Women Peace Security - reloaded

Civil Society Alternative Report on the National Action Plan 1325 as seen from the Gender Perspective

Impulses and Inputs for Actors in Politics, Administration and Civil Society

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ピースウーマン─国境を越え平和をつくる女たち
全球和平妇女

Femmes pour la Paix
Frauen für den Frieden
Donne per la Pace
Women for Peace

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… it seems timely to pause and reflect on how feminist scholars, practitioners, and advocates might respond to ever-shifting security imperatives and how long-standing priorities for the global women's movement are being shaped and directed by new security frameworks.

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Summary

Switzerland's National Action Plan to implement the UN-Security Resolution 1325 for Women-Peace-Security (UNSCR 1325) has brought a gender dimension to the understanding of human security. In the language, awareness and culture of Swiss peacebuilding the gender dimension is well established, actors in civilian peacebuilding were trained and made aware of the key issues. Many internationally important UN documents reflect the commitment of Swiss diplomacy to gender concerns according to UNSCR 1325, and the delegation keeps promoting the participation of women in negotiations. Projects for the protection of women against violence, for political education or the organizational development of local women's NGOs have been successfully implemented, even with small financial means. 10 years of implementing the National Action Plan 1325: after several reports on progress, but also some critical remarks from the civil society, it's time to take stock. One of the recommendations of the last in-house progress report by the federal administration (September 2015) was to have an independent report on the implementation of the National Action Plan 1325 drawn up by relevant organizations of the civil society.

The report at hand was drawn up by the 1325 Working Group, which encompasses a wide circle of Swiss civil society organisations, and is aimed at members of parliament, actors of civil societies as well as the federal administration. This independent report, the first of its kind, gives a critical summary of the implementation of the National Action Plan 1325 and includes specific recommendations for the future.

Impulses

If security and peace policies are to be gender-sensitive and the goals of UNSCR 1325 are taken seriously, **domestic strategies** are necessary in order to be effective in foreign policy concerning issues on the elimination of the causes for violence, of structural inequalities in war and peace, of discrimination and infringements in conflict contexts.

The implementation of UNSCR 1325 gains effectiveness by being **anchored in CEDAW.** There is higher commitment, peace building measures can benefit from the broad knowledge gained and the experience with CEDAW which the administration, civil society and parliament have already had; networks can be established accordingly, experience shared in connection with other relevant issues, the implementation of the National Action Plan NAP can be further developed.

The role of **civil society** as observer of processes in peace and security policies in general, and more specifically in gender issues therein, is crucial. It can show where and how the discourse on security policy is reflected in political decisions and when gender distinctions are called upon. Platforms for opinion-forming and criticism are necessary – the Working Group 1325 is an example thereof.

For comprehensive, gender-sensitive peacebuilding adequate **resources** are needed for awareness-raising measures, public relations work, learning processes and interdisciplinary cooperation, and for measures ensuring access to legal means.

Peacebuilding and security policy are also **economic policy**. Debates on budgets and financial decisions shed light on the prioritisation of security measures and thus on a nation's security policies and its understanding of "human security". Does this concur with the understanding of UNSCR 1325? Shifts in domestic budgets as well as trends in public spending for the army, public health care, social services and education must be analysed and will yield appropriate information.

The everyday work of women in a conflict context and their coping strategies must be made visible in order to understand under which circumstances they can accomplish all of their care work, thus contributing crucially to "human security".

An important prerequisite for comprehensive **participation** of women in peace negotiations are better conditions for care work as well as social networks and ensured access to paid work. This requires a political will and appropriate structures of power.

The need for **nuanced information** on gender relations in conflict areas is undisputed. To form opinions, decision makers in politics, administration, civil society and NGOs should rely on manifold accounts from conflict contexts, descriptions of everyday life and case studies. The production and communication of said accounts by **local media representatives** needs support from external actors in order to obtain more independence and variety in reporting.

Gender-responsive security and peace policies are torn between the **conflicting areas of protection and rights, instrumentalization and participation.** The actors of the Women-Peace-Security agenda are called upon to analyse these trends carefully in order to ensure that women's rights are always put above the protective principle. This must also apply for ongoing debates such as the one on "prevention of violent extremism".

The goals of UNSCR1325 are comprehensive and far-reaching, they implicate action across disciplines and institutions. The resolution alone cannot achieve this, all the more important is **anchoring and linking** the resolution with already existing tools and approaches - with the aim of influencing gender debates in peace-building and other fields of practice in order to stimulate gender-responsive peacebuilding.

Introduction:
Women Peace Security – reloaded

UN's security council resolution 1325 concerning Women, Peace and Security (UNSCR 1325) acknowledges the fact that in armed conflict, women and men are affected in different ways and that women and men must participate and be involved equally in the reconstitution of a peaceful communal life. Switzerland is implementing said resolution in the third National Action Plan (NAP) 2013-2016, the focus being on the participation of women in peacebuilding processes, the protection of women from sexual violence in wars and the prevention of conflicts and sexual violence.[1] The international UNSCR 1325 and the Swiss NAP enabled the Women-Peace-Security agenda to get international and national attention. The UN Security Council had launched the programme with Resolution 1325 and then expanded it with various follow-up resolutions: women should participate in peacebuilding processes and be protected from violations of human rights, have access to judiciaries, and public services should be granted without discrimination.[2] Switzerland decided to warrant the best possible impact for this issue, one set at the highest political level, and planned far-reaching monitoring: the Interdepartmental Working Group 1325 (IDAG 1325) audits and monitors the implementation of the National Action Plan within the administration.[3] Their annual report goes to Parliament, who has to audit and approve the report. In order to include the perspective of the civil society, which has played an important role in the establishment of the NAP, into the monitoring process, a civil society platform 1325 was founded, which is coordinated by KOFF swisspeace.[4] Up to now, the civil society platform 1325 have incorporated their recommendations into the official IDAG 1325 report. The most important recommendations of the civil society and the federal administration were the promotion of the participation of women (and women's organisations) in peacebuilding projects, protection mechanisms against gender-based violence in local conflict-affected contexts, reinforced inclusion of men in measures for the prevention of violence, as well as efforts concerning gender equality in diplomatic personnel. Above all, the recommendation to reinforce the monitoring by the civil society was important. This will be done by financially enabling an alternative reporting of the civil society organisations, meaning a separate report on the Swiss NAP by the civil society.

This thread is taken up by the civil society platform1325 and more specifically by the Working Group 1325 (called WG 1325 hereafter). Instead of including the position of the civil society into the official report, the WG 1325 has published its own, alternative report for the first time,[5] probably unique in this form and different from the existing reports by the civil society, which take a critical look at the relevant goals, indicators and activities of their own official NAPs. The report at hand, which is addressed to Parliament, the responsible federal departments as well as to the civil society, has three objectives:

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1 At the time of publication 58 of all member states of the UN had their own National Action Plan. Other countries had none, but Colombia for instance still implemented the goals of UNSCR 1325 through lobbying of women's rights organisations (above all at national level) and local action plans in communities affected by violence. http://gnwp.org/program/inspiring-locally-implementing-globally-localization-of-unscr-1325-and-1820/
2 http://www.unwomen.org/en/what-we-do/peace-and-security
3 IDAG 1325, the interdepartmental Working Group, answers to the Core Group Peace, which encompasses all federal departments concerned with peacebuilding with the aim of promoting coordination and cohesion within Swiss peacebuilding policy.
4 In the NAP listed under ist former name: „NGO platform 1325", p 21: https://www.eda.admin.ch/content/dam/eda/de/documents/publications/MenschenrechtehumanitaerePolitikundMigration/Frauen-Frieden-und-Sicherheit_de.pdf.
5 For an overview of the civil society engagement for reviews and projects see http://www.peacewomen.org/member-states/civil-society-reviews

1. To indicate the achievements and gaps in the implementation of the Swiss NAP 1325 from an independent civil society and women's rights point of view.

2. The alternative report shall stimulate a so-called "reload", a renewed meaningful reload on how the Women-Peace-Security programme can be strengthened in the future, how and by which measures a comprehensive approach to higher gender equality in peacebuilding and security policy can be reached. This is important in view of the expiry of the current Swiss NAP 1325 by the end of 2016 and the ensuing discussions on its continuation.

3. The report would like to contribute to the appeal to a critical public in Parliament, civil society and the Federal Assembly for a broad implementation of the NAP, in order to reach more gender equality in peacebuilding.

Aspects relevant to security, which are of consequence to women in local contexts are the starting point for the WG 1325. Based on the experience of the organisations participating in the present report, who are all active in local fragile conflict- and post-conflict contexts, regular debates and exchanges have taken place since 2014, in order to enable a critical analysis of the programmes and discussions surrounding the Swiss NAP. The WG 1325 wanted to learn more about the response of a normative tool to said aspects and where its limitations lie. There was a transnational exchange on gender equality in conflict- and post- conflict contexts with networks like WIDE (Women In Development Europe), the international feminist network, WILPF (Women's International League for Peace and Freedom), the German network „Frieden und Entwicklung" (FriEnt) and the Brussel-based European Peacebuilding Liaison Office (EPLO) encompassing roughly 40 organisations. The basis of this report was the expertise of the member organisations of the WG 1325 and their partners in the field of the NAP, relevant websites, critical articles and manuals, especially the Global Study on the Implementation of UNSCR 1325 (2015)[6] and other interim results (see references in the annex). The WG 1325 initiated roundtables with specialists and organized a symposium, where the issues were discussed anew according to the chapters of the report. This is the raw material which the WG 1325 discussed, analysed and processed in the present report.

Structure of the Report

The report begins with the normative framework which is certainly the point of reference for the political activities concerning Women-Peace-Security. Sixteen years after the adoption of UNSCR 1325 all actors agree on the fact that the step from administrating a gender- responsive peacebuilding policy to actually shaping it can only be taken in the combination of UNSCR 1325 with other normative tools. This is why the first chapter is about the conceptual and practical possibilities of using the Women's Rights Convention CEDAW[7] for promoting women's rights in conflicts and in peacebuilding policy. The Swiss NAP states explicitly that CEDAW is the key for the participation of women in peacebuilding, because it grants full political, social, economic and cultural rights. But what does it really mean to strengthen the role of women in conflict prevention?[8] Which means of participation do women really have – or do they lack the necessary resources?

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6   http://wps.unwomen.org/en/global-study/~/media/files/un%20women/wps/highlights/unw-global-study-1325-2015.pdf
7   The state parties take all regulatory appropriate action, especially in political, social, economic and cultural fields, in order to ensure the full evolvement and promotion of women, so as to guarantee that women can exercise and enjoy human rights as well as fundamental freedom on absolute equal terms with men.
8   Swiss NAP 1325, (2013-2016), p 19.

In the further chapters the WG 1325 puts the focus on those areas where gender relations manifest themselves in everyday life: at work, in the daily routine of the local context, where the centre of the lives of women is in war and peace, and which role the Women-Peace-Security programme and UNSCR 1325 can play. The report concentrates on three fields of action in which gender is an important distinction: the description of conflict and discourse (chapter 2), national security policy (chapter 3) and the socio-political and economic aspects of peacebuilding (chapter 4).

In the portrayal of militarized contexts, of war and conflict, gender stereotypes are constructed: women as victims looking for protection, men as aggressors, perpetrators or protectors. The question of the consequences of these stereotyped images – for post-conflict societies and for prevention as well- are discussed at the beginning of chapter 2. The Swiss NAP does not have a special target for this issue, but the FDFA (Federal Department of Foreign Affairs) does indicate the problem in its regular statements in multilateral contexts. The Global Study on the Implementation of UNSCR 1325 alludes to the danger of using stereotypes in peacebuilding to justify discriminating practices in the access to public services. On the basis of accounts of the conflict in Syria, the WG 1325 discussed strategies, the possibilities of critical consideration and reflection of texts, and which part these could play in peacebuilding.

Chapter 3 is about Swiss security policy, possible impacts on peacebuilding and the understanding of "national security", and about the significance of tendencies towards militarisation and surveillance for the balance between protection, security and justice. This discussion is complemented by a critical view of the new UNSCR 2242 (2015), a further resolution in the Women-Peace-Security agenda, which demands consequent gender mainstreaming of the "Prevention of Violent Extremism" (PVE) strategy. The WG 1325 follows up on the meaning of this new discourse for peacebuilding from the gender perspective.

In chapter 4 the reasons hereof are explored. Why socio-political and economic aspects are also significant in gender responsive peacebuilding, how women cope in their everyday lives in conflict situations: these are the issues discussed. Which is the significance accorded to the division of labour, care work, the availability of resources and women's strategies for establishing "human security" by peacebuilding policies? Impulses are given for interdisciplinary cooperation, references to points of intersection with other areas of politics are made in order to incorporate tangible living conditions and aspects of the everyday life of women into peacebuilding measures, thus creating prerequisites for a gender-responsive peacebuilding policy.

The outlook summarizes the most important insights and gives ideas for the further development of the Women-Peace-Security issue. These will be taken up by the WG 1325 and hopefully encourage other NGOs, networks and professional organisations to cooperate and follow up on how they can take up and focus their questions related to Women-Peace-Security in their environments and for their further activities for gender-responsive peacebuilding and security policies.

