



Women, Peace and Security

Examining the Impact of Resolution 1325 on UN Disarmament and Demobilization Programs

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Introduction

Since the end of the Cold War, changes in modern warfare, including the increased targeting of civilians and the escalating use of sexual violence as an instrument of conflict, have dramatically altered the roles and experiences of women in situations of armed conflict. The recognition of the need to address gendered perspectives in peacebuilding and reconstruction efforts, and the need to incorporate a greater number of women in leadership positions at all levels of peacebuilding efforts, culminated nine years ago in the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 *Women, Peace and Security* (2000). Resolution 1325 marked the landmark recognition of the need to increase participation of women in decision-making and peace processes, to more proactively ensure the protection of women and girls in conflict zones, and to institute gender perspectives and awareness training in peacekeeping missions. Nearly a decade after its adoption, NGOs and academics have criticized the implementation of SCR 1325, suggesting that inconsistent and delayed application and

inadequate monitoring mechanisms have undermined the effectiveness of 1325 on impacting United Nations peacekeeping missions and operations. This paper will briefly outline the circumstances for which Resolution 1325 was created, the policy developments leading up to its adoption, and will use case examples of UN disarmament and demobilization programs initiated in Liberia, Côte d'Ivoire and Burundi after the year 2000 to examine the measurable impact of Resolution 1325 on UN peacebuilding activities.

I. WOMEN AND ARMED CONFLICT

Gender in UN Peacebuilding Activities

(i) Gender as a Peacebuilding Concept

The definition of gender has continued to evolve with changing norms. Within the context of international peacekeeping, gender goes beyond the biological differentiation between sexes to include “social relationships produced by cultural, social, economic and historical processes and the various roles played by men and women.”¹ The United Nations Office of the Special Advisor on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women suggests that gender refers to “the social attributes and opportunities associated with being male and female and the relationships between women and men and girls and boys, as well as the relations between women and those between men.”² It is integral to peacekeeping activities that the UN definition of gender includes the socially constructed and context/time specific nature of gender roles, and the means by which traditional gender roles shape expectations and values placed on women and men. Differences and inequalities between gender roles constrain the responsibilities assigned, activities undertaken, access to and control over resources, as well as decision-making opportunities afforded to women.³

(ii) Gender Equity in Peacebuilding Activities

Within UN peacebuilding programmes, gender equity refers to the equal rights,

¹ ICRW, pg. 5

² OSAGI, 2001: np

³ OSAGI, 2001: np

responsibilities and opportunities of women and men, and girls and boys. Gender equity in programming implies that the interests, needs and priorities of both women and men are taken into consideration during planning and implementation, recognizing diversity among groups of women and men. Gender equity concerns both men and women, and is seen both as a human rights issue and as a precondition for, and indicator of, sustainable people-centered development.⁴

(iii) Gender Mainstreaming as a UN Strategy

Gender mainstreaming is the strategy employed by the United Nations to achieve gender equity through the process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programmes at all levels of the UN. It is a strategy intended to make the concerns and experiences of women an integral part of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programmes so that women and men benefit equally, and existing inequalities are not perpetuated.⁵

Women's Roles in, and Experiences of Armed Conflict

(i) Changing Nature of Modern Warfare

The issues and preoccupations of 21st century peacebuilding reflect a new and fundamentally different understanding of conflict than conceived of in 1945 when the United Nations was established. Since the end of the Cold War, there has been a trend towards civil and inter-state wars and an increased targeting of civilians, blurring the traditional distinction between combatant and civilian.⁶ As violence transgresses the boundary between theatre and community, the lives of civilians, most notably women and children, are dramatically impacted.⁷ In this changed context, the traditional conception of women as fulfilling caring and nurturing roles within their communities fails to address their changed roles and unique experiences.

(ii) Women's Indirect and Direct Involvement in Conflict

⁴ OSAGI, 2001: np

⁵ Rehn & Johnson-Sirleaf, 2002: 63

⁶ Anderlini, 2000: 1

⁷ ICRW, 2003: 11

Women play a multitude of roles during situations of conflict. As far more men participate as combatants in armed conflict than women, the burden of household maintenance, agriculture, industry and health care falls predominantly on women.⁸ As social structures erode, women face particular challenges caring for children in refugee and internally displaced persons (IDP) camps and operating as single heads of households in traditionally male-dominated societies.⁹ Since the end of WWII, women have assumed a greater role in conflict and join the armed forces more frequently, both voluntarily and involuntarily, participating as combatants, as evident in Sri Lanka, Eritrea, Zimbabwe and El Salvador,¹⁰ and also as nurses, cooks, sex workers and caregivers.¹¹ Despite their more direct involvement in armed conflict, as a result of women's traditional gender roles and power relations between women and men, women frequently experience war as both victims and participants.¹²

Sexual and gender-based violence frequently occurs regardless of women's indirect or direct involvement, and has acute consequences, particularly as sexual violence has come to be used as a systemic method of modern warfare. Numerous motivations associated with women's practical and symbolic roles within their community can be attributed to the use of sexual violence. Due to their symbolic association with honour and their practical role as caregivers, women are often raped to humiliate the men with whom they are associated, to weaken traditional family structures and to terrorize the community. In societies where ethnicity is patrilineal, "enemy" women are forcibly impregnated and made to bear children as an instrument of cultural genocide.¹³ Women and girls are commonly abducted and forced into marriage or used as sexual slaves to service troops, and are often intentionally infected with HIV AIDS. Sexual and gender-based violence also act as tools of social control, wherein rape is used to punish or dissuade women from becoming politically active, and armed men returning from conflict contribute to elevated levels of domestic violence when the conflict subsides and they struggle to readjust to civilian life.¹⁴

