Mainstreaming Resolution 1325? Evaluating the Impact on Security Council Resolution 1325 on Country-Specific UN Resolutions

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Renee Black

Introduction

On October 31, 2000, the United Nations Security Council adopted Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325 on Women, Peace & Security, rejecting simplistic views of women as inevitable victims of conflict, and asserting for the first time that women should be included as active agents of peacebuilding. SCR 1325 is characterized by three key pillars: the participation of women at all levels of decision-making; the inclusion gender perspectives to prevent and mitigate the impacts of conflict on women, and; the protection of women from violence during and after conflict.[1]

While previous resolutions contained broad calls for the protection of civilians, including women, during armed conflict, UNSCR 1325 was distinct in that it recognized "the disproportionate and unique impact of armed conflict on women, and the under-valued and under-utilized contributions women make to conflict prevention, peacekeeping, conflict resolution and peace-building. It also stressed the importance of

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[1] Remarks by Charlotte Bunch of the Centre for Women's Global Leadership during the Commission on the Status of Women 2009. "GEAR Campaign: Gearing up for a new UN for Women." March 3, 2009..

the equal and full participation of women as active agents in peace and security." [2]

Yet, more than eight years since the adoption of UNSCR 1325, Security Council's commitment to the implementation of UNSCR 1325 is questionable. Advocacy groups protest that the rate of SCR 1325 referencing has been inadequate and that it frequently has not translated into programming. Furthermore, the absence of systematic implementation and monitoring mechanisms makes evaluation difficult to gauge.

To contribute to the understanding of the actual impact that SCR 1325 has had, one Non-Governmental Organization (NGO), PeaceWomen, has mandated itself to systematically evaluate the consistency with which the Security Council applies the language of SCR 1325 in country or conflict-specific Security Council resolutions through a program called Resolution Watch. This program examines resolutions adopted since SCR 1325 and identifies all references to it, whether direct calls for its implementation or through indirect references to specific operational elements of SCR 1325.

Research Monitor examines all resolutions for countries with Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) mandate. These countries include: Afghanistan; Burundi; Chad & the Central African Republic; Ivory Coast; Cyprus; Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC); Ethiopia & Eritrea; Georgia; Golan Heights; Haiti; India & Pakistan; Kosovo; Lebanon; Liberia; Middle East; Sierra Leone; Sudan; Timor-Leste, and Western Sahara.[3]

The Resolution Watch program categorizes data in two ways. First, it examines all resolutions for a given country for references to SCR 1325. Secondly, it scrutinizes and labels all resolutions for at least one of the17 specific themes corresponding to specific aspects of SCR 1325. These themes, identified in Table 1, are derived largely from a SCR 1325 Checklist developed by the NGO Working Group on Women, Peace & Security.[4]

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[2] NGO Working Group on Women, Peace & Security. "From Local to Global – Making Peace Work for Women." Oct 2005 pg.6.
 http://womenpeacesecurity.org/publications/NGOWG_5_Years_On_Report_ENG.pdf
[3] Note: The PeaceWomen Project: 1325 Security Council Monitor - Resolution Watch, which analyzes the resolutions from all countries specified since 1325, has been used for compiling additional analysis on the progress of 1325. www.peacewomen.org.
[4] See Appendix A for a complete list of questions from this Checklist.

Table 1: 1325 Themes

Rank	Theme	Pillar	Graph Code
1	General Reference to 1325	Prevention	1325
2	Peacekeeping Operations	Prevention	PKO
3	Conflict Prevention & Resolution	Participation	CPR
4	Rule of Law & Human Rights: Institutions and Mechanisms	Prevention	ROL
5	Civil Society	Participation	CS
6	Disarmament, Demobilization, Reintegration, Resettlement and Repatriations	Prevention	DDR
7	Peace Negotiations & Agreements	Participation	PN&A
8	Constitution, Justice and Security Sector Reform	Participation	SSR
9	Governance & Electoral Processes	Participation	GEP
10	Reporting by the Secretary General	Prevention	UNSG
11	Sexual Exploitation & Abuse	Protection	SEA
12	Training of UN Personnel	Prevention	TUNP
13	Violations of Human Rights and Humanitarian Law	Protection	VHR
14	Refugees & Internally Displaced Persons	Protection	IDP
15	Protection of Civilians & Humanitarian Assistance	Protection	PCHA
16	*Sexual and Gender-Based Violence	Protection	SGBV
17	*Gender Equality & Post-Conflict Reconstruction	Participation	GE
18	*AIDS/ HIV	Protection	AIDS

* Note: Themes with stars do no appear in the original themes identified by the NGO Working Group on Women, Peace & Security.

** Generally speaking, any of these themes contains elements of all 3 pillars. Nonetheless, each has a dominant focus, and that is what is indicated here.

PeaceWomen's research has led to the conclusion "that the integration of a gender

perspective and the provisions of 1325 has been sporadic and slow; many resolutions contain no references to women or a gender perspective" and that only one third, 102 of 309, of country-specific resolutions since the adoption of SCR 1325 have "contained specific language on women or gender."[5]

While it is clear that there is a gap in the full internalization of the principles of SCR 1325 at the Security Council, this analysis is incomplete. Firstly, it fails to measure temporal patterns that would demonstrate whether the Security Council's behavior has shifted over time. Secondly, the analysis does not provide any assessment on patterns that can be discerned from the types of thematic referencing in country-specific resolutions, such as whether certain themes are more likely to appear than others, or whether certain countries are more likely than others to invoke SCR 1325.

The purpose of this paper is to use the research initiated by Research Monitor to further the analysis on the Security Council's commitment to the implementation of SCR 1325. It will begin with a brief history of the resolutions and conventions that preceded the development of SCR 1325. and will discuss why it was considered to be such a significant milestone for women within the context of the Security Council. Secondly, adoption patterns will be identified that characterize the progress of 1325 across conflict-specific resolutions over time, by theme and pillar, and by country for the last 8 years. Finally, the nature of the references that have occurred will be examined to identify whether this exposes any gaps in SCR 1325 referencing.

Generally speaking, there are three possible adoption patterns that one might expect to see:

> **Pattern 1: Consistent Growth** is characterized by a slow and steady rate of referencing and is what one might expect to see if SCR 1325 is becoming increasingly mainstreamed and normalized within the Security Council's operational behavior over time.

> **Pattern #2: Growth followed by Negative Growth** is characterized by strong early adoption rates followed by a general decline in adoption rates over time and might indicate a lack of sustained commitment on the part of the Security Council or a shift in priorities.

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[5] NGO Working Group on Women, Peace & Security (2005): p. 6.

> **Pattern #3: Growth followed by Zero Growth** is characterized by steady growth in adoption rates of 1325 references in the early stages followed by a period of no growth, suggesting that adoption may have reached an invisible ceiling and that there is a limit on the ability to comprehensively normalize 1325 within Security Council resolutions.

While this examination looks at the past eight years of resolutions, these patterns clearly have potential to shift over time and therefore the results that are presented must be re-examined in the future to identify any changes moving forward.