The Framework: UN Resolution 1325 and the Swiss National Action Plan

On 31 October 2000 the UN Security Council adopted Resolution 1325 concerning Women, Peace and Security. The resolution establishes the four pillars of gender-sensitive conflict prevention and peacebuilding: prevention, protection, participation and the restitution of peacebuilding. Compliance with the resolution is stated as elementary for the protection of human rights, human dignity and the promotion of sustainable peace. This was a great success for the women's and human rights organisations, who had fought and campaigned for women's rights in conflict situations and in peacebuilding politics for years. The follow-up resolutions focus on the protection of women from gender-specific or gender-based sexualized violence and provide tools for the implementation of the international Women-Peace-Security programme.[9]

With UNSCR 1325 it was made possible to introduce the gender issue and feminist demands for equality, equity and justice to a greater public in the male-dominated field of peace and security policies, and to establish said claims in international politics.

Today, the question concerning gender responsive peace and security policy is not *if,* but *how.* Multiple approaches and tools[10] have been developed over the years in order to implement the resolution worldwide. In the process, experience with gender mainstreaming was gained, and also with specific activities to improve the participation of women in peacebuilding processes and the protection of women's rights in conflict situations. What have 16 years of commitment to the importance of gender equity for peace and security and the manifold forms of implementation of Resolution 1325 actually changed in the gender relations of post-conflict societies?

The exploitation of gender-inequality, the systematic exertion of sexual violence as weapon of war and the effects of the wars especially in former Yugoslav nations and Ruanda promoted the adoption of UNSCR 1325 and influenced the focus of the resolution on four main fields of action: Prevention, protection, participation, restitution and the promotion of peacebuilding measures.

Since 2000, not only the significance and the understanding of peace- and security policies have changed. The management of institutionalized gender strategy, the well-meant institutionalizing of gender mainstreaming has led to "gender" becoming a separate domain of some experts in many organisations, or to being an issue which had to be considered in the production of administrative documents. Demands for a transformation of the underlying structures and political efforts towards gender equity were thus abraded at all levels. This is also reflected in the focus which the security council put in the follow-up resolutions for UNSCR 1325.[11]

The follow-ups show two main developing tendencies, one topical, the other methodological: Topically the Women-Peace-Security issue as defined by the UN is narrowed down to gender based and especially sexualised violence in warfare, which portrays women as victims. This is probably partly due to the Balkan

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9   An overview of follow-up resolutions can be found at the end of the report (sources).
10   http://www.gnwp.org/resource-type/publications-english; http://www.peacewomen.org/member-states; http://www.peacewomen.org/member-states/civil-society-reviews; http://www.peacewomen.org/resource-centre/WILPF-PW- tools-and-resources
11   http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/issues/women/wps.shtml; http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/issues/women/wps.shtml; die neuste Resolution von 2015, UNSCR 2242 http://peacewomen.org/SCR-2242

wars and the war in East Congo having shown a new trend in warfare against civilians in which sexual violence against women, men and children plays a key role. UNSCR 1325 and the follow-ups take up on this trend and thus influence the portrayal of gender for political interventions as well as for the funding of programmes for the protection of women in the name of UNSCR 1325, meaning the focus of women as actors in political processes is put more strongly on the role of women as victims.

The latest 1325 follow-up resolution confirms this, as UNSCR 2242 from 2015 links the security of women with protection from extremist violence and the fight against terrorism. So, in this latest resolution, gender relations are in danger of being reduced to the protection of victims on the one hand, and on the other women are accorded a main part in the prevention of violent extremism, as they are most important in the upbringing and education of children. This shows the ambiguity of the international discourse.

The second emerging tendency is the methodological improvement of the implementation of UNSCR 1325. A range of follow-ups, especially UNSCR 1889, is focused on optimizing the management of said implementation by unifying the criteria and indicators for measuring impact. Hopefully these technical measures should have anchored the implementation of UNSCR 1325 in institutions and created more transparency regarding stringency of their implementation, not least because of the lack of systematic reporting within the UN (see chapter 1). Experience shows that a more effective implementation is not guaranteed, even though these measures may lead to a reinforcement of implementation structures. In order to increase impact, both is necessary: a political understanding of the claims of UNSCR 1325 as well as the political will to implement said claims with technical efficiency.

The Swiss National Action Plan 1325

Compared to other nations, Switzerland's government was quite early in drawing up a National Action Plan 1325 in 2007.[12] The second version in 2010 was published already including specific measures, responsibilities and indicators for measuring the achievement of targets. The administration quickly and willingly fulfilled UN requirements and was supported by the civil society platform 1325, even though concerns were voiced: how was gender policy going to be discussed within the narrow logic of log frames? Even if, in the meantime, it has been possible to anchor some of the security aspects relevant to women in the text of the Action Plan (like the control of the trade in small arms) the framework has quantitative indicators and leaves little room for qualitative improvement, which is of course more difficult to measure. This leaning towards quantitative aspects is at its most obvious in the counting of women or gender experts in peacekeeping missions, in negotiations, in gender trainings or in positions where decisions are taken. These measures are important elements on the way to more gender equality in peace building, but they are not enough to bring the perspective of women into political processes. Additionally, the number of women or trainings is no indication of a programme's effectiveness or its potential for change.[13]

Civil society organisations and the WG 1325 have made a determined effort towards optimizing and perfecting the instruments for the implementation of Women-Peace-Security agenda. This was worth the effort insofar as improvements regarding obligation, contents and audit have been achieved (seen strictly within the framework of the Swiss NAP). So today UNSCR 1325 and gender mainstreaming in peacebuilding policies are well managed within their respective frameworks in administrations, but public visibility and political significance could be higher in Switzerland.

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12 NAP 2007-2009: http://www.peacewomen.org/assets/file/NationalActionPlans/switzerland_nationalactionplan_february2007.pdf
13 Thania Paffenholz, Inclusive Politics: Lessons from and for the New Deal, Journal of Peacebuilding & Development, 2015, 10(1), 84.

The Swiss National Action Plan (NAP) for the Implementation of Security Council Resolution 1325

The National Action Plans 1325 are subdivided into four goals, analogous to the UN Agenda:

Goal 1
Enforced participation of women in peacebuilding.

Goal 2
Protection of women's and girls' rights during and after violent conflicts and prevention of gender-based violence.

Goal 3
Reinforced inclusion of a gender perspective during and after violent conflicts in relief, recovery and dealing with the past.

Goal 4
More emphasis on the gender perspective in the prevention of conflicts.

Goal 5/ new in the third NAP for 2013-2016
Establishing „Women-Peace-Security"in administrative work.

For every goal, sub-goals have been formulated for the following levels of institutional action:

Multilateral Politics, Swiss Human Resource Policy as well as bilateral activities in development cooperation, peacebuilding and humanitarian aid.

For the implementation responsibility lies with the following departments:

FDFA (Human Security Division HSD, SDC and other departments) FDHA (Federal Department of Home Affairs, EBG), DDPS (Department of Defence, Civil Protection and Sport), FDJP (Federal Department of Justice and Police)

Documentation NAP 2013-2016

Former NAPs and further documents on the FDFA website „Women and Security"

1. Strengthening Women's Rights: UN Resolution 1325 and CEDAW, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women

- The goals of UNSCR 1325 and its implementation strategies in Switzerland can be attained better and political pressure can be increased if the resolution is anchored in CEDAW, which is more binding, the same as other human rights conventions. It is necessary to address actors in administration, in the civil society and in Parliament and to approach areas of politics jointly and comprehensively.

- The causes of structural inequality in times of war and peace, which are followed by discrimination and violations of law, can only be dealt with in foreign and domestic policy. This is the only way to make security and peacebuilding policy gender responsive.

- Switzerland shall provide adequate means to finance awareness-raising and public relations measures as well as for the access to the judicial system.

The adoption of the UNSC Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security in 2000 was a milestone. But a good fifteen years and seven follow-up resolutions later, the pitfalls and limitations of the Women-Peace-Security programme have been revealed – an incentive to explore, in combination with other instruments, the thematic, legal and political possibilities for gender responsive peacebuilding and to demand their implementation in Switzerland.

The Global Study on the Implementation of UNSCR 1325 "Preventing Conflict, Transforming Justice, Securing the Peace"[14] is 420 pages long. It was commissioned in 2013 along with UNSCR 2122[15], and was published for the 15th anniversary of the resolution in October 2015. The study states that a more effective implementation of UNSCR 1325 is achieved if all nations resolutely invest in the empowerment of women and their participation at all levels of political decision-making processes. Aside from problems with the implementation, the study also addresses the critical and sometimes contradicting aspects of international peace and security policy such as militarization and the structural violence related to it. Thereby feminist and civil society perspectives and analyses are taken up.

1.1. Critique on Structural Violence and Militarisation

Putting a stronger focus on the prevention of conflict is a main claim of the study. This means that causes of conflict, such as exclusion, onslaughts on human dignity and structural inequality should be addressed more specifically. Special attention is accorded to processes of militarisation and to attempts to exploit women for the strategic goals of the military. Ever since 9/11 the global trend is heading towards a policy which understands security solely in connection with violence, planning surveillance and armed interventions and military assignments for counter-measures. The debates concerning terrorism show how civil security is superseded by military logic (see chapter on "Prevention of Violent Extremism").

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14 UN Women: Preventing Conflict, Transforming Justice, Securing the Peace. A Global Study on the Implementation of United Nations Security Council resolution 1325: http://wps.unwomen.org/en/global-study/~/media/files/un%20women/wps/highlights/unw-global-study-1325-2015.pdf

15 S/RES/2122: http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/2122(2013)

These developments in terms of security policy shape and have shaped the circumstances under which UNSCR 1325 has been implemented in the follow-up resolutions. In UNSCR 2122 from 2013 which launched the UN Women's Global Study, there is already an indication of the gradual affiliation of Women-Peace-Security programme with counter-terrorism. In UNSCR 2242 this affiliation is explicit, insofar as women are reduced to their roles as mothers and big sisters, and, in the name of equality, are made use of as important protagonists of prevention.[16] The Global Study emphasises that UNSCR 1325 is a human rights resolution which holds perpetrators accountable. It also examines to what extent the member states refer to the obligations of UNSCR 1325 within existing human rights mechanisms.[17]

For the implementation of the Women-Peace-Security Programme it is not enough to prosecute and condemn acts of violence against individual women. Instead, the underlying inequalities making women and girls especially vulnerable must be addressed. Obstacles which keep women from claiming or exercising their rights in society and structures must be overcome. The necessity of creating and expanding (public) space for feminist and women's-rights-based networks and activities which expose discriminating mechanisms within the law, the economy and social policy is emphasised by the Global Study, in keeping with CEDAW.

1.2.   The Obligations of UNSCR 1325 and CEDAW in Comparison

Resolutions of the Security Council are binding, but UNSCR 1325 lacks a systematic reporting as it is known from international conventions on human rights.[18]

The Security Council set indicators and requested states to develop national action plans.

On the basis of Switzerland's National Action Plan 1325 a certain political pressure can be applied. Looking back, it has to be said that this was not enough to implement the comprehensive goals of the resolution in a politically effective way. As there are no sanctions envisioned for non-compliance, the pressure on Switzerland and other member states to implement the requests of 1325 is slight. The consultation of the civil society does little to alter this fact. CEDAW,[19] the women's rights convention, does have binding and well-established reporting mechanisms. The obligation to report to a committee and to account for gaps and obstacles in the implementation increases the readiness to implement the convention. The CEDAW Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women[20] which supervises the reporting, makes regular "General Recommendations" – despite constant work overload- which serve as guidelines for the implementation of women's rights in various areas of politics.

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16 On the militarisation of security policy see p 25, on the affiliation of the prevention of extremism with Women-Peace-Security see p 28 of this report.

17 UN Human Rights Conventions such as CEDAW and the International Pact on Civil and Political Rights provide mechanisms for reporting: UN member states are obliged to provide a state report accounting for the implementation to the monitoring committee at regular intervals.

18 For legal orientation see cfd „Rechtlicher und institutioneller Kontext von UNSCR 1325. Zusammenstellung von Grundlagen,2015" http://www.cfd-ch.org/pdf_temp/2015_Grundlagenpapier_1325.pdf

19 http://www.ohchr.org/en/hrbodies/cedaw/pages/cedawindex.aspx. German: https://www.admin.ch/opc/de/classi ed-compilation/19983322/index.html

20 http://www.ohchr.org/EN/HRBodies/CEDAW/Pages/Introduction.aspx. German: http://www.ekf.admin.ch/dokumentation/00596/00599/index.html?lang=de

The CEDAW General Recommendation No 30 on women in conflict prevention, conflict and post-conflict situations[21] shows the relevance of the convention for the Women-Peace-Security programme. It establishes a precise connection between the rights of women in war and peace as well as between direct violence and structural discrimination, and underlines the importance of anchoring the programme in the wider context of the women's rights convention with its binding reporting mechanisms. Thus the goals of UNSCR 1325 can be reached along with increased political pressure. Consequently, the member states are advised to bring their NAPs in line with CEDAW. This means that CEDAW reporting can be used in order to operationalise gender equality in peacebuilding and to promote the implementation of UNSCR 1325.

1.3.   Linking the Swiss NAP to the Women's Rights Convention

In its National Action Plan, Switzerland has responded to the request for linking UNSCR 1325 to CEDAW. The CEDAW committee is quoted prominently and various goals refer to CEDAW regulations and recommendations of the committee,[22] however only when Switzerland supported fragile states in developing their own national action plans. The explicit link between UNSCR 1325 and CEDAW within the Swiss context is missing so far. In the only goal with a concrete reference to Switzerland[23] CEDAW is not mentioned. But Switzerland has an obvious obligation to apply CEDAW within the country. That Switzerland is taking this responsibility seriously will only become evident if it provides sufficient means, namely for awareness-raising, public relations and for the funding of measures to ensure access to the main legal means.

