1325+20=? Mapping the development of the Women, Peace, and Security agenda.

An overview of the historical events leading up to the development and establishment of the Women, Peace, and Security (WPS) agenda, and of new directions.

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About this Report

This report was researched and written by Alessia Rodríguez Di Eugenio, a Master's of Public Policy and Global Affairs (MPPGA) student at the School for Public Policy and Global Affairs (SPPGA) at the University of British Columbia (UBC) as part of a Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada Partnership Grant (SSHRC PG): 'Conjugal Slavery in Wartime (CSiW): A partnership for the study of enslavement, marriage, and masculinities.' The partnership documents cases of so-called forced marriage in conflict situations, places this data in historical context, and impacts the international prosecution of crimes against humanity as well as local reparations programs for survivors of violence. With the central participation of community-based organizations in Africa, this project will strengthen individual's and organizations' capacity to prevent violence, and advance understanding of the use of conjugal slavery as a tool of war through evidence-based research.

The CSiW partnership, of which UBC is a partner, consists of an interdisciplinary team of researchers and partners who explore the social and legal meaning of conjugal slavery or servile marriage in times of war and the implications of this gender violence in post-conflict situations. Through archival, qualitative, and legal research this Partnership explores the experiences of men and women who were subject to or participated in enslavement in the conflicts in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Liberia, Nigeria, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, South Sudan, Uganda, and Mali.

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Executive Summary

In anticipation of the 25th anniversary of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (Bejing+25) and the 20th anniversary of the United Nation Security Council (UNSC) Resolution 1325 (1325+20) in 2020, this report maps historical events and efforts by international organizations, national governments and civil society predating UNSC Resolution 1325 (2000), key actors and programs within the Security Council and UN architecture, and strategies created by signatory states to implement the WPS agenda in their unique contexts - also known as National Actions Plans (NAPs).

Resolution 1325 was revolutionary in the sense that it was the first time in history that the UN, as an institution, welcomed a debate on women, peace, and security. The resolution recognized the particular gender-related harms women and girls endured as victims of war, but also, their importance as agents of peace and security. Centred on four 'pillars' of participation, prevention, protection, and recovery, since its adoption in 2000, eight additional resolutions have been passed by the UN Security Council: 1820 (2008), 1888 (2009), 1889 (2009), 1960 (2010), 2106 (2013), 2122 (2013), 2242 (2015), and 2467 (2019). These resolutions extend and complement Resolution 1325 and related pillars, specifying and operationalizing contents and concepts. All together, these 9 resolutions make up the Women, Peace, and Security (WPS) agenda. The report will examine each resolution and highlight the relevance contributions.

As we approach the 20th anniversary of Resolution 1325, a review of existing obstacles and challenges that still persist and prevent the full implementation of the WPS agenda is essential. For this reason, the last section of the report delves into gaps and challenges, as well as emerging trends and priorities for action. The report concludes that an intersectional analysis is still to be incorporated into conflict-related research if it is to be inclusive and transformative.

The report involved a review of secondary data, including scholarly papers, UN reports of the Security Council, General Assembly, and Economic and Social Council, and the 9 resolutions comprising the WPS agenda.

There is a complementary presentation and annotated bibliography to this report. The aim is for this report to serve as the foundation document of a bigger project. A series of memos will follow to complement the 'New Directions' section by delving deeper into the experiences of other marginalized groups, their roles, agency, and vulnerabilities.

Introduction

> "If the goal of a peace process is only to end violence, then women – who are rarely the belligerents – are unlikely to be considered legitimate participants. If the goal is to build peace, however, it makes sense to gain more diverse inputs from the rest of society."
>
> O'Reilly et al. (2015:1)

Almost 20 years ago, the UN Security Council adopted the first formal and legal document addressing the gendered impact of armed conflict on women (Labonte, M. and Curry, G., 2016). Adopted in 2000, **UNSC Resolution 1325** requires parties in a conflict, among other things, to promote and safeguard the human rights of women and girls in situation of armed conflict; promote and support the equal participation and full involvement of women in all efforts for maintaining and promoting peace and security; and mainstream a gender perspective in peacekeeping operations (Coomaraswamy, R., 2015).

The adoption of Resolution 1325 was shaped by post-Cold War US global policing policies (Harrington, C., 2010). The sudden absence of superpower conflict, Harrington, C. (2010) explains, led to the reorientation of the global security discourses: 'women's human rights' shifted from broader notions of social and economic rights to bodily integrity rights. Rights to bodily integrity refer to "being able to move freely from place to place; to be secure against violent assault, including sexual assault and domestic violence; having opportunities for sexual satisfaction and for choice in matters of reproduction" (Nussbaum, M., 2007:23). Conflicts in the post-Cold War era thus required new forms of peacekeeping that included attention to women's bodily integrity rights. The UN began monitoring violence against women. In particular, the events of the Rwandan genocide and the breakup of the former Yugoslavia, further shifted the focus within academia, policy makers, and media towards analyzing sexual violence in war (Harrington, C., 2010).

Resolution 1325 reflects a shift in understanding of the Security Council's role in the maintenance of international peace and security from a narrow, state-oriented approach to one that places people at its centre and recognizes that gender is integral to doing security (Chinkin, C., 2019; Hendricks, C., 2015).

