

## **Gender Justice in Peace and Security Politics**

### **Feminist Approaches and Perspectives in the 21. Century**

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The national as well as the international peace and security politics are dominated by men. Women are widely excluded from decisions-making about war and peace and from negotiations about peace agreements and post-war systems. Dominant security strategies are normally blinding out the relevance of gender relations for conflict dynamics and the different roles and functions of men and women in crises situations, armed conflicts and in conflict management. What strategies did women develop, to break through the „gender blindness” and to achieve that gender perspectives as well as women’s living conditions and views get the adequate consideration in national and international foreign and security politics? What are the possibilities, what are the obstacles and which strategies seem to be promising for the future? The following article will deal with these questions, starting from the ongoing international developments and the German and European security strategies. On the background of the specific concernment of women in wars and post-war situations the article will start out by showing, which role women and women’s organizations and the more general taking into account of gender perspectives have for de-escalation and sustainable peace keeping. Women’s initiatives and activities in different regions of the world will serve as examples in doing so. Then the state of implementing the basic international documents shall be outlined by means of selected examples, that stipulate the participation of women on all levels of decision-making in conflict management and the consideration of gender questions in (inter-)national peace and security politics<sup>1</sup>. The reasons for the systematic disregard for these international requirements will be discussed. The article will close with a discussion of different new women’s political initiatives to implement women’s and gender political perspectives in peace and security politics. Initiatives directed towards German politics will be in the center of the discussion, but will be analyzed in the context of international politics.

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<sup>1</sup> Most important are here the Platform for Action of Beijing 1995 and UN-Resolution 1325, passed in the 4213. meeting of the UN-Security Council, 31. Oct. 2000.

## **On the starting position in security politics**

In the year 2002 there were 47 armed conflicts and (civil) wars worldwide. According to conservative estimations more than 7 million people died in these conflicts. Most of these conflicts are not anymore the typical conflicts and wars of the 19th and 20th century – acts of violence between different sovereign states – but regional violent conflicts between different power and interest groups, that are partly transgressing state borders. The localities where the fighting is taking place have also changed. The fighting is now taking place locally much more than before, meaning inside people's living space, inside cities and villages, that are getting targeted directly. Therefore the main victims are no longer soldiers involved in fighting, but 80-90 % civilians. A specific form are terrorist attacks that are consciously attacking civilian targets and uninvolved people. With the destruction of the World Trade Center and the attacks on the Pentagon in the US this form of militant threat became real for the western world. At the same time it created the legitimacy basis of a new militarized form of international foreign and security policy, that is reflected in the proclamation of the war on terror by the USA and Europe, the US military doctrine of preemption<sup>2</sup> and the new European security strategy<sup>3</sup>. But these concepts were already being developed in the years before. Essential for this development was, that the importance of the military and military alliances became questionable with the end of the West-East confrontations and the whole international system of power underwent major shifts. The USA became the only superpower and the Federal Republic of Germany emerged as a new power factor within Europe. On the background of globalization, "new" wars and the disintegration of states in some regions of the world, especially military men and security strategists started to

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<sup>2</sup> The new National Security Strategy of the United States of America, 28. Sept. 2002, complete documentation of the long version in German translation, p. 6, <http://www.uni-kassel.de/fb10/frieden/regionen/USA/doktrin-lang2.html> (23. Aug. 2004).

<sup>3</sup> A Secure Europe in a Better World - The European Security Strategy, approved by the European Council in Brussels, 12. Dec. 2003.

question the traditional concepts of security in the interest of securing resources and legitimizing their own functions and positions. This led under the term „broadened security” to a new understanding of the traditional concept of security in Federal German and European foreign and security policies.<sup>4</sup>

### **On participation of women and men in armed conflicts and in peace and security politics**

Wars, military activities and violent acts were and are usually dominated by men. This means that the institutions dealing with conflict – armies, (para)military units and militias – were and are predominantly male domains. In some countries like the USA, Israel and Germany women are gradually penetrate these male bastions. Women are also part of decision-making concerning peace and security as members of parliament and cabinets, for example in the USA and Germany. But it is still men sitting in the central positions of decision-making and leadership of this area.<sup>5</sup> For example not a single woman was involved in the peace talks about ending the Bosnian conflict in Dayton 1995, even though the massive violence against and marginalization of women and girls in this conflict was internationally known. Only one woman - from the Cosovarian side - took part in the negotiations of Rambouillet, that proceeded the bombing of the Cosovo. Women’s organization in Serbia, that advocated a non-violent solution, were not included.<sup>6</sup> In the year 2002 not one of the representatives of the five permanent and ten

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<sup>4</sup> At the same time, especially in the context of the UN, the concept of “Human Security” was developed. For a discussion of the different concepts cp. Dokumentation des Feministischen Instituts in der Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung (Hg.), Human Security = Women’s Security. Keine nachhaltige Sicherheitspolitik ohne Geschlechterperspektive, Berlin 2004.

<sup>5</sup> The percentage of women in the German parliament is 29,6 %. In the Federal German cabinet 6 of 14 members are women. But both, the foreign and the defence ministry, are led by men. In the US government only 3 of 14 cabinet members are women.

<sup>6</sup> United Nations – the Secretary General (Ed.), Women, Peace and Security, New York. 2002, p. 64.

non-permanent member states of the UN Security Council, the highest international institution, that is taking decisions about measures for conflict management, like the deployment of UN troops or the approval of military missions in the name of the international community of states, was a woman. Germany, that has a seat in the security council for two years since 2003, is also represented by a man – UN ambassador Günter Pleuger.

