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RA – Conjugal Slavery in War

Women, Peace and Security agenda (Resolution 1325)

Alessia Rodriguez

Bibliography

Academic Papers

Aggestam, Karin, Bergman Rosamond, Annika, and Kronsell, Annica. 2019. “Theorizing feminist foreign policy.” *International Relations*, 33(1): 23-39.

Abstract: A growing number of states including Canada, Norway and Sweden have adopted gender and feminist-informed approaches to their foreign and security policies. The overarching aim of this article is to advance a theoretical framework that can enable a thoroughgoing study of these developments. Through a feminist lens, we theorise feminist foreign policy arguing that it is, to all intents and purposes, ethical and argue that existing studies of ethical foreign policy and international conduct are by and large gender blind. We draw upon feminist International Relations (IR) theory and the ethics of care to theorise feminist foreign policy and to advance an ethical framework that builds on a relational ontology, which embraces the stories and lived experiences of women and other marginalised groups at the receiving end of foreign policy conduct. By way of conclusion, the article highlights the novel features of the emergent framework and investigates in what ways it might be useful for future analyses of feminist foreign policy. Moreover, we discuss its potential to generate new forms of theoretical insight, empirical knowledge and policy relevance for the refinement of feminist foreign policy practice.

Bigio, Jamille and Rachel Vogelstein. 2016. *How Women’s Participation in Conflict Prevention and Resolution Advances U.S. Interests*, Discussion Paper, Council on Foreign Relations.

Abstract: N/A.

Caprioli, Mary. 2003. “Gender Equality and State Aggression: The Impact of Domestic Gender Equality on State First Use of Force.” *International Interactions*, 29(3): 195-214.

Abstract: I examine the role of domestic gender equality in predicting whether or not a state is more aggressive in international disputes. This research adds to a growing body of feminist research in international relations, which demonstrates that states with higher levels of gender equality exhibit lower levels of violence during international disputes and during international crises. Many scholars have argued that a domestic environment of inequality and violence results in a greater likelihood of state use of violence internationally. This argument is most fully developed within feminist literature; however, research in the field of ethno-nationalism has also highlighted the negative impact of domestic discrimination and violence on state behavior at the international level. Using the MID data set and new data on first use of force, I test, using logistic regression, whether states with higher levels of gender equality are less likely to be aggressive when involved in international disputes, controlling for other possible causes of state use of force. Beyond this project’s contribution to the conflict literature, this research expands feminist theory by further incorporating it into traditional international relations theory to deepen our understanding of the impact of domestic gender equality on state behavior internationally.

Carpenter, Charli. 2006. “Recognizing Gender-Based Violence Against Civilian Men and Boys in Conflict Situations.” *Security Dialogue*, 37(1): 83-103.

Abstract: While gender-based violence has recently emerged as a salient topic in the human security community, it has been framed principally with respect to violence against women and girls,

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particularly sexual violence. In this article, I argue that gender-based violence against men (including sexual violence, forced conscription, and sex-selective massacre) must be recognized as such, condemned, and addressed by civilian protection agencies and proponents of a 'human security' agenda in international relations. Men deserve protection against these abuses in their own right; moreover, addressing gender-based violence against women and girls in conflict situations is inseparable from addressing the forms of violence to which civilian men are specifically vulnerable.

Chinkin, Christine. 2019. "Adoption of 1325 Resolution." *The Oxford Handbooks of Women, Peace, and Security*.

Abstract: UN Security Council Resolution 1325 was not adopted in a vacuum, but rather can be read with a number of other programs within the Security Council (SC) and UN architecture. These include other thematic resolutions, as well as broader policy initiatives. Taken together, these diverse strands sought to shift the understanding of the SC's role in the maintenance of international peace and security, away from a classic state-oriented approach to one that places people at its center. The adoption of Resolution 1325, along with these other developments, had implications for the making of international law (the place of civil society and experts within the international legal and institutional framework), for rethinking participation, and the meaning of security/protection. This chapter suggests that 2000 was a pivotal moment when a more human-oriented international law seemed a real possibility and before the turn back toward militarism and national security in the wake of the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001.

Cockburn, Cynthia. 2004. "The Continuum of Violence: A Gender Perspective on War and Peace" in *Sites of Violence: Gender and Conflict Zones* by Wenona Giles. University of California Press.

Abstract: N/A.

Cohn, Carol, Helen Kinsella, and Sheri Gibbings. 2010. "Women, Peace and Security Resolution 1325." *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 6(1): 130-140.

Abstract: N/A.

Cook, Sam. 2016. "The 'woman-in-conflict' at the UN Security Council: a subject of practice." *International Affairs*, 92(2): 353-372.

Abstract: N/A.

de Jong Oudraat, Chantal. 2019. "The WPS Agenda and Strategy for the Twenty-First Century." *The Oxford Handbooks of Women, Peace, and Security*.

Abstract: UN Security Council Resolution 1325 recognized the critical roles women can and must play in advancing international peace and security. The WPS agenda, however, has focused largely on the protection of women in conflict, in particular from sexual and gender-based violence. In doing so, the substantive participation of women in peace and security remains significantly underexplored. This chapter suggests that the lack of progress on the WPS agenda is due to the perception that it is a women's agenda, as opposed to one that seeks to advance gender equality and security. Moreover, this chapter reveals the challenges associated with the disparate nature of the WPS and security communities. In response, this chapter suggests that for the WPS agenda to advance, the community needs to emphasize that this is not only a women's agenda. Specifically, the

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dialogue needs to be reframed to acknowledge that a focus on women is necessary, but not sufficient.

Davies, Sara E. and Jacqui True. 2019. “Women, Peace, and Security: A Transformative Agenda?” *The Oxford Handbooks of Women, Peace, and Security*.

