# PREVENTING CONFLICT TRANSFORMING JUSTICE SECURING THE PEACE

A Global Study on the

**Implementation of United Nations Security Council resolution 1325** 

View the Global Study at: http://wps.unwomen.org/en

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# **FOREWORD**

### Ban Ki-moon

United Nations Secretary-General

Fifteen years ago, Security Council resolution 1325 reaffirmed the importance of the equal participation and full involvement of women in all efforts for maintaining and promoting peace and security. In the years since, it has buttressed this decision by adopting six further resolutions on women, peace and security.

I am personally committed to implementing these resolutions. I have highlighted women's leadership in peacebuilding as a priority and appointed an unprecedented number of women leaders in the United Nations. It is essential to ensure that the UN is fit for purpose when it comes to women, peace and security, and that we become a model for all actors to emulate.

Women's leadership and the protection of women's rights should always be at the forefront—and never an afterthought—in promoting international peace and security. In an era when armed extremist groups place the subordination of women at the top of their agenda, our response should be unwavering support for empowering girls and women. The newly adopted 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development reflects

this priority with its emphasis on gender equality and respect for the human rights of all.

The Global Study on the implementation of resolution 1325 is an important part of the United Nations global agenda for change to better serve the world's most vulnerable people. As noted by the High-Level Independent Panel on United Nations Peace Operations and the Advisory Group of Experts for the 2015 Review of the United Nations Peacebuilding Architecture, changes in conflict may be outpacing the ability of United Nations peace operations to respond effectively. Any reforms must include gender equality and women's leadership as central ingredients.

The Global Study offers new evidence, ideas and good practices that can help generate new commitments and implement old ones. Let us not squander the potential dividends of gender equality for peace and development. Empowering women to end and prevent conflicts is essential and urgent.

I commend this Study. It is a call to action that all should heed.

# **FOREWORD**

### Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka

United Nations Under-Secretary-General and Executive Director of UN Women

Resolution 1325 was one of the crowning achievements of the global women's movement and one of the most inspired decisions of the United Nations Security Council. The recognition that peace is inextricably linked with gender equality and women's leadership was a radical step for the highest body tasked with the maintenance of international peace and security. Turning the Security Council's words into actions and real change has been a central pillar of UN Women's work since the entity was created, and the driving passion of many other actors since the resolution was adopted as a global norm in 2000.

And yet there remains a crippling gap between the ambition of our commitments and actual political and financial support. We struggle to bridge the declared intent of international policymaking and the reality of domestic action in the many corners of the world where resolution 1325 is most needed.

UN Women was privileged to be tasked by the Secretary-General with helping to prepare this Global Study. We are grateful to its independent lead author, Ms. Radhika Coomaraswamy, her advisory board, and all the member States, academics, non-governmental organizations, and UN bodies that supported this effort. The preparation process involved consultations all over the world, the provision of ideas as well as technical inputs and information, and commentary on and review of drafts. We hope that this Study will stimulate discussion and be followed by concrete commitments, resources, political will, policy shifts, and accountability at all levels.

This Study reinforces the Security Council's original crucial recognition of the power of engaging women in peace with compelling proof. It shows that women's participation and inclusion makes humanitarian

assistance more effective, strengthens the protection efforts of our peacekeepers, contributes to the conclusion of peace talks and the achievement of sustainable peace, accelerates economic recovery, and helps counter violent extremism. This Study, and a growing evidence base, make the implementation of resolution 1325 even more urgent and needed.

The Study adds two more important elements that will help us push this agenda forward. It compiles multiple examples of good practice that should become the standard requirement for all. In addition, it takes a hard look at implementation and enforcement, and the missing incentives and accountability measures that should nudge all actors into complying with these norms and living up to their promises. What emerges from these ideas is an explicit and ambitious roadmap for the way forward on women, peace and security. We have an enormous responsibility to ensure that the normative framework spurred by resolution 1325 is not just given periodic visibility and attention, but that it lies at the heart of the UN's work on peace and security.

This year, we celebrate 15 years of resolution 1325 and 20 years since the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing. We have a new momentum towards the recognition of gender equality and women's empowerment at the heart of sustainable progress for all, with the adoption of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. Many actors are coming to the table with new energy, new ideas, and new commitments, and we have seen other policy reviews, from our development goals to our peace operations and our peacebuilding architecture, emphasize the centrality of gender equality. This is an important opportunity to shape the way in which we address our global challenges in the next decades. Let us make the most of it.