In order to answer the question as to whether or not SCR 1325 is being mainstreamed in Security Council behavior, the following questions need to be answered within the data:

1. Has there been an overall increase in 1325 references rates over time?

2. Do certain themes and pillar emerge more frequently in references and others less frequently?

3. In what circumstances do we see a broad use of 1325 themes?

4. What does this tell us about whether and how 1325 is being internalized by the Security Council?

In order to answer Question #2, the themes as outlined by PeaceWomen that are most likely to be referenced in country-specific resolutions adopted since SCR 1325 will be identified, in both absolute and relative terms. As a single resolution may contain more than one theme, this part of the analysis is limited to evaluating the presence of individual themes as a percentage of all thematic references.

Those countries that are most likely to have resolutions containing a SCR 1325 reference within their mandate will be identified, and some explanations that might be contributing to increased saliency in these countries will be proposed.

Finally, the resolutions for the two-year period preceding the adoption of 1325, from October 31, 1998 to October 31, 2000, will be examined in order to determine whether or not the adoption of SCR 1325 has represented a significant shift in the

Security Council's behavior in reference to women in conflict. Resolutions will be searched for evidence of five key words that might indicate that the resolution considers the specific impact of conflict on women. Where resolutions do contain one of the key words, the language will be analyzed for evidence of pillar type using participation, prevention and protection as high-level categories.

Scope and Limitations

The purpose of this evaluation is to assess the consistency with which Security Council resolutions reflect the language and intent of SCR 1325 and the pattern of adoption that can be observed regarding the reference rate of SCR 1325. This paper does not attempt to evaluate whether or not subsequent programming arising from SCR 1325 references is consistent with either country-specific resolutions or with resolution 1325 itself. Such as analysis is warranted but is beyond the scope of this paper.

Also, there are a number of discrepancies and limitations presented by this data, which are outlined in Appendix B.

Background of SCR 1325

The October, 2000, adoption of SCR 1325 came about as a result of several converging factors. First, a wide variety of actors, led by NGOs specializing in women's issues, succeeded in mounting a sustained campaign at the UN to force the recognition of the distinct impact on and contributions of women to conflict resolution processes and post-conflict peacebuilding and, for the first time, these actors were invited to contribute to debates and language in the development of this resolution. Second, Ambassador Anwarul Chowdhury of Bangladesh, who assumed the Presidency of the Security Council in March 2000, and whose ambition was to adopt a resolution under his Presidency, was a key proponent of a resolution on women. However, he was forced to settle for a Presidential Statement on International Women's Day, citing the inextricable link between gender equality and security. This statement ultimately paved the way for the resolution and language that was adopted six months later, at which time two other key proponent of the advancement of women were also sitting on the Security Council: Jamaica, with one of the only the only female Ambassadors to the UN

at the time; and Namibia, which had recently hosted the Namibia Declaration and Platform for Action on Mainstreaming a Gender Perspective of Peace Support Operations.[6]

Feminist theory and other scholarly research also began providing powerful evidence to support both the unique impacts of conflict on women and children, and the differentiated prospects for successful peacebuilding when women are active agents of change.

For example, Carol Gillian's Ethic of Care theory points to the community-orientated approach women use in resolving moral dilemmas and in rationalizing decisions with the goal of reducing harm, even when the action taken involves personal sacrifice.[7] She finds that women are affected in dramatically different ways by conflict than men, and are, consequently, driven by very different incentives to prevent the future outbreak of conflict. Gillian ultimately concludes that women are more likely than their male counterparts to prioritize solutions that benefit the greater community ahead of their own self-interest. Rwandan women, for example, have been instrumental in both leading and contributing to the rebuilding, reconciliation and governance of Rwanda following the genocide that was characterized by sexual violence and which left women representing 70 per cent of the population.[8] While women had very few rights prior to the genocide, including to property, formal employment, and inheritance of their own children, the ensuing vacuum forced women into new roles and led them to demand their rights in order to survive and restore their communities. Grassroots women's organizations banded together to cope with the grieving process, care for one another and for genocide orphans, to educate, empower and help survivors rebuild communities, and to create productive and sustainable livelihoods.[9] UN agencies and state actors have also been very actively involved in developing a compelling body of evidence that demonstrates the distinct contribution of women to decision-making processes and post-conflict peacebuilding.

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[6] Interview with Cora Weiss, President, Hague Appeal for Peace. New York City. March 10, 2009.

[7] Will Kymlicka, *Contemporary Political Philosophy*. (Oxford, UK. Oxford University Press. 2002), pp. 377-385.

[8] Elizabeth Powley, *Strengthening Governance: The Role of Women in Rwanda's Transitio,*. (United Nations Office of the Special Advisor on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women, 2004): pp. 5-8 .

[9] www.duhozanye.org or http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CwRyRMLXTVA

Security Council Resolution 1325 followed on decades of previous milestones, political advances which recognized the importance of a global strategy to advance women's rights. These advances included: The International Women's Year in 1975; The UN Decade for Women: Equality, Development and Peace, from 1976 to 1985; the Convention of the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women or CEDAW in 1981; the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, adopted at the Fourth World Conference on Women in 1985; the Commission on the Status of Women report on Women and Armed Conflict of 1998; and the Namibia Declaration and Platform for Action on Mainstreaming a Gender Perspective of Peace Support Operations of 2000. The March, 2000, Brahimi Report also highlighted the need for equitable gender representation in UN peace operations. The Security Council itself also likely played an indirect role in building momentum through a number of thematic resolutions including SCR 1265 on the Protection of Civilians in Armed Conflict.

But why was SCR 1325 so significant? According to Swedish diplomat, Pierre Schori, "it is not about sex, or about men and women, it is socially constructed role and behaviors that are labeled masculine and feminine that can be, and should be, deconstructed. " "War," he went on to say, is "a gendered" activity." He argued that,

> after childbirth, war-making has possibly been the most segregated of activities along gender lines. Armed forces and military factions are generally male institutions, while women and girls face most risks and dangers. Yet, women are generally absent from official initiatives to end conflicts and their voices are missing from decisions on priorities in peace processes.[10]

The significance, then, of SCR 1325 is that it goes beyond historical perspectives of women as victims, and instead calls for women to be active participants in the resolutions of conflicts and emphasizes the differentiated impacts on and contribution of women in post-conflict environments. Schori emphasizes that SCR 1325 is not an end, but the beginning of the processes that will gradually help to reduce the gap in

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[10] Remarks by Swedish diplomat Pierre Schori at the International Kvinna To Kvinna (Women to Women) Conference. "Resolution 1325 - Implementation in Peacekeeping Operations," Dubrovnik, Croatia. Aug 23, 2003.

inequalities that exist between men and women at all levels of society.[11]

Key to progress in reducing inequalities is the normalization of the practice of gender mainstreaming, ensuring that all policies, programs, and activities are conducted with constant consideration of the differentiated impact that conflict has on genders and on the distinct contribution that women can bring to conflict resolution. Even more critical to the process, however, is ensuring that women are able to exercise equal rights and that they are able to participate in decision-making processes that, at best, can help to prevent conflict from occurring in the first place, but at minimum, can reduce the impact of conflict on women.