> "The ending of the Cold War reconfigured the relationship of States and the international community to the concept of security. The traditional concept had been focused on defending national territory against outside aggression; now security is analyzed from the human perspective and in terms of protecting civilians. The new concept of security, inspired by the fact that 90 per cent of war and conflict victims were civilians, went beyond State security to take on a holistic perspective centred on the prevention of human rights violations, the protection of civilians from organized violence, and civilian experiences during conflicts."
>
> UNSCR1325 (article 27)

Women's participation in conflict prevention and resolution

Historically, standard peace and security processes have consistently overlooked the inclusion of women as a critical strategy that could contribute to conflict prevention and resolution and peace durability.

A growing body of research suggests that women's participation in conflict prevention and resolution can improve outcomes before, during, and after conflict. Some academics argue that parties in a conflict are more likely to reach sustainable agreements if women participate in peace talks. Stone, L., (2015:34), for example, argues that the inclusion of women as witnesses, signatories, mediators, and/or negotiators in peace processes demonstrates, in the short term, a 20% increase in the probability of a peace agreement lasting at least 2 years, and that over time, this percentage increases to a 35% probability of a peace agreement lasting 15 years. Nilsson, D. (2012:258) claims that the participation of civil society groups, including women's organizations, makes a peace agreement 64% less likely to fail. Lastly, Caprioli, M. (2003:196), using logistic regression, demonstrates that states with higher levels of gender equality exhibit lower levels of violence when involved in either intrastate or interstate disputes.

Other academics argue that the participation of women can strengthen the security sector and improve stability. Olsson, L. et al. (2009:117) explain that female security sector officials can gather crucial information about potential security risks as they have access to populations and venues that are closed to men. Bigio, J. and Vogelstein, R. (2016:11) contend that countries tend to be more prosperous and stable as the gender gap across a range of areas, including political and economic participation closes.

Despite women's critical contribution to security, however, their participation in peace processes continues to be marginal. As Cohn, C. et al., (2010) argues, it is important to recognize women as equal participants in peace and security processes not simply or solely because they provide a perspective and offer sources that would otherwise not be considered but rather because they have a right and a reason as individuals, people, as human to be included.

The following section will look into historical events and efforts by international organizations, national governments and civil society predating UNSC Resolution 1325 (2000) that led to the establishment of the WPS agenda.

The road to 1325

In 1915, women took collective action during time of war to establish peace. While not all women shared the pacifists' reaction to the outbreak of war, many sought an active part in the war effort and welcomed it as a way to advance the status of women. Feminists were concerned with how war and the institutions associated with it depended on specific constructions of masculinity and femininity, and how security institutions and militarization created and entrenched hierarchical gender relations (Hendricks, C., 2015). In the US, growing international unrest within male-run political systems

motivated suffrage leaders Jane Addams and Emily Greene Balch to convene a conference of thousands of representatives from US women's organizations to discuss possibilities for peace, out of which emerged the Woman's Peace Party (WPP), an organization dedicated to reforming the militaristic atmosphere of diplomacy (Sharer, W., 2011). Four months after the founding of the WPP, the annual meeting of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance (IWSA), an organization to campaign for women's suffrage was canceled due to the difficulties of traveling in the midst of international hostilities. In protest, Dutch suffragist Dr. Aletta Jacobs organized a conference of international women at the Hague.

The **International Congress of Women**, which met at the **Hague in 1915**, constituted a courageous and daring demonstration for international reconstruction and peace by 1,200 women from both neutral and warring nations, who attempted to influence multilateral negotiations and bring an end to **Wold War I** (Swaine, A., 2019). The Congress condemned the war and urged governments to cease fire, begin peace negotiations, and build a permanent peace based on principles of justice (Meyer, Mary K. 1999). It also established an **International Committee of Women for Permanent Peace (ICWPP)**, also known as **Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF)** with Jane Addams as its president. Since its establishment, WILPF continues to work towards achieving sustainable peace through feminist lenses, even today.

The increased participation of women led to the emergence of several bodies of law designed to govern and effect changes in war conduct that would pay attention to gendered experiences of conflict, including the problem of gender-based violence. Fast forward to **World War II**, Nicole E. Erb (2019) explains that prominent legal instruments fundamental to the development of international legal norms prohibiting gender-based violence were created, including the Nuremberg Charter, the Control Council Law No. 10, the Tokyo Charter, the Geneva Conventions of 1949 and additional Protocols I and II.[1] These legal instruments built a foundation for restructuring international peace and security processes by accounting for gendered experiences of conflict. However, these instruments would not have materialized without the creation of a structure that would support their development and implementation.

The women at the Hague – other than influencing multilateral negotiations to bring an end to WWI – were pushing for the creation of a multilateral system in which war would be eliminated; where you would discuss political solutions to prevent war. Their dream was realized in 1945 with the establishment of the United Nations (UN), which was established with the objective of saving future generations from the scourge of war.

Since its establishment, the UN has always promoted human security, making certain aspects of human rights and humanitarian concerns relevant to the peace and security agenda (Cohn, C. et al. 2010). In terms of gender security, it took the UN several decades to create a normative framework and operational policies and procedures tailored and responsive to the rights of women and girls in armed-conflict situations. The establishment of the **Commission on the Status of Women (CSW)** in June 1946 represented a unique first attempt to promote gender equality and the empowerment of women.

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[1] See Table I

The CSW was established by UN ECOSOC Resolution 11(II) to serve as a bridge between women's human rights defenders and peacebuilders working in conflict-altered situations and senior policymakers at UN Headquarters (Cohn, C. et al. 2010).

