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University

Growing Closer or Apart ? Challenges of

International Cooperation

UN Women

TOPIC A: Combating Sexual Violences Against
Women in International Conflicts
TOPIC B: Promoting Women's Participation and
Representation in Parliaments

Chloé Christin Franziska Bachmann Or Amini

Table of contents Letter of Welcome 3 About the Committee 5 **Topic A: Combating Sexual Violences Against Women in International Conflicts** 6 Introduction 6 History of the Topic 7 Discussion of the Problem 9 Previous UN Involvement 12 **Possible Solutions** 15 Bloc positions 17 Relevant international documents 19 **Guiding Questions** 20 Topic B: Promoting Women's Participation and **Representation in Parliaments** 21 Introduction 21 History of the Topic 22 Discussion of the Problem 23 Previous UN Involvement 26 **Possible Solutions** 28 Bloc positions 29 Relevant international documents 31 31 **Guiding Questions** References 32

Letter of Welcome

Honorable Delegates,

We are very delighted to welcome you to this year's UN Women at TLVMUN 2021. We, as chairs, are very much looking forward to greeting you in this committee! Whilst some of you might have already gathered some previous MUN experience, others might be "first timers" and new to the concept of MUN. Still, in these unprecedented times, we hope that we will still be able to offer you the best possible MUN experience in Tel Aviv, Israel, this late summer of 2021.

To be able to do so, we kindly ask and strongly recommend you to read this study guide carefully and use the information provided wisely. This study guide is drafted to introduce you, as delegates, to the two topics chosen for the debate. We, as chairs, are of the strong opinion that this study guide provides fertile ground for developing a basic understanding of the topic and the rules being crucial to be able to actively participate in the debate. However, the information provided in the study guide is not exhaustive. In order to represent your country adequately and to the best of your capabilities, we highly encourage you to do some further research on your country's policy and stance – you will not regret the additional effort put in preparation.

This year's topics are both very recent and deliver certainly plenty of material for discussion. We want to look at two topics which represent the very purpose of UN Women: *Combating violence against women in international conflicts* and *Promoting women's participation*. Both topics concern sensitive issues which are certainly difficult to discuss. You, as delegates, will examine key choices for effective strategy in terms of women, peace and stability as well as policies to strengthen and ensure women empowerment in the political sphere.

This is to say, Model United Nations is a great opportunity to enhance your diplomatic skills and deepen your knowledge with regard to the topics in question apart from the general academic curriculum. Still, MUN is even more: it is a unique chance to meet and connect with people from different countries and backgrounds. You will learn to look at certain topics through an intercultural lens and you will make a lot of memories when stepping out of your comfort zone. We sincerely hope that we will be able to share this MUN spirit with you as chairs as well as fellow MUNers.

This being said, do not hesitate to contact us and we will be glad to assist you. After all, it is our job to guide you along the way and introduce you to the very essence of MUN.

We are looking forward to meeting you soon!

Chloé, Or, Franziska

About the Committee

Eleven years ago, in July 2010, members of the United Nations General Assembly agreed to create UN Women, the United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women¹. The creation of UN Women came about as part of the UN reform agenda, bringing together resources and mandates for greater impact². The United Nations General Assembly, through General Assembly resolution 64/289, decided to establish the UN-Women's Executive Board as the Governing Body of the Entity to provide intergovernmental support to and supervision of its operational activities³. This organization is dedicated to gender equality and the empowerment of women in order to accelerate progress to meet the needs of women and girls all around the world⁴. UN Women supports UN Member States as they set global standards for achieving gender equality, and works with governments and civil society to design laws, policies, programmes and services needed to ensure that the standards are effectively implemented and truly benefit women and girls worldwide⁵. UN Women ensure that women can lead, participate and benefit equally from governance systems, that women can enjoy income security, decent work and economic autonomy, that all women and girls live a life free from all forms of violence and but also that women and girls contribute to and have greater influence in building sustainable peace and resilience, and benefit equally from the prevention of natural disasters and conflicts and humanitarian action⁶. UN Women also coordinates and promotes the UN system's work in advancing gender equality, and in all deliberations and agreements linked to the 2030 Agenda and also supports the implementation of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action⁷. Concerning the methods of work, the Commission of UN Women adopts multi-year programmes of work to appraise progress and make further

¹ UN Women. « About UN Women ». https://www.unwomen.org/en/about-us/about-un-women

² Ibid.