SCR 1325 came about at a time of renewed focus on the rights of women, and their participation in society. The Millennium Development Goals included several indicators on the participation of women in society, including equal access to education, and participation in governance. In many countries, there is evidence of progress towards these goals, even if some is undoubtedly due to tokenism.

However, there remains much resistance to the active participation of women throughout many regions of the world, particularly in strongly patriarchal societies. The result is that equalization policies can have unintended consequences. For example, a 22-year old Afghan woman who owned her own construction business, was recently granted refuge in Canada after family and Taliban members threatened to kill her, following the publication of an International Security Assistance Forces (ISAF) article in a local paper, describing her presidential ambitions.[12] Ambitious and ideologically divisive policies have the potential to result in short-term risks to populations in question and could compromise long-term prospects for success. Policies should be evaluated with an understanding of the incremental impacts on the long-term prospects for equality in order to develop more informed interventions.

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[11] Ibid.

[12] Gloria Galloway, "Afghan Woman Given Refuge in Canada." *Globe & Mail*, 24 January 2009. http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/national/afghan-woman-given-refuge-in-canada/article967416/

Methodology and Findings

In order to understand the change in the behavior of the Security Council with respect to women in conflict, the following analysis is broken into two parts. First, the data collected by PeaceWomen in their monitoring of progress related to SCR 1325 will be examined for patterns of behaviour. This data set includes a total of 315 resolutions, which have been adopted by the Security Council since 1325 on October 31, 2000 for the countries identified above. All tables in graphs found in this section have been compiled by the author and are based on information found at the PeaceWomen web site. Some of the raw data can be found in the appendices of this paper.

The second set of data includes an analysis of all 120 resolutions adopted by the Security Council for the two-year period between October 31, 1998, and October 31, 2000. Every resolution for this period was examined for the presence of five words - women, female, gender, girl, and mother - in order to evaluate what type of gender analysis occurred prior to the adoption of SCR 1325. While all resolutions, including country-specific, thematic, and operational resolutions, are included in this analysis, The author will also separately analyze a subset of these resolutions for those countries studied by PeaceWomen. Again, all tables and graphs found in this section are based on a tabulation conducted by the author based on the United Nations Security Council resolutions for the two-year period preceding SCR 1325.

PeaceWomen Data (as of November 29, 2008)

Aggregated Adoption Pattern

This analysis begins with an examination of the behavior observed by the Security Council in referencing SCR 1325 in country-specific resolutions. Of the 315 resolutions analyzed, 108 resolutions contained either a direct reference to SCR 1325 or an indirect reference to one of the themes identified by PeaceWomen for a total of 34 per cent of resolutions containing references to or the language of SCR 1325.

A temporal analysis of resolution adoption rates shows that the pattern of SCR 1325 adoption does not adhere, strictly speaking, to any of the three possible patterns identified above, but appears instead to be a combination of patterns one and two. Generally speaking, an increase can be observed in both relative terms and in absolute

terms in references pertaining to SCR 1325, but this occurred in 3 phases. In the first phase, strong adoption and referencing rates can be observed in the early period following the adoption of SCR 1325 with 40 per cent of the resolutions adopted in the remainder of 2000 containing some reference to SCR 1325, as per pattern two. In the second phase, also consistent with pattern two, a general decline from the early referencing rate could be observed for the three-year period between 2001 through 2003. References to SCR 1325 become sporadic and could be identified in 22 per cent or less of the resolutions adopted during this period. However, a resurgence, in the third stage, in the number of references to 1325 can be discerned, with 38 per cent of the resolutions containing some reference SCR 1325 or one of the themes. Resolutions adopted in 2007 and 2008, up to November, saw reference rates of 64 and 68 per cent respectively. This is consistent with the predictions of the first pattern, suggesting that some factor has occurred to shift Security Council behavior, resulting in more consistent applications of SCR 1325.

Table 2: Change in Thematic Reference Since Oct. 31, 2000

Year	Total number of Resolutions	Number of Resolutions w Reference	Per cent of All Resolutions
2000	5	2	40.0%
2001	27	5	18.5%
2002	32	6	18.8%
2003	39	7	17.9%
2004	41	9	22.0%
2005	50	19	38.0%
2006	57	18	31.6%
2007	42	27	64.3%
2008	22	15	68.2%
Total	**315**	**108**	**34.3%**

Graph 1: Per cent Change in All Thematic References Since Oct. 31, 2000

**% of All Resolutions with Some Reference**
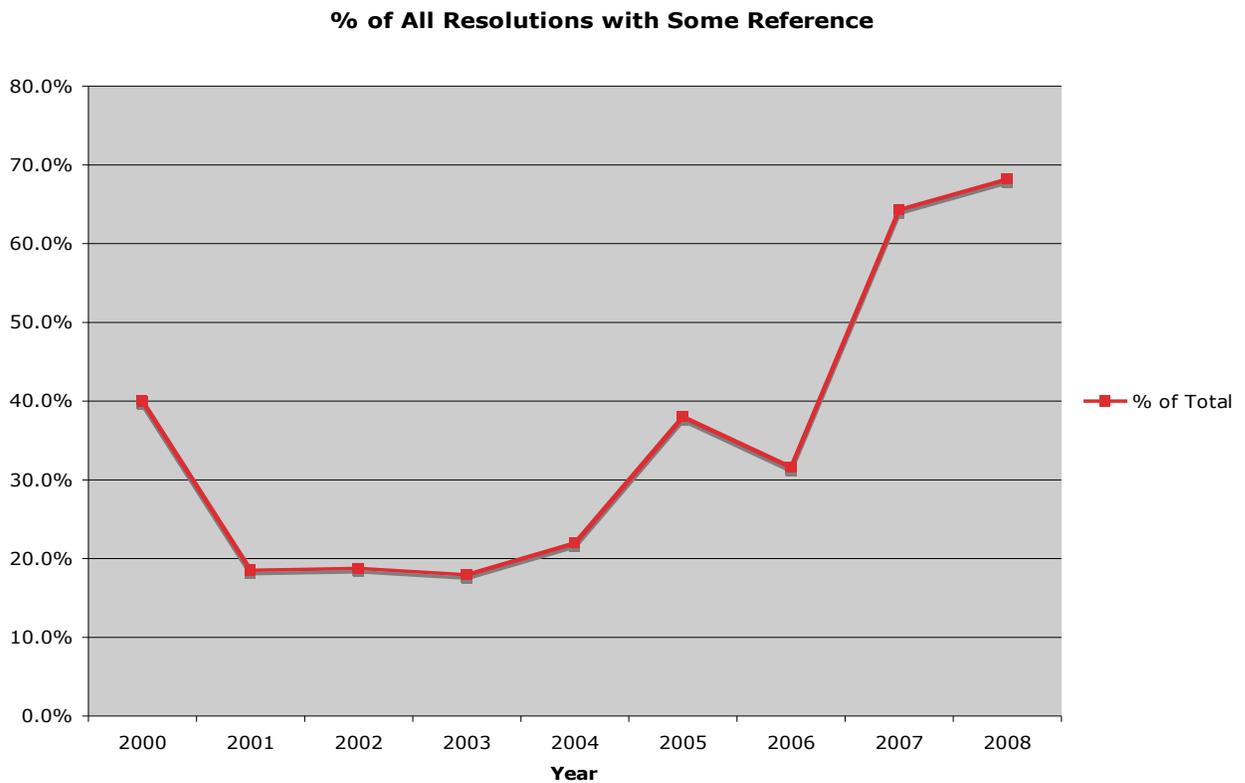
This finding demonstrates that the PeaceWomen statistics tell only part of the story. Overall growth in adoption rates in recent years should be considered an encouraging sign of the Security Council's greater tendency towards gender mainstreaming. Yet, the temporal reference rate also paints an incomplete picture. The nature of the references also warrants further examination.

