Anne Mäki-Rahkola

The Women, Peace and Security Agenda in 2014

The Way Forward?

CMCFinland

Kriisinhallintakeskus
Crisis Management Centre Finland

CMC FINLAND PEACEBUILDING AND CIVILIAN CRISIS MANAGEMENT STUDIES

2014 (Volume 5)

Mäki-Rahkola, Anne, Suhonen, Johanna: *Gendered Civilian Crisis Management. Troubleshooting CSDP Missions. CMC Finland Peacebuilding and Civilian Crisis Management Studies 1/2014, ISSN 1797-2140.*

Kuosmanen, Päivi: Feedback from Finnish Experts on EU CSDP Missions. *CMC Finland Peacebuilding and Civilian Crisis Management Studies 2/2014, ISSN 1797-2140.*

2013 (Volume 4)

Lepistö, Rauli: Building a Piece of Peace. Finn Church Aid's Outreach and Reconciliation Project in Somalia. *CMC Finland Peacebuilding and Civilian Crisis Management Studies 1/2013, ISSN 1797-2140.*

2010 (Volume 3)

Siljanen, Eeva-Maria: Returning home after a civilian crisis management mission. *CMC Finland Peacebuilding and Civilian Crisis Management Studies 1/2010, ISSN 1797-2140.*

Penttinen, Elina: Enhancement of expertise in civilian crisis management: positivity as a key towards personal dedication for a comprehensive approach. *CMC Finland Peacebuilding and Civilian Crisis Management Studies 2/2010, ISSN 1797-2140.*

Tamminen, Tanja: Limits of the "institutionalisation before liberalisation" approach: EULEX Kosovo measuring its impact and fighting side-effects as an example*. CMC Finland Peacebuilding and Civilian Crisis Management Studies 3/2010, ISSN 1797-2140.*

Leinonen, Kati: Get it Right! Giving the appropriate place to gender and human rights in the Common Security and Defence Policy. *CMC Finland Peacebuilding and Civilian Crisis Management Studies 4/2010, ISSN 1797-2140.*

Burckhardt, Yosi Echeverry: Sexual abuse by United Nations peacekeeping forces and the legitimacy of peace operations. *CMC Finland Peacebuilding and Civilian Crisis Management Studies 5/2010, ISSN 1797-2140.*

2009 (Volume 2)

Pitkänen, Ville-Veikko: The gender perspective in the training and recruitment of Finnish civilian crisis management experts. *CMC Finland Civilian Crisis Management Studies, Volume 2: Number 1/2009, ISSN 1797-2140.*

Penttinen, Elina: High integrity and feminine care: Female police officers as protectors in civilian crisis management. *CMC Finland Civilian Crisis Management Studies, Volume 2: Number 2/2009, ISSN 1797-2140.*

Ylänkö, Maaria: War-related sexual violence: Its dimensions and proposals for response. *CMC Finland Civilian Crisis Management Studies, Volume 2: Number 3/2009, ISSN 1797-2140.*

Niemi, Tommi: Reintegration in Aceh Indonesia: Opinions of the Finnish civilian crisis management experts. *CMC Finland Civilian Crisis Management Studies, Volume 2: Number 4/2009, ISSN 1797-2140.*

De Coning, Cedric: An introduction to Integrated Crisis Management. *CMC Finland Civilian Crisis Management Studies, Volume 2: Number 5/2009, ISSN 1797-2140.*

2008 (Volume 1)

Mustonen, Jari: Coordination and Cooperation on Tactical and Operational Levels: Studying EU-ESDP Crisis Management Instruments in Bosnia and Herzegovina. *CMC Finland Civilian Crisis Management Studies, Volume 1: Number 1/2008, ISSN 1797-2140.*

Setkic, Olivia: Recruitment and Training in Civilian Crisis Management: Learning from the ECMM/EUMM Experiences. *CMC Finland Civilian Crisis Management Studies, Volume 1: Number 2/2008, ISSN 1797-2140.*

Kerkkänen, Ari, Rantanen, Hannu & Sundqvist, Jari: Building Capacity for the Palestinian Civil Police: EUPOL COPPS and Communications Project. *CMC Finland Civilian Crisis Management Studies, Volume 1: Number 3/2008, ISSN 1797-2140.*

Tamminen, Tanja: Human Security in Post-Status Kosovo: a Shared European Responsibility. *CMC Finland Civilian Crisis Management Studies, Volume 1: Number 4/2008, ISSN 1797-2140.*

Eronen, Oskari: PRT models in Afghanistan: Approaches to civil-military integration. *CMC Finland Civilian Crisis Management Studies, Volume 1: Number 5/2008, ISSN 1797-2140.*

CONTENT

Abstract

In 2013, the United Nations Security Council adopted resolutions 2106 and 2122 to further support its women, peace and security (WPS) agenda, and to sustain momentum for the continuing implementation of founding resolution 1325. This article asks if the two latest resolutions have provided new substance for the WPS agenda, and if they can assist Finland in its current efforts to support the WPS agenda. Resolution 2106 emphasises the UN's commitment to combating sexual violence in armed conflicts and post-conflict situations, whereas resolution 2122 offers a more holistic approach to the WPS agenda, placing it within the wider context of development and peacebuilding. Whilst resolution 2122 offers a wider perspective to peace processes and peacebuilding compared to the earlier WPS resolutions, it does not introduce new practical measures for the implementation of contemporary developments and trends in the field of gender, peace and security. The article concludes with some recommendations for how to take the renewed WPS into account when planning future activities in the context of Finland, and its engagement in (post)-conflict areas.