Since the establishment of the CSW, the UN passed numerous resolutions on women's rights, including the **Declaration on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women** (adopted by the General Assembly on 7 November 1967), which encompasses a broad range of rights in political, economic, educational, social and cultural matters, such as the right to vote and to hold political office, and the right to equal employment opportunity (Guggenheim. M., 1977).

The **UN World Conferences on Women (1975-1995)** were also important milestones in building upon the idea that women are indispensable participants and active agents of peace. Through the UN women's world conferences, insecurities impacting women within and outside of armed conflict were progressively captured within UN debate and outcome documents (Swaine, A. 2019). The first conference in Mexico (1975) initiated an ongoing dialogue on the status of women in a new space and gave impetus to the drafting and passing of the **Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW)**, an international treaty often referred to as the women's international bill of rights (PeaceWomen). CEDAW defines *gender-based violence* against women "as violence that is directed against a woman because she is a woman or that affects women disproportionately" (Chinkin, C., 2019). It also provides that states parties to the Convention condemn discrimination against women and undertake "by all appropriate means and without delay a policy of eliminating discrimination against women in all its forms" (article 2) and ensure to women equal rights politically (article 8) and economically (article 11) (UN, 1979).

The second and third conferences in Copenhagen (1980) and Nairobi (1985) continued to raise the profile of these discussions. At the fourth World Conference on Women held in Beijing in November 1995 (Beijing Conference), *women and armed conflict* was identified as one of the twelve critical areas of concern to be addressed by Member States of the United Nations (U.N.), the international community, and civil society (Gardam, J. et al., 2000). WILPF women and thousands of others came together and advocated for this critical area into the Platform for Action (PfA). **The Beijing Platform for Action (BPFA)** recognised that civilian casualties outnumber military casualties, with women and children comprising a significant number of the victims, and proposed strategic objectives including reducing military spending in order to redirect resources to peace; it also asserted that international humanitarian and human rights law need to be upheld and applied to offenses against women, and called for the increase participation of women in conflict resolution at decision-making levels (Chinking, C., 2019). Swaine, A. (2019) argues that the BPFA became the first, and possibly the most progressive normative document to outline a comprehensive critical framework that fully draws complex linkages between gender, national security, development, economic growth, militarism and empowerment for women. A number of strategic objectives were adopted by the Conference towards the achievement of this goal.

The mandate of the CSW thus expanded in 1996 to monitor the implementation of the BPFA, to review progress and problems in mainstreaming a gender perspective in UN activities. Following the adoption of the BPFA, the Commission reviews the Beijing Declaration every 5 years, reaffirming the

international community's commitment to its full and accelerated implementation. In the year 2000, for example, the General Assembly attended the twenty-third special session of the entitled "Women 2000: gender equality, development and peace for the twenty-first century" – also referred to as **Beijing+5** – in Beirut, Lebanon. Member states discussed the impact of trends of global change on gender equality, development and peace in terms of the implementation the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action and recommended further actions and initiatives to address the emerging challenges (UN Women, 2014).

Also relevant in the 1990s was the adoption of the **Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action in 1993**, which affirmed that "violations of the human rights of women in situations of armed conflict are violations of the fundamental principles of international human rights and humanitarian law" (article 28)), and called for the appointment of a **Special Rapporteur on violence against women** (article 40) to research gender-based violence and recommend measures, ways and means at the local, national, regional and international levels to eliminate all forms of violence against women and its causes, and to remedy its consequences (Resolution 1994/45). This post is currently held by Ms. Dubravka Šimonovic of Croatia. It further contributed to the **1993 Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women (DEVAW)**, which became the first international instrument to explicitly address violence against women. Article 1 of the DEVAW 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 deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life" (UN, 1993). It also provided a framework for national and international action. Article 4 states that states should "exercise due diligence to prevent, investigate and, in accordance with national legislation, punish acts of violence against women, whether those acts are perpetrated by the State or by private persons" (UN, 1993).

Thus, we must look back to 1915 to understand that the recognition of women as equal participants in peace and security processes is the result of continuous efforts to secure peace, justice, and equality. However, we must look beyond the year 2000 to understand how these efforts materialized, allowing for the reconfiguration of the gendered power dynamics that characterize our world.

Women, Peace, and Security: The Resolutions

UNSC Resolution 1325 represents the first formal and legal document addressing the gendered impact of armed conflict on women (Labonte, M. and Curry, G., 2016). As Chinkin, C. (2019) explains, Resolution 1325 was not adopted in a vacuum, but rather can be read with a number of other programs within the SC and UN architecture. Adopted in 31 October 2000, Resolution 1325 represents an effort to draw gender as a framework into the wider realm of international peace and security by introducing women's specific and gendered experiences of conflict and making visible women's exclusion from policy processes (Swaine, A., 2019). It recognizes the under-valued and under-utilized contributions women make to conflict prevention, peacekeeping, conflict resolution and peacebuilding and, thus, stresses the importance of women's equal and full participation as active agents in peace and security.

UNSC Resolution 1325 (2000)

Resolution 1325 provides a holistic approach to security comprised of four main pillars: Participation, Conflict Prevention, Protection, and Recovery.