Specific Thematic References to SCR 1325

This section analyzes the nature of SCR 1325 references, using the thematic categories identified by PeaceWomen. This analysis first begins with an examination of Theme #1, a General Reference to SCR 1325 in the preambular text. It is followed by a broader analysis of the remaining 18 possible thematic references.

In both absolute and relative terms, the frequency of direct references to SCR 1325, meaning 1315 is contained both in the preambular text and in the operational component of a resolution, has risen since its adoption in 2000. Of 315 resolutions, 48, 15 per cent, have included a direct reference to SCR 1325. The presence of a direct reference has generally grown since 2005, peaking in 2007 with 14 of 56, or 25 per cent, resolutions containing a direct reference to SCR 1325. In 2008, however, there has been a decline. While on its own, the decline is not necessarily a cause for concern, 25 per cent is a low rate of referencing and suggests limits on Security Council's internalization of SCR 1325 with respect to the development of resolutions.

Graph 2: Per cent Change in Theme #1 (1325-Specific Reference) Since Oct 31, 2000

Change in Rate of 1325 Adoption
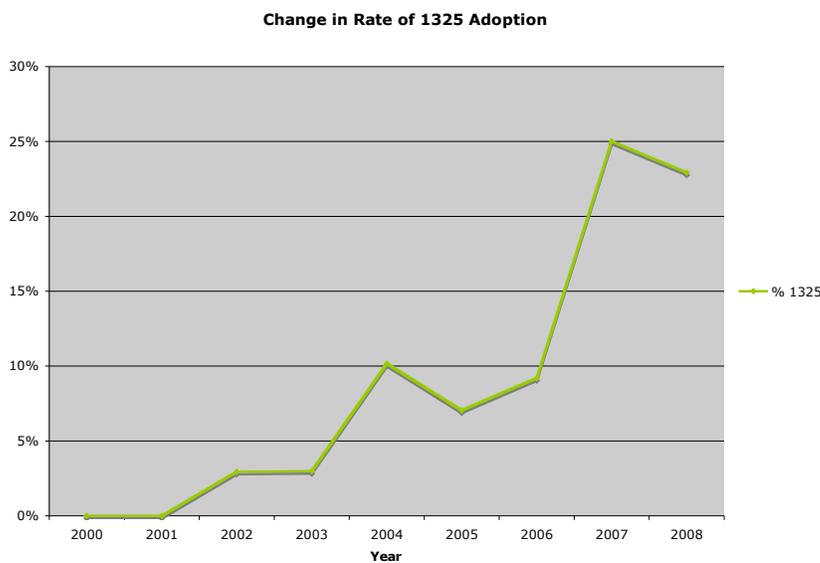
General Thematic References

In this section, themes are identified which are, more and less, likely to be found within country-specific Security Council Resolutions, and the behavior this might indicate. Specifically, this section highlights whether references are more likely to refer to women as active agents of peace, the prevention of violence through gendered perspectives, or to the protection of women as victims of violence. The following table

breaks down the reference rate for individual themes as a percentage of total thematic references:

**Table 3: Number and Per cent of Thematic Reference**

Rank	Theme	# of References	% of Resolutions
1	Sexual Exploitation & Abuse	55	14.3%
2	UN Secretary General Reporting	53	13.8%
3	Reference to 1325	42	10.9%
4	Training by UN Peacekeepers	36	9.4%
5	Sexual & Gender-Based Violence	28	7.3%
6	Protection of Civilians & Humanitarian Assistance	27	7.0%
7	Rule of Law & Human Rights	26	6.8%
8	Violence Against Human Rights	25	6.5%
9	Peacekeeping Operations	20	5.2%
10	Gender Equality & Post-Conflict Reconstruction	15	3.9%
11	Demobilization, Disarmament, Reintegration, Resettlement & Repatriation	12	3.1%
12	Conflict Prevention & Peacebuilding.	12	3.1%
13	Constitution, Justice & Security Sector Reform	10	2.6%
14	Civil Society	9	2.3%
15	Governance & Electoral Processes	8	2.1%
16	Refugees & Internally Displaced Persons	3	0.8%
17	Peace Negotiations & Agreements	0	0.0%
18	HIV/ AIDS	0	0.0%

In general, this analysis finds the themes most likely to be referenced in UNSC resolutions are those either referring to protection of women as victims of violence or to preventative operational matters such as rules and procedures either at the UN or for in-theatre institutions. The category of sexual exploitation and abuse by peacekeepers

tops the list, while sexual and gender-based violence also being found in the top five. Others themes in the top five relate to operations and functions including Secretary General Reporting and the Training of UN Peacekeepers on gendered considerations, which fall under the pillar of prevention. However none of the top 5 themes focus on women in their capacity as decision-makers and peacebuilders.

Resolutions focusing on women as agents of peace, including the categories of governance and electoral processes; constitution, justice and security sector reform; and conflict prevention and peacebuilding are among the themes least likely to be referenced. This observation is of particular concern, given its proactive versus reactive focus, and suggests a critical weakness in the Security Council's ability to internalize SCR 1325 completely.

