Gendering the Agenda

Discursive Constructions of Gender within the Security Council’s ‘Women, Peace and Security’ Agenda

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This work is substantially my own, and where any part of this work is not my own, I have indicated this by acknowledging the source of that part or those parts of the work.

Jessica Frazer

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Abstract

In 2000, the adoption of Security Council resolution 1325 on the issue of ‘Women, Peace and Security’ (WPS) heralded the Council’s adoption of a new gender-sensitive approach to security. While an extensive literature has ‘assessed the impact’ of the implementation of this new agenda, limited attention has been paid to interrogating the ways in which WPS policy and its resulting implementation have functioned to discursively reproduce certain understandings of the power relations between women and men. Through a discursive analysis of the four WPS resolutions, this thesis problematises the ways in which the Council has understood and reproduced understandings of gender. It then extends previous analyses of the Council’s practice of WPS policy through a quantitative content analysis and a qualitative discursive analysis of the gender content that appears in the 609 non-WPS resolutions that have been passed since resolution 1325. The study concludes that while gender-sensitive policies may seek to address and prevent gendered forms of oppression and exclusion, the discourses of gender that underpin these policies can function to unconsciously reproduce these very forms of oppression and exclusion.
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1 The findings presented by all graphs within this thesis have been generated based on an analysis of WPS terminology within the 609 non-WPS Security Council resolutions that have been passed after the adoption of resolution 1325: UNSCR 1326 (2000) to UNSCR 1937 (2010). This data excludes WPS resolutions 1820 (2008), 1888 (2009) and 1889 (2009). As the analysis focuses on resolutions passed after 1325, only 9 of the 51 resolutions passed in 2000, and resolutions past prior to 31 August in 2010 have been examined. This has resulted in irregularly high frequencies of WPS terminology in 2000, possibly reflecting a relatively high commitment to the new policy considering the relatively recent passing of the initial WPS resolution. However, it is important to note that this is still an accurate representation of the percentage of resolutions post-1325 that include WPS terminology.
# List of Acronyms and Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acronym</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CEDAW</td>
<td>Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination Against Women</td>
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<tr>
<td>CSW</td>
<td>Commission on the Status of Women</td>
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<tr>
<td>ECOSOC</td>
<td>United Nations Economic and Social Council</td>
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<td>GAD</td>
<td>Gender And Development</td>
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<tr>
<td>NAP</td>
<td>National Action Plan</td>
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<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-Governmental Organisation</td>
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<td>NGOWG</td>
<td>NGO Working Group on Women, Peace and Security</td>
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<tr>
<td>Non-WPS Resolutions</td>
<td>United Nations Security Council Resolutions that do not focus specifically on the ‘Women, Peace, and Security’ agenda</td>
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<tr>
<td>OSAGI</td>
<td>United Nations Office of the Special Adviser on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women</td>
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<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
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<td>UNGA</td>
<td>United Nations General Assembly</td>
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<td>UNIFEM</td>
<td>United Nations Development Fund for Women</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNSC</td>
<td>United Nations Security Council</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNSCR</td>
<td>United Nations Security Council Resolution</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNTAET</td>
<td>The United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor</td>
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<td>UNWW</td>
<td>United Nations Women’s Watch</td>
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<tr>
<td>WID</td>
<td>Women In Development</td>
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<tr>
<td>WILPF</td>
<td>Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom</td>
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<td>WPS</td>
<td>Women, Peace and Security</td>
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Introduction

On 31 October, 2000, the United Nations Security Council adopted resolution 1325 (UNSCR 1325) on the thematic issue of ‘Women, Peace and Security’ (WPS). The adoption of this resolution was significant in that it was the first time the Council had ever acknowledged gender as an important factor in addressing international peace and security. Subsequent to this acknowledgment, the resolution outlined a new, gender-sensitive approach to addressing issues of security. UNSCR 1325 called for the Council’s adoption of gender mainstreaming: a policy which aims to address gendered inequalities by ensuring that gender issues are consistently considered and addressed in every policy and programme action of an organisation. It was hoped that by considering gender in all aspects of the Council’s work, gendered forms of oppression and exclusion that existed in times of conflict could be addressed and prevented. The central argument of this thesis is that at a discursive level, policies designed to address and prevent gendered forms of oppression and exclusion can unconsciously reproduce the very forms of oppression and exclusion that they seek to rectify. Therefore, I argue that it is necessary to interrogate how concepts such as gender are understood by a policy maker, in order to identify how these conceptualisations may limit the intended impact of policy.

Chapter One argues that the acknowledgment of gender concerns as important to security within UNSCR 1325 represented an important shift from a security discourse that was both gender-biased and gender-blind, to a new discourse on security that not only acknowledged gender, but also conceptually linked issues of gender (and particularly women’s concerns) to the maintenance of international peace and security. Following an explanation of discourse as the conceptual framework through which actors come to understand issues such as ‘security’, the chapter
presents an overview of the Security Council’s traditional ‘security’ discourse. It argues that this discourse was gender-biased in that it unconsciously privileged the masculine over the feminine, and gender-blind in that it did not consciously identify that it was built upon a male understanding of security. The chapter then outlines how feminist advocates came to identify the Council’s gender-biased approach to security, and subsequently advocated for the Council to acknowledge and address gender concerns in their responses to issues of international peace and security. The chapter concludes by arguing that UNSCR 1325 represented the Council’s eventual acknowledgment of gender, and its adoption of a policy which committed the Council to taking a new, gender-sensitive approach to security.

Given that the Council’s shift from a gender-blind approach to security to a gender-sensitive approach has the potential to result in more positive outcomes for women and men, Chapter Two looks at the importance of assessing the impact of the Security Council’s new WPS agenda. The chapter outlines how existing advocacy initiatives and the academic literature have assessed the impact of the WPS agenda so far. It argues that while certain conceptual features of the WPS agenda have been problematised throughout the literature, discursive critiques of the Council’s conceptualisation of, and thus approach to gender, have been quite limited. The work of Laura J. Shepherd is identified as an important exception in her discursive examination of UNSCR 1325.

Informed by Shepherd’s approach, I argue for the value of using discursive analysis alongside quantitative methods, in order to identify whether the Security Council’s newfound gender-sensitivity indicates the Council’s adoption of a new way of understanding gender (i.e. a new gender discourse). Finally, the chapter presents an overview of the method of discourse, outlining the importance of textual examination, methods for analysing conceptual constructions, and
explaining the structural features of Security Council resolutions (the texts that will be analysed within the thesis).

Chapter Three problematises the Security Council’s understanding of gender by discursively analysing how gender is discussed and constructed within the four resolutions that make up the Council’s articulation of WPS policy (UNSCRs 1325, 1820, 1888 and 1889). This chapter argues that while the Council’s acknowledgement of gender is important, it is not sufficient to indicate that the Council’s gender-focused policy functions to challenge gendered power relations. Through an analysis of the ways in which the terms women and men have been discussed within the resolutions, this chapter argues that while the WPS resolutions call for a rethinking of security in a gender-sensitive way, they do not indicate a radical rethinking of gender. I argue that the Security Council’s understanding of males and females, as evidenced in UNSCR 1325, rests upon what Young has termed as an underlying gendered logic of masculine protection (Young, 2003:2) – a patriarchal understanding that women are inherently vulnerable and thus are dependent upon protection from men who are inherently more powerful than women. The Council’s discussions of women revolve around an understanding that women need to be looked after, rather than an understanding of women as equal partners. The chapter then identifies a potential shift in the Council’s understanding of gender, and argues that while the Council’s acknowledgement of gender, and its move towards gender-sensitivity was significant, the underlying gender discourse that informed the Council’s early articulations of gender-sensitive policy remained problematic in that Council continued to work from the basis of women as inherently vulnerable and men as inherently powerful. I conclude by identifying the significance of the potential shift indicated within the most recent WPS resolutions, with the Council’s move towards considering women as equal participants rather than as inherently vulnerable in conflict.
While the third chapter examines the construction of gender within WPS policy, Chapter Four extends upon previous assessments of the Council’s practice of gender mainstreaming by undertaking both a quantitative content analysis and a qualitative discourse analysis of the 609 non-WPS focused resolutions adopted after UNSCR 1325 (UNSCRs 1326-1937). The first section of the chapter undertakes an analysis of the gender content within these resolutions, to identify the extent to which the Security Council has practiced gender mainstreaming over the last ten years. After establishing that the Council appears to be increasingly addressing gender concerns in its non-gender focused policy, I then undertake a qualitative discourse analysis to identify how gender is constructed in these texts. Based on my findings, I argue that overall, the discursive construction of gender underpinning the Council’s practice of gender mainstreaming continues to be premised on a logic of the masculine as protector. Despite the recent acknowledgment that the Council needs to reconsider how it approaches women (as identified in Chapter Three), the chapter concludes that as yet, there does not appear to be evidence of this new approach.

The thesis concludes by arguing that the Security Council’s WPS agenda and gender mainstreaming policy are attempts to rethink security in a gender-sensitive way, so as to address and prevent gendered forms of oppression and exclusion from being perpetuated by the Council. While this was a significant step forward, this thesis shows that rather than challenging acknowledged gendered power relations, the Council has predominantly approached gender in a way that seeks to minimise the negative outcomes of these power relations. As a result of this way of thinking, the very forms of gendered oppression and exclusion that the Council’s gender-sensitive policies try to correct are unconsciously reproduced through the Council’s articulation of these policies.
Chapter 1: Gendered Discourses of Security

In October 2000, the United Nations Security Council adopted resolution 1325 (UNSCR 1325) on the thematic issue of Women, Peace and Security (WPS). This resolution was the first articulation of the WPS agenda, outlining a set of actions to be taken in order to reach an outcome of gender equality, so that neither females nor males would be excluded or oppressed as a result of security policy and programmes. The cornerstone of this agenda was a strategy called *gender mainstreaming* that entailed a rethinking of security in order to address and prevent gendered forms of oppression and exclusion. UNSCR 1325 was considered a landmark resolution given that it was the first time that the Council had identified gender concerns as integral to thinking about and responding to situations of international security. The resolution, therefore, signalled a shift in the Council’s discourse around (or understanding of) security, whereby the Council had finally acknowledged gender as relevant to security.

This chapter begins by discussing the concept of discourse, how discourse functions to produce meaning by delimiting conceptual boundaries that both include and exclude, and how actors adopt certain subject-positions that have been produced by the discourse. After presenting an overview of the traditional discourse used by the Security Council, I then review how gender advocates began to identify the negative, gendered consequences of this traditional discourse. Finally, I argue that the introduction of UNSCR 1325 represented the Council’s response to these

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2 The United Nations Security Council in fact termed the agenda of the resolution ‘Women, peace, security’. However, within the literature the agenda is usually entitled ‘Women, Peace and Security’, and I will utilize this phrasing throughout this thesis.

3 Prior to the adoption of UNSCR 1325, the Security Council had not explicitly discussed the issue of gender as either important or indeed relevant to considerations of international peace and security.
criticisms, through an attempt to address and rectify gendered forms of oppression and exclusion by taking a new, gender-sensitive approach to security.

**Discourse: Making Meaning**

So what is meant by discourse? Epstein (2008:2) defines discourse as “a cohesive ensemble of ideas, concepts and categorizations about a specific object that frame that object in a certain way and, therefore, delimit the possibilities for action in relation to it”. A discourse is therefore the conceptual mechanism through which we understand and make sense of objects, concepts and issues in the world. Just as a map functions as a representation of a physical territory, a discourse represents the cohesive conceptual interpretation that frames the way that we conceive of and interpret the object (or focus) of that discourse, as well as the way we convey this interpretation to others.

A focus on discourse is premised on the assumption that the ways in which actors understand their world have direct consequences for the ways in which those actors act towards their world, and thus the actual constitution of that material world as a result of those actions. For example, Epstein explores how whales have been understood to mean different things over time. Historically, a whaling discourse conceived of whales as a “strategic resource, a key raw material, a fuel, and a food” (Epstein, 2008:1). This understanding of whales – this discourse – legitimised certain ways of acting toward whales (hunting them) which led to specific ‘real-world’ consequences for the whales – that they were harvested as a resource. In contrast Epstein identifies an anti-whaling discourse that instead conceives of whales as rare, majestic, intelligent creatures who, because of the traditional discourse, have become endangered and are now in need
of protection. The acceptance of this new discourse has meant that actions such as hunting whales are delegitimised, which in turn has lead to different outcomes for whales in that they are hunted with less frequency (Epstein, 2008:6).

Discourses produce meaning and both define and limit what is and is not relevant when considering and acting with reference to the discursive object. A discourse’s internal logic fixes the boundaries of what does and does not constitute a legitimate and relevant approach to an object, and delimits conceptual boundaries that both include and exclude specific meanings. While discursive logics and boundaries constrain and fix the range of meanings that fit within a discourse, discourse is also productive of the subjects of that discourse – the persons that can be spoken about and the persons that speak from within that discourse. For example, historically ‘war’ has been understood as an event of violent conflict fought between male human beings (Cock, 1992). This discourse conceived of those engaged in the violence of the conflict to be adult men. As such, non-adult men (i.e. females and children) were considered not to be the subjects of war, but its innocent victims (or collateral). The discourse of war thus produced two subjectivities (or roles) within war – participant and victim – which were traditionally gendered.

We can identify the subject position of an actor (i.e. the position from which they speak) by listening to how they speak within the discourse. An actor may be identified as stepping into the position of the innocent victim if they speak of the suffering they have gone through as a result of the actions of warring parties (i.e. non-victims). Subject positions (or subjectivities) are produced and reproduced discursively – they exist as positions that can be taken up by subjects because

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4 I do not suggest that meaning becomes eternally fixed by discourse – the production of meaning is an ongoing, process of redefinition (Shepherd, 2008:176, fn.7) – but rather that it is through discourse that certain meanings come to be assigned to objects.
they fit within the internal logic of the discourse. Potential subjectivities are thus constrained and (re)produced by discourse.

As noted above, discourses function as conceptual maps that frame the way that we understand and respond to certain discursive objects. In framing our understandings, discourses have a direct impact upon the ways in which we act in response to that object, and these actions in turn impact upon the material world. A discursive approach focuses on the immaterial (discourse) in the understanding that it is through discourse that actors come to conceive of their world, and therefore the manner in which they should act within that world (Milliken, 1999). Discourses, while immaterial, have material effects in that they delimit the ways in which actors conceive of an issue or object, and therefore, the possible courses of action conceivable to an actor regarding the ways in which they act in response to that issue/object. In speaking from within a specific discourse, an actor is provided with a cohesive framework for understanding and communicating information about the object of that discourse with other speakers (Cohn, 1993:228). I now turn to examining how the Security Council has moved from gender-blind to a gender-sensitive security discourse.


This section examines the ways in which gender and security have been rendered meaningful to the Security Council prior to, and following the adoption of UNSCR 1325. I argue that prior to the adoption of UNSCR 1325, the security discourse used by the Council failed to recognise the

5 Throughout this thesis, I will draw upon Shepherd’s use of bracketing (re) before certain verbs in order to denote that the discursive production of meaning reproduces and re-legitimates existing ways of understanding discursive objects (Shepherd, 2008:175, fn.7).
gendered dynamics of situations of armed conflict, privileged an understanding of conflict that was based upon male experiences of conflict (i.e. was gender-biased), and was blind to these internal gendered dynamics (i.e. gender-blind). The adoption of UNSCR 1325, however, reflected a potential shift to a discourse on security that not only acknowledged the gendered nature of conflict, but also discursively tied gender equality to the achievement of peace and security.

The Traditional Security Discourse of the Security Council

This section argues that prior to 2000, the Council’s conception of security was gendered in two ways: it produced gendered subjects, and it presented an understanding of conflict and security that was based on a traditionally male experience of peace and conflict. Lastly, I argue that this discourse itself was blind to the ways in which it was gender-biased, and thus came to reproduce gendered forms of oppression and exclusion.

Determined to “save succeeding generations from the scourge of war” (UN, 1945: preamble), the United Nations (UN) was set-up in the mid 20th century as a response to the devastating consequences of two successive world wars. The Security Council is charged with the primary responsibility for “the maintenance of international peace and security” (UN, 1945: Ch.V, Art.24/1), which is stated within the Charter as the primary purpose of the United Nations (UN, 1945: Ch.I, Art.1/1). Residing “at the centre of UN power” (Cohn, 2008:186), the Council has the authority and capacity to respond to breaches of the peace, and can be considered the global decision-making body on issues of security. Given the mandate of the Security Council as the global security decision-maker, the way in which the Council understands and acts regarding
security will impact upon the lived experiences of individuals around the world in situations of peace and conflict.

Historically, the Security Council and UN more generally have spoken about issues of peace and security in a way that has been productive of gendered subject-positions. War and armed conflict were broadly understood to be the domain of men (the participants and perpetrators of violence), while non-men (i.e. women and children) were conceptualised as the innocent, non-participants of war – those vulnerable to the negative consequences of the masculine activity of war and thus in need of protection. For example, within the Geneva Conventions there are forty-three provisions that specifically deal with women in armed conflict. The wording of these provisions predominantly speaks of the need to protect women and women’s honour (particularly from sexual exploitation) given that they are vulnerable persons (Gardam and Charlesworth, 2000:159). The discourse around war and security, therefore, has produced an understanding of women as vulnerable and victims of war rather than as agents or participants.

This conceptualisation of the feminine as vulnerable and victim has been enhanced by the tendency to refer to women within the broader categorisation of ‘women and children’⁶. For example in 1974, the General Assembly adopted resolution 3318 - a ‘Declaration on the Protection of Women and Children in Emergency and Armed Conflict (UNGA, 1974). Every textual reference to ‘women’ appears within the phrase ‘women and children’, and the resolution deals exclusively with the ‘protection’ of these vulnerable persons in situations of conflict and emergency. By grouping women and children under one discursive construction, women are

⁶In 1993, Cynthia Enloe highlighted the construction of ‘women and children’ in discussing the tendency for women to be considered as family members rather than actors. For a discussion of the use of this construction in advocating for civilian protections in war, see Carpenter (2005).
rhetorically infantilised. Rather than being equated with fully developed human beings, women are depicted as *essentially* in need of similar protections that would be afforded to children on account of their gender (Shepherd, 2008:41). As a result of this construction of women and children as both non-participants and ‘in-need-of-protection’, men (the non-woman, non-child) are implicitly positioned by the discourse in the roles of participant and protector within conflict. Men are implicitly constructed as not carrying the same vulnerability as women and children on account of their being male. The way in which the discourse conceived of the activity of conflict, therefore, was productive of gendered subjects: the masculine participant/protector (and by virtue of their participation and the need for protection, the perpetrator), and the feminine and/or infantile vulnerable or victim.

Not only did this discourse (re)produce gendered subjects, but warfare and conflict were discursively conceptualised as masculine activities. In constructing the participants of warfare as masculine, and the passive victims of warfare as feminine and infantile, the discourse categorised warfare as an activity in which the feminine did not engage, unless it was as a victim of warfare’s consequences. Indeed within the predominantly masculine discourse, the categorisation of women as victims can perhaps be better understood as women as ‘the unprotected’. Rather than women being discussed as a subject of the discourse (the one to whom suffering occurs), the discourse actually positioned women as the object (Chappell, 2008:168) – the ‘thing’ that a man fails to protect given their role as the defenders from and engagers in the activity of warfare.

