Rethinking Peacekeeping, Gender Equality and Collective Security: An Introduction

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Collective security and peacekeeping, one of its progeny, have traditionally been thought to have little relevance to women, apart from providing a means to provide for their protection. Yet it takes only a moment's reflection to see the gendered shape of this thinking, which casts military men and diplomats as the primary actors, and women, often together with children, as the vulnerable potential victims whose defence and rescue help to motivate or even legitimate military intervention – whether forceful or with the consent of the state in question. This gendered schemata continues to pervade laws, policies and practices relating to the maintenance of international peace and security, as seen with the military interventions in Afghanistan and Iraq, which both relied heavily on the rationale of protecting women and advancing 'women's rights' to shore up waning public support in the west.[1] The same rationale is also frequently used to explain and justify peacekeeping and the engagement of the international community in post-conflict reconstruction. Through these means, the well-worn gender hierarchy, of masculine capability associated with strength and female vulnerability connected to lack, is constantly repeated and reconstituted, even in those places where the international community claims that it is helping to construct post-conflict societies that respect and promote women's equality.

Women's peace movements, human rights advocates and feminist activists and academics have struggled for at least the last century to challenge the gendered assumptions of militarism and the precarious security that military thinking offers.[2] Yet it is only relatively recently that feminist analysis has started to impact on mainstream developments in international law and international relations theory and practice. Whether these developments can be read hopefully, as providing

1   footholds for challenging militarism and its gendered paradigm, or
2   whether they mark the cooption of feminist ideas for militaristic pur-
3   poses, is the subject of continuing feminist debate,[3] as also reflected in
4   this collection. For present purposes, the watershed moment was the
5   adoption of *Security Council Resolution 1325* (SCR 1325) on women,
6   peace and security, in 2000.[4] Inspired by the leadership of the Women's
7   International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF), a coalition of fem-
8   inist, human rights and humanitarian non-governmental organisations
9   (NGOs) provided the Security Council with the draft of a resolution
10 that they hoped would play a central role in disrupting the gendered
11 assumptions of collective security discourse, principally by (re)present-
12 ing women as vital participants in conflict resolution and peacebuild-
13 ing; as empowered rather than solely as victims.[5] The efforts of WILPF
14 bore some early fruit with the statement of the then Security Council
15 President, Bangladeshi Ambassador Anwarul Karim Chowdury, on
16 International Women's Day in 2000, which linked peace 'inextricably'
17 with gender equality.[6] It was a testament to the tenacity and creativity
18 of the NGO coalition that, later that year, SCR 1325 was unanimously
19 adopted (a substantially reworked version of the NGO draft) calling for,
20 inter alia, the increased participation of women in decision-making
21 related to the prevention, management and resolution of conflict.[7] Its
22 adoption was especially noteworthy in light of the Security Council's
23 longstanding reticence to engage with NGOs, as well as its institutional
24 reluctance to accept that women might have a role to play in conflict
25 resolution and peacebuilding.
26 Since 2000, the NGO coalition, formalised as the NGO Working
27 Group on Women, Peace and Security,[8] and supportive states have
28 worked tirelessly to hold the Security Council accountable for the com-
29 mitments it made in SCR 1325. They have lobbied to promote dialogue
30 between NGOs and Council members in New York; worked on the
31 ground in peace support operations in partnership with local women's
32 peace groups and human rights activists; and promoted the adoption
33 of national action plans by states that contribute troops and other per-
34 sonnel to peace support operations. The WILPF's PeaceWomen project
35 has also translated SCR 1325 into over 100 languages and produces a
36 monthly e-newsletter to promote its utilisation by local groups.[9]
37 Following the adoption of SCR 1325, the Security Council has been
38 persuaded to adopt several follow-up resolutions, which build upon
39 and strengthen some of its components.[10] Yet these new resolutions
40 suggest that the Council's nod towards women's empowerment in SCR
41 1325 was very precarious. Four of the six follow-up resolutions focus

1   solely on women as victims of sexual violence, and the increasingly
2   concrete measures of accountability that they establish are all directed
3   towards addressing sexual violence during armed conflict.[11] Seeing
4   women returned so quickly to the singular designation of victimhood
5   has caused many to despair, showing yet again that the Security Council
6   and, more broadly, the institutional framework of international peace
7   and security are highly resistant to efforts to challenge their gendered
8   underpinnings. Yet hope has recently been revived, with the adoption
9   of *Security Council Resolution 2122* (SCR 2122), in which the Security
10 Council recognises its own responsibility to ensure the implementation
11 of SCR 1325's agenda of women's empowerment, acknowledges that
12 a 'significant implementation shift' is required and commits itself to
13 organising a high-level review of implementation in 2015.[12] Feminist
14 engagement with international law and institutions is perhaps con-
15 demned to such cycles of hopefulness and despair.
16   While not wanting to discount the urgency of the need to condemn
17 the widespread occurrence of sexual and gender-based violence, during
18 armed conflict and in its aftermath, or to impugn the establishment
19 of measures to end the impunity that perpetrators have enjoyed, this
20 collection seeks to promote a wider view of issues relating to women,
21 peace and security, beyond even what was achieved in SCR 1325. In
22 fact, it is our view that the development of effective responses to sexual
23 violence in armed conflict is itself reliant on a broader understanding of
24 the relationship between women, peace and security, one that extends
25 to fundamentally rethinking the deeply gendered paradigms of peace-
26 keeping and collective security. By bringing together the perspectives
27 of activists, international law and international relations scholars, mili-
28 tary lawyers and peacebuilding practitioners, *Rethinking Peacekeeping,*
29 *Gender Equality and Collective Security* aims to push security thinking
30 and feminist analysis beyond the prevailing preoccupation with sexual
31 violence to promote action on other aspects of the spectrum of gender
32 issues that must be confronted in both theory and practice, if the mili-
33 tarised framework of international peace and security is to be radically
34 transformed.
35   The collection emerged from a symposium, jointly convened by its
36 editors, entitled *Peacekeeping in the Asia-Pacific: Gender Equality, Law*
37 *and Collective Security*, held at Melbourne Law School in April 2012.[13] A
38 wide range of activists, policymakers, practitioners, military actors and
39 academics were invited to participate, in order to encourage debates and
40 connections across disciplinary and professional boundaries. During
41 the symposium participants examined the mutually constitutive role

