



Joined-Up Thinking:

International Measures for Women's Security and SALW Control

By Cynthia Dehesa and Sarah Masters

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Acknowledgments

Cynthia Cockburn, Sabina Echeverri, Shauna Kelly,
Lynne Roberts and Jill Small.

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Introduction: A missing link

Two significant initiatives on 'security' were taken by the United Nations (UN) around the time of the Millennium, one following quickly on the other. The first was UN Security Council Resolution (SCR) 1325¹ concerned with women in relation to peace and security. The other was *The UN Programme of Action to Prevent, Combat and Eradicate the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects* (PoA)² which dealt with small arms and light weapons (SALW) as a threat to security.

However there was no interaction between the two initiatives: each was drafted in isolation from the other. Thus, SCR 1325 makes no mention of SALW, while the PoA portrays women as hapless victims, rather than as key resources in combating armed violence.

It is curious that each initiative apparently ignored the other, given women's highly insecure lives and the significance of guns in violence against women both in times of conflict and times of peace. This paper explores what links should have been made, and even now might be made. What can SALW control policy contribute to women's security? How can women contribute to addressing the 'SALW problem'?

The shape of the paper is as follows. First, we briefly describe the two UN initiatives, and what is being done to implement them. Then, we provide some background

on the relationship between legal and illicit SALW and gender-based violence in peace and in conflict.

In section 3 we make connections between women, security and SALW. We introduce in section 4 a conceptual framework to link implementation of SCR 1325 with thinking and action on SALW, focussing on the concepts of 'prevention', 'protection' and 'participation'.

In section 5 we discuss the first of the '3 Pillars' related to SCR 1325 - conflict Prevention, the harm caused to women by SALW in conflict, and measures needed to mitigate violence. Section 6 deals with the absence of women from the various peace-building and SALW control processes, and the potential for their Participation as actors in SALW control. Section 7 covers a third SCR 1325 Pillar – Protection – the effect on women's security of SALW in the community and home during conflict and peace, and measures to protect them from this pervasive threat.

In section 8 we cite draft UN indicators for the implementation of SCR 1325, highlighting the efforts of the IANSA Women's Network to ensure that SALW are included. In section 9 we note the references to SALW we have uncovered in several published SCR 1325 National Action Plans.

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Two major UN initiatives on security

2a. UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000)

In October 2000 the UN Security Council unanimously approved SCR 1325 which, for the first time, acknowledged that women play an important role before, during and after armed conflicts.

By adopting SCR 1325, the UN Security Council recognised, for the first time, women's needs in wartime and post-conflict situations, in all their roles from victims to peacebuilders. The Resolution addresses all UN Member States, all parties to armed conflicts and all actors involved in disarmament and peace processes to focus on peace and security matters in a coherent and gender sensitive manner.

Resolution 1325 is the first measure focussing on women ever adopted by the UN Security Council. Its passage was achieved after several years of cooperative effort by women's NGOs, both transnational and from a range of countries, coordinated by the New York office of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF).³

Since the adoption of SCR 1325, three other UN Security Council Resolutions have been passed to strengthen the international agenda on women, peace and security. UN SCR 1820 (2008)⁴ acknowledges sexual violence as a tactic of war and calls on the international community to prevent it; and SCR 1888 (2009)⁵ and 1889 (2009)⁶ develop measures and actions that reinforce the implementation of SCR 1325 and SCR 1820.

SCR 1325 provides a framework for a comprehensive approach to conflict management and violence prevention. To ensure its implementation, there was increasing demand for specific policies and plans of action.

Thus, in his 2004 Secretary-General's report on the implementation of SCR 1325⁷, Kofi Annan called for all UN Member States to develop National Action Plans (NAPs) to ensure implementation of the Resolution. Such NAPs provide an opportunity to initiate strategic actions, identify priorities and resources, and determine responsibilities and timeframes through a process of awareness raising and capacity building.

In these first ten years of SCR 1325, at least 21 countries have developed NAPs on implementing the Resolution. They include: Austria (2007), Belgium (2009), Bosnia Herzegovina (2010), Chile (2009), Côte d'Ivoire (2008), Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) (2009), Denmark (2005), Finland (2008), Iceland (2008), Liberia (2009), the Netherlands (2007), Norway (2006), the Philippines (2010), Portugal (2009), Sierra Leone (2010), Rwanda (2009), Spain (2008), Sweden (2006), Switzerland (2007), Uganda (2008), and the United Kingdom (2007). Many other states are in the process of developing a NAP⁸ (See section 9 for instances where SALW is mentioned in such NAPs.)

Several coalitions of Civil Society Organisations (CSO's) formed to monitor and advocate for the implementation of SCR 1325. IANSA is an active member of two of these: the NGO Working Group on Women, Peace and Security which serves as a bridge between women's human rights defenders working in conflict-affected situations and policy-makers at UN Headquarters, and Gender Action for Peace and Security UK, an expert working group of peace and development NGOs, academics and grassroots peace builders.

It must be noted that there is no specific reference to small arms and light weapons in the text. Yet, SALW proliferation is an underlying threat to the successful implementation of SCR 1325.

2b. The UN Programme of Action to Prevent, Combat and Eradicate the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons (2001)

In July 2001 the UN held an inter-governmental *Conference on the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects*. As was the case with SCR 1325, this was in part the product of a prior history of research, documentation and pressure by NGOs in many countries. IANSA, the principal international movement of civil society organisations in this field, played a significant part, amplifying the voices of NGOs calling for tougher international controls to curb the proliferation of SALW.

A practical measure came out of the Conference, with the long title: *The UN Programme of Action to Prevent, Combat and Eradicate the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects* (PoA).

All UN Member States signed up to the PoA, agreeing to take a number of steps for getting to grips with the SALW problem including through programmes of disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration of combatants after conflicts; and identifying and destroying stocks of surplus or illegal weapons. UN Member States are urged to pass legislation to end illicit production, sale and ownership of SALW, and to introduce tougher licensing requirements. Unfortunately, the PoA contains only one reference to gender, in paragraph 6 of the Preamble where States express grave concern about the devastating consequences of the illicit trade in small arms for children “as well as the negative impact on women and the elderly.”

