



Ten Years of Women, Peace and Security

Gaps and Challenges in Implementing
Resolution 1325

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Introduction

SCR 1325 was recognized as a major breakthrough for greater gender equality in the area of peace and security and the acceptance of women as active agents in conflict management.

On 26 October 2010, the UN Security Council (SC) marked the 10th anniversary of Security Council resolution (SCR) 1325. With the adoption of SCR 1325, the SC recognised the disproportionate impact of armed conflicts on women and girls for the first time and further emphasized the decisive role of women in preventing conflicts and consolidating peace. At the time of its adoption, SCR 1325 was recognized as a major breakthrough for greater gender equality in the area of peace and security and the acceptance of women as active agents in conflict management. Three further SCRs – 1820, 1888 and 1889 – now strengthen the women, peace and security (WPS) framework.

The actual impact of the WPS agenda has been widely debated by scholars and practitioners. Some argue that due to the overwhelming lack of political will, organizational inertia and discriminatory attitudes, the establishment of the WPS agenda has made little difference in strengthening women's interest and is nothing more than just another SC prestidigitation to placate women's-rights activist and their supporters (Anderlini 2007, Raven-Roberts 2005). Others are more optimistic and emphasize the rising number of references to the WPS agenda in the formal UN discourse on security and the increased difficulties faced by member states trying to shun addressing women's needs and experiences in conflict management (Tryggestad 2009). Overall, the adoption of SCR 1325 is seen as a remarkable development and an expression of the changing attitude towards a broader understanding of the concept of security.

While we share the view about the lack of implementation and the criticism of the predominantly rhetorical nature of the WPS agenda, we acknowledge that it has generated an increased focus on women's roles and experiences in armed conflict. The 10th anniversary of SCR 1325 provides a chance for all actors to move the WPS agenda from rhetoric to action.

The policy brief is divided into five sections. In the first section, we contextualize the adoption of the SCR 1325 and provide an overview of the main obligations that derive from the four SCRs. In the second section, we discuss the WPS agenda critically from a gender perspective on international peace and security. In the third section, we uncover several shortcomings in the implementation of the WPS agenda. In the fourth section, we formulate recommendations for bringing the agenda from rhetoric to practice. In the fifth section, we sketch out a system of implementation for the WSP agenda.

1 The women, peace and security agenda

While the promotion of gender equality has a long history in the UN, the adoption of SCR 1325 can only be understood in the context of the global upheavals after the end of the Cold War.¹ The increased concentration of the SC on intrastate wars and their devastating effects on civilians led to the development of security concepts that were no longer merely focused on possible threats to states' borders, but also on individuals. Influenced by the horrifying experiences of sexual violence in Bosnia and Rwanda in the beginning of the 1990s a window opened up for gender issues to enter in the UN's discourse on peace and security. In 1995, the *Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action* introduced a gender-sensitive approach to UN conflict management for the first time. The *Windhoek Declaration* and the *Namibia Plan of Action on Mainstreaming a Gender Perspective in Multidimensional Peace Support Groups* strengthened this approach in 2000.

With the adoption of SCR 1325 on 31 October 2000 the SC acknowledged the negative impact of armed conflicts on women and aimed to overcome the one-sided view of women as victims of armed conflicts by emphasizing their decisive role in preventing conflicts and consolidating peace. In 2008 and 2009, three further SCRs – 1820, 1888 and 1889 – were adopted. Together the four SCRs form the WPS agenda.

While SCR 1325 lacked time-bound targets for achieving its goals and accountability or measurement provisions to secure its implementation, the subsequent SCR 1820 requests the SG to present an implementation report on the prevalence of and trends in acts of sexual violence, strategies for fighting these crimes as well as criteria to measure progress in this endeavour. SCR 1888 includes, moreover, important provisions to build a system of accountability – including improvements in reporting systems and in the consideration of the perpetration of sexual violence as a criterion for the imposition of sanctions by the SC.

The content of the SCRs is broken down in the table below:

After the end of the Cold War, security concepts were no longer merely focused on possible threats to states' borders, but also on individuals.

¹ Gender equality is incorporated in the *UN Charter* (1945) as well as in the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (1948). With the establishment of the Commission on the Status of Women (CSW) in 1946 these two documents set an early normative and international legal standard to which women activists could refer. The adoption of the Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) in 1979 by the General Assembly endowed women activists with an instrument in their struggle to achieve gender equality.

In 2008 and 2009 three further SCRs – 1820, 1888 and 1889 – were adopted. Along with SCR 1325 these resolutions form the WPS agenda of the Security Council.