This tendency to speak of women only in relation to men is exemplified in that, where ‘women’s concerns’ were identified and addressed by speakers of this discourse, the concerns dealt with were only those identified as important from the male perspective, and primarily those regarding
sexual and reproductive aspects (Gardam and Charlesworth, 2000:160). This tends to support feminist scholars who have identified that the traditional articulation of an objective ‘human experience’ of conflict was in fact founded upon a masculine experience (Tickner, 1999:46; Steans, 2003:436; Wibben, 2004:105; Chappell, 2008:160).

The traditional discourse around conflict and security was gendered in that it was productive of gendered subjects who were positioned in a dominant/subordinate hierarchical relationship to one another. Consequently, with the male experience of conflict being legitimised as the human experience (rendering it the norm and therefore non-gendered), the ‘female experience’ has been effectively rendered as the only ‘gendered’ experience of conflict.

This traditional understanding of war and conflict rested upon an internal logic of masculine protectors and perpetrators vis-a-vis the potential victims who were in need of their protection – the feminine vulnerable. Not only was warfare discursively gendered, but the discourse itself was blind to this gendered dynamic. Speakers of the discourse such as the Security Council, did not recognise the ways in which the discourse was gendered, nor the negative consequences that this could have for recipients of their policies and programmes, and therefore processes surrounding peace and conflict “were still treated as allegedly gender-neutral processes both in theory and in practice” (Boehme, n.d.:3).

In failing to consider conflict and security from the perspectives of both men and women, efforts to address situations of conflict have focused on responding to the needs of men, and the needs of women as understood by men, resulting in a failure to recognise and respond to women’s experiences of conflict and security. Therefore, the Council’s traditional security discourse has been both gendered and blind to this gender dynamic. It failed to recognise that in addressing
what it understood as the ‘human experience’ of conflict, it actually failed to account for the specific gendered experiences of half of the human population.

**Feminist Advocacy around Gender and the Response of the United Nations**

Throughout the 1960s and 70s, feminist advocacy led to notions of gender inequality and the importance of recognising the particular experiences of women gaining increasing visibility and legitimacy within the international community (Mandle, 1994; Fainsod Katzenstein, 2010:47). Scholarship and activism problematised the apparent ‘gender-neutrality’ of many fields by identifying the gendered power inequalities that the dominant discourse rested upon, and pointing to the resulting exclusion and oppression of women as the subordinate gender (Krook and Childs, 2010:4). Advocates began to lobby for the equality of women, developing strategies aimed at changing institutional policies to reflect gender considerations.

Feminist advocacy was particularly strong within the development field, and it was here that the initial strategy to achieve gender equality through institutional change was developed. Known as *Women in Development* (WID), this strategy called attention to gendered inequalities inherent in both the theory and practice of the field of development, and called for the integration of women into the traditionally male-dominated field in order to achieve gender equality (Byron and Thorburn, 1998:223; Charlesworth, 2005:2). The second strategy, *Gender and Development* (GAD), grew out of WID, and focused on problematising the underlying gender biases in institutional discourses and practices. This strategy took ‘gender’ rather than ‘women’ as the object of analysis, and it built upon the WID approach by not only focusing on equal opportunity – i.e. giving women opportunities equal to those given to men – but additionally problematising
both the power dynamic of gender relations and the impact of these relations on the development sphere (Connelly, Murray Li et al., 2000:49).

The third gender equality strategy, *gender mainstreaming*, developed from these two prior strategies (Byron and Thorburn, 1998:223; Charlesworth, 2005:2). Although WID and GAD had been situated within the development field, gender mainstreaming was developed as a strategy that could be applied to the structures, policies and programs of all institutions and organisational bodies. The goal of this strategy is to “institutionalize equality by embedding gender-sensitive practices and norms in the structures, processes, and environment” of institutions (Daly, 2005:435). Gender mainstreaming suggests a move away from what Charlesworth has termed “gender sidestreaming” (whereby specialised sections of an organisation deal with gender issues), instead moving towards the incorporation of gender issues within all of the organisations’ mainstream activities (Charlesworth, 2005:1). This strategy was to become the cornerstone of the United Nations policy to address gender inequality, and was later taken up in UNSCR 1325 as the Security Council’s strategic approach to considering gender issues within a focus on peace and security.

In the 1970s the United Nations began to respond to feminist concerns by declaring 1975 as the International Year of Women and staging the first of four ‘United Nations World Conferences for Women’ in Mexico that same year (UNWW, n.d.). The UN subsequently declared the decade of 1976 to 1985 as the ‘United Nations Decade for Women’ (UNWW, n.d.). As a result of the concerns raised in Mexico, in 1979 the United Nations General Assembly adopted the

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7 The movement to the GAD approach was informed by a shift in feminist thinking to focusing on gender rather than women. This change was significant in that it inferred “a shift away from an exclusive emphasis on women's disadvantage and difference to the organisation of gender in all social structures and processes” (Cock, 1992)
Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). The document outlined the rights of women across the globe, suggesting strong UN support for the gender equality cause (UNWW, n.d.).

It was at the World Conferences for Women that the UN began discussions regarding women’s perspectives of peace and security. Discussions focused on the strengthening of peace and inclusion of women in decision-making (Mexico, 1975); women as agents of change (Copenhagen, 1980); and women’s participation in decision-making within the peace-building process (Nairobi, 1985) (UNWW, n.d.:1-2). References to mainstreaming gender first appeared at Nairobi, and by the fourth World Conference at Beijing in 1995, the concept of gender mainstreaming had gained vast popularity, appearing throughout the resulting Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (Beijing Platform for Action)\(^8\). The strategy called upon all state and non-state actors to mainstream gender perspectives throughout all policy and programs by ensuring that “before decisions are taken, an analysis is made of the effects on women and men, respectively” (UN, 1995: paragraph 229). Aside from its calls for gender mainstreaming, the Beijing conference was also particularly significant in that the identification of the issue of ‘Women and Armed Conflict’ as one of twelve areas of critical concern (UN, 1995: paragraph 44), represented the first time that the UN had specifically drawn attention to the issue of women and security.

Given the growing prominence and legitimacy of gender mainstreaming as the most modern institutionally-based strategy to address gender inequality (Daly, 2005:441), and in response to the Beijing Platform for Action, in June 1997 the UN Secretary-General provided a report to the

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\(^8\) References to mainstreaming a gender perspective appear in 28 paragraphs of the substantive document, as well as within closing statements contained at the end of the document (UN, 1995).
United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) discussing the potential of mainstreaming gender across the UN. Shortly after, ECOSOC responded by calling for gender mainstreaming to be adopted as standard practice across all entities within the UN system (ECOSOC, 1997:Ch.IV, Section A). Despite this, it was to take a number of years and the work of a group of determined gender advocates, before the Security Council officially took on gender mainstreaming as standard policy.

The campaign to secure a Security Council resolution on the issue of women and conflict came about as a result of three factors: (a) the salience of the issue of women and armed conflict stemming from its inclusion as a critical issue in the Beijing Platform for Action; (b) the growing acceptance and legitimacy within the UN system of the policy of gender mainstreaming; and (c) the strategic lobbying of key Security Council stakeholders by a group of determined advocates that included non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and later, sympathetic actors within the UN itself – a group that is best described as what Keck and Sikkink have termed a transnational advocacy network (Keck and Sikkink, 1998). When, in 1998, the Commission on the Status of Women (CSW) began to discuss the difficulties in implementing the chapter of the Beijing Platform for Action devoted to Women and Armed Conflict (UN, 1995: Ch.IV/E), a group of NGOs headed by the ‘Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom’ (WILPF) came together as the ‘Women and Armed Conflict Caucus’, and began to consider the possibility of pushing the Security Council to officially adopt gender mainstreaming policy (Cockburn, 2007; Cohn, 2008:187).

Over the next two years, members of the transnational advocacy group, primarily members of the most prominent international non-governmental organisations, advocated for a Security Council
resolution around the theme of women, peace and security. Through the compilation of testimony about the experiences of women in conflict, the use of empirical data and the strategic framing of this data in the language of previous United Nations texts, the advocates were able to develop both professional relationships with Security Council members, and an understanding of the organisations’ protocol, in order to inform and sway members on the issue of women and armed conflict (Cohn, 2008:187-189).

On International Women’s Day (8 March) in 2000, the then Security Council President, Anwarul Chowdhury, issued a press statement noting the Council’s recognition that “peace is inextricably linked with equality between women and men” and stressing “the importance of promoting an active and visible policy of mainstreaming a gender perspective into all policies and programmes while addressing armed or other conflicts” (UNSC, 2000a). Following this statement of commitment, a group of NGOs came together as the ‘NGO Working Group on Women, Peace and Security’ (NGOWG), to campaign for a Security Council resolution on Women, Peace and Security (NGOWG, 2010: Mission Statement). On 31 October of that same year, only seven months after International Women’s Day, the advocates achieved success with the adoption of UNSCR 1325 and through it a commitment to gender mainstreaming⁹.

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⁹ Of particular note is the fact that the advocates had been heavily involved in the construction of the final resolution: having drafted an initial copy for the Council, a large amount of their content was maintained in the final resolution (Cohn, 2008:187).
UNSCR 1325: The Heralding of a New Gender-Sensitive Discourse in the Security Council

Two events in 2000 signalled the Security Council’s move to a gender-sensitive security discourse. Firstly, the presidential statement on International Women’s Day in March by then Security Council President Anwarul Chowdhury’s, redrew the discursive boundaries around the issue of conflict, peace and security. President Chowdhury noted the Council’s recognition that “peace is inextricably linked with equality between women and men”, and stressed the need to mainstream gender across all security policies and programmes (UNSC, 2000a). Given the Council’s mandate as holding primary responsibility for international peace and security, this effectively tied the Council’s ability to address gender equality with their ability to maintain international peace and security. Secondly, the adoption of UNSCR 1325 and gender mainstreaming policy under the thematic agenda of ‘Women, Peace, Security’, signified a move away from a gender-blind security discourse, in that the Council was acknowledging and attempting to address the gendered dynamics of security.

The content of both the President’s speech and the resolution indicate a reconfiguration of the discursive boundaries around security, whereby issues of gender and inequality have been conceptually linked to issues of peace and security. Where previously gender concerns had been defined as external to security, as outside the discursive boundaries that framed what security meant, the new discourse that the Council was speaking from defined gender issues as internal to issues of security.
The adoption of the WPS agenda and gender mainstreaming indicated a recognition by the Council that an inattention to the gendered dynamics of security would have detrimental effects on the promotion and maintenance of international peace and security (UNSC, 2000b: preamble). Indeed the commitment to gender mainstreaming policy enabled a *rethinking* of security, and represented a major policy shift by focussing on the prevention of gendered forms of oppression and exclusion that could be perpetuated as a result of Security Council policy and programmes. Given the capacity of discourse to shape the material world, this discursive shift in thinking about security has the potential to affect the lived experiences of individuals in situations of conflict and peace.

While it is argued that the traditional security discourse employed by the Security Council was both gender-biased and gender-blind, and that the adoption of UNSCR 1325 in 2000 heralded a new, gender-sensitive security discourse, it is necessary to assess whether change has actually occurred as a result of this new approach. In other words, we need to ask what has been the impact of the WPS agenda, what actions have been taken by the Council to demonstrate its stated commitment to gender-sensitivity, and lastly, has this new approach signified a new way of understanding gender relations such that the perpetuation of gendered forms of oppression and exclusion can be prevented? Based on these questions, Chapter Two now explores what it means to assess the impact of the WPS agenda.
Chapter 2: Assessing the Impact of the Women, Peace, and Security Agenda

The United Nations Security Council’s adoption of and commitment to the Women, Peace and Security agenda through resolution 1325 and the three later WPS resolutions 1820, 1888 and 1889, was considered a landmark success by gender advocates around the world. Following this initial enthusiasm, however, gender advocates and academics began to critically examine the implementation of these resolutions, pointing out that despite the well-intentioned nature of the documents (Tryggestad, 2009:541), discrepancies exist between the commitment to and implementation of the policy.

This chapter begins by providing an overview of how the existing literature has ‘assessed the impact’ of the WPS agenda and its policy of gender mainstreaming. I argue that these approaches predominantly critique the Council’s implementation of this gender-sensitive security approach, and that while some works allude to the conceptual basis of WPS, the underlying discourse of gender does not form the focus of these critical approaches. The second section of this chapter draws upon the work of Laura J. Shepherd to identify the benefits of taking a discursive approach to assessing the impact of the WPS agenda. Considering that the WPS agenda aims to prevent the perpetuation of gendered forms of oppression and exclusion, I argue that it is necessary to examine the conceptual understanding of ‘gender’ that informs the agenda. The final section of the chapter presents an overview of my methodological approach for examining the discursive construction of gender.
**Previous Attempts to Assess the Impact of the WPS Agenda and Gender Mainstreaming**

UNSCR 1325 was considered significant in that it represented the first ever attempt by the Security Council to instigate a gender mainstreaming policy which not only recognised, but also sought to redress gendered inequalities in both conflict and post-conflict situations. While generally acknowledged as a step in the right direction, ten years on the perceived limited success of UNSCR 1325 and its successor resolutions has generated questions about the way in which the agenda has been implemented and the impact that it has had. In assessing the impact of the Security Council’s commitments to gender mainstreaming through the Women, Peace and Security (WPS) agenda, the literature has focused on three areas of impact: (a) the impact of the policy within the United Nations system itself; (b) the impact outside of the UN system; and (c) the impact of the policy on the way in which prevailing understandings of peace and security come to be challenged and transformed by notions of gender (Cohn, 2008:192-194).

**The Impact Within the United Nations**

In examining the impact of the WPS agenda on the United Nations, the literature has focused on the impact within the Security Council itself, within peacekeeping missions, and within the broader United Nations system. I consider each in turn.

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10 Given the relatively recent adoption of the three later WPS resolutions (June 2008-October 2009), all of the studies that were conducted prior to this time only examined the impact of UNSCR 1325.
i. The impact on the Security Council

In assessing the impact within the Security Council, analysts have examined the way in which gender concerns have been mainstreamed into Council deliberations and policy, through textual analysis of Security Council resolutions (in particular), debates, presidential statements and press releases to determine the level of gender content appearing in each text\(^\text{11}\). For example, in 2006 the PeaceWomen website\(^\text{12}\) initiated a project called the Security Council Monitor to compile data on the levels of UNSCR 1325 content being referenced in Council resolutions and debates, as well as within the reports of the Secretary-General (WIPLF, 2010b). The monitor examines the ways in which the Security Council has acted upon its commitment to mainstream gender by examining the extent to which WPS concerns are included in Council policy. It works by ‘extracting and analysing’ all WPS content within official Security Council documents, and displaying this information in the appropriate monitor: ‘Resolution Watch’, ‘Debate Watch’ or ‘Report Watch’. Resolution Watch, for instance, generates statistics on the percentage of in-country resolutions that discuss WPS ideas, as well as breaking the data down to identify the resolution clauses in which the 17 WPS themes are referenced\(^\text{13}\).

\(^{11}\) These methods have informed my approach in Chapter Four, in which I undertake an analysis of the gender content appearing within non-WPS resolutions.

\(^{12}\) Moderated by the Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF), the PeaceWomen website is a web portal consolidating all relevant data around the theme of Women, Peace and Security. The website aims to provide actors within the field of peace and security (including advocates, states and international organisations) with up-to-date data and assessments of the implementation of the WPS agenda, as well as information and tools to promote and further implement the agenda. The development of this website, along with the development of a parallel initiative, UNIFEM’s WomenWarPeace website (UNIFEM, n.d.), serve as responses to the final perambulatory clause of UNSCR 1325 which notes “the need to consolidate data on the impact of armed conflict on women and girls” (UNSC, 2000b: preamble).

\(^{13}\) In addition to general references to UNSCR 1325, Resolution Watch identifies seventeen thematic areas of UNSCR 1325.
Within the academic literature, this textual-analysis approach has also been taken by authors such as Black and True-Frost. Black (2009) draws upon the findings and approach of PeaceWomen’s ‘Resolution Monitor’ to examine temporal changes in the Council’s referencing of WPS issues, and to identify whether the Council has been acting upon certain WPS themes more frequently than others. In her examination of the Security Council’s consumption of gender norms, True-Frost (2007:159-160) has also used a textual content-analysis to identify increases in the Council’s incorporation of WPS language. Therefore, assessments of the impact of the WPS agenda on the Security Council (i.e. the extent to which the Council is mainstreaming gender), have focused primarily on examining official texts for indications that WPS content has or has not been integrated into policy (i.e. identifying WPS content in non-WPS documents) rather than focusing on problematising the WPS content itself.

ii. The impact on peacekeeping missions

Assessments of the impact of the WPS agenda on peacekeeping missions have tended to focus on qualitative accounts by mission staff or descriptions of the structural organisation of certain missions (see Whittington, 2000; Wiseman, 2008; Nduka-Agwu, 2009). Nduka-Agwu (2009), for instance, assesses the impact of UNSCR 1325 on peacekeeping missions by comparing the UN missions in Sierra Leone and Liberia. Relying upon mission staff interviews, she finds that the integration of gender perspectives “suffer(s) from staff(ing), funding and enforcement deficiencies” (Nduka-Agwu, 2009:179). Wiseman (2008) examines gender norms within the mission to the Democratic Republic of Congo, arguing that the lack of success in implementing gender-sensitive practices within the mission stemmed from a failure on the part of the state and UN bureaucracy to internalise and properly act upon these norms. Similarly, Whittington (2000) looks at the structural organisation of the East Timorese mission (UNTAET), to examine how the
establishment of a Gender Affairs Unit in this mission affected the commitment to gender mainstreaming. Rather than focusing on what a mission as a cohesive entity is saying, these approaches assess impact based upon how gender mainstreaming is being practiced (at the level of structural changes within the mission), and by examining how mission staff understand their responsibilities to mainstream gender.

**iii. The impact on the broader United Nations system**

Lastly, assessments of the impact of the agenda on the broader UN system often focus on the extent to which the WPS agenda has been referenced and acted upon by other branches of the UN. One study argues that the fact that UN organs have failed to refer to UNSCR 1325 when addressing the issue of women in peace and conflict settings, suggests that the UN system as a whole is either inadequately informed about the content of the WPS agenda, and/or that there is a current lack of coordination between different branches of the UN system (Binder, Lukas et al., 2008:30-31). As well as considering the relevance of WPS policy to other UN entities, this literature has also showcased arguments that draw upon WPS provisions in arguing for changes in broader UN policy. Shah (2006:714), for instance, draws upon concepts used in UNSCR 1325 to argue for gender-sensitive UN action in disaster situations. This literature, therefore, has focused on whether or not other organs reference the Council’s WPS agenda in their work on women and security, as well as examining the potential for WPS-based conceptualisations of gender to be used by these other organs in the development of their own gender-sensitive approaches.

The existing literature on the impact of the WPS agenda within the UN system critiques the ways in which WPS policy has been implemented. Some studies allude to problems with the
conceptual basis of the resolutions, for instance in identifying the UNs tendency to consider women to be synonymous with gender (Nduka-Agwu, 2009:182), and gender mainstreaming to be synonymous with “increasing women’s rights” (Nduka-Agwu, 2009:180). However, overall when discussing the current weaknesses of the WPS agenda, these studies attribute the weaknesses to problems with implementation rather than problems in the way that the agenda has been conceptualised in the first place.