³ UN Women. « UN-Women Executive Board ». https://www.unwomen.org/en/executive-board

⁴ UN Women. « About UN Women ». https://www.unwomen.org/en/about-us/about-un-women

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid.

recommendations, which take the form of negotiated agreed conclusions on a priority theme - to accelerate the implementation of the Platform for Action⁸.

TOPIC A: Combating Sexual Violence Against Women in International Conflicts

Introduction

"Sexual violence is a threat to every individual's right to a life of dignity, and to humanity's collective peace and security." António Guterres, United Nations Secretary-General, New York, 19 March 2017.

Armed conflicts around the world have always involved sexual violence. This form of violence is still common today in a number of armed conflicts, such as in Colombia, Mali, the Central African Republic, the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), South Sudan and Syria⁹. Motivated by political, military or economic objectives to control territory or resources, sexual violences against women in international conflicts are frequently and deliberately used to target civilians, inflicting long-term trauma and humiliation, fracturing families and the social fabric, triggering displacement and fuelling armed actors' activities¹⁰. Such violence is also used as a tactic of violent extremism and terrorism¹¹. Sexual violence, even when it is related to conflict, is often not inspired by sexual desire, but rather is associated with an abuse of authority and a way of establishing power and domination¹². These factors may also lead to the emergence of

 $^{^8}$ UN Women. « Commission on the Status of Women ». $\underline{\text{https://www.unwomen.org/en/csw}}$

⁹ Gaggioli, Gloria. « Les violences sexuelles dans les conflits armés : une violation du droit international humanitaire et du droit international des droits de l'homme » 96 (2014): 40. https://international-review.icrc.org/sites/default/files/07-ricr-sf-894-gaggioli.pdf

 $^{^{10}}$ « Conflict-related Sexual Violence | United Nations Peacekeeping ». $\underline{\text{https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/conflict-related-sexual-violence}}$

¹¹ *Ibid*.

¹² Gaggioli, Gloria. « Les violences sexuelles dans les conflits armés : une violation du droit international humanitaire et du droit international des droits de l'homme » 96 (2014): 40.

new trends or patterns, such as transactional or survival sex and trafficking for the purposes of sexual exploitation or abuse¹³. Women and girls continue to be those primarily affected by sexual violences, not least due to patterns of gender discrimination and inequality predating the conflict¹⁴. Sexual violences against women in international conflicts are no longer seen as an inevitable by-product of war, but constitute a crime that is preventable and punishable under International Human Rights Law, International Humanitarian Law and International Criminal Law¹⁵. The law of armed conflict, or international humanitarian law, and international human rights law refer to this type of atrocity as a war crime, a crime against humanity and, in some cases, an act of genocide¹⁶. As a result, there is a growing expectation that actors who operate in conflict and post-conflict situations and have a mandate to protect civilians, will play a greater role in combating this phenomenon¹⁷.