Graph 3: Change in Per cent of Resolutions relative to % with Thematic Reference

Total Res & Res with 1325 Reference
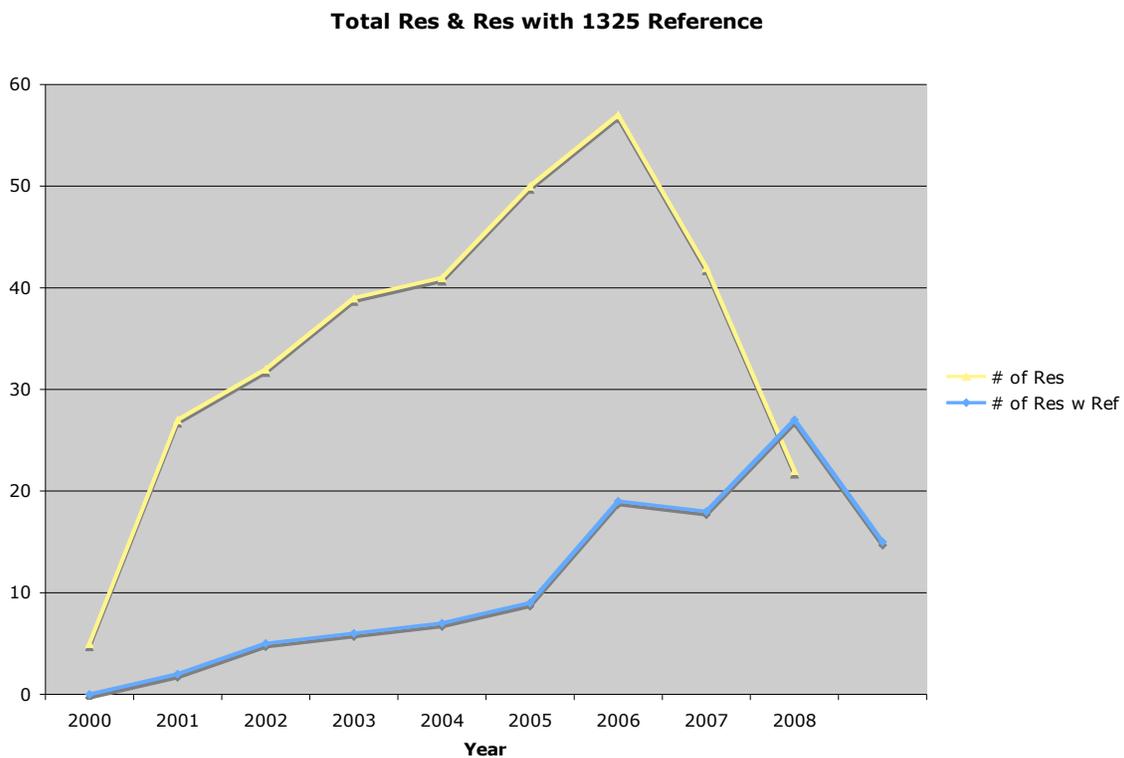
Graph 3 compares the change in the overall number of resolutions as compared to the number of resolutions with references to SCR 1325. Graphs charting of the progress of individual themes since 2000 can be found in Appendices C and D and have been split in two parts due to the large number of themes under analysis. Thematic analysis is measured in both absolute and relative terms.

Country Level Analysis

Every country within this dataset has adopted at least one resolution, since 2000, that has either direct or indirect references to SCR 1325. Eight of the nineteen countries analyzed have resolutions referencing over one half of the possible 18 themes, with Sudan having resolutions reflecting 15 of the possible 18 different themes. There is evidence of a high correlation between the number of resolutions adopted for a given country and the number of themes represented throughout that country's resolutions. Furthermore, a cursory glance at UN peacekeeping missions shows that countries who have adopted a high number of resolutions tend to also be host to highly complex and multi-faceted peacekeeping or peacebuilding operations. This makes intuitive sense since the more complex the operation, the more granular the level of reporting will be on local operations and the more specific subsequent resolutions will be regarding specific elements of a conflict.

There appears to be evidence of a correlation between the number of resolutions adopted by a particular country and the number of resolutions referencing SCR 1325 or one of the 1325 themes. Six countries, Sudan, Sierra Leone, Burundi, Haiti, Afghanistan, and the Golan Heights, have over 40 per cent of the country-specific resolutions containing some reference to SCR 1325 or a related theme.

Several of these countries have particularly disturbing histories of violence against women, including high levels of rape by domestic armies and rebel groups, peacekeeping staff, and/ or have experienced abuse by generally repressive and patriarchal local regimes. These context-specific factors can help to account for the high number of country-specific resolutions in Sierra Leone, Haiti, Sudan and Afghanistan. Again, this makes intuitive sense, especially given the greater saliency to this topic in recent years and the increased number of groups doing data collection in these countries in recent years on these issues.

When taken on their own, country-level results do not tell us much, but they do open an important question worth evaluating: if SCR 1325 is more frequently referenced in resolutions, has this translated into action within the missions and in the countries in question? Answering this question is beyond the scope of this paper, but it warrants on-going analysis.

Table 4: Number and Per cent of Resolutions Reference By Country, Theme Types

Country	number of Resolutions	number of Theme Types	number of Resolutions with Reference to 1325	per cent of Resolutions with Reference to 1325
Sudan	24	15	12	50.0%
Sierra Leone	19	14	9	47.4%
Burundi	10	12	4	40.0%
Cote d'Ivoire	29	12	9	31.0%
Haiti	9	12	5	55.6%
Liberia	29	11	8	27.6%
DRC	42	10	13	31.0%
Timor-Leste	14	10	4	28.6%
Afghanistan	26	7	12	46.2%
Chad & CAR	2	3	2	100.0%
Cyprus	17	3	6	35.3%
Ethiopia & Eritrea	21	3	1	4.8%
Georgia	16	3	5	31.3%
Lebanon	19	3	6	31.6%
W. Sahara	22	3	5	22.7%
Golan Heights	16	2	7	43.8%
India & Pakistan	0	0	0	0.0%
Kosovo	0	0	0	0.0%
Middle East	0	0	0	0.0%
Total	**315**		**108**	

Security Council Data

A search of all 120 Security Council Resolutions adopted in the two-year period between October 31, 1998 and October 31, 2000 was conducted by examining resolutions for the presence of at least one of five key words - women, girls, females, gender or mothers - that refer to women. This analysis found that only 12, or 10 per cent, of resolutions contained one of these five key words. Of these resolutions, only eight were country-specific, as opposed to thematic such as resolutions on refugee camps, and children in armed conflict, or operational such as new UN state admission, and criminal tribunal appointments.

Of the eight thematic resolutions adopted during this time, three contained at least one of the five key words.

Table 5: Resolutions & References Prior to 1325 (all resolutions)

Year	Number of Resolutions	Number of References	Per cent of References
1998	15	2	13.3%
1999	65	8	12.3%
2000	40	2	5.0%
Totals	120	12	10.0%

Of the 106 conflict-specific resolutions that were adopted in this two-year period, only 5, or less than 5 per cent, contained at least one of the five key words. Of these, 73 resolutions referred to one of the countries used in the PeaceWomen analysis. Of these 73, seven, under 10 per cent, contained one of the five key words. Six contained references to women as victims or in need of protection while only one, UNSCR 1270, calls for "gender-related provisions" in reference to the development of training protocols for UN personnel on legal aspects of the conflict, communications, negotiation, and cultural awareness. None of these resolutions calls for the active participation of women in the peace process.

Table 6: Resolutions & References Prior to SCR 1325 (PW countries only)

Year	Number of Resolutions	Number of References	Per cent of References
1998	6	1	16.7%
1999	38	5	13.2%
2000	29	1	3.4%
Totals	73	7	9.6%

This analysis demonstrates that whatever the shortcoming of the Security Council's internalization of SCR 1325, this resolution, nonetheless, marked a significant shift in the frequency of references to women in conflict since its adoption.