It is remarkable in this context that CEDAW as a women's rights convention is the only UN convention with a feminist approach: where UNSCR 1325 focuses on gender mainstreaming and does not provide a comprehensive interpretation of security and the underlying causes of violence and discrimination, CEDAW has regulations which also include structural causes of gender inequality. The women's rights convention states that member states are obliged to fight discriminating practices, social and cultural patterns of behaviour and traditions as well as stereotyped perceptions of gender.

Sometimes public authorities do not fully implement the existing rights of women. Pressure can be applied through complaints. But often the circumstances for filing an individual complaint are not favourable. The filing of complaints is complicated and requires solid legal knowledge or money for a legal representative, both usually difficult to provide by small women's organisations. In addition, the "elimination of structural discrimination" as requested by CEDAW is most complex and implies that stereotyped case-laws and laws have been identified and abolished. This calls for action.

The supplementary protocol to CEDAW from 2000 provided the basis for reporting a breach of the CEDAW regulations at international level, but not all member states have ratified it. Thus individuals or groups whose rights have been violated according to the agreement can contact the committee if the legal means of their own countries have been exhausted. This means that these rights must have been claimed without success before national authorities. The committee then examines the notifications and passes on its observations and possible recommendations to the relevant member state. Even though these are recommendations and not a verdict, most of the relevant states make the appropriate adjustments to their laws in keeping with CEDAW.

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21 CEDAW General Recommendation No. 30 on women in conflict prevention, con ict and post-conflict situations, 2013:
    http://www.ohchr.org/documents/hrbodies/cedaw/gcomments/cedaw.c.cg.30.pdf
22 e.g. Recommendations 23,24 and 30.
23 Goal 5 of the National Action Plan for the Implementation of UNSCR 1325 (2000).

In this manner civil society organisations are also able to use the CEDAW committee as a body of appeal. That also goes for any questions concerning Women-Peace-Security as proposed in the committee's General Recommendation No 30.[24] The committee has only received 16 complaints made by women or women's organisation since the inception of the supplementary protocol, pertaining to various forms of gender-based violence, although in connection with UNSCR 1325 and not recorded as peacebuilding practice in the actual sense. In most cases the committee recognised a breach of the rights of the convention by the particular nation and, at best, adjustments were made.[25]

The impact potential of individual cases must be made use of. Implemented correctly, it can make space for recognising causes of gender-specific inequalities and proclaiming a critical analysis of such connections along feminist premises.

However, the General Recommendation No 30 is not very well known and guidance, expertise and practical examples are missing so far, so that the advantages of CEDAW have as yet not benefited peacebuilding measures. So offering support as to how and in which areas such connections can be made is also an issue.

Some indications are given in clauses 49-51 of the Recommendation (see also chapter 4), which take up on sensitive issues concerning reconstruction by pointing out specific articles of CEDAW. Are there gender-specific discriminations in reintegration, in job opportunities, how does distribution work in different sectors, which kind of infrastructures are promoted and with which consequences for activities in the reproductive sector? The same questions arise in the healthcare sector, where discrimination happens when the traumas and problems of women caused by war are inadequately enough or badly. Restrictions of personal mobility can also constitute a form of discrimination, which can be the reason for an appeal to CEDAW.

The opportunities of women to take part in peace talks are often very few. The reasons thereof are not CEDAW-relevant at first glance, so it is all the more important to clarify the criteria by which the delegations for the negotiations are chosen. Women often have different reasons than men for receiving war-time pensions and compensations. The question here is whether the distinctions are to the disadvantage of women, because they are often entitled not as a member of an army, but as a victim. Established stereotypes frequently conceal actual discrimination. To uncover these and to demand appropriate measures from the relevant state – based on CEDAW – which eliminate discrimination (by changing practice or the law) is complex and requires professional support which is often lacking. Switzerland can contribute here. Additionally, there are areas where Switzerland can take on domestic responsibility by tracing such risks of discrimination as they exist in partner states back to domestic decisions. The study "State Responsibility for the Impacts of Cross-border Tax, Abuse on Women's Rights and Gender Equality" (2016) shows how tax-regulated international financial flows lead to cuts in the budgets of the countries of the global South and how austerity measures effect those public services on which women are especially reliant because of their roles.[26]

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24 See footnote 7.
25 http://www.humanrights.ch/de/internationale-menschenrechte/uno-organe/cedaw/rechtsprechung/vpp-bulgarien
26 http://chrgj.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/03/Switzerland_CEDAW_Submission_TaxFinance_1mar2016-28updated29-1-1.pdf

1.4.   Looking at Options: Courses of Action

Linking UNSCR 1325 to CEDAW has the potential to take up governments on their duty to further develop and implement the Women-Peace-Security programme. According to CEDAW each member state has to submit a country report every four years, which shows how the obligations of the convention are implemented. Switzerland will present its official report to the CEDAW Committee this year on the occasion of the 65. Session from 24 October to 18 November 2016.

There is also a CEDAW report by the civil society ("shadow report") which is seen as an important means for validating the perspective of the civil society. On 7 March 2016 the most important demands of the Swiss shadow report were heard in a short "pre-session".[27] Aspects of peacebuilding policy were not yet discussed. On 11 June 2016 the civil society report will be published and discussed within the annual meeting of the NGO-Coordination post Beijing (NGO Post Beijing) at the same time as the official report and the recommendations by the CEDAW committee; the shadow report is an important basis for actors from civil society in order to claim gender-responsive peacebuilding policies as well as critical reporting, lobbying and public relations work, and the financial means for supporting said demands. Until today, only large amount of volunteer work can ensure the expression of the important perspective introduced by the civil society.

> As a member state of CEDAW, Switzerland is obliged to implement this instrument of women's rights consequently and specifically as well as promoting said implementation actively. This requires providing financial means to remove structural obstacles, schooling responsible authorities and increasing public awareness. In parts this has been achieved, an example being the guideline on CEDAW published by the Federal Committee for Women's Affairs EKF[28] which was updated in 2015. This information is important and useful. But it shouldn't stop there: actors from the civil society must initiate a gender-budgeting analysis. This should show which measures against discrimination are financed and how said funding effects gender relations in security and peacebuilding policies as well.

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27 see press release of the NGO-Coordination Post-Beijing http://www.postbeijing.ch/cms/upload/pdf/CEDAW/CEDAW_concise_
    document_NGO-Coordination_post_Beijing_Switzerland.pdf
28 http://www.ekf.admin.ch/dokumentation/00596/

2. The Politics of Representation: Gender Images in the Women-Peace-Security Agenda?

- The aims of UNSCR 1325 and its implementation strategies can be achieved better if the responsible actors have nuanced information on gender relations in conflict areas before making decisions.

- When forming their opinions, decision makers in politics, in the administration, in the civil society and NGOs should rely upon manifold descriptions of everyday lives by local women, voices from conflict contexts, testimonials and case studies.

- The local media and their representatives need special support in production and communication, because they are often dependent on parties to the conflict and are restricted and controlled in their reporting.

- Women who have to manage their everyday lives under pressure are "invisible" and hard to reach. The images showing these women may be interesting, but they can also mislead, because they leave out the in-between spaces relevant to peace, where lives are actually led and terms are negotiated.

If organisations, institutions and the media pick up images and distribute them, they form the understanding of the conflict and of the strategies of peace and security policies. Representations of gender play a crucial role. Which images are produced within the logic of the Women-Peace-Security programme? Which gender relevant dimensions are captured, which ones are not? What influence does this have on women and men in conflict contexts? A critical review and a call for caution.

The conflict in Syria, for example: there are many pictures in circulation. But seeing is difficult, because the production and distribution as well as the perception and the use of the images are restricted by the parameters and mechanisms of war and the drawing of borders which supposedly provide clarification on the allocation of friend and foe, of good and bad. "These are images which simplify our reality to the point of making it impossible for us to understand who is doing what and under which circumstances. Even more problematic is the fact that such images are often used to justify decisions, to obfuscate conditions and to define deviations from normality." Thus the comments by Rula Asad, the journalist who co-founded the Syrian Female Journalist's Network, on a situation in which too many realities are disappearing.[29]

2.1. Conveying Images of Participation

In the news, reports and analyses on the conflict in Syria there is no lack of illustrative material on the endangerment of women and the suffering of their children. They are pictured as victims of the war, as nameless masses. They are subjects of the media coverage, not assessors of the situation. By mainstreaming the gender issue and establishing the Women-Peace-Security programme as a norm, little windows of opportunity have been opened for some female spokeswomen who are now appearing in the media. They are protagonists who participate in peace negotiations, each with her own name and credited with an internationally known identity. Such strategies of imagery and participation which tie in with these images do lend a certain differentiation to the dominant narrative on gender in war reporting, but they

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29 Rula Asad took part in the expert talks on the strategies of representations in the conflict in Syria, which were organised by KOFF and by the Women-Peace-Security Working Group in November 2015.

remain double-edged as long as they continue to parade successful individuals and withhold what it actually takes for a woman to rise to powerful positions where she is seen and heard, withholding also how many of these promising starts and rises have failed and which role gender played in all of that.

The imagery of the participation of outstanding women may seem like a success for the efforts of diplomacy (track 1). But nothing is said about which kind of perception of women is encouraged in doing so. Which social perspectives and experiences thus make their way into politics also remains untold. This manner of representation satisfies the indicators of equality which are largely limited to the representation of women in committees or official bodies. Participation, however, is also acting as part of a civil society in interconnected areas (track 2-3) which cannot be depicted in a single take.

2.2.   Images of Men, Images of Women – Uncontested

UNSCR 1325 doesn't really go into the representation of the sexes and the meaning of images of men or women for peacebuilding. Images which corroborate gender-based hierarchies – men as warriors or intelligent diplomats, women as victims seeking protection – can thus indeed be reproduced. The everyday lives of men who are not actually fighting or negotiating in peace talks remain concealed. The representation of men only gains an additional dimension from the moment they are fleeing and approaching European, non-Muslim areas. But by then these men have already been given up on, as refugees, detached from a militarized context, made "other", different. So alternative images of men representations of another kind of masculinity which could influence the realities of civil societies in conflict areas are missing, where it not for the civil society and especially women's rights organisations and critical media who draw attention to the effect of such images and hold other images against them – for instance the one of the peace activist, the father who cares for his family and refuses to carry a weapon, or even the women who – far from an international public view – build up and use social networks, thus dynamically activating the civil society.

Ever since UNSCR 1325 has been approved and has advanced gender mainstreaming in conflict contexts and hence precipitated the conscientious representation of the fates of women in the media, the focus of attention is occasionally on women in action in full gear, on female Kurdish fighters, on female academics who are taking part in negotiations, on "Muslim Brides" who travel to the region from Europe to take part in the fighting alongside the men. Every so often women are seen to provide the essentials in their neighbourhoods, not portrayed as victims. These snapshots remain episodical and do not question the image of militarized masculinity or of prevalent gender relations.

2.3.   Anecdotes and Figures instead of Coherence

The paradigm of the participation of women, female peace negotiators and the paradigm of the protection of vulnerable women who are victims of war and violence and can become actors via participation: the same understanding is mirrored in the Swiss National Action Plan 1325. Both categories refer to the goals of participation, the connection between those who are at the negotiating table and those in need of protection is not made. In the one case the measures taken for the realisation of the goal are called lobbying for equality within the framework of "Good Offices" at high political decision-making levels where mostly diplomats and lobbyists are at work, in the other they're empowerment projects for local women's organisations within development cooperation and in humanitarian aid at local level.

The production of gender images in this field is largely limited to figures and anecdotes without classification and without apparent coherence: projects for the empowerment of women selling fish are promising in Egypt, as is mentioned in the progress report of the Swiss NAP (2015). The women who benefit from the programme have a more stable income and can cover their daily expenses better. The connection to the prevention of conflict and violence is not evident at all, nor is the relevance of the project for the transformational intentions of the Women, Peace and Security agenda. Based on examples a kind of pseudo-evidence is generated which prevents taking a closer look and asking further questions: what happens in the in-between spaces where lives are lived and conditions are negotiated which could well be relevant to peace?

An essential aspect of the critique on the representation of conflicts refers to the linkage of mainstream media and the exploitation of disasters. The question is if the Women, Peace and Security agenda rather inspires this dynamic or if the creation of new images of participation could be successful. Without any kind of system in describing and without precise information on the conditions of the everyday lives of women and men these media images can be integrated seamlessly into the dominant patriarchal discourse, as well as aiding to render postcolonial intervention policies plausible.

The representations of the conflict in Syria – according to WG 1325 - draw on images of men and women that are often used in postcolonial versions of orientalism: women obey men, have fewer rights, are caught up in paternalistic traditions. This is evident in the media coverage on clothes, socialization, love or activities in daily life. Such images do not only simplify, but they also prevent the variety of perspectives which is so important to understand the coping strategies of women in their everyday lives so as to consider these insights in relief, recovery and reconstruction.

2.4.   The Politics of Representation and Imagery on Site

Being a media professional, for Rula Assad there is no such thing as a "black hole of information." "There is in-depth local information to be had. But you have to want to get it. You have to be willing to immerse yourself into everyday goings-on, to listen, to capture as many perspectives as possible if you want to understand Syria." How does that work? How can we get as close as possible to the everyday lives of the people in order to understand their coping strategies? How can we understand why men and women find different ways of life, encounter each other differently, have different notions but still come together in local communities? Can we find out anything about the balance of power, analyse our findings and describe them referring to specific situations of daily life?