1   that theory and practice play in the development of feminist thinking,
2   fostering a forward-looking analysis of the praxis required to better
3   understand and realise the nexus between women's equality, peace and
4   security.
5   The starting point for the symposium was to critically examine what
6   the Security Council's 'willingness to incorporate a gender perspective
7   into peacekeeping operations', expressed in SCR 1325,[14] has meant in
8   practice. Against the backdrop of acknowledging the dangers that can
9   flow from institutional embrace of the term 'gender', the hope was to
10 build on the lessons learned so far from feminist engagement with the
11 Security Council's work, in order to identify better ways to realise the
12 transformative outcomes that were hoped for by the original drafters of
13 SCR 1325. Amongst the dangers of institutionalisation is the likelihood
14 that incorporation of a gender perspective is reduced to a technocratic
15 tool in the hands of United Nations (UN) policymakers and peacekeep-
16 ing personnel, seriously diluting SCR 1325's critical political potential.[15]
17 Symposium participants were encouraged to interpret gender as a social
18 construct, rather than merely as a synonym for women, and to draw on
19 their own experiences, and/or the experiences of those living in peace-
20 keeping contexts, of trying to work politically and transformatively
21 with issues of gender. All of the contributors to this collection were
22 participants in the symposium; however, the final text considerably
23 enlarges on the discussions and debates that took place and broadens
24 the view from the Asia-Pacific to focus globally.
25   Engagement with the central terms in the title of the collection –
26 peacekeeping, gender equality and collective security – also binds the
27 diverse contributions together. However, these terms are intensely
28 contested and their meanings continually shift. We have encouraged
29 our contributors to engage with them in a range of ways, both in the
30 substance of their interpretation and the contours of their critique. Old
31 debates are revisited with fresh insights; new debates are fostered; and
32 the underlying paradox of calling for increased women's participation
33 in militarised peace support operations haunts the entire collection.
34 Several of these debates provide the themes around which we have
35 structured the collection: the politics of shame, the continuing hope
36 that motivates grassroots and transnational women's movements, the
37 dangers of institutional cooption, and the damaging silences and blind
38 spots in feminist thinking. Together, the contributors provide a compel-
39 ling picture of the dynamism and diversity of feminist thinking. While
40 the common focus is on the way that gender structures the institutions
41 and practices of international peace and security, there is also acute

1 awareness that gender intersects with other axes of inequality and
2 marginalisation and that adopting a gender perspective cannot, alone,
3 provide the basis for the radical change that feminist peace advocates
4 have imagined, and tried to live, for so long.
5   Ultimately, this is a book about the complexities of the people, laws,
6 policies, practices and events that have so far given meaning to the idea
7 of incorporating a gender perspective into peacekeeping operations.
8 This book is also about the diversity of gender perspectives borne of SCR
9 1325, and about both the feminist and institutional actors that have
10 fostered them. Finally, as a set of critical reflections on post-SCR 1325
11 efforts to reshape our understanding of collective security, the book
12 offers some thought-provoking inducements to rethink these efforts,
13 emphasising again and again the importance of grassroots leadership
14 and participation. Before elaborating on the structure of the book,
15 organised around the four themes of shame, hope, danger and silences,
16 we briefly introduce the three terms that constitute our title: peacekeep-
17 ing, gender equality and collective security.

18
19 ## Peacekeeping
20
21 At the heart of this book sits the idea of peacekeeping: established dur-
22 ing the Cold War as a strategy which enabled the otherwise deadlocked
23 Security Council to authorise the patrol of buffer zones between disput-
24 ing states and the monitoring of ceasefires by third-party troops.[16] The
25 ambitions of peacekeeping remained limited until the end of the Cold
26 War, when it emerged as one of the new sites for possible cooperation
27 between Security Council members. Significantly, this new-found coop-
28 eration enabled the Council to identify many internal armed conflicts
29 as a threat to international peace and security, which gave it the power
30 to act in a considerably expanded range of situations.
31   The more expansive conception of international peace and security
32 had dramatic repercussions for peacekeeping activities, prompting then
33 UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali to identify, in 1992, four
34 types of activity: preventative diplomacy and peacemaking; expanding
35 the possibilities for the prevention of conflict and the making of peace;
36 the implementation and verification of negotiated peace settlements;
37 and assisting post-conflict micro-disarmament.[17] This list soon length-
38 ened to include the extremely ambitious projects of peace enforcement
39 and peacebuilding.
40   Peace enforcement, euphemistically described as 'robust' peacekeep-
41 ing, refers to the Security Council's authorisation of the use of force

