacebuilding to draw on the perspectives of women and men refugees, returnees and displaced persons (NGOWG, 2006, 57).

In addition to examining the progress of strategies for increased participation of women by the United Nations system as a whole and by the new PBC, it is also important to examine what particular United Nations entities are achieving in this area. On an operational basis UNIFEM, often working in partnership with other entities, is the United Nations body most directly involved with working with women in armed conflict and post conflict situations.

UNIFEM

UNIFEM works in over thirty countries worldwide to respond to issues affecting women in areas of armed conflict. Their work comprises information and data collection, assistance and protection work and advocacy for gender justice as well as work to foster the contribution of women to conflict prevention, resolution and peacebuilding at national, regional and international level (UNIFEM, 2004, 5). UNIFEM provides technical expertise to the Security Council and offers support on gender perspectives in programme planning for peacekeeping missions and in post conflict transition. Providing the Security Council and United Nations system with information about the impact of armed conflict on women and the role that women play in peacebuilding is vital for the

implementation of SCR 1325. Corroborating statements from other parts of the United Nations and from many NGO women's groups, UNIFEM have stated that 'women's experiences and perceptions are an under-utilised set of resources' (UNIFEM, 2004, 7). An interviewee explained the different levels of focus of work within conflict affected countries:

What we try to do is work with organisations who either already self identify as peacebuilding organisations or who are doing work that looks like peacebuilding but they haven't yet called it peacebuilding – and then supporting greater gender work in those organisations that are normally more mainstream and supporting women focussed organisations. (Interview, UNIFEM, 2007).

The 2004 report reiterates the significance of the peace process as a unique opportunity to transform institutions and facilitate the active engagement of women (UNIFEM, 2004). UNIFEM has information sharing projects in Colombia, Fiji, Uganda, Burundi, Somalia and the Southern Caucasus that support women's dialogue and activism especially around SCR 1325. This is done through traditional media methods of print, radio, television and film and also through electronic media in the hope that this will open up communication networks and increase access to resources and support. Gender based early warning indicators have been developed and tested in projects in Colombia, DRC, the Solomon Islands and Central Asia. Box 6 below shows some examples of UNIFEM's work in different parts of the world.

Examples of UNIFEM's work at country level.

- In **DCR** UNIFEM and UNDP collaborated with the UN mission and civil society to develop a national strategy for ensuring women's participation at all stages of the DDR process.
- In **Rwanda** work has been done in collaboration with a local organisation for the demobilisation of women in the Great Lakes area.
- In **Liberia** UNIFEM collaborated with the Ghanaian Minister of women and Children's affairs and the Mano River Women's Peace Network to provide support to women during peace negotiations in Accra.
- Programmes in **DCR** and **Somalia** have used the strategy of helping to build a network of women's organisations and bringing women together from opposing sides of the conflict to create a dialogue and advocate for a formal role in the peace process.
- In **Burundi** UNIFEM had been providing training and assistance to women from 1997 and in 2000 were requested by the facilitator of the peace process, Nelson Mandela, to brief the countries 19 negotiating parties about gender issues. Following this each of the negotiating parties appointed two women representatives to attend the All-Party Burundi Women's peace Conference which was convened by the Mwalimu Nyerere Foundation and supported by UNIFEM, DPA, DPI, and DPKO. Nineteen of the recommendations made from these women were included in the final accord.

Source: UNIFEM, 2004.

Box 6: Examples of UNIFEM's work at country level.

Whilst there is great potential in the work of United Nations funds and agencies and in the development of Action Plans and the establishment of the Peacebuilding Commission for creating improved participatory processes, there

are also still significant challenges and limitations to what the United Nations can feasibly achieve because of mandates, working capacity, funding and the compromises necessary in practical working relationships with governments. The next section will examine some of the challenges and limitations to progress in the implementation of SCR 1325 in terms of increasing effective participation.

Challenges and Limitations in Progress Towards Greater Participation

The most frequently expressed concerns by interviewees regarding barriers to developing coherent strategies for increasing the participation of women were twofold. Firstly, the lack of availability of relevant research and sex-disaggregated data on participation which hinder a well coordinated approach. And secondly, limitations imposed by mandates and practical working partnerships with regional and national authorities.

Several interviewees expressed concern over the lack of availability of appropriate data and research on levels and types of participation and overcoming barriers to participation:

Part of the problem is that we haven't got good documentation and not enough solid understanding of what is happening at which levels. We have a fairly good understanding of what's happening at the high politics level, at negotiating level, in formal parallel conferences, but seeing how that relates to women's peacebuilding efforts at the community level, reconciliation mechanisms, the community based work – it's a much more grey area. (Interview, UNIFEM, 2007).

One big problem right now is lack of data. Even issues such as participation in peace processes and statistics – especially when it comes to women at the grassroots, women’s organisations – there’s a lack of data and information and there’s also a lack of data for the grassroots organisations themselves about the resolution. (Interview, OSAGI, 2007).

Evaluation, feedback, further data and analysis is needed on the long term effects of programmes and projects for increased participation:

One thing that has come up is what are the long term consequences for peacebuilding frameworks? For example, the governance mechanisms established post conflict – what effect do they have on women’s engagement in politics five/ten years down the road? Does it make a difference? Are there certain frameworks that tend to work better for women longer term? (Interview, UNIFEM, 2007)

The issue of the lack of data on participation and the need for comparative analysis to be done on different peace processes in terms of women’s participation was reiterated on several occasions during the interviewing:

We still don’t have enough data on what really is the role of women in peace processes. Where are they present? At what levels? How consistently? In what forms? (Interview, DAW, 2007).

I think academia can really add research support in getting this data, make it available and do comparisons between different peace processes to see what works and what doesn’t. It is really difficult sometimes when you do advocacy work and you don’t have the facts or the data to put behind you. You can say women are not represented but which women? even in electoral processes, countries don’t have the capacity to collect sufficient data, statistics on participation and voting and other issues like DDR processes. (Interview, OSAGI, 2007).

The concern about insufficient data on women's political participation is supported by the United Nations report *The World's Women, 2005* which states that in many countries mainstream statistical agencies and programmes do not routinely collect statistics on women in positions of power and decision making (UN, 2005, 81). Government statistics tend to be collated on an ad hoc basis and have been largely focussed on senior levels in the public sector and in national politics (UN, 2005, 82). Whereas statistics are now generally available on women's participation in parliaments and at the highest levels of decision making in the public sector there remains a lack of data on participation at lower levels of decision making and on the 'processes that provide access to positions of power' (UN, 2005, 88). Gathering information and analysis on how women can gain access to decision making processes at all levels is critical.

The second problem regarding increasing participation emerging from the interview data stems from concerns over the limitations of mandates and the restrictions and compromises involved in working relationships between United Nations entities and national governments. One interviewee expressed concerns over the issue of working as national government partners and the problem of different cultural understandings of gender equality:

The idea that we may be imposing a certain approach is often used as an excuse for not doing anything. Because we at the UNDP are supposed to be demand driven – the work with governments and in the national context – but the issues are there and often what the government wants doesn't include gender. And so some staff members say 'well there's no demand'. (Interview, UNDP, 2007).

An interviewee from UNDP explained that things were changing and the UNDP were opening up to working much more with civil society groups and NGOs as well as being focussed on partnerships with governments:

Things are changing. Up to now we have been a government partner but we have been slowly moving into becoming more of a bridge or mediator – not just governments but with civil society and other partners at this level. (Interview, UNDP, 2007).

The potential for United Nations entities to be working with NGO's and women's groups is dependent on what is happening locally, politically and in the context of the type of conflict, in each individual country. In some countries local women's groups may be prioritising the increased political participation of women while in other areas the protection of women may be seen as a more critical and immediate concern. Clearly there cannot be a one size fits all approach to what assistance is most appropriate. Local knowledge through wide consultation and continual dialogue is essential to provide the most appropriate help. Acknowledgement of the necessity to understand each different cultural and conflict context was expressed by this interviewee :

UNIFEMs engagement is uneven and depends a bit not only on the composition of the UN's work within a given country and how much leverage we have in that work but also where women's movements are in their own processes. (Interview, UNIFEM, 2007).

It is also significant to recognise that in some political climates some local groups may feel compromised by association with United Nations entities (Interview, DAW, 2007). A further limitation on the United Nations is that it is

difficult for them to work with groups in areas that are not recognised by the international community as states (Interview, IA, 2006). Although it is clear that there is much that can be done to improve the facilitation of participation at United Nations level, it is also at the national and local level that lack of access to participation needs to be addressed. Cooperation at all levels is necessary for successful implementation of a global policy. The following view was expressed about the role of the United Nations in relation to civil society:

I see the role of the UN very much as a mediator or enabler for NGOs and civil society organisations – not so much that we are the ones who have to implement everything. We should be the ones who mediate and make sure that things are started or the ones to bring things together but we are not the ones who can do all the work. (Interview, UNDP, 2007).

A fundamental question to ask when assessing the effectiveness of the implementation of SCR 1325 is not just how many women are participating at the top decision making level but what impact is the resolution having with regard to women on the ground. The interview data reveals that much is still to be done in terms of spreading awareness of the existence and purpose of the resolution at all levels:

It is very very difficult to get a sense of exactly how the resolution itself is proving useful because many, many advocates say to us 'most of the people in my country have never even heard of this resolution'. (Interview, WILPF, 2007).

Personally I think that 1325 as a security resolution is of more use to the Member States of the UN and the UN than it is in the field. My impression very much when we did our joint donor review was that people on the ground were aware that there was a resolution but it didn't

have much impact on their daily lives. (Interview, UK mission to UN, 2007).

The resolution is a thing that I think is more useful as a tool for the kind of stuff we do here than it is for a tool for local efforts. It is only useful for local efforts if up here, at the global level, people are actually aware of it. (Interview, WILPF, 2007).

To be effective the contents and purpose of the resolution need to be known and understood at the global, national and the local levels equally. Eight years after the resolution was passed, there are areas within the security sector where it is only vaguely known and it remains widely unknown at the local level. An interview with a senior NATO policy maker reinforced the view that issues about gender, beyond increasing numbers of women in certain areas, were not widely understood throughout that organisation and remained the concern of small gender focussed pockets (Interview, NATO, 2007).

Capacity building at the local level is critical to achieving increased participation of women in peace processes. NGOs and civil society groups have played a vital role in the work of awareness raising, capacity building and advocacy with regard to the implementation of SCR 1325 at the local level.

NGOs, Advocacy, Awareness Raising and Participation at the Local Level.

