Independent Study Project (ISP) Collection   SIT Study Abroad

Fall 2019

The Inclusion of Displaced Women in the Women, Peace, and Security Agenda

Ava Strasser
SIT Study Abroad

The Inclusion of Displaced Women in the Women, Peace, and Security Agenda

By Ava Strasser

November 26, 2019 (Fall 2019)

SIT Switzerland: International Studies and Multilateral Diplomacy
Dr. Gyula Csurgai

Western Michigan University
Political Science: International & Comparative Politics, Gender & Women's Studies

Abstract

On October 31, 2000, the United Nations Security Council adopted Resolution 1325, which

stresses the importance of women's involvement during times of conflict as decision-makers in

peace-building processes. While this resolution and the broader Women, Peace, and Security

agenda are dedicated to including women in important post-conflict reconstruction processes, the

international community; comprised of states, international organizations, and civil society; has

been criticized for its failure to implement this agenda. Further, it is evident that displaced

women are a large population whose voices are widely left out of the post-conflict reconstruction

processes. Within the discourse regarding the experience of displaced women during conflict,

displaced women have been widely depicted as victims, contributing to their inability to exert

their agency within decision-making processes. This research analyzes the National Action Plans

of Afghanistan and Lebanon, two countries affected by conflict with high numbers of women

displaced within their borders, to contribute to an understanding of the extent to which the needs

of displaced women are incorporated into the implementation of Resolution 1325 and the wider

Women, Peace, and Security agenda. Further, this research seeks to address the extent to which

cooperation among the international community, with a strong emphasis on the role of civil

society, works to promote the inclusion of displaced women's voices in conflict management and

post-conflict reconstruction processes.

Table of Contents

List of Abbreviations

CSOs………………………………………………………..Civil Society Organizations

IDPs…………………………..…………………………………Internally Displaced Persons

NAP(s)……………………………………………………………… National Action Plan(s)

S/RES/1325……………………………………………….Security Council Resolution 1325

S/RES/1889……………………………………………….Security Council Resolution 1889

S/RES/2467……………………………………………….Security Council Resolution 2467

UN……………………………………………………………………………United Nations

UNHCR…………………………………………..United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

UN Women………United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment for Women

WILPF……………………………………..…….Women's International League for Peace and Freedom

WPS…………………………………….…………………………Women, Peace, and Security

The Inclusion of Displaced Women in the Women, Peace, and Security Agenda

Introduction

On October 31, 2000, the United Nations (UN) Security Council adopted Resolution 1325 (S/RES/1325), the first resolution adopted by the Security Council that stresses the importance of women's involvement during times of conflict as decision-makers in peace-building processes. S/RES/1325's first clause is as follows: "Urges Member States to ensure increased representation of women at all decision-making levels in national, regional, and international institutions and mechanisms for the prevention, management, and resolution of conflict" (SC Res 1325, 2000). S/RES/1325 and its eight subsequent resolutions—Resolutions 1820 (2008), 1888 (2009), 1889 (2009), 1960 (2010), 2106 (2013), 2122 (2013), 2242 (2015), and 2467 (2019)—have continued to expand women's involvement in conflict management and peace-building. These resolutions comprise the Women, Peace, and Security (WPS) agenda, which has intensified the conversation of women's involvement in peace-building processes globally and has brought women into spaces where they were most affected, yet previously did not have an impactive presence (Anderlini, 2019). In this sense, the WPS framework has provided a "nuanced understanding of women's experiences in armed conflict as combatants, peace-builders, survivors, and victims, among other roles" (Barrow, 2016, p. 248). The importance of S/RES/1325 and the broader WPS agenda can be contributed to its dedication to include women in important post-conflict conversations where their needs and viewpoints must be taken into consideration in order to create more peaceful and equitable societies.

Literature Review

Nearly twenty years after the passage of S/RES/1325, the international community has continued to provide understandings of the role of women in conflict management. Existing

research pertaining to the WPS agenda has concluded that women's involvement in conflict management and peace-building processes is a necessary development in the fields of peace and security. Quantitative studies have been conducted which illustrate this point. In a study published in 2010, Bell and O'Rourke (2010) found that references to women contained within peace agreements increased after the adoption of S/RES/1325. Additionally, a study of 181 peace agreements signed between 1989 and 2011 found that peace processes that included women as witnesses, signatories, mediators, and/or negotiators demonstrated a 35 per cent increase in the probability of a peace agreement lasting 15 years (Stone, 2014). Further, a study conducted by the Graduate Institute in Geneva from 2011 to 2015, found that where women and women's groups had an influence on negotiation processes, there was a higher chance that agreements would be reached and implemented (O'Reilly, Súilleabháin & Paffenholz, 2015). This quantitative research indicates the fact that women's participation has beneficial impacts on the outcome, longevity, and implementation of resulting peace agreements.

Although such quantitative research indicates that the inclusion of women has a beneficial impact on peace-building processes, there are challenges to the implementation of the WPS agenda that have received attention since the adoption of S/RES/1325. One strand of research has focused on the ways in which the scope of the WPS agenda is narrow due to the limited range of conflict it has been applied to. The resolutions related to WPS have been evoked primarily during interstate armed conflict and conflicts that receive international recognition, which places constraints on applying the principles and priorities within the WPS agenda to conflicts that fall outside this scope (Aroussi, 2017; Ní Aoláin & Valji, 2019). Further, the WPS is criticized for promoting the 'liberal peace' agenda of the West which asserts that democracy and economic liberalism is universally applicable to post-conflict societies (Aroussi, 2017; Basu,

2016; George & Shepherd, 2016). This strand of research seeks to address the ways in which Western influence has been exerted over the WPS agenda and the extent to which local and national structures are able to claim ownership over the implementation of the Security Council resolutions. A further strand of research focuses on the international community's tendencies of essentialism and depicting women as victims which reinforces sexist stereotypes and contributes to the marginalization and perceived lack of agency among women affected by conflict (Lemay Langlois, 2018; Ní Aoláin & Valji, 2019). This research is especially prevalent among scholars researching the role of displaced women in decision-making processes, policy implementation, and humanitarian response (Freedman, "Protecting Women", 2010; Freedman, 2019; Olivius, 2016). This strand of literature "questions whether advancements made at the level of policy are sufficient to outweigh the risks of reinforcing stereotypes of women that marginalize them politically" (Bell & O'Rourke, 2010, p. 945). Much of the qualitative research surrounding WPS has focused on the ways in which WPS policies are applied and women's needs are presented.