- Resolution 1325 calls for increased **participation** of women at all levels of decision-making, including in national, regional, and international institutions; in peace negotiations; in peace operations as soldiers, police, and civilians; in the establishment of mechanisms for the prevention, management and resolution of conflict; in peace and reconstruction processes; as Special Representatives of the U.N. Secretary-General.
- Resolution 1325 calls specifically for the **protection** of women and girls from sexual and gender-based violence, including in emergency and humanitarian situations; and the respect of their rights.
- Resolution 1325 calls for improving intervention strategies in the **prevention** against all forms of violence against women, in particular sexual and gender-based violence, and of any violations to their human rights, including by: prosecuting those responsible for violations of international law; strengthening women's rights under national law; and supporting local women's peace initiatives and conflict resolution processes. It also calls for the prevention against the return to the status quo.
- Resolution 1325 calls for advancement of **recovery** measures to address international crises through a gendered lens by taking into account the particular needs of women and girls, especially in the design of refugee camps and settlements; and to build women's economic strength. The latter measures include providing them with access to basic services such as maternal health, protections against HIV/AIDS, food security, literacy, training and education, and other services essential to their human security.

Thus, Resolution 1325 is the foundational resolution from which all pillars of the WPS agenda derive. Subsequently, eight additional WPS resolutions were adopted, establishing further institutional modalities that work to mainstream gender within the substantive focus and ways of working of all facets of the global peace and security realm (Swaine, A., 2019). These resolutions are: 1820 (2009); 1888 (2009); 1889 (2010); 1960 (2011); 2106 (2013); 2122 (2013); 2242 (2015), and 2467 (2018).

UNSC Resolution 1820 (2008)

Adopted in 19 June 2008, Resolution 1820 recognizes sexual violence as a weapon and tactic of war; notes that rape and other forms of sexual violence can constitute a war crime, crime against humanity, or a constitutive act with respect to genocide; demands parties to armed conflict to immediately take appropriate measures to protect civilians from sexual violence, including training troops and enforcing disciplinary measures; requests the S-G to strengthen efforts to implement a policy of zero tolerance of sexual exploitation perpetrated by UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations personnel; and requests, through consultations with women and women-led organizations as appropriate, to develop effective mechanisms for providing protection from violence.

UNSC Resolution 1888 (2009)

Adopted in 30 September 2008, Resolution 1888 reaffirms that sexual violence exacerbates armed conflict and impedes international peace and security; calls for the deployment of a **Team of Experts (TOE)** to situations of particular concern with respect to sexual violence in armed conflict to support affected governments to strengthen their institutional safeguards against impunity; and welcomes the inclusion of women in peacekeeping missions in civil, military, and police functions through the appointment of Women's Protection Advisors (WPAs).

The UNSCR1888 also created a new post of **Special Representative of the Secretary-General on conflict-related sexual violence (CRSV)** and an interagency network known as the **UN Action Against Sexual Violence in Conflict**, the latter which serves as an umbrella organization addressing issues related to CRSV. The Council envisioned the role of the Special Representative in terms of being "a voice for the voiceless" and provide coherent and strategic leadership, to work effectively to strengthen existing UN coordination mechanisms, and to engage in advocacy efforts in order to address, at both headquarters and country level, sexual violence in armed conflict. The post is currently held by Ms. Pramila Patten of Mauritius and 2019 marks the 10th anniversary of the mandate.

UNSC Resolution 1889 (2009)

Adopted in 5 October 2009, Resolution 1889 notes that women's participation in all stages of peace processes, in particular their capacity to engage in public decision-making and economic recovery; notes that women in situations of armed conflict and post-conflict situations continue to be often considered as victims and not as actors in addressing and resolving these situations; and calls for the development of indicators for use at the global level to track the implementation of UNSCR1325.

UNSC Resolution 1960 (2010)

Adopted in 16 December 2010, Resolution 1960 provides an accountability system (i.e., monitoring, analysis, and reporting arrangements) for stopping conflict-related sexual violence. It sets up a listing mechanism, naming perpetrators and annual reports on parties that are credibly suspected of committing or being responsible for sexual violence. It further stipulates strategic, coordinated and timely collection of information for and briefings to the Security Council on conflict-related sexual violence; and calls for countries to establish specific time-bound commitments to combat sexual violence. Complementary to UNSC Resolution 1888, it welcomes the integration of Gender advisors to field missions alongside WPAs.

UNSC Resolution 2106 (2013)

Adopted in 24 June 2013, Resolution 2106 affirms that women's empowerment, gender equality and the enlistment of men and boys in the effort to combat all forms of violence against women are central to long-term efforts to prevent sexual violence in armed-conflict situations. It recognizes men and boys as secondarily traumatized as forced witnesses of sexual violence against family members and focuses on operationalizing current obligations rather than on creating new structures or initiatives and challenging impunity and lack of accountability for CRSC. In accordance to the latter, it recognizes that effective investigation and documentation of sexual violence in armed conflict is

instrumental both in bringing perpetrators to justice and ensuring access to justice for survivors; and supports the recourse to avenues of justice.

UNSC Resolution 2122 (2103)

Adopted in 18 October 2013, Resolution 2122 explicitly affirms an "integrated approach" to sustainable peace based on coherence between political, development, human rights , and rule of law; sets out concrete methods for combating women's participation deficit, while identifying UN-Women as key UN entity providing information and advice on participation of women in peace and security governance; recognizes the need to address root causes of armed conflict and threats to the security of women and girls in the pursuit of international peace and security; calls for the provision of multisectoral services to women affected by conflict; and links disarmament and gender equality by mentioning the Arms Trade Treaty (ATT) twice.