Resolution 1325	<p>The SCR links women’s experiences of conflict to the maintenance of international peace and security; asserts women’s role in conflict-resolution, peace talks and recovery; requires build-up of gender response capability in peacekeeping missions and gender training for all involved in the maintenance of peace and security.</p> <p>Secretary General (SG) must: increase numbers of women in UN decision-making on peace and security and in peace talks; provide information on women and conflict in country reports</p> <p>States must: provide training on gender and conflict; address gender issues in Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR) programmes, increase women’s participation in decision-making processes</p> <p>Parties to armed conflict must: protect women from sexual violence; prevent impunity and avoid amnesty for war crimes against women</p> <p>SC must: take into account impact of its actions on women and girls; meet with women’s groups on its missions</p>
Resolution 1820	<p>The SCR recognizes conflict-related sexual violence as a tactic of warfare and a matter of international peace and security, requiring a peacekeeping, justice, services and peace negotiation response.</p> <p>SG must: ensure sexual violence is addressed in all spheres of conflict management, and post conflict recovery efforts; ensure women are represented in peacebuilding institutions</p> <p>States must: increase women’s representation in peacekeeping missions; provide training to troops on prevention of sexual violence; apply policy of zero tolerance to acts of sexual violence</p> <p>Parties to armed conflict must: stop sexual violence and evacuate civilians at risk; enforce command responsibility; prohibit amnesty for war crimes of sexual violence</p> <p>SC must: expose myths about the inevitability of sexual violence in war; include sexual violence as criteria in country-specific sanctions regimes</p>
Resolution 1888	<p>The SCR strengthens tools for implementing 1820 through assigning high-level leadership, building judicial response expertise, strengthening service provision, and building reporting mechanisms.</p> <p>SG must: appoint a Special Representative of the SG (SRSG) on sexual violence in conflict; appoint Women Protection Advisers (WPAs) to UN operations; establish a rapid response team of judicial experts; propose ways the SC can improve monitoring and reporting on conflict related sexual violence; provide details to the SC on parties to armed conflict credibly suspected of perpetrating patterns of rape</p> <p>States must: improve legal frameworks to prevent impunity; improve support services for sexual violence survivors; ensure traditional leaders prevent stigmatization of victims; support comprehensive strategies to stop sexual violence</p> <p>SC must: raise sexual violence in designation criteria for sanctions committees</p>

Resolution 1889	<p>The SCR addresses women’s exclusion from early recovery and peacebuilding as well as the lack of adequate planning and funding for their needs. Requests the formulation of a strategy to increase numbers of women in conflict-resolution decision-making, and of tools to improve implementation: indicators and proposals for a monitoring mechanism.</p> <p>SG must: produce a strategy to increase numbers of female peacemaking and peace keeping decision-makers; ensure all country reports address gender issues; enable UN entities to collect data on women’s post-conflict situation; produce a global set of indicators of implementation of 1325; propose a mechanism for monitoring 1325</p> <p>States must: promote women’s participation in political and economic decision-making from the earliest stage of peacebuilding; track money spent on women in post-conflict and recovery planning; invest in women’s physical and economic security, health, education, justice, and participation in politics</p> <p>SC must: add provisions for women’s empowerment to mandate renewals for UN missions</p>
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The WPS agenda (UNIFEM 2010a)

To understand the complex obligations better that derive from the four SCRs, it is helpful to conceptualise the WPS agenda using four pillars:

Participation: Member states are urged to increase the representation and active involvement of women at all levels of peace processes and security policy, especially at the level of political decision making in national, regional and international institutions.

Protection: The agenda highlights the need for respect for and protection of human rights of women and girls. In this spirit, the SC calls on all conflict parties to take special measures to protect women and girls from gender-based violence and to end impunity for such crimes.

Prevention: The agenda emphasizes that gender perspectives should be included at all levels of peacemaking, peacekeeping, peacebuilding and post-conflict reconstruction to both prevent and mitigate the impact of conflict on women and to ensure that women are integral to all measures taken to prevent conflict.

Relief and Recovery: The agenda stresses that the special needs of women and girls should be addressed in relief, early recovery, and economic recovery programmes. Furthermore, the SC urges that processes of national dialogue, transitional justice, reconciliation and post-conflict governance reforms as well as Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR) and Security Sector Reform (SSR) programmes should be gender-responsive.

The complex obligations that derive from the four SCRs can be conceptualised around the four pillars of Participation, Protection, Prevention and Relief and Recovery.

These four pillars provide the framework, which will be used to uncover several different shortcomings in the implementation of the Resolutions.

2 Gender Equality and the WPS agenda

Scholars like Anne Tickner (1992), Cynthia Enloe (1989) or Rebecca Grant (1991) have sharpened ideas about gender equality in the sphere of international peace and security since the late 1980s. As their sophisticated work provided the theoretical grounding for many women's-rights NGOs who fought for the adoption of the SCR 1325, it seems worthwhile to outline some of their general thoughts and to measure the WPS agenda against them.²

In her groundbreaking work, Tickner pointed to the artificial distinctions between the public and the private sphere and their function as organizing principles for the way in which the world is understood and acted upon (Tickner 1992). Their association with the private sphere – as housewife, mothers etc. – has thereby led to the widespread exclusion of women from decision-making processes and to the marginalization of their special experiences and needs in security concepts (Carpenter 2002; Ulbert 2008). Tickner, Enloe and others have criticised this ignorance of women as the consequential marginalization of women as active agents of change in existing security concepts (Grant 1991; Tickner 1992).