Author

Ms. Mäki-Rahkola holds a Master's degree in International Relations from the University of Tampere, Finland. Her research interests focus on gender in crisis management and peacebuilding, and she has worked as a project researcher at Crisis Management Centre Finland. Currently, she works as a Gender Adviser for the European Union Police Mission in Afghanistan.

1   Introduction

Nearly fourteen years have passed since the United Nations Security Council adopted resolution 1325 on women, peace and security (UNSCR 1325), which brought the impacts of armed conflicts on women and girls, as well as the role of women in peacebuilding, onto the agenda of high-level international policy making. This resolution has since been followed by six additional UN resolutions, 44 national action plans[1], new policies adopted within regional organisations such as the European Union, NATO, the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) and the African Union, and a growing number of monitoring reports and research initiatives. Representatives of civil society networks also note that this resolution has probably initiated more civil society activism than any prior UN policy or resolution[2], with a persuasive global civil society movement also playing a key role in the developments that led to the adoption of this resolution in the first place.[3]

The most recent member of the women, peace and security (WPS) family is resolution 2122, which was unanimously passed by the Security Council in October 2013. The new resolution has been received with mixed feelings even among the supporters of the WPS agenda. For example, representatives of Operation 1325, a Swedish civil society network supporting the implementation of UNSCR 1325, remind that the objectives of the previous six resolutions remain far from fulfilled and new resolutions risk becoming mere symbolic acts.[4] On the other hand, most of the complementary resolutions (UNSCRs 1820, 1888, 1960 and 2106) have focused almost exclusively on gender-based and sexual violence against women and girls, thus strengthening the discourse of women as victims of warfare and not as agents of change. This is why some thank UNSCR 2122 for its emphasis on women's participation and leadership instead of their victimisation, and for bringing the original resolution "into the contemporary decade"[5].

This article intends to capture the recent developments in the WPS agenda by asking: what new ideas does UNSCR 2122 bring to the WPS agenda? How should this resolution be taken into account in future implementation efforts, especially when considering the current implementation gaps? The WPS agenda engages with a wide variety of actors, from the high-level policy sphere to grass-roots peacebuilders; at international, regional, national and local levels. This article limits its focus to the

---

1 See PeaceWomen on http://www.peacewomen.org/naps/list-of-naps (accessed 1.5.2014).

2 Hatakka 2012, 188.

3 Barnes 2011, 16-18.

4 Vilkko & Molin 2013.

5 Jukarainen & Puumala 2014, 6.

actions of nation states, using Finland as the case of examination. Finland contributes to the implementation of the WPS agenda *inter alia* through its memberships in intergovernmental organisations and direct engagement in conflict-affected and fragile states. Finland belongs to the countries that have created a national action plan (NAP)[6] to strengthen its implementation of the WPS agenda, and the latest resolution is recommended to be taken proactively as a part of future action.[7] Drawing on analysis of the actual UN resolutions, as well as monitoring reports and some recent writings on gender, peace and security, I also intend to take into account the critical considerations and existing implementation gaps in the WPS agenda. This information is highly relevant when considering how Finland could reinforce its commitments towards the women, peace and security agenda.

2   The women, peace and security agenda and its challenges

Today, there is extensive literature available on the women, peace and security agenda, consisting of both policy-orientated research initiatives and studies that focus more broadly on gender in security, peace and conflict. As there are several detailed studies that describe the history of the WPS agenda and its development in different organisational contexts[8], I will only briefly summarise the main contents of the resolutions preceding UNSCR 2122. The essential content of UNSCR 1325 can be conceptualised using three "Ps": the increased participation of women, the protection of women and girls during armed conflict, and the prevention of conflicts.[9] *Participation* refers to increasing the number and role of female decision-makers in peace processes, in field operations, especially among military observers and civilian police, and in high-level UN positions such as special representatives and envoys. The *protection* pillar emphasises the need to protect women and girls from sexual and gender-based violence, as women and girls are recognised as a particularly vulnerable group during armed conflicts. Whilst the third "P" stands for the role of women in the *prevention* of conflicts, some advocates of UNSCR 1325 also emphasise the prosecution of crimes against women and girls as an essential component of the WPS agenda.[10] Moreover, the resolution calls for mainstreaming a gender perspective into peacekeeping operations and peace processes, although not providing much guidance

_____

6 See Finland's National Action Plan 2012-2016 on http://www.kopijyva.fi/ejulkaisut/ulkoasiainministerio/UM_05_2012/.

7 Jukarainen & Puumala 2014, 6.

8 See, for example, Barnes et al. 2011.

9 Barnes 2011, 19-20.

10 Ibid.

as to what this could mean in practice, apart from training peacekeeping personnel "*on the protection, special needs and human rights of women and children in conflict situations*" and including a gender component in field operations.