Daily routine happens in the everyday world, in a neighbourhood for instance, in a refugee camp or in a village where people socialize. These are the starting points to find out how people are organized, what their resources are, how they organize time and space, how they cultivate social networks. What are the conditions like, how do institutions function, what distances are travelled to get food, to tend to the sick, to educate children? The question how young and old, rich and poor women and men find a way in their routines in conflict areas, how much work and time this requires, has to be understood and represented from all kinds of perspectives. This is the only way for the answers to provide the information relevant to the understanding of gender roles and gender relations and to break up the stereotypes of medial imagery.

Kaleidoscopic information generates images which should pave the way for the implementation of peace plans through humanitarian aid and development cooperation. Only such representations can show that women's notions of security are different to the men's, because the structure of their daily lives is different, because they are more strongly involved in care work and develop their strategies in this context, because they are threatened by the abundance of accessible weapons. This must also be said, because these

realities provide possibilities for active peacebuilding, because they provide hints as to the causes of violence which would otherwise remain concealed by gendered hierarchies. The two following contributions are only two examples of how creative artists handle war: they make space for collective artistic work where nobody expects it. Rayelle Niemann presented the projects she mentioned in her text at the discussion session of the WG 1325. The pictures by Sulafa Hijazi give an example of a view from the inside in both senses of the term: the positioning of the artist as well as the perspective of the representations, for Rayelle Niemann an example of the creative potential and the resilience of local artists and for the often sarcastic voices against the depictions of violence in the mainstream.

2.5.   Images generate Images – the Example of Syria

Rayelle Niemann and Sulafa Hijazi follow the conflict in Syria and endeavour to draw different pictures of women in times of war. Text and pictures serve as examples of showing the importance of nuanced reporting. A text by Rayelle Niemann followed by some pictures by Sulafa Hijazi.

Sulafa Hijazi[30] is a visual artist and film director. She holds a degree in Drama from the Damascus University of Performing Arts and one in Liberal Arts from the University of Frankfurt am Main (Städelschule) where she studied with Judith Hopf. Since 1997 she has mainly been working as a screenwriter and director of films and TV series for children, apart from her work as an artist. She was a founding member of Spacetoon, the first Arabic free satellite channel for children, and since 2012 Sulafi Hijazi has been a member of the board of the International Centre of Films for Children and Young People – CIFEJ. Her animated movie "The Jasmin Birds" (2009) won several awards at festivals in the USA, Russia, India, Egypt and the Iran. In 2010 she established a digital production centre in the Middle East, blue.dar[31], which has become an important national and international platform of information exchange for both female and male artists, authors, scientists, teachers and animators.

2.6.   Rayelle Niemann's Contribution with Drawings by Sulafa Hijazi

In March 2011 the people of Syria took to the streets to fight for the right to lead dignified lives. The demands united people from different ethnic and religious backgrounds, social classes and generations, men and women. Our local media celebrated the courageous citizens as their demands represented the Western understanding of democracy and universal human rights.

Today, the proud rebels are shown differently in the media. They are mostly just victims of destruction and flight, the reaction to them at best pity, at worst revulsion. They are not real people with a past anymore, with convictions and passions, with individual needs. These are the eternal pictures of the plight of others. They whoosh past. But still they stick and define our thinking about people and conflicts to a high degree.

The voyeurism in the media deprives the victims from Syria and their families of dignity. The Syrian video-collective Abounaddara[32] criticises the images of the injured and the dead in their manifesto "The Right To The Image". A right the West claims for itself, which is why no dead or injured people where shown after 9/11 or the attacks in London or Paris.

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30 http://www.sulafahijazi.com
31 http://www.bluedar.net
32 https://www.facebook.com/Abounaddara-Films-128084573918925/?fref=ts

In their own work, the collective creates counter information using the aesthetics of the cinema which are also used by the audio-visual NGO Bidayyat.[33] In short documentaries and artistic films, the people from Syria set personal stories and experience against the anonymous masses, lending a face, a past and a present to the non-imaginable.

When the rebellion, provoked by the regime, became violent, many demonstrators decided against using weapons and chose other forms of resistance. Many civil grass-root projects emerged in Syria and the neighbouring countries. Women and men often work in the underground, in schools, care and supply, for radio stations and hospitals. Women quite often manage these projects alone, because the men are in prison, have been killed or have fled. The picture of the suppressed, backward Syrian woman which is widespread mainly in the Western world does not correspond to reality. From the beginning women were involved in resistance. Their struggle is also aimed at the traditional patriarchal structures in their country and in exile. It is important to spread these images and stories in the Western world. It goes without saying that women must be involved in the peacebuilding process.

Apart from the creative artists, even people who had never come into contact with artistic ways of expression manifested their resistance, using these means. They developed a revolutionary identity which they transformed into posters, songs, graphic designs, poems, caricatures, plays, texts and videos. Countless works represent a rich creative potential full of sarcasm, humour and astute analyses. They create strong positions against violence and trauma. These works are radical answers to 40 years of silence imposed by the regime. The women of Syria have (re)discovered their voice. They communicate courage, pride, desperation and resistance in their own images and their own language.

Many of the oeuvres show that the wish for life is far greater than the surrender to a slow death, many of the oeuvres can be found on the social media.

Since November 2012, I (Rayelle Niemann) have organised exhibitions, events and a series of films on Syria in Zürich and Bern. The focus was always on letting Syrians speak for themselves, by word and pictures. Artistic work facilitates the approach to complex and emotionally difficult subjects. An exhibition or an event offers a protected space. People consciously decide to go there and to engage. As many people here are only now taking a closer look at Syria, historical and cultural nuances are not read, not understood. Such projects can make a small contribution towards the better understanding of the situation of the people and towards reflecting on the perception of images and pictures. Ideally, these projects would not only take place in urban settings and would be accessible to a wider public and different social classes.

I have been familiar with the work of Sulafa Hijazi since 2011. Her oeuvres are precise narratives and describe what often cannot be expressed by words and is still repeated in every violent conflict: the humiliation of people and the pointless loss of lives in the interest of economic and despotic advantages. These pictures (without title) were created in 2012.

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33 http://bidayyat.org/

The Pictures by Sulafa Hijazi without Title, from 2012
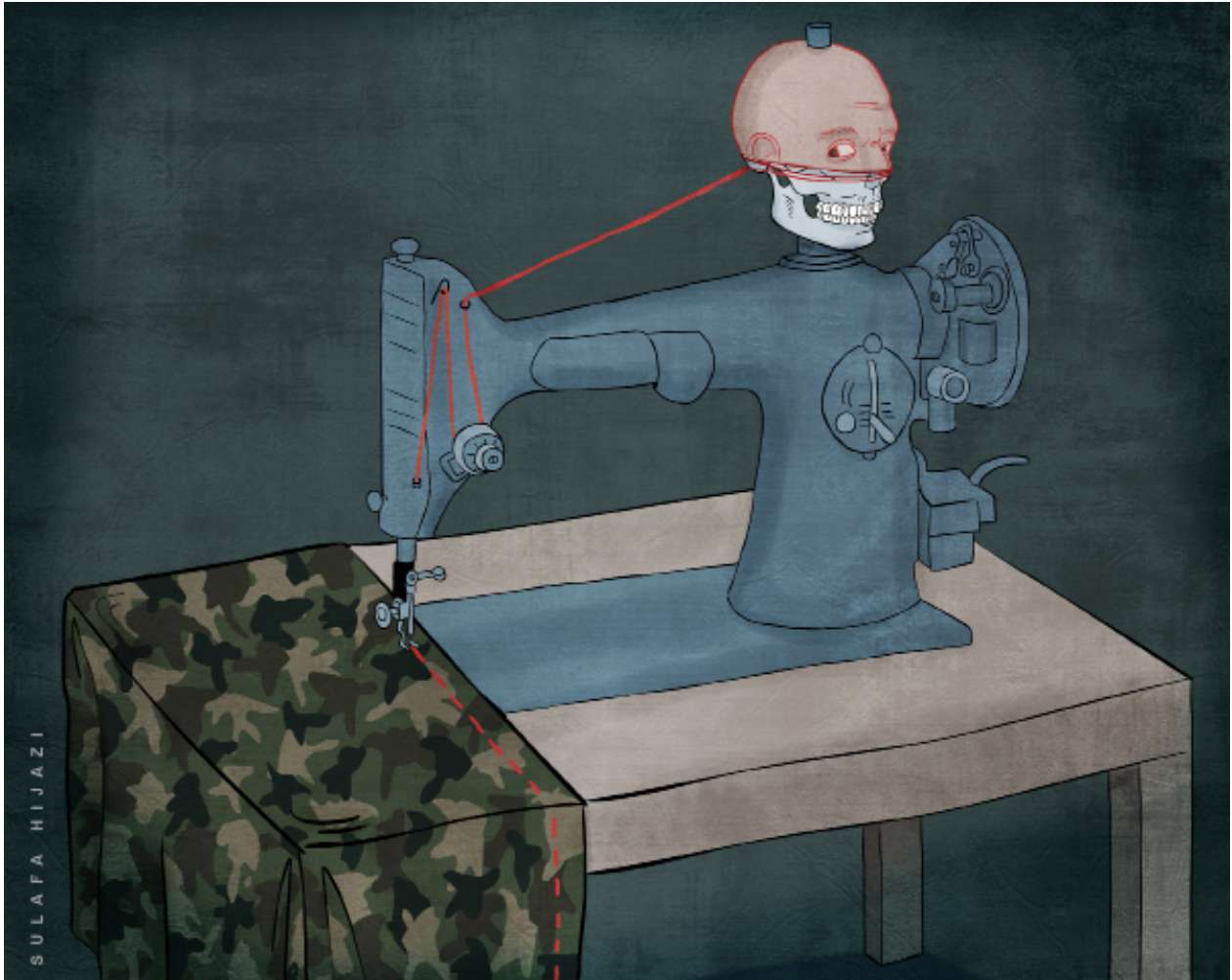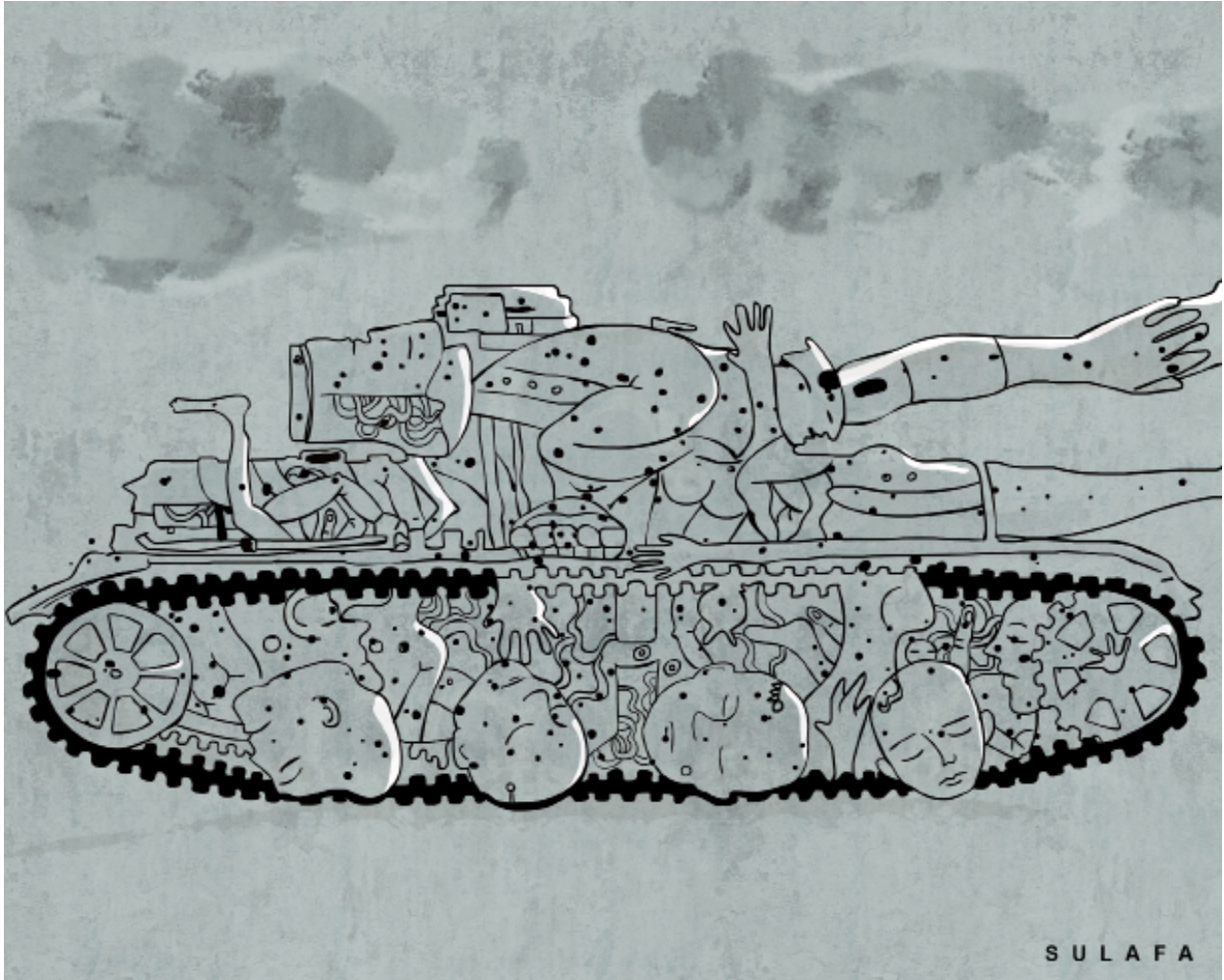
3. Militarization and Surveillance: The False Promises of Security

- Debates on budgets and decisions about finances are important in order to keep informed on the security policy of a state.

