

CHAPTER 11

WOMEN, PEACE AND SECURITY AND THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL

+ “It is equally important that the Security Council, as the highest UN body entrusted with peace and security matters, leads by example in fully implementing the WPS agenda.”

The NGO Working Group on Women, Peace and Security, submission to the Global Study

HIGHLIGHTS FROM THE RESOLUTIONS

+ Resolution 1325

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

2000

2009

+ Resolution 1888

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

+ Resolution 2122

Expresses its intention to increase its attention to women, peace and security issues in all relevant thematic areas of work on its agenda, in particular protection of civilians in armed conflict, post-conflict peacebuilding, the promotion and strengthening of the rule of law [...], peace and security in Africa, threats to international peace and security caused by terrorist acts, and Maintenance of international peace and security

2013

+ Resolution 2016

Reiterates its demand for the complete cessation with immediate effect by all parties to armed conflict of all acts of sexual violence and its call for these parties to make and implement specific time-bound commitments to combat sexual violence

The Security Council adopted resolution 1325 a year after it had adopted thematic resolutions on the protection of civilians, and children and armed conflict. These decisions came at a time of self-reflection in the UN following a decade of peacekeeping failures in Rwanda, Somalia and the former Yugoslavia. Women were specifically targeted in Rwanda and Bosnia, including through systematic sexual violence. The thematic resolutions also followed mobilization by women's groups globally, including the global south, to draw attention to the gendered nature of conflict, not least at the 1995 Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing, and through the Windhoek Declaration of 2000.

At the time, there was some doubt and indeed, resistance—as reflected in the oral history project undertaken in support of the Global Study—by some Council members about embracing the importance of women's role in peace and security.¹ Two main factors ultimately, would lead to the eventual adoption of resolution 1325. First, the sheer effort, determination and personal conviction of several individuals serving on the Council at the time, in particular the permanent representatives of elected Council members Bangladesh, Namibia, Canada, Jamaica and Mali; and second, the influence of women's NGOs advocating the 1995 Beijing Platform for Action within the environment of assessment of the UN's overall approach to peace operations. It was in this context that the Council adopted resolution 1325, which, put simply, determined that addressing the needs, views and participation of half of society would provide a positive peace dividend for all of society.

It would be eight years before the Council produced further resolutions on the women, peace and security (WPS) agenda. The next catalyst was the jurisprudence on sexual violence crimes coming out of the international criminal tribunals for Rwanda and the former Yugoslavia that recognized sexual violence as a war crime, a crime against humanity, and a possible constituent act of genocide. This jurisprudence combined with highly credible reports of mass sexual violence perpetrated against the women of the eastern DRC, all contributed to the context and political

climate in which resolution 1820 was adopted in 2008. This second resolution specifically addressed sexual violence in conflict and post-conflict situations and expressed the Security Council's willingness to impose sanctions against perpetrators of sexual violence in armed conflict. Resolution 1820, importantly, highlighted women's capacity and legitimacy to participate in conflict prevention and resolution, as well as post-conflict public life, as essential to long-term prevention and protection strategies.

In the ensuing years, resolutions 1888 (2008), 1889 (2009), 1960 (2010), 2106 (2013), and 2122 (2013) on women, peace and security were adopted. With the exception of 1889 and 2122, these resolutions were largely focused on sexual violence and other protection issues. They served to establish an architecture that would define how the Council would consider the protection elements of the WPS agenda in its daily work.

In principle, the Council has a conflict prevention role where the encouragement of women's participation—both as a pillar and contributing factor—could significantly enhance conflict prevention. In practice, however, the Council's conflict prevention toolbox has been underutilized. The Security Council has rarely acted to proactively prevent conflict, and instead has focused largely on protection concerns, as reflected

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across its body of work. This co-relates to a notable lack of investment by the UN as a whole in conflict prevention, a finding that was echoed in the recent reports of both the High-Level Independent Panel on United Nations Peace Operations as well as the report of the Advisory Group of Experts for the 2015 Review of the United Nations Peacebuilding Architecture.² The translation of this in the realm of women, peace and security, has meant a stronger focus on the protection of women and girls, in particular from sexual violence in conflict, and a less consistent recognition and systematic inclusion of their participation in the agenda. Indeed, protection concerns fit more immediately into how the Council views its role in maintaining international peace and security whereas participation, while recognized as an important component to a longer-term, structural peace and security strategy, does not carry with it the same immediate requirement for physical protection in the way that mass atrocities do.³

A PROGRESSIVE COMMITMENT TO IMPLEMENTATION AND ACTION ON THE WPS AGENDA

Resolutions 1889 and 2122 are exceptions to the focus on protection, and contain elements of specific concern to the Council's working methods. Resolution

1889, adopted in 2009, requested a set of indicators to track resolution 1325's implementation on a global level, and to be reported on to the Council every year in the Secretary-General's report on women, peace and security (see Chapter 10: *Key Actors - Data*).

Resolution 2122, adopted in 2013, was perhaps the most significant outcome for the WPS agenda to date in relation to the Council's own commitments to implementation and action. The Council requested several practices to be consolidated. These included the following:

- Improved information flow into the Council, including regular briefings by the head of UN Women and the Special Representative of the Secretary-General (SRSG) on Sexual Violence in Conflict;
- Special Envoys, when addressing the Council, to also report on progress made in meeting regularly with women leaders and groups, and inviting women to participate in conflict-resolution processes;
- The UN Secretariat's Department of Political Affairs and Department of Peacekeeping Operations to include information on women, peace and security in all of their reports and regular briefings to the Council; and
- Commissions of inquiry, investigating situations on the Council's agenda, to include in their briefings information on the gender-specific elements of conflict.

In addition, the Council stressed the need for consistent implementation of resolution 1325 in its own work, including by ensuring mission mandates include women, peace and security provisions such as provision of gender expertise, and mainstreaming gender into disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR), security sector reform (SSR) and election support activities. The Council committed itself to integrate women, peace and security into other thematic issues it regularly considers, such as the rule of law and counter-terrorism. There is also a

key instruction to leadership of peace operations to stay apprised of and take requisite action on threats to women and women's rights in armed conflict and post-conflict situations. The Council additionally emphasized the importance of its own interaction with civil society both in New York and during visiting missions to the field. Throughout, the Council emphasized the need for the substantive engagement of women in peace processes, and for gender experts to be embedded within mediation teams.

Resolution 2122 thus achieved a great deal in elucidating ways the Council could improve its own accountability to women, peace and security commitments. However, significant challenges remain to transforming the spirit of the WPS agenda into concrete and consistent implementation. Within the Council, the political will to address this agenda across the body of the Council's work waxes and wanes. Moreover, there would appear to be a general lack of understanding of the WPS agenda that results in it being regularly overlooked or conflated solely with protection from sexual violence.