UNSC Resolution 2242 (2015)

Adopted in 13 October 2015, Resolution 2242 encourages assessments of strategies and resources in regard to the implementation of the WPS agenda; recognizes the importance of collaboration with civil society; reiterates the important engagement by men and boys as partners in promoting women's participation in the prevention and resolution of armed conflict, peace-building and post-conflict situations**;** decides to integrate WPS concerns across all country-specific situations on the SC's agenda, taking into account the specific context of each country; establishes an Informal Experts Group on WPS to provide a more systematic approach to WPS within SC's work; urges gender as a cross-cutting issue within the Countering Violent Extremism (CVE) and Counterterrorism (CT) agendas; and calls for increased funding, including through more aid.

UNSC Resolution 2467 (2019)

Adopted in 29 April 2019, Resolution 2467 affirms that a survivor-centered approach is required to prevent and respond to conflict-related sexual violence in all UN peace-making, peace-keeping and peace-building initiatives; emphasizes the responsibility that we bear to care for survivors of these heinous crimes; calls for a more holistic understanding of justice and accountability, which includes the provision of reparations for survivors as well as livelihood support to enable them to rebuild their lives and support their families; and recognizes the necessity, in all prevention and response efforts, of civil society actors who are on the frontlines of conflict. It recognizes that men and boys are also targets of sexual violence in conflict and post-conflict settings, including in the context of detention settings and those associated with armed groups, and urges Member States to protect victims who are men and boys through the strengthening of policies that offer appropriate responses to male survivors and challenge cultural assumptions about male invulnerability to such violence.

The **Women, Peace and Security agenda** is comprised by these 9 resolutions.

Today, the WPS agenda is comprehensive and calls on the international community to, among other things, promote and safeguard the human rights of women and girls and take special measure to protect them from sexual and gender-based violence in situation of armed conflict; and promote and support women's active and meaningful participation in all conflict-prevention and conflict resolution mechanism and institutions (formal and informal).

Why so many resolutions?

While Resolution 1325 was wider in scope, the additional eight resolutions are narrowed and targeted, allowing the structuring of overlooked and undervalued elements of the WPS agenda in a comprehensive and holistic way. While Resolutions 1889 (2009) and 2122 (2013) sharpened the commitment of member states to promote gender equality in peace negotiations, peacekeeping and peacebuilding, and national action plans, Resolutions 1820 (2008), 1888 (2009), 1960 (2010), 2106 (2013), 2242 (2015), and 2467 (2019) focused on the protection of women and children, and later men, from sexual and gender-based violence in wartime, triggering the institutionalization of a vast number of strategies and interventions. Thus, while the first series of resolutions sought to generate political will to put greater emphasis on gender in peace and security processes, the latter sought to ensure countries are hold accountable for their commitment towards the WPS principles.

Focusing events can also be important influences on agenda setting. The narrowed nature of the additional resolutions allowed for further refinement and focus on specific issues that needed the attention of the Security Council and the international community. For example, UNSCR 2242 (2015) introduced, for the first time, the notions of counter violent extremism and counterterrorism. In late January 2015, a coalition of West African military forces began a counter-insurgency campaign against Boko Haram – the violence had escalated dramatically in 2014; the insurgents became increasingly aggressive and started to seize large areas in Nigeria and expand to neighbouring countries.

Finally, the resolutions have expanded the focus on gender harms to new social groups previously overlooked: men and boys, children born of war, as well as recognition of the centrality of survivor centred approaches, as identified in UNSCR 2647.

The implementation of the agenda depends on each nation to create a country-specific, monitoring and evaluation framework that ensures the inclusion of women in peacebuilding and politics, also known as **National Action Plans (NAPs)**. As of August 2019, **81 countries** have established a NAPs to advance the Women, Peace, and Security agenda in their unique contexts (PeaceWomen).

Member states with NAPs

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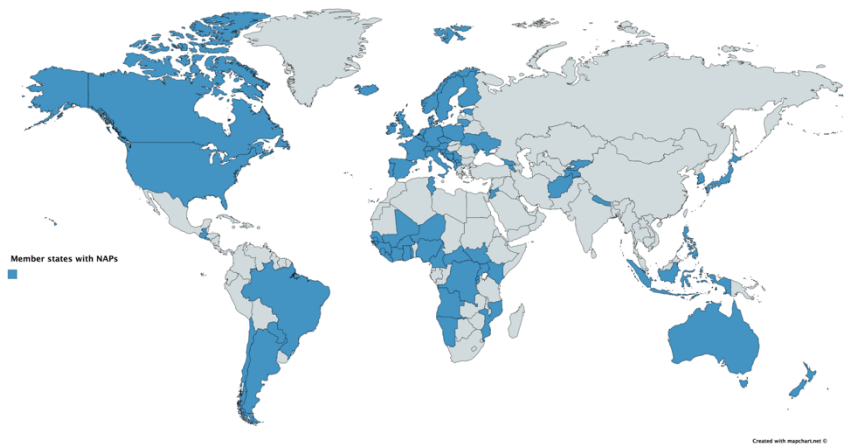
New Directions

The UN Security Council's commitment to women's participation remains 'at the top' of the UN agenda as an integral part of its mission to advance international peace and security (Kirby, P. et al., 2016). The WPS agenda has provided a framework for women to assert their rights to representation, participation, protection, and empowerment, and to live with dignity (Hendricks, C., 2015). Resolution 1325, in particular, has been used all over the world as a policy tool for implementing gender-sensitive formal and informal political arrangements after the cessation of conflict and as an advocacy tool for securing gender equity in demobilization, disarmament and reintegration programs and peacekeeping operations (Shepherd, L. 2008). Yet, the implementation of such framework has been limited and limiting.