Summary and Conclusions

This paper has shown that prior to the adoption of SCR 1325, references to women in conflict were sporadic and inconsistent, and tended to refer to women primarily as victims rather than to the need for gender perspectives, or to the inclusion of women as active agents of peacebuilding. References in resolutions during this time tended to be relatively generic and were not directed at specific actors, thereby compromising prospects for actionable steps and accountability.

The adoption of SCR 1325 does appear to have prompted a significant change in Security Council language and has led to a dramatic increase in the number of resolutions referring to women. In the period following the adoption of SCR 1325, an initial period of growth in references to it or one of its themes was followed by a decline until 2004, when adoption rates began to increase once again. The generally high percentage of recent resolutions containing some SCR 1325 references is an encouraging sign and suggests that gender mainstreaming is becoming more normalized within the daily routines of the Security Council. However, this progress may be primarily attributable to sustained efforts of NGOs such as PeaceWomen, and the various UN

agencies such as UNIFEM and INSTRAW, who have worked vigorously to provide actionable data and to hold the Security Council to account for its commitments under UNSCR 1325. Thus, this does not necessarily indicate that the Security Council itself has internalized gender considerations into operational behavior.

However, a major concern emerging from this analysis is that the themes most frequently referenced in country-specific resolutions tend to refer to women as victims rather than as active agents in the peacebuilding process, such as in governance, peace negotiations, and post-conflict peacebuilding. This point is crucial, given its reactive versus proactive nature, and because it suggests a critical weakness in the Security Council's commitment to key aspects of SCR 1325. This weakness should be used as evidence by women's organizations, other NGOS, state actors and civil society to maintain pressure on the Security Council to fully implement its stated commitments.

The countries with the highest SCR 1325 referencing rates tend to be characterized by complex peacebuilding operations and have frequently been the subject of reports of gross human rights violations. This correlation would be worth researching in order to evaluate whether this resolution language has been translated into corresponding strategies within peace operations and within the lives of women in these countries.

Some countries have managed to turn the extreme violence during conflict as a catalyst to rapidly advance the role of women as agents. In Rwanda, women have moved from having very limited rights prior to the genocide[13] to representing 55 per cent of Parliament,[14] and being represented in significant numbers in most aspects of governance. Another example is Liberia, the first African country to elect a female head of state, which has a UN mission led by one of only two female Special Representative to the Secretary General, and has hosted both the first and second ever all-female UN peacekeeping police unit.[15] It also has a female head of the Security Sector, the Liberia National Police. Recently, Liberia hosted an international Colloquium on Women's

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[13] Powley.

[14] *Women to Rule Rwanda Parliament*, BBC News, 17 September 2008.
http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/7620816.stm

[15] Matthew Cordell, *Unit Commander on All-Female Peacekeeping Unit*, UN Dispatch, 24 May 2007.
http://www.undispatch.com/archives/2007/05/interview_with_1.php

Leadership in tandem with Finland, culminating in the Monrovia Declaration and Call to Action on Resolution 1325. These are but two examples of drastic changes in women participating at decision-making levels, with the potential to influence other countries experiencing similar situations.

Continued evaluation of SCR 1325 progress is needed to ensure that its language and behavior is mainstreamed into Security Council behavior and language, and that this language is not just tokenistic. There are other questions that contribute towards a more complete understanding of progress towards SCR 1325. First, can the factors have contributed to changes in Security Council behavior be explained, particularly the resurgence in 2006 and 2007? Can referencing rates be attributed to specific actors, more intensive reporting, stronger implementation of resolutions in question, or some other factor, for example, small arms proliferation? What, if any, systematic analysis is being done to review the success or failure of policies and programs contributing towards stemming violence against civilians, and in particular, sexual violence against women in conflict? Is it possible to measure the effectiveness of the Security Council's commitment to cross-cutting thematic resolution versus country-specific resolutions?

Ultimately, the most crucial question arising from this area of research is whether this pattern is truly indicative of a substantive change at the UN and in the international community, or whether these developments represent a largely irrelevant exercise in political correctness that enable the UN to plausibly deny its lack of commitment to women and SCR 1325. This critical question is beyond the scope of this paper and requires a more detailed analysis of how SCR 1325 has been translated into action by the UN and other relevant stakeholders, and even more importantly, whether or not it can be seen to be having a material impact on the roles and lives of women in post-conflict countries.

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8. Note: The PeaceWomen Project: 1325 Security Council Monitor - Resolution Watch, which analyzes the resolutions from all countries specified since 1325, has been used for compiling additional analysis on the progress of 1325.
   www.peacewomen.org

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APPENDIX A – NGO Working Group Checklist

Questions on Women's Participation and Gender Perspectives for Drafting
Security Council Resolutions.

1. References to Resolution 1325: Is UN SC resolution 1325 referred to in the
Preambular section and followed by an Operational Reference?

2. UN Personnel in Peacekeeping Operations: Does the resolution call for the
incorporation of a gender perspective into peacekeeping operations and the
establishment of a gender component within the staff of a mission? Does the resolution
call for an expanded role for women in UN field operations among military, police and
civilian personnel?

3. Conflict Prevention: In recognizing the important role of women in the prevention
and resolution of conflicts and in peacebuilding, does the resolution support the
creation and strengthening of non-governmental organizations, including women's
organizations, active in conflict prevention work?

4. Promotion and Protection of Human Rights: Does the resolution establish
mechanisms to investigate, monitor and report on violations of women's human rights,
including gender-based violence and sexual abuse? Does the resolution call for
mechanisms to bring to end impunity for such violations?

5. Civil Society: Does the resolution recognize the important role of civil society in post-
conflict peacebuilding? Does the resolution encourage regular consultation with civil
society organizations, in particular local women's groups and peace initiatives, in the
planning and implementation of its field operations?

6. Disarmament, Demobilization, Repatriation, Reintegration and Resettlement: Does
the resolution ensure that the disarmament, demobilization, repatriation, reintegration
and resettlement (DDRRR) programme upholds the human rights of women and girls—
as ex-combatants as well as associates of ex-combatants - through consideration of their
specific needs and circumstances? Does the resolution ensure that women and girls are
consulted in the design and planning of DDRRR programmes that affect them?

7. Peace Negotiations and Peace Agreements: Does the resolution call for the equal and active participation of women in peace negotiations as well as in the drafting and implementation of peace agreements? Does the resolution call on all actors to integrate a gender perspective when negotiating a peace agreement?

8. Constitution-Creation, Justice and Security Sector Reform: Does the resolution ensure the full and equal participation of women in the process of creating a constitution and developing a new judiciary? Does the resolution ensure that women's protection and participation is central to the design and reform of security sector institutions and policies, especially in police, military and rule of law components?

9. Governance and Electoral Processes: Does the resolution call for the formation of a government, which is fully representative of men and women, allows for the full and equal participation of women in its operations, and respects the human rights of women and girls? Does the resolution call for measures to ensure that women may participate without discrimination in all elections and that women are represented equally at all levels with men in all electoral processes?

10. Reporting: Does the resolution request that the Secretary-General ensure that his report on conflict situations integrate a gender perspective?