Gender-sensitive security concepts focus on the individual rather than the state and promote an understanding of international peace and security that moves beyond the absence of violent armed conflict (Handrahan 2004). Social and gender justice and the abolishment of hierarchical structures, which privilege hegemonic concepts of masculinity, are highlighted as fundamental conditions for a sustainable and enduring peace. Sustainable structures for an enduring peace therefore require the annulment of essentialist assumptions about the 'natural role of sexes' – reflected in the binary pairs of *women/victims/protected/peace* and *men/aggressor/protector/war* – that perpetuate the relationships of domination and subordination (Tickner 1992). Recent studies have found and proclaimed a positive relationship between gender equality and the maintenance of international peace and security (Caprioli 2000; Caprioli et al. 2008).

Gender-sensitive security concepts focus on the individual rather than the state and promote an understanding of peace and security that moves beyond the absence of armed conflict.

² Gender does not refer to biological sexes but to socially constructed roles and identities shaped by cultural and historical circumstances.

A comprehensive understanding of gender equality in the context of international peace and security requires a differentiated consideration of the experiences and needs of women and men and must focus on the special threats that women face in armed conflict and post-conflict situations in order to overcome hierarchical power structures. Security concepts which do not consider differences in women's and men's access to power and resources are likely to endorse practices and policies that suit the privileged men (O'Neill 1989: 440). In order to empower women to use their rights and chances on an equal footing with men, their unique life situations must be taken into account.

Measured against these requirements, the main shortcoming of the WPS agenda consist in its failure to consider the structural causes of gender inequality and the subordination of women. Social injustices in the distribution of income, as well as frequent restrictions to a self-determined life are not tackled by the agenda. Since the structural foundation of gender equality is an important condition for the maintenance of peace, this is a vital shortcoming that contributes to women's insecurity.

Furthermore, the WPS agenda does not make a significant contribution to the elimination of gender-based stereotypes. Rather, essentialist assumptions of 'natural roles of sexes' are not only reproduced in the WPS agenda itself – SCR 1325 highlights that women "*account for the vast majority of those adversely affected by armed conflict*" – but also in most UN documents since the adoption of SCR 1325 (Puechguirbal 2010). Stereotypes of women as helpless victims are reproduced while the experiences of men as victims are largely ignored.³ Mentioning *men* just once, SCR 1325 does not contribute to the development of a gender-equal perspective and the overcoming of gender-based stereotypes. Gender is mainly equated with women and women are differentiated from men (Väyrynen 2004: 137).

Gender essentialism is also reproduced in the discourse about female peacekeepers. The call for more women in peacekeeping missions is promoted based on an alleged pacifying effect of women on their male colleagues (DPKO 2000). Thus, gender roles are not challenged, but reinforced. Variations in masculinities and femininities are widely ignored. Women are just added to existing structures while important questions concerning the hegemonic masculinity in the military culture are largely ignored (Valenius 2007: 517).

The WPS agenda fails to consider the structural causes of gender inequality and does not make a significant contribution to the elimination of gender-based stereotypes

³ Research has shown that unarmed adult men and teenagers are at a higher risk to get killed in intrastate wars than women (Carpenter 2002).

The scope of the UN's ability to de-gender peace and security is strongly constrained. While epistemological underpinnings of the dominant masculine and militaristic discourse remain untouched, attempts to mainstream gender within the UN rarely go to the heart of the institutional inequities and power relations that structure gender relations within the organization (Willet 2010).

Some of the shortcomings of the agenda with regard to gender equality are the result of the encroachment between the SC and the GA.

The shortcomings described above are mainly the result of the political realities in the SC, and the SC's fear of encroachment into topics that fall within the competence of the GA. The general cautiousness among the SC members about wading into thematic issues – such as women's human rights – with certain normative imperatives is also reflected in the SCR language, which remains hortatory rather than directive (Steinberg 2010). Addressees are “urged,” “encouraged,” “requested,” and “invited” rather than “demanded” or “instructed”.

In the following section, we expound the problems of the WPS agenda by assessing its actual state of implementation.

3 Shortcomings in the implementation of the WPS Agenda

The implementation of the WPS agenda has hitherto been erratic. As SG Ban Ki-Moon stated at a ministerial meeting on 25 September 2010 at the UN Headquarters in New York:

“Women are still excluded from peace processes. The security sector in most countries is still dominated by men. When conflicts end, and international aid begins to come in, it is still not geared to the needs of girls and women. And – most tragically and strikingly – women and girls still suffer gender-based violence, including systematic sexual attacks, in and around armed conflict” (UN News Centre 2010).