Since the PoA was adopted there have been a series of ‘Biennial Meetings of States’ (BMS) to report on implementation in which members of the IANSA Women's Network have been active participants.⁹

In 2003, less than 8% of States included language on gender in their BMS reports.¹⁰

A *Gender Mainstreaming Action Plan* launched by the UN Office for Disarmament Affairs (UNODA) in 2003 underscored the commitment and importance it attaches to addressing the impact of all categories of weapons, including SALW, on both men and women.

By the January 2006 Preparatory Committee meeting for the first Review Conference of the PoA, 7 statements during the thematic debate highlighted the importance of gender considerations, both in addressing armed violence and in creating effective DDR.

Later in 2006, during the first Review Conference of the UN PoA, the UN Coordinating Action on Small Arms (CASA) issued Guidelines for gender mainstreaming for the effective implementation of the PoA.¹¹ And although a large number of Member States supported the addition of a reference to gender to the PoA through a paragraph related to gender and SCR 1325, they were unable to agree on a way forward and the Conference ended without an Outcome Document.

In 2008, the UN Development Programme (UNDP) Bureau for Crisis Prevention and Recovery published a manual spelling out more steps Member States should take, including: controlling international transfers; regulating manufacturers, dealers and gunsmiths; marking weapons and keeping records of their location; and improving state security sectors practices concerning their own SALW.¹² Importantly, the manual stressed that governments should establish an agency – a ‘National Focal Point or National Commission’ – to maintain oversight of the various government ministries and agencies who should be involved in implementing the PoA.

In 2010, in view of the Fourth Biennial Meeting of States on the PoA¹³ (June 2010) and the 10th anniversary of SCR 1325, The UNODA Regional Disarmament Branch (UNODA/RDB) and IANSA jointly undertook to review and update the Gender Guidelines.¹⁴ The updated Guidelines take into account new developments, progress made and lessons learnt in the implementation of the PoA, as well as in the area of gender mainstreaming in peace and security, and also benefits from a wide array of field-based experience and knowledge.

Despite these initiatives there has been little reference to gender relations or to women's security needs in the UN small arms control process. States and civil society alike have an opportunity to consolidate this limited progress through making clearer links with SCR 1325 and in the next phase of the UN small arms control process, particularly the Review Conference on the PoA in 2012.

Guns in relation to gender-based violence in conflict and in peace

Gender and guns in time of conflict

Armed conflict is profoundly gendered. In the main, women and men play different roles and thus experience different effects. The significance of guns in armed conflict is also in part determined by gender.

Much more often than women, it is men who 'bear arms', and of course many of them are killed by gunshots in military engagements. And non-combatant males, old and young, are as often caught in the crossfire as well as women.

While the majority of combatants are men, women are the majority of those who become refugees or are 'internally displaced', often facing starvation and disease as they struggle to fend for their families.¹⁵ The particular gender-based violations women experience are often carried out at gunpoint. As well as being used to kill, guns are used as tools of coercion, to intimidate, immobilize and subject women victims.

Women are particularly vulnerable to abduction, rape and forced 'marriage', better termed sexual servitude or slavery, acts of initiated and maintained through threats of armed violence. For example, women suffer long-term consequences of armed violence or the threat of it – of sexually transmitted diseases, injuries due to rape (too often multiple rapes) and stigma attached to raising children conceived during periods of sexual slavery or rape.

It is now more widely recognised that sexual violence, particularly directed against women as child-bearers, is used not just casually but as a deliberate military tactic, particularly in ethnic conflicts where it is used to fracture, demoralise, destabilise and destroy the social bonds of entire communities.¹⁶

For example, 64,000 women and girls are estimated to have suffered war-related sexual violence in Sierra Leone's civil war between 1991 and 2002. Many testimonies of women explain how the assaults were endured at gunpoint. 'They put their guns to our throats and stomachs to make sure that we followed their orders,' one woman reported.¹⁷

Unregulated small arms & light weapons as sources of insecurity

Small arms are highly durable, easy to use, carry and maintain, and with minimal training become highly lethal tools. Combined with their low cost and widespread availability all around the world, these features have made them the weapons of choice fuelling international humanitarian law violations and insecurity in many parts of the world.

International Committee of the Red Cross, 2006 Report.¹⁸

It is a fact that some women also bear arms and fight. Increasingly state armies are recruiting women to their armed forces, and non-state militias enlist women and girls, or force them to serve. Girls have participated, since 1990, in armed conflicts in at least 58 countries.¹⁹ In Nepal, the Communist Party of Nepal-Maoists expressly targeted adolescent girls and their mothers for recruitment (in 2006, 30% of their armed forces were believed to be female) since most men left their family homes to seek better opportunities.²⁰

We should not, for all this, assume that women and men are experiencing their active involvement with weapons in an identical way. Many accounts show that they experience subjection and maltreatment both within state and non-state militaries – it is unfortunately not only ‘enemy’ men that abuse women in time of armed conflict. Men in the legitimate state military or police forces sometimes rape civilian women of their own ‘side’, and women colleagues in their own armed forces. Peacekeeping forces too have been accused of opportunistic rape. Such rapes by state and international soldiers tend not to be taken seriously by the military authorities. The US Department of Defense estimated in 2009 that 90% of rapes within the military go unreported.²¹

In general, the availability of SALW increases the likelihood of armed conflict, and at the same time armed conflict disrupts and reshapes gender relations. Masculine values expressed in and fostering militarism acquire more authority, an authority which guns are always and everywhere available to enforce. While gender difference is driven home, pre-existing inequality between the sexes is exacerbated, while conflict adds to women's burdens by setting back and distorting their own and their country's economic and social development. What must be stressed in the context of the present paper is that since almost all men are armed in time of conflict, it is inevitable that their weaponry is implicated in the exercise of power over women.