The following sections describe how improved Council working methods combined with improved flows of gender conflict analysis from the UN system can help shift the perspective of Council members who view women, peace and security as a 'woman's issue'⁴ or, as some experts describe it, a tick-box obligation, to, instead, a tool with the potential to enhance the Council's own peace and security objectives and its very effectiveness in achieving these objectives.

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STRENGTHENING QUALITY INFORMATION FLOWS TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL

A key area of concern is how information to the Council...is received, discussed and sufficiently analyzed to lead to a relevant and achievable mission level response, and accountability by the UN system for implementing that response.

UN gender architecture and the broader UN system

The Council's work on women, peace and security is reliant in many ways on the information and analysis it receives from the UN system itself. Strengthening the gender architecture of the UN (dealt with in detail in Chapter 10: *Key Actors - The United Nations*) has specific implications for the quality and quantity of information received by the Security Council.

For example, and more specifically, the Council has created a robust architecture around sexual violence in conflict. This includes the Office of the Special Representative on Sexual Violence in Conflict, the Team of Experts on Rule of Law and Sexual Violence in Conflict, women's protection advisors and the inter-agency network UN Action against Sexual Violence in Conflict. All play a critical role in ensuring flows of information and analysis on the protection elements of the WPS agenda to the Council.

As regards the UN system as a whole, avenues to strengthen interaction and information flows across the entire system should be pursued, and efforts made to limit the fragmentation and silos that can hamper effective response.⁵ The Human Rights Council, owing to the creation of an increased number of commissions of inquiry and fact-finding missions in the past decade, as well as through the work of its conflict-relevant Special Mandate holders, can serve as one important source of information for the Council on countries of concern.

There has been a trend towards regular Arria-formula meetings⁶ or informal interactive dialogue meetings with commissions of inquiry. As a result of a request

in resolution 2122 that all such bodies include findings on gender-based crimes when briefing the Council, these interactions have led to significant new flows of information on the impact of conflicts on women and girls that would otherwise have not been brought to the Council's attention. While this is a positive practice, efforts should be made to standardize it.

Also, just as the Special Rapporteur on the human rights of internally displaced persons briefed the Council during the 2014 Open Debate on women, peace and security, speaking in particular to the gendered impacts of the highest levels of displacement since World War II, such invitations of relevant mandate holders should equally be considered for integration into the Council's lexicon of established practice.

Data collection

Data collection has been a fundamental challenge for the WPS agenda, with the lack of information acting as a barrier to assessments of progress in programming and policy, and also as a useful excuse for lack of action from less-supportive stakeholders.

The Council has supported the women, peace and security indicators and the standardized monitoring, analysis, and reporting arrangements (MARA) on sexual violence in conflict, both information-gathering processes to measure and move forward implementation of the WPS agenda. The 2015 Secretary-General's annual report on conflict-related sexual violence was particularly strong, in part due to increased deployment of women's protection advisors to human rights components of missions to support reporting and strengthen the overall capacity of missions on conflict-related sexual violence.⁷ This demonstrates how the Council's demands for stronger gender staffing structures in UN missions can deliver improved reporting and analysis.

The women, peace and security indicators are intended to gauge longitudinal progress across the agenda's

pillars of prevention, protection, participation, relief and recovery. Reporting emanating from the UN system and Member States is compiled by UN Women. Despite encouragement from civil society, these indicators are not reflected in regular country reports received by the Security Council, though they are reflected in the Secretary-General's annual report on women, peace and security. Equally, all Secretary General's reports to the Council should include sex-disaggregated data as part of their analysis.⁸

Interaction with civil society

Civil society, and women's organizations in particular, are key actors for implementation of the WPS agenda, often functioning during active conflict as the only actors in conflict-affected communities delivering services and sustaining dialogue, and in the long-term, leading post-conflict recovery. They are also critical sources of information, able to provide missions as well as the Security Council much needed information on the local context, the impact of the conflict and the suitability of responses. Furthermore, women's civil society represents a core constituency of the Council and an important stakeholder in their decisions. Resolution 2122 specifically recognizes "the importance of interactions of civil society, including women's organizations, with members of the Council at headquarters and during Council field missions and commits to ensuring that its periodic field visits to conflict areas include interactive meetings with local women and women's organizations in the field."

Over the past 15 years, the Council has regularly heard from women civil society leaders during the annual debate on women, peace and security; and in recent years also during the annual debate on sexual violence in conflict. On occasion, Council members have taken the initiative to hear from women on specific country situations, such as the Arria-formula meeting held on 17 January 2014 with Syrian women to discuss the peace talks for that country. However, these initiatives remain ad hoc and too infrequent. More consistent engagement with women's civil society as a key source of information is

+ “If I can make one proposal to the Security Council [...] it will be strengthening women’s organizations working already on 1325.”

Katherine Ronderos, Director, WILPF
Colombia, UN Women Video Interview, 2015

needed, and not only during thematic debates, but during country-specific deliberations.

Further, these efforts should be strengthened with more regular interaction at the field level between senior leadership of missions and women’s organizations. Such interactions would strengthen the quality of information flows to the mission, with a knock-on positive impact on the information and analysis made available in briefings and reports to the Council as called for in resolution 2122.

IMPLEMENTATION IN THE COUNCIL

The important role the Security Council has played in establishing the ambitious normative framework of women, peace and security cannot be overstated. However, while the Council has helped to set the agenda, implementation of that agenda has proven to be a wholly separate challenge, with the Council thus far being largely inconsistent in its oversight of how its decisions on women, peace and security have been translated into action.

As noted by the report of the High-Level Independent

Panel on United Nations Peace Operations: “Despite annual debates on women and peace and security of the Security Council, there is inconsistent application of the agenda during the rest of the year, including during mandate formulation and renewal consultations, which is exacerbated by the lack of attention to those issues in briefings and reports to the Council by the Secretariat and senior mission leaders.”⁹

Since the Council is not an implementing arm of the UN system, it cannot be expected to achieve the requisite outcomes in isolation or without quality information and analysis. Instead, implementation requires significant work by the broader UN system, Member States and civil society. Nevertheless, the Security Council can still strengthen its own accountability for decisions made on women, peace and security, and hold the Secretariat accountable for its role in consistent implementation.

Addressing the implementation gap

In the years since resolution 1325 was adopted, the Council has significantly expanded its engagement with the WPS agenda, particularly through the addition of operational language in its resolutions. Steady progress has been made in including gender language in its outcomes—specifically, within presidential statements and resolutions. For example, in 2000 only 25 per cent of relevant resolutions included a reference to women, whereas that proportion increased to 94 per cent in 2013.¹⁰ There was also a noticeable increase in mainstreaming gender language in Council outcomes from 2011 onwards. This is likely due to the establishment and operationalizing of UN Women and the office of the SRSG on Sexual Violence—which has led to a better flow of information to Council members—as well as more regular Secretariat interaction with Council members that has resulted in better working level outcomes. The Secretary-General’s reports have also exhibited an upward trajectory of women, peace and security reporting in country-specific reports. Only half of such reports referenced women in 2000 compared to 83 per cent in 2013 and 89 per cent in 2014.