To some extent, the situation described by the SG can be attributed to the fact that there is no lead agency within the UN in charge of implementing the agenda. The split of responsibility between four different units – the Division for the Advancement of Women (DAW), the International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (INSTRAW), the Office of the Special Adviser on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women (OSAGI) and the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) – has in the past decade often led to confusion and turf battles. By creating the United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women (UN Women), which will merge the four previously distinct entities and build on their work, the UN tries to eradicate the lack of coher-

There is no consistent way the Security Council receives, analyses, and takes action on information regarding 1325.

ence in its fight for gender equality and women's empowerment. UN Women will be operational by January 2011 and be headed by Michelle Bachelet, the former President of Chile, at the rank of Under-Secretary General (USG).

The implementation of the WPS agenda in the UN system was further hindered by the lack of adequate funding. As a 2008 SG report demonstrated, in 2008 less than 1 per cent of the budget – approximately USD 225 Million of the USD 27 billion spent by all UN entities – was used for funding the four UN women's units (SG 2010a: 11). The funding deficit is also noticeable in relief and recovery programmes where only 3 per cent of the budget is reserved for the specific needs of women and girls. Resources to support gender advisers in the field, to train peacekeepers in gender awareness and to train women as peacekeepers, mediators and negotiators and to empower local women's peace groups in conflict regions are strongly restricted (INSTRAW 2010).

A challenge that affects the progress of the WPS as such is the way the SC receives and analyses information on the implementation of the agenda. Operational Paragraph 18 of SCR 1889 therefore requests the SG to present an assessment of the process by which the SC receives, analyses, and takes action on information regarding 1325. In response to that request, in April 2010 the SG presented 26 indicators against which the implementation of SCR 1325 should be measured. After complicated negotiations the SC agreed to take forward the set of 26 indicators for use as an initial framework to track the implementation of its resolution 1325 at the open debate on Women, Peace and Security, on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of 1325. The 26 indicators should thereby apply to situations of armed conflict, post-conflict and other situations relevant to the implementation of resolution 1325 (S/PRST/2010/22).

The lack of will of UN member states is another significant factor for the slow implementation of the WPS agenda. Adopted under Chapter VI of the UN Charter, the SCR lacks the muscle to coerce states to implement the commitments made. The low priority that member states attach to the WPS agenda is reflected by the slow pace of development of National Action Plans (NAP) – NAPs should help member states to initiate strategic actions, identify priorities and resources, and determine responsibilities and timeframes for the implementation of the agenda on the national level. As of today, only 23 – mostly western – of the 192 UN member states have presented

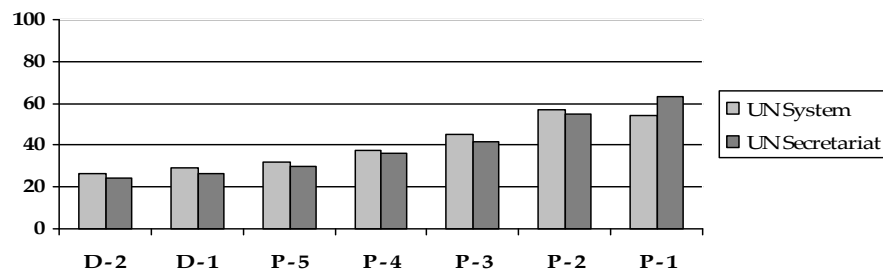
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NAPs.⁴ Further, most of the adopted plans do not formulate clear goals, objectives, priority actions, timelines or lines of responsibility (EPLO 2010: 6).

Having outlined the main overarching obstacles to the full and effective implementation of the WPS agenda, we will now unveil its shortcomings along the line of the four pillars participation, protection, prevention as well as relief and recovery.

Participation – *An adequate participation of women in the UN system and at all levels of conflict resolution is still lacking*

The WPS agenda calls for the increased participation of women at all levels of peace processes and security policy, as well as at political decision-making level in national, regional and international institutions. However, recent statistics reveal the achievement of gender equality remains a far cry from being accomplished.



Percentage of women in the professional and higher categories with appointments of one year or more in the United Nations system and United Nations Secretariat (OSAGI 2010a)

Women remain under-represented in the UN peacekeeping structure as well as in the UN Secretariat.

While at the lowest professional levels (P-1 to P-2) more than 50 per cent of the jobs in the UN System and the UN Secretariat are held by women, this proportion declines when it comes to mid-level (P-3 to P-5) and high-level posts (D-1 to D-2). Women occupy between 30 to 44 per cent of the mid-level and about 25 per cent of high-level posts. At the highest level of management at the UN Secretariat, only 10 out of 57 USGs and 16 out of 46 Assistant-Secretaries-Generals (ASG) are women (OSAGI 2009a: 1). In addition, only 24 of the 192 ambassadors of member states to the UN are women (OSAGI 2009b: 1).

⁴ These countries are Austria, Belgium, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Canada, Chile, Denmark, DR Congo, Finland, Iceland, Ivory Coast, Liberia, Nepal, Netherlands, Norway, Philippines, Portugal, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Uganda and the United Kingdom.