As the most prominent network of women's peace activist groups and the one with most access to the Security Council, the NGO Working Group on Women, Peace and Security (NGOWG) has repeatedly emphasised the significance of the participation of regional and local organisations and civil society groups in

the implementation of SCR 1325. The Working Group has called for stronger and more systematic working relationships between civil society organisations and networks at United Nations headquarters and at regional, national, and local levels with a strong emphasis being placed on engaging with women's civil society groups (NGOWG, 2005, 8). The NGOWG has been working to encourage the Security Council to use SCR 1325 more systematically in all of its resolutions, reports and mandates (Interview, NGOWG, 2007). This resulted in 2004 in the production of a booklet, 'Women's Participation and Gender Perspectives in Security Council Resolutions: Checklist' (NGOWG, 2004b). This framework was developed during a roundtable meeting held in January 2004 the purpose of which was to advance the work of the Security Council. The conceptual framework of 'prevention', 'participation' and 'protection' was developed by the NGOWG to encourage better integration of the five thematic resolutions of the Security Council with regard to advancing peace and human security (resolution 1266 and 1296 on Protection of Civilians in Armed Conflict; resolution 1366 on Prevention of Armed Conflict; resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security, and resolution 1460 on Children in Armed Conflict) (NGOWG 2004b, 9). The booklet comprises a 15 point check list to ensure that women's participation and gender perspectives are included in the drafting of all Security Council resolutions, Presidential Statements and terms of reference for Security Council fact finding missions. The NGOWG has been working over the past 8 years to build up good working relationships with Member States on the Security Council and particularly with some of the non-permanent members as well as working at the local level (Interview, NGOWG, 2007). The significance of the work of NGOs at the local level has been recognised within the United Nations:

They (NGOs) put a lot of work into building capacity on the ground in the countries and then either bringing those people to New York or making sure that those voices are heard. And I think that the NGO community is so broad that they do a good job of recognising the crossover between issues so recognising that the Peacebuilding Commission needs gender, the security sector reform needs gender rather than just focussing on 1325 and looking to UNIFEM or OSAGI (Interview, UK mission to the UN, 2007).

The diversity of the groups belonging to the NGO Working Group network gives a broad base to the scope of their work:

Each one of our organisations does something a little different in relation to 1325. So, for instance, the Women's Commission comes in with refugee and displaced person perspective. Some members come in with a peace education perspective, some of our members like International Alert do active peacebuilding work....One of our newer member organisations is trying to work on how 1325 can be used in a legal framework, for example, in truth and reconciliation work. (Interview, NGOWG, 2007).

The NGOWG has been very active in organising groups of women to meet with the Security Council. The bridge building and capacity building potential of NGOs work can be exemplified in the wording of the resolution on Sudan, August 30th 2006, which has relatively strong and supportive gender language:

It calls for certain measures to be taken and I think that's a reflection of the Security Council back in June having met with what we call women peacebuilders, who were actively engaged in peacebuilding in civil society on the ground. Part of the initiative was spurred on by the NGOWG who from our position here at headquarters really advocated for the Security Council to meet with women on the ground. (Interview, NGOWG, 2007).

Although there are obvious resource and capacity constraints on how many women the NGOWG can bring to the Security Council there are also wider networking outcomes of the process:

The women that we do bring, we try to open doors and make those connections so they can go back and their organisations are empowered by the connections they are making here. (Interview, NGOWG, 2007).

So there are clear benefits to be gained at a local level from these efforts to bring women peacebuilders to Security Council debates. These benefits can be seen in terms of a two-way process of increasing awareness, spreading knowledge, expanding networks and connections and creating new pathways of dialogue between decision making bodies and grass roots activists for peace. Finding creative ways to move the resolution forward is central to the work of the NGOWG. The work of the group was described as being a 'connector', a 'catalyst' and a 'mobiliser' (Interviews, NGOWG, WILPF, 2007). It was emphasised that getting the resolution to work for women on the ground must be facilitated through national level implementation (Interview NGOWG, 2007). To encourage national level implementation the NGOWG together with OSAGI has been involved in efforts to create regional level consultations (Interviews, OSAGI and NGOWG, 2007). The intention is to encourage one country to take up and host a consultation for a region, for example West Africa or in the Pacific region.

The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) was one of the founder members of the NGOWG and has worked consistently to act as a

bridge builder between local women's groups and decision makers at the global level:

One of the things we try to do is to bring local women's voices and local initiatives and efforts up to the global level so that their voices are heard but we also try and make an effort to translate what is happening up here for consumption elsewhere – beyond the jargon and all the rest. (Interview, WILPF, 2007).

Speaking about the use of SCR 1325 by local women's peace activist groups in their attempts to be included in local peace processes an interviewee said:

They (women's groups) are looking for ways to push themselves in the door because they don't get let in the door. It (SCR 1325) serves as a useful backup tool... they want to justify, not that they should have to, but they want to justify being at the peace table or create an obligation on someone else. (Interview, WILPF, 2007).

Capacity building at the local level requires providing access to information. In 2001 WILPF PeaceWomen project based in the United Nations Office developed their website to provide information on the resolution and related issues (Peacewomen, 2008). This website functions as a database for policy, documents, debates, analysis and implementation progress and also forms a communications network connecting women from all over the world in information sharing and awareness raising. The lack of local translations of SCR 1325 has seriously impeded local level understanding of the resolution and therefore effective local advocacy work:

The non-recognition of the language in which groups socialise and organise their everyday life can often amount to a denial of political

agency and can increase vulnerability to political and economic crises (NGOWG, 2005, 84).

Translations of SCR 1325 have been created by civil society organisations, the United Nations and national governments. Although there are limitations such as low literacy rates amongst women and the fact that some local languages are oral languages, the more the resolution is translated the greater is the potential for women to hold their government to account for their international commitments. In 2003 the WILPF PeaceWomen project launched a Translation Initiative to coordinate further translations. There are now ninety five translations which are stored on an accessible data bank by the PeaceWomen project (Peacewomen, 2008). The NGOWG has called for more national governments to complete translations and has advocated that it be part of National Action Plans on implementation (NGOWG, 2005, 86).

Whilst the spread of information through websites and translations has undoubtedly increased the understanding and accessibility of SCR 1325 at a local level there are still some serious limitations. Firstly, access to internet technology is very unequal particularly across socio-economic and gender lines. Secondly, translations of SCR 1325 are direct translations and the institutionalised form of language and culturally specific ways of writing may not portray clearly its goals and objectives. It was an understanding of the need to present the contents of SCR 1325 in a more meaningful and relevant way that lead the International Women's Tribune Centre (IWTC) to design and present local community radio productions for broadcasting. The IWTC grew out of the

first International Women's Conference in Mexico in 1975. One of the group's primary goals was explained in this way:

To provide some kind of connecting point between what goes on at the UN and what is happening at community level, and also to let women's voices be heard. So it's one thing that you have policy makers here whose voices get amplified but it's another thing for women working at community level and trying to deal with the many issues that they need to confront. What happens there? (Interview, IWTC, 2007).

Further explanation of the thirty years of projects of the IWTC summed up much of their work as:

Trying to demystify what the UN says and what it proposes. Many times with very good intention the conventions or the policy documents are intended to really improve the lives of women living in poverty or caught in rings of violence – it's just that that information never reaches those women.....people cannot advocate for things they don't know about. (Interview, IWTC, 2007).

The strategy that the IWCT has taken is to focus work with two different groups within communities. This involves bringing together media people who may not initially see the significance of SCR 1325, with women's groups who would understand the significance but may not have the outreach skills of the media people. In this way the information can be spread by combining different local skills and understandings:

I think the long term goal for us would be to find both organisations and media people with the skills that can translate this very obtuse language,

very off-putting to be honest, and turn it into something else (Interview, IWTC, 2007).

The NGOWG has highlighted the significance of radio scripts that inspire and engage broadcast journalists to support the issues concerned:

Human resource potential resides in community radio broadcasters who contribute their expertise and creativity to the challenge of making global policies real and relevant to women, especially those with limited access to the growing global knowledge base. (NGOWG, 2005, 91)

Using the media creatively in this way provides the potential for spreading information and education and also for creating spaces for women to articulate and exchange views and experiences. In addition to translations and use of the media, resources and structures are required on the ground to assist in the practical facilitation of participatory processes in peacebuilding. International Alert (IA) works at both the policy making level and on the ground in conflict affected areas. In 2004 International Alert and Women Waging Peace produced the training and advocacy resource 'Inclusive Security, Sustainable Peace: A Toolkit for Advocacy and Action'. As well as a reference guide on internationally agreed laws, a tool to enhance the understanding and effective use of SCR 1325, and training guidelines, the Toolkit also promotes advocacy and action 'encouraging women to adopt and adapt the examples of women's strategies and advocacy initiatives for inclusion into peacebuilding and conflict prevention processes' (IA, 2004, 4). One of the aims of the Toolkit is to counteract the common depiction of women as passive victims of violent conflict. The Toolkit recognises that whilst working at the grassroots level

provides the very strength of these women's movements it also often means that they often have inadequate access to information and resources (IA, 2004, 4). Between 2002 and 2005 International Alert also set up national and regional consultations with women in conflict affected areas as part of a gender peace audit programme. At a national level the audits were conducted in Nigeria, Nepal, Uganda and Afghanistan and at a regional level in the context of South East Asia and the Caucasus region. The programme mapped the potential mechanisms through which SCR 1325 could be implemented effectively in different conflict contexts. The consultations sought to elicit women's perspectives on the relevance of SCR 1325 to their work, which aspects of the resolution were most specifically linked to their needs and what steps could be taken to ensure implementation of the resolution (NGOWG, 2005, 92). The outcomes of these consultations highlighted a number of gaps between policy and practice and a number of omissions were identified in the resolution. At the local level women's exclusion from political negotiations to advance peace processes and lack of access to international decision makers was highlighted.

Participation: Concluding Remarks

Increasing the participation of women in peacebuilding processes is integral to creating gender equality in decision making. Women's views cannot be adequately represented by men at any level of decision making. The concept of participation has been considered in this chapter in terms of increasing access to decision making, representation and effective consultation and the limitations on realising these goals. Although progress has been made in

recognising the need for improved gender balance and consultation processes practical advancement is slow. The term 'participation' can have very different interpretations and very different outcomes with regard to actual power sharing. By their very nature effective participatory processes entail a willingness to share power. The deeply entrenched patriarchal attitudes and structures of international security institutions are unlikely to relinquish their power with ease, not least because the implications of gender power relationships remain largely unacknowledged. Senior posts in the field of security are largely the preserve of ex-military or diplomatic personnel who are overwhelmingly male. Peace negotiations at regional, national or local level are still heavily dominated by ex-warring factions. Peacekeeping troops are also overwhelmingly male and militarised.