11. Sexual Exploitation/ Codes of Conduct: Does the resolution, in condemning acts of sexual abuse of women and girls by UN personnel, call for peacekeeping personnel of contributing countries to adhere to pertinent codes of conduct and disciplinary and accountability mechanisms in order to prevent such exploitation?

12. Training of UN Field Personnel: Does the resolution call for gender training to peacekeeping civilian personnel, including police, and other members of peace and field operations on the rights and protection of women and girls, including on issues related to HIV/AIDS?

13. Obligations Under/ Violations of Human Rights and Humanitarian Law: Does the resolution call for specific measures to strengthen local rule of law and human rights institutions, drawing on existing civilian police, human rights, gender and judicial expertise?

14. Refugees and Internally Displaced Persons: Does the resolution address the particular protection and assistance needs of refugee and internally displaced women and girls? Does the resolution call for the participation of refugee and displaced women in the planning, design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of all programmes providing assistance to refugee and other displaced women, including the management of refugee camps and resources?

15. Humanitarian Assistance/ Protection of Civilians: Does the resolution call for the provision and coordination of humanitarian assistance, and access to humanitarian workers by the civilian population, with a focus on the particular protection needs of women and girls?

APPENDIX B – Data Discrepancies and Limitations

This paper uses the thematic labeling employed by PeaceWomen to evaluate progress: however, their own application of their labeling has been inconsistent. The result is that specific wording of the resolution does not always lead to a corresponding thematic labeling or that a resolution in the country data set is not tagged with a theme but is tagged with a theme applied in the thematic view of the data. For example, under the Theme 'Peace Negotiations & Agreements', the site shows that there are two instances where this theme has been applied to a resolution, both of which involved resolutions on Sudan. However in the list of resolutions identified for Sudan, these resolutions are identified but not the particular theme.

Another example is the theme on HIV/ AIDS. While there are 4 resolutions that specifically mention issues relating to HIV. AIDS, PeaceWomen have not applied their own thematic labels to identify these resolutions within the current reporting. Since this analysis is dealing strictly with the thematic labeling, resolution where themes have been omitted will not be considered in the analysis.

Another point is that PeaceWomen's analysis is confined to conflicts for which mandates have been established under the Department of Peacekeeping Operations. These conflicts are not strictly country-specific. The Middle East, Chad and Central African Republic (CAR), and Ethiopia & Eritrea are all examples of regional rather than country-specific conflicts. This decision also omits resolutions not directly on the mandate of the Security Council including Bosnia, Iraq and the Great Lakes region.

As mentioned above, no analysis will be conducted on frequency of themes as a percentage of the number of resolutions since the one-to-many relationship between themes and a given resolution renders such an analysis meaningless. Therefore thematic analysis over time will be limited to being performed at a thematic level as a percentage of all thematic references rather than at an aggregate level. There are limitations to what information this can yield.

APPENDIX C – Progress of Themes (number)
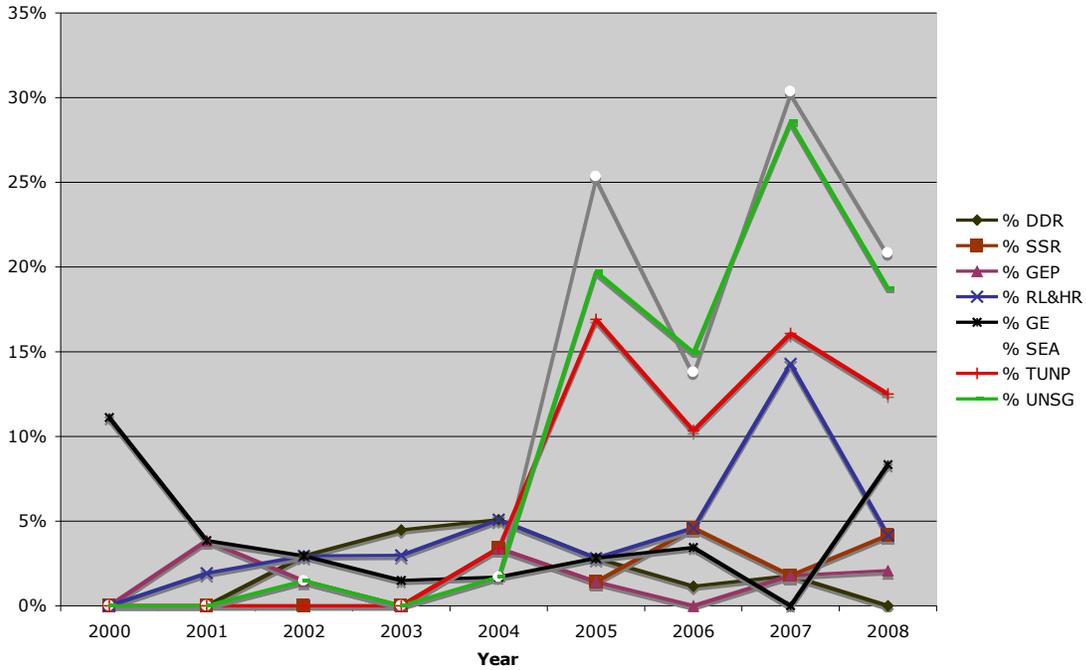
Change in Use of Themes Over Time - Part 1
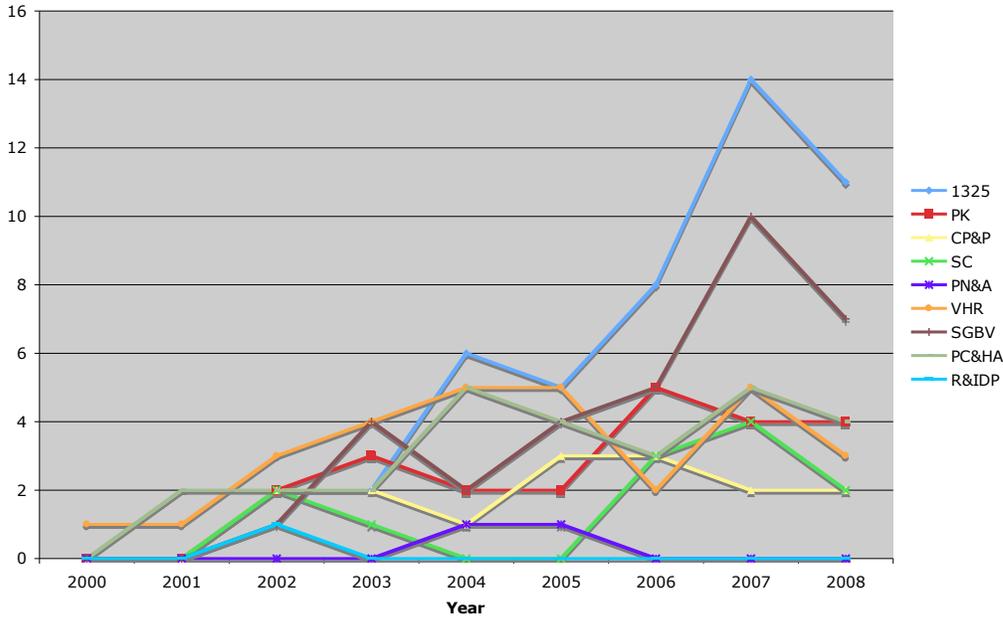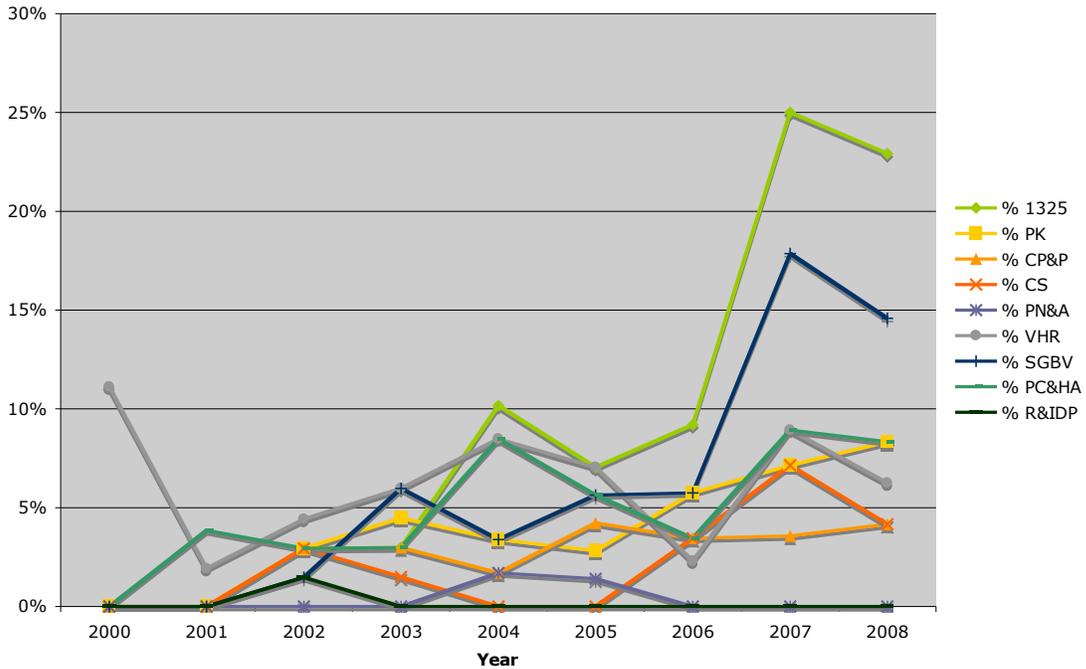