Women also remain under-represented in UN peacekeeping structures. Currently they hold only 6 of the 33 SRSGs and Deputy Special Representatives of the Secretary-General (DSRSGs) posts in the 16 ongoing UN missions. Out of 85,956 troops currently deployed on four continents, only 2.46 per cent (2,117) are women. Just 833 out of 12,867 police officers deployed by the UN (6.47 per cent) are women (DPKO 2010a). This lack of participation in the peacekeeping structures is often accompanied by a lack of representation of women in peace negotiations. In recent peace negotiations, fewer than 8 per cent of participants and fewer than 3 per cent of signatories of peace agreements were women. No woman has ever been appointed as chief mediator in UN-sponsored peace talks. Not least, this exclusion has led to a failure to address concerns such as sexual and gender-based violence, women's rights and post-conflict accountability adequately (UNIFEM 2010b).

Protection – *No progress in the protection of women from acts of sexual violence in armed conflicts*

Recent mass rapes of women, men and children in the east of the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) have once again demonstrated that the presence of UN peacekeepers does not effectively inhibit acts of sexual violence against the local population (Oxfam 2010). The disconnection between the mandates of peacekeeping missions and the conditions on the ground remains one of the main obstacles in that regard. Due to the vague drafting of mandates, force commanders often have difficulties to translate the obligations that derive from the WPS agenda into specific measures on the ground. The lack of deployment of Women Protection Advisors (WPA) to support the reporting of sexual violence further intensifies this problem.

Furthermore, peacekeeping forces are often part of the problem rather than part of the solution. Continued reports of gender-based violence committed by UN peacekeepers in conflict and post-conflict societies such as Sudan, Haiti, Guinea or Liberia have lent credence to the perception of the peacekeeper as actors habitually involved in sexual exploitation and abuse (Grady 2010). Even while the Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) has strengthened its "zero tolerance policy", acts of sexual violence continue in most peacekeeping operations.

Closely related to the insufficient development of NAPs, a culture of impunity in conflict-ridden countries often prevents the effective protection of women. Justice systems lack the required resources and political leaders are unwilling to enforce relevant laws. The impact of

Force commanders on the ground have difficulties to translate the obligations deriving from the WPS agenda into specific measures to protect women from acts of sexual violence.

such a malpractice is visible in Afghanistan, where the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) highlights the culture of impunity as a major obstacle to development and as a significant factor contributing to the high incidence of rape (OHCHR 2009). According to Amnesty International, more than 87 per cent of Afghan women suffer from domestic abuse and between 60 and 80 per cent of marriages are forced (AI 2010).

Prevention – *Lack of inclusion of gender-sensitive perspectives in peacebuilding and post-conflict reconstruction*

Country-specific resolutions continue to lack sufficient references to the role of women in conflict prevention.

The WPS agenda calls for the inclusion of gender perspectives at all levels of peacemaking, peacekeeping, peacebuilding and post-conflict reconstruction to ensure that women are integral to all measures taken to prevent conflict. However, country-specific resolutions of the SC continue to lack sufficient references to the role of women in conflict prevention (PeaceWomen 2010).

The failure to address the specific needs of women during peacebuilding efforts and the lack of gender-sensitive perspectives in security sector reform (SSR) further hinders effective implementation. Even while the SG highlighted in 2008 that any SSR programme should be gender-sensitive throughout its planning, design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation phases (SG 2008), experience has shown that a coherent implementation of gender-sensitive SSR faces several challenges. Due to lacking basic financial and human resources, the understaffed gender units cannot provide gender-awareness training for local police and armed forces (Mobekk 2010: 283). Moreover, external donors and local elites that dominate SSR processes often focus on other aspects of SSR. Thus, the concerns of the local women often become second or third-rate problems.

Relief and Recovery – *The specific needs of women are often not addressed in relief and recovery programmes*

Women bear enormous hardships during and after humanitarian emergencies and are particularly vulnerable to gender-based violence in situations of displacement, as they are forced to adopt new strategies to provide for themselves and their families. In post-conflict situations women are forced to become sex workers or to trade sex for food to make their living (Fischer 2010: 25). In Ethiopia for example, many young women in situations of displacement are forced to resort to sexually exploitative relationships for protection and food when they do not have relatives to care for them (WRC 2009: 4).

When leaving refugee or IDP camps to search for the firewood millions of women around the world risk being raped, beaten, or even killed. In Darfur approximately 500 displaced women were treated for rape between October 2004 and February 2005. More than 80 per cent of these rapes occurred when women left their camps in search for water or firewood (MSF 2005: 2). The issue of cooking fuel has far too long been ignored by relief agencies.

After highlighting some of the most serious shortcomings, we will now offer several recommendations, which would ensure a more consistent implementation of the WPS agenda.

Specific needs of women and girls are often not addressed in relief and recovery programmes.