Other examples of progress include briefings by the

SRSG on Sexual Violence in Conflict and the Executive Director of UN Women on country-specific situations, and not just on the thematic issue of women, peace and security. The Special Representative has also regularly briefed Security Council subsidiary bodies such as the Sanctions Committees for the CAR, DRC and South Sudan. Furthermore, expert groups associated with the CAR, DRC, Sudan and Somalia sanctions regimes regularly provide gender analysis in their reports.

Despite the positive developments in Council outcomes in New York and improved flows of information from the Secretariat to Council members, what has not happened however, is better implementation of the WPS agenda in the field by peace operations. There is effectively an implementation deficit. Although the gender-specific language in Council resolutions and presidential statements provides UN actors with the opportunity to improve women, peace and security implementation, without the necessary leadership and follow-up in the Council, the Secretariat and in peace operations, there will not be a significant corresponding positive impact on the ground.¹¹

In interviews with a wide array of stakeholders, a common theme emerged regarding what is necessary to address this deficit. In particular, Council members pointed to the function of the Secretariat to provide timely and relevant information firmly rooted in the peace and security context. They expressed that when such information was included in a Secretary-General's report or in a briefing by the head of a peace operation, it tended to be descriptive rather than analytical. Council members also seemed frustrated by civil society's expectations of what could reasonably be achieved by the Council.

Members of the Secretariat expressed a need for Security Council members to exhibit high-level commitment, and in particular, to ask follow-up questions when heads of mission brief the Security Council; noting that it was hard to convince Special Representatives in the field to give the issue thoughtful consideration in their already limited time with Council members when the Council did not do so itself. The Secretariat also noted that the proliferation of mandate tasks required by the Council did not match the human and financial resources made available to a mission.

There was also self-reflection among Secretariat staff who reported that their own leadership often did not prioritize or take gender-staffing needs seriously.¹² One common complaint by staff, applicable across peace operations, is that when hard-fought gender positions are approved for a mission, they are rarely made part of the mission's core budget (with the exception being the UN Mission in South Sudan). The result is that, during a mission's drawdown, or if a mission is facing budget constraints, gender expertise is usually the first to be cut from the payroll.

Certainly, many exceptions to these observations were cited as examples of strong implementation of women, peace and security in the field. However, all stakeholders agreed that consistent and reliable leadership was lacking, both in New York and in the field. Ultimately, any system of accountability that is institutionalized in the work of the Security Council and that can remain effective over time requires an approach that is resilient to the Council's changing dynamics due to shifting geo-political realities, and to the annual turnover in Council membership of five elected members. Such a system will need to recognize that although individual actors will always matter in taking important strides toward implementation, a reliance on individual personalities or particularly strong Council members is unsustainable in the long-term.

In sum, the following are recommended as focus areas for how the Security Council can help to address the implementation deficit:

- Improving quality information and analysis flowing into the Council;
- Consistent and high-level leadership on women, peace and security, in addition to the sexual violence in conflict leadership, within the UN system (see Chapter 10: *Key Actors - The United Nations*); and
- Concrete, specific guidance on how to advance the WPS agenda in the daily work of the Council that will in turn create higher standards of accountability for implementation in the field.

THE SECURITY COUNCIL'S USE OF SANCTIONS: EVOLVING CONSIDERATION OF WOMEN, PEACE AND SECURITY

Sanctions are an important tool available to the Council to enforce peace and security.¹³ The concept of sanctions was sharpened in the 1990s to move from sanctions affecting entire populations, to include targeted measures aimed at changing behavior or to constrain certain activities of specific individuals responsible for actions that the Council wanted to minimize.¹⁴ Many of these early sanctions regimes were established prior to or shortly after the adoption of resolution 1325. Given the way in which the Council used sanctions at the time, combined with the lack of any well-established framework to provide guidance, it is not surprising that the Council did not take into account the devastating impact that conflict has on women's lives when it established the early sanctions regimes; in particular, that disruptions caused by economic sanctions fall more intensively on groups and individuals affected by preexisting social, economic and political discrimination.

Resolution 1325 signaled the Council's willingness to consider sanctions' potential impact on the civilian population, bearing in mind the special needs of women and girls, in order to consider appropriate humanitarian exemptions. This guidance came at a time when the Council was shifting away from comprehensive sanctions toward 'targeted sanctions' or 'smart sanctions.' Considering women, peace and security when using targeted sanctions—focusing on specific entities or individuals who hold decision-making powers or are personally suspected of bearing the greatest responsibility for serious violations of international law—only emerged in the late-2000s.

Overall, there has been a general trend to more systematically refer to gender issues in Council resolutions related to sanctions regimes. In 2010, looking at the Council sanction resolutions adopted over a 10-year period, PeaceWomen noted that 15.8 per cent (12) contained women and/or gender references.¹⁵ This proportion has further increased in recent years: as of April 2015, among the 75 resolutions linked to 16 sanctions regimes currently active, 22 include some references to gender/women's rights (29.3 per cent).¹⁶

Key gender considerations for sanctions regimes

There are four key areas in which gender considerations could be better operationalized in sanctions regimes: designation criteria, referral processes, delisting and humanitarian exemptions.

Designation criteria - The main dimension in which the Council considers gender issues in sanctions regimes relates to the designation criteria. Despite systematic sexual and gender-based crimes or violations of women's rights being included as designation criteria, very few individuals have thus far been sanctioned for such violations.¹⁷

Referral process - The second most frequent way in which gender considerations are taken into account relates to the referral process. In four situations¹⁸ the Special Representative of the Secretary General on Sexual Violence in Conflict and/or the UN mission are explicitly invited to refer individuals and/or entities to be included in the sanctions list for cases of sexual violence and/or gender-based crimes. However, it is unclear if any submission of names by the SRSR has resulted in a listing.

Delisting process - Delisting procedures have constituted a prominent issue for sanctions related

to counter-terrorism. However, only one such process includes gender considerations, the 1988 Taliban Sanctions Committee. Both resolutions 1888 (2009) and 2082 (2012) require this sanctions committee to ensure that the delisting process takes into account the respect of women's rights by individuals and/or entities, by specifically citing respect for the Afghan constitution, including its provisions on human rights and the rights of women, as part of the delisting criteria. Such a delisting criterion could be applied in other sanctions regimes that target political spoilers

that may eventually need to be part of a political solution.

Humanitarian exemptions - While exemptions on humanitarian assistance have been incorporated into Security Council sanctions resolutions related to Somalia, they have not included gender-specific considerations. These considerations could be incorporated in other sanctions regimes where there are sanctions on commodities such as timber in Liberia and diamonds in Côte d'Ivoire.