Between the years 2008-2010, the UN Security Council issued four additional WPS resolutions - 1820, 1888, 1889 and 1960. UNSCRs 1820, 1888 and 1960 had a strong focus on sexual violence against women and girls, recognising and condemning it as a tactic of war and calling for more effective measures for the prevention of sexual violence, the protection of women and girls against it, and ending impunity for these crimes. The strengthened emphasis on sexual violence has divided the advocates of the WPS agenda and raised some well-argued criticism. First, the exclusive focus on women as victims of sexual violence has been seen as undermining their role as survivors of violence and further as agents of change in peace processes. Second, the aforementioned resolutions remained silent about male victims of sexual violence; although there is evidence to suggest that this is more wide-spread than often recognised.[11] Third, not undermining the importance of efforts to assist female victims of conflict-related sexual violence, the external interventions have sometimes generated unintended side effects. One often-used example comes from the Democratic Republic of the Congo: after the Eastern parts of the country received their notorious reputation as "the rape capital of the world", many international aid programmes targeted female victims of sexual violence. However, some of these well-intended projects excluded many other groups in need for aid, which might have even created bias in the data relating to sexual violence - identifying oneself as a rape victim was sometimes the only way to get access to aid.

Perhaps due to the aforementioned criticism, the participation pillar has also remained strongly in the WPS agenda. UNSCR 1889 again reaffirmed the role of women as agents and actors in peacebuilding and post-conflict reconstruction, not only as victims of warfare, and also supported the development of indicators to follow up the implementation of UNSCR 1325 at the global level. Both the UN and the EU have developed indicators to track the progress of their implementation efforts. Indicators have also been included in some NAPs. Finland, for instance, introduced indicators in its second, revised NAP. Defining clear goals, responsibilities and measures for the follow-up has been identified as crucial for the effective implementation of action plans, but too high a number of indicators might again reduce their usability and make monitoring too complicated.[12] The current Finnish NAP has 42 indicators, many of them measuring the number of women in international assignments and allocated funding for different

_____

11 See, for example, Myrttinen et al. 2014, 13.

12 Ministry for Foreign Affairs 2013, 4.

types of related projects, programmes and institutions, such as those within UN Women and the International Criminal Court Trust Fund. A recent evaluation report on Nordic NAPs, however, points out that this list of indicators is maybe too detailed and its potential for a systematic tool of monitoring encounters some scepticism.[13] Moreover, even if the current indicators would be effectively used, they do not reveal much about the quality and impact of the activities being practised.

2.1   Women's participation – practise what you preach?

Despite women's participation being one of the key provisions in the WPS agenda, the UN and the EU, among other advocates, have struggled to fulfil their own recommendations - especially when it comes to women's representation in high-level and senior management positions within the organisations. For example, the following quote made by a Sudanese women's group after meeting a high-level UN mediation delegation – entirely male – exposes the double standards of the organisations advocating for increased female participation:

> *"Why should the men in our parties believe the UN when it says that women are important to the talks? They have access to the whole world, but didn't think even one woman was capable of being on their team?"*[14]

The same credibility problem concerns the EU and its presence in conflict-affected areas. Although the position of High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy is currently held by Federica Mogherini, there have been only two women among 48 present and former EU Special Representatives. Nor has the EU appointed any women as head of their crisis management bodies or Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) operations and missions. Also, the personnel working in the EU's civilian crisis management missions continues to be largely male, with the proportion of international female staff members ranging from 33 percent in EUPOL RD Congo to 17 percent in EUCAP Sahel Niger (as of April 2014). The gender balance is slightly better among the local staff in civilian CSDP missions, with the average proportion of locally hired women in all current missions being 34 percent compared to 21 percent among international staff.[15] Both high-level positions in the European External Action Service (EEAS) and the staff composition of CSDP missions depend

_____

13 Jukarainen & Puumala 2014, 23-26.

14 Quoted in Nderitu & O'Neill 2013, 8.

15 European External Action Service 2014.

highly on candidates nominated by the member states, and Olsson et al. stress their responsibility to "maintain a continual discussion at EU headquarters" in order to improve the situation and set targets for gender balance.[16] The European Peacebuilding Liaison Office (EPLO) advocates for even stronger measures of positive discrimination, namely establishing temporary quotas for women, which were already once ruled out in the EEAS.[17]

Finland has made considerable progress in increasing the number of female civilian crisis management experts, being a way above the EU average. However, this does not change the fact that security professions, especially the military and police, continue to be male-dominated institutions. Finland has been able to change its national gender figures mainly by seconding female experts to other job categories, and all the Nordic countries report that increasing the number of women in military peacekeeping is particularly challenging.[18] The Finnish Defence Forces recently had a recruitment initiative that included contacting all women who had participated in voluntary military service during the past ten years and informing them about the opportunity for international assignments. If this strategy brings positive results, a similar initiative could be considered for reaching policewomen. Finland has also identified several women willing to serve in UN assignments through the organisation's new recruitment initiative to recruit women in police and senior management positions, but the outcomes of these efforts remain to be seen. Thus, to fully understand the gender-bias in field operations and leadership positions, we need to examine the gendered division of labour in a society, as well as what barriers prevent women from progressing towards leadership positions. Furthermore, these gendered career challenges are not only limited to security professions, but they are also present in international non-governmental organisations working on international aid and development, professional fields otherwise largely occupied by women.[19]

However, it is very important to highlight that the WPS agenda should not be reduced to the mere numbers of women's representation. UNSCR 1325 has been largely contested for the "add women and stir" approach it implies, meaning that many are questioning if bringing women into the existing structures of peace and security is enough to transform the system itself, fixing its prevailing problems.[20] For example, according to Hudson, Liberia is considered one of the success stories in implementing

---

16 Olsson et al. 2014, 35.

17 European Peacebuilding Liaison Office 2012, 5. .

18 Jukarainen & Puumala 2014, 41-42.

19 See, for example, "Women in leadership: 'It's not going to work the way we're doing it'". The Guardian 1.8.2013. Available on http://www.theguardian.com/global-development-professionals-network/2013/aug/01/women-in-leadership-international-ngos.