# **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

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# **ACRONYMS**

AU African Union

CAR Central African Republic

CEDAW Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women

COI Commissions of Inquiry

CRC Convention on the Rights of the Child CRSV Conflict-Related Sexual Violence

CSO Civil Society Organization

DAC Development Assistance Committee

DDR Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration

DFS Department of Field Support
DPA Department of Political Affairs

DPKO Department of Peacekeeping Operations
DPRK Democratic People's Republic of Korea

DRC Democratic Republic of Congo
EEAS European External Action Service

EU European Union

FAO Food and Agricultural Organization

FARC Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia (The Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia)

FAS Femmes Africa Solidarité

GA General Assembly

GAI Global Acceleration Instrument on women, peace and security and humanitarian engagement

GCTF Global Counter-Terrorism Forum

GNI Gross National Income

GNWP Global Network of Women Peacebuilders

HRC Human Rights Commission HSC Human Security Collective

IASC Inter-Agency Standing Committee

ICAN International Civil Society Action Network

ICC International Criminal Court

ICGLR International Conference on the Great Lakes Region

ICT Information and Communication Technology
ICTR International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda

ICTY International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia

IDP Internally Displaced Person

IGAD Intergovernmental Authority on Development

IPI International Peace Institute
ISFs Integrated Strategic Frameworks

ISIS Islamic State of Iraq and Syria

Isis-WICCE Women's International Cross Cultural Exchange

JRR Justice Rapid Response LPC Local Peace Committee

MARA Monitoring, Analysis and Reporting Arrangements

MENA Middle East and North Africa
MILF Moro Islamic Liberation Front

MINUSCA UN Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in the Central African Republic

MINUSMA UN Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali

MINUSTAH United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti

MONUSCO United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo

MPTF Multi-Partner Trust Fund
MSF Médecins Sans Frontières
NAP National Action Plan

NATO North Atlantic Treaty Organization

NDF National Democratic Front
NGO Nongovernmental Organization
NHRIs National Human Rights Institutions

ODIHR OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights
OECD Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development

OHCHR United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights

OSCE Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe

PBSO Peacebuilding Support Office
PDAs Peace and Development Advisors
PRIO Peace Research Institute Oslo
PEP Post-exposure Prophylaxis
PHR Physicians for Human Rights

PIF Pacific Islands Forum
PNG Papua New Guinea
POC Protection of Civilians
RAP Regional Action Plan

SADC Southern African Development Community

SEA Sexual Exploitation and Abuse SGBV Sexual and Gender-based Violence

SHaSA Strategy for the Harmonization of Statistics in Africa

SRSG-SVC Special Representative of the Secretary-General on Sexual Violence in Conflict

SLA Sudanese Liberation Army

SRF Strategic Results Framework

SRSG Special Representative of the Secretary General

SSR Security Sector Reform
UPR Universal Periodic Review

UN-INSTRAW UN International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women UN-SWAP UN System-Wide Action Plan on Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women

UNAIDS Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS
UNAMID United Nations-African Union Mission in Darfur

UNCT United Nations Country Team

UNDAF United Nations Development Assistance Framework
UNDOF United Nations Disengagement Observer Force

UNDP United Nations Development Programme
UNEP United Nations Environment Programme

UNESCO United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

UNFPA United Nations Population Fund

UNHCR United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

UNICEF United Nations Children's Fund

UNIFIL United Nations Interim Force In Lebanon UNMAS United Nations Mine Action Service

UNMEER United Nations Mission for Ebola Emergency Response
UNMIK United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo

UNMIL United Nations Mission in Liberia
UNMISS United Nations Mission in South Sudan

UNMIT United Nations Integrated Mission in Timor-Leste

UNOCI United Nations Operation in Côte d'Ivoire
UNOTIL United Nations Office in Timor- Leste
UNPBF United Nations Peacebuilding Fund

UNPOL United Nations Police Force
UNSC United Nations Security Council

UNSCR United Nations Security Council Resolution

UNTAET United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor

WFP World Food Program

WHRD Women's Human Rights Defender
WPP Women Peacemakers Program
WPS Women, Peace and Security
WRC Women's Refugee Commission

# EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

To mark the fifteenth anniversary of the adoption of resolution 1325 (2000), the Security Council adopted resolution 2122 (2013) inviting the Secretary-General to conduct a review with regard to the implementation of resolution 1325. The review was to identify the gaps and challenges, as well as emerging trends and priorities for action. It requested the Secretary-General to thereafter submit a report based on the findings of this review to the Security Council in October 2015. The Secretary-General requested Radhika Coomaraswamy to be the lead author of the study on the recommendation of the United Nations Standing Committee on Women, Peace and Security. UN Women was requested to be the secretariat of the study. A High-Level Advisory Group was constituted from all regions of the world to assist Ms. Coomaraswamy.

It was decided that Ms. Coomaraswamy would lead a comprehensive study with regard to developments in the fifteen-year period since resolution 1325 was adopted. Ms. Coomaraswamy and the members of her High-Level Advisory Group held consultations with a diverse group of stakeholders, in all regions of the world. In addition, UN Women commissioned research papers for the Global Study, which will be published separately in an accompanying volume. More than 60 Member States, international and regional organizations responded to requests for submissions to the Global Study and 47 civil society organizations, academics and research institutes provided inputs via a public website. A survey of civil society organizations generated responses from 317 organizations in 71 countries.

The world has changed since the Security Council adopted resolution 1325 in October 2000. The nature of conflict in certain regions is qualitatively different, the content of what we mean by 'peace' and 'security' is evolving, and the understanding of what we mean

by 'justice' has also transformed. This ever-changing and ever evolving reality poses major dilemmas for the four pillars of Security Council resolution 1325 and its subsequent resolutions: the pillars of prevention, protection, participation, and peacebuilding and recovery. It is in this context of a changing world and shifting dynamics for peace and security, that the Global Study undertakes a fifteen-year review of the implementation of resolution 1325.

Although the world has changed, there have been a number of successes in implementation over the past fifteen years.

- The international community has adopted a comprehensive normative framework with regard to sexual violence in conflict. The Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court that came into force in 2002 outlines a comprehensive list of crimes against women. Since the 1990s, international courts and tribunals have developed sophisticated jurisprudence with regard to these crimes. The Security Council has also acted decisively—a Special Representative on Sexual Violence in Conflict has been appointed by the Secretary-General to report to the Council, and a monitoring and reporting mechanism has been established at the local level to report on sexual violence against women and girls in conflict situations on the agenda of the Security Council. Commissions of inquiry and fact-finding missions set up by the Human Rights Council increasingly have a mandate to investigate sexual and genderbased violence, and a roster of experts exists within the international community to support the investigation of these international crimes.
- The international community and national governments have begun to understand the importance of national and communal healing

as a part of holistic justice and accountability processes, including truth seeking, reconciliation, memorialization and reparations for women victims of violations.

- The Committee on the Elimination of
  Discrimination against Women adopted General
  Recommendation 30 on women in conflict
  prevention, conflict and post-conflict situations,
  which provides detailed guidance to Member
  States on issues related to women, peace and
  security and the criteria for accountability, and
  makes clear that implementing resolution 1325 is
  the responsibility of every Member State.
- Between 1990 and 2000, when the Security
  Council adopted 1325, just 11 per cent of peace
  agreements signed included a reference to women.
  Since the adoption of resolution 1325, 27 per cent
  of peace agreements have referenced women. Of
  the six agreements resulting from peace talks or
  national dialogue processes supported by the UN
  in 2014, 67 per cent contained references relevant
  to women, peace and security.
- The number of senior women leaders within the UN has been on the rise, from special envoys of the Secretary-General, to the first female commander of a peacekeeping mission.
- Bilateral aid on gender equality to fragile States has quadrupled in the last decade—but from a practically non-existent level, at the start.

However, much of the progress toward the implementation of resolution 1325 continues to be measured in 'firsts,' rather than as standard practice. Obstacles and challenges still persist and prevent the full implementation of the women, peace and security (WPS) agenda.