International studies show, that the “systematic exclusion of women from official peace processes” has “negative effects on the sustainability of peace agreements“, because “vital voices and interests are ignored”.<sup>7</sup> [Originalzitat nicht gefunden]

On the other hand, whenever women are participating, the quality of the dialogue changes.<sup>8</sup> The reason mentioned for this is the existence of clear differences between the genders in mediation and capability in conflict management, in the way of negotiating and dealing with conflicts. For example women are insisting more on civil conflict resolution and peace solutions in these processes. Due to their different background of experiences they define different and new issues as relevant, for example health, education or property relations.<sup>9</sup> As a result, the outcome of negotiations that were reached or strongly influenced by women were more sustainable and the negotiating parties were more satisfied, for example in South Africa and Northern Ireland (I have no knowledge about these countries)!<sup>10</sup> There is some awareness on the level of power and decision-taking, that the participation of the different groups of a population and social interest groups in political decisions is central for civil conflict resolutions that prevent violence and for reaching a sustainable peace. This was evident for example in

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<sup>7</sup> David Bloomfield/Ben Reilly, Characteristics of Deep-Rooted Conflict, cited after: Bericht über die Beteiligung von Frauen an der friedlichen Beilegung von Konflikten (2000/2005(INI)) 2000, vorgelegt vom Ausschuss für die Rechte der Frau und Chancengleichheit des Europäischen Parlaments, p. 27; Women, Peace and Security (Note 7 – 6?), p. 64.

<sup>8</sup> Women, Peace and Security (Note 7 – 6?), Elisabeth Rehn/Ellen Johnson Sirleaf: Women, War and Peace., UNIFEM (Ed.), New York 2002.

<sup>9</sup> Women, War and Peace (Note 9 – 8?), p. 79.

<sup>10</sup> Sanam Naraghi Anderlini, Women at the Peace Table. Making a Difference, UNIFEM (Ed.), New York 2000, p. 31 et seq..

Iraq in 2003, when the US-American occupation gave great importance to the representation of the different ethnic and religious groups in the newly formed Governing Council of Iraq. However women were excluded from this. Of 25 members of the Governing Council only three are women. But to reach a sustainable women's political influence on the decision-making of institutions, it usually takes a "critical mass" of women, between 30 and 35%.<sup>11</sup> This does not guaranty automatically, that the rights and perspectives of women will be taken into consideration, but it heightens the chances considerably.

### **The European and Federal German security strategies and the gender perspective**

An example for the „gender blindness“ of national as well as international peace and security policies is the European security strategy “A Secure Europe in a Better World” endorsed by the EU in December 2003 and the corresponding new security and defense policy of the Federal German Republic. This policy is evident for example in the NATO mission in 1999, that constituted a change of paradigm in German foreign and defense policy. In December 2002 German Minister of Defense Peter Struck summarized this change of policy in a much criticized and a bit sloppy statement: “the security of the Federal Republic of Germany will be defended, even at the Hinducush”. Unlike traditional military-political security policy the new policy is not about defending ones own state territory against attacks of an external enemies. The new security and defense policy has much more global aims. It is concerned with problems, that could threaten the stability of Europe as well as the Western state system as a whole. The „key threats“ are seen in international terrorism, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, regional conflict, the collapse of states and the organized crime that is developing in these areas.<sup>12</sup> It is stated, that, “ none of the new threats ... can ... be tackled by purely military means”<sup>13</sup>, and that “preventative security policies” [Originalzitat nicht

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<sup>11</sup> Women, War and Peace (Note 9 – 8?); Sanam Naraghi Anderlini (Note 11 – 10?), p. 31-42.

<sup>12</sup> European Security Strategy (Note 4 - 3), I, p. 3-5.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., II, p. 8.

gefunden] should play an important role, but in the center of this politics are “more resources for defence”.<sup>14</sup> Thus a much broader concept of security became the guideline of German and European foreign and security policies. At the same time a new legitimacy basis was created for the NATO and for military interventions. Correspondingly the German army is being reorganized to become a intervention army, ready to react and operate on short notice, and its tasks are redefined, focusing on “international conflict prevention and crisis management – including the fight against international terrorism”.<sup>15</sup> Without any critical questioning the tasks of the military are expanded far into civil tasks and into the field of development and foreign politics. As a result, the border between civil and military activities and missions are getting blurred, without the profile of qualifications of the armed forces being nearly satisfactory for their changed tasks.<sup>16</sup>

This concept of security is euro-centristic and andro-centristic and based on a diffuse understanding of security. It is lacking a clear definition of security, that would imply questions like: Security for whom, on which conditions and on whose costs and in whose interest? It is not based on an analysis of the global causes and interdependencies of the conflicts, that are mentioned as especially relevant or threatening to security. The potential danger to humans in the central regions and countries that are effected by conflicts and potential interventions are not taken into consideration adequately. There is a total lack of criteria to weigh decisions and the perspectives of non-state actors, especially from the effected regions, are not included

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<sup>14</sup> Ibid., III, p. 13.

<sup>15</sup> Defence Policy Guidelines, promulgated by Dr. Peter Struck, Federal Minister of Defence, Berlin, 21. May 2003, p. 16

[http://www.bmvg.de/C1256EF40036B05B/vwContentByKey/N264XJ3A925MMISDE/\\$File/030521\\_VPR-ENGLISH.PDF](http://www.bmvg.de/C1256EF40036B05B/vwContentByKey/N264XJ3A925MMISDE/$File/030521_VPR-ENGLISH.PDF)

<sup>16</sup> The required capability profile comprises “six essential ... capability categories”: “Command and control; Intelligence collection and reconnaissance; Mobility; Effective engagement; Support and sustainability; Survivability and protection”. Defence Policy Guidelines, (Note 16-15?), VIII.2, p. 20.

on a sufficient scale.<sup>17</sup> Accordingly, the relevance of gender relations and gender stereotypes for security and the different threats to women and men in crisis situations and (armed) conflicts are not taken into account. Due to ignoring gender dimensions, standards and perspectives set by men become the generally accepted ones.