ADDRESSING CONFLICT-RELATED SEXUAL VIOLENCE THROUGH SANCTIONS

Following the adoption of resolution 1820 in 2008, references to the Council's concern regarding sexual violence increased in resolutions renewing sanctions regimes, and similarly, increased in expert groups' reports submitted to the relevant sanctions committees. Resolution 1888 (2009) further developed such language and called for all relevant UN missions and bodies to share information with sanctions committees and their expert groups. More recently, resolution 1960 (2010) asked the Secretary-General to include in his annual reports on conflict-related sexual violence an annex listing parties credibly suspected of committing or being responsible for patterns of rape and other forms of sexual violence in situations of armed conflict, and placing this on the agenda of the Council "as a basis for more focused United Nations engagement with those parties, including, as appropriate, measures in accordance with the procedures of the relevant sanctions committees."

The Council is increasing the application of targeted sanctions and has used individual sanctions to explicitly address sexual and gender-based violence

in armed conflict in four instances. It added sexual violence as a criterion for targeted sanctions in the Democratic Republic of the Congo through resolution 1807 (2008); Somalia in resolution 2002 (2011); the Central African Republic in resolution 2127 (2013) and South Sudan in resolution 2206 (2015). However, only the 1533 DRC Sanctions Committee and the 2206 South Sudan Sanctions Committee have actually listed individuals for such violations. The other two sanctions committees have not, despite the ability to do so.

The designation criteria of sanctions regimes are evolving to include these violations. Of the currently 16 United Nations sanctions regimes, five have human rights and sexual violence related designation criteria.¹⁹ Out of more than 1,000 listings in these sanctions regimes, 16 individuals and four entities have been designated based on these criteria.²⁰ For example, in May 2014, the Council's Al-Qaida Sanctions Committee added Boko Haram to the sanctions list following a series of terrorist attacks, including the mass kidnapping of schoolgirls.²¹ In addition, a growing number of monitoring teams, groups or panels include an expert on human rights and gender-based violence—of the currently 12 panels and monitoring groups, six have such expertise, which represents significant progress.

Gender-sensitive designation criteria: Sanctions regime on South Sudan

Perhaps the strongest gender and human rights language to be found in designation criteria is the recent decision on South Sudan. On 3 March 2015, through resolution 2206 (2015), the Security Council decided to create a sanctions regime that could impose targeted sanctions “in order to support the search for an inclusive and sustainable peace in South Sudan.”

The designation criteria would allow the 2206 South Sudan Sanctions Committee to target individuals and entities directly or indirectly responsible for “the targeting of civilians, including women and children, through the commission of acts of violence (including killing, maiming, torture, or rape or other

sexual violence), abduction, enforced disappearance, forced displacement, or attacks on schools, hospitals, religious sites, or locations where civilians are seeking refuge, or through conduct that would constitute a serious abuse or violation of human rights or a violation of international humanitarian law.”

Given the disproportionate and differential impact, recognized in resolution 2122, of violations such as enforced disappearances, forced displacement and deliberate destruction of civilian infrastructure on women and girls, comprehensive designation criteria can go far to ensuring sanctions regimes are in line with women, peace and security commitments.

Most recently, in 2014, the Compendium of the High-Level Review on Sanctions noted that more concerted attention was needed to include in sanctions regimes issues related to sexual violence and other forms of gender-based crimes and targeted attacks against women. It noted that expert groups should have greater

access to information and substantive support from within the UN system on specific issues, and noted that numerous rosters, including the Justice Rapid Response/UN Women dedicated roster of sexual and gender crimes investigators, had been made available to sanctions expert groups.

RECOMMENDATIONS TO IMPROVE THE SECURITY COUNCIL'S APPROACH TO WOMEN, PEACE AND SECURITY

While acknowledging that there are various circumstances beyond the Council's control that create obstacles to implementation, there are two clear factors related to the work of the Council that could however, be improved. First is the Council's uneven approach to applying a coherent gender strategy to country situations. Second is the continued culture of viewing women, peace and security as an "add-on" component to a mandate versus being one of the central tenets that support conflict prevention and underpin long-term stability. This is compounded by the detrimental culture in parts of the Secretariat and in the field that view women, peace and security solely as a 'women's agenda.'

There are a number of relatively straightforward steps that the Council and the UN system can immediately take to address these factors, and in so doing, begin to close a large part of the current implementation gap.

Women's protection advisors and gender advisors

- The Secretariat could improve its deployment of women's protection advisors and gender advisors, ensuring such posts are part of a mission's core budget and structured in line with recommendations on gender architecture (in Chapter 10: *Key Actors - The United Nations*). Leadership in peacekeeping, peacebuilding and political missions could better integrate such advisors' work in the operational framework of the mission. The Council could also improve its understanding of the distinction between women's protection advisors and gender advisors (a problem expressed by Council experts)²² and be more consistent with following up on their deployment.
- The Council could consistently underscore the importance of women's protection advisors' role in coordinating and convening the Monitoring, Analysis and Reporting Arrangements (MARA). In 2014, the Council only specifically referenced the

MARA in relation to two missions despite calling for advisors in five missions. Further, it would be useful to recall the initial concept behind appointing women protection advisors, that is, as an operational security role that includes working with military and police counterparts to advise on how the mission could protect women from the wide array of violations they face in conflict. While the reporting role such posts have taken on in relation to the MARA is important, the operational security advisory function is still not a part of the mission response. There should be more direct interaction by such advisors not only with the head of mission but also with force commanders of peacekeeping operations.

- Similar emphasis on the important role that gender advisors play is needed. Although the Council has repeatedly requested for gender advisors in both mission mandates and in its women, peace and security resolutions (notably resolutions 1889 and 2122), the Secretariat has fallen short on deployment in numbers, in recruitment of advisors with sufficient seniority in the mission structure, and in maintaining existing posts (see Chapter 10: *Key Actors - The United Nations*). A number of operations meant to have such advisors are therefore lacking them. Reports from both DPA and DPKO vary in their inclusion of analysis and recommendations on women, peace and security issues. Strengthening both content and consistency of this material is a core role for gender advisors, and critical to improving the flow of key information to the Council.