The Impact Outside of the United Nations

In assessing the impact of the Security Council’s WPS agenda outside of the UN system, efforts have focused on the ways in which actors such as states and parties to armed conflict have acted upon their responsibilities (in accordance with the WPS resolutions) to take gender-sensitive approaches to peace and conflict. In assessing state responses, there is a focus on in-country gender-sensitive initiatives (Anonymous, 6 May, 2009; Binder, Lukas et al., 2008:28-31), and in particular on gender-focused National Action Plans (NAPs) (Hudson, 2009; Realizing Rights: The Ethical Globalization Initiative and Security, 2009). These studies examine the content of state’s gender-focused strategies, highlighting the successes and failures of states to act upon their responsibilities as defined in the WPS resolutions, in order to demonstrate the extent to which the WPS agenda has impacted on individual states so far.

A second focus of the literature is on how WPS texts, in particular resolution 1325, have been utilised as gender advocacy tools by grassroots advocates (see Hill, 2005; MacDowell Santos, 2007; Cohn, 2008; Barrow, 2009; Nusair and Cohn, 2009). This literature rests upon the observation that gender advocates have taken WPS texts such as UNSCR 1325 and used these to
lobby state governments and the United Nations itself for changes in the generation and operationalisation of policy. Barrow (2009) for instance, interviews a range of civil society actors working within the field of peace and security to assess how these actors use WPS texts to advocate for gendered issues, arguing that these successes contribute to the overall impact of the Security Council’s WPS agenda. These approaches understand ‘impact’ to mean not only the extent to which the actors called upon within the resolution act upon their responsibilities, but also the extent to which such policy can be successfully utilised as leverage in local and national settings to achieve gender-focused change.

The literature around the impact of the WPS agenda outside the UN system has focused on both the way in which specific actors have acted upon their responsibilities as identified within the WPS resolutions, and the way in which WPS resolutions have been used as advocacy tools by grassroots activists. As with the literature on the impact within the UN, therefore, this literature has focused on the implementation and use of WPS texts rather than focusing on critiquing the conceptual basis of the texts themselves.

**The Impact upon Understandings of Peace and Security**

While the literature assessing the impact of the WPS agenda within and outside of the UN has analysed the operationalisation of gender mainstreaming rather than critiquing the strategy itself, the broader gender mainstreaming literature, while not limited to discussions of peace and security, examines the potential of gender mainstreaming to substantially change the way that organisations acknowledge and respond to gender issues (Barrow, 2009:51). The literature frequently draws upon Jahan’s (1995; 1996:828-831) distinction between gender mainstreaming
as integrationist – gender concerns are introduced into existing policy processes but the gender-bias within these processes remains unproblematised (Squires, 2005:371); agenda-setting – women’s participation in policy processes is increased in order that women are able to push a certain agenda (Verloo, 2005:347-348); or transformative – whereby policies, processes and structures are examined for gender-bias and strategies are put in place to empower previously excluded actors in order to achieve radical transformation (Verloo, 2005:348). The literature therefore debates these variants in order to provide insight into the ways that gender is conceived of and acted upon to achieve a transformation of gender inequalities.

Theoretical critiques of gender mainstreaming identify inconsistencies in the ways that mainstreaming is conceptualised and practiced. For example, the tendency for gender to be framed, and thus understood within theory and practice, as synonymous with ‘women’, is frequently problematised (Cohn, Kinsella et al., 2004:136; Charlesworth, 2005:14; True, 2009:45). Similarly, regarding the operationalisation of gender mainstreaming, many scholars have identified the tension between the competing goals of ‘mainstreaming’ and ‘gender equality’, arguing that efforts to mainstream gender concerns often lead to the dilution of the gender equality agenda. This is because rather than problematising the inequality inherent in the gendered structures of organisations, the focus becomes on ensuring that all members of an organisation undertake certain gendered procedures, ticking all the gender procedure boxes (Daly, 2005; Verloo, 2005; Walby, 2005). Therefore, technocratic practices of gender mainstreaming can lead to assumptions that gender is being dealt with, while unconsciously perpetuating existing structural inequalities.
Within this broader gender mainstreaming literature, certain critiques focus particularly on gender mainstreaming within international relations (Walby, 2005), and more specifically as applied to the field of peace and security (Charlesworth, 2005; True, 2009). These critiques tend to problematise context-specific gender mainstreaming – identifying theoretical inconsistencies and discussing the impact of these inconsistencies on the ability of organisations to become more gender-sensitive.

Therefore, in assessing the impact of the WPS agenda and gender mainstreaming, the majority of approaches analyse the ways in which policy has been implemented rather than critiquing the policy itself, while analyses that focus on the theory behind gender mainstreaming are more likely to problematise how conceptions of gender are constructed through WPS policies.

**Changing the Focus: Assessing whether the ‘Women, Peace and Security’ Agenda Rethinks Gender**

While UNSCR 1325 indicated the Security Council’s intention take a new gender-sensitive approach to security, it did not necessarily indicate that the Security Council had taken on a new gender discourse –i.e. that the Council had problematised its own understanding of ‘gender’. In assessing potential impact, therefore, it is important to interrogate the Council’s understanding of gender that underlies this gender-sensitive policy. As noted above, the majority of the scholarship around WPS examines the implementation of the policy rather than its conceptual underpinnings. A significant exception, however, is the work of Laura J. Shepherd, who has taken a discursive-theoretic approach to assessing UNSCR 1325 in order to problematise the resolutions underlying discourses of gender and security. Through an analysis of the ways in which the resolution (re)produces certain understandings of gender and security, she argues that the policy’s limited
success traces back to the “highly conventional” conceptualisations of both security and gender that inform the policy (Shepherd, 2007:1).

Shepherd’s approach is based on the argument that a “critical reflection on the words and concepts used to write policy enables practitioners to avoid unconsciously reproducing the different forms of oppression and exclusion that their policies seek to overcome” (Shepherd, 2010:143). In the case of the WPS agenda and gender mainstreaming, this means that in order to assess whether WPS has the potential to prevent gendered forms of oppression and exclusion from being perpetuated, it is necessary to examine the policy’s conceptual basis so as to identify whether the policy itself unconsciously reproduces the very forms of oppression and exclusion which it is trying to address.

This thesis seeks to build upon the previous work of Shepherd by interrogating the underlying understandings of gender that inform the four WPS resolutions. In expanding the critique to later resolutions, Chapter Three both establishes an underlying gendered logic within these resolutions, and also tracks a potential shift in the way that the Council understands and thus acts towards gender. Chapter Four builds upon this work further by extending this analysis to an examination of all gender content appearing within the 609 non-WPS resolutions passed since the adoption of UNSCR 1325.

To accomplish this, this thesis utilises both qualitative and quantitative methodologies in a complementary way. Chapter Three presents a qualitative discourse analysis of the four WPS resolutions in order to identify the underlying discursive logic that informs the Council’s conceptualisation of gender. Chapter Four then undertakes two forms of analysis in examining 609 non-WPS resolutions. The first section presents a quantitative content analysis to identify
temporal trends in the Council’s implementation of gender mainstreaming. After establishing the increasing trend for the Council to include gender content in their non-WPS resolutions, Chapter Four then discursively analyses this gender content to identify how the Council has been talking about gender in security. The chapter concludes by arguing that the gender-biased conceptions of gender identified within the WPS resolutions have been reproduced within non-WPS policy. Below, I provide a brief overview of my methods, outlining the importance of texts for discursive analysis, how meanings of concepts are constructed through texts, and outlining the structural components of Security Council resolutions.

**Methodological Considerations**

**The Importance of Texts**

A discourse is the conceptual framework that allows ideas and concepts to be shared. As a methodology, discourse analysis aims to access and analyse these conceptual frameworks in order to identify how these shared ideas and concepts define policy and action. To access these conceptual frameworks, the analyst requires an entry-point into the discourse, and texts such as written documents, pictures, films and conversations, function as this entry point. Texts are the product of discourse in that they shape the understandings of an issue that inform how that issue is presented in a text. Texts are also productive of discourse, in that it is through texts that discursive ideas are (re)produced and (re)legitimised (Shepherd, 2008:6-8). Texts, therefore, function as a tool through which we can access discourse. Consequently, in order to analyse the recent gender discourse used by the Security Council, this thesis examines Security Council
resolutions – official articulations of the Council’s policy – so as to identify the discursive logics that both structured these texts and have been reproduced within these texts.

The Construction of Concepts

In order to interrogate the ways in which a discourse has conceptualised gender, that is, to identify what gender means within the discourse, the discursive approach used within this thesis asks certain questions of the text. I begin by asking how gender has been defined: does it refer to males and females? If the concept refers to two opposing genders, how are these two positioned in relation to one another by the text? For instance who constitutes the subjects and/or objects of the text – who does the text speak to and who does it speak about? To identify who is spoken to I ask who the actors are that are requested by the resolution to undertake certain actions, and which actors are not requested to take any action but are referred to only as the passive recipients of those actions? I ask how gendered subjects are constituted by the texts. Are women or men discussed as having particular characteristics, such as vulnerability, passivity, or requiring protection? Are particular characteristics inferred? Are these characteristics spoken about as if they are essential to that gender (i.e. is vulnerability constructed as an essential quality of womanhood?) and if so, can any contradictions be identified in these constructions? For instance if women are described as inherently “in-need-of-protection”, does this contradict depictions of women as peacemakers or depictions of women as combatants? In asking questions such as these, the remaining chapters seek to identify how conceptions of ‘gender’ (including ‘women’ and ‘men’) have been (re)produced and (re)legitimized through the WPS policy articulated by the Security Council and the Council’s practice of this policy as articulated within non-WPS texts.
Structural Characteristics of Security Council Resolutions

In order to undertake a discursive analysis, it is necessary to understand how the structural features of Security Council resolutions work to make the text mean in certain ways. This section will first outline some basic information about the Security Council, before explaining the structure of Security Council resolutions.

The Security Council is made up of five permanent members (China, France, Russia, the United Kingdom and the United States of America), and ten non-permanent members who are elected for two year terms (with the election of five new members each year). The presidency rotates between Security Council members monthly on the basis of the alphabetical order of the English version of member state names. The Security Council holds primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security (UN, 1945: Ch.V, Art.24/1), and is the only entity with the power to use coercive measures including military force in fulfilling its duties under this mandate (UN, 1945: Ch.VII). Debates are the official meetings chaired by the president in which the Council discusses issues on its agenda. These can be open (records publicly accessible) or closed (private and confidential) depending on the topic at hand. Debates formally represent the Council’s thinking about and deliberations on the issue of the meeting’s agenda. The content of these discussions provides the basis of Security Council policy, and this policy is formally articulated in Security Council resolutions. The Council “has three basic mechanisms for expressing its opinions”: press releases, presidential statements and resolutions (WILPF, n.d.). Where press releases serve to inform the media of the Security Council’s position on an issue, and Presidential statements articulate the president’s opinion of a matter before the Council, Security Council resolutions formally articulate the Security Council’s response to an
item on its agenda. Given that resolutions articulate the policy of the Security Council as a cohesive entity, resolution texts form the focus of this thesis.

**Resolutions**

Under the UN Charter, Security Council resolutions are binding on all members of the United Nations whereby all UN members “agree to accept and carry out the decisions of the Security Council” (UN, 1945: Ch. V, Art. 25). Officially, therefore, Security Council resolutions have the ability to affect not only policy within the United Nations system, but state policy as well. The text of resolutions is articulated in clauses that are grouped into two sections: perambulatory and operative. Structurally a resolution reads in the following way:

“The Security Council,

Considering this specific information (Perambulatory Clauses),

1. Decides to do the following (Operative Clauses);

2. Decides to also do the following (Operative Clauses).”

The first section of the resolution is the preamble which reflects upon the circumstances surrounding an agenda item. Each clause begins with a present participle (e.g. recognising, emphasising) – called a perambulatory phrase, and ends with a comma (ZAGIMUN, 2010). Perambulatory clauses provide the background for the issue addressed by the resolution, and indicate the factors that the Council has considered in delivering its policy. These clauses are important in reflecting the Council’s official intentions and considerations regarding an agenda item. However, while they serve to indicate what the Council was thinking about at the time of
constructing the resolution, it is not necessarily the case that every idea referenced in the preamble will form the basis of some part of the policy that is articulated in the operative clauses.

The actual policy is expressed within the second section of the resolution: the operative clauses. These numbered clauses articulate a particular course of action to be undertaken in response to the agenda item. Each operative clause begins with a verb (e.g. emphasizes, condemns) – called an operative phrase\(^\text{14}\), and ends with a semi-colon (ZAGIMUN, 2010). Operative clauses define the Council’s opinion or a particular course of action to be taken regarding the matter at hand. Where perambulatory clauses may rhetorically refer to certain ideas and courses of action, the articulation of a course of action within an operative clause denotes the Security Council’s intention for that action to be undertaken. This distinction between perambulatory and operative clauses becomes important in discursively analysing Security Council resolutions as it informs the distinction between what the Council says it is considering in forming a policy stance, and the actual content of the policy.

The differentiation between perambulatory and operative clauses is of particular relevance to the quantitative content analysis that informs the first half of Chapter Four\(^\text{15}\). In order to determine temporal trends in the Council’s discussion of gender issues within non-WPS policy, I analyse 609 non-WPS resolutions for key terms. The appearance of one of these key words within a resolution clause is considered to be indicative of the Council taking a gender-sensitive approach. Within my analysis, I have differentiated between those gender-sensitive clauses that are perambulatory and those that are operative. Considering the different function of these two

\(^{14}\) When discussing particular clauses throughout this thesis, perambulatory and operative phrases will be presented in italics so as to highlight the Security Council’s specific construction of these clauses.

\(^{15}\) Further methodological considerations will be outlined in Chapter Four.
clauses, I argue that a gender-sensitive operative clause will indicate a more gender-sensitive policy than a gender-sensitive perambulatory clause.

‘Assessing the Impact’

Utilising both qualitative discourse analysis and quantitative content analysis, I will now assess the impact that the new, gender-sensitive discourse on security has had on the ways in which the Security Council conceives of gender. Chapter Three presents a discursive analysis of the four WPS texts, arguing that the conceptualisation of gender within these texts indicates an underlying discursive logic of masculine protection of the vulnerable feminine. Chapter Four then undertakes a content analysis to identify the growing trend to include gender-sensitive clauses in Security Council non-WPS policy, before discursively analysing these gender-sensitive clauses and assessing whether the Security Council’s gender discursive has altered.

Chapter Three deconstructs the four Women, Peace and Security resolutions (1325, 1820, 1888 and 1889\textsuperscript{16}) in order to problematise the Council’s understanding of the relations of power between men and women (gendered power relations). The first section outlines the distinction between sex and gender, and identifies that the concept of gender challenges essentialist understandings that construct particular characteristics of humans as ‘intrinsically linked’ to a biological sex. For example, a gender approach would point out that while men may be believed to be inherently aggressive because aggression is believed to be a masculine trait, this ‘belief’ is socially constructed – that is, masculinity and aggression are not intrinsically linked, rather society has perpetuated an understanding that this ‘intrinsic link’ is the truth of the relationship between males and aggression.

The next section undertakes a discursive analysis of the first WPS resolution, UNSCR 1325. Through an analysis of how concepts of women and men are discussed within the resolution, this section argues that the Security Council speaks about these concepts in a way that suggests that women are inherently vulnerable and men are inherently powerful due to their biology. I argue that this conception of women and men can be understood as reflecting an underlying gendered logic of the masculine as protector and perpetrator, and the feminine as the vulnerable/victim.

The chapter then presents a discursive analysis of the two WPS resolutions that focus on sexual violence in conflict (1820 and 1888), arguing that while they predominantly indicate this same

\textsuperscript{16} See Appendices A-D for the complete texts of resolutions 1325, 1820, 1888 and 1889 respectively.
gendered logic of the masculine protector, the most recent of these suggests a move towards an
acknowledgement that conceiving of women as inherently vulnerable is problematic. The final
section examines UNSCR 1889, identifying that while parts of the resolution continue to rest
upon notions of masculine protection, certain constructions within the resolution suggest that the
Council is beginning to problematise and shift away from constructing women as inherently
vulnerable and men as inherently powerful. The chapter concludes by considering the potential
significance of this shift.

**Gender**

Feminist scholars distinguish between the concepts of sex and gender: where sex refers to
biological difference (e.g. between male and female), and gender refers to the socially and
culturally constructed characteristics that are stereotypically associated with masculinity and
femininity (Tickner, 2001:15). The term *gender* is used to draw attention to the ways in which
certain characteristics (such as passivity, aggression and rationality) have historically been
attributed to the biological sexes, female and male. A focus on gender, therefore, facilitated a
change in the way that people *understood* the relationship between human characteristics and
sexed beings. For example, while aggression may be exhibited more frequently by males, a
conceptualisation of gender facilitates an understanding that aggression is neither an exclusively
nor inherently male characteristic (i.e. not all males are aggressive and/or females may exhibit
aggression). As such, discussions of gender must acknowledge that behaviour related
characteristics are not inherently tied to a particular biological sex, and nor do persons of a
particular sex automatically have and/or exhibit certain characteristics.
According to the UNs *Gender Resource Package for Peacekeeping Operations*, this distinction correlates with the UNs differentiation between *sex* as “biological differences between women and men”, and *gender* as referring “not to women or men, but to the relationship between them, and the way this is socially constructed” (DPKO, 2004:1). Based upon this distinction, for a policy to be sensitive to gender it would have to recognise and respond to both the existing power relations between women and men, and the potential impact that the policy could have on these relations. However, for a policy to have the ability to transform existing power relations, it would also have to explicitly challenge the relations of power between men and women.

UNSCR 1325 represents the Council’s first ever gender-sensitive policy, in that it stemmed from a recognition that in times of conflict, power inequalities between women and men resulted in certain negative consequences for the less powerful (i.e. women). UNSCR 1325 responded to these acknowledged power inequalities by outlining a policy to rectify and prevent gendered forms of oppression and exclusion from occurring in conflict situations. Therefore, the policy aimed to protect women from gendered harms and to include women where they had previously been excluded.

While the Council’s acknowledgment of the gendered dimensions of conflict is commendable, this acknowledgment does not necessarily indicate that the Council has reconceptualised the way in which it understands gender relations. For example, the acknowledgement of gender could stem from the Council’s desire to be politically correct. If so the term could have been taken up rhetorically, without the Council fully internalising an understanding that to focus on gender means to challenge traditional understandings of the cause of power inequalities between men and women. Therefore, it is necessary to interrogate the Council’s understanding of gender to
establish whether the Council has indeed *rethought* gender relations. Beginning with the Council’s first articulation of their gender-focused policy (UNSCR 1325), this chapter undertakes discursive analysis of the four WPS resolutions in order to interrogate the Council’s understanding of gender.

**Resolution 1325**

As discussed in Chapter Two, Security Council resolutions contain two distinct sections: the perambulatory section which outlines the motivations behind, and justifications for the resolution; and the operative section which outlines the actions that should be taken in response to the resolution. The perambulatory section of UNSCR 1325 contextualises the resolution by presenting three justificatory arguments for the Council’s new focus on gender, and specifically women, in security.