⁸ IANSA, 2003: 3

⁹ ICRC, 2001: 30

¹⁰ de Watteville, 2002: 1

¹¹ ICRC, 2001: 23, Farr, 2003: 24

¹² ICRW, 2003: 11; also Denov, 2007:18

¹³ IANSA, 2003: 3

¹⁴ IANSA, 2003: 3

The Need for Gender-Responsive Peacebuilding Programmes

(i) Exclusion of Women from Peacebuilding Activities

Regardless of the increased impact on, and involvement of women in armed conflict, there has been a tendency in peacebuilding agreements to focus on civilian women, who are frequently believed to be peaceful and nurturing, largely due to their status as mothers, while overlooking women who have been active participants, whether coerced or willing, in armed groups.¹⁵ Disarmament and Demobilization programmes have to date not significantly or substantially involved women.¹⁶ Although women are often included in reintegration programmes, males almost exclusively run disarmament and demobilization operations, as they are considered to be military operations, and relatively few women have senior level military experience.¹⁷ “The polarized and tense atmosphere of conflict negotiations tends to reinforce prevailing social attitudes that exclude women”¹⁸ as political power usually rests in the hands of a predominantly male political elite and leaders of armed groups. Women who transgress traditional gender expectations, as willing participants or victims, tend to be excluded from peace settlements and rarely receive the benefits afforded to male combatants during disarmament and demobilization programmes.¹⁹ Disarmament, Demobilization, Reintegration (DDR) programmes are believed to be crucial to increasing security, public safety and protection in the aftermath of conflict, as well as promoting peace,²⁰ and the ongoing exclusion of women from leadership positions in arenas of political influence detracts from the benefits that DDR is intended to bring.²¹

(ii) Women's Roles in Peacebuilding Initiatives

Despite their exclusion from disarmament and demobilization programs, women around the world are already at the forefront of peacebuilding initiatives.²² However, as women's activism is largely restricted to grassroots and community-level organizations, women's peacebuilding activities

¹⁵ Farr, 2003: 26-27

¹⁶ Farr, 2003: 28

¹⁷ Farr, 2003: 30

¹⁸ Anderlini, 2000: 10

¹⁹ Farr, 2003: 30

²⁰ Denov, 2007: 19

²¹ Farr, 2003: 30

²² Anderlini, 2000: 1

tend to go unnoticed and underreported, and are often taken for granted as part of their societal gender roles.²³ The tendency within disarmament and demobilization programmes to recognize women as being victims neglects the significant roles women have played during conflict and during post-conflict reintegration, and undermines their future potential to engage as key participants in formal peace processes.²⁴ Part of the recognition of the need for a gender perspective in disarmament and demobilization programmes is an understanding that women's commitments to peace efforts are required to ensure the sustainability of peace agreements signed by political and military factions.²⁵ With the gradual understanding that gender inequalities contribute to situations of insecurity, DDR planners are recognizing that women's involvement in peace building is not only essential to successful and lasting transformation, but also provides a means to promote women's fuller involvement in other aspects of a post-conflict society.²⁶

II. RESOLUTION 1325: WOMEN, PEACE AND SECURITY

The Road to UN Security Council Resolution 1325

(i) International Policy Developments

The full recognition by the UN Security Council of these gender-differentiated experiences of and responses to war was the gradual culmination of years of norm and policy developments. One of the earliest efforts to address women in conflict is the 1974 *Declaration on the Protection of Women and Children in Emergency and Armed Conflict*. Building from this starting point, the UN held four world conferences on women: Mexico in 1975; Copenhagen in 1980; Nairobi in 1985; and Beijing in 1995.²⁷ The 1985 Nairobi World Conference addressed women's contributions to peacebuilding and the need for greater gender equity. It was not, however, until 1995 that the focus of the

²³ Anderlini, 2000: 11-12

²⁴ ICRW, 2003: 1

²⁵ Anderlini, 2000: 1

²⁶ Farr, 2003: 27

²⁷ IANWGE, unknown: np

discussions on women and peace shifted from overall political considerations to the specific impact of war on women and girls and their direct roles in conflict.²⁸

The *Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action*, signed by 189 countries, did not specifically mention DDR programmes, but identified women and armed conflict as an area of critical concern, and highlighted the role of social inequalities and gender roles in contributing to the marginalization or exclusion of women from decision-making positions, and contributing to gender-based violence in times of conflict.²⁹ The principles in the outcome documents marked a significant departure from traditional understandings of women's experiences. The *Beijing Declaration*, in its acknowledgement of gender-differentiated experiences of conflict, recognized that women's particular experiences of conflict are not simply consequences of wartime circumstances, but are inextricably linked with peacetime inequalities and societal gender roles that serve to oppress women. The *Declaration* set strategic objectives to increase the participation of women in conflict resolution at decision-making levels; to protect women living in situations of armed and other conflicts or under foreign occupation; to promote non-violent forms of conflict resolution and reduce the incidence of human rights abuse in conflict situations; to promote women's contribution to fostering a culture of peace; and to provide protection, assistance and training to refugee women, other displaced women in need of international protection and internally displaced women.³⁰

(ii) International Norm Developments

While these policy developments were occurring, transitions in the norms and expectations of DDR programmes were underway. Greater documentation of systematic sexual violence during conflicts of the 1990s, and a heightened emphasis on international human rights law contributed to the recognition of violence against women as a violation of human rights. Evidence of horrific systematic sexual violence as a method of warfare in the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda raised global concern and led to a broader understanding of power relations and gendered violence. For the first time, in 1998, international law recognized rape and other acts of sexual violence as crimes against humanity when committed as part of a widespread and systematic attack against a civilian

²⁸ IANWGE, unknown: np

²⁹ *Beijing Declaration*, 1995: 56-65

³⁰ Farr, 2003: 25-26

population.³¹ Sexual violence was concretely married to the concept of gender in 1999 with the adoption of the Optional Protocol to the 1979 *Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women* (CEDAW) by the UN General Assembly, which provided a vehicle for individuals and groups to register human rights violations on the basis of gender.³²