20 For a critical discussion see, for example, Whitworth 2004 and Väyrynen 2004.

UNSCR 1325, as women are relatively well represented in decision-making structures, and the country has also adopted a NAP on WPS - one of a few African countries to do so. The UN presence in the country includes women in high-level positions, gender advisers and a large amount of female peacekeepers - all strategies recommended by the WPS resolutions. However, despite these developments, gender-based violence in the country remains high, including sexual violence against children.[21] Examples like Liberia indicate that obsessing over women's representation does not necessarily solve the more profound problems that people living in conflict-affected countries struggle with. Thus, many practitioners of peacebuilding have hoped for more nuanced understandings of gender and power relations in conflict-affected contexts that, in practice, go beyond working on women's participation and protection only.[22] This shift towards gender, peace and security, instead of women, peace and security, has resonance in many current initiatives, but the improvement of policy and practical responses needs to follow. The new WPS resolutions adopted in 2013 might not satisfy the loudest critics of the WPS agenda, but they do add some important substance into the existing normative framework.

3   UNSCRs 2106 and 2122 – new ideas for the WPS agenda?

In 2013, the UN Security Council issued two new WPS resolutions, UNSCR 2106 in June and UNSCR 2122 in October. The former reinforces the UN's commitment to combat sexual violence in armed conflicts and post-conflict situations, noting inter alia the role of mediation, disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration (DDR), as well as security and justice sector reform processes, in addressing sexual violence. More importantly, for the first time in WPS resolutions, the document recognises that also men and boys are affected by sexual violence and their involvement is central for preventing and fighting against it. Concerning the roles of women in armed conflicts, UNSCR 2106 was also significant in its acknowledgement that women and children associated with armed groups were also in need of support.[23] In modern armed conflicts, the line between civilians and combatants - like perpetrators and victims - can be blurry. Thus, it is important that these new WPS resolutions are starting to recognise the diverse roles that both men and women have in conflict and peace, instead of representing them as homogenous groups.

_____

21 Hudson 2012, 98-99.

22 See, for example, Myrttinen et al. 2014, 7-11.

23 *Inclusive Mediation* – Seminar organised by Crisis Management Centre (CMC) Finland and CMI in Helsinki in March 2014.

Compared to UNSCR 2106, UNSCR 2122 offers a more holistic approach to the WPS agenda, by introducing some new themes such as women's economic empowerment, and access to sexual and reproductive health services. It also places the WPS agenda more concretely within the wider context of development, peacebuilding and post-conflict reconstruction. For example, the resolution notes that "*sustainable peace requires an integrated approach based on coherence between political, security, development, human rights, including gender equality, and rule of law and justice activities*". The link between security and development is also recognised as "*the need to address the gaps and strengthen links between the UN peace and security in the field, human rights and development work as a means to address root causes of armed conflict*". The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) refers to these sections as a welcomed intention to "break the silos"[24], but open discussion in the Security Council during the adoption of the resolution demonstrates that some speakers express concern towards the potentially overlapping agendas of different UN institutions, reminding the Security Council that their mandate lies within peace and security.[25]

3.1   Security and development

Connecting security and development in discourse and practice is viewed with some reservations also from the side of development practitioners. Discussions on the securitisation of aid and development address the more profound concerns surrounding the division of labour and expertise areas between different agencies.[26] For example, in Afghanistan, where human rights and gender equality are priorities in Nordic development strategies, security and military priorities affect development work at the expense of a sustainability and human rights perspective.[27] Then again, authors such as Kunz and Valasek see that the security sector, where gender and participatory considerations are rather new compared to the decade-long history of development, could draw some important lessons learned from the field of development. In discussions on development, a discursive shift from 'women in development' to 'gender in development' took place already during the 1990s, and the recent emphasis on gender, peace and security echoes the need for a similar transformation in the WPS agenda as well. Here again, according to Kunz and Valasek, instead of just adding

---

24 See WILPF Analysis of SC RES 2122, available on http://peacewomen.org/security_council_monitor/debate-watch/all-debates/70/security-council-open-debate-on-women-peace-and-security-october-2013?adhocpage=9653.

25 United Nations 2013.

26 For a critical discussion on linking security and development see for example Hudson 2012.

27 Bauck et al. 2011, 6.

women into existing security institutions, security sector reform (SSR) initiatives should take concepts and methods such as civil society participation, needs assessment, actor identification, activity selection and monitoring and evaluation practices more seriously.[28] Enhancing dialogue and learning opportunities between security and development professionals and institutions could indeed help to avoid a repetition of the same mistakes from the early years of development aid.