Firstly, after recalling that the primary responsibility of the Security Council is “the maintenance of international peace and security” (UNSC, 2000b: preamble), concern is expressed that “civilians, particularly women and children, account for the vast majority of those adversely affected by conflict ... and increasingly are targeted by combatants and armed elements”, and attention is drawn to the “special needs of women and girls” (UNSC, 2000b: preamble). This indicates the Council’s acknowledgment that existing gendered power relations in conflict render women as vulnerable, and as having special needs given this vulnerability. Therefore, the first argument mounted suggests that given the Security Council’s role as the primary maintainer of international security, and women’s greater vulnerability in times of insecurity, the Council has the responsibility to *protect* these women and therefore should consider them under its mandate.
Secondly, the resolution “(r)eaffirms the important role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts and in peace-building” (UNSC, 2000b: preamble). The inclusion of women is framed as being beneficial for the Security Council’s undertaking of its duties, in that women are valuable given their peacebuilding characteristics (their ability to make peace). This represents the Council’s attempt to promote the inclusion of women who are identified as previously having been excluded from participation.

Finally, the preamble “(r)ecognizes that an understanding of the impact of armed conflict on women and girls”, and measures to ensure their protection and participation, “can significantly contribute to the maintenance and promotion of international security” (UNSC, 2000b: preamble). Thus, the Council justifies its focus on gender-sensitivity by arguing that it can lead to enhanced outcomes for international peace and security (the responsibility for which resides with the Security Council). Taking gender considerations into account is, then, beneficial for the Council in the fulfilment of its mandate.

These three conceptualisations of (a) women as in need of particular protections given that they are more vulnerable than men in times of conflict; (b) women as valuable in their peacebuilding capacity; and (c) that identifying and acting upon gender perspectives will enhance peace and security, form the underlying logic of the remainder of the resolution. The resolutions’ operative clauses – those calling for certain actions to be taken – all rest upon the logic of one or more of these three conceptualisations.

UNSCR 1325 acknowledges women as suffering due to their vulnerability in conflict, and it attempts to address this by minimising oppression through calling for protection, as well as by promoting the inclusion of women to address women’s exclusion. As such, the Security Council
appears to have taken a new gender-sensitive approach to security. However, a discursive analysis of UNSCR 1325 indicates that gender power-relations have not been challenged by the resolution, but instead that the Council’s understanding of these relations rests upon a patriarchal logic of “the masculine role of protector in relation to women and children” (Young, 2003:2).

In 2003, Young argued that in addition to feminist accounts of patriarchy based on an understanding of the masculine as selfish and aggressive, a gendered logic of the masculine protector also underlay patriarchal structures. This logic accounts for the perceived power relations between the genders, whereby males are understood as inherently powerful, females are understood as inherently vulnerable to the power of males (i.e. powerless), and therefore chivalrous males are required to protect their women (and children) from potentially aggressive rival males. According to Young, this discursive logic underpinning conceptualisations of gender “works to elevate the protector to a position of superior authority and to demote the rest of us to a position of grateful dependency” (2003:13).

Within the security field, this logic can be represented by the following narrative: In situations of conflict and insecurity whereby non-combatants are affected by parties to conflict, three types of actors can be identified: the perpetrator (potential or actual) of crimes against non-combatants; the victim (potential or actual) of such crimes; and the protector/defender of the victim from the perpetrator/effects of such crimes. Within this logic, ‘victims’/’the protected’ are considered to be feminine and/or infantile, and both the roles of perpetrator and protector are by default conceptualised as masculine. As will be shown below, this discursive logic underpins the Council’s understanding of the relationship between men and women in conflict.
In times of conflict and insecurity, women (and children) are defined by operative clauses of UNSCR 1325 as particularly vulnerable and therefore requiring protection. Resting upon the rationale provided in the preamble that women are vulnerable in conflict, clauses speak of the need to consider women’s special or particular needs (UNSC, 2000b: Arts.6, 8a, 12-14), to protect women and train others in how to protect and not harm women (UNSC, 2000b: Arts.6, 8c, 9-10), and call for power-holding authorities to prosecute crimes against women for their female victims (UNSC, 2000b: Art.11). These constructions allude to women as powerless: as unable to protect or speak for themselves, and therefore as requiring the protection of a being who possesses adequate power. This construction of women as ‘requiring protection’ is further reinforced by their grouping with children to conceptually denote a ‘vulnerable group’. The use within the text of the conceptualisation that Enloe (1991:89) has termed ‘womenandchildren’ is problematic in that it serves to infantilise women, such that the feminine is conceptually linked to human beings that are considered dependent on mature, rational, fully developed human beings for their care and protection (Shepherd, 2007:18, endnote 29).

In defining women and children as in need of protection and, therefore, as lacking the power to protect themselves, the text does not facilitate the feminine taking up the position of protector or perpetrator. Those with power (the non-women and/or non-children), are then, by inference discursively positioned as adult men. Therefore, although the masculine individual is not explicitly depicted within this text, (indeed the words ‘men’, ‘male’ and ‘boy’ do not appear at all within UNSCR 1325), males are discursively positioned not just as ‘less-vulnerable’ or ‘less-in-need-of-protection’, but as the only type of adult human beings with the capability (i.e. power) to both perpetrate crimes against victims and to protect those (potential) victims from such crimes. While not explicitly named within the resolution, men are, in Connell’s words, “implicitly
present as power holders” (2005:1806). Therefore, constructions of women as requiring protection, and particularly constructions that conceptually link women and children serve to firstly construct women as vulnerable or powerless, and by default, implicitly construct men as the perpetrators and protectors of the vulnerable, thereby assigning men to positions of power.

As noted above, in addition to constructing women as vulnerable, the preamble also posits women as peacemakers. This construction of women as participants underlies operative clauses that call for: i) increased representation, participation and appointment of women at all decision-making levels (UNSC, 2000b: Arts.1-3); ii) the expansion of the role and contribution of women in peacekeeping missions and initiatives (UNSC, 2000b: Art.4); and iii) those clauses that express the Security Council’s willingness to consult with local and international women’s groups (UNSC, 2000b: Art.15). The way in which these clauses discuss women’s participation, however, indicates that women are still positioned by the text in the subordinate role of the ‘protected’.

For instance, while the operative clauses cited above affirm the importance of including women in decision-making and consultation, the resolution never actually speaks to women as equal participants by asking, urging or requesting women to consult or work with actors such as member states. Instead, the Council speaks only to powerful authorities, based upon an assumption that it is these authorities who have the power to grant or deny participation to women (who, it is assumed, will automatically cooperate with these authorities). The ‘inclusion and participation’ of women is constructed by these clauses as something that needs to be given and protected by powerful authorities. Therefore, although the clauses discuss women’s participation, they discuss it in a way that indicates that women are not considered to be equal participants, and indeed that women can only participate if they are allowed to by more powerful
authorities. Rather than being considered as the equal subjects of policy then, women are constructed as its objects – the ‘thing’ that power-holders should include.

When the Council only speaks about and not to women, it unconsciously undermines its call for women to have a ‘voice’ in policy making because it is discursively excluding women from taking up the position of speakers or respondents – it take away women’s voice. This is particularly evident in Article 15 in which the Security Council expresses its ‘willingness’ to consult with women’s groups (UNSC, 2000b). Within this clause, women’s groups are not requested to consult or cooperate, but are assumed to be willing (and even grateful for the opportunity) to cooperate with the Security Council if the Council is willing. In constructing women’s participation as something that needs to be provided or protected by power-holders, these clauses in fact rest upon an underlying understanding of women as requiring protection. ‘Women-in-need-of-protection’, therefore, remains “the central signifier around which other articulations of femininity are articulated” so that women-as-participants “are still, primarily, essentially, women-in-need-of-protection” (Shepherd, 2007:9, emphasis in original).

A traditional understanding that women are inherently and essentially more vulnerable than men due to their biology pervades the resolution, where women’s vulnerability is conceived of not as a socially attributed characteristic, but as an essential biological fact. ‘Women’ are rhetorically infantilised and indeed spoken about as unable to look after themselves without the help of a powerful non-woman. The protection of women is discussed as the chivalrous duty of powerful authorities, be they men or traditionally male-inhabited entities such as the Security Council or states. Discussions of women’s participation, rather than calling upon women to act, call for powerful authorities to protect and allow for women’s right to participate. As the objects rather
than subjects of policy, Resolution 1325 never speaks to women, it only speaks about women. This suggests that the Council, while having acknowledged gender, has failed to identify and problematise its own way of understanding gender. The Council discursively associates certain experiences such as vulnerability and victimhood to one gender (female) due to the perception that characteristics such as vulnerability are inherent to women. So rather than addressing women’s experiences of vulnerability, the resolution addresses women under the assumption that women are vulnerable. The difference is that instead of responding to certain women in conflict because they may experience vulnerability, the Council understands vulnerable persons in war to be feminine, and therefore in an attempt to address wartime vulnerability the Council focuses exclusively on women as vulnerable.

This is not to suggest that women are not vulnerable in times of conflict, nor that aiding vulnerable persons is a negative thing to do. Rather, the issue is that the Council’s understanding of gender rests upon an assumption that women are inherently vulnerable to men’s greater power. This is problematic in that the Council is not addressing the gendered experiences of vulnerable people in conflict (for instance the specific experiences of males who are raped, or women as the victims of enforced pregnancy), but instead is addressing women’s experiences of conflict given the assumption that women are vulnerable.

The consequences of this discursive understanding are significant. For instance if sexual violence is understood as something that men (power-holders) perpetrate against women (powerless victims), male victims of rape do not fit within this paradigm and thus are discursively emasculated. That is, these victims are rendered non-male by a discourse that explicitly ties victimhood with femininity – their masculinity is questioned in that they were not able (read: not
powerful enough) to protect themselves. If policies then seek to address rape, but rest upon this understanding of the female victim and male perpetrator, policies will fail to provide for the specific gendered experience of male victims, and thus fail to provide assistance to victims who already suffer the burden of being discursively emasculated given the logic of the paradigm which understands rape as ‘something that happens to women’.

Therefore, despite the good intentions behind UNSCR 1325, the move to a gender-sensitive policy has not indicated a challenge to the existing power relations between men and women (where men are powerful in relation to women), but rather an attempt to achieve better outcomes for the vulnerable within these power relations. I now turn to an analysis of the three later WPS resolutions to identify whether this essentialist understanding of women and men also permeates these texts.

**Resolutions 1820 and 1888**

Given that resolutions 1820 and 1888 both deal expressly with the issue of sexual and gender-based violence in conflict and post-conflict situations, and are both structured in a similar manner, this section interrogates the conceptions of gender underlying both resolutions.

The preamble of both resolutions justifies the Council’s focus on the issue of sexual and gender-based violence. Continuing with the ‘women-in-need-of-protection’ construction used in UNSCR 1325, women and girls are noted to be “particularly targeted by the use of sexual violence” (UNSC, 2008b: preamble) or “particularly at risk” during armed conflicts due to their gender (UNSC, 2009d: preamble). By identifying females as the primary victims of sexual violence, this sets up sexual violence as a gendered issue (and in particular a woman’s issue), and thus justifies
the discussion of the topic under the WPS thematic heading. Both preambles also utilise the women-as-participants construction in a way that constructs women as unable to participate without assistance, by noting the Council’s deep concern about the “persistent obstacles and challenges to women’s participation and full involvement in the prevention and resolution of conflicts as a result of violence, intimidation and discrimination” (UNSC, 2008b: preamble).

Particularly in UNSCR 1820, the bulk of the operative clauses rest upon the construction of women as ‘in-need-of-protection’. ‘Women and girls’ (UNSC, 2008b: Arts.3, 9, 10, 15) and ‘women and children’ (UNSC, 2008b: Art.8; UNSC, 2009d: Arts.3, 12, 25, 26) are constructed as civilians in need of protection from sexual violence, or already as victims of these crimes (UNSC, 2008b: Arts.4, 5, 14). This construction of women alongside ‘children’ or ‘girls’ again serves to reinforce the protectionist logic that was evident in UNSCR 1325.

The ‘women-as-participants’ construction is also utilised in the two sexual violence resolutions, although not to the same extent as the ‘women-in-need-of-protection’ construction. For instance consultation with i) ‘women’ (UNSC, 2008b: Arts.10, 12; UNSC, 2009d: Art.16, 18); ii) ‘women’s organizations’ (UNSC, 2008b: Art.10; UNSC, 2009d: Art.14); iii) ‘local women’ (UNSC, 2008b: Art.3; UNSC, 2009d: Art.14); and iv) ‘women’s civil society’ (UNSC, 2008b: Art.11) depict women as potentially strengthening peace and security and therefore endorse women’s participation as an activity to be engaged in. Although women are constructed as actors – as peacebuilders – rather than merely victims, once again women and women’s organisations are themselves not called upon or requested to do anything by the Security Council. Instead the Council expresses its own intention (UNSC, 2009d: Art.14), and requests the Secretary-General, ‘his Special Envoys’ (UNSC, 2008b: Art.12), the Peacebuilding Commission (UNSC, 2008b:
Art.11), and relevant United Nations agencies (UNSC, 2008b:Art.10), to ensure *(read: provide and protect)* consultation with and the effective participation of women and women-led organisations.

Similarly, in *urging* actors such as the Secretary-General, member states and regional organisations (UNSC, 2009d: Art.16) to increase women’s representation in mediation and decision-making processes, as well as increasing the number of female military and non-military staff (UNSC, 2009d: Art.19), the Security Council is once again calling for those power-holding actors to function as ‘protectors’ in the sense that they are called upon to ‘look after’ the inclusion of women given the beneficial role women can play as peacemakers. ‘Peacebuilding’ women are positioned as waiting on the sidelines for someone to let them talk, yet always willing to participate: the gratefully dependent.

Therefore, once again the resolutions speak of women as the objects of the policy, not as its subjects. The resolutions also define actors including parties to armed conflict (UNSC, 2008b: Art.3; UNSC, 2009d: Arts.3, 7), states (UNSC, 2008b: Arts.4, 8; UNSC, 2009d: Arts.6, 13), the United Nations system (UNSC, 2008b: Arts.6, 10; UNSC, 2009d: Arts.8, 21-22) and the Council itself (UNSC, 2009d: Arts.11, 12) as having the power, and therefore the responsibility to protect the vulnerable. In calling for those actors to look after women as victims of sexual crimes it is the protectors who are addressed as subjects by the resolutions, not women.

After identifying who the ‘protectors’ are, both UNSCR 1820 and 1888 outline three responsibilities for the ‘protectors’: i) to provide training to their combatants and staff to “help them better prevent, recognize, and respond to sexual violence” (UNSC, 2008b: Art.6; see also Arts.7, 8; UNSC, 2009d: Arts.19, 20); ii) to prosecute the perpetrators of acts of sexual violence
and end impunity for such acts (UNSC, 2008b: Art.4; UNSC, 2009d: Arts.6, 7, 8); and iii), to provide support and access to justice mechanisms for victims of these crimes (UNSC, 2008b: Arts.4, 13, 14; UNSC, 2009d: Arts.13, 20, 21). These operative clauses, therefore, rely on the construction of women as in-need-of-protection, and given the assumed vulnerability of these women, the logic of the narrative suggests that the only persons with the power to act to protect these women (through prevention, and fighting for justice on their behalf), are the discursively powerful and masculine participants in conflict.

While both resolutions tend to reflect the same logic of masculine protection of the feminine, two new constructions within UNSCR 1888 appear to indicate a potential shift in the way that the Council is conceiving of gender. Firstly, a perambulatory clause in UNSCR 1888 recognises “that the promotion and empowerment of women and that support for women’s organizations and networks are essential in the consolidation of peace to promote the equal and full participation of women” (UNSC, 2009d: preamble). The significance of this phrase lies in both the introduction of a notion of empowerment, and in the idea of equal and full participation. For in suggesting that women can and should be empowered, the clause indicates an understanding that women can indeed be powerful actors. Similarly in advocating an idea of equal and full participation, the clause is indicating that it is possible for women and men to participant in an equal and comprehensive way.

Secondly, the resolutions encouragement of states “to deploy greater numbers of female military and police personnel to United Nations peacekeeping operations” (UNSC, 2009d: Arts.19) is justified by the perambulatory clause which recognizes “that women and children affected by armed conflict may feel more secure working with and reporting abuse to women in
peacekeeping missions, and that the presence of women peacekeepers may encourage local women to participate in the national armed and security forces” (UNSC, 2009d: preamble). This justification serves to position women in the role of the ‘protector’, and it not only indicates that women are potentially as capable as male peacekeepers, but also suggests that in certain circumstances women may be better positioned to help and protect vulnerable persons. By identifying women as protectors, this indicates a move away from conceiving of the subjectivities of protector and vulnerable/victim as essentially tied to members of a biological sex.

Both of these constructions suggest that the Council is moving away from a conceptualisation of women as inherently vulnerable (i.e. powerless), and potentially moving toward a conception of gendered inequalities as social constructs rather than as based on biological difference. Therefore, although the bulk of UNSCRs 1820 and 1888 rests upon a gendered logic of the masculine protector, certain constructions evidenced within UNSCR 1888, suggest that the Council is potentially moving away from an essentialist understanding of gender.

**Resolution 1889**

Rather than focusing on sexual violence, UNSCR 1889 focuses on the broader WPS agenda. While the gendered logic of the masculine protector continues to underpin certain clauses within this text, other parts of the resolution appear to support the suggestion made above that the Council is beginning to re-evaluate the way it has been addressing gender. Two features of the text in particular signify the move towards a new approach.

Firstly, and perhaps most explicitly, UNSCR 1889 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 situations of armed conflict” (UNSC, 2009e: preamble). While many scholars have previously called attention to this tendency to focus on women as victims (Cohn, Kinsella et al., 2004:136; Hill, 2005:23; True, 2009:45), this clause represents the Council’s first explicit acknowledgment of its tendency to speak of women predominantly as victims rather than actors. In recognising that women should also be addressed as actors, the Council is recognising women’s capacity to act. Logically, therefore, the Council appears to be moving away from a conception of women that sees women as inherently vulnerable and unable to act (i.e. powerless).

Secondly, the concept of empowerment that was referred to within UNSCR 1888, is again discussed and expanded upon in UNSCR 1889 when the resolution “stress(es) the need to focus not only on protection of women but also on their empowerment in peacebuilding” (UNSC, 2009e: preamble). The term ‘empower’ indicates the giving or taking on of power that was not previously held by the person being empowered (Macquarie University, 1999:138). Therefore, in order for the Council to believe that women can be empowered, logically the Council would not be able to consider women as inherently vulnerable and thus powerless. The significance of the Council’s use of this term, therefore, lies in the implications that this has for the way in which the Council understands the relations of power between men and women.

While this new notion of empowerment forms the basis of calls to educate women and girls (UNSC, 2009e: Art.11) and calls to develop measures to promote gender equality and the empowerment of women (UNSC, 2009e: Arts.7, 9, 13, 14), other clauses in UNSCR 1889 continue to rely upon constructions of women as in need of protection (UNSC, 2009e: Arts.2, 3, 7, 12, 13) and as participants (UNSC, 2009e: Arts.1, 4, 10, 15, 19b). Additionally, women continue to be addressed as objects by UNSCR 1889 – the spoken about rather than the spoken
to. While the discussion of empowerment is in itself significant, clauses advocating empowerment continue to be addressed towards power-holding actors such as member states and the Security Council, calling upon them to ensure women’s access to education (UNSC, 2009e: Art.11) or that “women’s empowerment in taken into account” in assessments and planning (UNSC, 2009e: Art.9, 13).