Reports and briefings

- The Council can significantly underscore the importance of the WPS agenda simply by asking mission leadership follow-up questions when they come to New York to brief, in line with resolution 2122. If Council members exhibit greater commitment then it will likely result in the Secretariat and mission leadership approaching the task with more attention.²³

- While research revealed a continued positive trend in reporting by the Secretary-General on women, peace and security issues in his country-specific reports, there remains room for improvement. In particular, the Council could request analytical, versus descriptive, reporting on gender issues throughout the report as well as the inclusion of a separate, more analytical section dedicated to capturing the country's and the mission's progress, challenges and recommendations towards better implementation of women, peace and security. Employing such analytical sections should be achievable with appropriate gender expertise within UN missions. Where reports include a separate section on sexual violence, they should also include a broader section on women, peace and security in order to capture challenges of women's participation and empowerment, and reinforce the linkages between sexual violence and systemic gender-based discrimination.
- The women, peace and security indicators are intended to gauge longitudinal progress across the agenda's pillars of prevention, protection, participation, relief and recovery. Reporting emanating from the UN system and Member States is compiled by UN Women. Despite encouragement from civil society, these indicators are not reflected in regular country reports received by the Security Council, though they are reflected in the Secretary-General's annual report on women, peace and security (for more on the 1325 indicators, see Chapter 10: *Key Actors - Data*). Equally, all Secretary-General's reports to the Council should include sex-disaggregated data as part of their analysis.²⁴
- The interaction by the Special Representative on Sexual Violence in Conflict with the Council continues to be notable. The Special Representative has briefed not only on her broader mandate but also on country-specific situations such as the CAR, Darfur, South Sudan and Syria. The Council could continue to consolidate into practice briefings by the Special Representative prior to mandate renewals, or on unfolding situations of conflict where sexual violence is a concern. Importantly,

the Council should extend such interactions also to the Executive Director of UN Women through more frequent invitations—in particular when the Council is considering a mandate to support post-conflict structures in a country-specific situation—which will contribute to ensuring broad participation and decision-making by women.

Security Council visiting missions

- The Council has committed in past Presidential Statements “to integrate gender perspectives into the terms of reference of its visits and Missions to countries and regions in conflict. To that end, the Council requests the Secretary-General to establish a database of gender specialists as well as women's groups and networks in countries and regions in conflict, and to include gender specialists in the teams where relevant.”²⁵ Whenever the WPS agenda has been incorporated into the terms of reference of the visit, the Council has engaged with stakeholders on the ground, albeit to varying degrees. However, when women, peace and security issues were not included in the terms of reference then gender-related concerns tended to be subsequently overlooked by Council members during the visiting mission.²⁶ The Council could make a more concerted effort to consistently incorporate a gender perspective into its terms of reference for visiting missions, including by fulfilling its stated intention of a specific women, peace and security-focused mission before the Global Review of resolution 1325 in 2015.²⁷ While that mission has not happened within the proposed time frame, there is continued value in having it take place, since it could then also establish good practice for future visiting missions.
- There are positive examples of Council members hearing the views of women's civil society: in Sierra Leone in May 2012 on parliamentary quotas for women, in the DRC in October 2013 on accountability for sexual violence, in Mali in February 2014 on women's difficulty in being included in the national dialogue and in South

+ *More consistent engagement with women's civil society as a key source of information is needed, and not only during thematic debates, but during country-specific deliberations.*

Sudan in August 2014 on women's representation in South Sudan's peace talks. However, because these interactions with civil society are often held towards the end of visiting missions, the opportunity to convey gender concerns to national leadership during the Council's high-level political dialogue while in-country is usually missed. If such stakeholder feedback was sought at the outset of a visiting mission, there would be a greater chance for Council members to incorporate such feedback in their subsequent interactions with political leaders and mission leadership. Follow-up questions could then also be posed to Special Representatives on progress towards addressing these challenges when they come to New York to brief the Council.

Improving engagement with local actors

- Better engagement could be defined as discussion with actors on the ground about how the UN system could contribute to women's economic and political empowerment, whether and how UN peacekeeping could stabilize areas so that IDPs can return home, addressing the structural obstacles to including more female police in UN operations and in national security structures, and offering concrete options for perpetrators of sexual violence to be held to account. In addition, there could be specific discussion of what messages civil society actors would like

delivered more forcefully to national leadership and mission leadership.

Sexual exploitation and abuse

- Referencing of the UN's zero-tolerance policy on sexual exploitation and abuse by its own personnel is not included systematically in relation to mandates. This is something that could be undertaken as an immediate measure by the Council in all resolutions renewing or establishing peace operations mandates. The Council could also consistently request troop-contributing countries to undertake pre-deployment training, preventive measures and disciplinary action if necessary (for further recommendations on this issue, see Chapter 6: *Keeping the Peace*).

Women's participation

- There continues to be worrying indications that the Council's focus is less sharp when it comes to the women's participation aspect of the WPS agenda. Despite the robust language on the participation elements of women, peace and security, of the nine resolutions adopted in 2013 that included new, substantial and operational references to women, the language therein was almost exclusively protection related.²⁸ More concerning than the metrics, however, is that references to women's participation remain extremely general whereas protection language is specific in enumerating the violations and articulating what peace operations and the UN system should do in response. The challenge in moving the agenda forward lies in going beyond general calls to specific accountability measures to ensure field missions implement their women, peace and security obligations more concretely.
- The Council's architecture on sexual violence in conflict—such as the Office of the Special Representative, the Team of Experts on Rule of Law and Sexual Violence in Conflict, women's

protection advisors and the inter-agency network UN Action against Sexual Violence in Conflict—plays an important role in ensuring flows of information and analysis on the protection elements of the WPS agenda to the Council. A similar specific focus and systems are required with regards to women's participation in conflict prevention, peacemaking and peacebuilding.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR STRENGTHENING SECURITY COUNCIL IMPLEMENTATION OF THE WOMEN, PEACE AND SECURITY AGENDA

Co-leadership role by elected members

Consistent and coherent leadership is sorely needed to accelerate implementation of resolution 1325 and subsequent resolutions. Political will and consistent oversight by the Security Council are central to improving the Council's own follow-up on the implementation of the WPS agenda, and it is important that Council members address their own lack of leadership on the issue. Given that the gaps in implementation are exacerbated by the absence of key issues being raised in the closed consultations of Council members, an accountability process requires concerted leadership by Council members in cooperation with the UN system.

At present, the Council considers the WPS agenda on two tracks, with a permanent member assuming leadership on each: the US leads on sexual violence in conflict, and the UK leads on the broader women, peace and security issues. In theory, having a permanent member explicitly minding each of the two tracks results in a stronger institutional memory of how the agenda has evolved in the Council's work, and provides the 'muscle' when other permanent members are reluctant to incorporate strong gender concerns into Council outcomes. In practice, however, the turnover of diplomatic personnel is a major obstacle to building such institutional memory. In addition, and perhaps an even greater barrier, is the fact that the political priorities of the P5 members and their willingness to

leverage their political capital are not always aligned with women, peace and security objectives. It is more often an elected member of the Council who is vocal in keeping women, peace and security issues alive in Council discussions.²⁹

In this context, it could be useful to reduce the ad-hoc nature of this practice by having elected members take on an informal co-leadership role during their two-year term, alongside the relevant permanent member, to take better advantage of the energy and resources these elected members bring to the Council. The role of this elected member could be to lead a broader accountability system within the Council in order to leverage relevant and security-specific women, peace and security objectives into the Council's outcomes.