- Special attention is to be paid to the ratio of military expenditure to the expenditure for public health care, social services and education so as to recognize the focal points for the protection of humanitarian and gender-responsive security.

- The civil society is called upon to watch the shifts from civil to military security policy and the definition of threat from different perspectives, its impact and consequences for the understanding of peacebuilding strategies .

- Gender-responsive security and peace policy is orientated on women's rights, the protective principle must not be the guiding principle.

- The "Prevention of Violent Extremism" agenda offers new opportunities within the framework of the Women-Peace-Security agenda, a balancing act between protection and justice, instrumentalization and participation which must be watched critically through a gendered lens.

UNSCR 1325 came into being not least because of the realization that peacebuilding processes had been seen too narrowly so far. A good 15 years after its passage there is a relapse – from the beginnings of the concept of human security to the re-militarisation of peace and security policies. The question is about open spaces for action taken by the civil society in order to make a comprehensive understanding of security a reality: within the framework of UNSCR 1325 or beyond?

The mention of women and gender and the reference to UNSCR 1325 is currently experiencing a small boom in international peace and security politics. But still a more technical understanding of security is prevailing in practice, based on the achievements and efficiency of the army which have only slight reference to the real threats to women. In this narrow version the aspect of social security for women is largely ignored, along with the reality in which women have crucial roles and are thus more directly affected by insecurity than the majority of the men.

Switzerland banks on participation as the comprehensive fundamental principle in the Women-Peace-Security programme. So women should participate more strongly in political processes, promoted by activities such as supporting the cooperation of select civil society organizations and governments. But it is not mentioned which political processes play an especially important role or which aspects are the object of the negotiation. It thus remains to be seen if a comprehensive understanding of security could take hold here. In addition, security policy these past years has been more about the fight against "new threats" like terrorist attacks in Europe.[34] This trend will add more weight to a security policy and an armament orientating itself on military and surveillance techniques.

3.1. Small Weapons: the Dealer's Mentality instead of a Legal Approach

An analogue development is to be noted concerning small weapons, this being another perennial issue in the debates on UNSCR 1325. After years of negotiation, the UN General Assembly passed the Arms Trade Treaty on 2 April 2013. The ATT is the first treaty to set binding standards under international law and at

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34 Further material on the linkage of Prevention of Violent Extremism with Women, Peace and Security see below.

international level concerning the regulation and the controlling of the trade in conventional arms. In Switzerland the treaty became effective as of 30 April 2015.

The Federal Council appears convinced that the implementation of the treaty can contribute to lessening the effects of the abuse of small weapons and light arms and the respective ammunition.[35] The council's strategy 2013-2016 on "countering the illegal trade and abuse of small weapons"[36] is based on said conviction.

The following questions arise: Will this strategy be followed up on when it expires this year? Is it clear to the Federal Council that it should always, in cases of the export of arms from Switzerland, make an assessment of the risks and the endangerment of peace and security in the country concerned, according to Article 7 of the ATT? In section 7 (4) in particular the role of the trade in arms in gender based violence is pointed out.[37]

In political practice however, this is hardly detectable, neither concerning public international law nor women's rights. The exports to Saudi-Arabia and Yemen, both high-risk regions, are to be facilitated further. A bourgeois majority in the security committee of the National Council (SiK-N) has rejected a moratorium on export on 16 February 2016 and wants to continue to export weapons to the Arabian Peninsula for economic reasons.

Syria: Small Weapons are the Biggest Threat

The full extent of the horror of small weapons is made clear in the reports by the Syrian participants of the "Women Peace Security – reloaded" conference of 26 November 2015. From their point of view, women are more threatened by the available small weapons than from attacks by terrorist networks. The women are trying to stop the dissemination of arms so that they can feel safer in and outside of their homes. As hospitals are no longer to be reached or are no longer in operation, there is a rise of 80% of death rates during or after birth. These deaths are not counted as war casualties and remain invisible as consequences of violence. At the same time, the use of weapons in the home has risen massively. Meanwhile more and more women live alone in their households. If they don't, the risk of becoming a victim of domestic violence rises by 500%, as the man uses the weapon he needs or uses outside the home for domestic purposes too, be it because of trauma suffered in the line of duty, lacking alternatives to war, the lack of job opportunities or because of identity crisis'.

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35 Per definition small arms are not „weapons of mass-destruction", because this term is reserved for chemical, biological and nuclear large weapons. But Kofi Annan, the former General Secretary of the UN, still stated in 2006 that „Because of the carnage they can cause, small weapons can actually be appropriately described as weapons of mass-destruction." Every year an estimate of 50'000 to 100'000 people are killed by small weapons.

36 The international fight against illegal trade and abuse of small weapons and light weapons. Swiss Strategy 2013-2016: https://www.eda.admin.ch/dam/eda/en/documents/publications/Friedenspolitik/Die-Schweizer-Strategie-zur-Bekaempfung-des-internationalen-Handels-und-des-Missbrauchs-von-Kleinwaffen-und-leichten-Waffen_en.pdf

37 See also: WILPF Gender Based Violence and the ArmsTrade Treaty: http://wilpf.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/12/ATT-Implementation.pdf

In Switzerland, the issue of small arms also remains topical. As is well known, the request to commandeer the soldiers' guns fell through with the rejection of the "Protection from the Force of Arms" initiative. The guns will stay in the wardrobes. Ironically, the pressure to end this state of affairs has come from abroad under the title "Fighting Terrorism".

The Swiss National Action Plan for UNSCR 1325 repeatedly points out that small weapons and the international trade in arms are gender issues, and proposes enforced supervision as a measure to be taken. But the federal administration with its specific sectors and the strict assignment of tasks makes an effective implementation of the Swiss NAP 1325 difficult, because this would call for the liaison of the different areas of politics where security is defined and produced.

Ultimately this is not a question of the periphery, the "South", but of the centre, meaning Switzerland and Europe. Along with the fear of new terrorist attacks the discourse on security will probably be accentuated here as well. In Switzerland, the perception of safety has not been totally taken over by the fear of terrorism, and policemen armed with machine guns are mainly viewed as threatening. In the survey on security by the Swiss Federal Institute of Technology in 2015[38] the interviewees judged the danger of a negative development of the economy as more threatening than terrorism. But this perception can change very quickly.[39]

3.2.   Rights instead of Protection

Interventions disguised as protection measures mostly tend towards the restriction of rights and mobility in everyday life. This goes for all genders, everywhere. Coupled with patriarchal ideas which relegate women to house and care work, the women's leeway becomes even more restricted. The social damage caused by these restrictions is huge: if assemblies in public spaces are seen as endangerments and consequently prevented, public space ceases to exist as an expression of public spirit. Sustainable security is only to be had in diversity, a monoculture of surveillance by the police cannot achieve this.

Such protection measures are taken at the expense of women, even financially. Most of the money goes to the army – which even gets guaranteed funding – the guarding of borders and extended intelligence service. Consequentially, the funds are lacking for education, equality measures, public health care and development cooperation. This is particularly apparent in the budget debates where the cuts in all of the mentioned sectors are decided on. Commitment made to the enforcement of instruments like UNSCR 1325 or CEDAW, the women's rights convention, sound hollow.

Originally, the term "Human Security" was introduced to the discussion by UNDP, the UN development programme, in 1994, in order to dissociate the term from military security.[40] The concept of human security is based on the fact that everybody should be able to take control over their own lives. Human security is not a defensive concept like territorial or military security, it is an integrative concept.[41] Therefore feminist critics insist on emphasising rights and not protection. This shows a possible contradiction to UNSCR 1325, which is strongly focused on protection.

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38 Sicherheit 2015, Hrsg.: ETH Zurich Center for Security Studies (CSS), Militärakademie an der ETH Zürich: www.css.ethz.ch/publikationen/studie-sicherheit.html

39 In the Western world the number of victims of terrorist attacks are declining, as the figures of the Global Terrorism Database show (TA 9.12.2015)

At the end of 2015 the new UNSCR 2242 was adopted as an important milestone in the Women-Peace-Security agenda. UNSCR 2242 lays the foundation to meet the new challenges in the area of the prevention of violent extremism with a comprehensive gender approach. States are called upon to take specific action against radicalisation by becoming active in the areas where people are socialized: schools, families and religious institutions. At the same time, they should ensure that women's rights are not violated in the name of fighting terrorism. With this development, how does the notion of security change with regard to gender dimensions?

3.3.   "The Prevention of Violent Extremism" – a Case Example

The fight against terrorism is taking up more and more space in security and peace policies, even though or precisely because the definition of extremism is imprecise and there is no international consensus. This vagueness allows major powers to fight over the prerogative of definition. The conflict in Syria is a renewed example on how the term "terrorist group" is used for political ends and how this effects the everyday lives of the local populations and people on the move. The latest UNSC Resolution on Women Peace Security, UNSCR 2242, explicitly incorporates women's rights in conflict prevention and peacebuilding into the strategies for the prevention of violent extremism.[42] Switzerland also promotes said incorporation. Does this make sense from a gender perspective and where should the emphasis be placed?

The Counter-Terrorism Committee (CTC)[43] has the institutional prerogative on fighting terrorism. This is where the cornerstones for the various fields of action of the fight against or the prevention of violent extremism or terrorist acts are set. By placing UNSCR 1325 and its follow-ups in this normative framework of counter terrorism there are shifts in the focal points which will concern critical feminist peacebuilding in the years to come. So it pays to take a closer look at the various reactions of the UN gender lobby and the civil society as well as the feminist analyses of the process.

3.4.   Women, Peace and Security serving the Prevention of Terrorism

UNSCR 1325 pleads for women to play important roles in all endeavours to prevent conflicts. For this reason, gender specific violence shall be eradicated as a practice of warfare and empowerment and participation in the processes of peacebuilding and reconstruction shall increase the security of women. But global conditions are changing and the interpretation of security and the promotion of peace as well, which in term influences the discourse on gender and steers the line of argumentation. So today it is said that because of the extremism on the rise which will lead to more acts of terrorism, special attention is to be paid to the Women, Peace and Security programme, or rather gender mainstreaming is necessary here as well, so as to remain within the paradigm of UNSCR 1325. UNSCR 2242 states that acts of terrorism in the areas of health, education, participation as well as in public spaces especially and specifically hurt women. Unfortunately, women are severely underrepresented in the decision-making bodies on peace and security.

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40 See the detailed article by Franziska Müller: Menschliche Sicherheit, Spielraum oder Falle für die feministische Friedenspolitik? Published in FAMA-Die feministisch-theologische Zeitschrift der Schweiz, 3/2010, FEMINA POLITICA 01/2011: Peace Matters. Leerstellen in der Friedens- und Konfliktforschung. Verlag Barbara Budrich; Katharina Stöckli, Die andere Hälfte der Bevölkerung – Frauen als „Ressource" für Sicherheit und Frieden. Analyse des US Counterinsurgency Engagements in Afghanistan am Beispiel der Female Engagement Teams (FETs) aus einer kritisch--feministischen Perspektive. Arbeit im Rahmen des CAS Civilian Peace Building 2014/15 (swisspeace), can be ordered from annemarie.sancar@swisspeace.ch, articles in „security check", Sicherheitsdebatten feministische durchleuchtet. cfd - das feministische Hilfswerk, Bern 2007. Der cfd, Träger von KOFF, ist massgeblich an der Diskussion feministischer Friedensförderung u.a. in der AG 1325 beteiligt.

41 UNDP report, p 34f: http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/ les/reports/255/hdr_1994_en_complete_nostats.pdf

42 UNSR 2242 (2015): http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/2242%282015%29

43 Security Council Counter-Terrorism Committee: http://www.un.org/en/sc/ctc/

Gender mainstreaming helps to put strategies for the prevention and the fight of violent extremism in relation to the goals and contents of UNSCR 1325.

In his opening address at the conference of the 15th anniversary of UNSCR 1325 in September 2015, Didier Burkhalter, the Federal Councillor, took the opportunity to praise the advantages of a gender sensitive approach in the prevention of extremist violence and to emphasize the importance of women as actors herein.[44] The Federal Councillor concluded that, in view of global changes, UNSCR 1325 did not fulfil requirements anymore.

Critical questions were asked early on, for example by Fionnuala Ní Aoláin,[45] professor of law: What is this new pointed emphasis on violent extremism within the security question? Is this about a facelift for 1325 so that funds can be tapped which are now pouring into the prevention of violent extremism? Which effect does the integration of Women, Peace and Security into the prevention of terrorism have on gender relations? How are postcolonial structures of power perpetuated in processes of definition and decision about interventions? These questions must be asked, the answers sought so that women's rights are not used to legitimate other objectives.

According to the Women, Peace and Security programme the focus is on the protection of the rights of women and their representation in the bodies of negotiation. This approach is however not sufficient in order to understand under which structural and political circumstances violence leads to terrorism, why some countries are more easily suspected of facilitating extremism than others and what the significance of gender relations and ethnicizing images of gender is.