Abstract: The Women, Peace, and Security agenda (WPS) stands at a juncture with significant potential to prevent conflicts, protect human rights, and promote recovery from conflict but inadequate progress and institutional resistance to meeting the commitments enshrined in UNSCR 1325. The chapter builds on feminist constructivist theories of normative change to put forward a pragmatist understanding of “women, peace, and security” as a “work in progress,” wherein advocates and scholars work together with activist states to advance principles of equal and lasting peace. We argue that WPS theory and practice in conflict, post-conflict, and peaceful situations is a dynamic, normative agenda, and iterative reform process committed to realizing a critical gender perspective on peace and security. Drawing on scholars, practitioners, and advocates’ experiences from the Global North and South working on the WPS thematic agenda and on women’s diverse practical experiences of promoting peace and inclusion, we defend a gender-sensitive and gender-inclusive perspective on peace and security.

Dolan, Chris. 2016. “Inclusive Gender: Why tackling gender hierarchies cannot be at the expense of human rights of human rights and the humanitarian imperative.” *International Review of the Red Cross*, 98(2): 625-634.

Abstract: The “Debate” section of the Review aims to contribute to the reflection on current ethical, legal or operational controversies around humanitarian issues. In its issue on “Sexual Violence in Armed Conflict” (Vol. 96, No. 894, 2014), the Review published an Opinion Note by Chris Dolan entitled “Letting Go of the Gender Binary: Charting New Pathways for Humanitarian Interventions on Gender-Based Violence”, arguing for a shift in the conceptualization of gender-based violence (GBV) in humanitarian settings from an emphasis on gender equality to an ethos of gender inclusivity. Jeanne Ward’s reply, “It’s Not About the Gender Binary, It’s About the Gender Hierarchy”, was published in a later issue of the Review (Vol. 98, No. 901, 2016). Ward suggested retaining a focus on women and girls in GBV work, while moving forward in partnership with those who wish to accelerate programming directed towards men and lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and intersex (LGBTI) communities broadly. In this issue, Dolan responds to Ward’s position, pointing to empirical and practical developments that have advanced the understanding of how to effectively respond to GBV, including GBV perpetrated against men, boys and members of the LGBTI community. Dolan calls for the IASC Guidelines to be revised in 2020 to be the guiding text on preventing and responding to GBV in humanitarian settings and explores what it means to do inclusive gender while also tackling hierarchies.

Dolan, Chris. 2014. “Letting go of the gender binary: Charting new pathways for humanitarian interventions on gender-based violence.” *International Review of the Red Cross*, 96(894): 485-501.

Abstract: N/A.

Duncanson, Claire. “Hegemonic masculinity and the possibility of change in gender relations.” *Men and Masculinities*, 18(2): 231-248.

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Abstract: Hegemonic masculinity was introduced as a concept which, due to its understanding of gender as dynamic and relational, and of power as consent, could explain both the persistence of male power and the potential for social change. Yet, when hegemonic masculinity is applied in empirical cases, it is most often used to demonstrate the way in which hegemonic masculinity shifts and adopts new practices in order to enable some men to retain power over others. This is especially so in feminist International Relations, particularly studies of military masculinities, where shifts toward “softer” military masculinities such as the “tough and tender” soldier-scholar demonstrate to many feminists merely the “flexibility of the machinery of rule.” In this article, I challenge the pessimism of these accounts of military masculinity. My particular contribution is to build on an emergent and underdeveloped strand of Connell’s work on hegemonic masculinity: how change might be theorized. I argue that hegemonic masculinity remains a useful concept, but that the process through which “hegemony may fail” requires rethinking. I make this argument by exploring and working through empirical material on military masculinities, drawing on both my own research and critical analysis of the literature.

Gardam, Judith and Michelle Jarvis. 2000. “Women and Armed Conflict: The international response to the Beijing Platform for Action.” *Columbia Human Rights Law Review*, 32(1): 1-66.

Abstract: N/A.

Gray, Harriet. 2019. “The ‘war’/’not war’ divide: Domestic violence in the Preventing Sexual Violence Initiative.” *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 21(1): 189-206.

Abstract: While recognising the importance of policy designed to tackle conflict-related sexual and gender-based violence, scholars have increasingly critiqued such policies for failing sufficiently to apprehend the multiple forms of this violence – from rape deployed as a weapon of war to domestic violence – as interrelated oppressions located along a continuum. In this article, I explore a connected but distinct line of critique, arguing that sexual and gender-based violence policies are also limited by a narrow understanding of how gender-based violence relate to war itself. Drawing on an analysis of the British Government’s Preventing Sexual Violence Initiative, I identify a key distinction which emerges between those types of sexual and gender-based violence which are considered to be part of war, and those which are not. This division, I suggest, closes down space for recognising how war is also enacted within private spaces.

Guggenheim, Malvina H. 1977. “The Implementation of Human Rights by the UN Commission on the Status of Women: A brief comment.” *Texas International Law Journal*, 12(2-3): 239-250.

Abstract: N/A.

Hagen, Jamie J. 2016. “Queering women, peace and security.” *International Affairs*, 92(2): 313-332.

Abstract: N/A.

Harrington, Carol. 2011. “Resolution 1325 and Post-Cold War Feminist Politics.” *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 13(4): 557-575.

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Abstract: Social movement scholars credit feminist transnational advocacy networks with putting violence against women on the United Nations (UN) security agenda, as evidenced by Resolution 1325 and numerous other UN Security Council statements on gender, peace and security. Such accounts neglect the significance of superpower politics for shaping the aims of women's bureaucracies and non-governmental organizations in the UN system. This article highlights how the fall of the Soviet Union transformed the delineation of 'women's issues' at the UN and calls attention to the extent that the new focus upon 'violence against women' has been shaped by post-Cold War US global policing practices. Resolution 1325's call for gender mainstreaming of peacekeeping operations reflects the tension between feminist advocates' increased influence in security discourse and continuing reports of peacekeeper perpetrated sexual violence, abuse and exploitation.

Hendricks, Cheryl. 2015. "Women, Peace and Security in Africa: Conceptual and implementation challenges and shifts." *African Security Review*, 24(4): 364-375.

Abstract: This article highlights and critiques the underlying conceptualisations and assumptions of the women, peace and security (WPS) agenda that emerged with the adoption of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 in 2000. The main argument is that we need to rethink the WPS agenda to produce more holistic and ground-breaking responses for the types of challenges encountered, i.e., that gender inequality and insecurity are deep rooted and multi-layered, and thus negate mechanistic responses that do not deal with cultural and structural issues. It specifically focuses on gender and peace-making and gender and peacekeeping to point to the pitfalls in the current conceptions and practices in this arena.