Gender Relations in War

Armed conflict is often responsible for drastic changes in relations between men and women. It often changes men's views about what qualifies as masculine behaviour: group pressure increases men's aggressiveness, dominant behaviour and inclination to treat women as inferior. Rape is used as a weapon of war to undermine women's self-worth and their husbands', family members' and communities' sense of honour. Women's bodies are thus ideologically transformed into battlefields: systematic sexual abuse serves to strike the enemy in their immediate home environment. Stigmatisation, trauma, depression and hatred are the result for abused women. Men too are affected by abuse: not only are they themselves abused more often than people realise, but the constant threat of violence and the fact that they have committed rape can lead to mental numbness and psychological damage.

Dutch National Action Plan on SCR 1325 (December 2007)²²

Gender and guns in civilian communities in times of peace

There is also of course a powerful connection between the abuse of women in armed conflict and women's subordination during peacetime. Men carry with them into war a sense of entitlement that is habitual in most cultures, that they have the right to dispose of women as they will.

The presence of small arms in civilian communities during peacetime is also directly related to their proliferation in war. A flux of guns into a country or a region often presages war, but it also often derives from a war. The process of disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration of fighters after a conflict (DDR), is sometimes incompletely carried out. Combatants often take their weapons with them back into civilian life. Pre- and post-conflict, in many cases guns become a significant element in smuggling and trafficking, along with women and drugs.

However, even in countries that have not experienced armed conflict, guns may be a major source of concern. This is particularly the case in certain Latin American countries where levels of gun crime are very much higher than in other parts of the world. And in some countries, where many weapons reside in the hands of the security sector, or are kept for hunting, guns also figure as the weapon of choice for coercion in every kind of violent crime.²³

If women are sometimes bearers and users of SALW in war, it is also the case that they are implicated, again as a small minority, in gun culture in peacetime. However it is now widely accepted that a strong cultural and symbolic link exists between masculine gender identity and gun ownership. Santos et al write, "...gun use is intertwined with culturally endorsed expressions of masculinity, which associate guns with virility".²⁴ (See Box below.)

Men, Masculinity and Guns: can we break the link?

The majority of men do not own or use guns: guns use must therefore be understood as a choice. A common argument used by gun lobbyists is that men need guns to protect their families from armed intruders or attacker, and some women welcome this protection.

Gun violence is gendered. There is a strong social and cultural association between masculinity and possessing a gun. A widespread belief is that rage is an acceptable response to frustration. Violence is strongly linked with the ability of achieving power and it is understood as a mean to obtain goods, including women that are still seen as objects. Therefore some men use guns as a compensation mechanism when they feel disempowered; for instance if they are not able to fulfil a gender role as it is 'expected'.

Women's empowering programs also increase anxiety among men who do not want to give up their power by sharing decision making processes. This triggers their need to intimidate and subordinate women using violence. On the other hand, some women overtly encourage gun culture attitudes because they share the belief that guns offer power and that they can benefit from it.

During armed conflicts gun and masculinity linkage is carried to the extreme increasing the dangers for women.

Ella Page, Masculinity and Guns: Can we break the link, IANSA Women's Network, 2009²⁵

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In all too many cultures where male dominance, extensive sexual violence against women and widespread gun ownership are combined, the outcome is that many rapes and assaults are carried out at gunpoint.

Besides, gun crimes do not occur, as often visualised, only in city backstreets. They often occur in the intimacy of a bedroom or kitchen in the family home. Domestic violence, whether as battering or partner rape, is common everywhere and women are overwhelmingly the victims, their husbands, lovers or sons the perpetrators. Far too many guns are kept in the home for 'self-protection' or 'recreational use'. And guns are often brought home by off-duty soldiers, police and private security guards. A

victim of aggression finds it far harder to escape or defend herself when facing an aggressor holding a gun, which can cause grave injuries swiftly and at a distance. Studies show that where a gun exists in the home, instances of domestic violence more often results in wounding or death.²⁶

The availability and use of SALW, whether in armed conflict, organised or casual crime, or sexual relationships, are thus profoundly mediated by gender. And gender relations, as interactions of power underpinned by violence, are necessarily and unavoidably (re)shaped by weapons. There is no avoiding the fact that the pursuit of policies and actions on 'women, peace and security' has to address the politics of SALW.



Women, security and SALW: 'prevention', 'participation' and 'protection'

In this paper we take the word 'security' as it is used in SCR 1325 to apply to safety and wellbeing in both wartime and peacetime situations. We include peace because SCR 1325 also refers to 'durable peace', the 'maintenance and promotion of peace and security', and 'conflict prevention' in addition to active armed conflict.

Unsurprisingly SALW play a central role in armed conflict. Despite this obvious fact, discussions and action to deal with the presence and use of SALW often remain absent in discussions around peace and security or explicit links are never made. It is as if their presence is inevitable, somehow unavoidable and this prevents them from being recognised as facilitators of human rights violations, tools of intimidation, dominance and violence.

The goals of SCR 1325 and SALW control are inherently interconnected. Both have the ultimate aim to reduce violence and ensure that a state does not return to conflict. It is clear that post-conflict strategies that exclude women help to exacerbate further insecurity and are often unsustainable.

It is self-evident that women's security is at risk in armed conflict, in many ways and for many gender-specific reasons. It may be less evident, but is nonetheless true, that in the course of everyday life during times of peace many if not all women experience insecurity due to their gender, regardless of their circumstances.

So even though SCR 1325 does not explicitly mention SALW in the way for instance that it mentions landmines, this should not preclude us from addressing SALW within all our thinking and actions under SCR 1325. The gendered nature of armed conflict and SALW use make it logical, and indeed imperative, that danger from guns must be included in any consideration of women's security, and likewise any action to control SALW proliferation and use must consider and involve women.

Successful implementation of SCR 1325 and subsequent Resolutions must result in action being taken to address the root causes of armed violence including an analysis of gender relations.