Although consultative processes are now often built into policy objectives they are still imprecisely defined. Concrete targets are rarely set and monitoring and accountability mechanisms are often absent. Participatory processes are often seen as longer, more costly and cumbersome than imposed decision making procedures. But it is only by developing power sharing participatory processes that are representative and inclusive that resulting policy can be seen to be of mutual benefit and common ownership is felt. Increased participation from wider social groups increases awareness and understanding of differing viewpoints and provides the potential for previously marginalised groups to have a voice. Implementation of gender balance strategies at the top level are not enough in themselves to ensure meaningful change in gender

equality and fair representation in peace processes at the national and local level but they would set an example.

The question of whether women can make a difference to policy and if so which women and how many it would take to make that difference remains contested. The goal in terms of human rights, human needs and social justice must be to continue to work for equitable representation in decision making, fair representation and full and inclusive consultation processes. This should ideally happen within an expanded understanding of the meaning and impact of gender constructions. Although increasing the numbers of women participating will not necessarily address all of the factors that underpin the power differentials between women and men, achieving a better gender balance must be a necessary first step.

Chapter Eight

Protecting Women from Violence During and After Conflict

There are so many ways in which violence against women constrains their choices and their political activity – they link together. (WILPF, interview, 2007)

The extreme violence that women suffer during conflict does not arise solely out of the conditions of war; it is directly related to the violence that exists in women's lives in peacetime. (Rehn and Johnson Sirleaf, 2002)

Protection from violence is a fundamental human rights issue and is a foundational factor in the debate about gender and peacebuilding. There is no peace and security where there is the threat of violence and neither gender mainstreaming nor increased formal participation of women in peacebuilding processes can take place effectively in an arena where violence and discrimination is pervasive. Positive and sustainable peace cannot be created within an environment that accepts violence against women as part of the culture. Various social, political, economic, ethnic and religious factors in the causation of violent conflict have been studied but what is rarely a part of the discourse on war and violent conflict is the effect of constructions of gender. It is not just particular social or economic conditions that give rise to violence against women, although these factors may exacerbate the problem. Violence against women reflects the embedded gender relations of domination and subordination. The phenomenon of gender based violence in war situations therefore cannot be understood in isolation from an understanding of the prevalence and acceptance of violence against women in times of 'peace'.

An analysis of gender mainstreaming and increasing the participation of women cannot be detached from the pervasive problem of violence against women in conflict contexts:

If women are subjected to violence on a very physical and material level...women who have been brutally raped.... are not in an individual position to be able to participate (Interview, WILPF, 2007).

The protection of women from violence during and after violent conflict is clearly an issue that is far broader than the scope of SCR 1325. Violence against women has been a persistent and global phenomenon and takes many forms including direct physical, sexual and psychological violence and indirect economic, structural, social and cultural violence. During times of war these indirect forms of violence include the further economic hardship imposed by increased military budgets and structural disintegration that deplete resources and provision for social and health care and education. Although these different forms of violence are inextricably interlinked, because the focus of this research is on gender and peacebuilding, this analysis will look specifically at direct violence against women during and after violent conflict.

Acceptance of violence against women in peacetime is exacerbated in times of war and frequently continues into the post-war period (Rehn and Johnson Sirleaf, 2002; Meintjes et al, 2001). In a world where violence against women is tolerated, the outbreak of armed conflict creates a climate in which sexual violence frequently becomes rampant. Evidence of this can be found from Bosnia to Rwanda, Sudan to Myanmar (Rehn and Johnson Sirleaf, 2002).

Many factors including dispossession, displacement, and increased responsibilities, as well as a heightened atmosphere of aggression, place women and girls in more vulnerable positions during times of conflict. There has long been a sense of impunity for violence against women in conflict situations and in these circumstances an emphasis on 'protection' by the international community is critical and understandable. However, central to this research so far has been a critique of the predominance of a women centred approach to solving the problems of the lack of gender equality and this approach is especially relevant to the issue of protection:

Women have been so marginalised and there has been immense violence against women in conflicts. There is still so much more to do – I think part of the problem is that we don't look at the role of men.
(Interview, DAW, 2007)

Although in the crisis conditions that prevail in times of violent conflict the immediate imperative is to focus on protecting women from violence, the lack of longer term attention to where the violence is coming from and its link to gender constructions is impeding progress with changing the underlying structures of violence within cultures. To move forwards with prevention of violence the focus of analysis requires a shift towards combining protection with strategies to understand where violence towards women is rooted. Gender based violence during conflict is not confined to atrocities by the warring parties but includes sexual exploitation and abuse of local populations by peacekeeping forces and increased domestic violence. A critical question here is - who are the 'protectors' and who are the perpetrators? Taking a gender aware approach to violence against women can facilitate an understanding of some of the root causes of the violence. The orientation of international policy towards violence

against women is centred on a rights based approach that attempts to impose legal sanctions and punishments for transgressions. Focussing only on the outcomes of violent behaviour leaves the implications of the associations of violence with constructions of masculinities unchallenged. Of course impunity is not to be tolerated and punishment is imperative but questions about *why* violence towards women is so prevalent and *why* it has been accepted for so long must also be asked if cultures of violence are to be challenged. These sorts of questions are often asked in feminist academic discourses but largely remain outside of the domain of policy making. As long as societies value aggressiveness and violence as manly and men are socialised to repress anything that is feminine in them, violence against women will prevail.

The concept of protection is integral to the concept of security that was a cornerstone of the establishment of the United Nations in 1945. Protection from harm is a fundamental human right for men and women and is enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948). The concept of protection is a significant part of international law but understanding what is meant by the protection of women from violence in conflict and post conflict situations requires understanding security at the individual human level. It is significant to reiterate the inherent bias and gender blindness of definitions of security and protection at the state level because of the male domination of the agenda setting, policy and practice of international institutions and international law making (Charsleworth and Chinkin, 2000). This is also often the case at the local level where male domination of public affairs can distort interpretations and impede implementation of national policy for gender equality even when it is legally in place.

Human security, as opposed to a state or military focus, entails the protection of individual human rights to physical safety and adequate access to food, shelter, health care, education, employment and emotional and spiritual well being. Access to these should apply to all human beings regardless of sex but because of gender segregated roles and culturally accepted stereotypes they often apply unequally. Again, there is the problem of the need to address the position of women specifically in the context of protection but also the need to acknowledge that the roots of the problem of insecurity lie in the broader constructions of gender. Frequently women are put in more vulnerable situations during war because of their sex and social position. A variety of factors contribute to this. Vulnerability may be increased because of their unequal access to social, political and economic structures, because of increased responsibilities for others and because women are more often unarmed. The need to provide food and fuel and tend to agricultural work often exposes women to greater dangers of attack and rape. As was discussed in Chapter Three, during times of violent conflict that is grounded in nationalism or ethnic rivalry women are often highlighted as the bearers of cultural identity and in this way they become prime targets not only as the property of the 'enemy male' but also as the symbols of their culture. In other ways women become targets if they speak out against the war or attempt to gain decision making positions that are deemed outside of their traditional roles. These activities may bring approbation and threats from within their own communities as well as making them targets of the 'enemies'. Another factor in women's vulnerability is that in general women do not go off to fight in large numbers but remain unarmed and unprotected at a time when normal community and social morality is disintegrating (ICRC, 2001). In the context of post Cold War conflicts the

growing lack of a clear separation between war fronts and home fronts brings an additional threat to those that stay at home, largely women, children and the elderly.

Examining 'Protection' specifically with regard to women and girls is valid and necessary because of the unequal nature of power relations created by masculinities and femininities and the embedded cultural acceptance that women can be treated differently because of their sex. Thus, although protection from harm is an issue of basic human rights it becomes more complex when viewed through a gendered lens. To understand why existing human rights law in this area is not implemented and how specialised training and institutions could attempt to overcome this, it is necessary to understand more fully what underpins and sustains acceptance of gender based violence.

SCR 1325 on Protection

SCR 1325 recognises that the scope of the problem of protection of women and girls is far larger than the scope of one resolution and it calls for the full implementation of existing legislation on the rights of women for protection against violence. 'Protection' is highlighted in several different contexts in the resolution. As well as calling for the full implementation of existing international and humanitarian law that protects the rights of women and girls during and after conflict, it also calls for specialised training for peacekeeping personnel on the protection, 'special needs' and human rights of women and children in conflict situations. Significantly it also requests the development of

effective institutional arrangements to guarantee the protection of women and girls. Box 7 outlines the paragraphs in the text of resolution that relate to protection.

SCR 1325 on protection

The Security Council:

6. Requests the Secretary General to provide to Member States training guidelines and materials on the protection, rights and particular needs of women...

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

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

9. Calls upon all parties to the armed conflict to respect fully international law applicable to the rights and protection of women and girls, especially as civilians, in particular the obligations applicable to them under the Geneva Conventions of 1949 and the additional Protocols thereto of 1977, the Refugee Convention of 1951 and the Protocols thereto of 1967, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women of 1979 and the Optional Protocols thereto of 1999...and bear in mind the relevant provisions of the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court.

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

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

Source: SCR 1325, 2000

Box 7: SCR 1325 on Protection

The implications of the paragraphs of the resolution that refer to protection are that all states and non-state actors involved in violent conflict can be held accountable for violations against women, and all have a responsibility to protect them . United Nations and humanitarian agencies are requested to ensure gender sensitive programming and planning and can in theory be held accountable for the lack of adequate protection of women and girls. However there are no effective mechanisms for implementation, monitoring or evaluation.