Henry, Marsha. 2017. "Problematizing military masculinity, intersectionality and male vulnerability in feminist crucial military studies." *Critical Military Studies*, 3(2): 182-199.

Abstract: Recent work on the multiplicity of masculinities within specific military contexts deploys the concept of intersectionality in order to draw attention to the hierarchies present in military organizations or to acknowledge male vulnerability in situations of war and conflict. While it is important to examine the breadth and depth of masculinity as an ideology and practice of domination, it is also important for discussions of military masculinity, and intersectionality, to be connected with the 'originary' black feminist project from which intersectionality was born. This may indeed reflect a more nuanced and historically attuned account of such concepts as intersectionality, but also black and double consciousness, standpoint and situated knowledges. In particular, what happens when concepts central to feminist theorizing and activism suddenly become of use for studying dominant groups such as male military men? What are our responsibilities in using these concepts in unexpected and perhaps politically questionable ways? This article looks at recent feminist theorizing on intersectionality, and several examples of the use of intersectionality in relation to masculinity and the military, and finally suggests some cautionary ways forward for rethinking militaries, masculinities, and feminist theories.

Jansson, Maria and Maud Eduards. 2016. "The politics of gender in the UN Security Council resolutions on women, peace and security." *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 18(4): 590-604.

Abstract: Women's groups have worked diligently to place gender and women's vulnerability on the transnational security agenda. This article departs from the idea that negotiating and codifying

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gender and women's vulnerability in terms of security represent a challenge to mainstream security contexts. By contrasting the UN Security Council resolutions on women, peace and security with feminist theory, this article aims to analyze what is considered to be threatened when women's vulnerability is negotiated. The article identifies two approaches to the gender/security nexus: gendering security, which involves introducing ideas regarding gender-sensitive policies and equal representation, and securitizing gender, which proceeds by locating rape and sexual violence in the context of war regulations. We demonstrate that, although these measures are encouraged with reference to women's vulnerability, they serve to legitimize war and the male soldier and both approaches depoliticize gender relations.

Kirby, Paul and Laura J. Shepherd. 2016. "The futures past of the Women, Peace and Security agenda." *International Affairs*, 92(2): 373-392.

Abstract: N/A.

Klot, Jennifer F. 2015. "UN Security Council Resolution 1325: A Feminist Transformative Agenda." *The Oxford Handbook of Transnational Feminist Movements*, 723-745.

Abstract: This chapter offers an alternative analysis of the political opportunity structures that were most significant in bringing about the UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (SCR 1325) on Women, Peace and Security. By contextualizing SCR 1325 in the evolving discourse on UN peace building and the responsibility to protect (R2P), it explains why key provisions have been both misinterpreted and underexplored. The chapter attributes the genesis of SCR 1325 to a cadre of feminist organizational entrepreneurs who brought their vision and allies into a new institutional discourse, replete with its own actors, institutions, policies, and processes. The chapter also identifies the important and under-recognized role of male "door openers," who used their positions and access to advance SCR 1325's feminist agenda. Ultimately, it argues that SCR 1325's emancipatory potential rests with its ability to enable feminist transformative agendas, both within and outside the context of UN peace-building structures and processes.

Krause, Jana, Werner Krause, and Piia Bränfors. 2018. "Women's Participation in Peace Negotiations and the Durability of Peace." *International Interactions*, 44(6): 985-1016.

Abstract: There is an emerging consensus that women's participation in peace negotiations contributes to the quality and durability of peace after civil war. However, to date, this proposition has remained empirically untested. Moreover, how women's participation may contribute to durable peace has not been systematically explored. This article uses a mixed method design to examine this proposition. Our statistical analysis demonstrates a robust correlation between peace agreements signed by female delegates and durable peace. We further find that agreements signed by women show a significantly higher number of peace agreement provisions aimed at political reform, and higher implementation rates for provisions. We argue that linkages between women signatories and women civil society groups explain the observed positive impact of women's direct participation in peace negotiations. Collaboration and knowledge building among diverse women groups contributes to better content of peace agreements and higher implementation rates of agreement provisions. We substantiate this argument with qualitative case study evidence and demonstrate how collaboration between female delegates and women civil society groups positively impacts peace processes. Our findings support the assumption that women's participation in peace negotiations increases the durability and the quality of peace.

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Krause, Ulrike. 2015. “A Continuum of Violence? Linking Sexual and Gender-based Violence during Conflict, Flight, and Encampment.” *Refugees Survey Quarterly*, 34(4): 1-19.

Abstract: During the past years, scholars have studied sexual and gender-based violence during conflict and in refugee situations worldwide and produced a significant body of literature. However, little attention has been paid to connecting this type of violence during different phases, instead presenting it as different sets of cases. This article challenges this prevailing notion that violence during conflict, flight, and displacement are separate cases but suggests that it forms a continuum of violence. Based on a case study in Uganda, the article provides in-depth insights of scope, forms, and conditions of violence, and informs about factors impacting the violence. It is eventually argued, that the linearity of the prevalence of sexual and gender-based violence during conflict, flight, and encampment reveals a continuum with widening patterns since especially the forms, perpetrator structures, and conditions show a diachronic increase of complexity.

Labonte, Melissa and Gaynel Curry. 2016. “Women, Peace, and Security: Are We There Yet?” *Global Governance*, 22: 311-319.

Abstract: N/A.

Landgreen, Karin. 2019. “WPS and Gender Mainstreaming.” *The Oxford Handbook of Women, Peace, and Security*.

Abstract: Within UN peace operations, the concept of gender mainstreaming and the introduction of gender advisors represented the first systemic effort to recognize and respond to the particular experiences and perspectives of women and girls in, and after, conflict. Drawing on the author's experience of leading three UN peace operations, this chapter explores how this approach has worked in practice, including whether the ground was adequately prepared; whether attention was given to the understanding of this (contextual, gendered) issue by senior mission leadership; and the importance of this agenda as communicated by the Secretary-General. It considers WPS in the context of the breadth of peace operation mandates; whether there has been a focus on [programmatic] activities at the expense of analysis; and whether the narrative around female victimhood in conflict obscures a focus on their rights and agency. This chapter argues that creative and coordinated strategies are needed to ensure the WPS agenda remains a focus of UN Peace Operations.