Among the research that exists and nearly twenty years of stakeholder action, one place where the agenda evidently falls short is the specified incorporation of displaced women as agents of change in peace-building processes. Niko Holvikivi and Audrey Reeves (2017) state, "While this agenda has successfully established the conflict-affected woman as a figure who can no longer be ignored in the governance of peace and security, it seems that this concern only extends to women who are physically placed in geographic zones of conflict…" (p. 3), and the policies leave little room for concern of displaced women. With approximately 70.8 million people reported by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) having been displaced as of June 2019, including people who have been internally displaced (IDPs), refugees, asylum seekers, and stateless persons ("Figures"), and "Women and girls [making] up around 50

per cent of any refugee, internally displaced or stateless population..." ("Women"), displaced

women are a large population whose voices are widely left out of post-conflict reconstruction

processes and the wider WPS agenda. As displaced women have experienced all aspects of

conflict; the conflict itself, displacement, resettlement, and reintegration; it seems evident that

they have a prominent role to play in the creation of peace, equality, and the stability of post-

conflict societies.

Research Questions

Therefore, this research attempts to address the remaining gaps within discourse

surrounding WPS by focusing on the ways in which displaced women's voices are understood by

the international community; which is comprised of states, international organizations, and civil

society organizations (CSOs); and are integrated into decision-making processes. By looking to

the National Action Plans (NAPs) of Afghanistan and Lebanon, which have evolved from

different conflict contexts but have both experienced large numbers of people displaced within

their borders as a result of armed conflict, this research seeks to understand the extent to which

the needs of displaced women are incorporated into the implementation of the WPS agenda by

the international community. This research further addresses the extent to which cooperation

among the international community, with a strong emphasis on the role of civil society, can work

to promote the inclusion of displaced women's voices in conflict management and post-conflict

reconstruction processes.

Research Methodology

In attempting to answer the research questions of the inclusion of displaced women's

voices within conflict management and peace-building processes, this research utilized

qualitative research methodologies. Secondary sources contributed to this research in the form of

government publications, which included the text of the NAPs of Afghanistan and Lebanon; international organization publications in the form of policy texts, definitions, and analytical information; and peer-reviewed academic journal articles. The secondary sources incorporated into this research provide for an understanding of the discourse surrounding displaced women and the complexities of the WPS agenda. Further, this research utilized the qualitative method in the form of interviews acting as primary sources. The interviews conducted over the course of the information gathering process illustrate the understanding of individuals with a specific focus in related fields. Interviewees were selected for their academic and professional and academic experience within the fields of gender or peace and security. Interviews were conducted with Dr. Nathalie Herlemont-Zoritchak, Senior Lecturer at the Center for Education and Research in Humanitarian Action at the Geneva University; Dr. Claudia Seymour, Senior Researcher with the Centre on Conflict, Development and Peacebuilding at the Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies in Geneva with eighteen years of experience working within areas affected by conflict; Sodfa Daaji, member of the European Network of Migrant Women's board and leader of the European Network of Migrant Women's activities on capacity building of young women and girls; and Sarah Koch, diplomat at the Swiss Federal Department of Foreign Affairs, currently working as the gender advisor of the Human Security Division. All four interviewees were informed of the usage of the information and provided consent to their names to be used within this research paper. The interviews provide an understanding of a variety of viewpoints ranging from those experts who have experience working within the structure of the state, international organizations, and among civil society. All methods identified were utilized together in order to formulate the foundational, theoretical, and analytical composition of this research.

The Development of National Action Plans

   The challenges of implementation of S/RES/1325 and its subsequent resolutions have required responses from the international community. One challenge to the implementation of resolutions constructed among the international community which work to address problems of global concern, including resolutions pertaining to the WPS agenda, is that facets of the individual local situation may be overlooked or have their importance understated. The issue has become that "providing systemic answers to chaotic situations does not always fit the purpose" and different local frameworks are not always reflected at the global level (Herlemont-Zortichak, 2019). In some cases, this can suggest that the local needs do not always always align with what the international community is offering (Seymour, 2019). There is a necessity to identify the systematic root causes of conflict and crisis and understand the immediate impacts that the situation has on local societies. The international community must work to find effective ways to align global and regional understandings with local needs in order to effectively address all root causes of the conflict and crisis as well as the immediate situation occurring within the country. In regards to S/RES/1325 and the WPS agenda specifically, the same necessity of the localization of response exists. The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF), an international organization that has been instrumental in encouraging and monitoring the international community's implementation of the WPS agenda, states that "For [S/RES/1325] to bring…change, the implementation must go beyond the UN Headquarters and trickle down to national and local levels where women experience violence and insecurity on a daily basis" ("National Action Plans", 2016). Thus, one immediate challenge faced by the WPS agenda is how to effectively implement S/RES/1325 and its subsequent resolutions in a way that takes into consideration the structures already in place at the local level and addresses the needs

of women directly affected by armed conflict. Further, S/RES/1325 and the WPS agenda have sustained criticism due to the failure of the international community to establish "clear targets, indicators and benchmarks to measure progress in implementation" (Barrow, 2016, p. 251), methods which are important in understanding the areas receiving high prioritization from the international community, creating responses to address the needs of women affected by conflict, and ensuring accountability of those involved in implementing the WPS agenda.