Evidence of the failure of the United Nations to take an integrated approach towards the protection of women from physical and sexual abuse in and after conflict came in May 2005 when the Security Council Presidential Statement following the first Open Debate on Sexual Exploitation by Peacekeeping forces failed to mention SCR 1325 (NGOWG, 2005, 4). Supporters of the resolution from within the United Nations and from NGOs have continued to push for recognition of gender based violence as a priority area. The fourth Open Debate on SCR 1325 in 2004, under the presidency of the UK, focussed on the issue of gender based violence and its impact on women's participation in peacebuilding and decision making. This was the first Open Debate to which a speaker from civil society was invited and Ms Agathe Rwankuba, a lawyer and member of Réseau des femmes pour la defense des droits et la paix, from the Democratic Republic of the Congo, spoke to the Council about her country's experience of gender based violence. Ms Rwankuba requested that the Security Council act immediately to put an end to impunity for gender based violence. The Presidential Statement following the Open Debate strongly condemned acts of gender based violence in situations of armed conflict and also stressed the urgent need to provide programmes for the survivors of

gender based violence. Moving beyond statements of condemnation, the United Nations has set up an Inter-Agency initiative led by UNIFEM called 'Stop Rape Now: UN Action Against Sexual Violence in Conflict' (UNIFEM, 2008). The intention is to work with national governments and NGOs to generate public awareness of the growing use of sexual violence as a weapon of war and promote ways to prevent it. It will also work to prevent impunity for perpetrators of sexual violence and exploitation in conflict situations, promote services for survivors and address the longer term impact of sexual violence on communities (UN Womenwatch, 2008). These are steps forward in terms of spreading awareness and condemnation but the problem of gender based violence during conflict is so immense and persists unabated. For example, the Refugees International Report 'Ending Sexual Violence in Darfur: An Advocacy Agenda' describes sexual violence as a defining feature of the conflict in Darfur and claims that the Sudanese government is not treating the issue seriously:

Rape is used to terrorise individuals and communities and break down the social fabric of the Darfuri people. However the changing nature of the conflict and the face of gender based violence in Darfur is also a result of the patriarchal culture in Sudan that treats women as lesser beings with few rights and as chattels to be taken during a conflict. (Refugees International, 2007, 1)

Continuing sexual violence in Darfur affects the individual, her family and the wider community. The physical consequences of rape can be life threatening, the psychological, social and cultural effects continue to destroy lives and communities as women are disowned by their families, abandoned or forced into marriages. Little is known about the welfare of children of rape (Refugees International, 2007, i).

The issue of gender based violence was raised frequently by the interviewees. Each interviewee, when asked about a follow up resolution, talked first about the possibility of further advancement in some form in the field of prevention of gender based violence:

People have cleaved around the issue of sexual and gender based violence more because it's more about service provision. It's a more tangible area for people to see the need for coordination (Interview, UNIFEM, 2007).

If women don't have their health, and that means freedom from sexual and gender based violence ...they can't be empowered to do the things 1325 calls on. (Interview, NGOWG, 2007).

It is clearly felt to be a priority issue and one that requires further elaboration than SCR 1325 offers but as yet there is not a clear consensus on the way forward in terms of a follow up resolution:

There were attempts by the UK to have a special resolution on gender based violence which they did not pursue. There was the fear that if they did that the main focus would be on violence and that other issues such as women's participation in peace processes would take second place. (Interview, DAW, 2007).

The interviews revealed a divergence of opinion between those who favoured targeting protection of women against violence and those who felt this might detract from the issues of gender mainstreaming and participation. Further issues arising from this disagreement stem from the problem of representing women as victims. When violence against women is discussed in the public domain it is often in terms that portray women as helpless victims who require protection from an external (male) agency (see Manchanda, 2001). Although

media reports often stress the difficult positions women find themselves in during violent conflict they often fail to recognise the actions that many women are also taking as positive agents in attempting to build peace in their communities (Moser and Clark, 2001; Jacobs, 2000; Mazurana et al, 2005). As a result the stereotypical conception of the passivity of womanhood is further reinforced and embedded. As Bop (2001) has suggested the media's concentration on women as victims has a negative impact on the perception of their role in peacebuilding processes which tends to continue to place women in a passive and 'protected' role. There has been considerable academic debate over this kind of representation of victimhood.

Interestingly, the interview data revealed that a backlash against this representation of victimisation has been blamed for the failure of attempts to push forward the gender based violence aspects of the resolution:

I think that it was very very sad that the second resolution on sexual and gender based violence was blocked and it wasn't blocked by governments. It was blocked by NGOs. NGO's who, without actually asking the people who were actually working on it, said we can't do something like this. Let's just rather focus on women's participation. We can't treat women as victims. Well, guess what! Women are actually victims of sexual and gender based violence. It doesn't mean that they need to be victimised further. It doesn't mean that they have to only be referred to as victims but the moment they are raped that is exactly what they are. You can't do the participation bit alone – it's all integral (Interview, WILPF, 2007)

It is critical that within the discourse of rejecting the representation of women as victims, it is also acknowledged that the millions of women who experience gender based violence have the right to be protected by the international community. The agencies looked to for protection, whether they are

humanitarian, military or security sector, local or international organisations are almost always male dominated and often militarised institutions. The concept and the practice of protection from harm in United Nations policy place agency firmly in the male domain. As was discussed previously, the institutions that create and implement international laws are predominately androcentric (Charlsworth and Chinkin, 2000). Together with this, Peacekeeping and Peace Support Operations, those in the front line for protection are male dominated and militarised in nature. In pointing out the contradictions of the reliance of peacekeeping on soldiers Whitworth's comments are significant:

Soldiers are not born, they are made; and part of what goes into the making of a soldier is a celebration and reinforcement of some of the most aggressive, and most insecure, elements of masculinity: those that promote violence, misogyny, homophobia, and racism. This does not mean that all male military peacekeepers are beasts, that every individual soldier is violently homophobic, racist or sexist. It does mean, however, that all soldiers have been subjected to the message that they have been given licence to express these things, to act upon them, especially if that is what it takes to perform their duties as soldiers. (Whitworth, 2004).

The irony prevails that women are frequently depicted as in need of male protection but they are in need of protection from what is largely male perpetrated violence. Increased societal militarisation which often follows conflict results in societies where masculine attributes are honoured and valued and these include demonstrating physical strength, power and domination.

A critical analysis of the concepts of protection, victimhood and contemporary representations of male/female roles in war must make the link with the traditional stereotypical representation of the male protector/warrior and the female passive/victim. The mythical nature of these representations was

discussed in Chapter Three and has been suggested previously here with the question – who is the protector and who is the perpetrator? There are many studies now of women's bravery and positive agency in times of conflict (Sharoni, 1995, 2000; Jacobson, 2000; Cordero, 2000; Mulholland, 2000) but the deeply ingrained stereotypes remain prevalent in media representations. This appears to have an impact on how policy is formulated in that emphasis lies on protection within given systems rather than the positive promotion and support of women's agency. Alongside the concept of victimhood is also the concept of ownership. Women and girls are often perceived as the property of particular males or the property of the (male led) community generally.

There is deep irony in the stereotyping of women in times of war - they can be made into victims or, as often happens in nationalist rhetoric, they can be idealised as mothers of future warriors and bearers of cultural authenticity, and yet at the same time they can be used and abandoned as prostitutes and sexual slaves. What holds firm in these contradictory representations is the denial of autonomy to women, the view that women are the property of men and the value of that property lies largely in their sexual and reproductive roles. 'Warriors' fight to protect their homeland and their women, but often disown those women if they have been subjected to rape by the enemy. If women are objectified into property it becomes easier to be violent towards them (Pillay, 2001). In addition to the continued impunity of gender based crimes, women survivors of sexual abuse are still stigmatised to a much greater degree than male survivors of human rights abuses during conflict. Unpicking these representations and gender stereotypes reveals their complexities and contradictions.

Policy Implementation

The strong focus on issues of protection from violence that was revealed in the interview data suggests that because gender based violence is an area that is more immediately linked with human rights abuses it may appear to be a more concrete, tangible and urgent problem to tackle than gender mainstreaming and increasing participation. However, the fact that existing international law for the protection of women and girls has not been fully implemented and the basic human right of protection from harm falls far short of becoming a reality for many women suggests that implementation is an extremely complex issue which has lacked the backing of political will.

Violence against women in times of war has only been seriously taken into account in terms of international policy in recent years. One of the key objectives of the Beijing Platform for Action in 1995 was the call for the elimination of all kinds of violence against women with three of the twelve strategic objectives being directly related to the elimination of direct physical violence against women and girls (Violence Against Women, Women and Armed Conflict, and the Girl-Child – BPFA, 1995). In recent debates and reports direct violence against women and girls is now more often referred to as 'gender based violence'. The term 'gender based violence' is supposed to shift the focus away from women being presented as victims and towards an analysis of the power structures that inform gender stereotypes and which underpin and maintain the acceptance of violence against women. Whilst the change in terminology may be useful in directing the focus of attention towards gender it can be problematic in that using the term 'gender based violence' can

detract from the fact that most of the violence is committed by men against women.

Efforts to mitigate gender based violence that do not attempt to address constructions of masculinities and femininities are unlikely to achieve lasting results. Making laws against physically beating or raping women will not alone transform the embedded attitudes and power structures attached to gender roles. Restructuring refugee camps to enable women to be more protected will not change the root cause of why some men feel that it is acceptable and normal to violate women. The following example reveals the lack of any focus on the role of men and masculinities in attempts to create policy in this field. In the autumn of 2006 the Secretary General launched an in depth study on violence against women. As a part of the launch there was a panel discussion about different forms of violence. However, the following quotation reveals a continued lack of critical interrogation into the underlying causes of violence against women:

In the fall the Secretary General launched an in depth study on violence against women which was produced by DAW and as part of the launch there was a panel discussion and I remember noticing that there was all this talk about different forms of violence, the different types of services, the role of law enforcement – but there was no talk of...it never says... who commits the violence. And I'm not arguing in favour of collective guilt but I question how we are going to make any real progress if we don't say what it is that makes men violent. Or predominantly so.... It intrigues me that we don't name – we talk about violence against women when in many cases we mean male violence against women. (Interview, DAW, 2007)

If, at the international level it is so difficult to specifically address what causes male violence towards women then it becomes even more so at state level where cultural issues are more strongly embedded. In many cultures talking about male violence towards women is proscribed and this may become even more entrenched during times of conflict when communities look inwards for loyalty and 'security'. An interviewee from UNWRA pointed out the significance of the protection aspect of SCR 1325 to the work of UNWRA (Interview, UNRWA, 2007). Statistics from Human Rights Watch (2006) and first hand reports from women on the ground (Aharoni and Deeb, 2003) have shown exceptionally high rates of domestic violence in Gaza and the West Bank. The interviewee, who had worked in the region, expressed the view that the level of domestic violence is a highly concealed phenomenon in the Palestinian Territories. Speaking out about violence against women is a taboo subject within the Palestinian culture (Interview, UNWRA, 2007). Providing the capacity for issues of violence to be brought into the open is crucial. The interview data revealed that in some instances it was felt necessary to provide the opportunity for women to discuss violence through non-direct channels:

Our capacity building workshops are also information dissemination workshops – in conflict zones things can't always be taken at face value....especially around issues related to sexual and gender based violence – like doing income generation projects but really creating a space where women can talk about gender violence. (Interview, UNIFEM, 2007)

There is still widespread silence around the prevalence of gender based violence. To understand the concept of protection it must be recognised that violence towards women is embedded in many cultures and exists both in times of war and in times of 'peace'. Violence against women and girls is often

accepted more readily than other forms of violence. The banner of cultural sensitivity may be used to excuse concerted action in this matter but as violence against women prevails in almost all cultures it appears likely that embedded gender constructs and the power relations that maintain patriarchy underpins the almost universal problem of acceptance of this violence.

