## WOMEN, PEACE AND SECURITY

# Repositioning Gender in Peace Agreements

Sahla Aroussi



Intersentia Ltd

Sheraton House | Castle Park

Cambridge | CB3 0AX | United Kingdom

Tel.: +44 1223 370 170 | Email: mail@intersentia.co.uk

Distribution for the UK: Distribution for the USA and Canada:

NBN International International Specialized Book Services

Airport Business Centre, 10 Thornbury Road 920 NE 58th Ave. Suite 300

Plymouth, PL6 7 PP Portland, OR 97213
United Kingdom USA

USA
Tel.: +44 1752 202 301 | Fax: +44 1752 202 331 | Tel.: +1 800 944 6190 (toll free)

Email: orders@nbninternational.com Email: info@isbs.com

Distribution for Austria: Distribution for other countries:
Neuer Wissenschaftlicher Verlag Intersentia Publishing nv

Argentinierstraße 42/6 Groenstraat 31
1040 Wien 2640 Mortsel
Austria Belgium

Tel.: +43 1 535 61 03 24 Tel.: +32 3 680 15 50 Email: office@nwv.at Email: mail@intersentia.be

Women, Peace and Security. Repositioning Gender in Peace Agreements Sahla Aroussi

© 2015 Intersentia Cambridge – Antwerp – Portland www.intersentia.com | www.intersentia.co.uk

Cover image: Kleine Welten V, Kandinsky Vassily (1866–1944) © Centre Pompidou, MNAM-CCI, Dist. RMN-Grand Palais / Philippe Migeat

ISBN 978-1-78068-319-5 D/2015/7849/50 NUR 828



British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data. A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

No part of this book may be reproduced in any form, by print, photoprint, microfilm or any other means, without written permission from the publisher.

#### **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

This book has benefited from the guidance, inspiration, support and patience of many people. In particular Ms Carmel Roulston, who is a true inspiration for me in my life; my husband and colleague Dr Ian Somerville, who supported me throughout this process; Professor Koen De Feyter my post-doctoral supervisor who was an exceptional mentor and encouraged me to publish my manuscript and Professor Stef Vandeginste who has been a constant source of guidance and assistance. I am also deeply indebted to members of the Law and Development Research Group at the University of Antwerp and colleagues at the Centre of Trust, Peace and Social Relations at Coventry University who engaged in lively and stimulating discussions on various aspects of my research. The text of this book has been significantly improved by the valuable input of Dr Paul Hainsworth and Dr Miranda Alison who commented on earlier versions of this manuscript and by the insightful and thought-provoking observations of the anonymous reviewers.

There have been so many other important people who have contributed to the contents of this book in various ways, or supported my academic career and research that I wish to thank. These include: Professor Christine Bell, Professor Monica McWilliams, Professor Wouter Vandenhole, Professor Fionnuala Ní Aoláin, Professor Alp Özerdem, Professor Mike Hardy, Professor Math Noortmann, Professor Ruth Fee, Professor Gillian Robinson, Dr Miriam Anderson, Dr Nicola Pratt, Dr Sophie Richter-Devroe, Dr Fidelma Ashe, Dr Paul Holton, and Dr Steve Ryan.

I would also like to extend my gratitude to the series editor Professor George Pavlakos for his patience in the process of the revision of the manuscript.

Finally, I would like to say thank you to my parents, sisters and brother, and my wonderful daughter Emily Yasmin for their patience, love and support.

Intersentia V

## CONTENTS

Ack	nowledgements			
List	of Abbreviations xi			
List	of Tables and Figures xiii			
Intr	oduction1			
1.	Scope, Approach and Methodology 4			
2.	Structure and Content			
Cha	pter 1			
The	United Nations Resolutions on Women, Peace and Security			
	The Experiences of Women in Armed Conflicts			
	The UN and Women's Rights			
	Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security 20			
1.4.	The Significance of the UN Resolutions on Women, Peace			
	and Security			
	1.4.1. A Gender-Sensitive 'Agenda for Peace'			
	1.4.2. The Legal Nature of the UN Resolutions on WPS			
1.5.	An Outline of the UN Agenda on WPS			
	1.5.1. New Landmarks on Sexual Violence in Conflict			
	1.5.2. An Expanded Agenda for Women's Participation			
	1.5.3. A Twin Strategy for Implementation			
1.6.	Conclusion			
Cha	pter 2			
The	Gender of Peace Agreements			
	The Definition of Peace Agreement			
2.2.	The Sources of Peace Agreements			
2.3.	The Nature of Peace Agreements			
2.4.	The Literature on Peace Agreements			
	2.4.1. Peace Agreements in the Literature on Peacemaking 60			
2.5.	Women, Peace Processes and Peace Agreements 67			
	2.5.1. Peace Agreements and the Silence on Women and Gender			
	Issues			