1 within a peacekeeping mandate, which was strictly prohibited during
2 the Cold War. The incorporation of authorised force as a component
3 of peacekeeping blurs the traditional distinction between peacekeeping
4 and the use of force, which raises pressing questions about the increas-
5 ing militarisation of peacekeeping. In this collection the problematic
6 nexus between military and peacekeeping goals is examined by various
7 authors, in particular Stephanie Cousins and Olivera Simić. To date,
8 however, Security Council resolutions on women, peace and security
9 have sought to incorporate a gender perspective into peacekeeping
10 while ignoring feminist critiques of militarisation, a limitation that is
11 discussed in Felicity Ruby's chapter.
12   Peacebuilding refers to the expansion of peacekeeping operations to
13 provide assistance in the implementation of negotiated peace settle-
14 ments, which often means the assumption of a longer term role over a
15 number of years to assist with the establishment of legal institutions,
16 monitor elections, train local police and military personnel and build
17 democratic governmental structures and capacities, although the lack of
18 integration with economic rebuilding is highly problematic, as Jacqui
19 True argues in this collection. Contemporary practices of transitional
20 justice may also involve the international community in establish-
21 ing truth and reconciliation commissions and international or hybrid
22 criminal tribunals to prosecute high-ranking officials responsible for
23 international crimes committed during the conflict. Feminists continue
24 to identify the gaps between SCR 1325's call for women's participation
25 at all stages in the transition to peace, and the realities on the ground.[18]
26 Yet, as many of our authors identify, not only does the Security
27 Council's agenda fail to expand options for women's participation, but
28 the woefully inadequate implementation of its women, peace and secu-
29 rity framework has often failed to recognise women's existing participa-
30 tion in the promotion and building of peace, let alone expand it. Laura
31 Shepherd's discussion of 'recovery' as a politics of hope demonstrates
32 the need for integrating strategies into peace negotiations and peace-
33 building that pay attention to gender at the conceptual and empirical
34 levels, as well as in everyday practice.
35   For the purposes of this collection, the term peacekeeping encom-
36 passes the spectrum of peacekeeping techniques and practices, including
37 peace negotiations, peace monitoring, peace enforcement, peacebuild-
38 ing and mechanisms that provide for transitional justice. The chapters
39 range across this spectrum identifying emergent best practices, as
40 well as some disturbing limitations, including the neo-colonial and
41 neoliberal allegiances that underpin these interventions. Undeniably,

peacekeeping in its many forms occupies a prominent position in the Security Council's array of collective security strategies and practices, shaping the everyday lives and future prospects of war-torn communities, promising new hope for security and a life of dignity. Viewed in this light, peacekeeping offers an opportunity to establish sustainable peace, with the assistance of the international and/or regional community, and is thus of intense interest to feminist activists and scholars alike because of the emancipatory potential it presents for women and other marginalised and disadvantaged groups. However, as will quickly become apparent from the contributions to this collection, the transformative promise of peacekeeping is a very long way from realisation. In many respects, peacekeeping demands thorough rethinking if ever it is to challenge the gendered architecture of collective security.

Gender equality

Also at the heart of this book is the idea of incorporating gender perspectives into peacekeeping, as called for by SCR 1325,[19] which we understand as a call for gender equality. This call has been interpreted in many different ways to serve many different agendas, often to the dismay of feminists.[20] As already alluded to, SCR 1325 is commonly interpreted narrowly to require prioritisation of measures aimed at identifying perpetrators of sexual violence and, to a lesser extent, addressing the needs of their victims. While some of our contributors identify measures to enhance current efforts to address conflict-related sexual violence, like Róisín Burke who argues that the human rights obligations of troop-contributing states may be engaged by victims of sexual offences perpetrated by military peacekeepers, most contributors reflect critically on the manner in which sexual violence has been (over) emphasised, especially Karen Engle.

In the limited instances that women's participation has been operationalised within the SCR 1325 framework, it has usually been interpreted to require 'gender balance', achieved by merely increasing the numbers of women deployed in peace support operations. Gender balance strategies have often been derided by feminists as merely 'adding women and stirring', rather than accomplishing substantive structural change. In its most robust form, in theory at least, incorporating a gender perspective means 'gender mainstreaming' which, in the UN definition, requires taking account of the concerns of both women and men in all policies and programmes, and addressing them in a way that has the achievement of substantive gender equality as its goal.[21] The

1 collection challenges the move from gender mainstreaming to gender
2 balancing, while also showing how both approaches can, in practice, be
3 tokenistic and piecemeal. The limited impact of incorporating a gender
4 perspective centred on counting the number of women 'participating'
5 is repeatedly highlighted.
6   In contrast, gender perspectives are engaged by our authors as provid-
7 ing a set of tools that reach beyond gender as a synonym for women
8 or merely a descriptive term. Gender is understood as a critical inter-
9 rogative device where the practices and discourses of international
10 laws and policies are analysed in terms of the analytically embedded
11 gendered assumptions they contain. The goal of gender equality neces-
12 sitates exposing and destabilising these underlying semiotic structures,
13 which also reinforce other hierarchies of power associated with race,
14 nation, ethnicity, religion, sexuality, disability and so on. Contributors
15 also highlight the importance of working with local expressions of
16 gender and alongside local movements for change, rather than impos-
17 ing 'universal' gender norms that may be deeply implicated in colonial
18 histories, as well as the inequitable global order of the present. This is
19 an aspect taken up in Gina Heathcote's chapter that analyses women's
20 participation in the post-conflict community of Bougainville and high-
21 lights the tensions between international and local gender norms.
22   It is evident from the contributions to this collection that, no matter
23 which approach to incorporating a gender perspective into peacekeep-
24 ing is adopted, much depends on the commitment, vision, goals and
25 capacity of those directly involved in its framing and implementation.
26 Every possible method of incorporation runs the risk of cooption to
27 the service of institutional agendas, conversion to bureaucratic tar-
28 gets and performance indicators, being condensed to a synonym for
29 women or, conversely, requiring an end to all women-specific policies
30 and programmes. The project of gender integration will always be
31 subject to forces intent on removing any commitment to the political
32 goals of feminism. In this collection, the possibilities for resisting the
33 dangers of institutional take-up of feminist knowledge are explored by
34 Dianne Otto. She and other contributors reiterate the need to keep the
35 transformative redistributive and disarmament goals of feminist peace
36 activism in mind, as one way to maintain a critical distance from the
37 institutional project of the Security Council and ensure that structural
38 change in gender relations and global hierarchies of power remain the
39 focus.
40   The Security Council's willingness to incorporate gender perspec-
41 tives into peacekeeping also presents new opportunities to promote