United Nations Recognition of Violence Against Women

The first official United Nations definition of gender based violence did not come until 1993 when the General Assembly adopted the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women. This declaration defines violence against women as:

Any act of gender based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivations of liberty, whether occurring in public or private life (Article 1, UN General Assembly, 1993)

According to UNIFEM gender based violence includes physical, sexual and psychological violence within the family or the community at large (UNIFEM, 2008). It includes domestic violence, sexual abuse, rape, acid throwing, burning, sexual slavery, female genital mutilation, forced pregnancy and honour killings. Often these practices are condoned by the state or local authorities or security forces even if there is legislation against them. This may be particularly the case in fragile post conflict situations where gender issues are not prioritised. In post conflict contexts there are often challenged issues of power and perceptions of traditional male and female roles. Box 8 reveals the extent of the problem of violence against women.

Facts about Violence Against Women

- Around the world, at least one in every three women has been beaten, coerced into sex, or otherwise abused by a man in her lifetime.
- More than 20 percent of women are reported to have been abused by men with whom they live.
- Among women aged 15-44 years, gender-based violence accounts for more death and disability among women than the combined effects of cancer, malaria, traffic injuries and war.
- Trafficking in women and girls for sexual exploitation by men is most common among poor women and girls.
- Women who are victims of domestic violence are 12 times more likely to attempt suicide than those who do not experience such violence.
- During war and civil conflict, women and girls are often targeted for special forms of violence by men as a way of attacking the morale of the enemy, both women and men. For example, in Rwanda, systematic and planned rape was used as a weapon of war and genocide against women and their families. In 1994, almost every adolescent girl who survived the genocide had been raped. In East Timor, it has been estimated that at least 1000 women were raped during the post-referendum conflict of 1999. Such violence often redounds doubly against women, first through the direct experience of violence and its aftermath and secondly through the reactions of their families, particularly the men, to their status as survivors or sexual crime.
- It is estimated that 85 to 114 million women and girls in Africa, Middle East and Asia, have undergone female genital mutilation.

Source: UNIFEM, 2008

Box 8: Facts about Violence Against Women

The United Nations has recognised that gender based sexual violence is common and that 'in cultures where violence and discrimination against women exists prior to conflict it is likely to be exacerbated during conflict' (UN, 2002a, 2). Much evidence shows that violence against women is not just a

phenomenon prevalent in cultures that are overtly discriminatory against women. In one example Boose highlights the ironies of what is reported in the western media about gender violence and what is not:

America's entrance to the Gulf War abounded in ironies of gender that the media carefully avoided placing into juxtaposition before the American reader/reviewer. The public was not invited to consider for example, that while America was preparing to send its military to avenge the widely reported rape of Kuwaiti women by Iraqi soldiers, probably more American recruits were concurrently being raped on military bases by their fellow soldiers. The incidence of reported rape and sexual assault at US military training installations escalated dramatically in the months leading up to war. (Boose, 1994, 77)

Although prevalent throughout history it is clear that physical violence towards women escalates in times of armed conflict. Rising rates of domestic gender based violence and abuse have been found to be one of the critical indicators of impending violent conflict (Rehn and Johnson Sirleaf, 2002). Rehn and Johnson Sirleaf, who were commissioned by the United Nations to produce the Independent Expert Assessment on the Impact of Armed Conflict on Women and Women's Role in Peace-building (2002) were both experienced in the violence committed against women in times of war. However, their report includes this account:

We were completely unprepared for the searing magnitude of what we saw and heard in the conflict and post conflict areas we visited. We knew the data. We knew that 94 per cent of displaced households surveyed in Sierra Leone had experienced sexual assaults, including rape, torture and sexual slavery. That at least 250,000 – perhaps as many as 500,000 – women were raped during the 1994 genocide in Rwanda.....but knowing all this did not prepare us for the horrors women described. Wombs punctured with guns. Women raped and tortured in front of their husbands and children. Rifles forced into vaginas. Pregnant women beaten to induce miscarriages. Foetuses ripped from wombs....we heard accounts of gang rapes, rape camps and

mutilation. Of murder and sexual slavery. We saw the scars of brutality so extreme that survival seemed for some a worse fate than death. (Rehn and Johnson Sirleaf, 2002, 9).

It is estimated that between 20,000 and 50,000 women were raped during the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the 1990s (UN Womenwatch, 2008). In the past, sexual violence during conflict has often been dismissed as random acts by individual soldiers but more recently it has been acknowledged that rape has been used as a military tool or tactic to devastate and humiliate not just individuals but entire communities.

In terms of a rights based approach some progress has been made in codifying gender based violence within the international community in the past decade. In spite of the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949 and its additional Protocols of 1977, historically there have been few prosecutions for war crimes and even less for gender based violence. However, during the 1990s some advances were made. The media coverage of the widespread use of rape as a weapon of war used in Bosnia and Rwanda forced the international community to begin to address the lack of gender awareness in the international legal framework for the protection of human rights during conflict. The International Criminal Tribunal of Yugoslavia (ICTY) and the International Criminal Tribunal of Rwanda (ICTR) both mentioned rape but only under crimes against humanity thus leaving the precise standing of rape and sexual offences open for the tribunals to determine. With the establishment of the International Criminal Court (ICC) in July 2002, rape, sexual slavery, enforced prostitution and enforced sterilisation are described as war crimes and crimes against humanity. Any other forms of sexual violence are described as grave breaches of the Geneva

Convention. However, in spite of some advances in codifying legal rights, a 2005 United Nations Research Institute for Social Development report has acknowledged that 'the majority of crimes against women during wartime still go unpunished' (UNRISD, 2005, 247).

Violence after 'Peace'

Physical violence towards women escalates in times of conflict but there is also considerable evidence to show that domestic violence often increases after 'peace' is declared and with the cessation of formal violent conflict (Rehn and Johnson Sirleaf, 2002; Turshen, 2001; UNRISD, 2005, 233-257). In the transition period from 'war' to 'peace' the rhetoric of equality and rights is often overshadowed by the reconstruction of traditional or alternative forms of patriarchal power (Meintjes et al, 2001). Violence often continues within communities and within households as social structures and values have been broken down and communities become brutalised by the effects of war. The lack of a sense of security or failure to achieve the aims of the war can contribute to the tensions that exacerbate domestic violence. But there are other contributory causes of this rise in domestic violence that are embedded in stereotyped gender relationships. Violence continues because the underlying causes rooted in gender remain in tact. There is often a backlash against the changing roles of women that frequently occur during conflict whereby increased responsibility can mean a degree of increased independence in decision making. Women may have moved away from traditionally assigned 'female' roles into what are perceived as 'male' roles during times of active fighting. Rather than just external structural changes, the transformation of

roles experienced by some women during war may become internalised creating a change in consciousness and expectations of their roles, abilities, rights and sense of agency (Manchanda, 2001; Sideris, 2001). This may well come into conflict with nationalist or ethnic rhetoric based on the promotion and protection of traditional ways of life which incorporates women in very traditional and usually compliant roles. In addition male combatants may return from war imbued with a culture of violence that intense militarization and experience of the brutalities of war instils. There is likely to be untreated trauma and dislocation and no preparation for or understanding of the transition from a culture of violence to one of peace. Demobilisation occurs but demilitarisation does not (Sideris, 2001). Heightened gender tensions over masculine and feminine roles often prevail in the face of high post conflict male unemployment and the accompanying low social esteem and economic status. A high level of domestic violence in the Palestinian Territories has been attributed to high unemployment, social deprivation and consequent emasculation (Human Rights Watch, 2006; Interview, UNRWA, 2007). At a time of transition civilian authorities are often weak and gender based violence is often not considered a priority even if it does appear in new constitutions (See UNRISD, 2005, 233).

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In many war and post war situations prostitution flourishes. This is particularly so where there is a large presence of international peacekeepers. It may be a combination of a last resort for women with no access to economic security, a rise in the demand for prostitution by foreigners with money and also a result of the social dislocation of the aftermath of violent conflict. Although there is a centuries old link between prostitution and military camps (Enloe, 1990, 2000), in recent years prostitution and sexual abuse has been recognised as a

significant issue of human rights abuse linked with conflict and post conflict contexts and also with Peace Support Operations.

Peace Support Operations and Sexual Abuse

In a considerable number of cases women and girls have needed protection from 'the protectors' as the incidence of sexual abuse and exploitation by peacekeeping forces have been increasingly reported (Peacewomen (a), 2008). Reports of allegations of rape and sexual abuse by peacekeeping forces came in the early 1990s in Bosnia Herzegovina and Kosovo by the media and human rights groups. Further reports came from Mozambique, Sierra Leone, Cambodia, East Timor and Liberia (for example see Human Rights Watch, 2008).

Prior to the revelation of serious sexual abuse by peacekeeping forces in the Democratic Republic of the Congo in early 2004, neither the Department of Peacekeeping Operations nor the Member States had formally discussed the issue (Guehenno, UN SC meeting 5370). In response to the rising publicity and concern about sexual abuse in the DRC the Secretary General instigated a process of review and requested Prince Zeid Ra'ad Al-Husseini, permanent representative of Jordan to the United Nations, to act as his advisor. In 2005 the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations requested a comprehensive report and recommendations on how to eliminate sexual exploitation by United Nations peacekeeping personnel. In a letter to the President of the General Assembly, the Secretary General described this 'unconscionable conduct' and these 'abhorrent acts' as 'a violation of the fundamental duty of care' that peacekeeping personnel owe to the populations

they serve (UN, GA, 25th March 2005). In the report, 'A Comprehensive Strategy to Eliminate Future Sexual Exploitation and Abuse in UN Peacekeeping Operations' sexual exploitation is defined as 'any actual or attempted abuse of a position of vulnerability, differential power, or trust, for sexual purposes'. Sexual abuse is defined as 'actual or threatened physical intrusion of a sexual nature, whether by force or under unequal or coercive conditions' (UN, GA, 2005, para 5). Parts of the report are candid and critical:

Some young girls whom I spoke with in the Democratic Republic of the Congo talked of 'rape disguised as prostitution', in which they said they were raped and given money or food afterwards to give the rape the appearance of a consensual transaction. Once young girls are in this situation, a situation of dependency is created which tends to result in a continued downward spiral of further prostitution, with its attendant violence, desperation, disease and further dependency. (UN GA, March 2005, para 6)

The report reveals that peacekeeping troops in DRC have offered abandoned orphans as little as two eggs for sexual encounters and media reports have claimed that in Liberia troops were regularly having sex with girls as young as 12 (Bowcott, March 25, 2005). A recent report by Save the Children UK reveals the continued abuse of children by peacekeepers and aid workers (Save the Children, 2008).