The 3 Pillars: Prevention, Participation and Protection

In 2008-2009, the UN adopted a 'System-wide Action Plan' which outlined SCR 1325 goals for 5 thematic areas: prevention, participation, protection, relief and recovery, and normative. Most efforts have focused on 'the 3 P's' – Prevention, Participation and Protection – which provide a useful framework here for addressing the links between SALW control and the successful implementation of SCR 1325.

Each is defined in the UN System-wide Action Plan:

- (a) Prevention:** mainstream a gender perspective into all conflict prevention activities and strategies, develop effective gender-sensitive early warning mechanisms and institutions, and strengthen efforts to prevent violence against women, including various forms of gender-based violence;
- (b) Participation:** promote and support women's active and meaningful participation in all peace processes as well as their representation in formal and informal decision-making at all levels; improve partnership and networking with local and international women's rights groups and organisations; recruit and appoint women to senior positions in the UN, including Special Representatives of the Secretary-General, and in peacekeeping forces, including military, police and civilian personnel;
- (c) Protection:** strengthen and amplify efforts to secure the safety, physical or mental health, well-being, economic security and/or dignity of women and girls; promote and safeguard human rights of women and mainstream a gender perspective into the legal and institutional reforms;

In the following sections we take each of these concepts in turn:

We explicitly interpret 'Prevention' as prevention of armed conflict and of sexual and gender-based violence against women, exacerbated by legal and illicit SALW in armed conflict. We look at the part SALW play in this context; and what steps might be taken through the combination of the analysis and programmes of SCR 1325 and the PoA to limit the damage to women in conflict.

In the section on 'Participation' we consider the ways women are not only victims but also actors, even users of SALW in some contexts. We note the absence of women from structures and processes of peace making and of SALW control and 'management', and how in some cases they are being enabled to become actors in this field, to the benefit of women themselves and the wider community.

We interpret 'Protection' as protection of women from the use of SALW in perpetrating sexual and gender-based violence against them in the community and the home during times of conflict and formal peace. We look at the effect of SALW on women's everyday security and what steps might be taken to protect women from gun violence.

It is important to acknowledge that SALW are more than mere instruments of violence, and that they can also be a root cause and a facilitator of gender based violence. Therefore genderised disarmament and SALW control are key elements of any violence prevention programme or approach, and both SALW and women's participation must also be addressed in post-conflict DDR processes.

There is growing recognition that more accurate gender analysis leads to more effective disarmament initiatives, weapons control processes and violence reduction in general. Appreciation of gender dimensions has consequences for the way awareness is raised; design and funding of interventions; monitoring and evaluation of SALW control programs; and more widely in formulating long-term strategies to combat the global small arms crisis.

■ PREVENTION: Preventing or mitigating violence against women in situations of armed conflict

Conflict environments characterised by a breakdown in the rule of law and a prevailing climate of impunity create conditions whereby State and non-state actors, emboldened by their weapons, power and status, essentially enjoy free reign to commit acts of violence against women. SCR 1325 steps into this arena to dismiss the notion that the violation of women's rights during armed conflict is unavoidable.

SCR 1325 urges UN Member States to implement actions to prevent violence against women in armed conflict. In accordance with this mandate, practical actions and policies on SALW should be developed to effectively minimise violence against women and allow women equal opportunities in post conflict settings.

There is growing evidence that disarmament processes in post conflict contexts must include all of the community – women and men, young and old in order to more successfully ensure against renewed tensions. Most efforts tend to prioritise armed groups as they present the greatest risk of violence, but this should be followed by weapons collection schemes that involve the rest of society. There has too often been an emphasis placed on the number of guns collected but it can be more meaningful to instead place the emphasis on the number of gun free homes created – to focus back on the family, the community and the peer group. This elevates the exercise from being a simplistic one of counting guns, to one which reinforces the message of preventing violence and providing safe communities.

To measure the impact of violence against women in armed conflict requires both quantitative and qualitative data – gathering and using information about sex, age, race, type of violence, and whether it was armed violence. Such data gathering and analysis would therefore include links to SALW and provide details and insight into how armed violence affects women and men in specific contexts. The information can also assist with the identification of early warning signs by highlighting the increasing use or presence of SALW in a given community. Such data can

also help policy makers develop or strengthen laws to control SALW during post-conflict reconstruction, and identify relevant and appropriate support for survivors of armed violence including access to justice.

In addition, the development of laws on SALW should be linked to existing international instruments such as The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW). Resulting laws can serve to inform regional initiatives aiming to reduce and ultimately prevent violence against women.

Some UN entities such as UNDP have explicitly developed gender policies which aim to address particular elements that normalise and perpetuate pro-gun and pro-violence behaviours. Such policies provide recognition of how SALW proliferation relates to, and affects, both men and women, and aim to support human security and sustainable development for families and broader communities by minimising the extent and impact of SALW misuse.

The UN Coordinating Action on Small Arms (CASA) is developing International Small Arms Control Standards (ISACS), just as the UN system has done with landmines and DDR. Ultimately gendered aspects of SALW control will be incorporated in all modules of the Standards, while a gender-specific module should establish specific principles.

However we can put it very simply: the removal of SALW is a first step towards reducing and ultimately preventing violence against women. Further SALW control measures enable the maintenance and promotion of a sustainable peace. SALW controls for legal and illicit weapons are an essential element of armed violence prevention and reduce the risk of a return to conflict.

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PARTICIPATION: Enhancing women's role in SALW control

Women themselves have a role to play in disarmament but have until recently been largely absent from the decision-making process within the security and judicial sectors, which are usually seen as exclusively male domains. However women have an important role to play in the security debate, including the question of SALW reduction and domestic controls. In addition, this is an important step towards gender equality.

SCR 1325 attempts to address the aforementioned gender imbalance in the field of security as well as to broaden understanding of women's roles in sustainable peace, and their participation in armed conflict. Ironically the UN organisation itself still maintains a huge gender imbalance in leadership positions.²⁷ The current UN Security Council representatives from 15 state members include only 2 women.²⁸ If women do not have a voice because they are not present in decision-making groups nor hold any positions of power, their concerns simply cannot be addressed.