With these and other criticisms in mind, UN Member States were urged to develop their own strategies regarding the implementation of the WPS on October 31, 2002 by a UN Security Council Presidential Statement which encouraged "…relevant actors, to develop clear strategies and action plans…on the integration of gender perspectives in humanitarian operations, rehabilitation and reconstruction programs, including monitoring mechanisms, and also to develop targeted activities…" (UN Security Council, 2002). This was the first UN Security Council call for the development of NAPs which are intended to "implement the provisions and uphold the principles of [S/RES/1325]" (George & Shepherd, 2016, p. 298). NAPs are designed to function as a way for priorities set at the international level through S/RES/1325 and subsequent resolutions; including the four pillars of protection of women and girls in conflict, women and girls' participation in conflict resolution, prevention of conflict, and relief and recovery for those affected by conflict (SC Res 1325, 2000); to be implemented and monitored at regional, national, and local levels. Thus, NAPs are regarded as a "means by which to concretize policy commitments to the WPS agenda and improve its global diffusion and implementation" (George & Shepherd, 2016, p. 302). While the development of NAPs began with Western states within Northern Europe, many countries from protracted conflicts have also began to develop their own NAPs which incorporate specific national and local concerns

(Barrow, 2016, p. 248), as such, 80 countries have developed NAPs as of the writing of this research. Through the development of NAPs, countries located in the Global South are able to participate in the implementation of S/RES/1325 and the broader WPS agenda, which is important as many of the on-going conflicts today are based in the Global South (Basu, 2016, p. 365), and are enabled to feel a sense of ownership and lend a sense of legitimacy to these international policies (Basu, 2016, p. 365). NAPs provide an important way for states to remain engaged with the WPS agenda at all levels and to work with stakeholders to implement responses to conflict that are specific to local and national contexts. In this way, members of the international community are held accountable for the implementation of S/RES/1325 and Security Council resolutions regarding WPS in a way that aligns with local and national frameworks and are encouraged to collaborate with the wider international community to ensure that the needs of women and girls affected by conflict are met.

Discourse Regarding Displaced Women in Times of Conflict

While NAPs provide an opportunity to ensure the implementation of the WPS agenda, there are remaining challenges to the incorporation of the needs displaced women within the WPS framework. The WPS agenda has been shaped through years of earlier discourse arising from academics, professionals, and members of civil society, which has influenced the ways in which the international community has formed widespread discourse of displaced women affected by conflict. The language utilized by the international community in discussing displaced women has become an essential component to feminist analysis regarding the ways in which displaced women are perceived during times of conflict. While it is true that displaced women do face "heightened risks of sexual and gender-based forms of violence" (Freedman,

2019, p. 3) since "gendered violence during conflict is exacerbated by existing structures of

discrimination" (Lemay Langlois, 2018, p. 153), the problem becomes when this community is

strictly depicted as passive victims, rather than as active agents for change. This understanding

has lead to critiques about the WPS agenda, such as the critique that Fionnuala Ní Aoláin and

Nahla Valji (2019) highlight, that "Painting this victimhood as tied mainly to sexual violence

further denudes women's agency and presumes it characterizes their dominant experience of

conflict". Policies and discourse that depict the experience of displaced women as characterized

primarily by sexual violence have contributed to the universal victimization of displaced women.

Therefore, it is evident that the NGOs, states, and other actors speaking for displaced women

have a greater potential of placing a strong emphasis on sexual violence, rather than the variety

of the situations that displaced women experience. As a result, this discourse has presented itself

in key conventions regarding the protection of civilians in armed conflict, including in the

resolutions relating to WPS. In discussing the "othering" of individuals within the international

system, Elisabeth Olivus (2016) states, "Refugee women are predominantly described as passive

subjects in need of humanitarian protection...Despite token references to refugee women's

agency…key policy texts...predominantly reproduce protective stereotypes of refugee women as

vulnerable and victimized" (p. 282). This reproduction of stereotypes through discourse and

policy contributes directly to the highlighted vulnerability of displaced women within the

resolutions that comprise the WPS agenda. Altogether, this discourse works to essentialize the

role that displaced women play during conflict.

The international community, in reinforcing stereotypes and patriarchal ideals, has

perpetuated discourse of displaced women as a group whose vulnerability contributes to their

status as a passive victim; resulting in the narrowed depiction of displaced women's needs and

the limitation of their agency. This means that, in many cases, displaced women are unable to

assert their agency within decision-making processes. Ni Aoláin and Valji (2019) continue to

state, "invoking women primarily as victims creates and reinforces sexist stereotypes about

women's agency, thereby marginalizing the possibility of other roles". Denying displaced women

individual agency has particular implications in the fact that their "ability to express and make

heard their own needs, wishes and opinions" is reduced or entirely eliminated (Freedman, 2019,

p. 10). Displaced women become characterized as a group that requires other actors within the

international community to speak for them, many times resulting in their needs being unheard or

left out of decision-making processes, rather than acting as active agents with the ability to create

more peaceful and equitable post-conflict societies. Holvikivi and Reeves (2017) continue to

state that "a narrow reading of the WPS agenda, one that does not consider refugees, reproduces

the conditions for silencing and (re)marginalizing certain conflict-affected women, namely those

who flee the state identified as a 'conflict zone'" (p. 16). Thus, the discourse portraying displaced

women as victims denies these women the agency necessary to ensure their voices are

incorporated into international responses. In order to effectively address the needs of displaced

women, there must be a concerted effort by those involved in furthering the WPS agenda to

include the voices of displaced women during all development and implementation processes.