To mark the fifteenth anniversary of the adoption of Resolution 1325 (2000), the Security Council adopted Resolution 2122 (2015), inviting the Secretary-General to conduct a review with regard to the implementation of Resolution 1325. The review, referred to as **Global Study on the Implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325** (hereafter, Global Study), was to identify the gaps and challenges, as well as emerging trends and priorities for action. It recognized that obstacles and challenges still persist and prevent the full implementation of the WPS agenda (Coomaraswamy, R., 2015).

Similarly, many scholars argue that the WPS agenda has been unable to promote or protect women's rights in wartimes to the degree it was first envisioned (Waldron and Baines, 2019). As both, de Jong Oudraat, C. (2019) and Theidon, K. (2018) argue, the Security Council resolutions on women, peace, and security have overwhelmingly focused on women and girls as victims of sexual violence during armed conflict. There are two major outcomes to this. First, in portraying women as victims of sexual violence in war to justify their protection and, hence, place gender in the transnational security agenda, their capacity as political actors and peacebuilders has been undermined. Second, other marginalized groups, their roles, agency, and vulnerabilities have been obscured. The focus on women, and not gender within Resolution 1325 not only reduces women to an essentialist, homogenous group, but complex forms of gender-based harm against men, queer and transgender persons are eclipsed and bracketed.

Intersectionality and 1325

The reduction of women to an essentialist, homogenous group negates feminist calls for the consideration of intersectional identities. Feminist scholars understand that the individual's social location as reflected in intersecting identities must be at the forefront of any investigation of gender (Singh, S., 2017). Intersectionality, as conceptualized by Kimberle Crenshaw (1990), illuminates how gender as a category intersects with other identities such as race, ethnicity, religion, culture, class, age, sexual orientation, etc. In particular, gender must be understood in the context of power relations embedded in social identities (Singh, S., 2017), and structural inequalities along which oppression, marginalization, and violence occur (Pratt, N. and Richter-Devroe, S., 2011). As Rooney, E. (2018) explains, intersectionality, in explaining everyday impacts and policy implications of deep-rooted intersectional inequalities, it can deepen our understanding of the gendered nature of armed conflict,

particularly with respect to understanding the construction of conflict-related identities (Rooney, E., 2018).

Even though the normative framework adopted by the 2015 Global Study on the implementation of Resolution 1325 is an intersectional approach, the type of intersectionality is a "gender-first" approach. A gender-first approach, Stienstra, D. (2019) argues, assumes that gender is the predominant factor and deals with other intersecting power relations in this context, which often obscures the unique experience of other marginalized groups. In this way, the focus on women has reinforced a limited discourse of gender, creating a narrow category of who is most vulnerable to violence owing to their gender (Hagen, J., 2016). Hagen, J. (2016) explains that these limiting categories, meant to secure all women, can ultimately create even more insecure environments for certain women who endure intersecting oppressions. It is for this reason that a nuanced gender analysis must be incorporated into gender-sensitive conflict-related research to include other identities and situations of women, as well as other categories of victims, and understand how these intersect with gender.

> "Gender is reduced to women; gender-based violence is reduced to rape; and the more complicated stories people tell about war are at risk of becoming unthinkable and, therefore, erased."

> (Theidon, K., 2018:7)

Continuum of violence

It is difficult, if not impossible to define when conflict-related sexual and gender-based violence starts and ends. Violence is a continuum not restricted to moments of war, but an everyday phenomenon that is prevalent in all settings and increasingly so during war (Gray, H., 2019). The argument about continued violence was first made by Elizabeth Ferris in 1990 by stressing how women face different forms of sexual and gender-based violence during conflict, flight, and protected encampment (Krause, U., 2015). It is important to note that this continuum is experienced by both, men and women. While men and women experience violence differently, they are confronted with gender-specific experiences that take place in a familiar but changing space due to conflict, continuous changing settings during flight, and new environment during encampment that cause violence to persist across different phases of peace, conflict, and post-conflict (Ibid).

> "The multiple and interlinked harmful acts which come under the label of 'violence' do not fall unproblematically into neat, clearly delineated categories; rather, they coexist, they (re)produce one another, and the boundaries between them are shifting, blurred, and overlapping. Given this blurriness, how violences come to be divided into distinct typologies is not straightforward or inevitable. But, like all definitions, it entails potentially violent processes of silencing and homogenising."

> (Gray, H., 2019:191)

Krause, U. (2015) argues that three significant factors contribute to the continuum of sexual and gender-based violence, namely gendered power structures, ineffective or insufficient law enforcement, and traumatic events. In addressing these factors, peace and security processes have to be flexible to

cope with problems that are simultaneously happening at multiple locations and at different levels (Cockburn, C., 2004).