It is clear that governments continue to find it difficult to translate SCR 1325 into concrete policies and strategic actions in conflict-affected regions, where it is most critical that peace and reconstruction efforts take women's needs and capacities into account. Understanding of how to implement SCR 1325 is limited and there remains a vast breach for women between policy rhetoric and actual progress.

It is important to ensure that all future agreements on SALW control relate to SCR 1325, incorporate gendered language, and affirm the full and equal participation of women in the small arms process, while recognising that men need special programmes to help them reject armed violence.

However, in the meantime SCR 1325 has given a decisive mandate in the field of SALW control policy and practice, including women in decision-making and taking gender issues into account through specific entry points:

- Article 1 relates to the maintenance and promotion of peace and security. Effective policies and programmes that prevent and respond to gun violence are an essential component of this. In the field of SALW control this can be achieved through reforming recruitment policy and practice; implementing gender-balance requirements; consulting and collaborating with women's organisations; and providing policy training and education for women.

States should take practical steps to ensure that women are fully involved in decision-making and other activities to inform security policies at national, regional and international levels, including changes to national gun laws, disarmament processes and development activities.

Greater gender parity in security decision-making can be achieved by using a variety of mechanisms:

1) develop rosters of female security experts, consultative committees, and more deliberate recruitment processes; 2) introduce a temporary special quota of at least 33% women in negotiation teams, constitutional drafting committees and national and provincial parliaments; and 3) provide financial support and training to female candidates in national and provincial elections, as well as provide training for women already working within government.

- Article 8 of SCR 1325 relates to measures that need to be taken to support local women's SALW control initiatives through increased capacity-building, provision of resources, and funding.

In addition, the UN Secretary-General's 2002 report on women, peace and security (S/2002/1154, paragraph 27) acknowledges the role that women's grassroots organisations have in supporting disarmament processes. It notes that women's groups and networks can provide important information regarding perceptions of the dangers posed by the number and types of weapons, the identification of weapons caches and the trans-border weapons trade.

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Local women's organisations are often the first to initiate micro-disarmament projects under the banner of creating peace and security. These projects often include awareness-raising and weapons collection components. In this way women have taken leadership roles in peacebuilding work, violence prevention and education about gun violence, and are using SCR 1325 in their disarmament efforts around the world.

There is an urgent need to fully address the community dimension of SALW control to underscore and support the importance of local initiatives, many of which are led by women. States should promote local voices and solutions by building on the disarmament and peacebuilding activities of grassroots civil society groups, particularly women's groups.

Dedicated budget allocations for SCR 1325 across national government departments are very limited and funding for civil society organisations working on gender, peace and security and women's issues is inadequate. To address this situation, governments and donors should: 1) provide adequate financial resources and tie them to the implementation of SCR 1325 and to gender mainstreaming in broader peacebuilding and development strategies; and 2) ensure special funds are available in each region for civil society organisations working on gender, peace and security-related work.

- Article 13 is a response to international assistance operations that neglect the specific needs of women and girls in armed movements as part of the DDR process. Women combatants, supporters and dependents have not benefited equally from services, cash incentives, travel remittances, small business grants, health care, training, or housing support that flow to their male counterparts — men with guns — as part of DDR packages.

In 2006, the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) launched the Integrated Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration Standards (IDDRS), a comprehensive set of policies, guidelines and procedures covering 24 areas of DDR, with the aim of enhancing implementation of DDR programmes in peacekeeping. One of the 24 areas addressed in the IDDRS was "Women, Gender and DDR". As part of efforts to address continued challenges, DPKO has initiated a review on how gender considerations have informed recent DDR programmes in order to identify effective strategies that strengthen this aspect of peacekeeping missions.

Each conflict is unique and, accordingly, DDR processes are designed slightly differently each time. Nine years after the passage of 1325, very few would dispute that there is still a gender deficit in DDR planning and delivery.

7

PROTECTION: Defending women from gun violence in social and domestic life

This section highlights how SALW control is an essential part of protecting women from armed violence, and should be at the core of any peace and security strategy drawing on SCR 1325.

In all contexts, the role of SALW in coercion, intimidation and violence is underreported. When it is, often no one thinks to ask what kind of SALW was involved, where the perpetrator got the weapon, and whether it was legally or illegally owned or used. However these are all essential questions to ask since the information revealed in the answers will aid in identifying possible measures to protect women. SALW control and efforts to address violence against women should be harmonised to ensure that forms of armed violence are taken into account, and adequate data gathered about the incidence of gun use.

Protection also incorporates the development of laws and their enforcement, and the harmonisation of new laws with existing measures to prevent armed violence against women.

This is because enforcing laws and restricting access to SALW can help reduce other types of gender based violence. For example in Israel, civil society organisations are lobbying for the implementation of a government recommendation to prevent private security guards from taking firearms home with them at the end of a shift, following evidence that such weapons have been used to kill and intimidate women in situations of domestic violence.²⁹

Action to protect women during and after armed conflicts should include, inter alia, measures to address

experiences with SALW in all levels. For example, health services should be geared up to offer appropriate medical care to women with SALW related injuries, as well as psychological support for survivors.

Of course changing social attitudes about crimes against women is an important way to prevent and reduce violence against women. This can help to modify or reinforce attitudes that reject both violence against women and the use of SALW in the home and community. In addition, DDR programs that include awareness of the dangers that the availability of SALW brings to the community are an important aspect of proliferation in post-conflict recovery.

Also, procedures for managing SALW and ammunition stockpiles must include reference to choosing appropriate locations and facilities to minimise risks. Risk assessment should include the exposure to the consequences of any anticipated explosions. Women can be more exposed to these than men by their more frequent presence in certain places (markets, roads that lead to water, etc).