1 substantive change in gender relations in post-conflict societies, as well
2 as to destabilise the gendered assumptions of the larger framework of
3 international peace and security. The challenge is how to invigorate
4 this potential and resist the depoliticising effects of institutionalisa-
5 tion. Every contributor offers a thoughtful perspective on how this
6 conundrum might be approached, from rethinking basic assumptions
7 to building feminist modes of participation and service delivery. Chloé
8 Lewis, for example, challenges the feminist and institutional myopia
9 about male experiences of sexual violence during armed conflict. The
10 concluding chapter, by Judith Gardam and Dale Stephens, attempts
11 a 'conversation' between feminist and military perspectives by taking a
12 closer look at recent military innovations that have been, in part,
13 a response to SCR 1325.
14 Throughout, the collection demonstrates that it matters that there
15 is political will at the highest levels, as well as local engagement and
16 support, if the essentialised gendered assumptions embedded in collec-
17 tive security and peacekeeping are to be challenged. The importance
18 of involving grassroots women's groups – which ensures that strategies
19 to incorporate a gender perspective have local cultural resonance and
20 backing, and a future beyond the peacekeeping period – is emphasised
21 again and again. For example, Sharon Bhagwan Rolls' account of the use
22 of SCR 1325 to build a successful women's media network in the Pacific
23 demonstrates the potential of these resolutions to provide a lever to real-
24 ise new projects that build local capacities and foster self-determination.
25 The young WILPF women (YWILPF) identify the need for gender strate-
26 gies to encourage the participation and perspectives of young people
27 in peacekeeping decision-making and activism, particularly those of
28 young women. The issues of endemic poverty and sexual violence, and
29 the tiny numbers of women involved in peacekeeping, arise repeatedly,
30 but from different perspectives and with fresh insights. Despite the
31 many limitations identified, none of the contributors conclude that
32 engaging with the Security Council to promote the incorporation of
33 a gender perspective in peacekeeping operations is doomed to failure,
34 although they all emphasise the project's dangers and the importance
35 of continuing critical feminist analysis and vigilance.
36
37 **Collective security**
38
39 Peacekeeping is located within the larger discourse of collective security.
40 Under the *Charter of the United* Nations (UN Charter), the maintenance
41 of international peace and security is the primary responsibility of the

1 Security Council and its role is to achieve this by engaging states in
2 collective dispute resolution.[22] The UN Charter envisages the use of a
3 very wide range of actions, including voluntary measures aimed at the
4 peaceful settlement of disputes, under Chapter VI of the UN Charter,
5 and binding forceful measures, including the imposition of sanctions
6 and the authorisation of the use of military force, under Chapter VII.
7 To date, collective security has been interpreted by the Security Council
8 as primarily a military endeavour. The UN Charter makes no reference
9 to peacekeeping as we know it today, yet it has become an immensely
10 important component of collective security, using militaries to assist
11 the establishment of the essential elements of sustainable peace in post-
12 conflict societies.
13   The Security Council's women, peace and security agenda sits largely
14 within its peacekeeping endeavours and the resolutions that set out this
15 agenda have been adopted under Chapter VI. Nevertheless, aspects of
16 the agenda also relate to the Security Council's Chapter VII obligations,
17 including its undertaking to take gender issues into account when it
18 imposes sanctions under Article 41;[23] its condemnation of sexual vio-
19 lence as a tactic of war;[24] and its indication that widespread and sys-
20 tematic sexual violence may potentially be a trigger for authorisation
21 of forceful intervention.[25] The reach of the Security Council's women,
22 peace and security resolutions into matters regarding the use of force
23 is a double-edged sword for feminists, as it opens the way for women's
24 rights to be instrumentalised to justify the use of force – which is an
25 irony indeed.[26] On the other hand, it creates a broader canvas for femi-
26 nists to use SCR 1325, and the other resolutions that have followed in
27 its wake, to work against militarism, promote disarmament and foster
28 methods of peaceful resolution, daunting as this prospect may seem.
29   In general, though, the hope is that introducing gender perspectives
30 into peacekeeping provides a niche for feminist efforts to reshape the
31 broader collective security framework by disrupting militarist assump-
32 tions and stereotypes of gender that reinforce inequality and serve to
33 legitimate military ways of thinking, providing a continuing rationale
34 for masculine modes of political and economic governance. In addi-
35 tion, engagement with collective security through the Security Council
36 has created a pivotal location for feminist activism, including many
37 opportunities to refocus collective security towards the realisation of
38 human rights; enhancing local empowerment and participation; and
39 promoting the radical redistribution of wealth, power and resources.
40 Throughout the collection, the tensions between feminist notions of
41 security as guaranteed through peaceful dispute resolution, gender

1 equality and economic justice, and the Council's militaristic approach,
2 are palpable. Thus, the collection sits firmly in the tradition of feminist
3 anti-militarism, redistributive justice and gender-inclusive peace that
4 commenced long before the Security Council's adoption of SCR 1325.

The structure of this collection

8 As previously mentioned, the affective themes around which this col-
9 lection is organised – shame, hope, danger and silences – emerged from
10 the symposium discussions, helping to foster interdisciplinary thinking
11 and provide bridges between different panels and topics. Following the
12 symposium, we decided that these four themes, together, best captured
13 the mixture of enthusiasm, ambivalence, despair and solidarity that
14 the symposium engendered. The use of affective imagery to locate and
15 connect the contributions to this collection is also an effort to resist the
16 separation of deeply felt conviction, which is so much a part of feminist
17 activism and scholarship, from dispassionate intellectual discussion of
18 peacekeeping, gender equality and collective security. The personal is,
19 after all, political. It is hoped that our approach may encourage more
20 serious engagement with feelings and passions, as part of incorporating
21 gender perspectives into re-imagining collective security and its peace-
22 keeping endeavours.