 With regard to sexual violence, despite the comprehensive normative framework, there are very few actual prosecutions, particularly at the national level. Though some argue that the normative frameworks have deterred future crimes,

- others claim that there has been no significant difference for women on the ground. More research is needed to validate these claims and respond to the justice needs of victims.
- Though the participation of women in formal peace processes has been inching up, a study of 31 major peace processes between 1992 and 2011 revealed that only nine per cent of negotiators were women—a negligible figure given the issues that are involved. Only three per cent of the military in UN missions are women, and the majority of these are employed as support staff. These two areas of peacemaking and peacekeeping are among the most persistently challenging for ensuring women's equal and meaningful participation.
- Despite a great deal of effort by the international community to encourage Member States to have inclusive processes to formulate national action plans on women, peace and security, only 54 countries have formulated such action plans.
   Many of these plans are focused on process, with neither mechanisms for accountability nor budgets available for real implementation.
- The rise of violent extremism in many parts of the world has led to a real threat to the lives of women as well as to a cycle of militarization where women are often in an ambivalent position, rejecting the strictures on their conduct by violent extremists but wanting to protect their families and their communities from polarization and threat. Some women also become fighters and join extremist groups, some against their will but many out of real conviction. Women peacebuilders are also caught between the rising tide of extremism in their communities, and the constraints placed upon their work by counter-terrorism policies that restrict their access to critical funds and resources.
- Though there is a great deal of rhetoric supporting women, peace and security, funding for programmes and processes remains abysmally low across all areas of the agenda. Bilateral aid

has increased to fragile States with regard to gender issues, but it is only still six per cent of the total aid package, and only two per cent of aid earmarked for peace and security. The quality of project-style aid also needs restructuring and reexamination.

Confronting the status quo of peace and security, the Global Study sets out detailed recommendations under every chapter and under each theme. It also concludes with a set of general recommendations for policy guidance and advocacy. Discussions and consultations with regard to the Global Study pointed to the following set of principles around which the world should unite:

- Prevention of conflict must be the priority, not the use of force. Greater attention must be paid to the prevention of conflict, and the use of force must always be the last resort when all other options have failed. The Global Study emphasizes the importance of short-term prevention measures such as early warning systems and intensified efforts at preemptive dialogue at the local, national and international levels. It also examines measures to address the root causes and structural drivers of conflict, such as exclusion, discrimination, attacks on dignity and structural inequality. These, along with measures dealing with the proliferation of small arms, violent masculinities and climate change should also be implemented.
- Resolution 1325 is a human rights mandate.

  It must not be forgotten that resolution 1325 was conceived of and lobbied for as a human rights resolution that would promote the rights of women in conflict situations. Any policy or programme on women, peace and security must be conducted with this in mind. Attempts to 'securitize' issues and to use women as instruments in military strategy must be consistently discouraged. The Global Study explores the role of human rights mechanisms in holding Member States accountable for human rights obligations relating to the women, peace and security agenda, including through international treaty bodies, Universal Periodic

- Reviews, and regional human rights courts and commissions.
- Women's participation is key to sustainable peace. This study contains research that comprehensively demonstrates that the participation of women at all levels is key to the operational effectiveness, success and sustainability of peace processes and peacebuilding efforts. Mediators, facilitators and leadership in peace operations must be proactive in including women in all aspects of peacemaking, peacekeeping and peacebuilding. The Global Study describes the substantial increase in frequency of gender-sensitive language in peace agreements, and the number of women, women's groups and gender experts who serve as official negotiators, mediators, signatories, witnesses or in advisory bodies. Nonetheless, in many conflictaffected contexts, women's official participation may be temporary, their delegated roles may be more symbolic than substantive and their influential capacity may be directly resisted by cultural norms.
- Perpetrators must be held accountable and justice must be transformative. Perpetrators of grave crimes against women should be held accountable for their actions so that women receive justice and future crimes are deterred. At the same time, justice in conflict and postconflict settings must be transformative in nature, addressing not only the singular violation experienced by women, but also the underlying inequalities which render women and girls vulnerable during times of conflict and which inform the consequences of the human rights violations they experience. The Global Study explores both the importance of fighting impunity for crimes against women through criminal justice proceedings, while also recognizing the central role played by reparations, truth and reconciliation processes and in ensuring that victims and their communities heal and recover together.
- Localization of approaches and inclusive and participatory processes are crucial to the success of national and international peace efforts.