### **On the specific dangers for the security of women and girls in war and post-war times**

The exclusion of gender relevance from peace and security policies has dramatic consequences for women and girls. Of all civilians they are probably exposed to the biggest dangers during as well as after armed.<sup>18</sup> In addition to the risks of other civilians they are also threatened by sexual violence like mass rape as a systematic means of warfare and violent abduction and sexual enslavement as a war “booty”.<sup>19</sup> For the women this means an attack on their dignity and their physical integrity and identity, that often brings about the same traumatization as torture.<sup>20</sup> During war this is an

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<sup>17</sup> For this the “Action Plan "Civilian Crisis Prevention, Conflict Resolution and Post-Conflict Peace-Building"", [http://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/aussenpolitik/friedenspolitik/ziv\\_km/aktionsplan\\_html](http://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/aussenpolitik/friedenspolitik/ziv_km/aktionsplan_html), passed by the Federal German Government on the 12. May 2004, that includes a differentiated crisis analysis and a broad concept of security, could be a regulative. However it is also lacking a clear distinction between military and civil tasks and measures of intervention, as well as clearly defined criteria for measures that potentially have to be used.

<sup>18</sup> Sibylle Mathis, Ein- und Ausblicke feministischer Friedensarbeit, p. 111, in: Cilja Harders/Bettina Roß (Ed.), Geschlechterverhältnisse in Krieg und Frieden, Opladen. 2002; Women, Peace and Security (Note 7 – 6?), p. 2.

<sup>19</sup> Bericht über die Beteiligung von Frauen an der friedlichen Beilegung von Konflikten (Note. 8-7?), p. 15-17.

<sup>20</sup> This is not to deny that in wars men as well are victims of sexual violence, as is proved by the reports from prisons in Iraq in the year 2004, where US-American

attempted to humiliate and demoralize the enemy in an especially mean, sexual way. The victor's "taking possession" of the women of the defeated is symbolizing the take over of the land and the defeat of the enemy in a way that is penetrating to the core. For example it is estimated that 20-50 000 women were raped in former Yugoslavia during the civil war in the nineties.<sup>21</sup> These rapes were at the same time a conscious attack on the culture of the opponents, aiming to destroy their internal cohesion. Because in traditional Islamic families raped women are seen "as dirty and a symbol of the shame"<sup>22</sup>, that she broad on the whole family. It is not rare that women therefore commit suicide or flee fearing the revenge of male relatives. As a consequence of war and its immanent brutalization of combatants women also have to face domestic violence and rape by their husbands to a heightened degree, which are anyway still socially accepted or even legitimized in many countries.<sup>23</sup> Men, that return home from war defeated, try in this way to compensate or restore the manliness, that they feel they have lost. And victorious ex-combatants, that witnessed or even committed atrocities and lost all their inner orientation, use women as catalysts for their pent-up, unprocessed experiences. This shows the connection between domestic violence and military violence, that is point out by feminist sciences since a long time. [\(Anm.:einige Literaturbeispiele nennen – das schaffe ich nicht mehr, hierzu die Literatur zu suchen\)](#) Correspondingly the distinction between declared war and peace is, form a feminist perspective, often obsolete. As a consequence of such analysis peace and security have to imply social justice as well as gender justice. Iraq and Afghanistan are examples for this. According to reports by amnesty international on the situation of women in

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soldiers sexually humiliated and tortured Iraqi captives. It has to be assumed, that the effects are similar, but men are not victims of sexual aggression to the same degree.

<sup>21</sup> MaryValentich, Rape Revisited: Sexual Violence against Women in the Former Yugoslavia, in: Canadian Journal of Human Sexuality, 3, 1 (1994), p. 53.

<sup>22</sup> Bericht über die Beteiligung von Frauen an der friedlichen Beilegung von Konflikten (Note. 8-7?), p. 16.

<sup>23</sup> "Women, Peace and Security" (Note 7-6) as well as "Women, War and Peace" (Note 9-8?) reach to this conclusion.



Afghanistan,<sup>24</sup> the basic rights of women are massively violated in vast parts of the country – not unlike during the times of Taliban rule. The personal security of women is under threat, they are victims of sexual violence, forced marriages and abductions. They can not count on support or protection from the side of penal jurisdiction, which is still practiced by men. To the contrary, they are still discriminated in it. The general secretary of amnesty international, Barbara Lochbihler, sees this as a failure of the international community and the foreign institutions and organizations, that support and accompany Afghanistan’s reconstruction process, but, according to her, show an “alarming carelessness” concerning the situation of women.<sup>25</sup> Human Rights Watch gives a similarly dramatic picture of the living conditions of Iraqi women,<sup>26</sup> who experienced during the Baath regime – within the framework of the repressive conditions of the dictatorship – a relative equality and possibilities to participate in politics, the economy and other social fields. Under US-occupation and with the growing influence of fundamentalist Islamist groups women’s living conditions partly became drastically worse. There was a rapid rise in the number of cases of sexualized violence, girls were kidnapped and young women sold as sex slaves. In Iraq as well raped women have to fear the revenge of male relatives again, as they are considered to have damaged the family “honor”. Parents prevent their daughters out of anxiety from going to school. Adult women partly don’t dare anymore to go into the streets, and even less to go to political gatherings. Iraqi Women find help neither by the Iraqi administration nor by the US-American occupiers. (Anm.:Literatur nennen – hier habe ich z.T. Augenzeuginnenberichte gehört, die jedoch persönlicher Natur waren, daher nicht zitierfähig) These reports show, that the traditional understanding of peace and security as well as security strategies and concepts need a new conceptualization under a gender perspective, and that women must be adequately involved on all levels of social consolidation.