Men and boys

In much of the policy literature, "gender" is frequently a code word for "women", leaving men as the unquestioned category (Theidon, K., 2018). Men and boys are often represented as perpetrators or secondary victims (i.e. traumatized as forced witnesses of sexual violence against family members) but rarely as victims of these same violations. Out of the nine SC resolutions on WPS, only four mention "men and boys". Resolution 1325 (2000) makes reference to men and boys to contrast what women and girls do not have. For example, they do not have the same right to education (article 237), nor the same access to production resources and control over these resources (article 255) than men and boys do. Resolution 2106 (2013) makes reference to men and boys as secondarily traumatized as forced witnesses of sexual violence against family members and, together with Resolution 2242 (2015), reiterates on the importance of engaging men and boys as partners in promoting women's participation in the prevention and resolution of armed conflict. Lastly, Resolution 2467 (2019) recognizes men and boys as victims of sexual violence. In doing so, Resolution 2467 engages men and boys, for the first time, as victim-survivors and not as perpetrators or secondary victims. The reason for this can be traced back, to an extent, to the Global Study, which in 2015 recognized that "while most victims are women and girls, men and boys are also affected, and the overwhelming majority do not feel safe reporting or obtaining redress" (Coomaraswamy, R., 2015). It can be further traced back to an increased interest in academia to apply an intersectional approach to the WPS agenda that includes other categories of victim.

While the recognition of men and boys as victims represents a major shift towards the advancement of a more inclusive WPS agenda, this development has yet to be consolidated in salient policy guidelines and handbooks. Touquet, H. and Gorris, E. (2019) argue that while men and boys' potential victimization is recognized, most policy documents do not treat the topic of male victimization in depth. Furthermore, other categories of victim remain absent in the WPS agenda and overall architecture, including children born of rape and sexual exploitation, women and girls with disabilities, and LGBTQ individuals.

Children born of war

Children born of wartime rape remain largely invisible on the WPS agenda. Resolution 2122 (2013) recognizes the need to "the full range of medical, legal, psychosocial and livelihood services to women affected by armed conflict and post-conflict situations," and notes "the need for access to the full range of sexual and reproductive health services, including regarding pregnancies resulting from rape, without discrimination." However, there is nothing said about the outcome of those pregnancies, nor about their meaning for the mothers and their children (Theidon, K. 2018). These children, Theidon, K. (2018) explains, are often born with disabilities as result of the continuous sexual abuse pregnant women in armed-conflict situations experience or failed abortion attempts. Furthermore, they are stigmatized. Children born of wartime rape often receive names that are injurious in nature; names that tend to remind their families and communities of the danger they survived, which influences how they are treated or, rather, ignored. Thus, to advance a more inclusive WPS agenda and better support

these invisible children, Theidon, K. (2018) argues for the need to look into how children born of wartime rape are named, represented, marked, and, perhaps, loved, which could generate new insights into the intersection of gender, ethnicity, sexuality, violence, and identity.

> "Gender is simply one axis of difference, which intersects with many other forms of identity and experience. Nationality, ethnicity, political and religious affiliation, caste, indigeneity, marital status, disability, age, sexual preference; all of these, and others, are important factors in determining women's lived experiences of conflict and recovery."
>
> Coomaraswamy, R., 2015

Gender and disability

Women and girls with disability are also disproportionately vulnerable to violence in conflicts and remain invisible and excluded from most post-conflict processes, including peacebuilding (Stienstra, D.,2019). In the Global Study, disability is addressed primarily in the context of women providing care for those who have been disabled in conflict and concerns about reliance on their unpaid labour, not necessarily about their right to access, capacity, and agency to be empowered to act on her own (Coomaraswamy, R., 2015). Most of the discourse related to disability thus ignores women disabled by war and conflict, women with disabilities who are responsible for caring for their children, and cultural differences in response to disability. In regard to the latter, Stienstra, D. (2019) explains, that in many conflict-affected societies, a hierarchy of impairments is created, where physical impairment (particularly of soldiers) receives the greatest support, leaving congenital or non-conflict-related impairments almost unattended. These cultural differences, together with gender discrimination, mean that girls and women with disabilities have significantly less access to services, including education, and are usually invisible or excluded from the post-conflict transition processes (Stienstra, D., 2019).

> "In crisis situations, women with disabilities suffer the most. I can run from danger but them, they cannot see. Their caregivers tend to leave them. Their caregivers violate them."
>
> Jerry et al., 2015:16 in Stienstra, D., 2019

Disabled women should be empowered to act on their own, for which not only open and accessible systems to women with disabilities must be created, but also work has to be done towards the elimination of the social stigma that exists around disability. Only in this way can society perceive disabled women and girls as capable and, hence, as equal participants in security and peace processes.

LGBTQI individuals

Finally, those vulnerable to insecurity and violence because of their sexual orientation or gender identity also remain largely neglected by the international peace and security community. All WPS resolutions and throughout the formal WPS architecture, LGBTQ individuals remain largely unaccounted for. This neglect is in part the result of heteronormative gender assumptions in the framing of the WPS agenda, which further excludes identities that do not fit neatly into a binary conception of gender and, hence, prevents addressing the violence targeted at gay men and transgender women (Hagen, J., 2016).