Shame

25 An international system that has no universally applicable means of law
26 enforcement relies heavily on shaming to persuade governments to act
27 according to their international legal obligations. In this sense, shame is
28 understood as productive, as having a political and moral influence on
29 state behaviour. However, in the context of the current hyper-attention
30 to sexual violence in the framework of international peace and security,
31 shame also serves more problematic purposes, which is the subject of
32 Karen Engle's contribution to the collection. Engle is not only critical of
33 the relentless focus on sexual violence as the quintessential harm of war,
34 with the consequent silencing of other concerns that may have greater
35 priority for women (and men) whose lives have been thrown into chaos
36 by armed conflict. She is also critical of the popularisation of the issue
37 by celebrity calls for solidarity with victims of sexual violence. Engle
38 demonstrates this point by examining a UN inter-agency initiative, UN
39 Action against Sexual Violence, arguing that shame plays a central role
40 in the depiction of sexual violence victims, and their communities, as
41 forever damaged and in need, therefore, of (non-damaged) first world

1 global citizens 'taking action', by following the lead of celebrities like
2 Charlize Theron and adding their photographs to the campaign's Stop
3 Rape Now website.[27] She extends her analysis to include the Council's
4 other thematic resolutions on protecting children and civilians and
5 challenges feminists to rethink both the categories of women that are
6 recognised by SCR 1325 and its follow-up resolutions – as victims and
7 as agents of peace.
8   The second chapter, written by Gina Heathcote, questions the
9 peacekeeping 'success' story of the Papua New Guinean autonomous
10 province of Bougainville. Through an analysis of the approaches taken
11 to advancing women's participation by the Security Council's women,
12 peace and security resolutions, Heathcote argues that gender essential-
13 ism is entrenched and that there is an urgent need to learn from the
14 failures of past practices in the next stage of the life of resolutions.
15 Focussing on the post-conflict processes in the matrilineal communi-
16 ties of Bougainville, where it might be expected that the participation
17 components of the women, peace and security agenda would be fully
18 implemented, Heathcote demonstrates the shameful fact that women's
19 already substantial contributions to peace are insufficiently recognised
20 in formal post-conflict political and economic developments. Despite
21 this, she suggests that the recent SCR 2122, adopted in 2013, opens
22 some transformative possibilities. Heathcote argues that the current
23 focus on women's participation needs to shift to addressing the prob-
24 lem of the over-representation of men in post-conflict institutions, to
25 resisting gender essentialism by responding to the diversity of women's
26 lives and to acknowledging the gendered normative assumptions of the
27 Security Council itself.
28   Taking a more familiar approach to shame as a means of persuading
29 states to comply with their international legal obligations, in the third
30 chapter Róisín Burke proposes what is in this context an innovative strat-
31 egy: to shame states into taking responsibility for sexual exploitation
32 and abuse perpetrated by military personnel engaged in peacekeeping.
33 Burke argues that the current emphasis on requiring troop-contributing
34 countries to undertake disciplinary action or criminal prosecution of
35 alleged offenders does not go far enough. Burke proposes, in addition,
36 that the human rights obligations of troop-contributing countries
37 towards victims be engaged. She argues that a state's failure to take rea-
38 sonable measures to prevent sexual exploitation and abuse by its mili-
39 tary personnel, and the failure to effectively investigate and prosecute
40 soldiers accused of sexual offences in peacekeeping operations may trig-
41 ger the extra-territorial responsibility of troop-contributing countries

1   for the human rights violations that occur as a result. Burke draws on
2   the jurisprudence of international and regional human rights bodies to
3   support her argument, providing a useful guide to those who may wish
4   to pursue such a strategy.
5
6   **Hope**
7   Hope is, of course, what has always inspired feminist engagement
8   with international law and politics. Understanding hope as a process
9   interwoven in feminist ethics, and as a springboard for transforming
10   international relations scholarship on peace and security, is the focus
11   of Laura Shepherd's contribution to the book. Shepherd challenges
12   international relations scholars to pay attention to emotion and curios-
13   ity as they have been theorised by feminists, to leave aside disciplinary
14   preoccupations with fear and move to embrace multiple strategies for
15   transforming the discipline. She weaves together insights from feminist
16   poststructuralism, postcolonialism and the study of emotionality, eth-
17   ics and contemporary mental health strategies, to emphasise empathy,
18   compassion and critique in rethinking 'recovery' as a guiding principle
19   for peacebuilding. Shepherd demonstrates the need for a shift away
20   from a case management model – where peacekeeping interventions
21   are top-down processes – which remains dominant in peacekeeping
22   practice, despite Security Council initiatives in the post-millennium
23   period directed towards understanding recovery as a 'process' involving
24   encouragement of bottom-up agency, opportunity and hope.
25   The second chapter in the section on hope is written by Sharon
26   Bhagwan Rolls, the Director of FemLINKPACIFIC, a regional transna-
27   tional network that uses media as a platform to empower and incorporate
28   women's participation in peacemaking and peacebuilding processes.[28]
29   Bhagwan Rolls explains how activists in the Pacific used SCR 1325's call
30   for the effective participation of women in conflict prevention, conflict
31   resolution and peacekeeping as a lever to establish the media network.
32   Her contribution reminds us that the media, in situations of unrest and
33   violence, can make both positive and negative contributions. Access to
34   media production is therefore a vital aspect of any strategy for lasting
35   peace. Her contribution shows how the innovative thinking of women's
36   networks can propel their participation into traditionally male public
37   spaces. Grassroots communication through women's community radio
38   has enabled women in the Pacific to rise to the challenge presented
39   by SCR 1325 and embrace their role as local agents of critical change,
40   raising hope across the region about what women's participation can
41   achieve, within and between post-conflict communities.