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<sup>24</sup> amnesty international (Ed.), Afghanistan. ,No one listens to us and no one treats us as human beings‘. Justice denied to women; without place. 2003, <http://web.amnesty.org/library/index/ENGASA110232003> (23. Aug. 2004).

<sup>25</sup> Barbara Lochbihler, Oct. 2003, during the presentation of the ai report (Note 26-24?).

<sup>26</sup> Human Rights Watch (Ed.), Iraq. Climate of Fear. Sexual violence and abduction of women and girls in Baghdad, New York. 2003.

Equally, the deployment of international peacekeeping Missions to conflict regions do often not mean protection and security for women. The almost exclusively male protection forces encourage (forced) prostitution and women's trafficking and can become part of the problem instead of being part of the solution.<sup>27</sup> In contrast international missions with a high percentage of female staff and a strong mandate for civil and peace consolidating tasks show the highest degree of success. The presence of women was helpful altogether in building up a good cooperation with the local population, in finding cooperative solutions and reducing the risk of sexual assaults from the side of the peace personnel.<sup>28</sup>

### **Involvement of women in peace keeping and conflict regulation**

The exclusion of women from formal levels of conflict regulation is in sharp contrast to the active role they are taking worldwide in the field of civil society. On the local, national and international level women are since years the main actors of resistance against war and armed conflict settlement.<sup>29</sup> In addition they play an essential role in the

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<sup>27</sup> Cp. Bericht über die Beteiligung von Frauen an der friedlichen Beilegung von Konflikten (Note 8 – 7?), p. 17 et seq.; Women, War and Peace (Note 9 – 8?), p. 70 et seq.

<sup>28</sup> Women, War and Peace (Note 9 – 8?), p. 63 et seq.

<sup>29</sup> This does not mean, that women are the more peace loving human beings, or that they are not actively involved in wars and do not also carry guilt and responsibility. Armed conflicts are impossible to lead without their manifold forms of participation. For example they are involved as supporters and providers for the fighters, as nurses and helpers, and through legitimising, justifying and heating up violent conflicts. Sometime they are also directly involved as perpetrators or soldiers of armies and liberation movements. Cp. among others Ulrike C. Wasmuth, Warum bleiben Kriege gesellschaftsfähig. Zum weiblichen Gesicht des Krieges, p. 87-103; Gabriele Zdunek, Akteurinnen, Täterinnen und Opfer. Geschlechterverhältnisse in Bürgerkriegen und ethnisierten Konflikten, p. 143-161, in: Harders/Roß (Note 19- 18?).

consolidation of destroyed societies, in the humanitarian field as well as in the rebuilding of the societies.<sup>30</sup>

In the absence of men many women develop new economical and political skills through their involvement on the national level. This way especially women that were socially and culturally disadvantaged and suffered forms of domestic violence before the war, are experiencing a form of “liberation”. They partly break with stereotype social gender roles and take on new, untraditional tasks in the post war society. An important role in this context is played by NGOs that are engaged in humanitarian aid, in which women are particularly active. For example in Bosnia-Herzegovina many women’s organizations are focusing on qualifications, income promoting projects and legal support of women, especially in the context of experiencing sexual violence.<sup>31</sup> But when men return from war and captivity, many women are pushed out of their positions again and return to their traditional women’s roles. This danger is particularly given, when state institutions and political decision-making bodies continue to be male dominated.

Many women join peace organizations and anti-war groups or establish their own initiatives as a reaction to the experience of war and violence and out of concern for the involved men – sons, husbands, and fathers – and out of experiencing misery, danger and humiliation.<sup>32</sup> Most of them act regionally and nationally and try to reach results through public protests. Women’s peace organizations partly work intentionally with traditional stereotypes of gender roles, like the „Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo“ in Argentina, that got known worldwide in the seventies. Their referring to traditional gender roles in protesting against war, especially under repressive regimes, can be seen as subversive. As the role of the mother and caring wife has a special authority, the

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<sup>30</sup> The “Bericht über die Beteiligung von Frauen an der friedlichen Beilegung von Konflikten“ (Note 8 – 7?) is quoting numerous UN reports and international studies up to the year 2000. The most recent studies on this topic are: Women, Peace and Security (Note 7- 6?), p. 53f. and Women, War and Peace (Note 9 – 8?).

<sup>31</sup> Cynthia Cockburn/Meliha Hubic, Gender und Friedenstruppen: Die Perspektive bosnischer Frauenorganisationen, in: Harders/Roß (Note 19 – 18?), p. 199-218.