Therefore, while certain features of UNSCR 1889 indicate constructions of gender similar to those seen in UNSCR 1325 (i.e. women as vulnerable), other features of the resolution indicate that the Security Council has begun to speak about women in a way that moves away from essentialist constructions of women as vulnerable.

**The Discursive Foundations of the Women, Peace and Security Agenda**

United Nations Security Council resolutions 1325, 1820, 1888 and 1889 make up the conceptual basis of the Women, Peace and Security agenda. This chapter has examined constructions of gender in order to problematise the way in which the Council has understood relations of power between women and men. It has argued that, particularly within UNSCR 1325, the resolutions indicate an understanding of women as inherently vulnerable and therefore requiring the protection of more powerful males.

The critique of UNSCR 1325 provided above, outlined that the Council’s focus on gendered vulnerabilities was problematic in that women were being addressed based on the assumption that they were vulnerable due to their sex. This indicated that while the Council had taken on the rhetoric of ‘gender’ and acknowledged the existence of unequal gendered power relations, its policy to address gender failed to challenge these power relations, instead working within them to
achieve more optimum outcomes for those identified as vulnerable (women). Therefore, while
the WPS agenda represents an attempt to address and prevent gendered forms of oppression and
exclusion from being perpetuated, early articulations of the agenda have unconsciously
functioned to reproduce the very forms of oppression and exclusion that WPS tries to counteract.

While patriarchal constructions of women as vulnerable remain evident throughout the texts, an
analysis of the later WPS resolutions has indicated a potentially significant shift in the Council’s
approach to gender. The Council has begun to discuss women as equal participants (rather than
inherently vulnerable), and has called for women’s empowerment in order to better address
gender inequality. If this is indeed the case, we may be witnessing the beginning of the Security
Council’s move towards a new understanding of women and men as equally powerful human
beings who in times of conflict, may experience vulnerability in certain gender-specific ways.
This could potentially pave the way for a more comprehensive and transformative approach to
gender.
Chapter 4: Assessing the Security Council’s Implementation of Gender Mainstreaming across Non-WPS Resolutions

By examining the gender discourse underpinning the four WPS resolutions, Chapter Three argued that while the Security Council appears to have rethought security in a gender-sensitive way, its articulation of gender predominantly (re)produces an understanding of the masculine as protector/perpetrator (power-holder) and the feminine as the vulnerable dependent in need of protection (powerless). This chapter examines the Council’s practice of gender mainstreaming in order to further interrogate the Council’s understanding of gender. The chapter is organised around two questions. Firstly, it asks whether the Security Council has indeed implemented its new policy of gender mainstreaming by including gender-sensitive provisions in its non-gender-focused policy (non-WPS resolutions). Secondly, if the Council has indeed implemented its gender mainstreaming policy, how have discursive understandings of gender been (re)produced through this implementation?

The first section undertakes a content analysis of the 609 non-WPS resolutions adopted by the Council between 31 October, 2000 and 31 August, 2010 (UNSCRs 1326 - 1937), in order to establish the extent to which the Security Council has practiced gender mainstreaming by including gender-sensitive clauses in its resolutions. The second section then takes a discursive approach to examine how the Security Council has practiced gender mainstreaming. I do this by analysing the Council’s discussion of women (as victims and as participants), and its discussion (or lack thereof) of men, in order to determine how certain conceptualisations of gender have been (re)produced through these resolutions. This chapter concludes by arguing that a
conceptualisation of the relationship between males and females as a relationship of dominance and subordinance continues to be articulated through non-WPS resolutions.

Assessing the Practice of Gender Mainstreaming

Chapter Two noted that since the Security Council’s adoption of gender mainstreaming in 2000, there has been a strong focus within the academic literature on monitoring and assessing the Council’s practice of this policy. Such assessments have focused on the frequency and quantity of gendered issues appearing within Council policy, assuming that a thorough practice of gender mainstreaming would entail the discussion of and acting upon relevant gendered issues in every policy (Black, 2009:9).

This chapter seeks to extend upon previous assessments within the existing literature by first undertaking a content analysis of the 609 resolutions that are not specifically focused on the WPS agenda (non-WPS resolutions) in order to establish the rates at which the Security Council is practicing gender mainstreaming. While studies such as those undertaken by Black (2009), True-Frost (2007) and PeaceWomen (WILPF, 2010a) have previously taken a similar approach in assessing the level of policy practice, this thesis will extend upon their work by additionally conducting a discursive analysis of how gender mainstreaming is being practiced by the Council. Through an examination of how men and women are discussed within these resolutions, I will identify that, as seen in the four WPS resolutions discussed in Chapter Three, a gendered logic of masculine protection continues to underpin this practice of gender-sensitivity.
By adopting a gender mainstreaming policy, the Security Council has made a commitment to take gender considerations into account in all of its policy and programs. This commitment is indicated by the following operative clauses from resolution 1325:

*The Security Council:*

5. *Expresses its willingness to incorporate a gender perspective into peacekeeping operations...*

8. *Calls on all actors involved, when negotiating and implementing peace agreements, to adopt a gender perspective...*

14. *Reaffirms its readiness, whenever measures are adopted under Article 41 of the Charter of the United Nations, to give consideration to their potential impact on the civilian population, bearing in mind the special needs of women and girls...*

15. *Expresses its willingness to ensure that Security Council missions take into account gender considerations and the rights of women... (UNSC, 2000b)*

In order to assess the extent to which gender mainstreaming has been practiced by the Council since UNSCR 1325 (i.e. the extent to which gender has been considered in all resolutions irrespective of their focus), this chapter assesses the quantity and type of gender content in non-WPS policies. To do so I have identified certain ‘gendered’ words that serve as discursive indicators of gender-sensitivity within resolution texts.
Discursive Indicators

Certain keywords are indicative of the Council taking a gender-sensitive approach to issues of security. In order to draw up a list of potential indicators, I identified that given that ‘gender’ denotes relations between, and culturally attributed characteristics of males and females (as discussed in Chapter Three), use of terms that indicate males or females would be indicative of the Council differentiating on the basis of gender. For this content analysis, eight key terms were identified as indicative that the Security Council was acting upon its commitment to take gender considerations into account in its generation of policy. These terms will be referred to throughout this paper as *WPS terms*. Four of the terms regard the resolution number of each of the Security Council resolutions that have focused on the issue of ‘Women, Peace, Security’:

- 1325 – UNSCR 1325 (2000)
- 1820 – UNSCR 1820 (2008b)
- 1888 – UNSCR 1888 (2009d)
- 1889 – UNSCR 1889 (2009e)

The other four terms will be identified as *Gendered WPS terms*:

- Women – the target of ‘Women, Peace, Security’ themes; female adults
- Gender – the target of gender mainstreaming policy
- Girls – female children
- Sexual – regarding gendered violence, abuse and exploitation
Two other potential feminine terms have been excluded from this statistical analysis: ‘mother’ and ‘female’. In a similar study undertaken by Black (2009), these two terms were used as markers of gender mainstreaming\textsuperscript{17}. This statistical analysis, however, has excluded the terms ‘mother’ and ‘female’ for the following reasons.

‘Mother’ is used ten times post-1325 in the following contexts:

1. Eight resolutions\textsuperscript{18} regarding the situation in Georgia use the word mother in the term *mother tongue* in reference to a need for Abkhaz law enforcement to address ethnic Georgians in their native tongue;
2. One thematic resolution on terror includes an example table that asks for an individuals’ personal details including their *mother’s full name* (UNSC, 2006b: Annex 1); and
3. One resolution regarding the situation in Somalia uses the term *mother ships* while discussing piracy (UNSC, 2008d: preamble).

Therefore, *mother* in these contexts, has not been used to indicate a female human being who has borne children, thus this usage of the term does not indicate that the Security Council is speaking from within a discourse on gender.

The phrase ‘female and male candidates’ appears within three non-WPS resolutions in the data-set, and are the only instances where the terms ‘male’ or ‘female’ are referenced. The terms appear in amendments to the process of states nominating candidates for the two International

\textsuperscript{17} Black’s study uses the words *women, female, gender, girl,* and *mother* to identify resolutions that looked at issues of gender before the passing of UNSCR 1325 in October 2000 (2009:10)

Criminal Tribunals (Rwanda and the former Yugoslavia). Where previously the statutes of these tribunals contained no references to gender\footnotemark, these amendments include the phrase “taking into account the importance of a fair representation of female and male candidates” (UNSC, 2000c: Annex 1; UNSC, 2002d: Annex 1; UNSC, 2005b: Annex 1) – a gender-sensitive provision regarding nomination procedures. By altering procedural rules in a gender-sensitive manner, this usage does indicate that the Council was acting upon its commitments to gender-sensitivity in a way that it had not prior to UNSCR 1325. However, given this very limited usage these terms have also been excluded as markers for the statistical content analysis.

Finally, terms that indicate biological males (including men, man, boy, and father) have been excluded from the content analysis given that within the 609 non-WPS resolutions analysed:

- only 7 instances of the use of the term ‘men’ occur (discussed below in the discursive analysis);
- there is one instance of the term ‘man’ being used, however this is used to denote a particular defence system: “Man-Portable Air Defence Systems (MANPADS)” (UNSC, 2005e: preamble), and not a specific gendered human being;
- no resolution uses the term ‘boy’;
- the term ‘father’ appears once in reference to an individual: “former King Mohammed Zaher, the “Father of the Nation”” (UNSC, 2002b: preamble). As this is a reference to the title conferred upon Mohammed Zahar by the current Afghani constitution (Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, 2004: Art.158), and does not indicate a policy that addresses fathers (male parents of children), this has been excluded from analysis.

\footnotetext{No gendered terms are found in the previous articulations of these statutes. See UNSCRs 827 (UNSC, 1993), 955 (UNSC, 1994), 1165 (UNSC, 1998a), and 1166 (UNSC, 1998b).}
Importantly, the notable absence of male gendered terms correlates with the discursive construction of male as the norm within the security discourse. Similarly, this absence alone is suggestive of the Council’s tendency to conflate ‘gender’-sensitivity with considering ‘women’, and demonstrates that, due to this conflation, the gender-sensitivity policy of the Council appears to be ignoring the specific gendered concerns of men. Due to their absence, therefore, these terms have not been used as markers of a gender-focused discourse.

**Perambulatory versus Operative Clauses**

The distinction between perambulatory and operative sections of a resolution was outlined in the method section of Chapter Two. This distinction is significant in assessing how gender mainstreaming has been practiced in the production of new Security Council resolutions, given that perambulatory clauses can be understood as the background of the issues addressed by the resolution: they identify the factors that the Council is taking into account in delivering the operative clauses, while operative clauses define courses of action to be taken. Where perambulatory clauses may rhetorically refer to an idea, only the use of the idea within an operative clause denotes the Security Council’s intention for that idea to be acted upon. While in a similar study, Black (2009:13) identifies that UNSCR 1325 can be referenced in both perambulatory and operative text, she fails to identify the significance of referencing in these different sections. This study, however, distinguishes between perambulatory and operative clauses, in order to examine the extent to which Security Council policy not only pays lip-service to its commitment to gender mainstreaming but also acts upon this commitment.
Practicing Gender-Sensitivity: Analysing the Use of WPS terminology in Non-WPS Resolutions

As noted in Chapter Two, Security Council resolutions are official articulations of Council policy and in accordance with the United Nations Charter, are binding upon all member states of the UN (UN, 1945: Ch.V, Art.25). This section presents an examination of the content of non-WPS resolutions in order to assess the extent to which the Security Council is acting upon its commitment to mainstream gender in all policy-output. It does this through an analysis of the language that appears in the 609 resolutions passed after UNSCR 1325 that do not specifically deal with the theme of ‘Women, Peace and Security’ (i.e. non-WPS resolutions).

Since the adoption of UNSCR 1325 (October 2000), there has been a growing trend for all UNSC resolutions to contain WPS terminology, as seen below in figure 1. During 2001-2002 WPS terminology only appeared in 10-15 percent of all resolutions. However, apart from slight dips in 2006 and 2008, from 2003 onwards there has been a steady rise in the number of resolutions containing WPS terms. By 2009, 63 percent of all resolutions contained some reference to WPS terminology. Interestingly, by 2005 the use of WPS terminology in operative clauses surpassed the use of the terms in perambulatory clauses. Given the function of perambulatory and operative clauses, this indicates that not only has the Security Council increased its usage of WPS terminology since 2001, but in addition to speaking from within a gender discourse rhetorically, it has also increasingly called for actions to be taken on the basis of gendered understandings of security issues.
Figure 1

Percentage of Non-WPS Resolutions that include WPS Terminology

Excludes UNSCRs 1820, 1888 and 1889.

References to Previous WPS Resolutions

Within non-WPS resolutions, references to previous WPS resolutions indicate that the Security Council has in some way considered the sentiments of these previous resolutions while constructing the new resolution. From 2002 onwards, there has been an increasing trend to refer to WPS resolution 1325 within non-WPS resolutions (see figure 2 below). In 2002 only 1 of the 68, or 1.47 percent of all resolutions passed referred to UNSCR 1325. By 2010, however, of all resolutions passed just under 40 percent referred to resolution 1325. Within the space of just four years (2006-2010) the number of resolutions referencing UNSCR 1325 has gone from under 10 percent to around 40 percent. These figures indicate that in writing new resolutions, the

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20 Given that 2010 is not yet concluded, the percentage of Non-WPS resolutions that reference WPS resolutions may yet exceed the 2009 figure.
Security Council is increasingly considering its commitment to gender mainstreaming as outlined in UNSCR 1325.

*Figure 2*

![Percentage of Non-WPS Resolutions that reference WPS Resolutions](image)


The adoption of the three later WPS resolutions (1820, 1888 and 1889) in 2008 and 2009, and in particular the new focus within these resolutions on mechanisms to monitor the practice of gender mainstreaming, indicate that particularly since June 2008, the Security Council has increasingly acted upon its commitment to mainstream gender by taking on a gendered approach to security issues. This is supported by the fact that once these new WPS resolutions had been passed they began to be referenced in non-WPS resolutions at rates only slightly lower than those referring to UNSCR 1325: currently these three resolutions are referenced in around 30 percent of all resolutions passed by the Council (see figure 2)\(^\text{21}\).

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\(^{21}\) Initial statistics developed in June 2010 showed the Council referencing these resolutions at similar rates to those seen in 2009. It would be advisable to revisit these statistics at the end of 2010 to see if the recent drop remains constant as it is possible that following the 10\(^\text{th}\) anniversary of UNSCR 1325 in late October, there will be an increase
in referencing WPS resolutions. Indeed further study may be warranted to ascertain whether the Security Council has a tendency to reference WPS content with more frequency during times of increased attention on the WPS agenda such as at its anniversary in October.
Although there have been rising trends to refer to WPS resolutions in both perambulatory and operative clauses, references to UNSCR 1325 currently occur at a much higher rate in perambulatory clauses than in operative clauses (see figure 3). This trend also holds true for references to the other three WPS resolutions where, as with UNSCR 1325 since 2007, references within operative clauses occur in roughly 5-15 percent of resolutions (see figure 4). In this case, the trend for higher rates in perambulatory clauses does not necessarily indicate a lack of commitment to WPS principles. In most resolutions, this occurs because WPS resolutions are referenced in the preamble, whereas certain WPS issues will be specifically targeted for action or reference in later perambulatory or operative clauses within the resolution. Therefore, increasing invocations of the four WPS resolutions in non-WPS resolutions indicate that the Security Council is increasingly considering its commitments to WPS issues in the construction of new policy, and therefore that the Council has increasingly spoken from within a gender-sensitive security discourse in constructing these policies.

A General Overview of the Use of Gendered WPS Terms

Within non-WPS resolutions, a use of gendered WPS terminology indicates that a resolution is referencing or addressing WPS concerns by speaking from within a gender-sensitive discourse. Therefore, the trend to increasingly employ gendered WPS terminology in non-WPS resolutions, as seen in figures 5 & 6, indicates that the Security Council is increasingly speaking from within a gender-sensitive discourse.
Figure 5

Percentage of Non-WPS Resolutions that contain Gendered WPS Terminology
(Women, Gender, Sexual & Girl)

Excludes UNSCRs 1820, 1888 and 1889.

Figure 6

Percentage of Non-WPS Resolutions that contain WPS Terminology

Excludes UNSCRs 1820, 1888 and 1889.
Given the different functions served by perambulatory and operative clauses, it is important not just to examine the overall use of gendered terms in a resolution, but also to assess the structural location of these terms within the texts. The use of the term ‘women’ in Security Council resolutions has grown from being employed in around 10 percent of resolutions in 2001-2002, to appearing in over 45 percent of resolutions by 2010 (see figure 6). Figure 7 depicts the use of this term in both perambulatory and operative clauses. This graph also depicts the rates at which, after excluding all instances where ‘women’ only appears as part of the WPS agenda title ‘Women, Peace and Security’, perambulatory clauses of non-WPS resolutions contain the word ‘women’. Accounting for these instances, it is apparent that ‘women’ has been increasingly used in both perambulatory and operative clauses, and that until the end of 2009, a higher percentage of resolutions contain the term in operative clauses (23.91 percent in 2009) than in perambulatory clauses (21.74 percent in 2009). Similar trends appear in increasing references to the terms ‘gender’, ‘sexual’, and ‘girl’. As shown in figures 8, 9, and 10 below, not only is the use of these WPS terms rising, but more resolutions are employing the terms in operative clauses than only in perambulatory clauses. In 2010,

- 6.67 percent of all resolutions referenced “gender” in their perambulatory sections, whereas 23.33 percent referenced gender in their operative sections;
- 10 percent referenced “sexual” in their perambulatory sections, compared to 40 percent which referenced the term in their operative sections; and,

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22 Excluding perambulatory references to women that only recall a WPS resolution, the 2010 statistics indicate a higher level of referencing in perambulatory clauses (40 percent) than in operative clauses (23.33%). This indicates that the Council is currently more likely to use the word ‘women’ in describing a certain aspect of WPS in the perambulatory section, rather than solely recalling a WPS resolution as it has in the past.
• 0 percent of resolutions referenced “girl” in their perambulatory sections, compared to 10 percent which referenced the term in their operative sections.

**Figure 7**

Percentage of Non-WPS Resolutions that contain the term 'Women'

![Percentage of Non-WPS Resolutions that contain the term 'Women'](chart)


**Figure 8**

Percentage of Non-WPS Resolutions that contain the term 'Gender'

![Percentage of Non-WPS Resolutions that contain the term 'Gender'](chart2)

**Figure 9**

Percentage of Non-WPS Resolutions that contain the term 'Girl'

Excludes UNSCRs 1820, 1888 and 1889.

**Figure 10**

Percentage of Non-WPS Resolutions that contain the term 'Sexual'

Excludes UNSCRs 1820, 1888 and 1889.
Within non-WPS resolutions, this increasing use of gendered WPS terminology indicates that the Security Council is increasingly speaking from within a gender-sensitive security discourse. Higher rates of WPS terminology appearing in operative rather than perambulatory clauses, further reinforce this change in behaviour. This indicates that the Council is not merely paying lip-service to its changed policy, but actually putting it into practice by calling for certain actions to be taken in response to gender considerations. Therefore, through an analysis of the rates at which the Security Council is including gendered terminology in its resolutions, this section has demonstrated that the Security Council is practicing gender mainstreaming to a greater extent by increasingly speaking from within a gender-sensitive discourse.