Additionally, a growing understanding of gender relations was occurring in the field of development, and bore recognition of the need for empowerment measures to counteract power relations between men and women.³³ As international norms and expectations of peacebuilding efforts expanded to include statebuilding and governance, these principles were gradually seen to be relevant to peacebuilding programs, as evident in the 1996 UN-commissioned study *The Impact of Armed Conflict on Children*, which called for the inclusion of women as key members in the planning and implementation of relief, rehabilitation, peacemaking, reconciliation and reconstruction programmes.³⁴ In conjunction with this recognition came the realization that existing peacebuilding and statebuilding institutions (such as the World Bank and United Nations) were inadequately oriented to address gender issues and represent women's interests.³⁵

In May of 2000, norm and policy developments on women and conflict reached critical momentum. In Windhoek, Namibia, participants of a review panel on 'Mainstreaming a Gender Perspective in Multidimensional Peace Support Operations', organized by the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations, completed a review of gender issues in peacekeeping and established concrete recommendations.³⁶ The resulting *Windhoek Declaration* and the *Namibia Plan of Action* mapped out the issues to be addressed in multidimensional peace operations.³⁷ The twenty-third special session of the General Assembly entitled "Women 2000: gender equality, development and peace for the twenty-first century" reaffirmed the commitments made in the *Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action*.³⁸ Following a thorough review of all UN peace and security activities, the momentum culminated in the landmark unanimous approval of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325, *Women, Peace and Security* (2000).

³¹ ICRW, 2003: 12

³² UN Division for the Advancement of Women, 1999: preamble.

³³ ICRW, 2003: 11

³⁴ Anderlini, 2000: 6

³⁵ ICRW, 2003: 11

³⁶ UNIFEM, 2000: 4

³⁷ Rehn & Johnson-Sirleaf, 2002: 63

³⁸ IANGWE, unknown: np

UN Security Council Resolution 1325

(i) *Overview of the Principles Outlined by SCR 1325*

Resolution 1325 was considered a watershed political development because of the extensive changes to UN peace and security initiatives required for its implementation.³⁹ The resolution, which is effectively international law, creates a framework of accountability at the highest levels of decision-making and commits the UN to include a gender perspective in all Security Council resolutions, mission mandates and reports.⁴⁰ Serving as a broad blueprint for changing the way the international community deals with peace and security issues,⁴¹ four interrelated areas requiring further action and attention from UN states, non-state actors and civil society were outlined: the participation of women in decision making and peace processes; the inclusion of gender perspectives and training in peacekeeping; the protection of women; and gender mainstreaming in UN reporting systems and programmatic implementation.⁴² Specific recommendations were made regarding DDR programmes, as explained by Dr. Farr:

For the first time an explicit recommendation was made that all actors in negotiations to end armed conflict should not only recognize the 'special needs of women and girls during repatriation and resettlement and for rehabilitation, reintegration and post-conflict reconstruction,' but involve them explicitly in DDR processes. The suggestion is made that 'all those involved in the planning for disarmament, demobilization and reintegration [should] consider the different needs of female and male ex-combatants and ... take into account the needs of their dependants' as an urgent means to make the impact of DDR broader, more comprehensive and more forward-looking as a peace-building platform.⁴³

(ii) *Criticisms Regarding Implementation and Monitoring of SCR 1325*

While UN Security Council Resolution 1325 created a benchmark for the recognition of gender inequality in international peacekeeping and reconstruction initiatives, considerable concerns remain regarding the implementation and monitoring of its requirements. The most recent follow-up report from the United Nations Secretary General, *Women, Peace and Security* (2009), states that progress in implementation is still limited, and armed conflict continues to have a devastating

³⁹ NGO Working Group, 2005: 2

⁴⁰ NGO Working Group, 2005: 2

⁴¹ NGO Working Group, 2005: 2

⁴² ICRW, 2003: 16

⁴³ Farr, 2003: 26

impact on women and girls in the areas covered by the 2009 report.⁴⁴ Conditions for women in conflict situations remain dire; physical and sexual violence, as well as social, economic and political disempowerment continue to negatively impact women in areas where the UN is involved in peacebuilding activities.⁴⁵ Gender-oriented health and social services programmes have been restricted by armed conflict, and the systemic use of sexual violence has continued at an alarming rate.⁴⁶ Additionally, the adoption of a gender perspective in addressing armed conflict, particularly in ensuring the protection of human rights has not been widely realized.⁴⁷ In brief, “reports and analyses of DDR efforts recently completed and currently underway suggest that there remains a significant gap between broad policy commitment to the inclusion of gender perspectives and specific actions on the ground.”⁴⁸

Persistent calls to incorporate women in decision-making positions and include women in peace negotiations have also been unsuccessful. “Women continue to be virtually absent from the peace table and to be severely underrepresented as third-party mediators or even as representatives of the United Nations in most conflict-affected countries.⁴⁹ Women’s grassroots peace initiatives and civil organizing has continued. Women’s activism, however, rarely translates into official participation in peace processes and formal negotiations.⁵⁰ “The United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) has found that, since 1992, only 2.4 per cent of signatories to peace agreements were women and that no woman has ever been appointed as “chief mediator.”⁵¹

The NGO Working Group on Women, Peace and Security has identified inconsistency of application and delayed implementation as two of the primary reasons behind Resolution 1325’s weak impact on UN missions. In their report, *From Local to Global: Making Peace Work for Women* (2005), the NGO Working Group states that although Resolution 1325 committed the Security Council to ensuring that mandates for all UN peacekeeping missions and all terms of references of

⁴⁴ UNSC, 2009: 2

⁴⁵ UNSC, 2009: 2

⁴⁶ UNSC, 2009: 2

⁴⁷ UNSC, 2009: 4

⁴⁸ Farr, 2003: 30

⁴⁹ UNSC, 2009: 4

⁵⁰ UNSC, 2009: 4

⁵¹ UNSC, 2009: 4

Security Council missions include references to gender perspectives or women, the Council has been slow to turn commitments into action.⁵² According to their findings, from 2000 until 2004:

Only 39 out of 261 Security Council (country-specific and thematic) resolutions included references to gender perspectives or women. In 2004 alone, out of 59 resolutions adopted by the Security Council, only 8 resolutions recalled or reaffirmed SCR 1325 and its provisions, 7 out of 59 mentioned gender or women and only 5 out of 59 resolutions addressed violence against women.⁵³

In addition, the integration of gender perspectives in Security Council resolutions has been inconsistent; some resolutions like Resolution 1528 authorizing the mission in Côte D'Ivoire, include a number of references to SCR 1325 and provisions that specifically address the needs of women in DDR programmes,⁵⁴ whereas others, such as Resolution 1577 authorizing the mission in Burundi, are completely void of references and provisions on issues of women and gender perspectives.⁵⁵ As of November 3, 2009, 125 out of 336 (37%) of country-specific resolutions include language on women and gender.⁵⁶ The effectiveness of Resolution 1325 on positively impacting the experiences of women and girls in situations of armed conflict is hindered by the lack of a systematic application of the requirements set out in Resolution 1325 and the inadequacy of existing monitoring and follow-through mechanisms.

(ii) Evidence of Progress Implementing Resolution 1325

Despite the limited and inconsistent application of Resolution 1325, there is evidence to suggest that when the requirements and principles set out in the resolution are implemented, UN missions are demonstrating greater success in responding to women's particular needs. In the area of training, for example, the World Food Programme (WFP) has scaled up gender-oriented training programs for field operators, ensuring staff members have the training required to respond to gender-related protection issues and situations of gender-based violence during food distribution efforts.⁵⁷ In addition, the Department of Peacekeeping Operations' (DPKO) Integrated Training Service has implemented a new training strategy that emphasizes the need to empower women who

⁵² NGO Working Group, 2005: 6

⁵³ NGO Working Group, 2005: 6

⁵⁴ NGO Working Group, 2005: 6-7

⁵⁵ NGO Working Group, 2005: 6-7

⁵⁶ Peace Women Project, 2009: 1

⁵⁷ UNSC, 2009: 5

are at risk as a result of societal gender roles and more strongly emphasizes means of preventing sexual violence.⁵⁸

Recent years have also shown an increased trend towards national level efforts to implement the principles laid out in Resolution 1325. The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), the United Nations Fund for Women (UNIFEM) and the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) have initiated national programmes in Nepal and Uganda, specifically addressed to meet women's health needs and respond to gender-based violence.⁵⁹ UNICEF has been particularly active in working with partner organizations in fifteen countries to respond to sexual and gender-based violence.⁶⁰

As these examples demonstrate, individual programmes aimed at implementing requirements established in Resolution 1325, and UNSC resolutions with provisions specifically addressing the needs and experiences of women are being implemented nearly a decade after the adoption of SCR 1325. However the effectiveness of 1325's broad based principles can be difficult to ascertain, due to the inconsistent use of gender mainstreaming in UN policies and programmes. The efforts that are being implemented have tended to focus more on traditional understandings of women as victims and the prevalence of sexual and gender-based violence. They have not yet incorporated the recognition of the need for women's active participation in peace negotiations, and a response to women's new, more direct involvement in situations of armed conflict, as laid out in the *Beijing Declaration*, and Resolution 1325.

III. THE IMPACT OF RESOLUTION 1325 ON UN MISSIONS INITIATED AFTER 2000

Given the critiques raised regarding inconsistent and inadequate implementation of the principles and requirements established by UN Security Council Resolution 1325, further analysis is required to determine the impact of the resolution on disarmament and demobilization programs authorized by the UN Security Council. This section of the paper will seek to examine the

⁵⁸ UNSC, 2009: 6

⁵⁹ UNSC, 2009: 8

⁶⁰ UNSC, 2009: 8

measurable impact of Resolution 1325 on UN peacekeeping operations approved by the Security Council after the year 2000.

Scope of Analysis

(i) Disarmament and Demobilization

In the interest of comparison, the scope of this case study analysis will be restricted to UN peacebuilding missions with a disarmament and demobilization mandate. According to the United Nations Disarmament Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR) Resource Centre, a missions' disarmament mandate will cover "the collection, documentation, control and disposal of small arms, ammunition, explosives and light and heavy weapons of combatants and often also of the civilian population."⁶¹ The disarmament process frequently entails the assembly and cantonment of combatants, and the development of arms management programmes.⁶²

Demobilization entails "the formal and controlled discharge of active combatants from armed forces or other armed groups."⁶³ During this process, parties to an armed conflict disband their military structures and combatants begin a process of reintegration into civilian life.⁶⁴ Demobilization generally entails the registration of former combatants, some form of material or educational assistance to enable them to meet their immediate needs, and transportation to their home communities.⁶⁵

(ii) Case Study Operations

The three operations selected for case study examination were all given UN Security Council authorization after the adoption of Resolution 1325 in 2000. The United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL, 2003), the United Nations Mission in Côte d'Ivoire (UNOCI, 2004), and the United Nations Operation in Burundi (UNOB, 2004) all occurred within the first four years following the adoption of Resolution 1325, and had mandates that included the need to respond to rampant human rights abuses and sexual and gender-based violence against women and girls. The

⁶¹ UN DDR Resource Centre, <http://www.unddr.org/whatisddr.php>

⁶² UNIFEM, 2004: 2

⁶³ UN DDR Resource Centre, <http://www.unddr.org/whatisddr.php>

⁶⁴ UNIFEM, 2004: 2

⁶⁵ UNIFEM, 2004: 2

similarities among these three cases and their proximity in time to the adoption of Resolution 1325 make them excellent examples for analyzing and comparing the incorporation of a gender perspective in peacekeeping missions and the implementation of the principles and requirements established in 1325: *Women, Peace and Security*.