<sup>32</sup> For example in “Women, Peace and Security” (Note 7 – 6?) on can find numerous examples in different places.

protest of women who are getting involved out of personal motives, like the disappearing of their men or the forced conscription of their sons, is accepted, even though it otherwise is subjected to massive pressure by the state, particularly during times of war and in repressive societies, or to social rejection. Other initiatives like the “Women in Black”, that first became active in Israel, became the model for women’s protests world wide, for example also against the war in former Yugoslavia and Afghanistan. It is their concept to bring the women of the different conflict parties together for joint vigils.<sup>33</sup>

Other, especially more recent women’s peace activities are also aiming directly at influencing and participating in politics. They relate to the concept of women’s and human’s rights that was developed in the nineties. Exemplary for this is the “Sixth Clan” in Somalia: When, starting from May 2000, the men of five different Somali clans were conducting peace negotiations, the excluded women of the different ethnical groups united to form their own clan. They demanded a women’s quota in the transitional parliament and achieved through massive pressure, that they could at least fill 25 of the 245 seats – almost 10 % - with women of their choice. additional women were voted into the parliament by the other clans. The charter for the rights of women, children and minorities, that was later passed by the parliament – thanks to the women’s and their federation’s persistent efforts to lobby and convince – is considered as one of the most progressive in the Islamic world.<sup>34</sup>

In the nineties the women’s movement and women’s organizations were also working on the international level for the participation of women in conflict situations, peace negotiations and post-war systems under reference to the women’s right concept. Of special importance is the former “Coalition on Women and International Peace and Security”, that was formed after the Beijing Women’s Conference 1995 by numerous well known peace and women’s organizations and that is meanwhile working as the “NGO Working Group on Women and International Peace and Security” acknowledged by the UN. Among other things it composes reports and studies, for example on the state of implementing UN Resolution 1325, which is the most important one in terms of

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<sup>33</sup> Women, Peace and Security (Note 7 – 6?), p. 62.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., p.62; Women, War and Peace (Note 9 –8?), p.78 et seq.

women's peace politics.<sup>35</sup> This resolution is stipulating many far reaching opportunities for women's participation in the area of peace keeping also on the decision-making level and emphasizes the importance of the gender relations for peace-political processes. (schon hier kurz Inhalt andeuten – in einem Nebensatz). But the Working Group on Women and International Peace and Security does not try to directly to exert political influence. It is constituted by the Women's Caucus for Gender Justice, the International Peace Research Association, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF)<sup>36</sup> and others. WILPF is the oldest and biggest peace-political women' organization worldwide. In 1915 about 1.200 "women from 12 ware faring and neutral countries" joint together to form WILPF in protest against the war in Europe. WILPF had national branches in different countries, is "accredited at the UN and its sub organizations with a counselling status ... and is intensively lobbying for questions of women's rights and peace."<sup>37</sup> Essential for the women's and peace-political lobbying in the UN are furthermore two UN institutions CEDAW (Committee on the Elimination of Discriminations against Women) and UNIFEM (United Nations Development Fund for Women). The women's rights commission on is controlling the implementation of UN Convention for the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women of the year 1979, while UNIFEM, among other things, holds women's peace conferences, conducts international studies on the situation of women, supports women in conflict regions in election processes and observes reform processes in the interest of women's rights. They introduced, together with the actors of (inter)national women's movements, as representatives of the civil societies women's interests, perspectives and demands to numerous UN conferences in the nineties. On the basis of highly professional competence and through concerted strategies, elaborated tactics, tenacious lobbying and persistent negotiating skills they enforced women's perspectives and demands in

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<sup>35</sup>Cp. the following chapter.

<sup>36</sup> Known in Germany as the "Internationale Frauenliga für Frieden und Freiheit" (IFFF).

<sup>37</sup> Profile flyer of the IFFF (without year and place)

numerous final documents.<sup>38</sup> For the women's Movement these are instruments, that it can use internationally and in the respective countries to enforce interests and rights.

### **International documents on the relevance of gender in processes relevant to peace and security - pretension and reality**

As the outcome of long years of involvement and intensive lobbying of the international women's political civil society, women in peace and security politics are now able to refer to norms acknowledged by international law that recognise their important role in peace keeping or conflict resolution as well the importance of the gender dimension in armed conflicts and post-war systems.

The Beijing Platform passed by the World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995 was a milestone in this regard.<sup>39</sup> The platform of action emphasizes among other things the connection between peace and gender justice and the specific effects of war and armed conflicts on the living conditions of women. Proposals for and demands to the national governments are formulated, how women can be protected from gender specific dangers in the context of armed conflicts on the one hand and how women's participation in the relevant decision-making processes can be strengthened on the other hand. Besides this demands are formulated on military disarmament and measures to strengthen non-violent forms of conflict resolution. The final document of "Beijing+5" is further differentiating some aspects of the Beijing Platform. It postulates the equal participation of women in all decision-making processes and bodies relevant to peace

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<sup>38</sup> Cp. Christa Wichterich, Zur Transnationalisierung von Frauenpolitik in der globalisierten UN-Arena, in: Feministisches Institut der Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung/Deutsche Gesellschaft für Vereinte Nationen (ed.), "Die großen UN-Konferenzen der neunziger Jahre – eine frauenpolitische Bilanz", Berlin 2000, p. 8-30. The documentation also includes a good overview on women's participation in the conferences.

<sup>39</sup> BMFSFJ (ed.), Dokumentation der Erklärung und Aktionsplattform der 4. Weltfrauenkonferenz 1995. Gleichberechtigung. Entwicklung. Frieden, Bonn 1996.

consolidation and a stronger cooperation with women organizations and NGOs.<sup>40</sup> These documents are the basis for numerous decisions of the UN Security Council, in which he principally acknowledges the importance of the gender perspective for “peacemaking, peacekeeping” and “peace-building activities” as well as the important function and role of women in these processes on the one side and their special need for protection on the other.