Working group

Two ideas that have been continuously floated to support the Council's implementation of its women, peace and security commitments have been the establishment of a Council working group, and high-level leadership on women, peace and security. Neither idea has been fully developed but both have elements that are worth exploring. The discussion on high-level leadership is covered in Chapter 10: *Key Actors - The United Nations*.

To more fully realize its women, peace and security commitments, the Council would benefit from a mechanism that is not only focused on protection, and punitive decisions in the sanctions committees, but also engaged

 *An effective group focused on women, peace and security should be an informal expert group with a clearly defined set of issues to track.*

with the more thorny participation aspects of the women, peace and security agenda. It is with regards to the latter that the Council needs to play a greater supportive role.

The Council already has a working group on children and armed conflict, and an informal expert group on protection of civilians. Both offer possibilities and drawbacks when determining how a similar women, peace and security working group may be effective. There are two key considerations. First, it is important to ensure that any such system recognizes and incorporates the unique elements of the issue, not least the ‘agency and empowerment’ aspects, which provide a particular challenge to the Council’s scope of work. Second, while there are successes in both the children, and protection of civilian structures (respectively formal and informal models), it is vital to also include an assessment of the challenges both models face.

The working group on children and armed conflict has the benefit of being formal—this allows it to adopt formal conclusions and have continuity in its work. It is effective because it is narrowly focused on an agreed and finite range of violations, and because it keys in Council members to the challenges to children’s security in country-specific situations. The chair of this working group has the ability to mainstream child protection concerns throughout the work of the Council, including by asking questions in briefings and supporting the inclusion of children’s concerns in products of the Council. The working group also has the ability to conduct field visits, and has made such trips to Afghanistan, DRC and Myanmar. There are nevertheless also drawbacks to the working group’s formal status. Marginalization is a significant issue as the children’s agenda can become buried in a Council subsidiary body, and not be pulled back up into the public work of the Council. Furthermore, the workload of the working group has been described by Council experts as crushing, leaving little room for flexibility or creativity. In fact, partly due to the group’s success, and not least due to its highlighting of state and non-state perpetrators, the group’s work has become progressively rote and rigid, primarily adopting conclusions rather than being able to drive forward the more substantive and controversial elements of the agenda.³⁰

While the informal expert group on the protection of civilians does not have status as a subsidiary body of the Security Council, its informal nature has given it a certain degree of nimbleness in setting up processes that enable the Council to mainstream protection issues in its work. For example, Council members receive regular briefings from OCHA on country situations prior to mandate renewals. Representatives of other parts of the UN system—such as DPKO, DPA, UN Women, UNHCR, the offices of the Special Representatives on Children and Armed Conflict and Sexual Violence in Conflict, UNMAS and UNICEF—attend depending on the issue being discussed. This group has also developed an aide memoire to guide the Council’s work on protection issues in mission mandates. An important drawback to the effectiveness of this group lies in the fact that because it is not a formal body, attendance and input by all Council members is not required. This group also only meets for mandate renewals and does not work to track protection of civilian implementation more broadly.

Drawing on these experiences, it would appear that an effective group focused on women, peace and security should be an informal expert group (like the protection of civilians model) with a clearly defined set of issues to track (like the children and armed conflict model). A necessary part of this group’s work would be similar to that of both models: mainstreaming gender concerns in all Council outcomes, and connecting the Council more concretely to the security challenges and participation barriers women face in country-specific situations. It would need to include information sharing with UN Women, the Special Representative on Sexual Violence in Conflict, and UN Action—especially information from DPA and DPKO country desk officers to convey gender analysis from the gender advisors and women’s protection advisors in field missions and OCHA—in order to strengthen the Council’s response to gender in its humanitarian outcomes.³¹

More specifically, this group’s work could include:

- Tracking briefings and reports on country situations for gender content. This information can serve as the basis to ensure that critical, gender-specific

security issues are raised in consultations with briefers that are more free-flowing due to the closed and informal nature of the meetings. It would also enable the Council to tailor a mission's mandate, and women, peace and security language to the specific and prioritized gender concerns of that particular situation.

- Undertaking field visits to identify key interlocutors and issues in a country-specific situation, in particular, ahead of Council visiting missions. Such advance work could help to ensure Council visiting missions use their limited time in the field to engage with truly key stakeholders on women, peace and security challenges. This can, in turn, improve Council members' gender-specific messaging to government and mission leadership during their visit.
- Making sure elements of the WPS agenda are reflected in the Council's work in all thematic areas, as per resolution 2122. These include: protection of civilians in armed conflict; post-conflict peacebuilding; the promotion and strengthening of the rule of law in the maintenance of international peace and security; peace and security in Africa; and threats to international peace and security caused by terrorist acts.
- Tracking how the Council is including other important aspects of resolution 2122 when establishing or renewing peace operations, such as deployment of gender advisors and women's protection advisors, and providing guidance on prototype language for gender components in peace operations.
- Linking women, peace and security elements to mandate tasks such as election preparation and political processes; disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programmes; security sector and judicial reforms; and wider post-conflict processes.

It should be noted that the mainstreaming task is far easier than the more challenging one of tracking implementation on the ground and engendering Council accountability and leadership in New York. For

the group to be effective in achieving the latter it will need to clearly define what the Council can reasonably be expected to be accountable for.

In order to be targeted in its efforts, an incremental approach is suggested in the start-up phase. The working group could initially limit the number of country situations in which it will track implementation for any given year to test how it can improve the Council's performance on women, peace and security. The goal would be to progressively include all country situations for the working group's consideration. While it would be up to Council members to determine their approach, initial cases could be representative of the types of situations the Council regularly considers: e.g., a UN mission in a crisis situation (like Mali or CAR), a post-conflict situation (such as in Côte d'Ivoire), and a situation without a Security Council mandated-mission but subject to intense Council scrutiny, UN mediation or UN agency and programme presence on the ground (such as the conflict in Syria). Specific analytical focus on these situations would not preclude the group from its other mainstreaming tasks. The group could then use the mandate or relevant resolutions for the selected country situations to further narrow its scope of study so that tasks a UN peace operation or mediation process have been directly mandated to carry out—such as electoral support, security sector reform, DDR, rule of law, monitoring ceasefires, support in legislative or constitution drafting, meaningful interaction with civil society, etc.—can be implemented with a gender lens (irrespective of the mandate's women, peace and security language).

 *Such an exercise in tracking implementation, would require open lines of communication between Council members, UN Headquarters and field missions.*

This exercise will test how well gender is being mainstreamed in the field and quickly identify gaps that require prioritization not only by Council members but also by Special Representatives leading field missions. The information gleaned from a narrow study on implementation could be used to inform serious, analytical and probing questions of Special Representatives when they brief on a country situation. This in turn could lead to a cascade effect of mission leadership and the Secretariat taking their own gender commitments, including appropriate gender staffing structures and reporting lines, more seriously.