Of course it is important to acknowledge the range of existing work in the field of protection, including the UNDP's Bureau for Crisis Prevention and Recovery, *How to Guide: Small Arms and Light Weapons Legislation*.³⁰ The guide has incorporated a gender perspective, particularly in relation to the prevention of armed domestic violence (see Box 4) and its recommendations in relation to civilian possession and use of SALW should be considered when developing laws and policies in a period of post conflict reconstruction.

Gender aspects of civilian possession and use

Improving national SALW laws can have important consequences from a gender perspective: for men, women, boys and girls. Although women are not the majority of homicide victims, when they are killed – and it is overwhelmingly men who kill them – guns are often a preferred weapon. In South Africa, one out of five murdered women is killed with a legally owned gun. Some 50% of women murdered each year are killed by men known intimately to them – four women a day, or one every six hours. Men are also more likely to commit gun violence – and in almost every country, a disproportionate percentage of gun owners and users are men. Data indicates that:

- *Spousal notification* can be an efficient mechanism to prevent gun acquisition by men with a history of family violence, whether or not it resulted in a criminal conviction. For example, Canada requires current and former spouses to be notified before a gun license may be issued.
- *Background and criminal record* checks must include verifying an applicant's past record related to family or partner violence. In the US, federal law makes it a criminal offence to possess a gun while subject to an intimate partner violence restraining order and eleven US states have laws that prevent individuals with a history of intimate partner violence from purchasing or possessing an arm.
- *Prohibition for past partner and family violence offences* is a standard in for example Australia, where a five-year minimum prohibition against owning guns exists for those who are subject to restraining orders or have been convicted of any violent offence. In some of the states this has been increased to up to ten years. South Africa has similar legislation.
- *Seizure* ensures that when a person becomes subject to a restraining order for the first time and owns a gun, police must seize the firearm, as is the case in Australia. Similarly, police in the US are invested with the authority to remove guns from the home of an individual under a restraining order or the home of someone convicted of a domestic violence misdemeanour.
- *Safe storage* should apply in all circumstances but is particularly critical in situations where family or partner violence is occurring. Guns that are securely under lock and key – with ammunition stored separately – can reduce misuse.
- *Registration* of firearms is essential for police to be able to effectively remove guns in situations of intimate partner violence and enforce prohibition orders. Computerisation can often make the difference between law enforcement's ability to access domestic violence records and missing an opportunity to intervene before violence takes place.

From UNDP Bureau for Crisis Prevention and Recovery, *How to Guide: Small Arms and Light Weapons Legislation*, Chapter 3: "Regulating Arms in the Hands of Civilians"³¹

UN indicators for UNSCR 1325 that reference SALW

During 2009-2010 the UN and Member States developed 26 'global indicators' to track and monitor the implementation of SCR 1325 based on the 4 pillars of Prevention, Participation, Protection, and Relief and Recovery. The indicators are classified further into categories that reflect how quickly they can be used in the field, and data can be collected.

IANSA women have been actively involved in the civil society consultation in accordance with SCR 1889 of October 2009 which requested the Secretary-General, "To submit within 6 months, to the Security Council

for consideration, a set of indicators for use at the global level to track implementation of its resolution 1325(2000), which could serve as a common basis for reporting by relevant United Nations entities, other international and regional organizations, and Member States, on the implementation of resolution 1325 (2000) in 2010 and beyond."

The Report of the Secretary-General on Women and Peace and Security, April 2010³² included the two indicators of relevance to SALW control and disarmament.

Pillar: Protection

In efforts to ensure that the prevalence of small arms is considered in relation to women's security, to "strengthen and amplify efforts to secure the safety, physical or mental health, well-being, economic security and/or dignity of women and girls; promote and safeguard human rights of women and mainstream a gender perspective into the legal and institutional reforms."

Indicator 17: Existence of national mechanisms for control of Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW)

Paragraph 31. This indicator seeks to track the existence and gender sensitivity of operational mechanisms and structures in place for ensuring the physical security and safety of women and girls. Since small arms and light weapons are difficult to monitor, the existence of a mechanism to regulate their access and use can be a proxy for the degree of physical security in a conflict setting. It is proposed to track this indicator using data on the existence of a national coordination agency on small arms and light weapons and the number and types of small arms and light weapons available per 10,000 population.

Output Indicator 17: Existence of national mechanisms for control of small arms and light weapons

Control mechanisms to be assessed considering:

- Existence of a national coordination agency on small arms and light weapons;
- Number and types of small arms and light weapons available per 10,000 population.

Under the UN POA, every Member State has committed itself to establish a national coordination agency on small arms; make illicit gun production/possession a criminal offence, and keep track of officially held guns. In addition, information on the existence and operation of national control mechanisms of small arms and light weapons is monitored by the Coordinating Action on Small Arms mechanism.



Pillar: Relief and Recovery

Paragraph 35. Indicators for this pillar assess the extent to which the specific needs of women and girls are addressed during the relief and recovery phase following conflict. The indicators respond to paragraphs 7 to 9, 13, 17 and 18 of resolution 1325 (2000).

Indicator 26: Number and percentage of female ex-combatants, women and girls associated with armed forces or groups that receive benefits from disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programmes

Paragraph 43. Armed conflict affects women and men differently, and the needs of women and girls are often overlooked. It is therefore imperative for disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programmes to address the specific needs of all women and girls associated with armed forces and militias. The data would be disaggregated by different types of services such as housing, sexual and reproductive health, psychosocial care, vocational training, schooling, food and cash allowances. This indicator is responsive to paragraph 13 of resolution 1325 (2000) and paragraph 10 of resolution 1820 (2008).

■ Considering SALW in National Action Plans (NAPs) on Women, Peace and Security

As the Resolution provides a framework for a comprehensive approach for conflict management and violence prevention, there is increasing demand for SCR 1325 specific policies and plans of action. The 2004 UN Secretary General Report on 1325 called for all UN Member States to develop National Action Plans (NAPs) to ensure implementation of the Resolution in such a way that links humanitarian, conflict, defence and diplomacy work, all of which are important to conflict resolution and peacebuilding.