Analysis

References to Displaced Women in WPS Policy

The WPS framework does contain specific, yet limited, references to incorporating the

needs of displaced women within the resolutions that guide the international community's

development of NAPs and other responses. Policy documents within the scope of WPS recognize

that "...women and children account for the vast majority of those adversely affected by armed

conflict, including as refugees and internationally displaced persons..." (SC Res 1325, 2000) and

"…rapid response to their particular needs, and effective institutional arrangements to guarantee

their protection and full participation in the peace process, particularly at early stages of post-

conflict peace-building, can significantly contribute to the maintenance and promotion of

international peace and security" (Sc Res 1889, 2006). This recognition has led to the UN

Security Council calling upon actors to take clear steps towards understanding and responding to

displaced women's needs and ensuring their participation in peace-building processes. S/RES/

1325 "Calls on all actors involved, when negotiating and implementing peace agreements, to

adopt a gender perspective, including…The special needs of women and girls during repatriation

and resettlement and for rehabilitation, reintegration and post-conflict reconstruction" and further

"Calls upon all parties to armed conflict to respect the civilian and humanitarian character of

refugee camps and settlements, and to take into account the particular needs of women and girls,

including in their design" (SC Res 1325, 2000). Further, Resolution 1889 (S/RES/1889) "Calls

upon all parties to armed conflicts to respect the civilian and humanitarian character of refugee

camps and settlements, and ensure the protection of all civilians inhabiting such camps, in

particular women and girls, from all forms of violence, including rape and other sexual violence,

and to ensure full, unimpeded and secure humanitarian access to them" (Sc Res 1889, 2006). On

April 23, 2019, the Security Council adopted Resolution 2467 (S/RES/2467) which "…

encourages Member States to consider resettlement or local integration support for survivors [of

sexual violence], to adopt measures to mitigate the risk of sexual violence, to make services

available to survivors, and to provide the option of documenting their cases for future

accountability processes" (Sc Res 2467, 2019). These statements indicate that members within

the international community find it imperative to include specific references which call on states and the wider international community to address the needs of displaced women as they align with the four pillars of the WPS agenda: Participation, Protection, Prevention, Relief and Recovery. As both Security Council resolutions pertaining to the WPS agenda and NAPs provide a framework for creating responses to the consequences of armed conflict, full compliance with S/RES/1325 and its subsequent resolutions should be expected to include references to displaced women within individual NAPs that align with the priorities listed above.

The NAPs of Afghanistan and Lebanon

It is essential to understand the ways in which displaced women's voices have been integrated into the WPS agenda by the international community which can be illustrated through the development and intended implementation of NAPs. This research specifically intends to understand the implementation of S/RES/1325 and the wider WPS agenda's references to the inclusion of displaced women through an analysis of the NAPs of Afghanistan and Lebanon. These two countries have been affected by long, fragmented conflict within their own internal borders; and in the case of Lebanon, the instability surrounding its external borders. Due to their experiences with conflict, these countries have large populations of displaced women and both have created NAPs pertaining to WPS to address the affects of armed conflict. However, it is recognized that "the contents of the [NAPs] differ among countries as action plans should address what is specified in the relevant [Security Council resolutions] and also the local contexts and concern" (Fritz, Doering & Gumru, 2011, p. 9). Therefore, these NAPs are not entirely comparable, but rather serve as an analytical framework to understand the references to displaced women contained within them due to their clear indication of country-specific priorities as they are devised as a way to implement the WPS agenda at the national and local levels. The NAPs of

Afghanistan and Lebanon are analyzed within this research in order to understand the inclusion

of the needs of displaced women while recognizing the specific context in which they have been

conceived and are intended to be implemented.

Afghanistan's NAP and Its Policies Pertaining to Displaced Women

In June 2015, Afghanistan published its first NAP regarding WPS in order to address the

ongoing consequences of and the aftermath of warfare and conflict. This NAP was intended to

span from 2015-2022, although its implementation was delayed for two years after its adoption.

Afghanistan's NAP serves as an example of a NAP resulting from a country experiencing a long,

fragmented conflict which has had a negative impact on its citizens. As of September 2019, the

UNHCR reported that within Afghanistan "262,129 individuals had been displaced by conflict

and profiled by [the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs] as

[IDPs] in need of protection and assistance" and a further "5,484 registered refugees voluntarily

returned to Afghanistan" ("UNHCR Afghanistan Fact Sheet", 2019). While these numbers do not

indicate the exact number of displaced women within Afghanistan, it is evident that the

protracted conflict in the country has an increasingly important impact on IDPs and returnees. In

references to the large number of IDPs and returnees, Afghanistan's NAP states its purpose is to

"address the challenges women faced in the aftermath of war and conflict in Afghanistan" by

implementing S/RES/1325 in order to achieve the "Protection of women from all types of

violence and discrimination…Implementation of IDPs policy provisions related to UNSCR

1325…Increased access to education and higher education for girls and women, particularly for

the internally displaced persons and returnees…" (Afghanistan, 2015, pp.1-2). Thus, in the

introductory paragraphs, it is evident that Afghanistan's NAP recognizes that displaced women's

needs are a topic of concern, and further, the high number of IDPs and returnees indicates the

importance of a NAP that addresses the aftermaths of conflict while taking into consideration the

needs of these communities of displaced women.

In creating responses that align with its national priorities, Afghanistan's NAP sets forth

targeted measures to address the needs of displaced women. The NAP, in following the

framework of the NAPs of other Asian countries before it, including the Philippines and Nepal

whose NAP's are identified as "'inward looking', broad in scope and ambitious in their

aspirations" (Barrow, 2016, p. 273), has an internally-focused framework which prioritizes its

own national and local concerns and includes timelines for the implementation of specific

measures and the achievement of constructed indicators. Afghanistan's NAP recognizes that

women and girls suffer disproportionately from conflict, a major facet of the foundation of the

WPS agenda, and constructs its measures around the four pillars of the WPS agenda to address

the priority areas it has identified which include access to healthcare, education, and

employment. Much of the targeted measures concerning displaced women specifically exist

within the fourth pillar: Relief and Recovery, which states that the "[Government of the Islamic

Republic of Afghanistan] is committed to providing relief and recovery services to women from/

within conflict-affected communities, IDPs…through the following objectives in the

NAP: Provision of relief and recovery services for women affected by conflict, IDPs and women

survivors of violence" and further states that "The social and economic needs of women are

considered in…relief and recovery programs…" (Afghanistan, 2015, p. 7). Afghanistan's NAP

includes one measure specifically focused on addressing the needs of IDPs within its Action

Matrix. The strategic objective pertaining to displaced women is to "improve the quality of

service delivery to IDPs" through the "implementation of IDPs Policy Provisions on [S/RES/

1325]" within the three year timeframe from the implementation of the NAP and achievement

will be indicated by the "number of provisions of IDPs Policy on [S/RES/1325] implemented".