Linos, Natalia. 2009. “Rethinking gender-based violence during war: Is violence against civilian men a problem worth addressing?” *Social Science & Medicine*, 68(8): 1548-1551.

Abstract: Gender-based violence during conflict and post-conflict situations has received increased attention in research and in the work of development agencies. Viewed primarily as a form of violence against women, this commentary questions whether male civilians have also been victims of gender-based violence during conflict, invisible due to stereotypes surrounding masculinity and a culturally permissive approach towards violence perpetrated against men, especially at times of war. The experience of civilian males of violence, including sexual violence, during the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina and other contemporary wars, suggests that the discourse on gender-based violence and public health research should begin exploring the specific needs of men. Drawing on Nancy Krieger's (Krieger, N. (2003). Genders, sexes, and health: what are the connections-and why does it matter? *International Journal of Epidemiology*, 32, 652-657) analysis on the differential role of 'sex'

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and 'gender' on a given exposure-outcome association, this commentary suggests that the impact of gender-based violence on health during conflict may be different for men and women and may require distinct therapeutic approaches. Given that perpetrators are often male, an extra level of stigma is added when heterosexual men are sexually violated, which may lead to underreporting and reduced health-service seeking behavior. Further public health research is needed to guide the work of humanitarian agencies working with survivors of gender-based violence in conflict and post-conflict settings to ensure equal access to appropriate health services for men and women.

Martin de Almagro, Maria. 2018. “Producing Participants: Gender, Race, Class, and Women, Peace and Security.” *Global Society*, 32(4): 395-414.

Abstract: Recent efforts to implement the Women, Peace and Security (WPS) agenda and the creation of National Action Plans (NAPs) in post-conflict countries have resulted in a set of international policy discourses and practices on gender, peace and security. Critics have challenged the WPS agenda for its focus on “adding women and stir” and its failure to be transformative. This article contributes to this debate by showing that the implementation of the WPS agenda is not only about adding women, but also about gendering in racialised, sexualised and classed ways. Drawing on poststructuralist and postcolonial feminist theory and on extensive fieldwork in post-conflict contexts in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), Burundi and Liberia, the article examines the subject position of the woman participant. I demonstrate how NAPs normalise certain subject positions in the Global South while rendering invisible and troubling others, contributing to (re)producing certain forms of normativity and hierarchy through a powerful set of policy practices. Deconstructing such processes of discursive inclusion and exclusion of troubled representations is essential as it allows for the identification of sites of contestation and offers a better understanding of the everyday needs and experiences of those the WPS agenda regulates.

Meyer, Mary K. 1999. “The Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom: Organizing Women for Peace in the War System” in Mary K. Meyer and Elisabeth Prügl, *Gender Politics in Global Governance*, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.

Abstract: N/A.

Myrntinen, Henri. 2019. “Locating Masculinities in WPS.” *The Oxford Handbook of Women, Peace, and Security*.

Abstract: UN Security Council Resolution 1325 and subsequent resolutions on Women, Peace, and Security only theoretically consider gender to include men and boys. Far more common is the use of the term “gender” as a placeholder for women. This textual marginalization of men, boys, and, in particular, masculinities—their gendered ways and expectations of being and acting—is problematic as it renders their vulnerabilities invisible. This chapter argues that these perceptions fail to acknowledge the gendered ways in which men and boys contribute as agents for positive change or as potential spoilers. It concludes that the WPS architecture’s approach to gender, be it masculinities or femininities, creates unrealistic expectations of the gendered roles individuals occupy in peace and conflict. To that end, this chapter suggests that to ensure progress is made toward the goal of gender equality institutions need to transition from a WPS agenda to one that considers Gender, Peace, and Security.

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Myrntinen, Henri, Lana Khattab, and Jana Naujoks. 2017. “Rethinking hegemonic masculinities in conflict-affected contexts.” *Critical Military Studies*, 3(2): 103-119.

Abstract: Masculinities in conflict-affected and peacebuilding contexts have generally speaking been under-researched. Much of the existing research focuses relatively narrowly on men and their ‘violences’, especially that of combatants. Conceptually, much of the policy debate has revolved around either men’s ‘innate’ propensity to violence or relatively simplistic uses of frameworks such as hegemonic, military/militarized, or ‘hyper’-masculinities. These discourses have often been reinforced and reproduced without relating them to their respective local historical, political, and socio-economic contexts. In academic circles, the discussion is more advanced and progressive, but this has yet to filter through to on-the-groundwork. Considering the overwhelming role men play in producing and reproducing conflict-related and other forms of violence, a better understanding of the links between masculinities and violence – as well as non-violence – should be central to examining gender, conflict,

and peace. Nonetheless, currently a large part of masculinities are side-lined in research, such as those of non-combatants or displaced persons, the associated challenges of ‘thwarted masculinities’, or the positive agency of peacebuilders. Non-heterosexual masculinities also are largely invisible. Based on recent multi-country field research, we aim to highlight some of the under-researched issues revolving around conflict-affected masculinities while also discussing some conceptual challenges arising as a result. Our two key arguments are that the notion of ‘hegemonic masculinities’ in conflict affected situations needs to be re-examined and re-articulated in more nuanced ways, and that the scope of studying masculinities in these situations needs to be broadened to go beyond merely examining the violences of men.

Myrntinen, Henri, Lana Khattab, and Charbel Maydaa. 2017. “Trust no one, beware of everyone: Vulnerabilities of LGBTQI refugees in Lebanon” in *A gendered approach to the Syrian Refugee crisis*. Routledge, 61-76.