**The Security Council’s Practice of Gender Mainstreaming: A Discursive Analysis**

Having established the Council’s increasing practice of gender mainstreaming, this Chapter turns to an analysis of how gender-sensitivity is being practiced. This section will discursively analyse how ‘women’ and ‘men’ are discussed within the four WPS resolutions, in order to identify how the Council understands the relationship between these two genders. I argue that a discursive logic of the masculine protector underpins the Council’s understanding of gender, thereby positioning the male in a position of dominance in relation to the female. A brief assessment of the Council’s use of the terms ‘empower’ and ‘empowerment’ demonstrates that despite the potential shift away from essentialist constructions of gender indicated within the later WPS resolutions\(^\text{23}\), the Council has not been discussing women’s empowerment within non-WPS resolutions. Therefore, I argue that the Council’s practice of gender-sensitivity unconsciously

\(^{23}\) See Chapter Three.
reproduces gendered forms of oppression and exclusion in that women continue to be rendered as subordinate to men (the implicit power-holders).

**The Council’s Understanding of Women**

The term ‘women’ is used in three ways within non-WPS resolutions: to denote an agent (participation), a victim (vulnerability/protection), or as a component of a recalled document title (for instance in *recalling* UNSCR 1325 on **Women, Peace and Security**). Some clauses refer to women in more than one of these ways, and for the purposes of this analysis, these clauses have been identified as falling into each relevant category\(^{24}\). An analysis of the frequency with which women are constructed as agent, victim or recalled in a resolution, demonstrates that the term is used most frequently to refer to an idea of victimhood (see figure 11). These clauses usually point to a need to ‘protect’ women as a ‘vulnerable group’\(^{25}\), often from violence, and in particular sexual violence. The second highest usage of the term ‘women’ pertains to a reaffirmation of a previous WPS resolution. These instances are included in these statistics due to the fact that such resolutions are usually referred to by their full thematic title: ‘**Women, Peace and Security**’. This increasing frequency reflects the growing trend to ‘recall’ or ‘reaffirm’ previous WPS resolutions as discussed above. Importantly, figure 11 demonstrates that, whilst having been increasingly discussed within UNSC resolutions over the last 10 years, the term ‘women’ is used to a much lesser extent to refer to women as ‘agents’ than as ‘victims’.

\(^{24}\) If a clause refers to more than one category, both of these categories have been counted in calculating the statistics seen in figure 12. See Appendix E for the breakdown of these categorisations.

\(^{25}\) The terms ‘protect’ and ‘vulnerable groups’ are commonly used by the Security Council in these resolutions in reference to women.
Clauses that construct women as agents (participants) focus on the role of women in conflict prevention and resolution, and often focus on the role of women’s organisations and initiatives. In keeping with the Council’s tendency to discuss ‘women-as-participants’ as in need of some sort of support from higher authorities, the bulk of participant-focused statements in non-WPS resolutions refer to a need for power-holding authorities to promote or protect women’s ability to participate. For example, perambulatory clauses emphasize “the need for increased efforts to support the participation of women in the political process” (UNSC, 2009g: emphasis added); encourage “the Transitional Government to continue, with the cooperation of ONUB, to enhance women’s participation in the political process” (UNSC, 2005c); or emphasise “the need for increased efforts to support the participation of women in the political process” (UNSC, 2009g). As with the four WPS resolutions, the general articulations of women’s participation construct women as an object of policy, it is only the power-holding, discursively masculine actors who are
addressed as subjects by the texts. Such discursive constructions, therefore, continue to rest upon a gendered logic of protector/protected.

One example, however, does exist of the Security Council *speaking to* rather than just *speaking about* a women’s organisation. In a perambulatory clause from UNSCR 1478, the Security Council encourages “civil society initiatives in the region, including those of the Mano River Union Women’s Peace Network, to continue their contribution towards regional peace” (UNSC, 2003b). As the only case of a women’s organisation being directly addressed by the text, this example represents an anomaly in the discursive construction of the feminine as subordinate, which otherwise pervades the majority of conceptualisations of gender in non-WPS resolutions.

This clause indicates that despite the Council’s tendency to do so, the Council does not necessarily have to speak only about women as objects of policy, rather than to women as subjects of policy. Therefore, the clause is significant in that it sets a precedent for the Council to begin to directly address women and women’s organisations in a similar way to how it addresses actors such as states or ‘parties to armed conflict’ – i.e. as equally powerful actors.
The construction of women-in-need-of-protection (victims) is (re)produced within non-WPS policy as the most common articulation of women, with 42 percent of ‘women-referencing’ clauses solely using this construction (see figure 12). The construction of the feminine victim underpins articulations of women as the victims of HIV/AIDS, sexual abuse/exploitation/violence, and violence more generally. Women are also constructed as ‘vulnerable’ and requiring ‘protection’, considering their ‘special’ or ‘particular’ needs. Similarly, women’s human rights, and roles in civil society and decision-making are discussed in the context of asking powerful authorities to protect these rights and provide space for these roles. Once again women are constructed as the objects of the text, whereby the Council calls upon certain actors to promote and protect women’s rights and ability to participate.

In examining resolutions 1888 and 1889, Chapter Three identified that by considering notions of ‘empowerment’, the Council’s discussion of women suggested a move away from essentialist
understandings of gender. However within non-WPS resolutions, the Council has as yet hardly begun to discuss women in relation to ideas of empowerment. Across the 609 non-WPS resolutions analysed in this study, only ten clauses employ the terms ‘empower’ or ‘empowerment’²⁶, and of these only two clauses use the term with relation to women or gender (UNSC, 2006a: Art.4; UN, 2010b: Art.23). Considering these findings, along with the Council’s continuing tendency to discuss women primarily as victims rather than actors, the Council does not appear to have translated this new understanding into its practice of gender-sensitivity.

As with the four WPS resolutions, the feminine is discursively constructed within non-WPS resolutions as primarily vulnerable and requiring protection. Women are far more likely to be considered by policy as vulnerable/victims, and even when they are considered as agents, their capacities to act (i.e. power) are discussed as capacities that must be provided for them by powerful, non-feminine authorities. Therefore, these conceptions of women maintain fidelity to the underlying gendered logic of protector/protected evidenced in the WPS resolutions.

The Council’s Understanding of Men

As outlined above, there are only seven instances where ‘men’ are explicitly discussed in these non-WPS resolutions. Six of these cases appear between 2007-2010, in resolutions pertaining to Afghanistan, and all position men alongside their ‘counterpart’, women. The 4 perambulatory clauses speak of the “women and men or UNAMA” (as mission staff)²⁷, while the two operative clauses refer to “increasing ... the functionality, professionalism and accountability of the Afghan security sector through appropriate vetting procedures, training, mentoring, equipping and

²⁶ See Appendix F for a compilation of these clauses.
²⁷ See perambulatory clauses in UNSC resolutions (2007; 2008a; 2009b; 2010b).
empowerment efforts, for both women and men” (UNSC, 2010b: Art.23), and to the “full representation of all Afghan women and men” in executive and legislative branches (UNSC, 2010b: Art.33). In none of these cases are men (or women) constructed as victims, they are instead positioned as agents. Within all 609 non-WPS resolutions, only one other explicit reference is ever made to men. This occurs in the final clause of the preamble in UNSCR 1625 which recognizes “the important supporting roles played by civil society, men and women, in conflict prevention” (UNSC, 2005f). Therefore, on every occasion in which men are explicitly mentioned within Security Council policy, they are constructed firstly, as women’s counterpart (as the other type of human being), and secondly, as agents. Men are never explicitly constructed by non-WPS Security Council resolutions as vulnerable or in need of protection.

Discursively, in positioning the vulnerable/victim as feminine, and considering the feminine to be the oppositional counterpart of the masculine, the masculine is implicitly constructed as the less vulnerable, and therefore, the power-holder. In discussing women as needing protection, the roles of protector and perpetrator are discursively rendered as masculine. Therefore, as seen in the four WPS resolutions, the Council’s understanding of the power relations between men and women still appears to rest upon a logic of the male as power-holder in relation to the powerless female.

**The Council’s Understanding of Gender**

In examining the distinction between constructions of females (and males) as vulnerable/victims (powerless to protect themselves) or agents (having the power to act), these findings indicate that the Security Council’s articulation of gender within non-WPS policy texts rests upon the logic of masculine protection that is also evidenced in the construction of the four WPS resolutions.
This is problematic in that it indicates that while the Security Council has begun to reconceptualise security in a gender-sensitive way, it is still conceiving of gender in a way that one gender (male) is privileged over the other (female). Discursively, therefore, the very gendered forms of oppression and exclusion that its gender-sensitive policy attempts to overcome, continue to be reproduced in the way that the Council considers and responds to issues of security.
Conclusion

The adoption of UNSCR 1325 in October 2000 indicated an acknowledgement of gender by the Security Council, and consequently an attempt by the Council to address and prevent gendered forms of oppression and exclusion. While this acknowledgment of gender was commendable, the adoption of this new ‘gender-sensitive’ approach to security did not indicate that the Council was challenging the existing power relations between men and women. Through a discursive analysis of the four Women, Peace and Security resolutions (1325, 1820, 1888 and 1889), this thesis has argued that the Security Council’s WPS policy was primarily informed by an underlying gendered logic of the masculine protector in relation to the vulnerable feminine and infantile. Rather than addressing the gendered experiences that women can have in conflict as a result of vulnerability, women were initially addressed by this policy because they were understood to be inherently vulnerable.

While the WPS agenda calls for the mainstreaming of ‘gender-sensitivity’ across all non-WPS policy, the implementation of gender mainstreaming has so far focused exclusively on women’s perspectives and issues. This indicates the Council’s tendency to conflate ‘gender’ with ‘women’, where for something to be gendered, it is considered to be deviant from the norm (i.e. male). This is particularly evident within the Council’s practice of gender mainstreaming in non-WPS resolutions, where out of 609 resolutions studied, the word ‘men’ appeared only seven times across only five resolutions, and in all instances men were positioned as the counterpart to ‘women’. Therefore, in its practice of gender mainstreaming, the Council has focused only on paying attention to the gendered experiences of women and girls, rather than also to the gendered experiences of men and boys.
This thesis argues that gender entails an understanding that the relations of power between men and women are not inherent or fixed to the biology of being female or male, but rather are socially constructed. In taking a gender-sensitive approach, therefore, a policy should be based upon an understanding of men and women as not inherently powerful or vulnerable, but rather as human beings who may experience situations differently on account of the way in which their societies and/or cultures have come to attribute certain characteristics to being female or male. If a policy addresses gendered power inequalities from an understanding that conceives of women and men as inherently linked to a position of subordinance or dominance, whether consciously or not, the discourse which informs the generation of gender-sensitive policy can function to reproduce the very gendered power relations that the policy is attempting to address.

Within recent articulations of the Women, Peace and Security agenda, there are indications that the Security Council is beginning to recognise and address its tendency to consider gender power relations from an essentialist understanding of women as inherently vulnerable and men as inherently powerful. In particular, the Council’s acknowledgment of the importance of discussing women not just as victims, but also as agents, as well as its new focus on ideas of empowering women, is significant in that it indicates a potential move away from an essentialist understanding of gender.

An analysis of the Council’s practice of gender-sensitivity, however, indicates that as yet, changes in the Security Council’s understanding of gender have not yet translated into changing how gender mainstreaming is practiced. Indeed the Council continues to solely focus on addressing female experiences and concerns rather than the differing experiences of females and males within situations of peace and conflict. It may be that there will be a time lag between the
definition of new policy (in this case the development of a new discourse), and its comprehensive integration. Further investigation is warranted, therefore, in order to determine whether the Council’s acknowledgment and promotion of women as actors in UNSCRs 1888 and 1889 represents an anomaly in the Council’s attitude towards gender, or rather significant progress towards the Council’s adoption of a new understanding of the power relations between men and women.

In conclusion, by largely failing to problematise its own understanding of gender relations, the Council’s articulation of the WPS agenda and its practice of gender mainstreaming across non-WPS policy, have been predominantly underpinned by a patriarchal logic that attributes males with power and females with vulnerability. Therefore, while the WPS agenda and gender mainstreaming are attempts by the Council to address gender forms of oppression and exclusion, the gendered discourse that has informed the agenda has unconsciously reproduced the very forms of oppression and exclusion that the agenda is trying to counteract.
Appendices

Appendix A  United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325  p.82
Appendix B  United Nations Security Council Resolution 1820  p.87
Appendix E  The Categorisation of Clauses in Non-WPS Resolutions that use the term ‘Women’  p.107
Appendix F  Use of the Terms ‘Empower’ and ‘Empowerment’ in Non-WPS Resolutions  p.109
Appendix A:

United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325
Resolution 1325 (2000)

Adopted by the Security Council at its 4213th meeting, on 31 October 2000

The Security Council,


Recalling also the commitments of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (A/52/231) as well as those contained in the outcome document of the twenty-third Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly entitled “Women 2000: Gender Equality, Development and Peace for the Twenty-First Century” (A/S-23/10/Rev.1), in particular those concerning women and armed conflict,

Bearing in mind the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the primary responsibility of the Security Council under the Charter for the maintenance of international peace and security,

Expressing concern that civilians, particularly women and children, account for the vast majority of those adversely affected by armed conflict, including as refugees and internally displaced persons, and increasingly are targeted by combatants and armed elements, and recognizing the consequent impact this has on durable peace and reconciliation,

Reaffirming the important role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts and in peace-building, and stressing the importance of their equal participation and full involvement in all efforts for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security, and the need to increase their role in decision-making with regard to conflict prevention and resolution,

Reaffirming also the need to implement fully international humanitarian and human rights law that protects the rights of women and girls during and after conflicts,
Emphasizing the need for all parties to ensure that mine clearance and mine awareness programmes take into account the special needs of women and girls,

Recognizing the urgent need to mainstream a gender perspective into peacekeeping operations, and in this regard noting the Windhoek Declaration and the Namibia Plan of Action on Mainstreaming a Gender Perspective in Multidimensional Peace Support Operations (S/2000/693),

Recognizing also the importance of the recommendation contained in the statement of its President to the press of 8 March 2000 for specialized training for all peacekeeping personnel on the protection, special needs and human rights of women and children in conflict situations,

Recognizing that an understanding of the impact of armed conflict on women and girls, effective institutional arrangements to guarantee their protection and full participation in the peace process can significantly contribute to the maintenance and promotion of international peace and security,

Noting the need to consolidate data on the impact of armed conflict on women and girls,

1. Urges Member States to ensure increased representation of women at all decision-making levels in national, regional and international institutions and mechanisms for the prevention, management, and resolution of conflict;

2. Encourages the Secretary-General to implement his strategic plan of action (A/49/587) calling for an increase in the participation of women at decision-making levels in conflict resolution and peace processes;

3. Urges the Secretary-General to appoint more women as special representatives and envoys to pursue good offices on his behalf, and in this regard calls on Member States to provide candidates to the Secretary-General, for inclusion in a regularly updated centralized roster;

4. Further urges the Secretary-General to seek to expand the role and contribution of women in United Nations field-based operations, and especially among military observers, civilian police, human rights and humanitarian personnel;

5. Expresses its willingness to incorporate a gender perspective into peacekeeping operations, and urges the Secretary-General to ensure that, where appropriate, field operations include a gender component;

6. Requests the Secretary-General to provide to Member States training guidelines and materials on the protection, rights and the particular needs of women, as well as on the importance of involving women in all peacekeeping and peacebuilding measures, invites Member States to incorporate these elements as well as HIV/AIDS awareness training into their national training programmes for military and civilian police personnel in preparation for deployment, and further requests the Secretary-General to ensure that civilian personnel of peacekeeping operations receive similar training;

7. Urges Member States to increase their voluntary financial, technical and logistical support for gender-sensitive training efforts, including those undertaken by relevant funds and programmes, inter alia, the United Nations Fund for Women and United Nations Children’s Fund, and by the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and other relevant bodies;
8. *Calls on* all actors involved, when negotiating and implementing peace agreements, to adopt a gender perspective, including, inter alia:

(a) The special needs of women and girls during repatriation and resettlement and for rehabilitation, reintegration and post-conflict reconstruction;

(b) Measures that support local women’s peace initiatives and indigenous processes for conflict resolution, and that involve women in all of the implementation mechanisms of the peace agreements;

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


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

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

12. *Calls upon* all parties to armed conflict to respect the civilian and humanitarian character of refugee camps and settlements, and to take into account the particular needs of women and girls, including in their design, and recalls its resolutions 1208 (1998) of 19 November 1998 and 1296 (2000) of 19 April 2000;

13. *Encourages* all those involved in the planning for disarmament, demobilization and reintegration to consider the different needs of female and male ex-combatants and to take into account the needs of their dependants;

14. *Reaffirms* its readiness, whenever measures are adopted under Article 41 of the Charter of the United Nations, to give consideration to their potential impact on the civilian population, bearing in mind the special needs of women and girls, in order to consider appropriate humanitarian exemptions;

15. *Expresses* its willingness to ensure that Security Council missions take into account gender considerations and the rights of women, including through consultation with local and international women’s groups;

16. *Invites* the Secretary-General to carry out a study on the impact of armed conflict on women and girls, the role of women in peace-building and the gender dimensions of peace processes and conflict resolution, and *further invites* him to
submit a report to the Security Council on the results of this study and to make this available to all Member States of the United Nations;

17. *Requests* the Secretary-General, where appropriate, to include in his reporting to the Security Council progress on gender mainstreaming throughout peacekeeping missions and all other aspects relating to women and girls;

18. *Decides* to remain actively seized of the matter.
Appendix B:

United Nations Security Council Resolution

1820
Resolution 1820 (2008)

Adopted by the Security Council at its 5916th meeting, on 19 June 2008

The Security Council,


Guided by the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations,

Reaffirming also the resolve expressed in the 2005 World Summit Outcome Document to eliminate all forms of violence against women and girls, including by ending impunity and by ensuring the protection of civilians, in particular women and girls, during and after armed conflicts, in accordance with the obligations States have undertaken under international humanitarian law and international human rights law;


Reaffirming also the obligations of States Parties to the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, the Optional Protocol thereto, the Convention on the Rights of the Child and the Optional Protocols thereto, and urging states that have not yet done so to consider ratifying or acceding to them,

Noting that civilians account for the vast majority of those adversely affected by armed conflict; that women and girls are particularly targeted by the use of sexual violence, including as a tactic of war to humiliate, dominate, instil fear in, disperse and/or forcibly relocate civilian members of a community or ethnic group;
and that sexual violence perpetrated in this manner may in some instances persist after the cessation of hostilities;

Recalling its condemnation in the strongest terms of all sexual and other forms of violence committed against civilians in armed conflict, in particular women and children;

Reiterating deep concern that, despite its repeated condemnation of violence against women and children in situations of armed conflict, including sexual violence in situations of armed conflict, and despite its calls addressed to all parties to armed conflict for the cessation of such acts with immediate effect, such acts continue to occur, and in some situations have become systematic and widespread, reaching appalling levels of brutality,

Recalling the inclusion of a range of sexual violence offences in the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court and the statutes of the ad hoc international criminal tribunals,

Reaffirming the important role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts and in peacebuilding, and stressing the importance of their equal participation and full involvement in all efforts for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security, and the need to increase their role in decision-making with regard to conflict prevention and resolution,

Deeply concerned also about the persistent obstacles and challenges to women’s participation and full involvement in the prevention and resolution of conflicts as a result of violence, intimidation and discrimination, which erode women’s capacity and legitimacy to participate in post-conflict public life, and acknowledging the negative impact this has on durable peace, security and reconciliation, including post-conflict peacebuilding,