Retroactive resolutions implementing gender principles in the UN Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK), the UN Transitional Authority in East Timor (UNTAET), and the UN Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo (MONUC) will not be examined in the interest of comparison.

(iii) Criteria for Analysis

Criteria for analysis are derived directly from the requirements established in Security Council Resolution 1325. The UN missions in Liberia, Côte d'Ivoire and Burundi, will be examined based on the following:

- Evidence of increased representation of women at all decision-making levels in national, regional and international institutions and mechanisms for the prevention, management and resolution of conflict;
- Evidence of increased participation of women at decision-making levels in conflict resolution and peace processes;
- Evidence of a greater number of women in UN field-based operations, especially among military observers, civilian police, human rights and humanitarian personnel;
- The incorporation of a gender perspective in peacekeeping operations, and where appropriate, the incorporation of a gender component in field operations;
- The adoption of a gender perspective when negotiating and implementing peace agreements, including: (a) The special needs of women and girls during repatriation and resettlement and for rehabilitation, reintegration and post-conflict reconstruction, (b) Measures that support local women's peace initiatives and indigenous processes for conflict resolution, and that involve women in all of the implementation mechanisms of the peace agreements, (c) Measures that ensure the protection of and respect for human rights of women and girls, particularly as they relate to the constitution, the electoral system, the police and the judiciary;

- Evidence of a consideration of the different needs of female and male ex-combatants and the needs of their dependents during the planning for disarmament, demobilization and reintegration.⁶⁶

Evidence

(i) UN Mission in Liberia (UNMIL) 2003

The mandate and scope of the UN Mission in Liberia demonstrate significant progress towards implementing the principles of Resolution 1325 as compared to other missions. However, despite the use of a gender-aware mandate, language and targets, the limited use of the DDR programme by female combatants and insufficient participation of women in the peace negotiations process highlight ongoing issues with implementation. UNMIL was authorized under UN Security Council Resolution 1509 (2003) with a mandate to implement a thorough DDR programme with particular attention to be paid to the concerns of women and children, recalling the principles established in Security Council Resolution 1325. In his report to the Security Council regarding the situation in Liberia in 2003, the Secretary General “directed that special measures and programmes be established to address the gender-specific needs of female ex-combatants, as well as the wives and widows of former combatants,” and called for briefing, counseling and training that would take into consideration the differences in conflict experiences of women and girls as compared to men and boys.⁶⁷

Over the course of the mission from 2003 until 2009, 7 out of 25 ensuing resolutions governing the mission gave specific mention to women and gender issues.⁶⁸ The success of the Security Council’s consideration of gender and women is partly mitigated by the fact that, of the 7 Security Council resolutions that addressed women and gender, 6 focused on the use of sexual violence as a tool of warfare and sexual abuse against women and children. Only the initial resolution that established the UN Mission in Liberia discussed the need to address the particular needs of female combatants, and the importance of protecting women’s human rights.⁶⁹

⁶⁶ UNSC Resolution 1325, 2000

⁶⁷ UNIFEM, 2004: 11

⁶⁸ Peace Women Project, 2009: np

⁶⁹ Peace Women Project, 2009: np

Based on the criteria outlined, UNMIL succeeded in implementing a number of priorities for gender mainstreaming in UN operations. In 2003, a gender unit was established to oversee the incorporation of a gender perspective throughout the mission. Gender mainstreaming was evident in the Accra Peace Accord and the Transitional Government's Results-Focused Transition Framework (RFTF), which have all included specific provisions intended to ensure that women are not left behind in the DDR process.⁷⁰ Although women were not formal participants as negotiators and mediators, 17% of witnesses to the Accra agreements were women.⁷¹ There is also evidence to support progress regarding the UN priority to increase the number of women in positions of leadership for UN peacekeeping missions. In 2007, Ellen Margrethe Løj from Denmark was appointed as Special Representative of the Secretary General,⁷² and as of July 2009, Liberia is one of six countries to have a female serving as Deputy to the Head of Mission.⁷³

The disarmament and demobilization activities conducted in the UNMIL mission demonstrate the mission's most ambitious effort to implement the requirement of Resolution 1325. The DDR Action Plan for UNMIL was created in partnership with UNIFEM, UNICEF, UNDP, UNHCR, WFP and WHO in a demonstration of partnership efforts aimed at achieving implementation of Resolution 1325.⁷⁴ Significant progress was made compared to other UN missions in terms of recognizing the need for separate facilities during the cantonment process, and the provision of separate health, counseling and training services for women in order to address women's and girl's needs during the DDR process.⁷⁵ Specific attention was given to women's particular experiences and needs resulting from sexual and gender-based violence, as women-only reproductive health and sexual violence screening services were provided at the camps.⁷⁶

Despite the implementation of the gender unit and the efforts to incorporate a gender perspective throughout the mission and, where possible, implement specific tools to address the particular needs of women and girls in situations of armed conflict, evidence suggests that many female combatants did not participate in the opportunities provided for them in the DDR process.

⁷⁰ UNIFEM, 2004: 11

⁷¹ UNIFEM, 2009: 2

⁷² Peace Women Project, 2009: np

⁷³ UNSC Report of the Secretary General, 2009: 12

⁷⁴ UNIFEM, 2004: 13

⁷⁵ UNIFEM, 2004: 13

⁷⁶ UNIFEM, 2004: 14

“In the first week, only 7 per cent of the total number of people disarmed and demobilized [were] women although women may have comprised up to one in five of all combatants.”⁷⁷ According to the UN Development Fund for Women’s reporting on Liberia,

Although women and children were estimated to have comprised 38 per cent of the combatants in the conflict, they comprised only 24 per cent of the beneficiaries of the DDR process in the first month. By the Secretary-General’s next progress report in September 2004, the percentage of adult female beneficiaries of the DDR programme had dropped to 17 per cent.⁷⁸

While the criteria established in Resolution 1325 indicates that UNMIL has taken a number of progressive steps towards addressing women’s roles in, and experiences of armed conflict, preliminary findings commissioned by the UN Development Fund for Women suggest that, despite gender-sensitive mandates, language and target values for the disarmament and demobilization of female combatants, appropriate mandate and institutional scope are necessary prerequisites. However they do not necessarily translate into the proportional inclusion of women directly involved in situations of armed conflict.