> "LGBTI people are at heightened risk in conflict. First, the community networks that enable people to survive during times of conflict are often not available to LGBTI people who have been rejected by their family or community. Second, the empowerment of military actors nationally erodes the safety of LGBTI people because military power is generally premised on essentializing "two sexes" and de facto recognition (and acceptance) of only heterosexual intimacy. Third, in times of war, dissent is discouraged, which makes LGBTI human rights defenders and all who challenge the status quo outsiders to nationalist fervor."
>
> (Davis, L. and Stern, J., 2019)

There is a need to investigate LGBTQI issues, including anti-LGBTQI sentiment and violence, to understand how dominant heteronormative gender ideologies perpetuate violence and unequal power relations (Myrttinen, H. et al., 2017). Intersectionality is thus fundamental to framing gendered violence and discrimination at vulnerable intersections, including violence against men who are perceived feminine as deriving from vulnerabilities faced by women raped during conflict, or against lesbian and bisexual women from conservative families who face increased difficulties in accessing tailored services due to social norms. Similarly, an intersectional lens can be applied to introduce other forms of SGBV that are currently undocumented within the WPS monitoring mechanisms, such as homophobia or transphobia (Davis, L. and Stern, J., 2019; Myrttinen, H. et al., 2017; Hagen, J. 2016)

Conclusion

Next year, the WPS agenda turns 20. While it is clear from the Security Council's political recognition of the WPS agenda that gender is indeed central to international peace and security, there is still a long way to go to address gender inequality and mainstream a gender perspective into all peace and security activities and strategies. With the 25th anniversary of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (Bejing+25) and the 20th anniversary of the United Nation Security Council (UNSC) Resolution 1325 (1325+20) approaching, the year 2020 will be a pivotal year for the realization of gender equality and the advancement of a more inclusive WPS agenda.

One way to address some of the obstacles and challenges that still persist and prevent the full implementation of the WPS agenda is to recognize the current gap in analysis of gendered violence. Firstly, recognize existing gender binaries of men and women as a gendered given identity; of victims and perpetrators as the only possible embodiment of conflict; and of war and peace as clearly delineated events (Waldron and Baines, 2019). Secondly, recognize heteronormative assumptions in the WPS monitoring mechanisms in the implementation of the WPS agenda.

For the WPS agenda to advance, it has to be acknowledged that women and girls are not the only victims of sexual violence, and that sexual violence is not the only form of gender-based violence (Dolan, C., 2015). The dialogue needs to be reframed to acknowledge that while a focus on women is necessary, it is not sufficient (de Jonge Oudraat, C., 2019). However, a more inclusive understanding of sexual and gender-based violence cannot come at a cost to women and girls, who remain disproportionately affected (Touquest, H. et al, 2019). To do this, further gender-sensitive conflict-

related research must be done on how diverse identities and situations of women, as well as other categories of victims, **intersect** with gender. Furthermore, this intersectional approach to the WPS must translate into intersectional action, as expressed in NAPs.

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Appendix

Table I. Legal instruments fundamental to the development of international legal norms prohibiting gender-based violence by Nicole E. Erb (2019)

Legal instrument	Contribution
The Nuremberg Charter	The International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg addressed three categories of crimes: crimes against peace, war crimes, and crimes against humanity. Rape is neither specifically enumerated as a war crime, nor as a crime against humanity. The Charter is nonetheless significant to a discussion of gender-based crimes in that it introduced to the international community for the first time the concept of crimes against humanity, which have come to encompass the crime of rape.
Control Council Law No. 10	The Control Council Law No. 10 established the jurisdiction of military tribunals operating in the Allied Powers' respective zones of occupation. The definition of crimes against humanity set forth in Control Council Law No. 10 very closely resembles that of the Nuremberg Charter, but it expands the formulation to include rape as one of the enumerated crimes. Article II(1)(c) defines crimes against humanity as: "Atrocities and offences, including but not limited to murder, extermination, enslavement, deportation, imprisonment, torture, **rape**, or other inhumane acts committed against any civilian population, or persecutions on political, racial or religious grounds whether or not in violation of the domestic laws of the country where perpetrated".
Tokyo Charter	The Charter for the International Military Tribunal of the Far East was established in 1946 in Tokyo to try Japanese leaders for war crimes committed during World War II. Like the Nuremberg Charter, the Tokyo Charter does not enumerate rape as a crime against humanity. However, the Tokyo Tribunal specifically included rape as a violation of recognized customs and conventions of war, along with mass murder, pillage, brigandage, and torture. "Subjecting civilians to indignities" was an additional offense covering rape and sexual assaults. During the Tokyo trials, rape was prosecuted as a war crime and certain Japanese officials were found guilty of rape "because they failed to carry out their duty to ensure that their subordinates complied with international law." While the recognition of rape as a war crime distinguished the Tokyo trials from those at Nuremberg, rape was not a major focus of the proceedings.

The Geneva Conventions of 1949	The atrocities committed during WWII and the introduction of "crimes against humanity" at Nuremberg led the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) to promulgate the Geneva Conventions of 1949. The Conventions were designed to guide the conduct of warring parties and offer protection and ensure the humane treatment of victims and prisoners of war. World War II and the Tokyo trials drew some attention to the atrocities of rape in armed conflict and perhaps contributed to the explicit inclusion of **rape as a violation** of the Geneva Conventions of 1949. The Geneva Conventions marked concrete legal advancements in the protection of women from sexual assault and opened up greater possibilities for the international prosecution of gender-based crimes committed during armed conflict. Today, the Geneva Conventions of 1949 have been accepted by most states.
Additional Protocols I and II	In order to broaden the scope of the Geneva Conventions, the ICRC drafted **Protocols I and II**. Protocol I heightens the standards of conduct and responsibility of states and individuals involved in international armed conflicts and Protocol II protects combatants and civilians in conflicts of a non-international nature. Protocol I does not list rape as a grave breach, however, it does specifically protect women against "humiliating and degrading treatment" including "rape, ... forced prostitution," and "indecent assault. Similarly, Article 4 of Protocol II expressly prohibits "rape" and "outrages on personal dignity."