Recognizing that States bear primary responsibility to respect and ensure the human rights of their citizens, as well as all individuals within their territory as provided for by relevant international law,

Reaffirming that parties to armed conflict bear the primary responsibility to take all feasible steps to ensure the protection of affected civilians,

Welcoming the ongoing coordination of efforts within the United Nations system, marked by the inter-agency initiative “United Nations Action against Sexual Violence in Conflict,” to create awareness about sexual violence in armed conflicts and post-conflict situations and, ultimately, to put an end to it,

1. Stresses that sexual violence, when used or commissioned as a tactic of war in order to deliberately target civilians or as a part of a widespread or systematic attack against civilian populations, can significantly exacerbate situations of armed conflict and may impede the restoration of international peace and security, affirms in this regard that effective steps to prevent and respond to such acts of sexual violence can significantly contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security, and expresses its readiness, when considering situations on the agenda of the Council, to, where necessary, adopt appropriate steps to address widespread or systematic sexual violence;

2. Demands the immediate and complete cessation by all parties to armed conflict of all acts of sexual violence against civilians with immediate effect;
3. **Demands** that all parties to armed conflict immediately take appropriate measures to protect civilians, including women and girls, from all forms of sexual violence, which could include, inter alia, enforcing appropriate military disciplinary measures and upholding the principle of command responsibility, training troops on the categorical prohibition of all forms of sexual violence against civilians, debunking myths that fuel sexual violence, vetting armed and security forces to take into account past actions of rape and other forms of sexual violence, and evacuation of women and children under imminent threat of sexual violence to safety; and **requests** the Secretary-General, where appropriate, to encourage dialogue to address this issue in the context of broader discussions of conflict resolution between appropriate UN officials and the parties to the conflict, taking into account, inter alia, the views expressed by women of affected local communities;

4. **Notes** that rape and other forms of sexual violence can constitute a war crime, a crime against humanity, or a constitutive act with respect to genocide, **stresses the need for** the exclusion of sexual violence crimes from amnesty provisions in the context of conflict resolution processes, and **calls upon** Member States to comply with their obligations for prosecuting persons responsible for such acts, to ensure that all victims of sexual violence, particularly women and girls, have equal protection under the law and equal access to justice, and **stresses** the importance of ending impunity for such acts as part of a comprehensive approach to seeking sustainable peace, justice, truth, and national reconciliation;

5. **Affirms its intention**, when establishing and renewing state-specific sanctions regimes, to take into consideration the appropriateness of targeted and graduated measures against parties to situations of armed conflict who commit rape and other forms of sexual violence against women and girls in situations of armed conflict;

6. **Requests** the Secretary-General, in consultation with the Security Council, the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations and its Working Group and relevant States, as appropriate, to develop and implement appropriate training programs for all peacekeeping and humanitarian personnel deployed by the United Nations in the context of missions as mandated by the Council to help them better prevent, recognize and respond to sexual violence and other forms of violence against civilians;

7. **Requests** the Secretary-General to continue and strengthen efforts to implement the policy of zero tolerance of sexual exploitation and abuse in United Nations peacekeeping operations; and **urges** troop and police contributing countries to take appropriate preventative action, including pre-deployment and in-theater awareness training, and other action to ensure full accountability in cases of such conduct involving their personnel;

8. **Encourages** troop and police contributing countries, in consultation with the Secretary-General, to consider steps they could take to heighten awareness and the responsiveness of their personnel participating in UN peacekeeping operations to protect civilians, including women and children, and prevent sexual violence against women and girls in conflict and post-conflict situations, including wherever possible the deployment of a higher percentage of women peacekeepers or police;

9. **Requests** the Secretary-General to develop effective guidelines and strategies to enhance the ability of relevant UN peacekeeping operations, consistent
with their mandates, to protect civilians, including women and girls, from all forms of sexual violence and to systematically include in his written reports to the Council on conflict situations his observations concerning the protection of women and girls and recommendations in this regard;

10. Requests the Secretary-General and relevant United Nations agencies, inter alia, through consultation with women and women-led organizations as appropriate, to develop effective mechanisms for providing protection from violence, including in particular sexual violence, to women and girls in and around UN managed refugee and internally displaced persons camps, as well as in all disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration processes, and in justice and security sector reform efforts assisted by the United Nations;

11. Stresses the important role the Peacebuilding Commission can play by including in its advice and recommendations for post-conflict peacebuilding strategies, where appropriate, ways to address sexual violence committed during and in the aftermath of armed conflict, and in ensuring consultation and effective representation of women’s civil society in its country-specific configurations, as part of its wider approach to gender issues;

12. Urges the Secretary-General and his Special Envoys to invite women to participate in discussions pertinent to the prevention and resolution of conflict, the maintenance of peace and security, and post-conflict peacebuilding, and encourages all parties to such talks to facilitate the equal and full participation of women at decision-making levels;

13. Urges all parties concerned, including Member States, United Nations entities and financial institutions, to support the development and strengthening of the capacities of national institutions, in particular of judicial and health systems, and of local civil society networks in order to provide sustainable assistance to victims of sexual violence in armed conflict and post-conflict situations;

14. Urges appropriate regional and sub-regional bodies in particular to consider developing and implementing policies, activities, and advocacy for the benefit of women and girls affected by sexual violence in armed conflict;

15. Also requests the Secretary-General to submit a report to the Council by 30 June 2009 on the implementation of this resolution in the context of situations which are on the agenda of the Council, utilizing information from available United Nations sources, including country teams, peacekeeping operations, and other United Nations personnel, which would include, inter alia, information on situations of armed conflict in which sexual violence has been widely or systematically employed against civilians; analysis of the prevalence and trends of sexual violence in situations of armed conflict; proposals for strategies to minimize the susceptibility of women and girls to such violence; benchmarks for measuring progress in preventing and addressing sexual violence; appropriate input from United Nations implementing partners in the field; information on his plans for facilitating the collection of timely, objective, accurate, and reliable information on the use of sexual violence in situations of armed conflict, including through improved coordination of UN activities on the ground and at Headquarters; and information on actions taken by parties to armed conflict to implement their responsibilities as described in this resolution, in particular by immediately and
completely ceasing all acts of sexual violence and in taking appropriate measures to protect women and girls from all forms of sexual violence;

16. Decides to remain actively seized of the matter.
Appendix C:

Resolution 1888 (2009)

Adopted by the Security Council at its 6195th meeting, on 30 September 2009

The Security Council,

Reaffirming its commitment to the continuing and full implementation of resolutions 1325 (2000), 1612 (2005), 1674 (2006), 1820 (2008) and 1882 (2009) and all relevant statements of its President,

Welcoming the report of the Secretary-General of 16 July 2009 (S/2009/362), but remaining deeply concerned over the lack of progress on the issue of sexual violence in situations of armed conflict in particular against women and children, notably against girls, and noting as documented in the Secretary-General’s report that sexual violence occurs in armed conflicts throughout the world,

Reiterating deep concern that, despite its repeated condemnation of violence against women and children including all forms of sexual violence in situations of armed conflict, and despite its calls addressed to all parties to armed conflict for the cessation of such acts with immediate effect, such acts continue to occur, and in some situations have become systematic or widespread,


Recalling the obligations of States Parties to the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, the Optional Protocol thereto, the Convention on the Rights of the Child and the Optional Protocols thereto, and urging states that have not yet done so to consider ratifying or acceding to them,

Recalling that international humanitarian law affords general protection to women and children as part of the civilian population during armed conflicts and special protection due to the fact that they can be placed particularly at risk.

Recalling the responsibilities of States to end impunity and to prosecute those responsible for genocide, crimes against humanity, war crimes and other egregious crimes perpetrated against civilians, and in this regard, noting with concern that only limited numbers of perpetrators of sexual violence have been brought to
Reaffirming that ending impunity is essential if a society in conflict or recovering from conflict is to come to terms with past abuses committed against civilians affected by armed conflict and to prevent future such abuses, drawing attention to the full range of justice and reconciliation mechanisms to be considered, including national, international and "mixed" criminal courts and tribunals and truth and reconciliation commissions, and noting that such mechanisms can promote not only individual responsibility for serious crimes, but also peace, truth, reconciliation and the rights of the victims,

Recalling the inclusion of a range of sexual violence offences in the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court and the statutes of the ad hoc international criminal tribunals,

Stressing the necessity for all States and non-State parties to conflicts to comply fully with their obligations under applicable international law, including the prohibition on all forms of sexual violence,

Recognizing the need for civilian and military leaders, consistent with the principle of command responsibility, to demonstrate commitment and political will to prevent sexual violence and to combat impunity and enforce accountability, and that inaction can send a message that the incidence of sexual violence in conflicts is tolerated,

Emphasizing the importance of addressing sexual violence issues from the outset of peace processes and mediation efforts, in order to protect populations at risk and promote full stability, in particular in the areas of pre-ceasefire humanitarian access and human rights agreements, ceasefires and ceasefire monitoring, Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR), Security Sector Reform (SSR) arrangements, justice and reparations, post-conflict recovery and development,

Noting with concern the underrepresentation of women in formal peace processes, the lack of mediators and ceasefire monitors with proper training in dealing with sexual violence, and the lack of women as Chief or Lead peace mediators in United Nations-sponsored peace talks,

Recognizing that the promotion and empowerment of women and that support for women's organizations and networks are essential in the consolidation of peace to promote the equal and full participation of women and encouraging Member States, donors, and civil society, including non-governmental organizations, to provide support in this respect,

Welcoming the inclusion of women in peacekeeping missions in civil, military and police functions, and recognizing that women and children affected by armed conflict may feel more secure working with and reporting abuse to women in peacekeeping missions, and that the presence of women peacekeepers may encourage local women to participate in the national armed and security forces, thereby helping to build a security sector that is accessible and responsive to all, especially women,

Welcoming the efforts of the Department of Peacekeeping Operations to develop gender guidelines for military personnel in peacekeeping operations to
facilitate the implementation of resolutions 1325 (2000) and 1820 (2008), and operational guidance to assist civilian, military and police components of peacekeeping missions to effectively implement resolution 1820 (2008),

Having considered the report of the Secretary-General of 16 July 2009 (S/2009/362) and stressing that the present resolution does not seek to make any legal determination as to whether situations that are referred to in the Secretary-General’s report are or are not armed conflicts within the context of the Geneva Conventions and the Additional Protocols thereto, nor does it prejudge the legal status of the non-State parties involved in these situations,

Recalling the Council’s decision in resolution 1882 of 4 August 2009 (S/RES/1882) to expand the Annexed list in the Secretary General’s annual report on Children and Armed Conflict of parties in situations of armed conflict engaged in the recruitment or use of children in violation of international law to also include those parties to armed conflict that engage, in contravention of applicable international law, in patterns of killing and maiming of children and/or rape and other sexual violence against children, in situations of armed conflict,

Noting the role currently assigned to the Office of the Special Adviser on Gender Issues to monitor implementation of resolution 1325 and to promote gender mainstreaming within the United Nations system, women’s empowerment and gender equality, and expressing the importance of effective coordination within the United Nations system in these areas,

Recognizing that States bear the primary responsibility to respect and ensure the human rights of their citizens, as well as all individuals within their territory as provided for by relevant international law,

Reaffirming that parties to armed conflict bear the primary responsibility to take all feasible steps to ensure the protection of affected civilians,

Reiterating its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security and, in this connection, its commitment to continue to address the widespread impact of armed conflict on civilians, including with regard to sexual violence,

1. Reaffirms that sexual violence, when used or commissioned as a tactic of war in order to deliberately target civilians or as a part of a widespread or systematic attack against civilian populations, can significantly exacerbate situations of armed conflict and may impede the restoration of international peace and security; affirms in this regard that effective steps to prevent and respond to such acts of sexual violence can significantly contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security; and expresses its readiness, when considering situations on the agenda of the Council, to take, where necessary, appropriate steps to address widespread or systematic sexual violence in situations of armed conflict;

2. Reiterates its demand for the complete cessation by all parties to armed conflict of all acts of sexual violence with immediate effect;

3. Demands that all parties to armed conflict immediately take appropriate measures to protect civilians, including women and children, from all forms of sexual violence, including measures such as, inter alia, enforcing appropriate military disciplinary measures and upholding the principle of command responsibility, training troops on the categorical prohibition of all forms of sexual
violence against civilians, debunking myths that fuel sexual violence and vetting candidates for national armies and security forces to ensure the exclusion of those associated with serious violations of international humanitarian and human rights law, including sexual violence;

4. **Requests** that the United Nations Secretary-General appoint a Special Representative to provide coherent and strategic leadership, to work effectively to strengthen existing United Nations coordination mechanisms, and to engage in advocacy efforts, inter alia with governments, including military and judicial representatives, as well as with all parties to armed conflict and civil society, in order to address, at both headquarters and country level, sexual violence in armed conflict, while promoting cooperation and coordination of efforts among all relevant stakeholders, primarily through the inter-agency initiative “United Nations Action Against Sexual Violence in Conflict”;

5. **Encourages** the entities comprising UN Action Against Sexual Violence in Conflict, as well as other relevant parts of the United Nations system, to support the work of the aforementioned Special Representative of the Secretary-General and to continue and enhance cooperation and information sharing among all relevant stakeholders in order to reinforce coordination and avoid overlap at the headquarters and country levels and improve system-wide response;

6. **Urges** States to undertake comprehensive legal and judicial reforms, as appropriate, in conformity with international law, without delay and with a view to bringing perpetrators of sexual violence in conflicts to justice and to ensuring that survivors have access to justice, are treated with dignity throughout the justice process and are protected and receive redress for their suffering;

7. **Urges** all parties to a conflict to ensure that all reports of sexual violence committed by civilians or by military personnel are thoroughly investigated and the alleged perpetrators brought to justice, and that civilian superiors and military commanders, in accordance with international humanitarian law, use their authority and powers to prevent sexual violence, including by combating impunity;

8. **Calls upon** the Secretary-General to identify and take the appropriate measures to deploy rapidly a team of experts to situations of particular concern with respect to sexual violence in armed conflict, working through the United Nations presence on the ground and with the consent of the host government, to assist national authorities to strengthen the rule of law, and **recommends** making use of existing human resources within the United Nations system and voluntary contributions, drawing upon requisite expertise, as appropriate, in the rule of law, civilian and military judicial systems, mediation, criminal investigation, security sector reform, witness protection, fair trial standards, and public outreach; to, inter alia:

   (a) Work closely with national legal and judicial officials and other personnel in the relevant governments’ civilian and military justice systems to address impunity, including by the strengthening of national capacity, and drawing attention to the full range of justice mechanisms to be considered;

   (b) Identify gaps in national response and encourage a holistic national approach to address sexual violence in armed conflict, including by enhancing criminal accountability, responsiveness to victims, and judicial capacity;
(c) Make recommendations to coordinate domestic and international efforts and resources to reinforce the government’s ability to address sexual violence in armed conflict;

(d) Work with the United Nations Mission, Country Team, and the aforementioned Special Representative of the Secretary-General as appropriate towards the full implementation of the measures called for by resolution 1820 (2008);

9. **Encourages** States, relevant United Nations entities and civil society, as appropriate, to provide assistance in close cooperation with national authorities to build national capacity in the judicial and law enforcement systems in situations of particular concern with respect to sexual violence in armed conflict;

10. **Reiterates its intention**, when adopting or renewing targeted sanctions in situations of armed conflict, to consider including, where appropriate, designation criteria pertaining to acts of rape and other forms of sexual violence; and **calls upon** all peacekeeping and other relevant United Nations missions and United Nations bodies, in particular the Working Group on Children and Armed Conflict, to share with relevant United Nations Security Council sanctions committees, including through relevant United Nations Security Council Sanction Committees’ monitoring groups and groups of experts, all pertinent information about sexual violence;

11. **Expresses its intention** to ensure that resolutions to establish or renew peacekeeping mandates contain provisions, as appropriate, on the prevention of, and response to, sexual violence, with corresponding reporting requirements to the Council;

12. **Decides** to include specific provisions, as appropriate, for the protection of women and children from rape and other sexual violence in the mandates of United Nations peacekeeping operations, including, on a case-by-case basis, the identification of women’s protection advisers (WPAs) among gender advisers and human rights protection units, and requests the Secretary-General to ensure that the need for, and the number and roles of WPAs are systematically assessed during the preparation of each United Nations peacekeeping operation;

13. **Encourages** States, with the support of the international community, to increase access to health care, psychosocial support, legal assistance and socio-economic reintegration services for victims of sexual violence, in particular in rural areas;

14. **Expresses** its intention to make better usage of periodical field visits to conflict areas, through the organization of interactive meetings with the local women and women’s organizations in the field about the concerns and needs of women in areas of armed conflict;

15. **Encourages** leaders at the national and local level, including traditional leaders where they exist and religious leaders, to play a more active role in sensitizing communities on sexual violence to avoid marginalization and stigmatization of victims, to assist with their social reintegration, and to combat a culture of impunity for these crimes;

16. **Urges** the Secretary General, Member States and the heads of regional organizations to take measures to increase the representation of women in mediation
processes and decision-making processes with regard to conflict resolution and peacebuilding;

17. **Urges** that issues of sexual violence be included in all United Nations-sponsored peace negotiation agendas, and **also urges** inclusion of sexual violence issues from the outset of peace processes in such situations, in particular in the areas of pre-ceasefires, humanitarian access and human rights agreements, ceasefires and ceasefire monitoring, DDR and SSR arrangements, vetting of armed and security forces, justice, reparations, and recovery/development;

18. **Reaffirms** the role of the Peacebuilding Commission in promoting inclusive gender-based approaches to reducing instability in post-conflict situations, noting the important role of women in rebuilding society, and **urges** the Peacebuilding Commission to encourage all parties in the countries on its agenda to incorporate and implement measures to reduce sexual violence in post-conflict strategies;

19. **Encourages** Member States to deploy greater numbers of female military and police personnel to United Nations peacekeeping operations, and to provide all military and police personnel with adequate training to carry out their responsibilities;

20. **Requests** the Secretary-General to ensure that technical support is provided to troop and police contributing countries, in order to include guidance for military and police personnel on addressing sexual violence in predeployment and induction training;

21. **Requests** the Secretary-General to continue and strengthen efforts to implement the policy of zero tolerance of sexual exploitation and abuse in United Nations peacekeeping operations; and **urges** troop and police contributing countries to take appropriate preventative action, including predeployment and in-theater awareness training, and other action to ensure full accountability in cases of such conduct involving their personnel;

22. **Requests** that the Secretary-General continue to direct all relevant United Nations entities to take specific measures to ensure systematic mainstreaming of gender issues within their respective institutions, including by ensuring allocation of adequate financial and human resources within all relevant offices and departments and on the ground, as well as to strengthen, within their respective mandates, their cooperation and coordination when addressing the issue of sexual violence in armed conflict;

23. **Urges** relevant Special Representatives and the Emergency Relief Coordinator of the Secretary-General, with strategic and technical support from the UN Action network, to work with Member States to develop joint Government-United Nations Comprehensive Strategies to Combat Sexual Violence, in consultation with all relevant stakeholders, and to regularly provide updates on this in their standard reporting to Headquarters;