Intersentia Vii

#### Women, Peace and Security

	2.5.2.	The Significance of Addressing Gender Issues in Peace
2.6	0 1	Agreements
2.6.		er Mainstreaming and Peace Agreements
		Legal, Political and Physical Security
		Social and Economic Security
	2.6.3.	How the Resolutions on WPS Can be Implemented in Peace
	264	Agreements
2.7		The Trouble with Gender Mainstreaming
2./.	Conci	usion
	pter 3	
Ove	rview o	of Gender Provisions in Peace Agreements
3.1.	The C	ontent Analysis Process
		ences to Women in Peace Agreements
		ole of Women in Peace Agreements
		al Pattern of Implementation
		rement by Third Parties and References to Women in Peace
		ments
3.6.	Concl	usion
Cha	pter 4	
	-	Political Participation in Peace Agreements
4.1.	Wome	en's Political Participation in the UN Resolutions on Women,
		and Security
4.2.		oded Provisions on Women's Political Participation in Peace
	Agree	ments
	_	Women's Voting Rights
		The Right of Women to Access Public and Political Office 166
		Discussion on Women's Political Participation in Peace
		Agreements
4.3.	Exper	t Opinions on the Implementation of Security Council
		ation 1325 in Peace Agreements
		Implementation as Political Participation 186
		Women's Economic and Social Rights in Peace Agreements 188
4.4.		usion
Cha	ntor 5	
	pter 5 der-Ba	sed Violence
5 1	The C	hallenge of Dispensing Gender Justice in Times of Transition 196
J.1.		Peace Agreements, Amnesty and the Conundrum of Peace
		versus Justice

Viii Intersentia

		Wartime Sexual Violence in International Law	
	5.1.3.	The Limits of International Law	203
	5.1.4.	Rethinking Gender Justice in Transition	209
5.2.	Sexua	l Violence in the UN Resolutions on Women, Peace	
	and Se	ecurity	212
	5.2.1.	The Approach of Resolution 1325 to Sexual Violence	213
	5.2.2.	The Additional Resolutions on Women, Peace and Security	216
	5.2.3	Limitations of the UN Agenda on Women, Peace and Security	
5.3.	Gende	er-Based Violence in Peace Agreements	226
		Protection of Women from Gender-Based Violence in Peace	
		Agreements	235
5.4.	Exper	t Opinions on Dealing with Sexual Violence in Peace	
	Agree	ments	245
5.5.	Concl	usion	252
Cha	pter 6		
Pers	spective	es from the Field	257
6.1.	The In	npact of the UN Resolutions on WPS	258
		ns behind the Limited Progress	
		The Nature of Resolution 1325	
		The Nature of Peace Agreements	
		The Mediation Process.	
		6.2.3.1. Lack of Gender Awareness and Gender Expertise	
		amongst Mediators	274
		6.2.3.2. Lack of Clear Guidelines for Mediators	
		on the Implementation of the UN Resolutions	277
		6.2.3.3. Other Mediation Problems	279
	6.2.4.	The Resistance of Belligerents	28
6.3.		gies and Recommendations	
	6.3.1.	Raising the Issue	284
	6.3.2.	Engaging Women and Civil Society Groups	286
	6.3.3.	Gender Expertise on the Mediation Team	288
6.4.		usion	
Con	clusior	1	293