1   Stephanie Cousins' critical examination of the implementation of
2   gender mainstreaming by the Regional Assistance Mission to Solomon
3   Islands (RAMSI), in its police reform initiatives, concludes the section on
4   hope. Utilising the findings of the RAMSI People's Survey, undertaken
5   annually to obtain a sense of local perceptions of the gender sensitivity of
6   policing practices, Cousins examines the impact of RAMSI's gender poli-
7   cies. On the one hand, she finds that SCR 1325 has prompted RAMSI's
8   leadership on gender mainstreaming. On the other hand, despite the
9   numerous policy commitments, she finds that beyond recruitment ini-
10   tiatives to attract more women into local forces, many other policing
11   reforms remained gender-blind. In addition, many of Cousins' inform-
12   ants, who worked in various capacities for RAMSI, indicated that people
13   simply did not know what to do to incorporate a gender perspective
14   into their work. Cousins' research highlights an important connection
15   between local perceptions of transitional processes and peacekeeping
16   successes. Echoing Shepherd's call for recovery centred on local agency,
17   Cousins affirms that gender policies must resonate with local cultural
18   norms and foster recovery through active consultative processes. She
19   warns of the continuing danger of misreading gender as merely a quan-
20   titative indicator, which betrays all hope for women's emancipation.
21
22   **Danger**
23   While the feminist strategy of engagement with the Security Council
24   is hopeful, it also presents many dangers for feminist ideas and goals.
25   Dianne Otto argues that the competing narratives of victory and danger
26   in feminist analyses of efforts to engage with the Security Council have
27   turned much of the debate inwards and promoted unhelpful tensions
28   between feminist activism and (academic) critique. Hoping to promote
29   a more productive approach, Otto examines three of the assumptions
30   that are common to the two narratives: first, the selection of the Security
31   Council as a fruitful site for feminist engagement; second, the use of
32   gender as a synonym for women; and, third, the idea that the resolu-
33   tions empower local women's movements. Her examination teases out
34   the larger politics that have been occluded by the focus on weighing the
35   positives and negatives of the strategy. What emerges is a shared narra-
36   tive of 'progress' which is highly amenable to supporting the Security
37   Council's politics of securitised militarism, made more palatable by
38   gesturing towards the inclusion of women as a marker of progress. Otto
39   urges feminists to abandon the 'progress' thread to their stories of the
40   resolutions, in order to advance more resistive analyses that promote a
41   deeper understanding of how transformative change might be fostered.

1   Activist Felicity Ruby, former Director of WILPF's New York office,
2 reflects on what has been achieved since the adoption of SCR 1325. She
3 expresses her frustration that the activism associated with SCR 1325
4 has become fixated on the Security Council, forgetting that its adop-
5 tion and implementation is not an end in itself, but rather a means,
6 or a multifaceted 'tool' as she prefers, to achieve the larger feminist
7 goal of conflict prevention, which includes disarmament, an equitable
8 international economic order and transformed gender relations. While
9 acknowledging that SCR 1325 has opened some doors for women to be
10 involved in policy development, and raised awareness of the gendered
11 underpinnings of collective security measures, she argues that the focus
12 of SCR 1325 activism must be turned towards eliminating the every-
13 day socio-economic causes of armed conflict. Ruby calls for a broader
14 vision of what can be achieved by utilising SCR 1325, and the courage
15 to pursue it. In her view, a thorough rethinking of SCR 1325 activism is
16 necessary to avert the danger of its instrumentalisation by the Security
17 Council and to stay focussed on the long-standing radical goals of femi-
18 nist peace campaigners.
19   Olivera Simić is concerned with the dangers arising from the conflict-
20 ing expectations placed on women who are increasingly deployed in
21 peacekeeping operations as police and military personnel, pursuant to
22 SCR 1325, in the name of achieving 'gender balance'. Simić argues that
23 the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations' primary rationale for
24 promoting gender balance is to develop responsiveness to the needs
25 of local women and, in particular, to diminish the incidence of sexual
26 abuse and exploitation of host country women and girls by (male)
27 peacekeepers. Yet studies have shown that women involved in peace-
28 keeping aspire simply to be good at their jobs of soldiering and policing.
29 Simić argues that female peacekeepers often do not think of themselves
30 as having any special empathy for local women. Nor do they wish to
31 assume responsibility for the prevention of sexual violence perpetrated
32 by their male colleagues. Consequently, achieving a numerical increase
33 in the number of women in peacekeeping operations does not, by itself,
34 translate into gender-inclusive missions capable of taking full account
35 of the complex needs and experiences of women, men, girls and boys.
36 To claim otherwise places those women deployed in the name of gender
37 balance in an impossible situation.
38
39 **Silences**
40 'Searching for the silences' is a feminist methodology that is often used
41 in international law and politics because it can be revealing about where