24. **Requests** that the Secretary-General ensure more systematic reporting on incidents of trends, emerging patterns of attack, and early warning indicators of the use of sexual violence in armed conflict in all relevant reports to the Council, and **encourages** the Special Representatives of the Secretary-General, the Emergency Relief Coordinator, the High Commissioner for Human Rights, the Special
Rapporteur on Violence against Women, and the Chairperson(s) of UN Action to provide, in coordination with the aforementioned Special Representative, additional briefings and documentation on sexual violence in armed conflict to the Council;

25. Requests the Secretary-General to include, where appropriate, in his regular reports on individual peacekeeping operations, information on steps taken to implement measures to protect civilians, particularly women and children, against sexual violence;

26. Requests the Secretary-General, taking into account the proposals contained in his report as well as any other relevant elements, to devise urgently and preferably within three months, specific proposals on ways to ensure monitoring and reporting in a more effective and efficient way within the existing United Nations system on the protection of women and children from rape and other sexual violence in armed conflict and post-conflict situations, utilizing expertise from the United Nations system and the contributions of national Governments, regional organizations, non-governmental organizations in their advisory capacity and various civil society actors, in order to provide timely, objective, accurate and reliable information on gaps in United Nations entities response, for consideration in taking appropriate action;

27. Requests that the Secretary-General continue to submit annual reports to the Council on the implementation of Resolution 1820 (2008) and to submit his next report by September of 2010 on the implementation of this resolution and Resolution 1820 (2008) to include, inter alia:

(a) a detailed coordination and strategy plan on the timely and ethical collection of information;

(b) updates on efforts by United Nations Mission focal points on sexual violence to work closely with the Resident Coordination/Humanitarian Coordinator (RC/HC), the United Nations Country Team, and, where appropriate, the aforementioned Special Representative and/or the Team of Experts, to address sexual violence;

(c) information regarding parties to armed conflict that are credibly suspected of committing patterns of rape or other forms of sexual violence, in situations that are on the Council’s agenda;

28. Decides to review, taking into account the process established by General Assembly resolution 63/311 regarding a United Nations composite gender entity, the mandates of the Special Representative requested in operative paragraph 4 and the Team of Experts in operative paragraph 8 within two years, and as appropriate thereafter;

29. Decides to remain actively seized of the matter.
Appendix D:

United Nations Security Council Resolution 1889
Resolution 1889 (2009)

Adopted by the Security Council at its 6196th meeting, on 5 October 2009

The Security Council,

Reaffirming its commitment to the continuing and full implementation, in a mutually reinforcing manner, of resolutions 1325 (2000), 1612 (2005), 1674 (2006), 1820 (2008), 1882 (2009), 1888 (2009) and all relevant Statements of its Presidents,

Guided by the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, and bearing in mind the primary responsibility of the Security Council under the Charter for the maintenance of international peace and security,


Having considered the report of the Secretary General (S/2009/465) of 16 September 2009 and stressing that the present resolution does not seek to make any legal determination as to whether situations that are referred to in the Secretary-General’s report are or are not armed conflicts within the context of the Geneva Conventions and the Additional Protocols thereto, nor does it prejudge the legal status of the non-State parties involved in these situations,

Welcoming the efforts of Member States in implementing its resolution 1325 (2000) at the national level, including the development of national action plans, and encouraging Member States to continue to pursue such implementation,

Reiterating the need for the full, equal and effective participation of women at all stages of peace processes given their vital role in the prevention and resolution of conflict and peacebuilding, reaffirming the key role women can play in re-establishing the fabric of recovering society and stressing the need for their
involvement in the development and implementation of post-conflict strategies in order to take into account their perspectives and needs,

Expressing deep concern about the under-representation of women at all stages of peace processes, particularly the very low numbers of women in formal roles in mediation processes and stressing the need to ensure that women are appropriately appointed at decision-making levels, as high level mediators, and within the composition of the mediators’ teams,

Remaining deeply concerned about the persistent obstacles to women’s full involvement in the prevention and resolution of conflicts and participation in post-conflict public life, as a result of violence and intimidation, lack of security and lack of rule of law, cultural discrimination and stigmatization, including the rise of extremist or fanatical views on women, and socio-economic factors including the lack of access to education, and in this respect, recognizing that the marginalization of women can delay or undermine the achievement of durable peace, security and reconciliation,

Recognizing the particular needs of women and girls in post-conflict situations, including, inter alia, physical security, health services including reproductive and mental health, ways to ensure their livelihoods, land and property rights, employment, as well as their participation in decision-making and post-conflict planning, particularly at early stages of post-conflict peacebuilding,

Noting that despite progress, obstacles to strengthening women’s participation in conflict prevention, conflict resolution and peacebuilding remain, expressing concern that women’s capacity to engage in public decision making and economic recovery often does not receive adequate recognition or financing in post-conflict situations, and underlining that funding for women’s early recovery needs is vital to increase women’s empowerment, which can contribute to effective post-conflict peacebuilding,

Noting 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 situations of armed conflict and stressing the need to focus not only on protection of women but also on their empowerment in peacebuilding,

Recognizing that an understanding of the impact of situations of armed conflict on women and girls, including as refugees and internally displaced persons, adequate and rapid response to their particular needs, and effective institutional arrangements to guarantee their protection and full participation in the peace process, particularly at early stages of post-conflict peacebuilding, can significantly contribute to the maintenance and promotion of international peace and security,

Welcoming the United Nations initiative to develop a system similar to that pioneered by the United Nations Development Programme to allow decision-makers to track gender-related allocations in United Nations Development Group Multi-Donor Trust Funds,

Welcoming the efforts of the Secretary-General to appoint more women to senior United Nations positions, particularly in field missions, as a tangible step towards providing United Nations leadership on implementation of its resolution 1325 (2000),
Welcoming the upcoming establishment of a United Nations Steering Committee to enhance visibility and strengthen coordination within the United Nations system regarding the preparations for the 10th anniversary of resolution 1325 (2000),

Encouraging relevant actors to organize events during 2009-2010 at the global, regional and national levels to increase awareness about resolution 1325 (2000), including ministerial events, to renew commitments to “Women and peace and security”, and to identify ways to address remaining and new challenges in implementing resolution 1325 (2000) in the future,

1. Urges Member States, international and regional organisations to take further measures to improve women’s participation during all stages of peace processes, particularly in conflict resolution, post-conflict planning and peacebuilding, including by enhancing their engagement in political and economic decision-making at early stages of recovery processes, through inter alia promoting women’s leadership and capacity to engage in aid management and planning, supporting women’s organizations, and countering negative societal attitudes about women’s capacity to participate equally;

2. Reiterates its call for all parties in armed conflicts to respect fully international law applicable to the rights and protection of women and girls;

3. Strongly condemns all violations of applicable international law committed against women and girls in situations of armed conflicts and post-conflict situations, demands all parties to conflicts to cease such acts with immediate effect, and emphasizes the responsibility of all States to put an end to impunity and to prosecute those responsible for all forms of violence committed against women and girls in armed conflicts, including rape and other sexual violence;

4. Calls upon the Secretary-General to develop a strategy, including through appropriate training, to increase the number of women appointed to pursue good offices on his behalf, particularly as Special Representatives and Special Envoys, and to take measures to increase women’s participation in United Nations political, peacebuilding and peacekeeping missions;

5. Requests the Secretary-General to ensure that all country reports to the Security Council provide information on the impact of situations of armed conflict on women and girls, their particular needs in post-conflict situations and obstacles to attaining those needs;

6. Requests the Secretary-General to ensure that relevant United Nations bodies, in cooperation with Member States and civil society, collect data on, analyze and systematically assess particular needs of women and girls in post-conflict situations, including, inter alia, information on their needs for physical security and participation in decision-making and post-conflict planning, in order to improve system-wide response to those needs;

7. Expresses its intention, when establishing and renewing the mandates of United Nations missions, to include provisions on the promotion of gender equality and the empowerment of women in post-conflict situations, and requests the Secretary-General to continue, as appropriate, to appoint gender advisors and/or women-protection advisors to United Nations missions and asks them, in
cooperation with United Nations Country Teams, to render technical assistance and improved coordination efforts to address recovery needs of women and girls in post-conflict situations;

8. **Urges** Member States to ensure gender mainstreaming in all post-conflict peacbuilding and recovery processes and sectors;

9. **Urges** Member States, United Nations bodies, donors and civil society to ensure that women’s empowerment is taken into account during post-conflict needs assessments and planning, and factored into subsequent funding disbursements and programme activities, including through developing transparent analysis and tracking of funds allocated for addressing women’s needs in the post-conflict phase;

10. **Encourages** Member States in post-conflict situations, in consultation with civil society, including women’s organizations, to specify in detail women and girls’ needs and priorities and design concrete strategies, in accordance with their legal systems, to address those needs and priorities, which cover inter alia support for greater physical security and better socio-economic conditions, through education, income generating activities, access to basic services, in particular health services, including sexual and reproductive health and reproductive rights and mental health, gender-responsive law enforcement and access to justice, as well as enhancing capacity to engage in public decision-making at all levels;

11. **Urges** Member States, United Nations bodies and civil society, including non-governmental organizations, to take all feasible measures to ensure women and girls’ equal access to education in post-conflict situations, given the vital role of education in the promotion of women’s participation in post-conflict decision-making;

12. **Calls upon** all parties to armed conflicts to respect the civilian and humanitarian character of refugee camps and settlements, and ensure the protection of all civilians inhabiting such camps, in particular women and girls, from all forms of violence, including rape and other sexual violence, and to ensure full, unimpeded and secure humanitarian access to them;

13. **Calls upon** all those involved in the planning for disarmament, demobilization and reintegration to take into account particular needs of women and girls associated with armed forces and armed groups and their children, and provide for their full access to these programmes;

14. **Encourages** the Peacebuilding Commission and Peacebuilding Support Office to continue to ensure systematic attention to and mobilisation of resources for advancing gender equality and women’s empowerment as an integral part of post-conflict peacbuilding, and to encourage the full participation of women in this process;

15. **Request** the Secretary-General, in his agenda for action to improve the United Nations’ peacbuilding efforts, to take account of the need to improve the participation of women in political and economic decision-making from the earliest stages of the peacbuilding process;

16. **Requests** the Secretary-General to ensure full transparency, cooperation and coordination of efforts between the Special Representative of the Secretary-General on Children and Armed Conflict and the Special Representative of the
Secretary General on sexual violence and armed conflict whose appointment has been requested by its resolution 1888 (2009);

17. Requests the Secretary-General to submit to the Security Council within 6 months, for consideration, a set of indicators for use at the global level to track implementation of its resolution 1325 (2000), which could serve as a common basis for reporting by relevant United Nations entities, other international and regional organizations, and Member States, on the implementation of resolution 1325 (2000) in 2010 and beyond;

18. Requests the Secretary-General, within the report requested in S/PRST/2007/40, to also include a review of progress in the implementation of its resolution 1325 (2000), an assessment of the processes by which the Security Council receives, analyses and takes action on information pertinent to resolution 1325 (2000), recommendations on further measures to improve coordination across the United Nations system, and with Member States and civil society to deliver implementation, and data on women’s participation in United Nations missions;

19. Requests the Secretary-General to submit a report to the Security Council within 12 months on addressing women’s participation and inclusion in peacebuilding and planning in the aftermath of conflict, taking into consideration the views of the Peacebuilding Commission and to include, inter alia:

a. Analysis on the particular needs of women and girls in post-conflict situations,

b. Challenges to women’s participation in conflict resolution and peacebuilding and gender mainstreaming in all early post-conflict planning, financing and recovery processes,

c. Measures to support national capacity in planning for and financing responses to the needs of women and girls in post-conflict situations,

d. Recommendations for improving international and national responses to the needs of women and girls in post-conflict situations, including the development of effective financial and institutional arrangements to guarantee women’s full and equal participation in the peacebuilding process,

20. Decides to remain actively seized of the matter.
Appendix E:

The Categorisation of Clauses in Non-WPS Resolutions that use the term ‘Women’

The following table depicts my categorisation of the 261 clauses within the 609 non-WPS resolutions (UNSCR 1326 – UNSCR 1937) that contain the term ‘women’. Clauses were categorised by the wording that was used to discuss ‘women’. In most cases the particular wording that appears in the relevant resolutions is reproduced exactly within the category title.

Where ‘women’ has been framed in only one way, the statistics will appear in the ‘Single Frame’ section. Where the term has been used in two different framings within the same clause, the will be counted within the ‘Dual Frame’ section.

Depending on the way in which the particular clause spoke about women, clauses were then categorised as constructing women as Victims/Vulnerable (V), Agents (A), as part of a the title ‘Women, Peace and Security’ in recalling previous WPS resolutions (R), or as a combination of the three.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clause Context / Framing of 'Women'</th>
<th>V</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>R</th>
<th>V&amp;A</th>
<th>V&amp;R</th>
<th>A&amp;R</th>
<th>All 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Associates of Combatants</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>As Combatants</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women's Peace Network Initiatives</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Women's Organizations</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women's Participation</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Role of Women and Civil Society</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Role of Women in Conflict Prevention / Resolution</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rights of Women</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HIV/AIDS Infection Rates</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protection of Women</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sexual Abuse/Exploitation of Women</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sexual Violence Against Women</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special/Specific Needs of Women</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violence against Women (and children)</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women as Vulnerable</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resolutions - Recalled</td>
<td>48</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Resolutions - Recalled (regarding the responsibility of parties to ensure the security of civilians)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clause Context / Framing of 'Human Rights &amp; Special Needs'</th>
<th>V</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>R</th>
<th>V&amp;A</th>
<th>V&amp;R</th>
<th>A&amp;R</th>
<th>All 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Human Rights &amp; Special Needs</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protection &amp; Participation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resolutions (Recalled) &amp; Protection</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resolutions (Recalled) &amp; Violence</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Role in Conflict Prevention / Resolution &amp; Sexual Violence</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Role in Conflict Prevention / Resolution &amp; Special Needs</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violence &amp; Participation</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Totals | 111 | 33 | 50 | 15 | 36 | 6 | 10 |

**KEY**

- V Victim
- A Agent
- R Recalled
- V&A Victim & Agent
- V&R Victim & Recalled
- A&R Agent & Recalled
- All 3 Victim, Agent & Recalled
Appendix F: Use of the Terms ‘Empower’ and ‘Empowerment’ in Non-WPS Resolutions


The following tables present every clause within the data-set in which the terms ‘empower’ or ‘empowerment’ has occurred.

### Clauses in Non-WPS Resolutions that use the term ‘Empower’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Resolution</th>
<th>Resolution Agenda</th>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Operative Clause</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>1776 (UNSC, 2007)</td>
<td>The situation in Afghanistan</td>
<td>Afghanistan</td>
<td>4. Stresses the importance of increasing the effective functionality, professionalism and accountability of the Afghan security sector in order to provide long-term solutions to security in Afghanistan, and encourages ISAF and other partners to sustain their efforts, as resources permit, to train, mentor and empower the Afghan national security forces, in particular the Afghan National Police;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008 &amp; 2009</td>
<td>1833* (UNSC, 2008c) &amp; 1890 (UNSC, 2009f)</td>
<td>The situation in Afghanistan</td>
<td>Afghanistan</td>
<td>4. Stresses the importance of increasing, in a comprehensive framework, the functionality, professionalism and accountability of the Afghan security sector, encourages ISAF and other partners to sustain their efforts, as resources permit, to train, mentor and empower the Afghan national security forces, in order to accelerate progress towards the goal of self-sufficient and ethnically balanced Afghan security forces providing security and ensuring the rule of law throughout the country, welcomes in this context the progress achieved by the Afghan Authorities in assuming lead security responsibility for Kabul, and stresses the importance of supporting the planned expansion of the Afghan National Army;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*As the wording of Article 4 in resolution 1833 (2008) is exactly the same as the wording of Article 4 in Resolution 1890 (2009), the language of both articles has only been included once in this table.
### Appendix F: Use of the Terms ‘Empower’ and ‘Empowerment’ in Non-WPS Resolutions (continued)

#### Clauses in Non-WPS resolutions that use the term ‘Empowerment’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Resolution</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Operative Clause</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>1704 (UNSC, 2006a)</td>
<td>The situation in Timor Leste</td>
<td>Timor-Leste</td>
<td>4. Decides further that UNMIT will have the following mandate: (k) To <strong>mainstream gender perspectives</strong> and those of children and youth throughout the Mission’s policies, programmes and activities, and, working together with United Nations agencies, funds and programmes, support the development of a national strategy to promote <strong>gender equality</strong> and <strong>empowerment of women</strong>;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>1806 (UNSC, 2008a)</td>
<td>The situation in Afghanistan</td>
<td>Afghanistan</td>
<td>15. Stresses the importance of increasing, in a comprehensive framework, the functionality, professionalism and accountability of the Afghan security sector through training, mentoring and <strong>empowerment</strong> efforts, in order to accelerate progress towards the goal of self-sufficient and ethnically balanced Afghan security forces providing security and ensuring the rule of law throughout the country;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>1867 (UNSC, 2009a)</td>
<td>The situation in Timor-Leste</td>
<td>Timor-Leste</td>
<td>14. Encourages the Government of Timor-Leste to strengthen peacbuilding perspectives in such areas as integration of internally displaced persons, employment and <strong>empowerment</strong>, especially focusing on rural areas and youth, as well as local socio-economic development including agricultural activities;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>1868 (UNSC, 2009b)</td>
<td>The situation in Afghanistan</td>
<td>Afghanistan</td>
<td>17. Reiterates the importance of increasing, in a comprehensive framework, the functionality, professionalism and accountability of the Afghan security sector through training, mentoring and <strong>empowerment</strong> efforts, in order to accelerate progress towards the goal of self-sufficient and ethnically balanced Afghan security forces providing security and ensuring the rule of law throughout the country;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix F: Use of the Terms ‘Empower’ and ‘Empowerment’ in Non-WPS Resolutions (continued)

Clauses in Non-WPS Resolutions that use the term ‘Empowerment’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Resolution</th>
<th>Resolution Agenda</th>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Operative Clause</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>1882</td>
<td>Children and armed conflict</td>
<td><strong>Children</strong></td>
<td>15. Calls upon Member States, United Nations entities, including the Peacebuilding Commission and other parties concerned to ensure that the protection, rights, well-being and empowerment of children affected by armed conflict are integrated into all peace processes and that post-conflict recovery and reconstruction planning, programmes and strategies prioritize issues concerning children affected by armed conflict;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>1912</td>
<td>The situation in Timor-Leste</td>
<td>Timor-Leste</td>
<td>14. Encourages the Government of Timor-Leste to strengthen peacebuilding perspectives in such areas as employment and empowerment, especially focusing on rural areas and youth, as well as local socio-economic development in particular in the agricultural sector;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>1917</td>
<td>The situation in Afghanistan</td>
<td>Afghanistan</td>
<td>23. Reiterates the importance of increasing, in a comprehensive framework, the functionality, professionalism and accountability of the Afghan security sector through appropriate vetting procedures, training, mentoring, equipping and empowerment efforts, for both women and men, in order to accelerate progress towards the goal of self-sufficient and ethnically balanced Afghan security forces providing security and ensuring the rule of law throughout the country;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Nusair, I. and Cohn, C. (2009), 'Application of UNSCR 1325 in Advocacy Initiatives by the SALMA Regional Network', The annual meeting of the ISA - ABRI JOINT INTERNATIONAL MEETING, Pontifical Catholic University, Rio de Janeiro Campus (PUC-Rio), Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.