The leading implementing agencies include "All government agencies" with CSOs as one actor

called on to support the implementation of this provision (Afghanistan, 2015, p. 26). The IDPs

Policy Provisions were established by Afghanistan in 2013 with its final Policy Framework

published in 2017. The objective of the IDPs Policy Provisions include "[providing] guidance for

addressing current and future situations of internal displacement in Afghanistan" and "[ensuring]

that approaches to internal displacement are based upon, and respect, protect and fulfill the rights

of IDPs throughout the displacement process" ("The National Policy", 2013, p. 15). In its

framework, the IDPs Policy Provisions include references to women's rights and abilities to

access education and employment opportunities and healthcare, including for women who have

experienced sexual violence; their right to an adequate standard of living; and their participatory

rights, including the right to vote and participate in decision-making processes ("The National

Policy", 2013). While only one specific targeted measure to address the needs of displaced

women is included within Afghanistan's NAP, it is evident that further policy frameworks do

address the needs and rights of IDPs in a broad scope. Afghanistan's NAP regarding WPS itself

can be understood as a tool for reaffirming the implementation of another policy framework

concerned with addressing the needs of displaced women, which is reinforced by the inward-

looking scope of the NAP that promotes gender mainstreaming beyond the WPS agenda.

Therefore, while the NAP plays an important role in furthering the country's ambitions to

increase displaced women's access to education, employment, and healthcare opportunities

during and after periods of warfare, it is rather the IDPs Policy Provisions that play an important

role in establishing and implementing these objectives. Therefore, the NAP itself does not

prioritize the needs of displaced women during armed conflict and in peace-building processes,

but rather acts as a tool for reasserting the implementation of previously written policy that works to mainstream gender at all levels during periods of both conflict and peace.

Further, there are potential challenges to the implementation of the measures contained in Afghanistan's current NAP regarding WPS. In December 2018, after the expected initial phase of the implementation of the NAP, WILPF Afghanistan published a review of Afghanistan's implementation of the WPS agenda. The WILPF states the main challenges of Afghanistan's NAP as being the "lack of cooperation between ministries and the absence of budgeting and funding for the implementation of the [NAP], compounded with the aggravated insecurity situation" ("Universal Periodic Review", 2018). The lack of coordination among government agencies can contribute to inconsistency throughout national policies and priorities, and the lack of funding from both internally within Afghanistan and external sources will increasingly hinder the implementation of the NAP and the broader WPS agenda since "implementation can depend on adequate financing" (Fritz et. al, 2011, p. 11). Further, in their study, Barrow states, "While it would seem that the scope of [S/RES/1325] is pertinent to Asia, there is a lack of awareness about the resolution among elite policy circles as well as within society" (Barrow, 2016, p. 271). This lack of awareness may mean that the priorities of the WPS agenda are not understood and implementation of the NAP is not prioritized by those working within governmental structures. This may also mean that members of civil society are unable to assure governmental accountability in implementing the WPS agenda. These and other challenges to the implementation of the NAP create difficulties affecting the inclusion of the voices of displaced women. While Afghanistan's NAP does reaffirm a way to respond to the needs of displaced women, its implementation during the conflict will be the determinant factor of whether its goals aligned with the WPS agenda are met.

Lebanon's NAP and Its Inclusion of the Needs of Displaced Women

Lebanon has been impacted by the increased numbers of those displaced within its borders due to the conflict-affected environments both within and surrounding the country. Lebanon has experienced a fifteen year long civil war within the country, as well as conflict with Israel, and has experienced consequences of the sustained conflict on both sides of its borders as Syria faces an ongoing civil war and the conflict between Israel and Palestine continues. Due to its internal armed conflict whose beginnings are cited in the 1970s, the Lebanese government has estimated that approximately 900,000 people were displaced internally and between 600,000 and 900,000 Lebanese emigrated in order to flee the conflict (Lebanon, 2019, p. 7). When also taking into consideration the conflict between Lebanon and Israel, both seem to indicate a sustained high number of IDPs and potential returnees. Further, due to external conflict, a UNHCR report released in February 2019 states that Lebanon hosts the largest number of refugees per capita ("UNHCR Lebanon Fact Sheet", 2019). It is reported that there are approximately 950,000 Syrian refugees within Lebanon registered with the UNHCR, although the Lebanese government estimates that the total number of displaced Syrians within Lebanon is nearly 1.5 million ("UNHCR Lebanon Fact Sheet", 2019); it is estimated that more than half of displaced Syrians are women (Lebanon, 2019, p. 9). Further, due to the conflict between Israel and Palestine, the UN Relief and Works Agency estimates that the number of Palestinian refugees living in Lebanon is around 450,000 (Lebanon, 2019, p. 9). In total, UN Women has released a statement containing the estimate that three-fourths of the Palestinian and Syrian refugees living within Lebanon are women and children ("The Road", 2018). These reported figures indicate that armed conflict has a direct impact on the lives of women living in Lebanon as many find themselves displaced. These numbers have necessitated a response from both the state and members of the

international community as the needs of displaced women must be incorporated into policies and

initiatives, especially those that fall under the scope of the WPS agenda.

In September 2019, the Lebanese government adopted its first NAP regarding WPS

which spans 2019 to 2022. The NAP was developed between 2012 and 2017 and the

development process incorporated successes from the NAPs of other countries and national

discussions with stakeholders to ensure inclusivity, among these discussions included UN

Women organized focus groups comprised of displaced persons from Iraq, Palestine, and Syria

in order to ensure needs were effectively met by the NAP (Lebanon, 2019, p. 15; "The Road",

2018). Lebanon's NAP is divided into five Strategic Priority areas, including the four pillars of

the WPS agenda and an additional pillar of the prevention and protection from gender-based

violence. Further, the NAP strives to create a Normative Framework through the adoption of

national laws and policies that prevent discrimination broadly (Lebanon, 2019). In this way, the

NAP itself follows the same pattern of research that indicates that countries that have

experienced recent armed conflict may be more likely to focus on internal country concerns

(Fritz et. al., 2011, p. 9). Thus, the NAP attempts to address the areas of national concern to

promote gender mainstreaming within its own national framework while aligning with the pillars

of the WPS agenda. In its development and intended implementation, the NAP ensures a

framework is in place for women's participation before, during, and after conflict.