Abstract: While the field of gender and conflict has tended to focus on issues faced by women and girls and recently also on men and boys (almost always assumed to be heterosexual), the situations of lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans and intersex (LGBTI) individuals and communities in conflict-affected contexts has generally speaking been under-researched. Recent research on the gendered impact of the displacement of Syrian refugees into neighbouring countries has also, for the most part, failed to meaningfully include LGBTI vulnerabilities and needs. This chapter aims to fill an analytical gap in the literature, by drawing attention to the specific vulnerabilities and subsequent needs LGBTI individuals and communities face in the refugee setting of Lebanon. These include dealing with the physical and emotional trauma of war and displacement, often compounded by the need to hide one’s sexual orientation and/or gender identity; harassment, pressure and violence from security services, host communities and other refugees; and a lack of access to economic opportunities, services and aid. The case of Lebanon also highlights the need to look more closely at the complexities contained within the broader category of “LGBTI”, as Syrian LGBTI refugees enter a country which not only has its own LGBTI community, but also hosts those from Iraqi and Palestinian refugee populations, affluent ex-pats and poorer migrant workers.

Ní Aoláin, Fionnuala and Nahla Valji. 2019. “Scholarly Debates and Contested Meanings of WPS.” *The Oxford Handbooks of Women, Peace, and Security*.

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Abstract: This chapter sets out some of the critiques that have emerged over the past decade with respect to the WPS agenda. It examines the theoretical accounts that highlight the conceptual and institutional limitations of WPS, specifically the centrality of the victimhood and protection dialogues in the promotion of the agenda. Moreover, this chapter examines the geographies where WPS has purchase, as well as the locations where it struggles to gain meaningful support. This chapter also explores the contributions of feminist institutionalism to the theory and practice of WPS. In doing so, it reveals a more nuanced understanding of the success and failure of WPS. We point to the importance of a layered understanding of how institutional actors advance this agenda or pose sizeable barriers to its success. Our analysis reveals that the limits of its practical success (or the complexity of the success that has been realized) underscore some of the broader conceptual and historical analysis.

Nilsson, Desirée. 2012. “Anchoring the Peace: Civil Society Actors in Peace Accords and Durable Peace.” *International Interactions*, 38(2): 243-266.

Abstract: Is peace more likely to prevail when the peace accord includes civil society actors such as religious groups, women’s organizations, and human rights groups? This is the first statistical study that explores this issue. The article develops key claims in previous research regarding the role of civil society actors and durable peace and proposes a set of hypotheses that focus on legitimacy in this process. The hypotheses are examined by employing unique data on the inclusion of civil society actors in all peace agreements in the post–Cold War period. The statistical analysis shows that inclusion of civil society actors in the peace settlement increases the durability of peace. The results further demonstrate that peace accords with involvement from civil society actors and political parties in combination are more likely to see peace prevail. The findings also suggest that inclusion of civil society has a particularly profound effect on the prospects for overall peace in nondemocratic societies.

Nussbaum, Martha. 2007. “Human Rights and Human Capabilities.” *Harvard Human Rights Journal*, 20: 21-24.

Abstract: N/A.

O’Neil, James M. 2013. “Gender Role Conflict Research 30 Years Later: An Evidence-Based Diagnostic Schema to Assess Boys and Men in Counseling.” *Journal of Counseling & Development*, 91: 490-498.

Abstract: During the last 30 years, over 350 research studies have used the Gender Role Conflict Scale (O’Neil, Helms, Gable, David, & Wrightsman, 1986) to assess men’s gender role conflict (GRC). The results of these studies indicate that GRC is correlated with many negative psychological outcomes for men and women, but few studies have examined the clinical application of GRC. A new diagnostic schema for counselors is presented that assesses men’s gender role devaluations, restrictions, and violations.

Parashar, Swati. 2019. “The WPS Agenda: A Postcolonial Critique.” *The Oxford Handbooks of Women, Peace, and Security*.

Abstract: This chapter offers a postcolonial critique of the Women, Peace, and Security (WPS) agenda. Moreover, it problematizes the emphasis on gender equality and women’s empowerment as universal outcomes for the implementation of a gender-just peace. In doing so, it suggests that the

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normative evolution of the WPS agenda that derives from UN Security Council Resolution 1325 produces a discourse for understanding WPS that perceives of individuals in the Global South as merely recipients of norms. To demonstrate the implications of this claim, the chapter draws from attempts to include the WPS agenda in the development of policies designed to counter violent extremism (CVE). It highlights the failure of these policies to account for the complex histories of political violence and extremist ideologies rooted in colonial encounters. In response, this chapter argues that for the WPS agenda to acquire universal character and meaning, the Global South must be employed as a site of knowledge and investigation.

Porter, H. 2017. “Rape, Wrongdoing, and Justice” in *After Rape: Violence, Justice, and Social Harmony in Uganda*. Cambridge University Press.

Abstract: N/A.

Pratt, Nicola and Sophie Richter-Devroe. 2011. “Critically Examining UNSCR 1325 on Women, Peace, and Security.” *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 13(4): 489-503.

Abstract: Here, we introduce the articles that comprise this special issue of *IFJP*, entitled, ‘Critically Examining UNSCR 1325’. The aim of this special issue is to examine the implementation of UNSCR 1325 and its implications for women's activism and for peace and security. Given that the articles in this volume approach UNSCR 1325 from various perspectives and in different contexts, our aim in this introduction is to point out a number of conceptual, policy and practical issues that are crucial in the debates around UNSCR 1325 specifically, and women, peace and security more broadly. We do this in four parts: first, problematizing the resolution in relation to changes in global governance; second, examining the Resolution's assumptions about (gendered) agency and structure; third, examining the Resolution's assumptions about the links between conflict and gender; and, fourth, comparing different contexts in which 1325 is implemented. To some degree, differences between contributors may be accounted for by different understandings of feminism(s) as a political project. Different feminisms may underpin different visions of peace and, consequently, different projects of peacebuilding. Ultimately, this volume, while answering the questions that we originally posed, throws up new questions about transnational feminist praxis.

Reilly, Niamh. 2018. “How Ending Impunity for Conflict-Related Sexual Violence Overwhelmed the UN Women, Peace and Security Agenda: A Discursive Genealogy.” *Violence Against Women*, 24(6): 631-649.

Abstract: The recent unprecedented focus on ending impunity for conflict-related sexual violence (CRSV) is positive in many respects. However, it has narrowed the scope of Security Council Resolution 1325 and the women, peace, and security (WPS) agenda it established in 2000. Through a critical discursive genealogy of the interrelation of two UN agendas—protection of civilians in armed conflict and women, peace, and security—the author traces how CRSV emerged as the defining issue of the latter while the transformative imperative of making women's participation central to every UN endeavor for peace and security has failed to gain traction.