Additionally, such an exercise in tracking implementation, which would require open lines of communication between Council members, UN Headquarters and field missions, could build an informal network of information sharing that could enable the Council to provide better guidance in mandate renewals and better convey to the field what its gender priorities should be. In that regard, relevant Council members should work to ensure, in their other role as a member state in the General Assembly's Fifth Committee for administration and budgetary matters, that missions have the resources required to implement the gender components of Council mandates.

Other areas a potential informal expert group could explore include:

- Whether relevant sanctions committees that already have gross violations of international human rights and humanitarian law as designation criteria could include gender-specific violations as a further listing criteria.
- How to strategically deploy the option to raise women, peace and security concerns with other Council members during briefings or when issues are brought up under 'other matters' in consultations.
- How the Council can fully utilize its Arria-formula meetings, open debates and briefings to raise women, peace and security concerns and solicit concrete recommendations to take the agenda forward.

Finally, in line with the recommendation above on co-leadership in the Council, it is recommended that there be co-chairs by a Permanent and non-Permanent

 *This exercise will test how well gender is being mainstreamed in the field and quickly identify gaps that require prioritization.*

member of the Council, with UN Women providing the Secretariat function for the new group.

UN system's implementation of the WPS agenda

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the Council needs improved information and analysis from the UN system. This was highlighted by the Council's request to DPKO and DPA in resolution 2122. As the UN entities primarily responsible for executing the Council's mandates for peace operations, both entities have a central role in implementing the WPS agenda within the UN system and the field, and in ensuring that all reports and briefings to the Council include information on women's participation.

At present this information is provided in an ad hoc manner, often focused on only one aspect of the women, peace and security agenda (usually protection). It is often lacking in astute analysis, or totally absent from both briefings by heads of peace operations, and the Secretary-General's country reports. Improving this information and analysis, and ensuring that pathways are available to bring this information to the Council in a timely manner, will require additional resources and leadership from within key UN entities. Therefore, it is vital that DPKO, DPA, as key peace and security actors, and UN Women, as the lead on women, peace and security, improve their regular resourcing of the women, peace and security capacity, devote political capital to ensuring these matters are taken seriously in their daily work, and that country work on the issues is consistently brought into both country reports and urgent and regular briefings to Council members.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Moving progress beyond 2015: Proposals for action

The Security Council should:

- ✓ Establish an informal expert group to maximize information, monitoring and support capacity from the UN system as a whole. Initially the group should be focused on 3-4 countries. This would allow for a comprehensive and targeted approach to monitoring consistent implementation by the Council of resolution 2122, including ensuring that women, peace and security information is part of all briefings and reports to the Council and that questions are asked consistently of senior leaders on these issues.
- ✓ Increase the channels for flow of information from the Human Rights Council and related bodies, including from mandate holders with conflict-relevant mandates, Commissions of Inquiry and other fact finding bodies, to provide important sources of information for Council deliberations and outcomes. More consistent approaches, including regular Arria-formula meetings between the Security Council and the Human Rights Council-established Commissions of Inquiry on countries of concern should be established.
- ✓ Invite regular civil society briefings, including women's organizations in particular, not only on thematic but on country-specific deliberations.
- ✓ Ensure greater and more effective capacity for gender analysis in conflict-affected countries (see Chapter 10: *Key Actors - United Nations*).
- ✓ Increase the reporting of dedicated high-level leadership within the UN system on women, peace and security from specific country contexts (see Chapter 10: *Key Actors - United Nations*).
- ✓ Ensure that senior mission leadership consistently includes women, peace and security analysis in all reports and regular briefings, in line with resolution 2122.
- ✓ Consistently incorporate a gender perspective in terms of reference for visiting missions, and give it priority at the outset of the visit.
- ✓ Expand ownership of the women, peace and security agenda within the Council beyond one 'penholder' or lead, to include a co-lead role with an elected member.
- ✓ Ensure that Council members who are also members of the General Assembly's Fifth Committee facilitate approval of resources required to implement gender components of Council mandates.
- ✓ Periodically request SRSGs to present on an ad hoc basis country reports on implementation of the women, peace and security mandate. This could provide opportunities for collective review, focus and action at the country level while providing the Council with more in depth and substantive information on specific context.
- ✓ Strengthen its work in the sanctions committees by:
 - Using existing sanction regimes more effectively to enforce thematic priorities—in line with the high-level sanctions review—including women, peace and security, and consider adopting thematic sanctions regimes in addition to country-specific sanctions to

address global threats such as sexual violence in conflict, human trafficking, and gross violations of women's rights.

- Expanding the designation criteria in other relevant sanctions regimes where sexual and gender-based crimes and specific attacks against women are persistently perpetrated.
- Calling for information-sharing between the Special Representative on Sexual Violence in Conflict, UN Women as appropriate, and all relevant sanctions committees and associated expert groups.
- Formally requiring expert groups assisting sanctions committees to include gender experts as part of the composition of such expert groups, and in line with the recommendations of the High Level Review on Sanctions, requesting the General Assembly to make additional resources available to provide the requisite technical, language and substantive skills needed to strengthen capacity of sanctions bodies and their expert groups.
- Including respect for the rights of women as delisting criteria in sanctions regimes that target political spoilers that may eventually need to be part of a political solution.
- Ensuring that specific information about the gendered effects of sanctions is systematically included in all reporting on the implementation of relevant sanctions regimes.

REFERENCES

This chapter is based on background research prepared by Amanda Roberts and Sarah Taylor. Much of the analysis is based on interviews conducted by the co-authors over the course of 2011-2015 with diplomats serving on the UN Security Council from Argentina, Australia, Chile, France, Germany, Guatemala, India, Luxembourg, Malaysia, Morocco, Norway, Pakistan, Portugal, South Africa, Spain, the United Kingdom and the United States. Interviews over the same period of time were regularly conducted with UN Secretariat staff from the Department of Political Affairs and the Department of Peacekeeping Operations, and with UN Women. The research draws from observations of peace operations in the DRC, South Sudan, Somalia, Liberia, Mali and Sierra Leone, and relies on the co-authors' rigorous review of Security Council outcomes from 2000-2014, and data gathered by the NGO Working Group on Women, Peace and Security on the UN Secretariat's oral and written reporting to the Security Council for gender content during the same time period. The analysis also draws on the research and publications produced under Roberts' professional affiliation with Security Council Report, in addition to Taylor's former affiliation with the NGO Working Group on Women, Peace and Security.