3.5.   Controversial Participation: Mothers against Terrorism

The discourse of the prevention of terrorism typecasts women as victims of extremist violence and human trafficking, as deviationists or exotic females, as in in the form of Peshmerge from Kurdistan and as mothers taking on all the duties of socialising their children. These individualistic descriptions dominate the strategies of action surrounding Women, Peace and Security. By linking UNSCR 1325 to the prevention of terrorism it will be made even more difficult to enforce a broad concept of security which does not leave out issues like structural violence and has an encompassing concept of the protection of women's rights. In this light it is even more important to tie the Women, Peace and Security programme more closely to the norms, rights and mechanisms of the CEDAW convention. This is also a matter of funds and decisions on funds. Violent extremism harms women worldwide in many respects. But it is misleading to see the prevention of violent extremism as an important area of action for Women, Peace and Security and to channel funds accordingly.

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44 Opening Speach Federal Council Didier Burkhalter: https://www.eda.admin.ch/eda/de/home/das-eda/departementsvorsteherdidierburkhalter/reden.html/content/eda/de/meta/speeches/2015/9/9/58630
45 Fionnuala Ní Aoláin: The UN Security Council's New Resolution on Women, Peace, and Security, 2015: https://www.justsecurity.org/26720/unscr-2242/

Fionnuala Ní Aoláin: Jihad, Counter-Terrorism and Mothers

At the micro-level the policy can often boil down to encouraging families generally and mothers speci-cally to monitor online forums, to check and oversee internet use, and to pay attention to greater expressions of religious practice by their children, as well as the articulation of strong views on the Syrian and other conflicts involving the Islamic State. Mothers are also seen as having the relational capacity to bring young men back after they have traveled overseas, being the ones who are most likely to remain in touch with their children, and thus in the strongest position to exert emotional and social pressure on the adult child to return home.

Full text: https://www.justsecurity.org/20407/jihad-counter-terrorism-mothers/

In many speeches around UNSCR 2242 women are celebrated as the protagonists of the prevention of radicalisation. They can and should prevent their children from becoming terrorists. Apart from the fact that this is psychological and educational nonsense, the marginal status that women have in contexts character-ized by violence and the lack of opportunities is not reflected at all, nor is the harm that such individualized counter terrorism programmes can do to the lives of the women themselves, if they are then, as a consequence, confronted with domestic violence and exclusion from public spaces.

It is not mentioned in this context that fathers, teachers and employers could also be authorities concerning socialisation, which allows the conclusion that the matter at stake is not so much the improvement of the situations of the target group of UNSR 2242, but to satisfy gender stereotypes with which it is easy to conduct politics – in the name of prevention and protection and without touching on gender relations.

In Women, Peace and Security the participation of women in decision-making committees is crucial. But in the more than 130 follow-ups which were adopted within the UN Counter Terrorism programme, women are hardly mentioned as decision makers or target groups.[46] The Counter Terrorism Committee does not even seem to have taken note of the claim for equality – most certainly a question to be resolved. So everything is far from the objectives of the Women, Peace and Security programme. Where are women when decisions on security are taken and the concepts for the prevention of terrorism are made? Where do they participate, what influence do they have on the decisions and measures taken and their funding? A systematic implementation of UNSCR 1325 implies that the principle of participation is valid for all negotiations and decision-making processes. The Women, Peace and Security programme should not be limited to protection and prevention because that would not only confirm the persistent gender stereotypes of the discourse on security, but it would also obscure the mapping of the prevention of extremism.

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46 https://www.justsecurity.org/29907/feminism-assessing-terrorism-or-slay-dragon/

3.6.   Moving forward in the Debate

Are women's rights being exploited by the combination of gender-based peacebuilding and the prevention of terrorism? Feminist peace politicians are pursuing the question. No, is the answer the experts in peacebuilding give.[47] Women's rights may often be used to enforce national interests, alienated from the objective of legal equality. Nevertheless, it was important to insist on gender mainstreaming, the achievements in the security sector were recorded in figures and thus measureable thanks to the participation objective. In the structures of fighting violent extremism the criteria for "participation" are rather vague, the definition of terrorism varies, the highly upheld term of prevention gives lots of leeway to categorize the interpretation of potential target groups. The question remains: How much gender mainstreaming can there be in the misty fields of counter terrorism, when the principles of legal equality should be prevented from harm? Where are the opportunities to bring about structural change which would improve the situation of potential target groups according to women's rights? Does anybody ever take a look at where security is constituted, namely in the conditions of everyday lives and society, in exercising and benefiting from care work, and in what relation are the funds spent on counter terrorism to those issued to projects in the fields of generating income, education and health, local development and the promotion of gender equality?

In mixing Women, Peace and Security with the prevention of terrorism we risk to blank out the knowledge about the conditions under which women manage security and their quality of life in their daily routines. In the future it will become ever more important to focus on precisely these insights, to tie them to the rights of women evidenced in CEDAW, especially when the security strategies are undergoing gender mainstreaming without taking CEDAW into account simultaneously. The knowledge and the networks to pass it on are there, the challenge is rather to make use of the insights in the right place.

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47 https://www.justsecurity.org/20620/gender-violent-extremism-countering-violent-extremism-cve/ more by Fionnuala Ni Aolain
see https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Fionnuala_Aolain/publications, see also articles by Jayne Huckerby, such as https://
books.google.ch/books?hl=de&lr=&id=2cduiDco1sUC&oi=fnd&pg=PR1&dq=huckerby+Jayne&ots=d8H5CRTI0u&sig= 041CZ
I9h31yd_5dBg2oGBKawwqE#v=onepage&q=gender%20mainstreamin&f=false (not open source)

4. The Socio-Political and Economic Dimension of Peace Programmes

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- A holistic and gender responsive peacebuilding policy is namely addressing the underlying causes of conflict and removing structural obstacles in the way of gender equality. Participation of women in peace talks is more successful if the conditions of women's everyday lives are improved. Peacebuilding is therefore better working conditions, broader economic perspectives, acknowledged time out for care work and safeguarding the social networks, which is mostly left to women.

- State- and peacebuilding in fragile contexts may then be called gender responsive if the social and economic importance is fully acknowledged by state institutions and social actors, and this fact is reflected in the funding of peacebuilding, recovery, reconstruction, humanitarian aid and development.

- The understanding of security and peace in UNSCR 1325 and consequently in the Swiss NAP is narrow and disconnected from economic questions, from work and productivity and the gender specific differences at all levels. But the issues mentioned are actually the cornerstones of gender responsive development, as established in CEDAW, which again underlines the importance of linking UNSCR 1325 to CEDAW.

- Actors in politics and administration have their own experiences and demands concerning the economy and society, these should be combined with the security policy agenda as a starting point for a gender responsive forward-looking peacebuilding policy.

In UNSCR 1325, in the Swiss NAP and in the peacebuilding programmes implementing both, there is talk about economic empowerment, but the macroeconomic and the socio-political questions are not asked, because the relation between peacebuilding and economic activities in everyday life, between security and work is missing. This dimension is essential for a peacebuilding policy which aspires to security for women and wants to ensure equitable gender relations. The conditions under which women manage their daily lives in fragile and precarious situations are crucial for their security.

The access to care is a central aspect of human security and of safeguarding lives. In conflict and post-conflict contexts access to supplies and care is often precarious, dominated by inequalities and according to privileges belonging to a certain group. Necessary infrastructure to enable care work is lacking, as is safety in public spaces, again restricting the mobility of women. Care means a lot of work, but its economic significance is rarely taken seriously, neither in stable nor in fragile contexts. A lot of time is invested in activities whose productivity is slow, barely rationalizable and often invisible. Care work is done mainly by women, unpaid in households and paid with private and public providers.

The difficulties of care work in conflict contexts are not considered in peace negotiations, because they are not politically relevant enough to be appreciated for the resolving of a conflict. Thus the relevance of this contribution of women to human security has been underestimated so far. Only feminist economy has made a systematic debate on care and reproduction work possible by introducing the concept of the care economy.[48] Whilst this has become an issue in development cooperation, in peacebuilding the debate has not taken place so far. The WG 1325 deems such a debate necessary especially when post conflict contexts and or prevention are involved.

In conflict contexts NGOs can compensate a part of the shortfalls in supply and the access to care work, but their means are limited and designed for emergency aid/relief. The aid organizations, the UN and the directly affected have been lamenting the underfunding of services necessary to keep people alive.[49] Women are specially affected because they, due to their roles and experience in conflict contexts, often shoulder the responsibility of providing for their families. In 2013 the International Civil Society Network ICAN already draws attention to the gender specific consequences of neglecting the infrastructure for basic services and to the special needs of protection for women (Voices from the Ground: Syria's Humanitarian Crisis).[50] In the meantime, there have been many studies concerning the precarious conditions under which women ensure care work, about their perfecting the art of survival and their strategies for emergencies and what significance such practices could have for peacebuilding measures, if their economic value could be incorporated into concepts of reconstruction.[51]

Even in post-conflict situations care work is not often a priority, at least not when structural transformations are sought over and above direct aid in order to organize care work conditions compliant with human rights. This does not only mean that the basic needs of the directly affected people, already restricted in their mobility, as to healthcare, food and security should be met and that all of this will cost. Care work must – even under extreme circumstances - be done every day in order to keep people alive, and that is why appropriate infrastructure and services are necessary.[52]

The visible consequences of wartime economy are addressed through concrete reconstruction programmes. The hidden consequences such as debts, the undermining of institutions, shortcomings in governance etc. are however put on the agenda for the political negotiations and peacebuilding. Who gets to define the priorities for politics in post conflict situations? What are the criteria for the distribution of resources for reconciliation? Are there enough voices to explain the costs of basic services from a gender perspective, to show the significance of the invisible everyday tasks for "cleaning up" and "reconstructing" relevant to society and "things" for women and men in their respective needs, and to express these in economic values? The participation of women is important and indispensable, but the question is again: Which women (and men) take part in which negotiations, due to which expertise and interests are they involved? Which strategies enable women to influence peace processes? Which questions relevant to gender are not heard?[53]

Security, being a longer-term goal of peace contracts, is more than the absence of violent confrontations. In order to create security there are some necessary preconditions which facilitate care work, the work for a good standard of living and coping with everyday life in general. It would appear nothing but plausible if

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48 The approach was developed further but never managed to establish itself in economic sciences. The study by UNRISD (UN Research Institute for Social Development) "Political and Social Economy of Care" lists paid and unpaid direct care work for children and the ill as well as work providing care and support of people (e.g. housework) http://www.unrisd. org/80256B3C005BCCF9/httpNetITFramePDF?ReadForm&parentunid=2DBE6A93350A7783C12573240036D5A0&parentdocty pe=paper&netitpath=80256B3C005BCCF9/(httpAuxPages)/2DBE6A93350A7783C12573240036D5A0/$file/Razavi-paper.pdf

49 See also: Mascha Madörin (2011) Das Auseinanderdriften der verschiedenen Formen von Arbeitsproduktivität: Eine feministische Sicht. Zürich. Denknetz Jahrbuch 2012, p 56-70.http://www.tagesanzeiger.ch/ausland/naher-osten-und-afrika/uno-fordert-milliardenspenden-fuer-syrien/story/29009736; http://www.zeit.de/politik/ausland/2015-03/syrien-hilfe-oxfam-konferenz; http://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/syrien-der-gefaehrlichste-ort-auf-der-welt-1.2901716

50 http://www.icanpeacework.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/04/WWS-Syrias-Humanitarian-Crisis-Winter-2013.pdf

51 http://orf.at/stories/2330560/2330561/, http://www.care-international.org/files/files/CARE_Women_Work_War_report.pdf

52 http://www.unwomen.org/en/digital-library/publications/2016/3/redistributing-unpaid-care-and-sustaining-quality-care-services

53 See also: Thania Paffenholz, Nick Ross, Steven Dixon, Anna-Lena Schluchter, Jacqui True: Making Women Count – Not Just Counting Women. Assessing Women's Inclusion and Influence on Peace Negotiations. Geneva Inclusive Peace and Transition Initiative, UN Women 2016. http://www.inclusivepeace.org/sites/default/files/IPTI-UN-Women-Report-Making-Women-Count-60-Pages.pdf

said requirements were also mentioned in treaties, especially basic services and appropriate infrastructure projects which could again be manifest in the (promised) resources provided. In addition, accessible and economically secure spaces are needed where women can use and expand their powers of improvisation. Actors wanting to invest in post-conflict societies should enable affordable basic services for the majority of the population, beginning with all the activities that cannot be done profitably, but are necessary to help the people lead the kind of life which makes active roles in state-building possible. Because this goes beyond the role of peacebuilding today, it is all the more important to look at the points of intersection with post-conflict situations, to link the various approaches in order to advance towards the goals of CEDAW.

The political and the economic dimension are interlinked. Approaches are necessary from both sides, development cooperation and peacebuilding. Women need particular support for the work done in the care sector. This is a prerequisite for enabling them to gain enough time and energy for political participation to be an option. If this support is not given specifically, the greater part of care work will shift to households where the work will again be invisible and done by women with few possibilities and under aggravated circumstances. Consequently, equal participation in peacebuilding processes will remain the privilege of those women who have time, access to education and are mobile enough to delegate or buy their share of care work.