Renzulli, Isobel. 2017. “Women and Peace: A human rights strategy for the women, peace and security agenda.” *Netherlands Quarterly of Human Rights*, 20(10): 1-20.

Abstract: UN Security Council Resolution 1325 and the successive thematic resolutions together with a variety of reports have shaped the Women, Peace and Security (WPS) agenda. The ensuing

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policies and institutional responses try to deal with a variety of issues including women's participation in peace-making initiatives and protection from sexual violence during armed conflict and in its aftermath. As such these responses are underpinned by a reactive approach with a focus on conflict and post-conflict gender-sensitive areas of intervention. While these remain worthwhile interventions, the WPS agenda, in spite of its name, inadequately addresses gender-sensitive areas in peace situations, regardless of the existence of conflicts. Building on feminist critiques of the WPS agenda and the findings and recommendations of the 2015 UN Global study on the implementation of Resolution 1325, the article argues that the WSP agenda and its prevention limb need to elaborate and integrate more explicitly and comprehensively a human rights strategy that shifts the focus from a reactive to a proactive model, one which pursues gender equality and women's human rights in its own right, irrespective of whether conflicts erupt or not. A human-rights infused WPS preventive agenda should be premised, on the one hand, on a clear understanding and endorsement of the meaning of gender equality, on the other hand, on the creation of mechanisms and process bolstering the role of international and regional human rights regimes. In particular, robust regional human rights systems have the potential to create fora for the participation of and interaction with domestic constituencies in the region. This in turn could lead to the elaboration of context sensitive, participatory solutions, grounded in international human rights law, to existing forms of discrimination against women, which during conflicts may be exacerbated, for example, in the form of sexual enslavement and abductions as reported in recent and less recent conflicts.

Rooney, Elish. 2018. "Intersectionality: Working in Conflict." *The Oxford Handbook on Gender and Conflict*.

Abstract: This chapter uses intersectionality theory and practice to analyze the gendered nature of armed conflict, particularly with respect to understanding the construction of conflict-related identities. It argues that gender, as an intersectional concept that encompasses masculinity, plays an important role in constructing an understanding of a conflict. The chapter begins with a basic overview of intersectionality as it applies to conflict settings. Looking at both the conflict in Northern Ireland and German reunification, it provides examples of how applied intersectionality can enhance understandings of gender, race, and class. The chapter discusses the importance of institutional responses to underlying structural inequalities that are often revealed by intersectional analysis. It closes with an examination of how intersectionality functions as a legal tool, examining a police strategy for the protection of Muslim women in Canada, as well as a study of conflict-related female fatalities in Northern Ireland.

Sharer, Wendy B. 2011. "The persuasive Work of Organizational Names: The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and the Struggle for Collective Identification." *Rhetoric Review*, 20(3): 234-250.

Abstract: N/A.

Shepherd, Laura J. 2019. "WPS and Adopted Security Council Resolutions." *The Oxford Handbook of Women, Peace, and Security*.

Abstract: This chapter outlines the architecture of the Women, Peace, and Security agenda at the United Nations. Building on the explanation of the adoption of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 provided earlier in the volume, it explores the meanings of "women," "peace," and "security" that are constructed through the WPS policy framework. The chapter traces the continuities and

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changes to the central concepts in the resolutions and reflects on the implications of these representational practices as they affect the provisions and principles of the WPS agenda in practice. Moreover, the chapter draws out the key provisions of each resolution to explore the tensions that have arisen over time regarding the types of energy and commitment that have become manifest in the architecture supporting WPS implementation. This in turn enables a brief analysis of likely future directions of WPS practice and a comment on the ways in which Security Council dynamics might affect and effect certain possibilities while excluding or proscribing others.

Shepherd, Laura J. 2008. “Power and Authority in the Production of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325.” *International Studies Quarterly*, 52(2): 383-404.

Abstract: United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325 was adopted in 2000 with the aim of ensuring all efforts toward peacebuilding and post-conflict reconstruction, as well as the conduct of armed conflict itself, would entail sensitivity toward gendered violence and gendered inequalities. In this article, I contrast two accounts of the writing of UNSCR 1325 that issue from the two institutions that claim authority over the document: the United Nations Security Council and the NGO Working Group on Women, Peace and Security. I make a broader theoretical argument about the importance of paying analytical attention to the discursive terrain of international institutions when analyzing the formulation and implementation of security policy, concluding that contemporary theorizing of international institutions is product/productive of a particular configuration of political authority and legitimacy that can, and should, be challenged.

Singh, Shweta. 2017. “Re-thinking the ‘Normative’ in United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325: Perspectives from Sri Lanka.” *Journal of Asian Security*, 4(2): 219-238.

Abstract: This article asserts the need to re-think the ‘normative’ in United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 (UNSCR 1325) from the standpoint of the ‘local’, in this case Sri Lanka. It argues that UNSCR 1325 needs to be situated within the larger discourse on international norms, and challenges to the implementation of UNSCR 1325 in varied ‘local’ contexts can be evaluated through the theoretical frameworks provided by existing literature on norms diffusion. I put forward three main arguments: First, the need to go beyond the neat classification of contexts as ‘conflict’ and ‘post-conflict’; second, the need to problematize gender as homogenous and women as coherent stable category of analysis; and third, to look beyond women as victims or agents. I argue that women in post-war Sri Lanka can more aptly be classified as *controlled actors* as women’s agency is structurally and culturally controlled, which inhibits their capacity to act or perform. In conclusion, I posit that Sri Lanka not only presents a strong case for the localization of the ‘normative’ in UNSCR 1325 but also provides justification for a three-level bottom-up analysis (local, regional and international) to comprehensively understand why UNSCR 1325 fails or succeeds to influence state behaviour.

Sisson, Annie. 2019. *Global Gender Politics: Dilemmas in World Politics*. Routledge (5th ed.).

Abstract: N/A.

Sivakumaran, Sandesh. 2010. “Lost in translation: UN responses to sexual violence against men and boys in situations of armed conflict.” *International Review of the Red Cross*, 92(877): 259-277.