Intersentia ix

#### LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AU African Union

AIDS Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome

AMIS African Union Mission in Sudan

ARV Antiretroviral

CEDAW Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination against

Women

COW Correlates of War

CPA Coalition Provisional Authority
CSW Commission for the Status of Women

DDR Disarmament Demobilisation and Reintegration

DEDAW Declaration on the Elimination of Discrimination against

Women

DPA Darfur Peace Agreement

DRRC Darfur Rehabilitation and Resettlement Commission

DSRSG Deputy Special Representatives of the UN Secretary-General

GoS Government of Sudan

JEM Justice and Equality Movement

DPKO UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations

DRC Democratic Republic of the Congo

ECOSOC United Nations Economic and Social Council
ECOWAS Economic Community of West African States

EU European Union

GBV Gender-Based Violence

HIV Human Immunodeficiency Virus ICC International Criminal Court ICJ International Court of Justice

ICCPR International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights

ICESCR International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights

ICTY International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia

ICTR International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda

IDDRS Integrated Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration

Standards

IDP Internally Displaced Person

IGAD Intergovernmental Authority on Development

IGC Iraqi Government Council

Intersentia Xİ

INSTRAW International Research and Training Institute for the

Advancement of Women

LRA Lord's Resistance Army

LTTE Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam
NATO North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NGOs Non-Governmental Organisations

MSU Mediation Support Unit

OSAGI Office of the Special Adviser on Gender Issues and Advancement

of Women

OIC Organisation of Islamic Countries

OSCE Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe

SCR Security Council

SCR Security Council Resolution

SGSR Secretary-General Special Representative

SLM/A Sudan Liberation Movement/Army STD Sexually Transmitted Diseases

UCDP University of Uppsala Conflict Database Program

UN United Nations

OHCHR Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights
UNDAW United Nations Division for the Advancement of Women

UNDPA United Nations Department of Political Affairs
UNIFEM United Nations Development Fund for Women

UNMIK United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo

UNSC United Nations Security Council

WILPF Women's International League for Peace and Freedom

WGSC NGO Working Group on the Security Council

WPS Women, Peace and Security

XII Intersentia

## LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES

#### TABLES

Table 1.	Overview of peace agreements	102
Table 2.	Peace processes and references to women in peace agreements	
Table 3.	References to women and the type of peace agreement	117
Table 4.	The frequency of references to women in peace agreements	118
Table 5.	Involvement of the UN and references to women in peace	
	agreements	144
Table 6.	Involvement of the UN and references to women in peace	
	8	145
Table 7.	Regional involvement and references to women in peace	
	8	146
Table 8.	Regional involvement and references to women in peace	
	agreements	146
Table 9.	Involvement of international western democracies and	
	1 0	147
Table 10.	International western democracies involvement and	
m 11 11	1 0	148
Table 11.	Women in the negotiations and references to women in peace	1 40
T.1.1. 12		148
Table 12.	Women in the negotiations and references to women in peace agreements.	149
Table 13.	Summary of women's political participation	
Table 13.	Peace agreements addressing accountability for gender-based	133
Table 14.		226
Table 15.	Peace agreements addressing protection from gender-based	220
Table 13.	01	236
	violence	
FIGUR	ES	
Figure 1.	Krippendorff's components of content analysis	98
Figure 2.	References to women in peace agreements	
Figure 3.	Peace agreements with highest number of references to women .	
Figure 4.	References to women in peace agreements by year	

Intersentia Xiii

#### Women, Peace and Security

Figure 5.	Percentages of peace agreements with references to women
	by year
Figure 6.	Gender in peace agreements in the UN peacemaker database 12
Figure 7.	The increase in number of agreements with references
	to women in the UN Peacemaker database (1934–2014) 12
Figure 8.	Number of agreements with references to women by year
	in the UN Peacemaker database
Figure 9.	General pattern of references to women in peace agreements 13
Figure 10.	Economic and social issues in peace agreements
Figure 11.	DDR in peace agreements
Figure 12.	Transitional justice and reconciliation in peace agreements 13
Figure 13.	Refugees and internally displaced people in peace agreements 13
Figure 14.	Policing reforms in peace agreements
Figure 15.	Judicial reforms in peace agreements
Figure 16.	Army and security forces reforms in peace agreements 14

XİV Intersentia