As well as calling for punitive measures for those who transgress the codes of practice, the report also acknowledges some external factors contributing to the exploitation of women that were brought to the attention of the investigators by women's organisations in DCR:

They include factors external to the mission, such as the erosion of the social fabric because of conflict, which results in a high number of

children with little or no family support; a high level of extreme poverty; lack of income generation possibilities; a high incidence of sexual violence against women and children during civil conflict coupled with discrimination against women and girls leading to a degree of local acceptance of violent and/or exploitative behaviour against them; and a lack of a well functioning legal and judicial system, which creates an environment of de facto impunity . (UN, March 2005, para 13)

In spite of repeated affirmations from the United Nations of zero tolerance for sexual abuse the problem appears intractable. The complexity and extent of the problems involved in the protection of women from direct physical violence in conflict situations from local, internal or enemy perpetrators and external 'protector' perpetrators shows clearly the limitations of what can be achieved by SCR 1325. But, as was discussed in Chapter Five, the resolution is part of a series of measures to strengthen the human rights framework for women. Legally recognising and protecting women's human rights in the reconstruction of post conflict societies is critical and is a primary concern of the work of CEDAW:

Our women's rights section that works primarily on CEDAW has worked with member states in post conflict countries to help them understand what CEDAW is about and how it fits into the reconstruction process and what it takes for a country to implement the Convention. We have done work in Sierra Leone, Liberia, Timor-Leste and Afghanistan.....because all of these countries have actually ratified the Convention but that doesn't necessarily mean that they know what to do with it. (Interview, DAW, 2007).

There is clearly still much work to be done to implement frameworks that preceded SCR 1325 on issues of protection of women.

Protection: Concluding Remarks

Understanding and having the capacity and will to recognising women's rights as human rights is an essential first step towards protection from harm that has as yet to be achieved in many areas. A multi-dimensional and critical approach is required to push the agenda forward and address fundamental questions of why violence towards women is so widespread, so widely accepted and commonly overlooked. For positive peace to prevail the ultimate objective should be prevention of violence rather than just protection from it. The orientation of SCR 1325 fits into a problem solving model in that it is designed to address the outcomes of the violent behaviour rather contribute any understanding of why the violent behaviour is prevalent. A transformative approach needs to be both needs based and rights based and encompass a critical appraisal of current structures, attitudes and beliefs about gender stereotypes. In order to progress towards gender equality and the possibility of positive peace it is imperative to address the causes of violence which fundamentally impairs greater integration of women into decision making processes for peace. Mainstreaming gender awareness into policy making, implementation and evaluation is a critical step towards a clearer understanding of constructions of gender. It is necessary to move beyond a focus on protection to a deconstruction of the power relations that promote the conditions where violence is seen as a natural and acceptable behaviour. In order to stop violence against women the focus of attention must ultimately shift towards redefining constructions of masculinities and their link with aggression, domination and violence. This has been recognised recently in some entities of the United Nations, for example the discussions within DAW, UNIFEM and UNESCO, but the question of how to integrate this into policy remains largely

unexplored. This discourse is not a part of the international policy making framework for peace and security. One interviewee expressed this opinion about progress:

I think that at national levels, in different countries, there have been men's groups and groups that deal with perpetrators and do awareness raising activities but it seems at such a low level of engagement compared to the problem (Interview DAW, 2007).

The goal of gender equality and reduction of violence against women could be enhanced by a much more open and accessible exploration of existing masculinities, how stereotypes are embedded in cultures and identities and their links to violence. Many men and women are unaware of how stereotyped gender roles and expectations impinge on their own lives as well as those of others. What do men really gain from aggressive constructions of masculinity? Rather than just focusing on, and attempting to punish, individual men's crimes against women, a critical understanding of, and transformation of, culturally created masculine roles and identities would be a positive step forward. This has the potential to move the focus from punishment and blame towards an understanding of why various gender based pressures create violent reactions and ultimately could lead to more men recognising and taking responsibility for their actions. The incorporation of alternative and positive models of masculinity and femininity into programmes for education for peace has the potential to improve the lives of both men and women.

(See Addendum (page 287) for SCR 1820 adopted on June 19th 2008)

Chapter 9

Conclusion

Understanding Gender and Building Positive Peace: What contribution has SCR 1325 made?

This analysis of the role of gender in the context of peacebuilding has focussed on finding possible answers to the central research questions raised at the outset: how is gender understood and contextualised in the peacebuilding policy of the United Nations Security Council, particularly with regard to SCR 1325? And how does this relate to theories of peace building? Critical to an assessment of the contribution of SCR 1325 as a policy tool in the attempt to create sustainable peace is an understanding of how gender is perceived in policy making arenas. This is an area of analysis that has largely been overlooked in the existing evaluations of SCR 1325 and the 'women, peace and security' discourse. It is a critical area of analysis in terms of building positive peace because merely addressing some of the issues that pertain to the position and role of women during violent conflict does not go far enough to transform the crucial underpinning power differentials that mark out and maintain the inequality inherent in the roles that men and women are expected to play in the context of violence and peace. This inequality and the integral link between constructions of traditional masculinities and violence are not conducive to transforming cultures of violence into cultures of peace. Building sustainable peace is the aim of peacebuilding policy of the United Nations (UN, Agenda For Peace, 1992; UN, Brahimi Report, 2000; UN, High Level Panel Report, 2004). But this policy derives from and operates within the confines of

the liberal peace agenda. Gender equality is fundamental to building sustainable peace. It is implicitly found in the principles of positive peace theory and it is called for as part of the liberal peace approach. But the concept of gender equality is a very complex phenomenon when gender stereotypes are so embedded within cultures. The purpose of this thesis has been to fill a critical gap in the existing literature by examining issues around how gender is conceptualised and used in the creation of peacebuilding policy at the global level and to analyse the effect of this upon the orientation of peacebuilding and the implementation of policy.

This thesis breaks new ground in that it has asked critical questions about the ontological foundations and philosophical orientation of the policy discourse around 'women, peace and security', which has often presented itself as the forum in which gender is addressed. Upholding the principles of gender equality requires deconstructing the power relations inherent in constructions of femininities and masculinities and acknowledging how these power relations are embedded in the structures of the state, international institutions, systems and processes of global governance and global security. Deconstructing gender in relation to conflict and peace means challenging the often unquestioned acceptance of the domination of males in the orchestration and operation of violent conflict and the associated phenomena of militarization and patriarchal control of political, social, economic, and cultural structures. This study on gender and peacebuilding is not focussed on blaming men for violence but on analysing the consequences of the social constructions of gender that inhibit

both men and women from engaging in the transformation processes necessary to change cultures of violence into cultures of peace.

The thematic focus of analysis on gender mainstreaming, increasing participation and improving the protection of women and girls in armed conflict taken in Chapters Six, Seven and Eight demonstrates how these approaches are all interlinked and are all integrally associated with constructions of gender. This thematic approach supported the goal of understanding how gender is perceived in different ways in the policy making arena, where the orientation of the policy lies and how constructions of masculinities and femininities are understood in terms of reinforcing cultures of violence.

Synthesizing the evidence from the policy evaluations of SCR 1325 and the interview data analysis there are two principle conclusions to be drawn from this study that relate directly to the research questions. Firstly, that in the arena of United Nations peacebuilding policy, gender is still largely assumed to be about women and their roles and experiences in the context of violent conflict and peace. Integrally related to this primary focus on women rather than on gender is the fact that policy on 'women' has largely developed on a separate trajectory to mainstream peacebuilding policy. The significance of constructions of masculinities and femininities, their relational power structures and the utmost relevance of this to peacebuilding are only tentatively beginning to be acknowledged in a small number of United Nations entities. The evidence from interview data and from evaluation reports reveals some differences in the conceptualisation of gender in different areas of the United

Nations, although this could be largely attributable to individuals' perspectives rather than embedded institutionalised approaches. The bodies that are most closely associated with peace and security, the Security Council, the DPKO and the DPA appeared less likely to have a broad understanding of gender beyond acknowledging the call to increase the number of women participating and to address 'women's issues'.

The second principle conclusion is that the ontological underpinnings of SCR 1325 fit more readily into the liberal peace thesis model rather than a positive peace model. This is unsurprising because it has emerged from the United Nations system but it is disappointing because, although hailed as a watershed, it limits its potential for real transformation. SCR 1325 fails to critically address issues of gender and concentrates on ameliorating some of the problems that exist for women during and immediately after armed conflict. In this context SCR 1325 appears to be more of a problem solving tool than a transformative tool as it does not challenge the ontological underpinnings of existing structures of peacebuilding and thus fits more comfortably into the liberal peace thesis approach to peacebuilding.

In spite of these criticisms, the resolution does reveal some significant potential to contribute towards a more positive perspective on peacebuilding. It is a resolution about women and peacebuilding which has emerged from a deeply masculinised institution and thus, although as it stands it is largely a problem solving tool, in several ways it can be seen as holding innovative potential. In calling for a gender perspective to be taken it opens the way for further

discussion and debate on what constitutes gender. In calling for greater participation of women in peacebuilding processes it opens the way for potential opportunities for real inclusion, shared partnerships and changed agendas. In calling for the protection of women and girls during and after armed conflict it highlights the issues of male violence against women and creates the potential for deeper analysis of why this violence is so prevalent. These are crucial first steps towards enhancing the understanding of causal factors of violence on many levels and create the potential to examine the connection between constructions of masculinities, militarization and cultures of violence. However, to realise that potential there are crucial issues that need to be addressed.

Women or Gender – Where to Focus?

As the analysis in Chapter Five shows, an initial reading of the resolution reveals the focus on 'women' and 'women's needs' rather than on gender. It can be argued with justification that the whole intention of the resolution was designed to address the lack of attention focussed on women and representation of women in the sphere of peace and security and in this respect the resolution has had some success in raising awareness of the different situations of women and men with regard to conflict and peacebuilding.

However, as significant as this argument is, it fails to move the analysis far enough forward to address the issues that underpin *why* women are generally placed in such disadvantageous situations in the context of violent conflict and *why* they are so often excluded from formal peacebuilding processes.