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Abstract: This article considers the UN responses to sexual violence against men and boys in armed conflict – in particular, steps taken towards understanding this problem, measures of prevention and protection, and consequences for accused perpetrators. In so doing, the article assesses the state of knowledge and work in the field of male sexual violence and notes that although there have been many positive developments, the issue is not always moving in the right direction.

Sjoberg, Laura. 2015. “Seeing sex, gender, and sexuality in international security.” *International Journal*, 70(3): 434-453.

Abstract: This essay examines the roles that sex, gender, and sexuality can play in the study of international security. It makes the argument that “hard” security pressing questions like wars, genocides, and terrorist attacks and issues of gender, sex, and sexuality are linked. It begins by providing information about the recent and ongoing conflict in Libya as a case study. Then, it explores some of the questions that feminist and queer scholars have asked about international security in turn: where are the “women” in global politics? Where is “gender” and what does it matter? How do gender dynamics influence war and conflict? Do issues of sex and sexuality matter to war and conflict? If so, how? What tools are available to study these questions and produce answers in any given political situation?

Stienstra, Deborah. 2019. “WPS, Gender, and Disabilities.” *The Oxford Handbooks of Women, Peace, and Security*.

Abstract: One of the key gaps, in the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace, and Security (WPS) is found at the intersections of women and disability. This chapter demonstrates that women and girls with disabilities are disproportionately vulnerable to violence in conflicts and remain invisible and excluded from most post-conflict processes, including peace-building. Resolution 1325 provides a significant opportunity to ensure the full participation of women with disabilities in peace-building and post-conflict transitions. The normative framework adopted in the 2015 Global Study on the implementation of 1325 is an intersectional approach. Yet, the type of intersectionality adopted is a “gender-first” approach. As the chapter argues, in relation to Canadian foreign and development policies (2017), a gender-first approach assumes that gender is the predominant factor and deals with other intersecting power relations in this context, which often obscures the unique experiences of women with disabilities. Thus, this chapter concludes that implementing an intersectional approach to WPS in practice requires the support and participation of women with disabilities to ensure that their specific needs are acknowledged and institutionalized.

Swaine, Aisling. 2019. “Pursuing Gender Security.” *The Oxford Handbooks of Women, Peace, and Security*.

Abstract: This chapter considers scholarly and practical attempts to advance notions of gender security. Human rights and inclusivity are central to the pursuit of comprehensive gender security. With this in mind, this chapter argues that going forward, the isolation of the WPS agenda within the confines of the UN Security Council and its mandate requires unshackling. Furthermore, it concludes that comprehensive approaches to gendered security need to be advanced across all initiatives relating to peace and security. Pursuing gender security is a complex endeavor that requires understanding security, war, and gender as concepts in and of themselves in disaggregated ways, and at the same time illuminating the impossibility of disaggregating one from the other. To that end, this chapter concludes that war and insecurity cannot be understood without understanding their gendered nature, while the dynamics of contemporary gender relations are

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inseparable from the insidious influence of norms of militarism and militarized masculinities, that overtly and covertly infuse our societies.

Tasker, Heather. 2018. “Resolving Gender in War: Politics, Frictions, and Justice Through the Women, Peace and Security Resolutions.” Thesis paper submitted to Dr. Wenona Giles.

Abstract: N/A.

Taylor, Sarah. 2019. “Advocacy and the Women, Peace and Security Agenda.” *The Oxford Handbooks of Women, Peace, and Security*.

Abstract: The women, peace, and security agenda is contested ground for activists, academics, and practitioners. With the issue of women and conflict the locus of tension between feminists, bureaucrats, military actors, and government officials, assessing WPS advocacy provokes a series of questions. Whose goals count in advocacy on women, peace, and security, and what counts as success when these goals are deeply contested? Drawing on the advocacy efforts of the NGO Working Group on WPS at the UN Security Council, this chapter looks to answer these questions. It examines the capacity of advocacy to effect change via multilateral institutions, including the UN Security Council. Ultimately the effectiveness of these tools hinges not just upon the creative and strategic design of policy frameworks, but upon the political will in the UNSC to utilize them. As such, any advocacy approach that seeks to move accountability forward in the Council needs to be resilient to the political ebbs and flows within the Council.

Tickner, J. Ann. 2019. “Peace and Security from a Feminist Perspective.” *The Oxford Handbooks of Women, Peace, and Security*.

Abstract: Almost one hundred years ago women from both sides of World War I came together to design a postwar peace plan, the principles of which were remarkably similar to UN Security Council Resolution 1325. Since then, women activists have worked to place gender issues on the United Nations agenda. In the late 1980s, feminist international relations began to address peace and security from a gendered perspective. With this in mind, this chapter traces the history of the intersection between women’s activism and this emergent feminist scholarship. Feminist scholarship defines security as the physical and economic security of individuals as well as states. The scholars question the essentialist association of women and peace and advocate seeing women as agents in all aspects of peacemaking, positions that the international community is finally beginning to recognize. This chapter, as such, explores how feminist scholars have constructed knowledge that contributes to our understanding of the deeper reasons why women suffer particular physical and structural insecurities.

Tickner, J. Ann and Jacqui True. 2018. “A Century of International Relations Feminist: From World War I Women’s Peace Pragmatism to the Women, Peace, and Security Agenda.” *International Studies Quarterly*, 62(2): 221-233.

Abstract: We examine feminism in international relations from the emergence of women's peace pragmatism during WWI to the development of the United Nations (UN) Women, Peace, and Security (WPS) agenda a century later. We argue that feminism did not come late to international relations. Rather, international relations came late to feminism. Moreover, we show how the principles articulated by women peace activists at the 1915 Hague Conference represent distinct contributions to the discipline. These principles reflect a pragmatic approach derived from women's experiences of promoting peace and inclusion. The pragmatism of these principles is echoed by, and

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further developed in, four pillars of the WPS agenda—as shaped by advocates of women's rights, working through processes of trial and error, to gain state support for advance principles of equal and lasting peace. States may have rejected discussion of women's rights as an appropriate matter for international negotiations in 1915. But with the evolution of women's political rights during the twentieth century, it is now possible to advance a feminist perspective on international peace and security. By recovering neglected aspects of the last century of international relations' feminism, this article helps further an alternative, pragmatist perspective on ways of knowing and doing international relations.