In the area of peacebuilding, there must be a detailed mapping and understanding of local conditions with the participation of women themselves before programmes are designed, formulated or implemented. The 'one-size-fits-all' policy, transferring 'best practices,' is not always what is needed in many situations of conflict. The Global Study describes the peacebuilding period as an opportunity to transform societies and work toward gender equality; to build economies and institutions that recognize and seek to address the specific challenges women face.

- Supporting women peacebuilders and respecting their autonomy is one important way to counter extremism. Across religions and regions, a common thread shared by extremist groups is that in each and every instance, their advance has been coupled with attacks on the rights of women and girls—rights to education, to public life and to decision making over their own bodies. It is clear that military responses alone are insufficient in routing out violent extremism. The Global Study explores how funding and support to women peacebuilders in contexts of rising extremism can play a critical role in ensuring that extremist ideologies neither survive nor thrive.
- All key actors must play their role. Member States, regional organizations, the media, civil society and youth all have a vital role to play in working together to implement the women, peace and security agenda, and holding one another accountable to commitments. The Global Study explores the successes and challenges that each set of actors has faced over the past 15 years, and sets expectations for carrying the WPS agenda into the future.
- A gender lens must be introduced into all aspects of the work of the Security Council.

The Security Council must continue its work on the implementation of the women, peace and security agenda, and in order to do so, requires additional support and information. The Global Study explores avenues to better inform the work of the

- Security Council on implementation, from more robust sanctions, to more frequent briefings from civil society, to closer exchanges with the Human Rights Council, to the creation of an informal expert group on women, peace and security.
- The persistent failure to adequately finance the women, peace and security agenda must be addressed. The failure to allocate sufficient resources and funds has been perhaps the most serious and unrelenting obstacle to implementation of women, peace and security commitments over the past 15 years. This lack of financing may be somewhat overcome if Member States, regional organizations and the UN system all commit to earmarking a minimum of 15 per cent of all funding relating to peace and security for programmes whose principal objective is to address women's specific needs and advance gender equality. The Global Study further recommends an increase in predictable. accessible and flexible funding for women's civil society organizations working on peace and security at all levels, including through dedicated financing instruments such as the new Global Acceleration Instrument on Women, Peace and Security and Humanitarian Action.
- A strong gender architecture at the United Nations is essential. The Study is clear: the United Nations must play the lead role in creating a peaceful and secure world for all of us—holding true to its original vision to turn 'swords into plowshares.' To do so, the UN must adopt structural changes to capitalize on its available resources for women, peace and security, and ensure that the entire system moves forward in a coherent and coordinated manner to bring gender equality and women's empowerment into the core of its work in all areas. To this end, the Study makes key recommendations, including the following:
- An Assistant Secretary-General, with dedicated resources, should be appointed at UN Women to deal with crises, conflict and emergencies, after a full re-

appraisal of UN Women's work in headquarters and the field on women, peace and security.

- Greater resources must also be allocated to UN Women in general, to support its work in conflict settings.
- o There must be a senior gender advisor at the D1 level in the office of every Special Representative of the Secretary-General, with hybrid technical gender experts in thematic units.
- o The gender divisions of DPKO and DPA at headquarters should be strengthened.
- UN Women, DPKO and DPA should jointly provide technical, political and policy expertise to the gender staffing of peacekeeping and special political missions.
- There should be discussion with all stakeholders with regard to the feasibility of setting up an International Tribunal for Sexual Exploitation and Abuse by UN peacekeepers and UN staff in the field. This issue

remains the major controversy that brings the UN, and the entire international community, into disrepute in the eyes of public opinion.

The Global Study concludes, not with a recommendation, but with a call to action. The great changes we are undergoing must primarily be understood in the context of the needs and concerns of women in specific situations of conflict. The 'local' must clearly be the most important factor in our analysis. Nevertheless, women spoke with one voice from every continent to convey a key message to the Security Council: the United Nations must take the lead in stopping the process of militarization and militarism that began in 2001 in an ever-increasing cycle of conflict. The normalization of violence at the local, national and international levels must cease. Networks of women peacebuilders and peacemakers must be expanded and supported to come to the fore. Their solidarity is essential if we are to move the world toward the original vision of the United Nations, where nations turn their 'swords into plowshares' and act with conviction to prevent wars through dialogue and discussion.