(ii) *UN Operation in Côte d’Ivoire (UNOCI) 2004*

The UN Operation in Côte d’Ivoire (UNOCI) demonstrates an awareness of the importance of gender mainstreaming in DDR, and efforts to include the provisions and requirements set out in Resolution 1325 in the UN Security Council resolutions governing the operation and the DDR programming. In field operations, however, issues continue to arise from the inadequate implementation of the stated objectives and insufficient capacity to address the endemic sexual and gender-based violence in the country. UNOCI was authorized by the UN Security Council through Resolution 1528 of February 2004, with an extensive mandate that included the responsibility for monitoring the cessation of hostilities and movements of armed groups and overseeing the disarmament and demobilization process.⁷⁹ Resolution 1528 reaffirmed Resolution 1325 (2000) and dictated that the operation include special attention to the specific needs of women and children and the prioritization of protection for human rights, particularly against sexual and gender-based

⁷⁷ UNIFEM, 2004: 14

⁷⁸ UNIFEM, 2004: 14

⁷⁹ UNOCI, np

violence towards women and girls.⁸⁰ From the creation of the operation in 2004 until 2009, 25 Security Council resolutions passed regarding the Operation in Côte d'Ivoire, 11 of which included provisions dedicated to issues of women and gender.⁸¹ These provisions demonstrated a broad representation of the themes and requirements outlined in Resolution 1325, including a requirement of special consideration for the needs of women and children, the need for employing a gender perspective during DDR planning and implementation, the importance of protecting against gender-based and sexual violence, and the promotion and protection of human rights, particularly for women and girls.⁸²

Based on the criteria established in Resolution 1325, UNOCI has successfully demonstrated the incorporation of a gender perspective in peacekeeping operations. The operation has identified the particular roles and experiences of women and girls in conflict and has focused on sensitizing national and international partners to the need to prevent sexual and gender-based violence.⁸³ The operation of a gender unit indicates the effort to implement gender mainstreaming through the general inclusion of a gender perspective throughout the operation. The impact of the unit, however, is constrained due to its very small size and the vacancy of the senior gender advisor.⁸⁴ The gender unit has so far successfully provided training to military and civilian personnel on topics related to gender issues, trained 600 auxiliary staff to oversee the security of DDR cantonment sites and has made recommendations to civilian and military leaders.⁸⁵ Some evidence of the implementation of gender components in the field is available. UNICEF has demonstrated gender mainstreaming through their work with displaced persons and war-affected children, and the World Food Programme has been careful to observe the impact of decreased food availability on women.⁸⁶

One of the greatest shortcomings of gender mainstreaming in the UN Operation in Côte d'Ivoire is the lack of evidence of increased representation of women at all decision-making levels in the UN operation and of increased participation of women at decision-making levels in conflict resolution and peace processes. There is no female special representative to the Secretary General and

⁸⁰ UNSC Resolution 1528, 2004: 1-4

⁸¹ Women Peace Project, 2009: np

⁸² Women Peace Project, 2009: np

⁸³ UNSC, 2009: 6

⁸⁴ Women Peace Project, 2009: np

⁸⁵ UNOCI Gender Unit, np

⁸⁶ UNIFEM, 2007: 6

women are vastly underrepresented in politics. In 2007, three years after the establishment of the UN operation, women held only 8.5% of seats in Parliament.⁸⁷ The Linas-Marcoussis and Accra Agreements of 2003 failed to include significant numbers of women in the formal negotiation process and did not widely encourage participation of women in the planning and implementation of DDR programming.⁸⁸ According to research conducted by UNIFEM, no women participated during the Linas-Marcoussis Agreement of 2003 as mediators, negotiators or witnesses⁸⁹ and only one woman was included in the negotiations leading up the agreement,⁹⁰ despite a history of women's peace activism and civil organizing in Côte d'Ivoire.⁹¹

Although measures have been taken to incorporate the principles of Resolution 1325 throughout the operation, conditions for women in Côte d'Ivoire remain very serious. Sexual violence and abduction of girls and women continues to be an issue, as does underage marriage and female genital mutilation.⁹² Efforts to prevent and reduce impunity for sexual and gender-based violence have made limited progress due to delays in the effective redeployment of judicial services in Côte d'Ivoire. In many instances, the families of victims of sexual violence have withdrawn complaints and opted for alternative forms of extrajudicial settlement, partly due to the practice of charging fees for medical certification, which has often prevented victims from obtaining legal evidence to be used in court.⁹³

The issues of inadequate participation of and representation of women in peace negotiations and decision-making, and the insufficient capacity to respond to staggering levels of sexual and gender-based violence, have been addressed by a "National Action Plan for Resolution 1325/2000 of the Security Council of the UN" which, following the recommendation of the UN Security Council, was launched in January 2007. It is intended to cover the years 2008 through 2012.⁹⁴ The Action Plan identified four key areas of concern: protection of women and girls against sexual and gender-based violence; the inclusion of gender issues in development policies and programs; participation of women and men in the national reconstruction and reintegration process; and strengthening of

⁸⁷ UNIFEM, 2007: 3

⁸⁸ Farr, 2003: 30

⁸⁹ UNIFEM, 2009: 2

⁹⁰ UNIFEM, 2007: 1

⁹¹ UNIFEM, 2007: 7

⁹² UNIFEM, 2007: 4

⁹³ UNSC Report of the Secretary General, 2009: 14

⁹⁴ UN INSTRAW, unknown: np.

participation of women in decision-making processes.⁹⁵ Little evidence is available as to the impact the Action Plan has had on conditions in Côte d'Ivoire.