Tiessen, Rebecca. 2015. “Gender essentialism in Canadian foreign aid commitments to women, peace, and security.” *International Journal*, 70(1): 84-100.

Abstract: Canada has made a wide range of commitments to the promotion of gender equality in development assistance programming. However, in its fragile states' programs, these commitments have in fact promoted gender essentialism, treating women as victims of violence rather than as active agents of peace and development. Drawing on a comparative analysis of the National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security arising from the passing of Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) and on interviews conducted with a small sample of current and former Canadian government officials, this article documents and analyzes Canada's comparatively weak and limited efforts to promote gender equality abroad under the Harper Conservatives, particularly for fragile and conflict-affected states. The research presented here is situated within broader feminist critiques of international relations and Canadian foreign policy, which document the centrality of gender equality to security and the role that international and national policies play in shaping gendered security dynamics.

Theidon, Kimberly. 2018. “1325 + 17 =? Filling in the Blanks of the Women, Peace and Security Agenda.” *The Oxford Handbooks of Gender and Conflict*.

Abstract: This chapter focuses on the absence of certain marginal groups from the United Nations' Women, Peace, and Security Agenda and suggests correctives to those exclusions. The chapter discusses how men and boys as victims of sexual and gender-based violence have been erased in this agenda, and the consequences of this erasure. It challenges the assumptions of militarized masculinity as a uniformly shared identity among conflict-engaged men. It also looks at the outcome of pregnancies resulting from wartime rape and shows how children born of rape are presented and treated in their communities. The chapter draws on research conducted in Peru and Colombia and shows the necessity of understanding both the perpetration and experience of violence in nuanced ways.

Theidon, Kimberly. 2009. “Reconstructing masculinities: The disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration of former combatants in Colombia.” *Human Rights Quarterly*, 31: 1-34.

Abstract: A key component of peace processes and post-conflict reconstruction is the disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration (DDR) of ex-combatants. I argue that DDR programs imply multiple transitions: from the combatants who lay down their weapons, to the governments that seek an end to armed conflict, to the communities that receive—or reject—these demobilized fighters. At each level, these transitions imply a complex equation between the demands of peace and the clamor for justice. However, traditional approaches to DDR have focused on military and security objectives, which have resulted in these programs being developed in relative isolation from the field of transitional justice and its concerns with historical clarification, justice, reparations, and

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reconciliation. Drawing upon my research with former combatants in Colombia, I argue that successful reintegration not only requires fusing the processes and goals of DDR programs with transitional justice measures, but that both DDR and transitional justice require a gendered analysis that includes an examination of the salient links between weapons, masculinities, and violence. Constructing certain forms of masculinity is not incidental to militarism: rather, it is essential to its maintenance. What might it mean to “add gender” to DDR and transitional justice processes if one defined gender to include men and masculinities, thus making these forms of identity visible and a focus of research and intervention? I explore how one might “add gender” to the DDR program in Colombia as one step toward successful reintegration, peace-building, and sustainable social change.

Touquet, Heleen and Ellen Gorris. 2016. “Out of the shadows? The inclusion of men and boys in conceptualisations of wartime sexual violence.” *Reproductive Health Matters*, 24(47): 36-46.

Abstract: Researchers increasingly acknowledge that men and boys are frequent victims of sexual violence in conflict alongside women and girls, who remain the group that is disproportionately affected. This increasing awareness has contributed to significant efforts to include men and boys in conceptualisations of conflict related sexual violence in policy as well as in international criminal law. This article analyses the changes that have occurred in these two fields in recent years. We argue that while a major shift towards including male victims in international policy on wartime sexual violence took place in 2013-2014, this development has yet to be consolidated in salient policy guidelines and handbooks. While men and boys’ potential victimization is frequently recognised, most policy documents do not treat the topic of male victimisation in depth. International criminal law on the other hand has pioneered gender-neutral and inclusive definitions. However, the interpretation and application of the gender-inclusive approach is often left to the discretion of judges and the prosecution who at times fail to take the experience of males fully into account, signaling the continuing influence of gender stereotypes and deeply held cultural myths. A renewed effort to fully integrate male victims into conceptualisations of conflict-related sexual violence in both policy and law is therefore advised.

Vargas, Jackeline. 2017. “Enfoque de Género en el acuerdo de paz entre el Gobierno Colombiano y las FARC-EP: transiciones necesarias para su implementación.” *Aracauria: Revista Iberoamericana de Filosofía, Política y Humanidades*, 20(39): 389-414.

Abstract: The gender focus contained in the Peace Agreement between the Colombian Government and the guerilla group FARC-EP has been internationally recognized as a watershed moment that could contribute to future peace processes around the world. This inclusion would not have been possible without the constants struggles of the women’s movements representing displaced people, peasants, and feminists, among others. Long before the negotiations even started, Colombian women had been actively working to build peace in the midst of the conflict. Despite the importance of their achievements, the road has not been easy. To include a gender perspective stimulated intense debates revealing that peace goes far beyond a truce between negotiating parties. The transitions needed for a sustainable peace requires changes in the imagination of the civil society to overcome the rooted cultural and discriminatory patterns that prevent Colombian society to move forward.

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Waldron, Thea and Erin Baines. 2019. “Gender and Embodied War Knowledge.” *Journal of Human Rights Practice*, 1-13.

Abstract: UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (adopted in 2000) seeks to protect women’s bodily integrity in war and promote women’s rights to participate in decisions affecting them in the realm of peace and security. Its normative framework offers potential to transform how peace and security is framed in the UN Security Council. At the same time, critics charge that the Women, Peace and Security agenda reproduces problematic categories, including women as a static, homogeneous social group, binaries such as peace and war as clearly delineated events, and victims and perpetrators as gendered, oppositional groups. In this article, we strive to think critically about gender and human rights through the rubric of the Women, Peace and Security agenda and problematic categories that underpin its design. We do so by exploring gender and embodied knowledge in war.

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