1 women, and the issues considered 'feminine' or 'other' to the main-
2 stream, are positioned. This final section of the book looks to the future
3 of feminist engagement with peacekeeping and collective security by
4 identifying some of the 'others' present yet silenced by policies and
5 practices, so as to demonstrate the need to include them. The method,
6 when applied by Chloé Lewis to feminist responses to sexual violence in
7 armed conflict and its aftermath, finds a reverse silencing of the experi-
8 ence of male victims. Lewis argues that to focus only on women is to
9 ignore the relational character of gender and reduce its transformative
10 potential. Critically exploring representations of men and masculinities
11 in international sexual violence discourse, Lewis traces three recurring
12 masculine figures: the 'Male Perpetrator', the 'Strategic Ally' and the
13 elusive 'Male Victim Subject'. She demonstrates how these restrictive
14 tropes limit the conceptual, legal and programmatic spaces available
15 to males within conflict and peacekeeping contexts. Against this back-
16 drop, the author explores three possible avenues to build on the traces
17 of the 'Male Victim Subject' in sexual violence policies and practices,
18 and considers some of the implications of each particular pathway.
19   The authors of the second chapter in this section, Sharna de Lacy,
20 Cara Gleeson, May Maloney and Fiona McAlpine, are all active mem-
21 bers of YWILPF, an international network of young women promot-
22 ing awareness of SCR 1325. They argue that the relative invisibility of
23 young women within established women, peace and security policies
24 and strategies needs to change. Compounding the situation, most
25 demographic studies of young people in conflict centre on masculine
26 experiences and cast young women in passive victim and/or reproduc-
27 tive roles. Emphasising the importance of intergenerational solidarity
28 amongst women peace activists, the authors challenge the view that
29 young women cannot be agents of change, arguing for acknowledge-
30 ment of their particular and varied experiences during and after con-
31 flict; and urging that their contributions to building sustainable peace
32 be welcomed and facilitated. The chapter draws on a small empirical
33 study, which documents the experiences of young women peace activ-
34 ists from six countries. The YWILPF contribution to the collection chal-
35 lenges assumptions that young people are disruptive or disinterested,
36 emphasising the importance of actively engaging them in peacebuild-
37 ing initiatives, especially as they often constitute a majority in post-
38 conflict populations.
39   Finally, Jacqui True highlights the lack of connection between the
40 international security and socio-economic reconstruction agendas in
41 peacebuilding. True is critical of the priority that is given to security

1 concerns, which silences the social and economic dimensions of build-
2 ing a sustainable peace that is capable of delivering women's equal-
3 ity and rights. True argues that the present paradigm perpetuates the
4 marginalised economic status of women relative to men, which greatly
5 hampers nation-building and reconstruction efforts. The consequence
6 is further exclusion of women from economic and social decision-
7 making. Taking a feminist political economy approach, she calls for a
8 re-conceptualisation of peacebuilding so that the underlying gendered
9 structures of socio-economic inequality, which fuel insecurity and vio-
10 lence, are addressed. She urges the Security Council and international
11 economic institutions to link security with economic development in
12 peacebuilding, promoting women's economic empowerment as well as
13 women's political participation. Implementing this reconceived frame-
14 work, including gender-inclusive reparations, employment and training
15 opportunities, would go a long way toward realising the substance, not
16 just the text, of SCR 1325.
17
18 ## Conclusions
19
20 Provocatively, the collection concludes with a conversation between a
21 feminist academic lawyer, Professor Judith Gardam, and a naval legal
22 officer on academic secondment, Captain Dale Stephens. Functioning
23 as a postscript, the final chapter is a reminder of the complex and chal-
24 lenging conversations required to rethink peacekeeping, gender equal-
25 ity and collective security, which must necessarily involve militaries and
26 feminists finding ways to talk to each other. Yet military institutions,
27 and the people who inhabit them, are usually hostile to feminist goals.
28 While acknowledging the potential hazards of opening a conversation
29 between these two long-standing antagonists, Gardam and Stephens
30 argue that a better understanding of each other's perspectives may
31 prove fruitful. They begin their conversation by identifying some of
32 the crosscutting themes of the symposium, from which this collection
33 has emerged, revealing some surprising commonalities, as well as the
34 entrenched differences that might be expected. The discussion then
35 turns to a more strenuous testing of the potential for a productive
36 exchange of ideas by focussing on two recent military initiatives: first,
37 the new approach to balancing civilian casualties and force protection
38 in counterinsurgency warfare, as exemplified in the United States Army
39 Marine Corps Counterinsurgency Handbook; and second, the possible
40 advantages of the use of Female Engagement Teams in Afghanistan.
41 Their dialogue highlights the challenges of such exchanges, where the

stakes can be literally a matter of life and death, and thus demonstrates the utter importance of learning to speak to each other, despite our differences.

As its editors, we hope that this collection, in its parts and as a whole, speaks to many different constituencies who have a stake in rethinking the incorporation of gender perspectives into peacekeeping and, more broadly, into the theories and practices of international collective security.

Notes

1. Laura Bush launched President George W. Bush's 'women's rights' campaign in Afghanistan on the President's weekly radio address, on 17 November 2001: see D. Stout, 'A nation challenged: The First Lady; Mrs Bush cites women's plight under the Taliban', *The New York Times* (18 November 2001), p. 4. Starting just before the invasion of Iraq in 2003, Iraqi women were heralded by the US Administration as promoters of freedom and democracy: see N. Al-Ali, 'Embedded feminism – Women's rights as justification for war', *Gunda Werner Institute*, http://www.gwi-boell.de/web/un-resolutions-embedded-feminism-nadje-al-ali-2811.html (last accessed October 2013). Contrast with P. J. Dobriansky, M. Alattar, Z. Al-Suwaij, T. Gilly and E. Naama, 'Human rights and women in Iraq: Voices of Iraqi women', *US Department of State Archive* (6 March 2003), http://2001-2009.state.gov/g/rls/rm/2003/18477 .htm (last accessed October 2013).
2. L. B. Costin, 'Feminism, pacifism, internationalism and the 1915 International Congress of Women', *Women's Studies International Forum*, Vol. 5, No. 3–4 (1982), p. 301; A. Wiltsher, *Most Dangerous Women: Feminist Peace Campaigners of the Great War* (London: Pandora Press, 1985); L. Rupp, *Worlds of Women: The Making of an International Women's Movement* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997); J. A. Tickner, *Gender in International Relations: Feminist Perspectives on Achieving Global Security* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992); and C. Enloe, *Maneuvers: The International Politics of Militarizing Women's Lives* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000).
3. See, for example, D. Otto, 'Power and danger: Feminist engagement with international law through the UN Security Council', *Australian Feminist Law Journal*, Vol. 32 (2010), p. 97.
4. *Security Council Resolution 1325*, UN Doc. S/RES/1325 (31 October 2000) (SCR 1325).
5. C. Cohn, H. Kinsella and S. Gibbings, 'Women, peace and security: Resolution 1325', *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, Vol. 6, No. 1 (2004), p. 130; D. Otto, 'A sign of "weakness"? Disrupting gender certainties in the implementation of Security Council Resolution 1325', *Michigan Journal of Gender and Law*, Vol. 13, No. 1 (2006), p. 113.
6. United Nations Department of Public Information, 'Peace Inextricably Linked with Equality between Women and Men Says Security Council, in International Women's Day Statement' (Press Release No. SC/6816, United Nations, 8 March 2000): '[T]he Security Council recognize[s] that peace is

inextricably linked with equality between women and men ... [and] that the equal access and full participation of women in power structures and their full involvement in all efforts for the prevention and resolution of conflicts are essential for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security'.