1. Including, at the time, among the five permanent members (or P5), two of which, the UK and US, now lead on the issue in the Council.
2. For the Council, this is in part perhaps owing to an increased workload which has the Council reacting to proliferating and existing crises, as well as fragmentation in the approach to peace and security within the system. See, "The Challenge of Sustaining Peace," UN Doc. A/69/968-S/2015/490 (Advisory Group of Experts for the 2015 Review of the United Nations Peacebuilding Architecture, June 29, 2015), para. 67.
3. It should be noted that the distinction between participation and protection, particularly within the WPS agenda, is a largely arbitrary one, given that sexual violence and the threat of sexual violence also impedes women's political, economic and social participation, and that efforts at protection will be weakened without an emphasis on women's participation to inform these efforts.
4. The High-Level Independent Panel on United Nations Peace Operations noted that, in general, "There is a prevailing erroneous notion that women, peace and security is "a woman's issue" that can be addressed only by women, instead of being understood as a peace and security issue for men and women and for society as a whole." See, "Uniting Our Strengths for Peace - Politics, Partnership and People," UN Doc. A/70/95-S/2015/446 (High-Level Independent Panel on United Nations Peace Operations, June 16, 2015), para. 239(i).
5. Fragmentation of the UN system and its impact on peacebuilding, and peace and security more generally, was one of the key findings of the Report of the Advisory Group of Experts for the 2015 Review of the United Nations Peacebuilding Architecture. See, "Report of the Advisory Group of Experts for the 2015 Review of the United Nations Peacebuilding Architecture (2015)," para. 61-67.
6. Arria-formula meetings are informal, confidential gatherings which enable Security Council members to have a frank and private exchange of views with persons whom the inviting member or members of the Council believe it would be beneficial to hear. These meetings do not constitute an activity of the Council, and participation is for individual members to decide. Arria-formula meetings are a relatively recent practice of the Security Council, initiated by Ambassador Diego Arria of Venezuela in 1992.
7. "Report of the Secretary-General: Conflict-Related Sexual Violence," UN Doc. S/2015/203 (United Nations Security Council, March 23, 2015), para. 4.
8. DPA reports that the integration of sex-disaggregated data into reports of Special Political Missions has increased significantly since 2010 when it took on 15 WPS related commitments.
9. "Report of the High-Level Independent Panel on United Nations Peace Operations (2015)," para. 239(viii).
10. In relation to the statistical analysis in the chapter, technical resolutions, like rollover extensions, were excluded from the pool as were peacekeeping missions not charged with supporting post-conflict processes in host countries, such as the UN Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) or the UN Disengagement Observer Force in the Golan Heights (UNDOF). Also excluded were the extensions of expert groups assisting sanctions committees dealing with matters where women, peace and security issues were not reasonably expected to be part of the scope of work (for example, non-proliferation).
11. The case of Timor-Leste (detailed further in Chapter 10: Key Actors - The United Nations) and Somalia demonstrate that while consistent women, peace and security language in Council outcomes is important, it is possible to have a robust interpretation and implementation in the absence of such language (Timor-Leste), as well as to have robust language with little implementation on the ground (Somalia). The full thrust of political will, expertise, and leadership both within the Security Council and throughout the UN system is needed to push forward implementation.
12. For example, when the Security Council adopted resolution 2100 in April 2013 to establish MINUSMA in Mali, the Council specifically called for the deployment of gender expertise. Nevertheless, there was serious resistance at that time by leadership in both DPKO and at mission level to actually put in place a staffing structure that provided for such a deployment.
13. For further information on this topic, see "Women, Peace

- and Security,” Cross-Cutting Report (Security Council Report, April 2014); “Women, Peace and Security: Sexual Violence in Conflict and Sanctions,” cross-Cutting Report (Security Council Report, April 10, 2013); Simon Tordjman and Anthony Amicelle, “The Gendered Dimensions of International Sanctions: Normative Evolution and Operational Dilemmas” (UN Women, Forthcoming).
14. In the 1990s and the 2000s the Council also began to include sanctions on commodities such as timber, diamonds and charcoal to staunch natural resource extraction that was funding conflict.
 15. Maria Butler, Kristina Mader, and Rachel Kean, “Women, Peace and Security Handbook: Compilation and Analysis of United Nations Security Council Resolution Language (2000-2010)” (PeaceWomen Project of the Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom, October 2010), 10.
 16. Data sourced from: http://www.un.org/sc/committees/list_compend.shtml.
 17. Out of six regimes with implicit or explicit mention of gender based crimes as listing criteria, only 16 individuals and four entities have been designated based on such criteria: 12 individuals and four entities by the DRC Sanctions Committee, one individual by the South Sudan Sanctions Committee and another three individuals by the Côte d’Ivoire Sanctions Committee Côte d’Ivoire, DRC, Sudan and South Sudan.
 18. Côte d’Ivoire, DRC, Sudan and South Sudan.
 19. Data sourced from: http://www.un.org/sc/committees/list_compend.shtml.
 20. Data sourced from: http://www.un.org/sc/committees/list_compend.shtml.
 21. United Nations News Service, “Boko Haram, Nigerian Group That Kidnapped Schoolgirls, Put on UN Terror Sanctions List,” UN News Centre, May 23, 2014, <http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=47874#.VfHQGBFVhX>.
 22. This is a frequently asked question by both Security Council members as well as UN leadership at headquarters and in the field. Gender advisors are responsible for integrating a gender perspective into all aspects of a peace operation. Women’s protection advisors have a specific mandate to monitor and advise on conflict-related violations against women. This confusion has led to a conflation of the two and a belief that if one is mentioned in a mandate, this sufficiently addresses the need.
 23. DPA provided anecdotal evidence supporting how such follow-up can have a positive cascade effect. During closed consultations, a Council member asked a gender-specific question to the head of mission who was not able to respond with relevant information. It seems the head of mission paid increased attention to the gender unit upon return to the field.
 24. DPA reports that the integration of sex-disaggregated data into reports from Special Political Missions has increased significantly since 2010 when it took on 15 WPS related commitments.
 25. “Resolution 2122 (2013),” UN Doc. S/RES/2122 (2013) (United Nations Security Council, October 18, 2013), para. 17.
 26. Reports of Security Council Missions available at: <http://www.un.org/en/sc/documents/missions/>
 27. “Resolution 2122 (2013),” UN Doc. S/RES/2122 (2013) (United Nations Security Council, October 18, 2013), para. 17.
 28. Only one resolution on Mali included comparable references to both protection and participation elements—however as noted above strong gender language in a Council outcome did not translate into implementation on the ground and was in fact resisted by senior mission leadership. In 2014, the Council did a better job reflecting women’s participation in operative paragraphs of Council resolutions (48 per cent).
 29. Spain’s leadership during 2015, including in relation to the 15-year review of women, peace and security, is one such example.
 30. See, e.g., “Children and Armed Conflict,” Cross-Cutting Report (Security Council Report, February 21, 2014); “Children and Armed Conflict,” Cross-Cutting Report (Security Council Report, August 27, 2012).
 31. The informal Expert Group on the protection of civilians has an aide memoire with specific gender provisions that a new women, peace and security group could utilize and expand upon for its own work. “Aide Memoire for the Consideration of Issues Pertaining to the Protection of Civilians in Armed Conflict,” Policy and Studies Series (United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA), Policy Development and Studies Branch, 2014).