HISTORY OF THE TOPIC

For centuries, sexual violence in international conflicts has gone unreported throughout history. Sexual violence was also widespread during the Second World War, but its denunciation was silenced without any mention in the Nuremberg or Tokyo Charters¹⁸. As a result, no condemnation of sexual violence, as a full-fledged international crime, was pronounced before the Nuremberg Tribunal¹⁹. However, if the silent character of this weapon of destruction has contributed to obstructing its

https://international-review.icrc.org/sites/default/files/07-ricr-sf-894-gaggioli.pdf

¹³ International Committee of the Red Cross. « Addressing Sexual Violence ». Topic, 28 juillet 2014. https://www.icrc.org/en/what-we-do/sexual-violence

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ NATO Review. « Revue de l'OTAN - La lutte contre les violences sexuelles liées aux conflits », 26 octobre 2017. https://www.nato.int/docu/review/fr/articles/2017/10/26/la-lutte-contre-les-violences-sexuelles-liees-aux-conflits/index.html

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ « COMPRENDRE LE VIOL DE GUERRE (2/6) - L'évolution de l'incrimination du viol de guerre en droit international pénal : du silence des textes internationaux au crime international | ».

https://www.notaweaponofwar.org/comprendre-le-viol-de-guerre-2-6-levolution-de-lincrimination-du-viol-de-guerre-en-droit-international-penal-du-silence-des-textes-internationaux-au-crime-international/#pll switcher

¹⁹ The Nuremberg Trial was an ad hoc tribunal set up after the Second World War and initiated by the Allied Powers to try and punish the 24 main leaders of the Third Reich, accused of conspiracy, crimes against peace, war crimes and crimes against humanity.

sanction, it must be noted that it is still very unlikely that a crime will be punished if it is not itself recognized, framed and sanctioned by the law²⁰. In this respect, the first major step in the incrimination and recognition of war rape was the four Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949 which, although their common article 3 does not expressly mention sexual violence, prohibited "violence to life and person" as well as "outrages upon personal dignity"²¹. Rape is even expressly mentioned in Article 4§2 of Additional Protocol II of 1977, which states that "outrages upon personal dignity, in particular humiliating and degrading treatment, rape and enforced prostitution, shall be prohibited at any time and in any place whatsoever"22. This timid movement to criminalize sexual violence in conflicts in international humanitarian law inevitably intensified in the face of the atrocities committed during the armed conflicts in Sierra Leone (1991), Rwanda (1994) and Bosnia-Herzegovina (1992-95), thus giving way to international criminal jurisdictions instituted by United Nations Security Council resolutions²³. These jurisdictions have asserted themselves as true catalysts in the development of international criminal law for the protection against sexual violence²⁴. We owe this incrimination of sexual violence and rape in international humanitarian law to the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) established on February 22, 1993 by United Nations Security Council Resolution 80825, to the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) also established on November 8, 1994 by Security Council Resolution 95526 and finally, to the Special

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²¹ « L'article 3 commun aux quatre Conventions de Genève - CICR », 23:39:52.0.

https://www.icrc.org/fr/doc/resources/documents/article/other/article-commun-conventions-120849.htm
²² « HCDH | Protocole II aux Conventions de Genève du 12 août 1949 relatif à la protection des victimes des conflits armés non internationaux ». https://www.ohchr.org/FR/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/ProtocolII.aspx

²³ « COMPRENDRE LE VIOL DE GUERRE (2/6) - L'évolution de l'incrimination du viol de guerre en droit international pénal : du silence des textes internationaux au crime international | ».

 $[\]frac{https://www.notaweaponofwar.org/comprendre-le-viol-de-guerre-2-6-levolution-de-lincrimination-du-viol-de-guerre-en-droit-international-penal-du-silence-des-textes-internationaux-au-crime-international/#pll_switcher lbid.$

²⁶ « Resolution 955 (1994). Adopted by the Security Council at Its 3453th Meeting, on 8 November 1994 ». http://unscr.com/en/resolutions/doc/955

Court for Sierra Leone established on August 14, 2000 by Resolution 1315²⁷.

DISCUSSION OF THE PROBLEM

According to the UN definition, the term "conflict-related sexual violence" includes acts such as rape, sexual slavery and prostitution, forced pregnancy, forced abortion, forced sterilization and forced marriage, and any other form of sexual violence of comparable gravity, perpetrated against women, men, girls or boys, and directly or indirectly linked to conflict²⁸.