4 Recommendations

While it is difficult to measure the impact of the WPS agenda, we maintain that there are indeed some positive examples of what can be achieved if the WPS agenda is effectively implemented. References to human rights of women in nearly every strategic document of the UN, such as the World Summit Outcome document in 2005, as well as their inclusion in various security discourses constitute one such example. Furthermore DPKO has introduced a code of conduct for peacekeepers while UNIFEM has published an analytical inventory of peacekeeping practices which marks the start of a process to identify what works in preventing sexual violence and improving the security of women. The World Food Programme (WFP) has scaled up gender-oriented training programmes for their field operators to enable them to respond to gender-based violence during food distribution. UNHCR and UNICEF have also implemented programmes that provide psychosocial, basic needs and livelihood support for women.

On the national level cases like Liberia constitute role models for the successful implementation of the WPS agenda. Led by President Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, the country has adopted progressive laws to prosecute perpetrators of sexual violence. In close coordination with the United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL), prevention mechanisms have been developed and women from the countryside have been integrated into political processes. The UN Female-Formed Police Unit (FFPU) deployed in Liberia is an impressive sign of the continuing evolution of women in peacekeeping missions and fostered the prosecution of gender-based violence (Wisotzki 2010). Unfortunately until today these positive developments are the exception rather than the rule. Overall, one can observe a clear lack of a systematic implementation of the WSP agenda.

UN Women must be sufficiently funded and have a leading role in implementing 1325.

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In order to implement the WPS agenda consistently, responsibilities within the UN System should be clearly allocated. In this regard, the creation of UN Women is a step in the right direction. However, no department within UN Women explicitly charged with monitoring the implementation of SCR 1325 has yet been established. Since the GA resolution that established UN Women does not include a specific reference to SCR 1325 there is a possible danger that UN Women will not be able to fulfil the necessary coordination functions. Member states in favour of tasking UN Women with monitoring and advancing SCR 1325 must therefore use diplomatic channels to ensure that UN Women actually takes up this task. To make a significant impact UN Women must also work towards more gender equality on the country level. To fulfil its mandate the entity must be provided with adequate funding. While the GA made no concrete commitments to specific levels of funding, member states flagged their intention to invest up to USD 500 million in a first stage. Even though this implies doubling the current budget, the sum remains inadequate. UN Women is envisioned to become more than just a consolidation of the existing entities and will hold increased normative and operational responsibilities within the UN system. To become fully operational, at least USD 1 billion – with the promise for substantial increases towards the goal of the USD 3 billion – should be provided to UN Women (GEAR 2010).

NAPs must be based on realistic goals, priorities, clear timelines and a dedicated budget.

UN member states must be encouraged to develop comprehensive NAPs for the implementation of the WSP agenda

On the country level new NAPs must be based on realistic goals, priorities, clear timelines and a dedicated budget. They must lead to increased participation of women in decision-making structures and recognize them as important actors in peacebuilding processes. Furthermore, NAPs should incorporate a focus on conflict prevention and civilian crisis management, human security as well as democracy and human rights (EPLO 2010). The 26 indicators against which the implementation of SCR 1325 will be measured should serve as a background against which NAPs are developed, implemented and monitored. This would dramatically increase the capacity of the WPS agenda for result-orientated and transparent reporting and monitoring. While some countries of the Global South may lack the resources necessary for the development of effective NAPs, partnership programmes with member states of the Global North could provide assistance to generate the necessary capacity to write and implement

time-bound NAPs. Civil society actors should be involved in all phases of drafting, implementation and monitoring of NAPs as these groups can provide the expertise which is urgently needed (EPLO 2010).

The measures highlighted above would accelerate the implementation of the WPS within the UN as well as in UN member states. In the following section, we will offer more explicit recommendations to foster women's participation in decision-making structures and on the ground, to better protect them from gender-based violence, to implement improved prevention mechanisms and to better take care of women's needs in relief and recovery programmes.

The under-representation of women must be addressed in a systematic manner

Several positive developments with regard to the increase of women's participation notwithstanding, the UN system must endorse a systematic, gender-sensitive approach in its recruitment procedure. Women and men bring different beliefs, values and ways of thinking to their jobs which relates to the way they communicate with displaced populations, local leaders or national authorities. It is important that these benefits of gender balance are promoted throughout the different UN departments. Concrete measures, such as implementing a preferential treatment of equally qualified women over men should be established in selection procedures until gender parity is reached. Rewards for compliance as well as penalties for non-compliance, including reduced budgets, formal reprimands, and deferral of promotions, could foster the achievement of gender parity (ICG 2007). All departments should also assure that candidate lists for the promotion to posts at the D-2 level and above include qualified female candidates (OSAGI 2010b). To encourage the submission of women candidates, a system of incentives for member states must be developed and implemented. Such a system should include "carrots and sticks," including the public recognition of high performers as well as the public scrutiny of those UN entities and member states that have underperformed (WLIF 2008). To build capacities for top management positions, the UN must start by promoting more women to mid-level and senior positions where they can gain the experience to attain jobs at the USG and SRSG levels. Communication with mission planners and the UN Office of Human Resources Management is essential to emphasize that the promotion of gender equality is not an optional extra, but an important feature for a successful work of all UN missions.