4.1.   Participation for Gender Responsive Peacebuilding

The focus of the Swiss NAP 1325 for 2013-2016 is on the political participation of women during and after violent conflicts and on their active roles in finding resolutions. But the report of the inter-departmental Working Group 1325 for the implementation of the Swiss NAP indicates that the prerequisites for the participation and political involvement of women are not just a given: "Women who suffer from economic pressure and the lack of time and money will not be able to concern themselves with politics" as it says in the report. For the tangible implementation the Swiss NAP is however limited to few aspects of participation:

On the one side it refers to diplomacy to actively claim the places of women at the negotiating table. On the other hand, according to NAP 1325, women in local conflict contexts should gain easier access to political and economic participation at community level through empowerment and capacity-building programmes. Between these two approaches there is a gap: the translation and the transfer of experience by the civil society at local level to the level of multilateral politics and back are difficult, because the challenges of implementation are very different at the various levels, especially when options for women to act in local contexts are supposed to be expanded. Not all women have the same possibilities. There are great differences in terms of the availability of resources and time, of the access to important committees and centres of power, of participation and everyday organisational procedures. This means in effect that participation can vary a lot according to context and thus calls for various approaches. Case studies and studies on participation should be carried out, networks and channels of communication established to show how a transfer of experience could take place and which demands should be made at the highest level in order to influence gender relations to a degree which makes everyday life easier.

The Development of the NAP 1325 in Egypt: Strategy to Gain Influence at Political Level

In May 2015 Peacewomen Across the Globe organized the last big three-day forum for dialogue on the political participation of women, with Egyptian and international organisations, in Alexandria. Roughly 100 participants, mainly women, came from different sectors of society: at the table of the candidates for the next parliamentary elections the participants discussed measures to be taken against widespread acts of violence during elections. Structural obstacles and physical violence in public spaces prevent namely women from participating in the elections.

At the civil society table the debate was on how to improve the collaboration of women's and equality organisations. The participants of the National Dialogue Forum were able to build up on a process which had begun in 2012 with a kick-off and had been developed further in three regional forums for dialogue in 2014.

At the final National Forum for Dialogue in 2015 the jointly developed recommendations were submitted to the right authorities and key people in the institutions. The strategic goal of the whole process is to reflect locally developed ideas and projects in the Egyptian NAP 1325, which is being developed at the moment, and to voice the concerns of women. Aspects of care work should be further discussed at roundtables. Even if this is achieved and women's voices are heard, there is still no guaranteed implementation. Since 2014 women's rights have been chartered in the constitution of Egypt, and "the equality of women and men in all civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights" are guaranteed. But until this becomes reality, a lot time and stamina will be necessary. The question remains to what extent women in decision-making bodies will be prepared to advocate the concerns of marginalized and poor women, fundamentally and in the long term.

The example from Egypt (p. 34) demonstrates how civil society organisations try to assert themselves at political level by anticipating developments and, as in the example, try to increase women's participation in elections.

The Swiss NAP- like similar normative frameworks- does not have anything to offer concerning the establishment of a social infrastructure designed to let the dynamics of civil society be included into and influence international peacebuilding. The different levels of diplomacy and nation states down to the reality of communities are disconnected in the Swiss NAP as well, and so the reporting follows the logic of isolated tracks and levels. This in turn leads to projects which are being implemented within the Swiss NAP and which should promote individual economic participation in the job market lacking the relevance to the preconditions for care work, and thus keeping the consequences of the structural discrimination of women in the local context in the dark. Suggestions for transformation in this regard are necessary and should be drawn up in participative political processes and communicated as demands. This is a challenge. There are organisations who are committed to this transfer. They often find that the balance of power is unfavourable for the concerns of local women's organisations, even in cases were women are represented at negotiation level.

4.2. Checking "Security" in Bosnia and Herzegowina[54]

In Bosnia and Herzegowina (BiH), after twenty years of peacebuilding and reconstruction, a lot has been achieved concerning security with UNSCR 1325. BiH had adopted the first National Action Plan, setting an example for the whole region. Currently, the NAP 2 (NAP 2 BiH, 2014-2017) applies. The WG 1325 wanted to know more and organised a "field trip" to BiH. As staff members of cfd and KOFF we wanted to find out about the importance of gender specific aspects of security, what security means for women in different contexts and which role UNSCR 1325 still plays today. Our interlocuters explained, alone or in groups, with or without the accompaniment of NGOs, in what circumstances they lived. The following is a summary of some insights from the observations and conversations.

There are many activities undertaken within the framework of the Women-Peace-Security agenda to improve the situation of women after the war. The voices of the women, the critical reports of the experts indicate however, that much has been disregarded which could contribute to the safety for and of women. Peacebuilding measures are effective to cope with damage caused by the war. But they are not sufficient to make the coping with everyday issues by women easier or simpler, and even in the National Action Plan BiH for the implementation of UNSCR 1325 there are no measures provided to make the access to basic public services more gender-responsive in the long term.

Assessment of the situation by our dialogue partners: Basically the women describe their current security situation as precarious and diffuse. It is not the war or its immediate consequences which is the strain, but poverty and marginalization, pressures in everyday lives, the lack of resources – often indirectly linked to the effects of the war (relocation, trauma, isolation). Political participation is difficult because there is no time. For many women incomes, social benefits and education are barely accessible, despite 20 years of reconstruction aid and foreign investments. Gender-based discrimination and stereotyping occur, images like during the war – as the young women in Sarajevo say- are again being perpetuated. The NGOs who had until then worked within the UNSCR 1325 framework now want to be more involved in the national law for gender equality, in CEDAW and in the Istanbul Convention of the European Council against violence against Women.[55] In conversations the question about the need for a re-defining of security, protection and prevention to make policies gender-responsive is regularly asked. UNSCR 1325 and its focus' on participation, protection and prevention as well as rehabilitation is not challenged. Many important aspects of sustainable peacebuilding and public reconstruction however do not fit into the framework given. NGOs specializing on the issues of UNSCR 1325 even think that the tight rein could lead to the exclusion of the structural causes of conflict and violence.

Security is not only a life without the fear of direct violence, it is also the provision of basic supplies, primary care and dignified work. The insecurities experienced depend on age, biography, the degree of education, health, standard of life and place of residence, the latter because of the great regional differences regarding the dynamics of the economy, infrastructure and public services. The Women-Peace-Security agenda

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54 The interview partners were chosen on the basis of the longstanding work of cfd and the resulting network in Bosnia-Herzegowina. The selection has no claim to completeness. The following remarks are based on conversations and discussions had on issues of security in the everyday lives of women in general and the significance of UNSCR 1325 in particular. The information was generated in focus groups with young urban women (cfd partner organisation CURE), rural women and female smallholders (cfd partner organisation Medica Zenica), at the roundtable of the coordinating committee for the prevention of domestic and gender based violence in Zenica Doboj, at the roundtable with members of staff of the Swiss Embassy in Sarajevo, in discussions with five local women's and human rights organisations, gender experts, members of staff of the equal opportunities office at national level and in both entities as well as with the UN.

55 https://rm.coe.int/CoERMPublicCommonSearchServices/DisplayDCTMContent?documentId=090000168046031c

recognises the significance of the economic empowerment of women regarding the prevention of violence and for the reconstruction of a gender responsive society. Nonetheless, the opportunity to set corner stones for a gender responsive economy after the war was missed.

The civil society takes alternative routes: With lots of commitment to the civil society local and well-connected NGOs with experience in projects within UNSCR 1325 launched participative planning activities. They organise meetings with women who describe their various everyday experiences and exchange strategies so as to identify security problems in their communities and make suggestions for the improvement of the conditions of living.

On the basis of these roundtables, the local knowledge of specialists and studies, local Action Plans (LAP) for the protection and the security of women according to UNSCR 1325 and CEDAW are developed. Thanks to the Gender-Responsive-Budgeting-Initiative (GRB Initiative) dating from 2010 there is important data on the quality of the lives of women. The LAP also include political claims and initiatives which representatives of the communities, supported by NGOs, pass on to the superior authorities responsible.

In the NAP 2, 2014-2017 from BiH, this is what is said about "participation": „Women have the capacities for participation in decision making, in military and police forces and peace missions". The addition „Including activities that referred to participation of women in decision making in local policies and gender equality plans or for the implementation of UN Resolution 1325" is not substantiated by indicators nor measures to be taken. The local action plans should change this. Women should not just integrate themselves into the current structures, they should make the problems concerning everyday lives visible and strive to make local development more gender-responsive, including budgets, guidelines and the structures of administration.

The local development plans, well anchored in the civil society, are a good basis for a shift in paradigm referring to the understanding of security. A comprehensive strategy for gender-responsive security expands the topics and methods laid down in the NAP. Women are no longer first and foremost unsettled by violence due to war. Their security is generated in social security systems, in the development of infrastructure and in services offered.

Reconsidering Protection and Prevention: The causes of gender-based violence have not changed since the approval of the NAP which focuses on conflict and gender-based violence (GBV). The protection of witnesses is still in place, but the protection is not always there for everyone. Reforms of the law and reforms of the security sector are important, but they must include domestic violence – with or without direct relation to war. Until today it is still possible to get away with gender based violence.

The representatives of CURE and interviewed experts say that many women were afraid to file a complaint, and the punishments for the perpetrators were too mild. There was no money for better measures of protection like contact points or shelters for women, and the police did not care enough to record women's experiences with violence thoroughly. Public spaces in town did not offer enough protection and militarizes security policies frightened people, sexual harassment was omnipresent. Patriarchal stereotypes of masculinity and femininity were to be found everywhere, the media warming up old clichés, state the interview partners. A lot of public relations work is to be done.

UNSCR 1325 and its follow-ups do not go far enough and make it difficult to define sexual violence in the post-conflict phase more broadly, not just in times of war. UNSCR 1325 remains vague, the scope for interpretation is large and therefore an important entry point for the influence of women's organisations and

NGOs. Many women have a personal understanding of prevention. "The war has been over for a long time, and now we are suffering from these great floods and realize that this calamity has brought similar insecurities along. We were evicted, we are again homeless and without properties, where will we get help from?" This is how an elderly female farmer describes her outrage about the failure of the government to provide the protection the people would have needed with foresight. The farmer hopes for better protection from the dangers and menaces of her everyday life. But because reconstruction has not been integral, these structures cannot protect the population and especially not the women, and natural disasters suddenly have the same consequences like a war.

Reinforcing women's organisations and networks: The incentive is still there, according to NGOs' and women's rights organisations and as mentioned in the interviews. They also state that it is important to apply all the know-how gained in the implementation of UNSCR 1325 in other relevant areas – although the funds are lacking. For this is exactly what NGOs owed to UNSCR 1325: a solid budget for projects, a budget that has now been used up and had led to a pronounced competitive situation amongst the NGOs. All the more important are good networks, lively communication and above all political influence. Today, a lot more is at stake than can be outlined by BiH NAP 1325. The projects which cfd backs and their partners carry out, demonstrate how diverse the challenges for women today are. In order to determine the underlying causes of violence and the lack of security networking and strong NGOs to translate local knowledge to political demands are necessary. Such processes are demanding and slow, their impact not measureable. The funding of such processes is often precarious. It takes time, professionalism and also paid work. Despite many good intentions, as they are phrased in the Swiss NAP as well, funds for case studies, learning processes and networking as well as other civil society activities are not available for developing gender responsive peacebuilding and security policies.

4.3.   The Promotion of Peace at the Interface of Security and Labour

As the report from BiH demonstrates, the conditions in which women try to create lives worth living are characterized by obstructions relevant to security and peacebuilding. Where do strategies concerning peace, security and development come together? Which consequences could come about due to these interfaces in order to secure that the work women do to support lives, in the reconstruction and development of the state after a conflict, is accorded the importance it is due?

In the Swiss NAP 1325 the economic empowerment of women is a firm component of prevention and a prerequisite for participation. As economic empowerment does not automatically lead to more gender equality, expedient connections to political processes of transformation in other areas are required.

The Swiss NAP 1325 is limited to general statements, but leaves the basic question of the manner in which this connection could happen unanswered. The "New Deal for Engagement in Fragile States"[56] is an international policy declaration which Switzerland has signed, and the implementation of which it supports, but the programmatic reference to the declaration remains without concrete follow-up. The "New Deal" has five goals for peace and state-building: politically legitimated structures, security for the population, judiciary, jobs, state income and public services. All of these are, especially in their interconnectedness, gender relevant. But the international strategies for reconstruction, for statehood and strengthening of good governance practices remain gender neutral, the internationally tested perspective shuts itself off from the day-to-day world where gender inequalities and their discriminating consequences are noticeable. The

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56 https://www.eda.admin.ch/content/dam/eda/en/documents/publications/MenschenrechtehumanitaerePolitikundMigration/Frauen-Frieden-und-Sicherheit_en.pdf

determination of economic potential sets the framework wherein investment strategies are planned and institutional development is demanded. Social security – understood as economic necessity – is set aside, its "added value" challenged. If Switzerland wants to influence and implement a gender responsive peace-building-strategy it has to rectify these imbalances.

The question is which actors should deal with such issues in order to brake the "generalising-effect". It takes actors who are able to illustrate the manifold needs for security that women have, and to analyse them in a structural context, by including socio-economic aspects in the gender sensitive conflict analyses. Who is able to do that, who will do it? Detailed descriptions of everyday life, including totally unspectacular routine, must be seen in the greater context of the social system.

