

SOLON Members' Research Interests and Current Projects

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'New Approaches to Security: UN Security Council Resolution 1325, Sex, and World Peace'

The gendered dimensions of armed conflict are now widely accepted as a significant factor in maintaining international peace and security. This is reflected in the passage of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security (UNSCR 1325), and its subsequent resolutions (1820, 1888, 1889, and 1960) which highlight the increased participation of women in matters of international peace and security, and attention to addressing and preventing the systematic and wide-spread use of sexual violence in armed conflict. Based on these resolutions, a new body of work is emerging on the implementation of UNSCR 1325 and its family of resolutions. One of the key features of UNSCR 1325 is that it formally recognized the 'inextricable link between peace, and equality between men and women.'

Scholars in many fields have debated the link between equality between men and women, and the maintenance of international peace and security, and have addressed this question from different vantage points. Feminist scholars, such as J. Ann Tickner, Cynthia Enloe, and Christine Sylvester have critiqued conventional approaches to security and argued that the traditional focus on the military and political security of the state has effectively obscured the importance of the gendered dimensions of security risks and threats. Other scholars, such as Sanam Anderlini, Dyan Mazurana, Caroline Moser, and Ian Bannon, have examined the different experiences of men, women, boys and girls in armed conflict and in peace-building based on their different gendered roles, needs, priorities and status. Broadening the agenda of security studies to include questions of gender requires a close examination of both the different gendered roles of men and women and a broadening of what 'security' encompasses. This includes

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examining 'how' security is done.

Despite much excellent work on the themes of sexual violence in armed conflict, women's participation in peace building, and preliminary studies on the inclusion of a gender perspective in military operations, scholars examining the transformation in the global security discourse have not yet fully explored the importance of the implementation of UNSCR 1325 in creating new approaches to the maintenance of international security and peace. The central question of how the implementation of UNSCR 1325 is transforming the governance of the strategic global commons in practice remains unanswered.

My work aims to close this gap in the literature by examining how UNSCR 1325 is being implemented in practice. My body of work over the past ten years has focused on how UNSCR 1325 is being implemented by multinational security organizations, and relies on a combination of literature reviews and field research to capture these emerging trends. I particularly examine how operationalizing the goals of UNSCR 1325 to include a gender perspective in peace operations enhances operational effectiveness to fulfill Mission mandates, and how UNSCR 1325 relates to international legal and policy frameworks such as International Humanitarian Law (IHL) and the Responsibility to Protect (RtoP) with regard to security decision-making on specific protection and prevention issues such as training national armed forces in IHL, the definition of combatants and non-state actors, and the protection of civilians from crimes against humanity.

My current project questions how UN peacekeeping operations are meeting two specific goals of UNSCR 1325. This study, which includes a literature review and interviews with 40 UN officials and Member State Military Advisors, examines how the UN and Member States are trying to achieve the two goals of increasing the numbers of women in UN peacekeeping missions, particularly female military and police officers, and implementing the UN mandate to integrate a gender perspective into to the work of the United Nations military peacekeeping operations. Even before the historic adoption of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000), the United Nations (UN) made a number of global commitments to increasing the presence of women in UN peacekeeping operations and to integrating a gender perspective in the work of UN missions. In 1999, the Windhoek Declaration and the Namibia Plan of Action called for the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) to improve the gender balance

and increase gender equality in peacekeeping operations. The Plan of Action emphasized women's participation and set a target of reaching parity between men and women serving in peacekeeping missions by 2015.[#] A decade later, in 2009, the UN launched the 'Global Effort Campaign' to increase the percentage of women in the UN Police to 20 per cent by 2014.

Yet, it seems the UN is destined to miss its forecasted goals. Today, in 2013, women are present in less than four per cent of United Nations (UN) peacekeeping operations globally. The most recent statistics show that women account for about two per cent of UN military components and about 9.8 per cent of UN Police overall. However, meeting the goals of UNSCR 1325 is not just a numbers game. My study highlights the new practices and trends in UN peace operations that support gender equality outcomes, and shows how a gender perspective increases operational effectiveness in the day-to-day work of peacekeeping. This study was commissioned by the International Peace Institute, George Washington University, and Griffith University, and will be published in Spring 2013.