Overall, UNOCI has demonstrated significant dedication to implementing Security Council Resolution 1325 on paper, and has taken progressive measures to incorporate gender mainstreaming throughout the operation. Although there is a sincere awareness of the specific concerns and needs of women, the success of these efforts has been constrained by ongoing insecurity in the country, insufficient capacity to address extensive sexual and gender-based violence and implement gender components throughout the field operation.

(iii) UN Operation in Burundi (UNOB) 2004

The mandate and scope of the UN Operation in Burundi demonstrate the most significant efforts to implement measures aimed at increasing the political representation of women and their participation in levels of decision-making of the three case examples. UNOB was authorized by UN Security Council Resolution 1545 of May 2004 with a mandate to monitor the ceasefire agreement and oversee the DDR process with a particular emphasis on the need to protect against human rights abuses.⁹⁶ In January of 2007, the operation was revised to become the United Nations Integrated Office in Burundi (BINUB).⁹⁷ However, the office continues to work towards the implementation of Resolution 1325. As with the UN missions in Liberia and Côte d'Ivoire, Resolution 1545 also affirmed Resolution 1325⁹⁸ and called for protection against, and punishment of human rights abuses, particularly against women and girls, and the consideration of the specific needs of women and children during the DDR process.⁹⁹ Ten resolutions regarding the UN operation in Burundi were passed between the years of 2004 and 2008, five of which concerned issues of women and gender.¹⁰⁰ The themes related to the implementation of Resolution 1325 expressed in the five resolutions included the need to address sexual and gender-based violence, to incorporate a gender perspective in the DDR programme, to promote the protection of women's human rights, and the

⁹⁵ UN, National Action Plan (Côte d'Ivoire), http://www.un.org/womenwatch/feature/wps/nap1325_cote_d_ivoire.pdf

⁹⁶ UNOB, np

⁹⁷ Peace Women, 2009: np

⁹⁸ UNSC, Resolution 1545, 2004: 1

⁹⁹ Peace Women...Burundi, 2009: np

¹⁰⁰ Peace Women... Burundi, 2009: np

need to enhance women's participation in political processes.¹⁰¹

A review of the operation in Burundi demonstrates significant efforts to incorporate the principles of 1325 into national legislation and increase the participation of women in decision-making processes. In 2002, UNIFEM supported the Government of Burundi in developing a national gender policy¹⁰² and, in partnership with UNOB and UNICEF, the Government of Burundi has drafted legislation on violence against women.¹⁰³ Additionally, "the United Nations Integrated Office in Burundi (BINUB) partnered with UNIFEM and other stakeholders to provide training to elected female representatives at the communal, provincial and national levels."¹⁰⁴ In 2008 BINUB supported the establishment of a women's parliamentary caucus, which in October 2008 drafted an action plan on legislative matters of interest to women in both houses of Parliament.¹⁰⁵ While there is no female special representative of the UN Secretary general, Burundi is one of six countries to have a female serve as Deputy to the Head of Mission.¹⁰⁶

The operation in Burundi has a gender unit that actively works with women's organizations in Burundi to ensure the incorporation of a gender perspective. There is evidence of gender components being integrated in field operations, as "ONUB has supported training and capacity-building workshops with women's organizations such as as SOFEPA (Solidarité des Femmes Parlementaires Burundaises) to enhance women's political participation; has established an ONUB Gender Task Force; and has cooperated with a variety of stakeholders, including women's organizations, to address violence against women."¹⁰⁷

Burundi has demonstrated evidence of specifically incorporating the needs of women and children in DDR programmes by adopting eligibility criteria specifically intended to provide male and female combatants with equal opportunities to benefit from the DDR programme.¹⁰⁸ As a means of avoiding the issue with women in Liberia unwilling to take part in the DDR programmes, the operation in Burundi also provided alternative DDR programmes for 1,000 women associated with the Parti pour la libération du peuple hutu-Forces nationales de libération (PALIPEHUTU-

¹⁰¹ Peace Women... Burundi, 2009: np

¹⁰² Women War Peace, unknown: np

¹⁰³ UNSC, 2009: 9

¹⁰⁴ UNSC, 2009: 6

¹⁰⁵ UNSC, 2009: 9

¹⁰⁶ UNSC Report... 2009: 12

¹⁰⁷ NGO Working Group, 2006: 39, UNSC Report...2006, 4

¹⁰⁸ UNSC Report... 2009: 11

FNL); and an alternative programme to support the women's wing of FNL as a political party.¹⁰⁹

Despite the tremendous efforts made by the Government of Burundi and the UN through the ONUB and BINUB phases of the operation to address women's experiences and needs, and incorporate their participation in peace negotiations and political processes, and the excellent example of gender responsive DDR programming provided by BINUB, Burundi continues to have serious problems with sexual and gender-based violence against women and girls. According to the 2009 Secretary General report, "In Burundi in 2008, 476 cases of rape against children were registered; 449 were girls and 27 were boys between the ages of 1 and 17 years."¹¹⁰

IV. ANALYSIS OF FINDINGS

Implementation of Resolution 1325

(i) Inclusion of Principles and Reaffirmations in Relevant UNSC Resolutions

Overall, the UN Mission in Liberia, the UN Operation in Côte d'Ivoire and the UN Operation in Burundi demonstrated a consistent effort towards integrating the principles and requirements established in UN Security Council Resolution 1325 and a greater consideration of the needs and experiences of women in situations of armed conflict. Each of the three Security Council resolutions providing authorization for the UN operations included a reaffirmation of Resolution 1325 and included requirements that raised themes addressing women and gender. Given that not all resolutions adopted after the year 2000 have included references and provisions for women, it is possible that the more egregious nature of the sexual and gender-based violence occurring in these three conflicts motivated the Security Council to give greater recognition to the need for incorporating women and addressing their concerns.