Besides intending to build a bridge between security and development, UNSCR 2122 also notes the important link between disarmament and gender equality by making a reference to the Arms Trade Treaty (ATT) adopted in April 2013, noting that "*exporting States Parties shall take into account the risk of covered conventional arms or items being used to commit or facilitate serious acts of gender-based violence or serious acts of violence against women and children*". Finland supported the inclusion of the clause on sexual violence in the ATT and sees this as an important achievement[29], but in order for this to become a powerful norm, the treaty needs to be ratified by member states. Moreover, UNSCR 2122 urges member states to "*ensure women's full and meaningful participation in efforts to combat and eradicate the illicit transfer and misuse of small arms and light weapons*". WILPF, however, would have hoped for stronger language on capacity building in this regard, emphasising the need for strengthened action.[30] In addition to supporting the ratification of the ATT, Finland should consider other means of contribution to the work on gender and disarmament. The Finnish peace and security research network SaferGlobe publishes annual reports on Finnish Arms Exports[31], but thematic analysis on the gendered consequences of arms export and the use of small arms and light weapons would be a welcome development.

Other keywords that are referred to several times in UNSCR 2122 include mediation, transitional justice, security and justice reform, and the rule of law. Although these concepts are extremely wide by their definition and practical responses, they can serve as a point of departure for more thematic action. In fact, UNSCR 2122 actually reflects important work already being done in these areas. In the field of SSR, the gender resources complied by the Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF) are worth mentioning; their Gender and Security Sector Reform Toolkit was published in 2008 and has been followed by other publications and training

---

28 Kunz and Valasek 2012, 115-118.

29 Ministry for Foreign Affairs 2013, 10-11.

30 WILPF Analysis of SC RES 2122, available on http://peacewomen.org/security_council_monitor/debate-watch/all-debates/70/security-council-open-debate-on-women-peace-and-security-october-2013?adhocpage=9653.

31 See SaferGlobe on http://www.saferglobe.fi/?p=1802.

resources.[32] DCAF also very recently published a guidance note for security sector institutions on preventing and responding to sexual and domestic violence against men[33], which is an important contribution to the work against gender-based violence that has perhaps focused too much on violence against women in the past. However, in SSR, the improvement of policy guidelines still needs to follow. For example, according to Olsson and Sundström, the EU's gender policy for CSDP operations and missions fails to specify what should be achieved by mainstreaming gender in a security sector reform process.[34] This would be crucial, as the EU is practically involved in reforming and building the capacities of state security actors through its civilian crisis management missions in several contexts, including Afghanistan, Libya and the Horn of Africa.

3.2   Mediation

There has also been a growing interest for approaching mediation from a gender perspective, which is demonstrated in the activities of intergovernmental and non-governmental organisations alike. In addition to UN and EU mediation initiatives, the OSCE[35] published guidelines on gender-responsive mediation in October 2013, intending to be a practical guide for third-party mediators.[36] Finland is also contributing towards a capacity building project on gender and mediation, which is being implemented by CMI and PRIO, and primarily targets UN mediators and special representatives. The strong focus on mediation and peace processes in the WPS agenda has resulted from the fact that women are largely affected by armed conflicts, but are usually excluded from peace negotiations and formal peace processes. Meanwhile, there seems to be a lot of data on women – or, rather, their absence – in peace processes,[37] but the inclusion of women still encounters more resistance than, for example, addressing conflict related sexual violence.[38] In a recent seminar on "Inclusive mediation", held in Helsinki in March 2014, it was concluded that the WPS agenda allows for a different perspective on peace processes but, again, just having female mediators or negotiators does not guarantee that women have a real voice in

_____

32 See, for example, *Gender & Security Sector Reform Toolkit* (2008), *A Women's Guide to Security Sector Reform* (2013) and *Guidance Notes on Integrating Gender into Security Sector Oversight* (2014). Available on www.dcaf.ch.

33 See Watson 2014, available on www.dcaf.ch/content/download/174011/2714016/file/SDVAM_Guidance.pdf.

34 Olsson & Sundström 2012, 43.

35 There have been attempts to create an action plan on the WPS in the OSCE, but so far these efforts have failed due to the resistance of some member states. However, the organisation has included considerations on gender in several policies and guidelines.

36 OSCE 2013.

37 See, for example, the list of studies in Bell 2013.

38 Ministry for Foreign Affairs 2013, 4.

the process. The concept of inclusion seems to be a fashionable way to approach mediation and peace processes at the moment, referring not only to women but also to wider civil society, including vulnerable and marginalised groups that are not necessarily always women. However, it was also highlighted in the seminar that no single grouping or platform can be totally inclusive, or is able to represent entire groups such as "women" or "youth" in a given context. The mediators have a key role in building collaboration between different parties, and integrating the concerns of excluded groups into the agenda if they cannot be brought to the formal process. This is why sensitising mediators, and other members of mediation teams, has been identified as crucial for improving the quality of peace processes, and thus the quality of peace agreements.