NAPs have different benefits. The first can be considered to be the 'result' which means to have an actual plan in place with concrete and coordinated actions, timelines, budgets, etc. The second benefit, which may be even more important, is the 'process' which means reflecting on security with different stakeholders in a comprehensive way. NAPs can also help shape international strategy for improving women's security worldwide.

At least 21 countries have created NAPs which contain guidelines and strategies for the inclusion of women's concerns in policies and programmes related to peace and security. Some of these countries have taken a lead in recognising SALW as a matter that needs to be addressed if women's security is to be improved. We have highlighted some of them below to illustrate how work on SALW control is valid and visible in the context of work on SCR 1325. We hope that these examples may inspire others to incorporate aspects of SALW control in their own NAPs.

We will first highlight one of the strongest NAPs in terms of its reference to SALW control and then go through some of the others which make links to this field.

THE PHILIPPINES

The Philippines NAP is notable for containing a specific 'action point' on SALW. This NAP clearly recognises how significantly guns affect women's lives and how seriously this theme needs to be researched, and subject to regulation and legislation.

The Philippines NAP (2010)³³

"Action Point: Create and enforce laws regulating possession of small arms, as such weapons are directly linked to women's death, injuries, rape and forced displacement during conflict and post-conflict situations.

Indicators:

- Laws regulating possession of small arms are compiled, assessed, monitored, strengthened, enforced and developed.
- Research on women victimized by gun violence has been made and publicized - number of women injured, raped, killed and displaced related to small arms possession is reduced [sic]
- Women's human rights training is included as a requirement before license or renewal of license is issued to gun owners, manufacturers and distributors.
- The government has ratified an arms trade treaty and Congress has passed the relevant national legislation.
- Guns surrendered by rebel returnees are destroyed and not re-circulated. An improved system to register loose firearms is in place."

BELGIUM

The NAP of Belgium addresses the danger that the illicit arms trade represents for women and calls for responsibility to be taken at the international level to curb the flow of illegal weapons. It advocates a binding 'international arms trade treaty' and cooperation between states to reduce armed violence and promote human rights.

NAP (2009)³⁴

"Belgium pays attention to the specific position of women and children in the context of illicit trade in small arms and light weapons, since women and children frequently are the first victims of violence committed with these weapons. Belgium supports the 2001 UN Action plan on the fight against the illicit trade in small arms and light weapons and promotes the proposal of an international treaty on the arms trade. Such a treaty should contain proper criteria for the export of arms, avoiding that arms could be exported to countries marked by conflicts, internal instability or the non-respect of human rights.

"In addition, the Belgian arms legislation is the only one in the world that prohibits arms exports to countries that have a practice of recruiting children into the regular army. During the negotiations of a UN treaty on arms trade, Belgium will advocate for a similar regulation." loose firearms is in place."

DENMARK

Denmark gives useful input on the urgency of training women about SALW in the context of DDR programmes. Training on SALW can raise awareness of the link between more guns in communities and the risk to the security of women. Since full disarmament is necessarily a long process, training for responsible gun ownership, improved laws and social responsibility can be an entry point to foster a widespread change of attitude to SALW.

NAP (2008/13)³⁵

"SCR 1325 aspects are of key importance in DDR, and Denmark will, through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs strive to:

"Support the role of female leaders in community training and education on weapons, demobilisation and responsibility and contribute to support to communities, in respect of the needs faced by girls, child soldiers and women in reintegration in their home communities."

LIBERIA

Under the pillar of 'Participation and Empowerment' the Liberian NAP takes a distinctive angle, including women media professionals among those who should receive training in the course of implementing SCR 1325. A free, responsible and informed media are vital if social problems are to be effectively addressed, and training to raise awareness about the link between guns and violence against women among writers and broadcasters can be of great benefit. In addition, Liberia appreciates the contribution of local women's organisations towards monitoring illicit cross-border SALW flows.

NAP (2009)³⁶

"Standardized and sustainable certificated training curricula in gender sensitive conflict early warning reportage developed to systematically and sustainably target the media (especially female media personnel).

"Capacities of 150 female media personnel strengthened to facilitate gender-sensitive conflict early warning reportage."

"Trained women living close to border areas better able to identify and address trafficking, sexual abuse and exploitation and small arms issues."

THE NETHERLANDS

The Netherlands highlights the importance of economic stress and poverty as a factor driving people into armed conflict and violence. Although not giving an exhaustive explanation, this at least hints at an important connection that warrants deeper exploration: armed violence whether in war or 'peace' may be seen as an attractive or necessary option by some men when other resources are lacking.

NAP (2007)³⁷

"The best way to stop future conflicts from breaking out is to help improve people's socio-economic circumstances. Creating more jobs can for instance stop people from taking up arms to secure their livelihoods. In this sense, security and development influence each other so directly that one may well ask where one stops and the other begins."

NORWAY

Uniquely, Norway raises the need for a gender perspective in policies for managing the military, police and other security sector institutions, and for controlling the availability and use of SALW.

NAP (2006)³⁸

Under Multinational Cooperation: "Where Norway is involved in security sector reform and arms control measures, the difference between women and men in terms of vulnerability must be taken into consideration."

UGANDA

In their National Action Plan, Uganda recognises that SALW proliferation is a significant promoter of armed conflict and encourages regional mechanisms to combat it. This is useful in clarifying that the availability of weapons is not a mere accessory to violence, but plays a causal role. Besides, identifying that arms control is necessary if gender-based violence is to be reduced is an important step towards the effective protection of women.

NAP (2008)³⁹

"In recent years, the situation in the Great Lakes Region (GLR) is very complex and greatly exacerbated by the proliferation of small arms and light weapons. The percentage of victims, in particular child victims of sexual violence is alarmingly on the increase in some countries of the GLR. There is also gross violation of human rights, more especially for women and children and pervasive impunity for cases related to sexual violence and exploitation.

"The conflicts in Uganda have among other factors been caused by: The misuse of the gun, which has caused insecurity, impunity of armed forces, human rights abuse, criminalization, proliferation of small arms and weak border controls.