I am also developing a project that will make a close examination of the increasing adoption of National Action Plans on Women, Peace and Security and their impact on global security governance beginning in June 2013. For example, the adoption of National Action Plans on Women, Peace and Security require new forms of participatory decision-making within security institutions. These new decision-making mechanisms involve civil society, security institutions, and government organizations in participatory decision-making to improve cooperative action on preventive diplomacy, peacekeeping, disaster relief and recovery, and development assistance. National Action Plans outline the vision, strategy, action and resources needed to affect real change in policy and programs. The key question to be answered is 'What would global security governance look like in 20 years if National Action Plans on UNSCR 1325 on Women, Peace and Security were fully adopted and implemented?'

For this project I am using a combination of thematic literature reviews to identify major drivers, trends and events; semi-structured interviews; and at least two future scenario planning events held in one-day workshop settings with a small team of not more than 20 people representing a range of subject matter experts from civil society, academia,

policy makers, and government and military personnel.

Future scenario planning is a strategic analysis technique used for planning and developing robust, innovative and resilient policies. Scenario planning has been used by both the private and public sector to gain foresight, including: Shell Corporation and RAND in the US, the Ministry of Defense and Department of International Development in the UK, and by other countries such as Japan, South Africa, Singapore, and Finland, wishing to understand and plan better for the future.

This proposed research project will employ the 'Two-Axes' method, which examines two critical uncertainties and key drivers that can influence the future of any policy, program or action. This method is more illustrative than predictive, and is suited to testing medium to long-term policy directions in a range of conditions. The future scenario exercise will generate dialogue around possible risks and priorities of implementing UNSCR 1325 in the next two decades.

The proposed project is based on a decade of work on this theme. For example, I have examined and documented how implementing UNSCR 1325 within NATO and the Swedish Armed Forces has put the principle of the Responsibility to Protect into practice within peace support operations. Based on a comprehensive literature review on gender and operational effectiveness, and interviews with newly created Military Gender Advisors in NATO/ISAF forces in Afghanistan, NATO's Allied Command Transformation Center in Norfolk, VA, and the Swedish Armed Forces International Training Center in Stockholm, I have documented how UNSCR 1325 is operationalizing the Responsibility to Protect, in real situations of armed conflict. The resulting paper 'Implementing UNSCR 1325: Putting the Responsibility to Protect into Practice,' was published by the *Global Responsibility to Protect Journal* in Summer 2012.

Some other examples of original research I have produced over the last 10 years on UNSCR 1325 includes a 2003 assessment of the situation of women and girl child-soldiers in Liberia and Sierra Leone and their eligibility for inclusion in disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) programs for USAID. Among other things, this study examined the status of women and girls associated with fighting forces and the principle of distinction between civilians, combatants and non-state actors. It required intensive fieldwork and interviews with female combatants, ministry officials, and

peacekeepers in Sierra Leone and Liberia. In 2008, I conducted original research and made recommendations to UNIFEM on the participation of women negotiators and mediators in the Israeli-Palestinian peace process from 1989 to 2008. The study was based on a combination of literature reviews, fieldwork in the West Bank, Tel Aviv, and Jerusalem, and interviews with over 40 Israeli and Palestinian women peace negotiators and mediators. It documented that women continue to be excluded from Track I negotiations and that their exclusion has a negative impact on peace negotiation outcomes.

More than a decade has passed since UNSCR 1325 was unanimously adopted by the Security Council, and the women, peace and security agenda is rapidly evolving as it is being implemented. UNSCR 1325 is creating new approaches to the maintenance of international security that recognize the relevance of sex to world peace. It is also transforming the governance of the strategic global commons in practice. The study of how UNSCR 1325 is impacting global security governance fuses international law with state practice. To this end, I am delighted to be associated with SOLON and its commitment to a multidisciplinary study of international law that includes both academics and practitioners dedicated to understanding how international legal frameworks can evolve into state practice for peace.

Through a close and fine-grained analysis of these issues, my work reveals that in contrast to previous assumptions, in fact, equality between men and women is intrinsically linked to international peace and security in actual practice on-the-ground, and that UNSCR 1325 is one of the most significant yet underutilized innovations in security thinking to-date.