There are both broad and narrow definitions of mediation, and not all possibilities of mediation are captured in the WPS resolutions. Just as improving gender awareness and thus increasing the skills of high-level mediators through training and capacity building is an important initiative, these mediation and facilitation skills would also be highly useful at other levels of state- and peacebuilding. For example, Finland is a significant contributor to EU civilian crisis management operations, which rely on monitoring, mentoring and advising (MMA) as their main method of transforming state institutions in conflict-affected and fragile states. Thus, civilian crisis management can be understood as a form of 'everyday mediation', when EU workers engage with their local counterparts in security and justice institutions, encountering also challenges of a gendered nature. Enhancing the mediation skills of staff members practising MMA, including the skills of non-violent communication, dispute resolution, negotiation and facilitation, could also serve as an entry point for building their capacity on gender. In trainings, bringing gender into a specific substance matter would likely prove more successful than providing the same staff members with general gender training, which risks remaining too superficial in terms of practical implications.

A general weakness of all the WPS resolutions, UNSCR 2122 being no exception, is their vague language and lack of guidance for concrete action, which leaves a plenty of room for interpretation and clarification. Although UNSCR 2122 has a wider perspective on peace processes and peacebuilding than earlier WPS resolutions, which seems to reflect the ongoing international developments and trends in the field of gender, peace and security, it does not incorporate many new ideas in terms of concrete and practical measures for its implementation. The few practical measures mentioned in UNSCR 2122 are to:

1)   Develop action plans and implementation frameworks;
2)   Consult with civil society, particularly women's organisations;

3)   Include provisions on gender equality and women's empowerment in mission mandates;

4)   Appoint gender advisers to missions;

5)   Provide scenario-based training for military and police personnel in the missions;

6)   Make gender expertise and experts available for mediation teams; and

7)   Develop funding mechanisms for organisations supporting women's leadership.

While there is certainly a need for improvement in ensuring that member states make the best use of these aforementioned measures, many of these means are already being practised. For example, the UN first introduced gender advisers into their field missions in Kosovo and East Timor in 1999, and the EU has adopted this practise as well, today having incorporated gender advisers and/or gender experts into all of its crisis management operations and missions. Gender training is also being provided by several institutions, new training guidelines and resources are being developed, and best practises from training initiatives are being collected.[39] References to gender mainstreaming are also increasingly making their way into the mission mandates of the UN and EU, but considerations on gender are not strongly enough incorporated into the main guiding operational documents.[40] The same issue concerns consultations and cooperation with civil society, including women's organisations, which at least in EU missions seems to happen on an *ad hoc* basis rather than in a systematic way with clear objectives.[41]

Despite the noted improvements, the gap between policy and practice in implementing the WPS agenda is evident. Hence, there is a need to create new measures and activities to improve the quality of peace processes, field operations and missions as well as state- and peacebuilding in general. Next, I will list some points that Finland should take into account when thinking about its future commitments to the WPS agenda. Despite its weaknesses, the WPS agenda is a strong normative framework and nation states such as Finland play a crucial role in its implementation; for example, by putting WPS considerations onto the agendas of intergovernmental organisations, building and supporting institutions in order to improve cooperation and action, and providing funding for different initiatives and programmes.

_____

39 See, for example, DCAF 2012. Available on http://www.dcaf.ch/Publications/Gender-Training-for-the-Security-Sector-Lessons-identified-and-practical-resources.

40 Olsson et al. 2014, 29-33.

41 Ibid.

4 The way forward? Recommendations for the implementation of a renewed WPS agenda

4.1 Prioritisation of activities, clarifying the goals

The WPS agenda has come to cover a wide and substantial area, especially when taking into account the additional provisions found in UNSCR 2122. The implementing member states need to clarify and prioritise the actions they are committing themselves to, in order to be able to formulate concrete goals and activities. It might be useful to create more thematic action and frameworks around the WPS agenda at both national and international levels. The most important thematic areas in the UNSCR 2122 are: 1) inclusive mediation and peace processes; 2) economic empowerment; 3) sexual and reproductive health; 4) security and justice reform, including the rule of law; and 5) disarmament, including small arms and light weapons. It should be identified if there are any national actors related to these themes that have not been involved in the WPS work before, but could valuably contribute to it - for example, the Family Federation of Finland with respect to sexual and reproductive health. Country and context specific action plans could also help to clarify what Finland (or the EU) aims to achieve in terms of these thematic areas when engaging in third countries.

4.2 Clarifying – and discussing – the key concepts

In academic discussions, as well as among peacebuilding practitioners, the concepts of gender, gender equality and gender mainstreaming are often problematised, which contributes to many vivid discussions on the topic. The same can also be said for other key concepts in the WPS agenda, including security, peace and justice. The WPS agenda tends to simplify these concepts, but in reality different understandings of these key concepts need to be discussed and elaborated upon. The WPS agenda should not be reduced to women's representation, but instead the concept of gender could be taken as a starting point in, for example, training and capacity building initiatives. Also, when planning and implementing programmes and projects based on the WPS agenda, it should be taken into account that definitions introduced by the UN or the EU, for example their liberal understanding of 'gender equality', might not be appealing for all parties and partners - it may not even appeal to all women's groups.[42]

_____

42 Barnes & Olonisakin 2011, 8.

Furthermore, the WPS agenda should not be competing with alternative strategies that aim to achieve the same goals, such as enhancing the equality and empowerment of vulnerable groups.