The so far most far reaching resolution with regard to integrating the gender dimension, participation of women and taking into account their specific concerns in all areas relevant to peace and security is UN resolution 1325 on „Women and peace and security“ from October 2000. The resolution was passed by the UN Security Council without objections and is, like all resolutions of the Security Council - binding international law. The resolution, that is often called historic, calling on the member states of the United Nations, the parties involved in conflict and/or the international community in 18 points to

- insure that women will get involved more strongly in all questions of peace and security, in all decision-making institutions and processes in crisis situations and armed conflicts, in prevention and civil conflict management as well as in the social reconstruction after an armed conflict on the regional, national and international levels;
- integrate the gender perspective in peacekeeping missions and peace agreements and in the corresponding trainings and training guidelines;
- ensure the protection of women and girls from gender specific threats in the context of armed conflicts and in refugee camps and the consideration of their specific needs and conditions.

For the first time the Security Council acknowledges the essential role of civil society women’s groups in processes of conflict resolution and the implementation of peace agreements. In addition more women should be appointed as special representatives and envoys of the Secretary- General of the UN and employed in the UN’s field-based operations, for example as military observers and civil personnel.

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<sup>40</sup> BMFSFJ (ed.), Frauen 2000: Gleichstellung, Entwicklung und Frieden für das 21. Jahrhundert, Bonn 2001.

At least since the UN resolution 1325 the described exclusion of women of women and of the gender perspective from processes and decision-making relevant to peace and security is a violation against international law. Western countries are no less part in this than the normally traditional, patriarchally organized states of conflict and post-conflict regions, as the example of the state-building process in Afghanistan shows. Considering the fact that the intervention in Afghanistan was, among others, legitimised with the claim to liberate the women from the oppression of the Taliban, the international community of states pushed for the participation of women in the transitional government and in the Grand Assembly Lloya Jirga and demanded a strengthening of women's rights during the Afghanistan Conference in Petersburg. This at least had the result, that in the first Lloya Jirga in June 2002 two hundred of the 1650 members were women, which is about 12%, and that a minister of women's affairs and one other female minister are part of the transitional government.<sup>41</sup> But this women's political intervention of the international community stayed half hearted. In the face of a deeply patriarchal society, that disdains and suppresses women, they would have needed to be followed up with far reaching measures and programs to support and protect women, but these were lacking.<sup>42</sup> As a result the women participating in this Lloya Jirga were massively intimidated by the warlords and some of them lost their work after returning to the places they come from. The first minister of Women's affairs, Sima Samar, gave up her post rather quickly again, as she received death threats and little support from her colleagues in the cabinet.<sup>43</sup> In spite of these experiences a there was no further and stronger intervention by the international community states and donors on

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<sup>41</sup> Women, Peace and Security (Note 7 – 6?), p. 62 et seq..

<sup>42</sup> For example the German Government is promoting the systematic reconstruction of the police and the training of policewomen in Afghanistan, but it does not make any specifications for a corresponding content of the training of policemen and –women. As a result there is, among other things, no qualification on dealing with gender specific violence.

<sup>43</sup> Simar Samar, "Als Frauenministerin besaß ich einen Tisch und einen Stuhl", in: Feministisches Institut (ed.), "Frauen und Sicherheit – Brauchen wir einen Weltfrauensicherheitsrat?" Conference documentation, ed. by Ute Kätzel/Ute Scheub, Berlin 2003, p. 27-30, 27 et seq..



the behalf of women. For example the allocation of funds for the reconstruction could have been conditioned on the introduction of a clause to promote women, as was demanded by international women's organizations. In the following constituent Lloya Jirga January 2004 the percentage of women's went down to 11%, even though the Afghan Ministry for Women's Affairs and international women's organizations demanded a quota of 25%. Again, female delegates, that advocated a modern, women friendly position, were massively intimidated and had to fear returning to their home communities.

That fact that the resolution 1325 is disregarded so blatantly has immanent reasons on the one side.<sup>44</sup> Among other the resolution does not include any concrete specifications for implementation. Exact specifications of times and numbers, to measure an adequate participation of women, are lacking. This way room for interpretation is given, and, depending on the gender relations of the respective member states of the UN, it is interpreted quite differently. The Secretary-General has the right to review the implementation of the resolution and to allocate studies and usually, on the anniversary of the resolution, presents the results to security council on the basis of studies and reports of the UN member states. But in doing so the – relatively small – progresses are emphasized and even if deficits and violations are pointed out, it has no consequences. There are no sanctions for the disregard or violation of the resolution. The security council also does not make use of another instrument: creating incentives in the form of higher material, financial and personnel support or generally conditioning allocation of resources on noticeable and defined progresses in taking gender relations into consideration. In addition the Secretary-General is not even implementing those requirements, that are directly addressed to himself, like appointing more women as special representatives and envoys or providing guidelines and material on the rights and importance of women's participation in peace keeping and consolidation to the member states for training and further education. There are also no provided for supporting programs. This also points to the deeper causes. Foreign and security politics belong to the central fields of power politics and as such are especially resistant male

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<sup>44</sup> It is not possible in this place, to go deeper into the principle problem of acceptance and implementation of decisions that are binding in international law and the question of necessary reforms of the UN.

domains, in which the gap between proclamation and realization of women's and human rights is particularly big. Social scientist Christa Wichterich is reaching to the same conclusion in her analysis of the UN conferences of the 1990s from a feminist perspective:

"... *opportunity windows* and spaces for negotiation are less open the harder the resorts and fields of politics are, i.e. the closer they are to the power cartel of finance, economy, security and conventional foreign politics, the so called *High politics*."<sup>45</sup>