Within its "Matrix for the Implementation" of S/RES/1325, Lebanon's NAP contains

specific measures with leading agencies, a timeframe, and a funding estimate that address the

needs of IDPs and refugees within Lebanon. In the NAP, displaced women are included in all

five of the Strategic Priority areas, the most evident of which is the Relief and Recovery pillar

which states it aim is to "ensure that measures are in place to address international crises through

a gendered lens and considerations are taken into account for the particular needs of girls and women in the design of refugee camps and settlements" (Lebanon, 2019, p. 6), which aligns directly with the objectives in S/RES/1325 and S/RES/1889. In its objectives, under Strategic Priority II, which addresses the Prevention of Conflict, the first measure is to increase "The awareness and capacities of concerned stakeholders on women's roles in peace-building and conflict resolution are increased" through the development of a "gender sensitive curriculum on peace education and human and women's rights in universities and schools (including in schools with displaced/refugee populations…)" (Lebanon, 2019, p. 39). This objective is aligned with S/RES/1325 as it indicates the NAP recognizes the important role that women play in conflict management and strives to ensure that women and girls, including those experiencing displacement, are aware of the role they are able to play in peace-building efforts. If implemented, this effort may contribute to restoring a sense of agency within displaced women as they are better equipped to be involved in the decision-making processes that affect their lives. In Strategic Priority III, which addresses the Prevention of and Protection of Women and Girls from Gender-Based Violence, the specific measure is "Improved capacity of the justice, security and health sectors to provide adequate protection for girls and women" which strives to "Increase awareness of communities on exploitative practices and women's rights violations…" and implementation is measured in part by the "Number of awareness sessions/outreach in displaced communities" (Lebanon, 2019, p. 47). This strategic objective aligns with the focus of S/RES/2467. Further, Lebanon's NAP includes the needs of displaced women within Strategic Priority IV, which addresses the Relief and Reconstruction pillar. One objective listed is the "Protection of women's refugee rights and provision of economic opportunities in displaced/host communities is promoted" and implementation is indicated in part by the creation of "economic

opportunities for women in host communities in consideration with the needs of displaced

women in accordance with laws in force" (Lebanon, 2019, p. 50). The importance of this

objective is illustrated by a UN Women publication which states, "Women's economic

empowerment is central to realizing women's rights and gender equality" as it allows them

"access to and control over productive resources…increased voice, agency and meaningful

participation in economic decision-making at all levels…" ("Facts and Figures"). These

measures instill a sense of agency within displaced women, which is imperative to their

involvement in decision-making processes. These measures appear directly concerned with the

needs of displaced women and indicate the NAP's incorporation of the voices of women from

these communities while addressing their roles in conflict management and the difficulties

caused and exacerbated by all stages of conflict. However, while recognized in the introduction,

Lebanon's "Matrix for Implementation" regarding WPS does not include a strategic objective to

implement and monitor the inclusion of the voices of displaced women in the creation of refugee

camps and settlements. Due to the number of refugees displaced within Lebanon, it would seem

as though this statement should be accompanied by a targeted measure to include displaced

women within these decision-making processes, and its exclusion could indicate that any

challenges experienced by women residing in refugee camps may persist as actors may risk

excluding their voices from these processes and overlooking their needs.

While it is evident that Lebanon's NAP strives to include women as active agents within

all stages of conflict and displacement, the implementation of its strategic objectives is unknown

due to the recent adoption of the NAP. One foreseeable challenge to the implementation of the

provisions related to displaced women's protection and involvement in decision-making

processes is that these measures rely on the funding from donor states and the international

community. The NAP does not indicate any national resources required for the measures

indicated above, but does state "Additional amounts required" (Lebanon, 2019), which indicates

funds from the international community are needed in order to ensure implementation. This

could pose potential challenges to responding to the needs of displaced women within Lebanon if

the international community does not prioritize funding for the measures listed above.

The Need for Displaced Women as Specified Actors Within NAPs

The analysis of the NAPs of Afghanistan and Lebanon reflects the national concerns of

two countries that have experienced conflict and high numbers of women displaced within their

borders. However, neither of the NAPs analyzed refer to displaced women specifically in conflict

management nor peace-building processes, the central components of S/RES/1325. While

Lebanon's NAP refers to increasing the capacities of displaced women and informing them of

their roles in peace-building and conflict resolution, it does not include the specification of

displaced women in peace-building processes as active participants. Further, while Afghanistan's

NAP outlines the strategic objectives of "Enhancing women's meaningful participation in the

reconciliation, negotiation, and re-integration at all levels" and "Increasing women's meaningful

participation in the drafting of strategies and policies on peace and security" (Afghanistan, 2015,

pp. 15-16), aligning with the prioritized objectives of S/RES/1325, it does not specify the direct

inclusion of displaced women's voices in these processes. By grouping all women together as a

universal category, both NAPs risks the marginalization of those traditionally overlooked within

peace-building processes, reflecting that displaced women are "present in WPS policies, but as

the subjects of marginal and inconsistent concern" (Holvikivi & Reeves, 2017, p. 2). As Sarah

Koch (2019) explains, during periods of post-conflict reconstruction, actors from the

international community attempt to speak with women affected by the conflict who previously

established organizations and are already highly visible; however, this approach can, at times,

result in neglecting to speak with women who are marginalized and do not already have a voice.

This is a result of the fact that, in some conflict contexts, it can be difficult access all women.