4.3   Conflict and gender analysis

There are no universal solutions for achieving the objectives outlined in the WPS agenda. The success of policies, projects and programmes depend on their ability to be informed of proper conflict and gender analysis in the specific context where action is supposed to take place. Hence, there is a need for a quality analysis on gender and power relations in different contexts, as well as an improved awareness of the gendered consequences of conflict and peace processes. This analysis should not focus only on the vulnerabilities of women, but should also recognise the differences among various groups of men and women based on their age, ethnicity, social class and other identity markers. This information would also greatly benefit people who are going to be deployed in field missions. Although profound conflict and gender analysis takes time and resources, it is clearly worth investing in. Finland could support and provide resources for institutions that develop this quality information, in order to ensure that gender analysis informs planning processes in institutions that develop and implement related policies.

4.4   Training and capacity building

UNSCR 2122 encourages troop- and police-contributing countries to offer all military and police personnel adequate training, including scenario-based training on the prevention of sexual and gender-based violence. There are already several gender training initiatives, resources and materials available, including identified best practices, so there is no need to "re-invent the wheel". It has been identified that context-specific, practical, hands-on training produces the best results. Still, having a two-hour session on gender in, for example, a pre-deployment training course can offer only a very limited amount of information on the subject. Gender is also often competing with a growing number of other important topics. Thus, in addition to specific gender modules, gender needs to be mainstreamed throughout the entire training curricula.

Furthermore, training for specific professional groups such as policy makers, police and military personnel, as well as thematic gender training initiatives, could more effectively contribute to improved gender awareness and related skills, rather than short, generic gender training modules. If gender would also already be included in basic professional training programmes at the national level (e.g. police and military

academies), then there would be no need to start from the basics when these professionals are deployed to international missions. Reviewing national training curricula and identifying important entry points for gender would be a useful starting point here. There is also a need to make gender expertise more attractive - in other words, to promote gender competence as a professional merit instead of being a mandatory "nice-to-know" issue. Requiring gender competence from the experts that are deployed to the field might increase their willingness to participate in gender-focused trainings.

Training initiatives on mediation skills, including non-violent communication, dispute resolution, facilitation and negotiation skills, would benefit professionals that work at the grass-roots level of state- and institution-building - for example, in advising, monitoring and mentoring local counterparts in conflict-affected settings.

4.5   Women's participation

Promoting women's participation, be it in peace processes, security professions or field operations, requires conscious action and often some kind of means of positive discrimination - for instance, targeted recruitment campaigns, or the introduction of quotas. To be able to send women to international assignments, they need to be represented in the national organisations as well, including in police and military institutions. Across Europe, there is great variation on the representation of women in the police, however in general the diversity of police officers (in terms of both gender and ethnic background) is relatively low. Such diversity decreases even more when the higher ranks of European police forces are studied. This is in spite of the police being expected to represent the diversity of the communities that they serve.[43] Especially in conflict-affected contexts, the integration of women into institutions where they are discriminated and harassed might be precarious, thus a focus on transforming organisational and professional cultures, in order to include a protection element into the programmes, is crucial in order to avoid doing no harm.

4.6   Engaging men

The WPS agenda has largely remained silent about men's vulnerabilities and their role in advancing gender equality, until the most recent WPS resolutions adopted in 2013. In its second National Action Plan on UNSCR 1325, Finland has noted the importance of appointing male gender advisers in international assignments, but men's

_____

43 van Ewijk 2012. van Ewijk also notes the lack of comparative research on diversity in police forces.

role in the WPS agenda needs to be considered more profoundly. For example, Finnish researchers and practitioners who work with male victims or perpetrators of violence are currently under-resourced. This work should not be seen as competing with initiatives to combat violence against women, but rather as 'two sides of the same coin'. Hence, national and international projects and programmes that engage with men in reducing violence, whilst also promoting gender equality, should be supported. There is also a need for the transformation of attitudes in organisational cultures. Recent research initiatives have shown that the operational cultures of crisis management and peacebuilding organisations pose challenges for women's agency and marginalise gender work by labelling it as a woman's working field.[44] Meanwhile, men working on gender equality and the promotion of peaceful masculinities do not receive adequate support from their family members and/or male and female peers, who often question their masculinity and sexual orientation.[45]

4.7   Dialogue and cooperation between different actors

Dialogue and the sharing of information between governmental representatives, civil society actors and the academic community should be enhanced, as especially scientific knowledge on gender, peace and security is often denied because it is considered to be too conceptual and academic by policy makers and practitioners of crisis management. A special focus should be placed on communicating and sharing the results of research projects related to gender, peace and security. There is also a need to build dialogue and learning opportunities between security and development professionals, who sometimes seem to speak different languages, but could learn valuable lessons from each other. Some good strategies could involve establishing joint coordination boards and organising joint workshops and seminars, however, there should also be room for new, innovative cooperation strategies as well.

---

44 For civilian crisis management, see Suhonen 2012 and Mäki-Rahkola & Launiala 2012.

45 Myrttinen et al. 2014, 13.

REFERENCES

Barnes, Karen & 'Funmi Olonisakin 2011. "Introduction." In: Barnes, Karen; Olonisakin, 'Funmi & Ikpe, Eka (eds.) *Women, Peace and Security: Translating Policy into Practice,* pp. 3-14. London: Routledge.