Gender-based violence (GBV) is based on power imbalances and exploits social or situational differences between the sexes²⁹. GBV can manifest itself in various forms, including sexual violence, and affects women, girls, men and boys³⁰. In conflicts, however, GBV affects women to a much greater extent than men. Ultimately, GBV leads to the restriction or loss of the victim's sexual self-determination and constitutes a violation of various international human rights³¹.

5.1 Exacerbation of existing patterns of discrimination against women and girls

Arbitrary killings, torture, sexual violence and forced marriage can result in an increased scale of GBV against women and girls in conflict. In fact, sexual violence against women and girls is increasingly being used as a war tactic, making them particularly vulnerable targets in conflict situations. The term "sexual violence" includes but is not limited to, rape, forced prostitution, forced nudity, harassment, sexual exploitation and abuse³². Yet,

 $^{^{27}}$ « Resolution 1315 (2000). Adopted by the Security Council at Its 4186th Meeting, on 14 August 2000 ». $\underline{\text{http://unscr.com/en/resolutions/doc/1315}}$

²⁸ United Nations. (2018, mars). *Rapport du Secrétaire général sur les violences sexuelles liées aux conflits* (S/2018/250). https://www.un.org/sexualviolenceinconflict/wp-content/uploads/2019/12/report/rapport-du-secretaire-general-sur-les-violences-sexuelles-liees-aux-conflits/FR.pdf

²⁹ Schiffers, Analyse: Geschlechtsspezifische Gewalt im Kontext des Konflikts in der Ukraine, https://www.bpb.de/internationales/europa/ukraine/302130/analyse-geschlechtsspezifische-gewalt-im-kontext-des-konflikts-in-der-ukraine (June 14, 2021).

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ *Popovic/Antonakis*, Centring War's "Side Effects": The Institutionalisation of Conflict-Related Sexual and Gender-Based Violence in International Law and Its Translation into National Action Plans, in: Scheuermann/Zürn, Gender Roles in Peace and Security, 2020, 103, 109 et seq.

³² *Ibid.*, 105.

men and boys are affected by gender-based violence, too: This especially applies to situations of captivity, exposing men and boys to an increased risk of sexual violence³³.

Conflict situations and unstable conditions exacerbate existing patterns of discrimination against women and girls and put them at even greater risk of being attacked³⁴. In conflict situations, there has been an increase in sexual violence

- in the domestic sphere,
- in public spaces and
- in camps and prisons,

among others³⁵.

The increase in domestic violence is the result of the breakdown of social and domestic structures and the "normalization" of gender-based violence due to existing patterns of discrimination against women and girls³⁶. The lack of support for the family and social reintegration of returning traumatized combatants also leads to an increase in domestic violence³⁷. The breakdown of the rule of law and the general availability of weapons are major factors in the increase of domestic violence especially in post-conflict societies³⁸. Additionally, it is not uncommon for a certain "culture of impunity" to develop in the public sphere due to a lack of professionalism and independence of the courts³⁹. Thus,

³³ Schiffers, Analyse: Geschlechtsspezifische Gewalt im Kontext des Konflikts in der Ukraine, https://www.bpb.de/internationales/europa/ukraine/302130/analyse-geschlechtsspezifische-gewalt-im-kontext-des-konflikts-in-der-ukraine (June 14, 2021).

³⁴ *OHCHR*, Women's human rights and gender-related concerns in situations of conflict and instability, https://www.ohchr.org/EN/Issues/Women/WRGS/Pages/PeaceAndSecurity.aspx (June 14, 2021).

³⁵ Schiffers, Analyse: Geschlechtsspezifische Gewalt im Kontext des Konflikts in der Ukraine, https://www.bpb.de/internationales/europa/ukraine/302130/analyse-geschlechtsspezifische-gewalt-im-kontext-des-konflikts-in-der-ukraine (June 14, 2021).