### **Women's political approaches of peace keeping and conflict regulation in the 21. century**

Women's political and feminist peace and security political activities increased worldwide since the beginning of this century - on the background of increasing militarization of the (inter)national peace and security policies on the one hand and the more then hesitant implementation of women's political relevant documents of the international UN conferences of the nineties and the resolution 1325 on the other hand. Within this development one has to notice a trans-national communication and cooperation between the actors of different generations and between the representatives of different women's political approaches. They are incorporating the new socio-political developments as well as the discussions and experiences of the nineties into their plans of action. These are characterized by the realization that the international lobby work of women in the context of the UN – not withstanding their successes – was binding considerable power and energies and led to a de-radicalisation of political ideas and demands.<sup>46</sup> Also there was not much exchange between the international actors on the one side and the local and national actors on the other, with the result that the content

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<sup>45</sup> Christa Wichterich, Zur Transnationalisierung von Frauenpolitik in der globalisierten UN-Arena, in: Feministisches Institut in der Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung (Note 39 - 38), p. 8-30.

<sup>46</sup> Cp. among others [Christa Wichterich, \*ibid.\*](#)

of the conferences and the UN resolution 1325 as well as the work of women's political UN institutions like CEDAW and UNIFEM were hardly known to regional and grassroots orientated women's peace organisations. Therefore existing and newly established organizations and groups are now trying to improve the networking between the local, national and the international level, and give more importance to the local and national field of activity again. For example WLPF initiated the project *Peace Women* to convey the content of the UN resolution 1325. All information on the resolution is combined on a special web page<sup>47</sup>. The initiative is aiming to support local NGOs in enforcing their demands and pressuring their respective governments, to implement the resolution

A broad networking and cooperation between different women's political activities and organizations took place in the Federal Republic of Germany as well. With the participation of peace-political experts from other European and non-European countries the "Women's World Security Council in the Course of Formation" was opened in September 2002 as a first concrete field of activity. It is aiming to combine the regional women's peace-political activities all over the world and to give it a voice and influence internationally, also on the level of the UN, and to build up a counter weight to the existing male dominated UN institutions, especially the UN Security Council. In doing so special importance is given to an equal participation of the countries in the South. Even though this visionary approach was met nationally as internationally with much positive response, it was not advanced in a systematic way so far out of a lack of personnel and material resources.<sup>48</sup>

The German Women's Security Council (FSR) developed a more pragmatic concept for activities under the impression of this experience. It was founded in 2003 as an union of women experts working in the field of women's, peace, development and human rights politics and organisations, in science and political foundations. It is focused on the national field of activity of peace and security politics. Its aim is to adequately enforce gender perspectives, especially the specific living conditions of

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<sup>47</sup> [www.peacewomen.org](http://www.peacewomen.org)

<sup>48</sup> The debate on the idea and the approach of a Women's World Security Council is outlined in "Frauen und Sicherheit. Brauchen wir einen Weltfrauensicherheitsrat?" (Note 45-43?).

women, at least in the frame work of German foreign and UN-politics. In the face of gender deficits of the German as well as the international security politics, the FSR made it its concrete task, to accompany the federal government during its two years term in the UN Security Council with advise and critical analysis. The foremost aim is to give impulses to implement the UN resolution 1325 in war and crisis regions.

Learning from the international experiences of women's peace political lobby politics, it is focusing from the beginning on three levels:

- taking direct influence on the German security politics,
- public information and action,
- sustainable networking and cooperation of active women, organizations and groups in the field of peace and security politics.

Correspondingly the target groups are not only politicians and political institutions (Federal Government, the German parliament and diplomacy), but also science (especially research on peace and conflict) and the public, especially NGOs and the media. A ten women steering group, that is at the same time mirroring the variety of participants and their manifold competences,<sup>49</sup> is organizing and coordinating the activities. The FSR's main focuses of work are:

- Developing a catalogue of criteria for evaluating the implementation of UN resolution 1325 and precise definitions of unclear requirements like an "increase" in the participation of women;
- More precise or new definitions of „security“ and „peace“ with reference to the debate on “human security” and "broader" concepts of security, in order to take into account the specific threats to women in war and post-war times and the violent social conditions in an adequate way.

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<sup>49</sup> Represented are: the *Women's International League for Peace and Freedom* (WILPF), the *Plattform Zivile Konfliktbearbeitung* (Platform for Civil Conflict Resolution), the *Bonn International Center for Conversion* (BICC), Friederich-Ebert-Foundation, Heinrich-Böll-Foundation, UNIFEM, *Frauenaktion Sheherazade* (Women's Action Scheherazade), *Frauennetzwerk für Frieden* (Women's Network for Peace) and two independent women.

- Developing a gender index for the fields of foreign and security politics, that includes among other things criteria for a gender sensitive concept of security and for judging violence against women and the participation of women in military and civil missions and in processes of democratisation.
- A gender specific evaluation of missions to conflict regions and developing a gender sensitive catalogue of criteria for civil missions;
- A critical analysis of the activities of the German government in this field. Kritische Analyse der Aktivitäten der Bundesregierung in diesem Arbeitsfeld.

The FSR successfully started a dialogue with leading politicians, especially in the Federal Foreign Office and the Ministry for Development. Its first concrete initiative was aimed at promoting an adequate participation of women in the reconstruction processes in Iraq and Afghanistan and the assertion of their rights. Among others the FSR developed a detailed catalogue of measures for an adequate integration of Iraqi women in decision-making in the post-war order and for monitoring the post-war process. This catalogue was directed to the German Federal Government with the urgent request to promote its implementation in the UN Security Council. In addition it presented a "Plan of action for the accelerated implementation of resolution 1325" with proposals for concrete formulations of aims and measures. To further develop their own competences and to reach an expert and media public, the FSR conducted, in cooperation with other organizations, a symposia for experts and public discussions on central questions.<sup>50</sup> The FSR also made a post card campaign to reach out to the broader public for a comprehensive support in demanding the immediate implementation of UN resolution 1325.