Barnes, Karen 2011. "The evolution and implementation of UNSCR 1325: An overview." In: Barnes, Karen; Olonisakin, 'Funmi & Ikpe, Eka (eds.) *Women, Peace and Security: Translating Policy into Practice,* pp. 15-33. London: Routledge.

Bauck, Petter; Dohmen, Sofia; Andresen, Janne & Lexow, Janne 2011. *Gender Review Report. Royal Norwegian Embassy, Afghanistan.* Norad & Sida with the support of Nordic Consulting Group, Oslo, Norway.

Bell, Christine 2013. *Women and peace processes, negotiations and agreements: operational opportunities and challenges.* Norwegian Peacebuilding Resource Center, Policy Brief, March 2013.

European External Action Service 2014. *Personnel Figures of the Civilian CSDP missions as of 30.04.2014.*

European Peacebuilding Liaison Office (EPLO) 2012. *Maximising EU support to the Women, Peace and Security agenda.* EPLO Policy Paper, available on http://www.eplo.org/assets/files/2.%20Activities/Working%20Groups/GPS/EPLO%20Statement%20Maximising%20EU%20support%20to%20the%20WPS%20agenda%20FINAL.pdf (accessed on 20.3.2014).

Ewijk van, Anne R 2012. "Diversity within Police Forces in Europe: A Case for the Comprehensive View." *Policing* (6) 1, pp. 76-92.

Hatakka, Elina 2012. "Naiset, rauha ja turvallisuus – YK:n turvallisuusneuvoston päätöslauselma 1325." In: Kopola, Riina & Palm, Anne (eds.) *Siviilit kriisejä hallitsemassa: Matkalla kokonaisvaltaiseen kriisinhallintaan,* pp. 187-194. Helsinki: KATU.

Hudson, Heidi 2012. "A Bridge Too Far? The Gender Consequences of Linking Security and Development in SSR Discourse and Practice." In: Schnabel, Albrecht & Farr, Vanessa (eds.) *Back to the Roots: Security Sector Reform and Development,* pp. 77-114. Zürich & Münster: LIT Verlag.

Jukarainen, Pirjo & Puumala, Eeva 2014. *The Nordic Implementation of UNSCR 1325: A Comprative Evaluation.* The 1325 Network Finland & Acaide Oy.

Kunz, Rahel & Valasek, Kristin 2012. "Learning from Others' Mistakes: Towards Participatory, Gender-sensitive SSR." In: Schnabel, Albrecht & Farr, Vanessa (eds.) *Back to the Roots: Security Sector Reform and Development,* pp. 115-143. Zürich & Münster: LIT Verlag.

Ministry for Foreign Affairs 2013. *Raportti Eduskunnalle Suomen 1325 toimintaohjelman toimeenpanosta.* Available on http://www.eduskunta.fi/triphome/bin/thw/?${APPL} =akirjat&${BASE}=akirjat&${THWIDS}=0.19/1401306259_493900&${TRIPPIFE} =PDF.pdf (accessed on 20.5.2014)

Myrttinen, Henri; Naujoks, Jana & El-Bushra, Judy 2014. *Re-thinking Gender in Peace-building.* London: International Alert.

Mäki-Rahkola, Anne & Launiala, Annika 2012. *A Gender Perspective in Civilian Crisis Management: Experiences of Finnish Experts from the Field.* CMC Finland Working Papers, Vol. 6: No 2/2012.

Nderitu, Alice & O'Neill, Jacqueline 2013. *Getting to the Point of Inclusion: Seven Myths Standing in the Way of Women Waging Peace.* The Institute for Inclusive Security.

Olsson, Louise & Sundström, Karin 2012. *European Union's Gender Policy for CSDP Missions: Contents and Gaps. An assessment of existing policy on 'Women, peace and security' with examples from EUPOL COPPS, EUMM Georgia, EULEX Kosovo and EUPOL RD Congo.* Folke Bernadotte Academy, Sweden.

Olsson, Louise; Åhlin, Martin; Sundin, Marielle & Lidström, Anna 2014. *Gender, Peace and Security in the European Union's Field Missions. Assessments of EUMM Georgia and EUPOL COPPS Palestinian Territories with Observations from EULEX Kosovo.* Folke Bernadotte Academy, Sweden.

Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) 2013. *Enhancing Gender-Responsive Mediation – A Guidance Note.* Available on: http://www.osce.org/ gender/107533 (accessed 10.5.2014).

Suhonen Johanna 2012. *Sukupuolittunut siviilikriisinhallinta. Suomalaisten siviilikriisin-hallinnan asiantuntijoiden kokemuksia EU-operaatioista.* Pro gradu -tutkielma, Turun yliopisto. Available on http://www.1325.fi/tiedostot/ Sukupuolittunut_siviilikriisinhallinta_Suhonen_09_2012.pdf

United Nations 2013. *Security Council adopts Resolution 2122 (2013), aiming to strengthen women's role in all stages of conflict prevention, resolution.* Security Council SC/11149. United Nations Department of Public Information, News and Media Division. Available on http://www.un.org/press/en/2013/sc11149.doc.htm (accessed 1.5.2014).

Vilkko, Valter & Molin, Jenny 2013. *Shifting focus in Resolution 2122.* The 1325 Blog, Operation 1325. Available on http://operation1325.se/en/blogg/shifting-focus-in-resolution-2122 (accessed 1.5.2014).