Only the analysis of the underlying causes of inequality and the transfer of this knowledge into the areas of politics significant for care work will lead to sustainable and gender responsive peace. We need a rethink in developing peace and security policies, so that the substantial significance of the huge amount of work women do for peacebuilding and reconstruction is acknowledged and reflected institutionally, financially and politically. We also need new forms of cooperation with the actors in peacebuilding, in development cooperation, in the economy and in social policies. Which women will then participate in political forums remains to be seen: it is important that as many women as possible have the opportunity to vote and to influence political decisions. If women devote their time and experience to politics in the first place, it does not automatically follow that they will commit to gender equality just because they are women. Only if they work towards the social transformation of gender relations and structural equality will this succeed, which also means that political projects are not exclusively launched and supported by women but in close cooperation with men.

5. Outlook

The promoting of peace and security from a gender perspective concerns social and economic policy also, apart from the political level and security policies, as was shown in the last chapter. As the Swiss NAP 1325 was originally a lot more restrictive and then opened up in the follow-up resolutions, without, however, strategically tackling the institutional adjustments adequately, new approaches are called for. A comprehensive strategy for the implementation of the Swiss NAP 1325 is necessary, but at the same time it is important to determine the single concrete areas of action. In every context, in Switzerland and in countries affected by conflict, the relevant areas of politics must be carved out meticulously and possible links to a gender responsive policy for peace and security should be discussed. This is not primarily a matter of technical agreement and institutional feasibility studies, it is about setting priorities between conflicting areas such as distribution and access, protection and rights of women, the status of production and reproduction work in society and about the vision of sustainable peacebuilding.

The last chapter focuses on the conditions in which the women of Bosnia-Herzegowina manage their everyday lives in a post-conflict society. It thereby becomes clear that the security of the women concerned is only gender responsive if peacebuilding relates to economic and socio-political aspects of everyday lives and priorities are set where care work is structured and organised (see Swiss NAP 1325, Fragilitätsagenda, p 5). How this happens depends on the context, the possibilities and restrictions of the scope for social policies and on the abilities and the experience of the people and organisations dedicated to care work.

So it is a matter of defining sensible reconstruction strategies after a war, of sustainability, of funding and focusing in processes of state-building. These are political discussions which must be brought up by members of Parliament and the Swiss authorities in view of future peace and security policy, if they want it to become more gender responsive. The actors in civil society have great influence, be it through lobbying and public relations work in Switzerland, or through activities like projects, networking and empowerment for local NGOs in conflict regions. Processes and places where experiences from different areas of politics concerning a specific topic of the Women-Peace-Security agenda are brought together and discussed are most important.

These reflections illustrate that the social and economic preconditions of daily chores done, the work of every day for the sake of the upkeep of families and groups must be a part of the action taken towards gender-responsive peace and security policy. A new culture of cooperation and discussion is required, one which allows a new definition of the experience gained in the respective fields towards the concept of women, peace and security. What to do, where are the starting points for a new gender responsive peace and security policy? Peacebuilding practice will be the initial point, due to the main framework of Women, Peace and Security and the NAP 1325.

5.1.   Starting Points

- A transnational practice: the inevitable nationalist focus of the Swiss NAP 1325 must be let go in favour of a transnational concept of security. This is the only way to develop a gender responsive understanding of security for peacebuilding policies which is not dominated by the idea of (military) defence.

- Foreign policy is domestic policy: the domestic view on peacebuilding is open to new ways of thinking about concepts, policies and methods and makes other connections visible; symbolically the phenomenon of migration, which cannot be dealt with using only the statutory requirements of the NAP on Women, Peace and Security, if the ideas of UNSCR 1325 are to be taken seriously. The right to protection, prevention and participation applies to all people, and the especially risky everyday life of women on the move is, of course, transnational (see NAP 1325: Inclusion of the latest developments at

international level, p 5) – this is what a transnational approach, important to women's organisations for years, demands. This approach fundamentally questions the representations of gender in (national) military rhetoric, breaks up gender specific dichotomies and makes space for alternative narratives of security.

- The interdisciplinary perspective: in economic and socio-political context there is a lot of gender specific knowledge, so it makes sense to benefit from this fact, to create platforms for discussions and build up sustainable cooperation, especially when dealing with strategic and financial policy planning (see NAP 1325: Intensifying coordination and coherence in order to heighten impact).

To strike out in new directions we need to open our minds to extend our own practice, our instruments and methods, a readiness to promote new networks and forms of cooperation, hearings, where examples of local conflict-affected contexts are discussed from diverse points of view, e.g. from an economic, socio-political or foreign policy perspective. Interested experts and actors can then develop focal points of action based on this learning process, and, according to their role, function and abilities, together or individually, think of ways to implement said plans of action.

The report concludes, retracing focal points which go beyond the Swiss NAP 1325:

As experience shows, gender-responsive budgeting is an effective method to deal with economic issues such as financing, trade or tax mechanisms. The connection to peacebuilding and security policies is however less evident and will be explained with an example: The CEDAW Committee received a report on the impacts of cross-border-tax on gender relations in fragile contexts of the global South.[57] The report shows what impact tax policy has on the stability of a nation and why certain countries are forced to implement strict austerity policies, which create more inequality and fuel conflicts. The first cuts are made in the (expensive) basic services – health care, housing, mobility. There is no profit to be made here, only debts. The cuts in public services lead to segregation and exclusion. These budgeting measures mainly affect women, because they are, according to the roles attributed to them, relegated to those fields of activity which are most affected by the cuts, on the one hand the reduction of jobs in the relevant sectors, on the other because of the unpaid extra time which has to be put in to compensate for the reductions. Those who have large enough incomes can afford to buy services, but those who do not lose in their standard of living and fall into the poverty trap, a fertile ground for violence and conflict. There is no identity-political remedy against that. According to the report, the rich countries of the North, Switzerland included, have a responsibility of far-reaching significance concerning peacebuilding and security policies. If the Women-Peace-Security agenda is to be taken seriously, it has to be valid in terms of financial policy as well, because the conflict potential of the care regime is influenced through.

Peacebuilding experts can benefit from the knowledge gained from the exchange of ideas and the mutual learning processes for their work, just as NGOs, politicians, authorities of development cooperation and the human rights sector, as well as the social, security and economy sectors can.

Other forms of representation of war and peace are to be developed in order to put a stop to the forming and reinforcement of patriarchal stereotypes and attribution of values. For that it is important to keep looking for voices and perspectives which offer an alternative to mainstream reporting. This will succeed if

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57 Berne Declaration, Center for Economic and Social Rights, Global Justice Clinic, New York University School of Law and Tax Justice Network: State Responsibility for the Impacts of Cross-border Tax. Abuse on Women's Rights & Gender Equality Submitted on February 22, 2016 to the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women 65th Pre-Sessional Working Group, Geneva, March 7-11, 2016.

reports on everyday lives, local voices and portrayals by creative artists are included, though projects, context analyses, mutual learning processes or workshops. Media representatives are important actors, which is why they need full access – currently often restricted by institutional conditions to the material generated by the peacebuilding sector.

The tried and tested lines of action described in the Swiss NAP 1325 for Women, Peace and Security merit further development. This mainly concerns sectors of human resources (hiring, promoting, further training) which can fall back on instruments developed and improved by the Federal Office for Gender Equality –the budget permitting. Reporting is particularly significant, accountability must be demanded from the civil society as well as from politics. Especially in this sphere, innovative and qualitative indicators must be developed to enable effective reporting, going above and beyond the mere counting of women in certain positions. For this purpose, new and qualitative monitoring approaches must be developed and implemented systematically.

The NAP rightly emphasises the significance of the coherence and coordination of activities, from the interfaces to other national strategies and normative instruments. Such declarations of intent are always a great challenge when put into practice. For the sake of developing a joint practice which will reinforce gender-responsive peacebuilding and security policies, it is important to make use of the good prerequisites in the area of women's rights, namely bringing together the already existing instruments UNSCR 1325 and CEDAW as well as others, and building up on tried and tested experiences which have been made with CEDAW, for instance.

5.2. Insights

- If security and peacebuilding policies and the goals of UNSCR 1325 are meant to be gender responsive, domestic policies are also necessary to eliminate the causes of violence, of structural inequality in war and peace, of discrimination and breaches of law in conflict contexts.

- Putting UNSCR 1325 into practice becomes more effective in connection with CEDAW. There is more commitment and peacebuilding policies can benefit from the broad knowledge and experience which the administration, the civil society and parliament have already gained with CEDAW; peacebuilding can crosslink accordingly, include its experience in other relevant topics and be developed further. Comprehensive peacebuilding needs adequate resources for awareness-raising measures and public relations work, to initiate learning processes in interdisciplinary cooperation and for measures ensuring access to legal remedies.

- The goals of UNSCR 1325 are more easily reached if the relevant authorities have sophisticated information on gender relations in conflict areas at their disposal before making decisions. To form their opinions, decision-makers in politics, the administration, in civil society and NGOs should draw on varied representations and voices from conflict contexts, on descriptions of daily life by local women, on reports and case studies. The local media and media representatives need special support in producing and communicating, as they are often dependent on the conflict parties, and restricted and supervised in their reporting.

- In order to fulfil the goals of UNSCR 1325 more completely, the work that women do every day under the great pressure of looming conflict must be made more visible. The spaces where women develop their coping strategies must be highlighted, information on the structural conditions which restrict these activities in favour of "human security" must be gathered.

- Peacebuilding and security policy are also economic policy. Debates on budgets and financial decisions shed light on the prioritisation of security measures and thus on a nation's security policies and its understanding of "human security". In order to influence said prioritisation shifts, in domestic budgets must be analysed carefully, for instance by comparing the trends in public spending for the army, public health care, social services and education.

- Holistic peacebuilding means dealing with the underlying causes of conflicts and eliminating structural obstacles to gender equality. The participation of women in peace negotiations is more successful if the conditions of everyday life are improved. Peacebuilding thus means better working conditions, more economic perspective, acknowledged time-out for all the care work and networking which is mainly left to women.

- The civil society is a conglomerate of various points of view and perspectives, experiences and interests, and as such an important observer of peacebuilding and security policy-making processes. How are threats defined, what significance is accorded to "human security" and where and how is the debate on security reflected in political decisions? Where and to what end are the distinctions of gender made, where does the argumentation remain neutral? Designated spaces where opinion-forming in civil society is allowed to happen, where voices may be heard, are most necessary. The WG 1325 is an example hereof.

- Gender responsive peace and security policy comply with women's rights, but there is still some danger of turning the protection principle into the guiding principle. The "Prevention of Violent Extremism Agenda" is an example of such a balancing act. To attain the goals of UNSCR 1325 such new trends must be carefully analysed regarding this, especially if new options for activities for the actors in Women, Peace and Security arise.

- The goals of UNSCR 1325 are comprehensive and far-reaching, they implicate interdisciplinary action, above and beyond individual institutions. The resolution alone cannot achieve this, so a broad establishment and linkage of UNSCR 1325 with existing instruments and approaches is most significant, with the added goal of introducing the gender debate in peacebuilding to other areas of practice in order to give fresh impetus to gender-responsive peacebuilding.

UN Programme Women, Peace and Security: Follow-up Resolutions to UNSCR 1325

UNSCR 1820 (2008)

Focuses on sexualized violence during armed conflict as a tactic and classifies this as a war crime, a crime against humanity or a constitutive act with respect to genocide.

UNSCR 1888 (2009)

Focuses on the mechanisms of implementation, with respect to gender-based and sexual violence during armed conflict. A special representative is appointed.

UNSCR 1889

Launches a series of global indicators for the four pillars prevention, participation, protection, recovery and reconstruction. The member states are called upon to use these as a basis for reporting. The General Secretary is requested to report systematically on the prevalence of sexual violence against civilians, especially women and children. For the documentation cooperation with other relevant UN bodies is requested and women-protection advisors are to be appointed for the protection of women in peace missions.

UNSCR 1960 (2010)

Reaffirms the role of UN personnel and the peace missions to fight violence during conflicts. At the same time the Secretary General is requested to continue the efforts to implement a zero-tolerance policy, on sexual exploitation and abuse by United Nations peacekeeping and humanitarian personnel. This resolution recommends mechanisms for monitoring, analyses and reporting on sexual violence occurring in armed conflicts. Parties to armed conflict are committed the rule of law.

UNSCR 2106 (2013)

Does not include new concepts, but reaffirms the imperative of prosecuting sexual violence and to put an end to impunity.

UNSCR 2122 (2013)

Reaffirms the significance of Women, Peace and Security for sustainable peace and confirms that this is only to be done if states invest in the participation and empowerment of women at all levels of decision-making processes. The resolution calls upon the Secretary General to commission a global study on the challenges to the implementation of UNSCR 1325.

UNSCR 2242 (2015)

Combines the UN Women-Peace-Security programme with the UN programme on fighting terrorism and calls upon the states to focus on this link. At the same time, the Counter Terrorism Executive Directorate CTED is requested to work more closely with UN Women.

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Authors
Editors

The NGO-Working Group Women, Peace and Security

Representatives of women's rights organisations dedicated to peacebuilding discussed the significance and effectiveness of the WPS programme for women's rights and gender relations and developed ideas for gender-responsive peace policy. The platform for the debate was KOFF, the Centre for Peacebuilding, a network for dialogue and exchange of ideas facilitated by swisspeace to reinforce Swiss peacebuilding activities by developing strategic alternatives, policy recommendations and joint initiatives for peace, together with its member organisations.

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