Thus, displaced women face the risk of further marginalization when their inclusion is not

identified specifically within policies regarding women's participation in peace-building

processes. Further, as those within the international community "make claims for gender specific

policies and legislation" they "do so on behalf of refugee and asylum seeking

women" (Freedman, "Mainstreaming", 2010, p. 604), the same can be true for female IDPs, and

this can mean that "these women themselves have little or no voice in the process" (Freedman,

"Mainstreaming", 2010, p. 604). This can lead to the risk of their needs being overlooked by

those whose voices are amplified during decision-making processes. Therefore, it is evident that

the specification of displaced women as active agents within the policies that call for women's

involvement in peace-building processes is necessary.

The Role of Civil Society

In its attempts to implement the WPS agenda in a way that ensures the inclusion of

displaced women's voices, the international community must ensure that civil society continues

to play a vital role in the development and implementation of the WPS agenda locally, nationally,

and internationally. Stakeholders of the WPS agenda recognize the important role that civil

society has played from the adoption of S/RES/1325, which was a result of the advocacy and

policy work conducted by women's organizations and CSOs (Aroussi, 2017; Koch, 2019). Thus,

civil society takes ownership over the creation and implementation of S/RES/1325, and the

resolution is widely known among women's organizations throughout the international community (Koch, 2019). In this way, CSOs have been presented as "natural advocates and allies for the implementation of the WPS resolutions" (Basu, 2016, p. 370) which is why the WILPF continues to recognize that effective NAPs must ensure states continue to engage "a broad constituency of civil society, including women-led civil society organizations" ("National Action Plans", 2016). Throughout all phases of the development and implementation of the WPS agenda, civil society continues to hold an important role in advocating for the rights of women affected by conflict and ensuring that the the international community is held accountable for its commitments to the implementation of the agenda.

Additionally, civil society continues to play an instrumental role in uplifting the voices of displaced women and ensuring that their needs are met by the wider international community. As discussed in preceding paragraphs, research has focused on the ways in which displaced women are depicted by the international community as victims, which contributes to a lack of agency; however, further research has found that displaced women "show agency and autonomy through collective action" (Freedman, 2019, p. 13). Though their involvement in CSOs and women's organizations, displaced women are able to regain and display their agency. The ability of displaced women to amplify their voices through collective action is important as an understanding of CSO involvement in post-conflict reconstruction processes is provided by the research of Thania Paffenholz (2019) which found that "...propositions from women's groups that formed coalitions were much more likely to be considered and taken into account by the negotiating parties" during peace-building processes. It is evident that CSOs are able to play an influential role in setting and implementing the WPS agenda, and therefore, can provide a platform for displaced women to vocalize their needs. Further, it is evident that CSOs and

women's organizations are better able to develop projects that positively impact the lives of displaced women and girls. Sodfa Daaji (2019) stated that local organizations are more representative of the voices and needs of local communities of women and understand the most effective ways of implementing projects in conflict contexts. Due to this, it is essential that international organizations and states ensure that they are collaborating with local organizations throughout development and implementation processes. CSOs and women's organizations organizations tend to play a role in representing and maintaining the connection between individual displaced women and girls and the international community at large, it is only through this process of co-creation of responses that the diverse needs of displaced women and root causes of conflict can be effectively addressed and beneficial solutions can be developed and implemented. In its entirety, in discussing civil societies involvement in the development of S/RES/1325, Sanam Naraghi Anderlini (2019) writes that there is a great importance in "enabling and sustaining strong independent civil society movements…that understand the issues and have the resources and capacities to be active on the ground and…are guaranteed seats at key decision-making tables, maintaining their independent voices so as to hold the powerful actors accountable". Therefore, the international community must collaborate to ensure that the voices of displaced women are uplifted and have an impact on the WPS agenda's development and implementation at the levels which affect the lives of displaced women directly.

Conclusion

Challenges to the implementation of S/RES/1325 and the wider WPS agenda have necessitated a response from the international community. One way in which the international community attempts to ensure implementation of the WPS agenda is through NAPs constructed

by governments in consultation with the wider international community which outline targeted

measures and strategies for the implementation of components of the WPS agenda. However,

one place in which the WPS agenda remains to fall short is the inclusion of displaced women

within the development and implementation of these policies. Therefore, this research intends to

understand the incorporation of the needs of displaced women within the NAPs of Afghanistan

and Lebanon, due to the amounts of women displaced within their borders. There are limitations

of this analysis, such as the fact that NAPs are constructed to address national and local

priorities, which differ based on context. As such, this research does not intend to extrapolate the

analysis of these two NAPs to all developed NAPs, but rather seeks to understand the ways in

which the two NAPs incorporate the needs of displaced women as it reflects their national

contexts. Additionally, future directions for research would include an analysis of the ways in

which the outward-looking orientation of NAPs developed from Western countries incorporate

the needs of displaced women internally and abroad. This research concludes that the NAPs of

Afghanistan and Lebanon both discuss the needs of displaced women; however, the NAPs do not

include displaced women as specified actors in decision-making processes, which can work to

continue contributing to their marginalization. For this reason, collaboration among all facets of

the international community must be achieved; and CSOs, who reflect the voices of displaced

women, must continue to play a role in the implementation of the WPS agenda as it is evident

that including the voices of displaced women in post-conflict reconstruction processes is

essential. Displaced women have experienced all aspects of conflict; the conflict itself,

displacement, resettlement, and reintegration; and it is evident that their experiences have a valid

place at all levels of decision-making in order to contribute to policy outcomes that promote

peace, equality, and the stability of post-conflict societies.

References

Afghanistan Ministry of Foreign Affairs. (2015, June). *Afghanistan's National Action Plan on UNSCR 1325-Women, Peace, and Security* (pp. 1-34).

Anderlini, S. (2019). Civil Society's Leadership in Adopting 1325 Resolution. In S. Davies & J. True (Eds.), The Oxford Handbook of Women, Peace, and Security (p. The Oxford Handbook of Women, Peace, and Security, Chapter 65). Oxford University Press.

Aroussi, S. (2017). National Action Plans on Women, Peace and Security as Tools of Foreign Policy: Reconsidering Gender Security in the West. *Rethinking National Action Plans on Women, Peace and Security*, 29-40.