The UN system must develop a more efficient gender-sensitive approach in its recruitment procedure.

The low numbers of female peacekeepers is a result of the small number of women serving in the armies of TCCs.

The low numbers of female peacekeepers is largely a result of the small number of women serving in the armies of Troop Contributing Countries (TCCs).⁵ To tackle this problem, major TCCs should designate a member of staff in their Permanent Missions to the UN with the specific responsibility of liaising with the national military and police in order to recruit women and feed them into the UN System. Furthermore, the UN should consider setting incentives for member states to remove obstacles for women and to work towards equality of women and men in military and police contributions. Such a measure would allow the UN to promote a more equitable gender balance in UN missions, as well as progressive policies in member states in which women are frequently excluded from military service involving armed combat.

A more systematic approach is also needed to address the under-representation of women in peace negotiations. Especially the Department of Political Affairs, the UN's entity primarily responsible for peacemaking initiatives, must implement a systematic gender approach in its peacemaking work and ensure that every UN team of mediators includes a gender specialist. The teams should encourage conflict parties to include women in their delegations by making clear that the inclusion of women with decision-making power in delegations would increase their standing and credibility. To stimulate the participation of women, extra seats on the negotiation tables should be provided to conflict parties (IIS 2009).

Clearer guidance on how to protect women and girls must be provided by UN mission mandates

Future UN mission mandates must provide clearer guidance to force commanders on the ground on how to protect women from acts of sexual violence.

As force commanders in the field often do not understand how to translate SC mandates into actions, future UN mission mandates must provide clearer guidance on how to protect girls and women from acts of sexual violence. The establishment of an expert group on the protection of civilians is a crucial step forward in this regard. SC members must ensure that issues related to the protection of women are subject to extensive consultation with the SC expert group prior to the adoption of relevant peacekeeping mandates. An aide-mémoire, which contains a set of best practice language on women, peace and security, similar to the existing aide-mémoire on protection of civilians, could be a useful tool to support the SC while drafting mandates for UN missions. The handbook on WPS recently developed by the

⁵ The top three contributing states are Pakistan, followed by Bangladesh, and India (DPKO 2010b).

non-governmental organization PeaceWomen in cooperation with the governments of Liechtenstein and Switzerland would provide a solid basis for such an aide-mémoire (PeaceWomen 2010).

In order to further increase awareness of the Security Council for the situation on the ground and thereby improve the drafting of mandates, matters related to WPS should become an integral part of the terms of reference of relevant SC visits to conflict-affected countries. Meetings with female peacebuilders and women affected by armed conflict could shape the SC's understanding of conflict situations. Since the personal appearance of victims of armed conflicts has often left a deep impression with SC members in the past, they should be allowed to participate more often in open debates and Arria Formula meetings. Further, pre-deployment and field-based training programmes must instruct police, security and humanitarian personnel on how to prevent incidents of sexual violence. Furthermore, the SC must ensure that those who are assigned to provide protection never become perpetrators themselves. With these challenges in mind, the NGO Working Group on Women, Peace and Security's (NGOWG) Monthly Action Point project (MAP) regularly provides analysis and recommendations for the SC. Drawing on the expertise and research of the NGOWG membership, the MAP advocacy brief provides suggestions on how the SC can meaningfully contribute to women, peace and security matters each month.

The inclusion of gender advisers in UN peacekeeping missions, who provide advice and guidance on gender issues and communicate with local civil society organizations, is a positive development but only a first step. To increase protection capacities, it is necessary to finally start the deployment of Women Protection Advisers as requested by resolution 1888. WPAs should serve as focal points for information sharing and coordination among all sectors of UN missions. Furthermore WPAs should document acts of sexual violence and help survivors to gain better access to assistance and follow-up support. In addition the UN Secretariat must immediately establish teams of experts, which can be deployed rapidly, on demand, to assist national authorities in strengthening the rule of law, as called for by the SCR 1888.

To overcome the culture of impunity, TCCs must ensure that their personnel, including military, police and civilian staff, are adequately trained and that perpetrators of gender-based violence or sexual-exploitation abuse are brought to trial. Even though DPKO has strengthened the policy of "zero tolerance," the ultimate responsibility for the prosecution of the perpetrators of sexual abuse lies within jurisdiction of the respective TCC. Therefore, both the UN and TCCs

To increase protection capacities WPAs should serve as focal points for information sharing and coordination among all sectors of UN missions.

must ensure that there is no impunity for perpetrators of sexual violence. Peacekeepers who witness any kind of abuse need clear, straightforward and quick reporting procedures (INSTRAW 2010).