7. SCR 1325, paras 1–4.

8. Five organisations were initially involved in the NGO Working Group on Women, Peace and Security: the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; International Alert; Amnesty International; the Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children; and the Hague Appeal for Peace. They have since been joined by: Femmes Africa Solidarite; International Women's Tribune Centre; Women's Action for New Directions; Women's Division of the General Board of Global Ministries of the United Methodist Church; and the Women's Environment and Development Organization. The Women's Caucus for Gender Justice in the International Criminal Court was also a member for a period of time. See further *NGO Working Group on Women, Peace and Security* (2013), http://www.womenpeacesecurity.org (last accessed October 2013).

9. *PeaceWomen*, http://www.peacewomen.org, a project of WILPF. The e-newsletter can be found at http://www.peacewomen.org/publications_enews.php (last accessed October 2013).

10. *Security Council Resolution 1820*, UN Doc. S/RES/1820 (19 June 2008) (SCR 1820); *Security Council Resolution 1888*, UN Doc. S/RES/1888 (30 September 2009) (SCR 1888); *Security Council Resolution 1889*, UN Doc. S/RES/1889 (5 October 2009) (SCR 1889); *Security Council Resolution 1960*, UN Doc. S/RES/1960 (16 December 2010) (SCR 1960); *Security Council Resolution 2106*, UN Doc. S/RES//2106 (24 June 2013) (SCR 2106); and *Security Council Resolution 2122*, UN Doc. S/RES/2122 (18 October 2013) (SCR 2122).

11. The first of these resolutions, SCR 1820, does not establish any accountability mechanisms as such. The second, SCR 1888, para. 4, requests the UN Secretary-General to appoint a Special Representative to provide leadership in order to ensure that sexual violence during armed conflict is addressed; and para. 8, calls on the Secretary-General to establish a Team of Experts who can be deployed rapidly to situations of specific concern. The third, SCR 1960, paras 3, 4, 6 and 7, establishes listing, monitoring and sanctions procedures to enable the Security Council to hold parties to armed conflict, who are credibly suspected of perpetrating sexual violence, to account. The fourth, SCR 2106, para. 6, calls for more timely and reliable information to enable more effective prevention and response.

12. SCR 2122, paras 1 and 15.

13. *Peacekeeping in the Asia-Pacific: Gender Equality, Law and Collective Security*, Melbourne Law School, 19–20 April 2012, an international symposium hosted by the Asia Pacific Centre for Military Law (APCML), in conjunction with the Centre for Gender Studies, SOAS, University of London. Funding was generously provided by the British Academy, APCML, the United Nations Population Fund and Melbourne Law School.

14. SCR 1325, para. 5.

15. S. Whitworth, *Men, Militarism and UN Peacekeeping: A Gendered Analysis* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2004), p. 120.

16. The first operation of this kind was the UN Emergency Force, established by the UN General Assembly to secure an end to the 1956 Suez Crisis with

Resolution 1001 (ES-I) on 7 November 1956. The UN Emergency Force was deployed on both sides of the armistice line.

17. B. Boutros-Ghali, *An Agenda for Peace: Preventative Diplomacy, Peacemaking and Peace-Keeping* (New York: United Nations, 1992), para. 20.

18. C. Bell and C. O'Rourke, 'Peace agreements or pieces of paper? The impact of UNSC Resolution 1325 on peace processes and their agreements', *International and Comparative Law Quarterly*, Vol. 59, No. 4 (2010), p. 941; F. Ní Aoláin, 'Women, security, and the patriarchy of internationalized transitional justice', *Human Rights Quarterly*, Vol. 31, No. 4 (2009), p. 1055.

19. SCR 1325, para. 5.

20. D. Otto, 'The Security Council's alliance of "gender legitimacy": The symbolic capital of Resolution 1325', in H. Charlesworth and J. Coicaud (eds), *Fault Lines of International Legitimacy* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 239.

21. Office of the Special Adviser on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women, *Gender Mainstreaming: An Overview* (New York: United Nations, 2002), p. 1.

22. *Charter of the United Nations*, opened for signature on 26 June 1945, 1 UNTS XVI (entered into force on 24 October 1945) (UN Charter).

23. SCR 1325, para. 14; SCR 1960, para. 7; and SCR 2106, para. 13.

24. SCR 1820, para. 1; SCR 1888, para. 1; SCR 1960, para. 1; and SCR 2106, para. 1.

25. SCR 1820, para. 1; SCR 1888, para. 1; SCR 1960, para. 1; and SCR 2106, para. 1.

26. For elaboration, see G. Heathcote, *The Law on the Use of Force: A Feminist Analysis* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2011).

27. *Stop Rape Now*, http://www.stoprapenow.org (last accessed October 2013). See also UN Action against Sexual Violence in Conflict, 'UN Action public service announcement – Stop rape now', *YouTube* (10 May 2010), http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=J9fg2oHHBaM (last accessed October 2013).

28. *FemLINKPACIFIC* (2007), http://www.femlinkpacific.org.fj (last accessed October 2013).