³⁶ OHCHR, Women's human rights and gender-related concerns in situations of conflict and instability, https://www.ohchr.org/EN/Issues/Women/WRGS/Pages/PeaceAndSecurity.aspx (June 14, 2021).

³⁷ Schiffers, Analyse: Geschlechtsspezifische Gewalt im Kontext des Konflikts in der Ukraine, https://www.bpb.de/internationales/europa/ukraine/302130/analyse-geschlechtsspezifische-gewalt-im-kontext-des-konflikts-in-der-ukraine (June 14, 2021).

³⁸ OHCHR, Women's human rights and gender-related concerns in situations of conflict and instability, https://www.ohchr.org/EN/Issues/Women/WRGS/Pages/PeaceAndSecurity.aspx (June 14, 2021).

³⁹ *Schiffers*, Analyse: Geschlechtsspezifische Gewalt im Kontext des Konflikts in der Ukraine, https://www.bpb.de/internationales/europa/ukraine/302130/analyse-geschlechtsspezifische-gewalt-im-kontext-des-konflikts-in-der-ukraine (June 14, 2021).

armed forces and volunteer battalions also engage in sexual violence in this "lawless space": Especially along the borders and at military checkpoints, women and girls are at particular risk of becoming victims of sexual exploitation and violence⁴⁰.

Although significantly more men are illegally detained in the conflicts, women are also held hostage: In camps or prisons, sexual violence is even systematically used. On the one hand, the aim is to force the cooperation of the detainees, e.g. forced labour; on the other hand, the detainees are to be humiliated through sexual exploitation⁴¹.

5.2 "Masculinities": stereotypes as a driving factor for GBV The term "masculinities" describes social expectations of "male" behaviour and acquired stereotypes as well as resulting social power relations⁴². Various stereotypes can be identified within the field of "masculinities"⁴³.

It was just mentioned that the reintegration of returning combatants can lead to increased domestic violence. This phenomenon is likely to be exacerbated by the concept of "militarised masculinity": This concept is mostly created by the understanding of masculine roles propagated in the armies, and can also contribute to increased sexual violence toward women and girls⁴⁴.

The concept of the "toxic masculinity" refers to another stereotype of men: "Toxic masculinity" refers to the understanding of men being brave, strong and resilient, e.g. "real men don't cry" or "real men don't show feelings"; thus, "toxic masculinity" draws a set of repressive male gender stereotypes which, simultaneously, can lead to sexual

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴² For the theory of masculinity see *Waling*, Rethinking Masculinity Studies: Feminism, Masculinity, and Poststructural Accounts of Agency and Emotional Reflexivity, The Journal of Men's Studies 27 (2018), 89, 93.

⁴³ See ibid

⁴⁴ *Eichler*, Militarized Masculinities in International Relations, The Brown Journal of World Affairs (21 (2014), 81 et seqq.

misconduct and violence toward women and girls in conflicts⁴⁵.

Last but not least, "masculinity" as a driving factor for GBV, including sexual violence, can be observed in the context of flight due to conflict⁴⁶. This refers to the traditional role of men as "provider" and "nurturer" of the family⁴⁷. In the context of flight, this "patriarchal masculinity" may pose a particular challenge to men: Being unable to properly fulfil their role as "provider" and "nurturer", men can develop a greater tendency to violence due to loss of status and social and psychological pressure. This tendency frequently manifests itself in sexual violence against women and girls⁴⁸.

5.3 **Economic** vulnerability as driving factor for **GBV** A significant factor for sexual violence against women and girls is also the economic dependency of women on their spouses⁴⁹. Economic dependency can manifest itself in various aspects. This may include financial surveillance or control resulting in a dependency on the partner⁵⁰. Economic vulnerability can pose a driving factor for GBV, including sexual violence toward women and girls. In conflicts, this phenomenon may be enhanced for various reasons: In the absence of conflict situations in the country, women may rely on criminal prosecution or civil protection providing aid to break free from their abuser⁵¹. As aforementioned, conflict can lead to a breakdown of the rule of law as well as social structures; thus, women cannot rely on such institutions in situations of conflict.