A gender perspective must be established in conflict prevention

Early warning systems must be based on a gender-sensitive approach both in design and in implementation.

Conflict prevention means addressing the root causes of conflicts. Since gender inequality is often among the underlying structural problems of conflicts, a gender analysis must be a central element in all efforts of prevention. The UN system must therefore ensure that early warning structures are based on a gender-sensitive approach both in design and in implementation and linked to early action systems. To strengthen prevention mechanisms further, it must be ensured that the specific concerns of women in post-conflict reconstruction are met and that the participation of women in peace negotiations is increased. This would also strengthen the perception of women as stakeholders and not merely as victims or aid recipients. In order to provide a fertile soil for the enhancement of women's rights, women's needs and experiences need to be taken into account right from the beginning of peace negotiations. Otherwise, there is a danger, as Donald Steinberg describes, that "men with guns [forgive] other men with guns for crimes committed against women" (Steinberg 2007).

While upholding the rule of law is an important aspect of conflict prevention, a gender perspective should be integrated into all steps of strengthening the rule of law. The integration of gender issues into the core training for justice sector personnel including lawyers, judges and administration staff is therefore essential. Gender experts must be deployed as part of the SSR assessment team and women must be systematically included in the security sector. Units like the FFPU in Liberia can serve as role models and foster women's applications for positions in the security sector (INSTRAW 2008).

Relief and Recovery programmes must meet the specific needs of women and girls

Relief and Recovery programmes must address the specific needs of women in complex emergencies.

Humanitarian assistance is an important part of providing protection and security for women in conflict and post-conflict countries. To combat the widespread exploitation and exclusion of women during aid distribution women must participate in the planning and implementation of all relief and recovery efforts. In addition gender-sensitive training programmes for humanitarian aid actors must be developed. Women must be ensured access to standard reproductive health services at the onset of a crisis and throughout protracted cri-

ses and recovery periods. To ensure that the specific needs of women in the aftermath of complex emergencies are sufficiently funded, member states should earmark at least 10 per cent of funds for humanitarian assistance for gender-based needs.

In order to address the link between gender-based violence and livelihoods in displacement settings, humanitarian agencies and organizations should ensure women's safe access to firewood and to alternative energies for cooking fuel. The currently launched safe stoves initiative of the WFP in North Darfur and Uganda are first steps in the right direction.

5 System of implementation

A "system of implementation" is essential to address the lack of accountability in implementing the WPS agenda. Such a system would build on and enhance existing monitoring procedures, act as an early warning system to prevent violence and lead to concrete consequences for flouting the SC's recommendations. This system stems from the call enshrined in SCR 1889 to provide oversight and coordination, information analysis in real time, and could suggest measures to prevent imminent or further infractions (NGOWG 2010).

The key ingredients of this comprehensive and transparent system of implementation are:

Oversight and leadership within the Security Council: This leadership, which is vital to the SC meeting its obligations on WPS, could be provided by one or two SC members, using a model such as the SC currently uses for sanctions committees and in other thematic areas.

Consistent, meaningful information on the key areas of the women, peace and security agenda, delivered regularly to the Security Council: The 26 global indicators on WPS would provide this information. All of the indicators would be reported on in all country reports and in an annual report that would provide an overview and evaluation of implementation of the entire WPS agenda. Thematic reports should also include information from the indicators when relevant. A specialized WPS unit must be established within UN Women in order to provide the necessary expertise, analysis and contextualization of this information. Additionally, this unit should ensure that all relevant information is brought to the SC attention in a timely manner.

Clear and established good practice for the Council to take action on women, peace and security: A clear set of options for the SC and UN entities to implement the WPS obligations fully should be established. These

To address the lack of accountability in implementing the WPS agenda a system that provides oversight, coordination, and information analysis must be established.

options would include “good practice” for addressing WPS issues in, *inter alia*, SC missions, mandate renewals and Arria formula meetings. They would clarify what needs to be enhanced in the SC current toolbox, such as sanctions regimes and Protection of Civilians measures.

The recommendations we have sketched above present just some of the steps necessary to move the WPS agenda from rhetoric into practise. The WPS agenda is still treated as a soft topic by most senior policy makers. For a coherent implementation of the SCR 1325 and its successors, states must live up to their commitments and policy makers must give the agenda the attention it deserves.

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Ten Years of Women, Peace and Security Gaps and Challenges in Implementing Resolution 1325

On 31 October 2000 the UN Security Council unanimously adopted resolution 1325. For the first time in the history of the UN the Council recognized the disproportionate impact of armed conflicts on women and girls and further emphasized the decisive role of women in preventing conflicts and consolidating peace. At the time of its adoption, resolution 1325 was recognized as a major breakthrough for greater gender equality in the area of peace and security and the acceptance of women as active agents in conflict management. Ten years after the adoption of resolution 1325 we assess the impact and implementation of the women, peace and security agenda and provide recommendations for bringing the agenda from rhetoric to practice.

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