Change in Use of Themes Over Time - Part 2
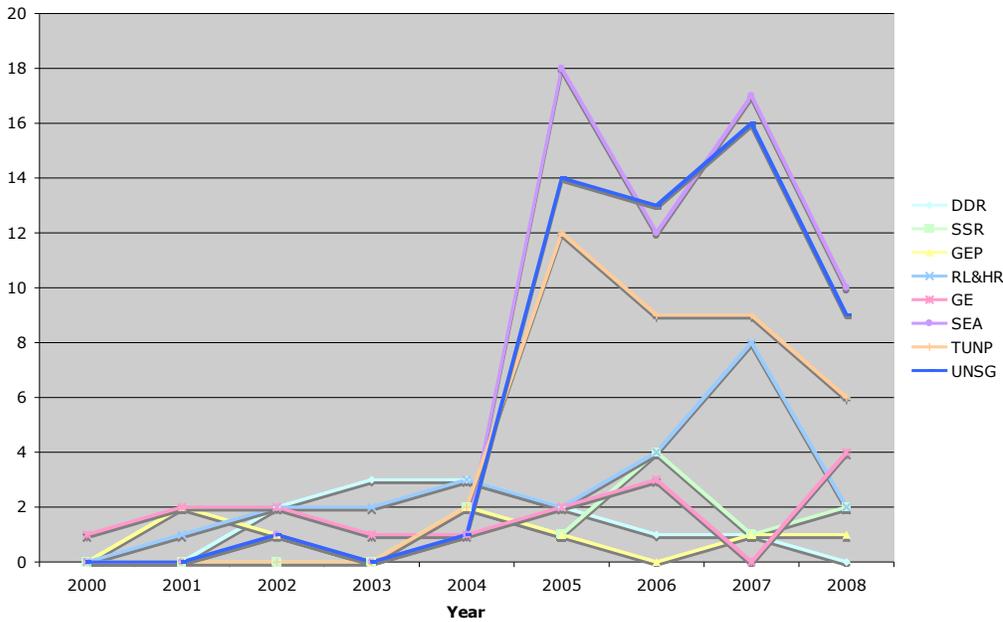
APPENDIX D – Progress of Themes (per cent)

% Theme By Year - Part 2

% Theme By Year - Part 1

APPENDIX E – Number of Resolutions by Country and Year

Country	Total All	Total w Ref	2008 All	2008 w Ref	2007 All	2007 w Ref	2006 All	2006 w Ref	2005 All	2005 w Ref	2004 All	2004 w Ref	2003 All	2003 w/ Ref	2002 All	2002 w Ref	2001 All	2001 w Ref	2000 All	2000 w Ref
Afghanistan	26	12	3	2	2	2	3	1	2	1	2	1	2	0	7	1	4	3	1	1
Burundi	10	4	0	0	1	1	2	1	4	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Chad & CAR	2	2	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cote d'Ivoire	29	9	2	2	5	3	7	0	8	2	3	1	4	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cyprus	17	6	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	0	3	0	2	0	2	0	1	0
DRC	42	13	3	1	6	2	7	1	7	2	5	1	7	2	3	1	3	2	1	1
Ethiopia & Eritrea	21	1	2	0	2	0	5	0	3	1	2	0	2	0	3	0	2	0	0	0
Georgia	16	5	1	1	2	2	3	1	2	1	2	0	2	0	2	0	2	0	0	0
Golan Heights	16	7	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	0	2	0	2	0	2	0	1	0
Haiti	9	5	0	0	2	2	2	1	2	1	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
India & Pakistan	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Kosovo	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lebanon	19	6	2	1	3	1	3	1	2	2	3	1	2	0	2	0	2	0	0	0
Liberia	29	8	2	1	6	2	5	1	4	1	4	0	5	2	2	1	1	0	0	0
Middle East	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sierra Leone	19	9	1	1	1	1	2	1	2	2	2	0	3	2	4	2	3	0	1	0
Sudan	24	12	1	1	4	3	8	3	7	2	4	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Timor-Leste	14	4	1	1	1	1	4	1	1	0	2	0	2	0	2	1	1	0	0	0
W. Sahara	22	5	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	0	3	0	5	0	3	0	4	0	0	0
Totals	315	108	22	15	42	27	57	18	50	19	41	9	39	7	32	6	27	5	5	2
% of Total w/ Ref		34%		68%		64%		32%		38%		22%		18%		19%		19%		40%