⁴⁵ Schiffers, Analyse: Geschlechtsspezifische Gewalt im Kontext des Konflikts in der Ukraine, https://www.bpb.de/internationales/europa/ukraine/302130/analyse-geschlechtsspezifische-gewalt-im-kontext-des-konflikts-in-der-ukraine (June 14, 2021).

⁴⁶ *MacKenzie/Foster*, Masculinity nostalgia: How war and occupation inspire a yearning for gender order, Security Dialogue 48 (2017), 206 et seqq.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 214.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 215.

⁴⁹ *Schiffers*, Analyse: Geschlechtsspezifische Gewalt im Kontext des Konflikts in der Ukraine, https://www.bpb.de/internationales/europa/ukraine/302130/analyse-geschlechtsspezifische-gewalt-im-kontext-des-konflikts-in-der-ukraine (June 14, 2021).

⁵⁰ *Ibid*.

⁵¹ *Harrington Connor*, Financial Freedom: Women, Money, and Domestic Abuse, William & Mary Journal of Race, Gender, and Social Justice 20 (2014), 339, 341 et seq.

PREVIOUS UN INVOLVEMENT

A number of internationally recognized norms and standards relate to women, peace and security, especially sexual violence against women in international conflicts. Some of the most important are :

- UN Security Council Resolution 1820 on Women, Peace and Security, adopted in June 2008, recognizes sexual violence, in particular rape, as a weapon of war and a crime against humanity⁵². It complements resolution 1325 on women, peace and security⁵³, resolution 1468 condemning the tactical use of sexual violence by belligerents⁵⁴ and resolution 1674 condemning all forms of sexual violence⁵⁵. With resolution 1820, the Security Council affirms that sexual violence can constitute international crimes and can be a weapon of war in the context of conflicts⁵⁶. It reaffirms the legal obligation of States to take measures to prevent and punish these crimes⁵⁷. The resolution excludes any amnesty for sexual violence during armed conflict⁵⁸. A monitoring mechanism for the implementation of this resolution is created⁵⁹.
- UN Security Council Resolution 1888, adopted in 2009, strengthens
 Resolution 1820 by establishing leadership, deploying expertise, and
 improving coordination of parties involved in combating conflict-related sexual

⁵² « Resolution 1244 (1999). Adopted by the Security Council at Its 4011th Meeting, on 10 June 1999 ». *The International Journal of Human Rights* 4, no 3-4 (septembre 2000): 369-75. https://www.un.org/ruleoflaw/files/women_peace_security_resolution1820.pdf

⁵³ UN Women. « UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women and Peace and Security (2000) ». https://www.unwomen.org/en/docs/2000/10/un-security-council-resolution-1325

⁵⁴ « Resolution 1468 (2003). Adopted by the Security Council at Its 4723th Meeting, on 20 March 2003 ». https://www.peacewomen.org/sites/default/files/monuc res1468 2003 0.pdf

⁵⁵ « Resolution 1674 (2006). Adopted by the Security Council at Its 5043th Meeting, on 28 April 2006 ». https://www.un.org/ruleoflaw/files/S-Res-

^{1674%20} on %20 protection %20 civilians %20 in %20 armed %20 conflict %20%2828 Apr 06%29. pdf

⁵⁶ « Resolution 1820 (2008). Adopted by the Security Council at Its 5916th Meeting, on 19 June 2008 ». https://www.un.org/ruleoflaw/files/women_peace_security_resolution1820.pdf

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

violence⁶⁰.