(ii) Evidence of Increased Representation of Women at all Decision-Making Levels

Evidence of increased representation of women at decision-making levels in national, regional and international institutions and mechanisms proved to be quite minimal, as indicated by

¹⁰⁹ UNSC Report... 2009: 11

¹¹⁰ UNSC, Report... 2009: 3

UNIFEM's reporting. Representation of women within senior levels of the UN operations was particularly dismal, considering the consistent calls of the UN Secretary General for countries to recommend women for appointment. "In 60 years of United Nations peacekeeping — from 1948 to 2008 — only seven women have ever held the post of Special Representative of the Secretary-General."¹¹¹ Within the three examples, only Liberia had a female Head of Mission, and Liberia and Burundi were 2 of 10 active UN missions (out of 18) to have females serve as Deputy to the Head of Mission.¹¹² At the state level, very few women were active in political processes, as indicated by the low level of representation in the Parliament of Côte d'Ivoire.¹¹³

(iii) Evidence of Enhanced Participation of Women in Conflict Resolution and Peace Processes

Evidence of women taking a greater role in conflict resolution and peace processes was slightly more promising, if only due to the positive example set by the UN Operation in Burundi. While women's inclusion in formal peace processes remains very limited, Burundi provided an excellent example of women's organizations exerting influence on negotiations, even as non-participatory observers in some instances. Liberia and Côte d'Ivoire demonstrated little to no progress however. For the most part, women's participation in each of the three examples was still restricted to grassroots activism and civic organizations, suggesting that UN operations have yet to succeed in incorporating the existing capacity for women to play a key role in peace negotiations.

(iv) Evidence of a greater number of women in UN field-based operations

Over the course of my analysis, I did not find evidence to support any significant increase in the representation of women in UN field-based operations, especially in the military and civilian police.

(v) The incorporation of a gender perspective in peacekeeping operations and the incorporation of gender components in field operations

¹¹¹ UNSC Repot, 2009: 14

¹¹² UNSC Report... 2009: 12

¹¹³ UNIFEM, 2007: 3

The presence of a gender unit in each of the three UN operations contributed significantly to the incorporation of a gender perspective throughout the mission. In general, a consideration for women's particular needs was present throughout, although there was a general tendency for the focus to remain on issues of sexual and gender-related violence and not to include broader issues of gender inequity and the need for greater political participation and empowerment of women. The incorporation of gender components in field operations was sporadic. The gender-responsive DDR programming efforts in Liberia and in Burundi were positive examples of efforts to revise existing DDR practices to better ensure the protection of human rights and prevent both sexual violence and unequal access to resources for female combatants.

Conclusion

The United Nations operations in Liberia, Côte d'Ivoire and Burundi provide evidence of some progress in incorporating and integrating UN Security Council Resolution 1325: *Women, Peace and Security* (2000) to better address the changed roles and experiences of women during situations of armed conflict, and address underlying issues of gender inequity in peacekeeping operations. The resolution has contributed to a broader recognition of women's needs during DDR processes and has contributed to the establishment of gender units in UN operations where endemic sexual and gender-based violence have occurred. Specific interventions, such as gender awareness training programmes for civilian personnel and the military, the provision of women's health and counseling services and leadership training for women's organizations provide much needed assistance.

Despite the numerous progresses highlighted in the three cases, obstacles restricting women's participation in conflict resolution and peace negotiations remain. As suggested in the case example of Côte d'Ivoire, where continued instability has contributed to ongoing sexual violence and the slow redeployment of the judicial system, some obstacles emanate from the social, economic and political instability associated with armed conflict.¹¹⁴ Other obstacles hindering the realization of gender equity in peacebuilding operations derive from the broad nature of Resolution 1325, and the tendency for missions, such as the UN Mission in Liberia and the Côte d'Ivoire, to focus on areas

¹¹⁴ UNSC Report... 2009: 13

that fall under more traditional peacebuilding responsibilities, such as the protection of human rights and prevention of sexual violence.

The continuously poor representation of women in peace negotiations and conflict resolution processes has not been resolved largely due to the inability of UN peacebuilding operations to overcome inequalities in gender roles. Gender roles continue to shape expectations of which parties are to participate in negotiations, and economic and social inequalities resulting from gender roles contribute to circumstances that make it difficult for women to participate. For example, in each of the cases examined, women and children made up the vast majority of internally displaced persons. The responsibilities of women to re-establish their livelihoods following conflict situations, and to care for children, the elderly and those wounded in conflict restricts their ability to participate in political or peacebuilding processes.¹¹⁵

Most evident in each of the three case examples is the continued rampant attacks of sexual and gender-based violence against women and girls despite the presence of the UN personnel and the use of gender mainstreaming to highlight the need to protect women and girls from violence and ensure the protection of human rights. The tendency for sexual and gender-based violence to continue after peace negotiations have been settled highlights the severe consequences of inequitable gender roles in these three countries, and the fact that sexual violence is not, as was previously believed, a spoil of war. The evidence of ongoing sexual and gender-based violence in each of these cases highlights the need for women's security to be systematically included as a priority of DDR programmes.

To conclude, UN Security Council Resolution 1325 is an important instrument in the agenda to achieve gender equity in peacebuilding operations. In the last nine years, UN DDR programmes have been positively impacted by the provisions and requirements established within the Resolution, and are gradually contributing to a greater recognition of the roles and experiences of women in armed conflict. Progress in the implementation and incorporation of SCR 1325 has been constrained due to a lack of resources, the insufficient incorporation of women in senior positions of peacekeeping operations, the tendency to focus on women as victims, neglecting their potential to act as key contributors. In order for Resolution 1325 to be more effectively implemented through UN peacekeeping operations, the delayed recognition by peacebuilding actors of the inherently

¹¹⁵ UNSC Report of the Secretary General, 2009: 13

discriminatory and destabilizing effects of inequitable gender roles, and the lack of understanding as to how gender can be fully incorporated into program design must be addressed.

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