"Stated under the strategies to build community and institutional capacity to ensure GBV in society: Regional mechanisms in place to combat the problem of arms trafficking and illegal acquisition of arms."

PORTUGAL

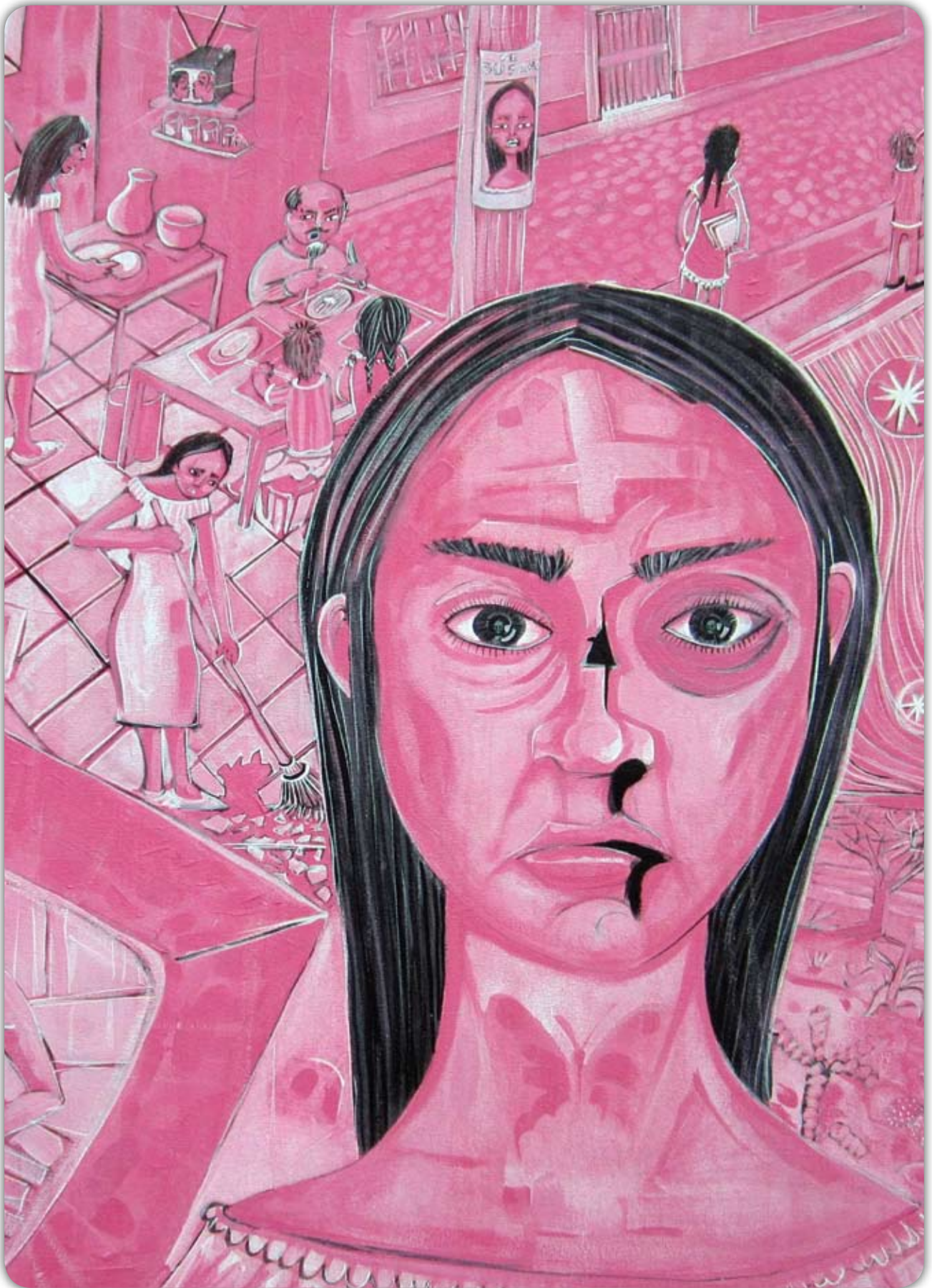
Portugal addresses disarmament and arms control within the spirit of SCR 1325, as indicated by the mention of gender violence below.

NAP (2000)⁴⁰

"It is important to note that Portugal interpreted Resolution 1325 inclusively, addressing armed conflicts, humanitarian aid, the internal promotion of coherence and coordination of national policies on disarmament and arms control, public safety and fighting gender violence."

Joined-Up Thinking:

International Measures for Women's Security and SALW Control



Conclusion

It is clear that SCR 1325 is now the cornerstone of women's participation in disarmament processes and the development of SALW control policy and practice. There should be cross-referencing between SCR 1325 and the UN small arms process including the forthcoming review of the PoA.

The links between SALW control and the '3 Pillars' of SCR 1325 show the obvious connection between SALW control and the Resolution especially regarding violence prevention and women's participation.

Existing efforts at the UN level to develop indicators that relate to SALW control is a breakthrough, as are the stronger references to SALW in NAPs. Of course much more needs to be done but further progress to harmonise and synergise work on SCR 1325 and SALW control is definitely within reach.

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Joined-Up Thinking:

International Measures for Women's Security and SALW Control

This paper makes explores the links that should have been made, and even now might be made, between two significant UN initiatives on 'security' - UN Security Council Resolution (SCR) 1325 concerned with women in relation to peace and security, and The UN Programme of Action to Prevent, Combat and Eradicate the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects (PoA) which dealt with small arms and light weapons (SALW) as a threat to security. It asks, what can SALW control policy contribute to women's security; how can SCR 1325 be used in SALW control; and how can women contribute to eliminating the 'SALW problem'?

The IANSA Women's Network is the only international network focused on the connections between gender, women's rights, small arms and armed violence.



IANSA

Development House

56-64 Leonard Street,

London, EC2A 4LT, UK

Email: women@iansa.org

Website: www.iansa-women.org