The foundation of the FSR was greeted by positive reactions, even from the side of the government. But its first evaluation on the occasion of one year of German representation in the UN Security Council was ambivalent: The relatively high degree of publicity and the broad support of NGOs as well as the demand of FSR's expertise show, that there is a need for this institution and that the FSR was successful in its

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<sup>50</sup> For example "Women's rights in Muslim societies", 12. Sept. 2003; and "Human Security = Women's Security. No sustainable security without gender perspective", 24./25. Oct. 2003, in cooperation with the Feminist Institute of the Heinrich-Böll-Foundation and others.

public relation work and networking. However, the impulses for the implementation of the UN resolution 1325 proved not to be very effective in spite of the government's declared interest to cooperate. Up till now there were no steps beyond the general declaration of willingness to take UN resolution 1325 into consideration. The FSR's more far reaching initiatives for its realization were met with reservations. This confirms the necessity of the FSR's double strategy: Lobbying the government on the one side and increasing the pressure through carefully directed public relations and networking. At the same time this exposes the gap between proclamations and implementations of demands for gender justice in the male domain of foreign and security politics.

A connection between a worldwide operating range and regional fields of activity within a clearly limited time frame is also the aim of a project that was developed 2003 mainly by female politicians and scientists in Switzerland: *1000 Women for the Nobel Peace Prize 2005*. Their starting point is that, since 1901, only 11 [12 laut der webpage, H:N] women but 80 men and 20 organizations received the Nobel Peace Prize. The central aim of the project is to make visible and honor the work and "the outstanding role and strategies of women for sustainable peace work" and the „peace promoting effect of their courageous and steady activity for their villages, countries and cultures“ [Originalzitat nicht gefunden] and thus to make a contribution to promoting peace.<sup>51</sup> 1000 women from all regions of the world shall be nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize 2005 and collectively honored in accordance with an elaborated and detailed process of nomination and a corresponding catalogue of criteria. 19 coordinators from all regions of the world and different cultures and social backgrounds are responsible to search for the 1000 women. The project is hosted by the Swiss peace foundation *swisspeace* and is supposed to be evaluated scientifically in the interest of gaining further knowledge for conflict research and peace politics. It is partly financed by the EDA (Swiss Federal Department of Foreign Affairs), but still depending on broad financial support, that shall be reached through the sale of „peace shares“ and other measures. The positive reaction and the support that the project is receiving worldwide shows, that a adequate representation of women in the realm of international conflict management and peace

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<sup>51</sup> Informationsmaterialien "1000 Frauen für den Friedensnobelpreis", <http://www.1000peacewomen.org> (23. Aug. 2004).

politics as well as the institutionalization of women's political approaches in peace and conflict work are on the political agenda.

## **Summary**

National and international peace and security politics is a male domain that is especially resistant against gender justice. However, women's political approaches for acute crisis and post-war situations and the massive pressure of women's political federations have considerable success concerning the participation of women and the integration of their perspectives, especially on the national and regional levels. But the systematic implementation of the already achieved decisions in this field, that are binding in international law, did still not happen. Violations against these stipulations are still a daily occurrence. At the beginning on the 21. century, on the background of increasing militarization of international politics, this has the result, that in the conflict and crisis regions of this world as well as in other regions – including Germany – women, women's organizations and interest lobbies are more and more insisting on their right to political participation and are testing new strategies to realize their rights. The awareness about specific forms of violence against women and girls in war times has increased. In addition there is a broad problematization of the security concept that is formulated in current mainstream policies. Women's political federations and organizations working on the implementation of gender orientated peace and security politics and on the visibility and participation of women are, as a consequence of the experiences made in the nineties, especially in international lobby work, backing a multiple strategy:

- influencing the politics of national governments and international organizations,
- connecting national and international networking and cooperation with regional organizations and groups,
- building up pressure through public relations with different target groups: NGOs and groups of experts, media and the broader public.

To this aim they develop new women's political forms of organization and networks, whose work is characterized by a systematic built up of the own competences, high professionalism, the development of own fields of activity and strategies of

empowerment. This implies the confrontation with dominant theories, policies, concepts and definitions from a feministic perspective, apart from the development of own theories and questions. On this basis gender differentiated approaches and alternatives can be highlighted and the dominant power of definition can be challenged. On the current agenda is, among other things,

- the questioning of an implicit and explicit understanding of security and peace in current policies and security concepts from a gender perspective and the development of alternatives; the identification of risks for security and peace and the importance of gender and gender relations in the discourse on security politics;
- scrutinizing innovative approaches for national and international politics;
- analyzing the possibilities and limitations of existing norms and stipulations in international law and international bodies and institutions for guaranteeing and enforcing of women's rights and policy of gender justice in politics concerning peace and security;
- the ongoing (self)relaxing analysis of policy approaches of women's and gender orientated NGOs, networks and activities in peace-political, (inter)national contexts and their chances of taking influence and perspectives for development;
- the clarification of possibilities and limits of cooperation with other NGOs in the field of peace and conflict resolution.

At the same time the clarification of other questions are on the feminist agenda, that of heightened importance in the context of demands for a gender quotation in UN missions. These include a new relationship of women with violence and the military and their participation in the military. Their constructive clarification will have to prove the enforcement ability and the sustainable effectiveness of the newly developed feminist approaches in international peace and security politics.