Barrow, A. (2016). Operationalizing Security Council Resolution 1325: The Role of National Action Plans. *Journal of Conflict and Security Law, 21*(2), 247-275.

Basu, S. (2016). The Global South writes 1325 (too). *International Political Science Review, 37*(3), 362-374.

Bell, C., & O'Rourke, C. (2010). Peace Agreements or Pieces of Paper? The Impact of UNSC Resolution 1325 on Peace Processes and Their Agreements. *International and Comparative Law Quarterly, 59*(4), 941-980.

Daaji, S. (2019, October 4). Personal interview.

Facts and Figures: Economic Empowerment. Retrieved from https://www.unwomen.org/en/what-we-do/economic-empowerment/facts-and-figures

Figures at a Glance. Retrieved from https://www.unhcr.org/figures-at-a-glance.html

Freedman, J. (2010). Mainstreaming gender in refugee protection. *Cambridge Review of International Affairs, 23*(4), 589-607.

Freedman, J. (2010). Protecting Women Asylum Seekers and Refugees: From International Norms to National Protection? *International Migration, 48*(1), 175-198.

Freedman, J. (2019). The Uses and Abuses of "Vulnerability" in EU Asylum and Refugee Protection: Protecting Women or Reducing Autonomy? Papeles Del CEIC, 2019(1), 1-15.

Fritz, J., Doering, S., & Gumru, F. (2011). Women, Peace, Security, and the National Action Plans. *Journal of Applied Social Science, 5*(1), 1-23.

George, N., & Shepherd, L. (2016). Women, Peace and Security: Exploring the implementation and integration of UNSCR 1325. *International Political Science Review, 37*(3), 297-306.

Herlemont-Zoritchak, N. (2019, October 7). Personal interview.

Holvikivi, N., & Reeves, A. (2017, June 27). The WPS agenda and the 'Refugee Crisis': Missing connections and missed opportunities in Europe. Retrieved from https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/wps/2017/06/26/the-wps-agenda-and-the- refugee-crisis-missing-connections-and-missed-opportunities-in-europe-aiko-holvikivi- and-audrey-reeves-62017/

Koch, S. (2019, October 30). Personal interview.

Labonte, M., & Curry, G. (2016). Women, Peace, and Security: Are We There Yet? *Global Governance: A Review of Multilateralism and International Organizations, 22*(3), 311-320.

Lebanon. (2019). *Lebanon National Action Plan on United Nations Security Resolution 1325* (pp. 1-59).

Lemay Langlois, L. (2018). Gender Perspective in UN Framework for Peace Processes and Transitional Justice: The Need for a Clearer and More Inclusive Notion of Gender. *International Journal of Transitional Justice*, 12(1), 146-167.

National Action Plans: Localising Implementation of UNSCR 1325. (2016, January 15). Retrieved from https://www.wilpf.org/national-action-plans-localising-implementation-of-unscr-1325/.

Ní Aoláin, F., & Valji, N. (2019). Scholarly Debates and Contested Meanings of WPS. In S. Davies & J. True (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Women, Peace, and Security* (p. The Oxford Handbook of Women, Peace, and Security, Chapter 4). Oxford University Press.

Olivius, E. (2016). Constructing Humanitarian Selves and Refugee Others: Gender Equality and the Global Governance of Refugees. *International Feminist Journal of Politics, 18*(2), 270-290.

O'Reilly, M., Súilleabháin, A., Paffenholz, T. (2015, June). "Reimagining Peacemaking: Women's Roles in Peace Processes".

Paffenholz, T. (2014). Civil Society and Peace Negotiations: Beyond the Inclusion–Exclusion Dichotomy. *Negotiation Journal, 30*(1), 69-91.

Paffenholz, T. (2019). What Works in Participation. In S. Davies & J. True (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Women, Peace, and Security* (p. The Oxford Handbook of Women, Peace, and Security, Chapter 11). Oxford University Press.

SC Res 1325, UN Security Council, 4213th mtg, S/RES/1325, (adopted 31 October 2000). Retrieved from https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N00/720/18/PDF/N0072018.pdf?OpenElement

SC Res 1889, UN Security Council, 6196th meeting, S/RES/1889, (adopted 5 October 2009). Retrieved from https://www.un.org/ruleoflaw/files/4acdd8512.pdf

SC Res 2467, UN Security Council, 8514th meeting, S/RES/2467, (adopted 23 April 2019). Retrieved from https://undocs.org/S/RES/2467(2019)

Seymour, C. (2019, October 17). Personal interview.

Stone, L. (2014). "Women Transforming Conflict: A Quantitative Analysis of Female Peacemaking." Retrieved from http://ssrn.com/abstract=2485242

The National Policy of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan on Internal Displacement. (2013). (pp. 1-61). Retrieved from http://www.internal-displacement.org/sites/law-and-policy/files/afghanistan/Afghanistan_national_policy_English_2013.pdf

The Road towards a National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security for Lebanon. (2018, August 20). Retrieved from https://www.unwomen.org/en/news/stories/2018/8/feature-lebanon-national-action-plan.

UN Security Council, *Statement by the President of the Security Council,* 31 October 2002, S/PRST/2002/32. Retrieved from https://undocs.org/S/PRST/2002/32

UNHCR Afghanistan Fact Sheet. (2019, September 15). Retrieved from https://reliefweb.int/report/afghanistan/unhcr-afghanistan-fact-sheet-15-september-2019.

UNHCR Lebanon Fact Sheet. (2019, February). Retrieved from http://reporting.unhcr.org/sites/default/files/UNHCR%20Lebanon%20Fact%20Sheet%20-%20February%202019.pdf.

Women. Retrieved from https://www.unhcr.org/women.html

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom Afghanistan. (2018). Universal Periodic Review of Afghanistan: Recommendations on Women, Peace and Security. Universal Periodic Review of Afghanistan: Recommendations on Women, Peace and Security (pp. 1–10).