Both the policy evaluation and the interview data analysis reveals that there is much confusion over distinguishing between women focussed and gender focussed analysis of the resolution. Chapter Six reveals that in many cases, in spite of policy rhetoric, gender and gender mainstreaming remain poorly understood concepts. A key observation of this thesis is that, in practice, within the United Nations, acknowledgement that gender is relevant to the whole sphere of security is often absent. Accepting the need to look at the position of women during conflict in terms of participation and protection is a lot easier to do than examining the effects of constructions of masculinities and femininities on war and peace. It is very significant to this analysis that almost all of the policy evaluations and the majority of the interviewee responses regarding the significance of SCR 1325 centre on analyses of the policy as it stands and its implementation potential rather than on any critiques of its ontological or epistemological foundations. This is a significant factor in indicating how the concept of gender is understood, accepted or goes unquestioned at the policy making level.

Within the context of open interview questions about the value of SCR 1325, the philosophical underpinnings or ontological foundations of the policy in terms of gender were not commented on prior to specific questions being asked about constructions of gender and the implications of these for violent conflict. The lack of any immediate and spontaneous scrutiny over the issue of what constitutes gender and how constructions of gender impact on violent behaviour may imply that this was not generally considered a significant area of concern. Alternatively it may be considered so far beyond the bounds of United Nations

Security Council agendas that it is not deemed to be an issue that could be usefully raised at this time. In many cases it is likely to be attributable to the pressure to prioritise what is already in existence when time, resources and human capacity are scarce. Perhaps it is because any policy move at this level that potentially generates greater awareness of women's positions must be grasped and heralded rather than criticised.

As well as focussing on women, the resolution also tends to speak of women as if they form one homogenous category. The issue of *which* women can participate discussed in Chapter Seven highlights this problem. Gender mainstreaming should not be orientated towards how policies and outcomes affect women and men as two distinct groups but should take into account gender differences alongside other factors and categories that effect and are affected by policies in each conflict situation. Issues affecting women during violent conflict who are in low socio-economic situations may be quite different to those affecting women in higher socio-economic positions. Ethnicity, culture, religion, family circumstances and age can be highly significant factors in how violence and conflict impact on different women. Clearly the call to ensure increased representation of women, explored in Chapter Seven, is essential to achieve any move towards a gender balance in decision making and this is a crucial part of equality. However, as the research reveals, different groups of women have very different perceptions of peace and security and how to achieve it depending on a variety of factors. There is not a one size fits all solution to addressing 'women's needs' in conflict situations. The NGO interviewees particularly highlighted that although integrating more women at all

decision making levels in the United Nations and Member States is critical, so is diversity of representation and local level representation. This is crucial to achieving inclusiveness, shared ownership and fair representation.

The resolution reveals a deficit in addressing gender roles and stereotypes as significant categories of analysis in understanding some of the causal factors of violent conflict. It also does not address the types of strategies that have traditionally been adopted in dealing with peacemaking, peacekeeping and peacebuilding. As was discussed in Chapters Three and Four, masculine attributes of competitiveness, authority, power and domination are integral not just to the underlying causes of conflict but are also embedded in the strategies used in attempts to 'provide' or 'enforce' peace.

Although it is acknowledged here that there are considerable difficulties involved in addressing the concepts of constructions of gender in this form of international policy tool, some recognition of the work that could be done in this area would have moved the resolution further forward in terms of understanding underlying causes of violence. For example, attempting to increase prosecutions for violence committed against women in war situations is essential but is not enough in itself to provide the transformation of attitudes embedded in cultures that accept this kind of violence. Some reference to the work of UNESCO, DAW and UNIFEM on building cultures of peace, education for peace and their work on addressing male roles, masculinities and violence would considerably deepen the resolutions approach to gender perspectives. New research on masculinities must be integrated into the debates and policy

objectives for peace thus bringing a gender aware approach to mainstream peacebuilding. Education for peace that fully integrates this research on masculinities and femininities is essential and requires a multi-disciplinary and multi-level approach to understanding gender. To transform peacebuilding it is essential to understand both the personal and the international workings of masculinities. Integrally linked to this is the problem of separation and marginalisation of policy on women at the United Nations.

Separation of Women from Mainstream Policy

The policy analysis in Chapter Five reveals that at the United Nations the focus on women rather than on gender has, from the start, separated off debate on 'women's issues' from 'mainstream issues' within the United Nations. What affects women has long been separate, and secondary, to 'normal', androcentric, policy making considerations. The isolation and marginalisation of issues of women and gender within the United Nations is clear from the traditional historical trajectory of differentiated agencies and bodies for the promotion of the rights and protection of women that operate separately from the mainstream human rights provisions. Just as women's rights have been set outside of 'human' rights so women's position and involvement in war and peacebuilding have developed outside the mainstream policies for building peace. Clearly, if this was not the case there would be no need for a 'women, peace and security' policy. If the Agenda for Peace (UN, 1992), the Brahimi Report (UN, 2000) or the High Level Panel Report (UN, 2004) had addressed all the issues affecting the promotion of positive peace, gender would have been comprehensively addressed in those documents. It was not. There is

therefore still a good argument to be made for the need to focus on the position of women because of the lack of progress with equality. However, it is contentious that within the context of promoting gender mainstreaming the most recent structural reform of the United Nations is still intent on putting 'women's issues' in the hands of one agency. The reservations about this and its implications for the policy of gender mainstreaming were discussed in Chapter Six, but the fact that this is a new restructuring which still isolates women into one agency is significant:

By having a new separate women's agency or office for gender equality or whatever – is it going to let others off the hook? What will happen to gender mainstreaming?I fear that we might become a show case for reform. Look the UN is reforming itself but ultimately the gender equality agenda will be more marginalised because it will be stuck in one body and the rest of the system will do what? (Interview, DAW, 2007).

The functional limitations of the resolution are linked to the continued status of women and gender issues as a secondary concern and the lack of progress worldwide on acceptance of gender equality. The continued focus on women rather than gender and the separation of policy arenas has added to this subordinate position. The policy evaluation and interview data revealed that areas concerned with women's issues were frequently under resourced. The most frequently cited functional limitations of the resolution by interviewees and evaluation reports were the lack of a structure for monitoring, implementation and accountability. A primary factor in this failure to establish clear accountability, monitoring and implementation structures must lie in lack of political will for enforcement of the resolution which in turn stems from a lack of awareness of the significance of gender to peacebuilding and a continued

environment in which women's issues are deemed of secondary importance.

Until women are seen as half of the world's 'normal' population with equal rights to create agendas, policies and evaluations, this dilemma over the efficacy of segregation looks set to remain.

Divergent Understandings of Gender

Different levels of acceptance and understanding of debate on gender within different bodies of the United Nations inevitably reflects the masculine/feminine type nature of the role of the body concerned. Those bodies concerned with human rights and humanitarian efforts that function on a more individual and human level are more likely to have more effective gender aware policies in place than the masculinised and militarised bodies whose primary function is 'security'. The United Nations is composed of Member States which have very divergent views on gender equality and peacekeeping troops are contributed from a variety of cultural backgrounds. Even if the United Nations at the headquarters level had a consistent and consolidated understanding of gender and gender mainstreaming it would face considerable problems in implementing the policy at country level. The following comment from an interviewee at the DPKO reinforces the findings of Chapter Six and substantiates the difficulties of implementation of gender awareness training programmes:

A lot of troop contributing countries don't give pre-deployment training on anything really and gender is certainly not a priority on the list of things that they do. (Interview, DPKO, 2007).

In the discussion on masculinities in Chapter Six some of the responses to specific questions about constructions of gender were outlined and suggest that it is considered to be very significant by some individuals and is more accepted in some parts of the United Nations system than in others. Interviewee responses from DAW and UNIFEM discussed in Chapters Six and Eight suggest that on an individual level it is, in places, accepted that constructions of gender, and masculinities in particular, must be analysed and understood in terms of their significance in creating and exacerbating violence. But this largely remains outside of institutional agendas. UNESCO has promoted a significant debate on gender and peace specifically developing a discourse on understanding constructions of masculinities and the connection with violent conflict. The analysis of Chapter Three reveals that there is considerable academic scholarship in the field of gender that has yet to be taken up in the policy making arena. Recently these issues have been highlighted in some discussion forums and open seminars, such as the Gender Action for Peace and Security meeting (March 2007) and at the WILPF International Executive Conference (September, 2006) as well as being on the agenda for debate at DAW and UNIFEM. Chapters Six and Seven also reveal the crucial role of particular NGO's who have been at the forefront of promoting this new agenda around masculinities and its significance to peacebuilding.

Liberal Peace or Transformative Positive Peace?

It has been established in the policy evaluation and interview data that SCR 1325 is a broad and general policy tool that recognises the rights of women in conflict situations. It provides a mandate for the limited inclusion of women into

existing formal frameworks for peacebuilding. No systems for monitoring or accountability are set up to ensure the implementation of this. However, it is a tool that can be used by Member States, NGOs and civil society groups to demand the recognition and representation of women in peace negotiations. It can also be called upon by Member States to press the Security Council to include 'gender' in further country specific resolutions although this has been slow to be utilised. In addition to calling for greater representation of women at senior decision making levels the resolution also requests that there is consultation with civil society groups and local women's groups. In understanding gender in terms of recognition of the human rights of women SCR 1325 falls within the liberal approach to peace. The rights based approach emphasises bringing women up to the level of accepted human rights and stresses civil and political rights over social, cultural and economic rights. SCR 1325 enhances the liberal claim to promote democracy, participation and human rights without challenging the underlying status quo of the power structures embedded in either conflict or peacebuilding policy and practice.

The theoretical analysis of the liberal peace thesis revealed a lack of intellectual depth and rigour with regard to the significance of gender in the context of violent conflict and peace. The policy analysis and interview data analysis has supported this contention in that it has revealed a lack of understanding, and sometimes lack of interest, in gender mainstreaming. It also shows a lack of awareness of the implications of simply recruiting more women into existing structures and there is a shortage of critical questioning about the roots of male violence. In spite of its hybrid and variable forms the liberal peace thesis is

fundamentally concerned with preserving and extending the principles and authority of the western liberal world. It is more orientated towards maintenance of the status quo with regard to power structures than with transformation. Where the liberal peace thesis sees transformation as necessary it is in connection with changing non-liberal and non-democratic states into western models. Whereas this might have knock on effects for some degree of 'equality' for women in terms of constitutional recognition of their human rights, it does not address the very constructions of gender that maintain unequal power relations at the personal and at the institutional level.

In the analysis of the policy evaluations and the interview data, the resolution, as it stands, was overwhelmingly deemed to be a watershed policy. This indicates an acceptance of the need for a continued focus on women. It is argued here that it is a watershed, or turning point, to the extent that women's presence in the arena of security has been recognised. It has played a very significant part in beginning to raise the awareness of gender. Had the resolution attempted to introduce something of a more transformative nature into peacebuilding its passage through the Security Council is likely to have been more controversial. At the beginning of the twenty first century, the fact that the Security Council recognised the different impact of violent conflict on women, the role of women in peacebuilding, and the significance of increasing the participation of women and improving the protection of women, is acknowledged to be a significant step forward. Interview data reveals an acceptance of the limitations of what could be achieved within an institution such as the Security Council which is part of a traditional, masculinised and

militarised approach to security. However, to understand building positive peace on a deeper level, obstructions to change and complaisance must be challenged. One way to move forward would be to integrate recent research on gender into the policy making arenas and out into the wider social world.

Future Research Initiatives

There are various ways to advance the discourse and practice of gender awareness and positive peacebuilding in terms of research initiatives. One route is to take the resolution as it stands and examine ways to improve its implementation. All of the interviewees expressed a positive approach to the value of further academic research to achieve this end. Several of the interviewees stressed the importance of improving implementation of the existing resolution before attempting to create a second resolution. In terms of the resolution as it stands, the evidence that emerged out of the interviews and policy evaluations reveals clearly that problems of implementation, accountability and monitoring are uppermost. But there is confusion over how to progress with monitoring and accountability issues:

What does accountability mean? We use the word a lot. We need better accountability mechanisms but what would they really look like? And how would they function? What would reasonable indicators be like? Targets? Benchmarks? (Interview, DAW, 2007).

How do we 'measure' changes in awareness of constructions of gender and, indeed, changes in the very constructions? How can we 'measure' the effects this may have on violence and peacebuilding? How can progress towards

gender awareness and equality occur without confrontation with cultural and religious traditions in this area? These issues are grounded in fundamental values, beliefs, and identity. It is likely that the kind of standard institutionalised measurement tools available within the United Nations may be inappropriate and inadequate for assessing such profound issues. Further research into alternative ways to implement and evaluate gender mainstreaming is necessary. The problems of addressing gender equality are so much broader and deeper than can be dealt with through single pieces of policy. Inevitably this means that multi-level and multi-disciplinary approaches are essential.

Chapters Six and Eight show divided opinion amongst the interviewees over whether a second resolution with more in-built implementation mechanisms was an immediate priority. The following comment reveals the amount still to be done to promote awareness of SCR 1325 even as it stands:

If you introduce another resolution it might confuse people. I think we have to be more established before we can move on....and of course in many countries nobody knows what 1325 is. (DPKO, Interview, 2007)

Further research is needed to devise innovative ways to integrate new research on gender into broader understandings of what constitutes peacebuilding.

Analysis is required at multiple levels and across disciplinary boundaries to shift the focus towards understanding how constructions of gender affect violence.

As this analysis has shown there has been significant work done by UNESCO

which as yet has not been incorporated into policy making processes. How can the academic discourse on the connection of constructions of masculinities and violence be incorporated into debate and policy formation at the top decision making level?

Greater understanding is also required about what is happening at the grassroots level through increased field and case studies such as the research carried out by Cockburn (2007). Has SCR 1325 made a difference to gender awareness and peacebuilding at a local level? What factors are considered to be important in terms of gender from the perspective of women and men at the local level in conflict contexts? How can we move away from acceptance or blame towards an understanding of how to construct more positive and peaceful male roles and stereotypes? This has very significant implications for the role of education for peace and gender equality.

Final Words

This thesis began with a quotation taken from a UNESCO statement on Women's Contribution to a Culture of Peace. The analysis herein has found that the 'insight, political will, creative thinking and concrete actions' (UNESCO, 1995) required to transform cultures of violence into cultures of peace have yet to be achieved. A further quotation from the same document illustrates the broader context in which an analysis of SCR 1325 is situated:

To combat war as the ultimate expression of the culture of violence, we must address issues such as violence against women in the home, acts and reflexes of aggression and intolerance in everyday life, the banalization of violence in the media, the implicit glorification of war in the teaching of history, trafficking in arms and in drugs, recourse to terrorism and the denial of fundamental human rights and democratic freedoms. (Statement on Women's Contribution to a Culture of Peace, UNESCO, Sept, 1995)

Building positive and sustainable peace is a multi level process that can only flourish when cultivated in an atmosphere of wider ranging social transformations that includes, but is not limited to, questioning traditional constructions and stereotypes of gender roles and responsibilities.

Understanding equality and facilitating the genuine sharing of power and responsibility for decision making in the creation and implementation of policy is a crucial aspect of this transformation. Addressing civil and political rights of women is not enough to change the basis of gender inequality. Indeed, addressing economic and social oppression is also not enough in itself to effect this transformation. The deeply embedded roots of patriarchy founded on constructions of masculinities and femininities and grounded in both the private sphere and the public political world must be recognised as a primary cause of oppression. A major difficulty with deconstructing gender at the institutional level is that it must be done at the personal level at the same time. Gender is so embedded in personal identities and personal life experiences which inevitably effect judgements, opinions, beliefs and attitudes.

Progress towards peaceful communities is dependent on multi-level transformations. The 'banalization of violence in the media' and the 'implicit glorification of war in the teaching of history' (UNESCO, 1995) is closely

connected to constructions of masculinities and femininities. SCR 1325 can only be as successful as its constituent context allows and it is limited by the continuation of a deeply embedded inequality between the sexes. Significant personal and social changes are required to facilitate more open and inclusive attitudes, mindsets and structures that allow agendas to be receptive to innovative approaches to gender and peacebuilding. Unless accompanied by such changes increasing the participation of women, improving gender mainstreaming and enhancing the protection of women in war situations will not by themselves create either equality or a more transformative approach to building positive peace. They are, however, steps on the way.

Addendum

On 19th June 2008, after a day-long ministerial level meeting on 'women, peace and security' the United Nations Security Council unanimously adopted resolution 1820. The resolution recognises that sexual violence can be used as 'a tactic of war to humiliate, dominate, instil fear in, disperse and/or forcibly relocate civilian members of a community or ethnic group'. The Security Council recognises that such violence could exacerbate conflict and impede peace processes and affirms that, 'in this regard, effective steps to prevent and respond to such acts of sexual violence can significantly contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security'. The resolution reaffirms the calls of SCR 1325 for increased participation of women in peace processes and for appropriate training programmes for all peacekeeping and humanitarian personnel deployed by the United Nations. It demands that parties to armed conflict 'immediately take appropriate measures to protect civilians, *'including women and girls'*, from all forms of sexual violence. It also demands that within discussions of conflict resolution strategies, inter alia, the views expressed by women of the affected local communities should be 'taken into account'. SCR 1820 requests the Secretary General to submit a report to the Council by 30th June 2009 on the implementation of the resolution.



Security Council

Distr.: General
31 October 2000

Resolution 1325 (2000)

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

The Security Council,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Appendix 2

Gender Statistics by Mission - 31 August 2008												
Mission	Military Component											
	Military Observers			Staff Officers			Contingent Troop			Military Total		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
BINUB	8	0	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	0	8
MINURCAT	40	0	40	0	0	0	0	0	0	40	0	40
MINURSO	185	6	191	0	0	0	19	8	27	204	14	218
MINUSTAH	0	0	0	103	0	103	6802	122	6924	6905	122	7027
MONUC	483	14	497	169	4	173	16457	211	16668	17109	229	17338
UNAMA	16	0	16	0	0	0	0	0	0	16	0	16
UNAMI	7	0	7	0	0	0	207	15	222	214	15	229
UNAMID	174	3	177	255	9	264	7853	198	8051	8282	210	8492
UNDOF	0	0	0	40	2	42	1010	18	1028	1050	20	1070
UNFICYP	0	0	0	48	2	50	752	59	811	800	61	861
UNIFIL	0	0	0	194	1	195	11549	551	12100	11743	552	12295
UNIOSIL	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	5
UNMIK	31	1	32	0	0	0	0	0	0	31	1	32
UNMIL	185	15	200	113	8	121	11082	239	11321	11380	262	11642
UNMIN	68	4	72	0	0	0	0	0	0	68	4	72
UNMIS	558	16	574	166	6	172	8486	103	8589	9210	125	9335
UNMIT	27	0	27	6	0	6	0	0	0	33	0	33
UNMOGIP	43	1	44	0	0	0	0	0	0	43	1	44
UNOCI	180	13	193	87	2	89	7653	87	7740	7920	102	8022
UNOMIG	122	4	126	0	0	0	0	0	0	122	4	126
UNTSO	140	12	152	0	0	0	0	0	0	140	12	152
Total	2272	89	2361	1181	34	1215	71870	1611	73481	75323	1734	77057

Source: DPKO Gender Statistics, August 2008.

Appendix 3

List of Interviews carried out

United Nations Departments and Agencies

United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) – January 2007

United Nations Department for peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) – January 2007

United Nations Office of the Special Advisor on Gender Issues (OSAGI) – January 2007

United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) – January 2007

United Nations Division for the Advancement of Women (DAW) – January 2007

United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) – January 2007

Representative of the United Kingdoms Missions to the United Nations – January 2007

Other Inter-Governmental Organisations

North Atlantic Treaty Organisation NATO – December 2006

Non-Governmental Organisations

Women's International League for peace and freedom (WILPF) United Nations Division. January 2007

International Women's Tribune Centre (IWTC) – January 2007

Non Governmental Organisation Working Group on Women, Peace and Security (NGOWG on Women, Peace and Security) – January 2007.

International Alert – (IA) UK section. November 2006

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) UK section. November 2006

UK Government Departments

Department for International Development (DFID) – January 2007

Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO) – November 2006

Relevant Open Meetings and Conferences Attended

Transformation of War Economies (TWE) Expert Seminar – 16th -18th June 2005. Co-sponsored by Plymouth University and International Peace Academy. Plymouth.

Political Studies Association Women and Politics Annual Conference: Feminist Ethics, Feminist Politics and the States We're in: Critical Reflections in Uncertain Times. University of Edinburgh, February 11, 2006

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom Executive Conference – Greenwich, 8th – 12th September 2006.

WOMANKIND Worldwide and the British-Afghan Women's Society –The Situation of Women and Girls in Afghanistan. Houses of Parliament, October 2006.

United Nations Association, Westminster Branch – Women, Peace and Security: What progress since United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325? Portcullis House, London, October 2006.

Commission on the Status of Women and NGO Working Group Meeting – New York, 18th January 2007.

Gender Action for Peace and Security (GAPS) with the Canadian High Commission – Involving Men in the Implementation of UN SCR 1325 on Women, Peace and Security -
Canadian High Commission, Canada House, March 2007.

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