- UN Security Council Resolution 1960, adopted in 2010, creates an accountability system to end conflict-related sexual violence⁶¹. It calls for the establishment of perpetrator lists and annual reports on parties alleged to have committed or been responsible for sexual violence⁶². It requires strategic, structured and regular data collection and reporting to the Security Council on conflict-related sexual violence, and calls on countries to establish a clear timeline of their commitments to address this issue⁶³.
- UN Security Council Resolution 2106, adopted in 2013, adds more operational detail to previous resolutions on this topic, reiterates that all actors, including not only the Security Council and parties to armed conflict, but all member states and UN agencies, must do more to implement previous mandates and combat impunity for these crimes⁶⁴.
- The 1995 Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action identifies "women and armed conflict" as one of its 12 priority areas⁶⁵. The Platform calls for increased participation of women in conflict prevention and resolution, peacebuilding and governance, and for their protection during conflict⁶⁶. This is the first international agreement to highlight the importance of women's security and their contributions to peace, security and development⁶⁷.

In 2020, at the 64th session of the Commission on the Status of Women, leaders pledged to intensify their efforts to fully implement the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action and in particular to end all forms of violence and harmful practices

⁶⁰ UN Women. « UN Security Council Resolution 1888 on Women, Peace and Security (2009) ». https://www.unwomen.org/docs/2009/9/un-security-council-resolution-1888.

⁶¹ PeaceWomen. « Security Council Resolution 1960 », 19 décembre 2014. http://www.peacewomen.org/SCR-1960 ⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ « Resolution 2106 (2013). Adopted by the Security Council at Its 6984th Meeting, on 24 June 2013 ». http://unscr.com/en/resolutions/doc/2106

⁶⁵ Resolution 1 Beijing Declaration and Plateform for Action, 1999.

https://www.un.org/en/events/pastevents/pdfs/Beijing_Declaration_and_Platform_for_Action.pdf 66 lbid.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

against all women and girls⁶⁸.

The Security Council has also mandated United Nations field missions to prevent and respond to sexual violences against women in international conflicts⁶⁹. Missions are expected to prevent and respond to Conflict-Related Sexual Violence (CRSV) based on their human rights, child protection, protection of civilians, women, peace and security, and wider prevention responsibilities⁷⁰. Today, four peacekeeping missions have a specific Security Council mandate to address CRSV: MINUSCA in the Central African Republic, MINUSMA in Mali, MONUSCO in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, UNMISS in South Sudan⁷¹.

Possible Solutions

In order to fight against sexual violences against women in international conflicts, several solutions may emerge. The NGO Amnesty International made a document in which they present a list of solutions to fight against sexual violences against women in international conflicts. The solutions are as follows:

• Improving the facts, investigation and prosecution of sexual violence in conflict against women and girls by defining rape and other forms of sexual violence according to international standards, by removing barriers to the investigation and protection of sex crimes under international law, by applying and exercising universal jurisdiction and other forms of extraterritorial jurisdiction in cases of rape and other forms of sexual violence, by developing states capacity to identify, investigate, prosecute and adjudicate crimes of sexual violence in international conflicts, by providing technical assistance in the form of support for women's rights defenders and by supporting sincere

⁶⁸ ONU Femmes. « Règles et normes internationales | Notre travail : Mettre fin à la violence à l'égard des femmes ». https://www.unwomen.org/fr/what-we-do/ending-violence-against-women/global-norms-and-standards

⁶⁹ « Conflict-related Sexual Violence | United Nations Peacekeeping ». https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/conflict-related-sexual-violence

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ *Ibid*.

initiatives by intergovernmental bodies to set up commissions of inquiry;

- Improving the support, assistance and redress for victims of sexual violence can also be a solution, by putting in place some specific national programs of assistance and reparation for victims of sexual violence in international conflicts;
- Ensuring that responses to sexual violence and the promotion of genderequality are fully integrated into all peace and security efforts, especially in international conflicts by putting efficiency in place Security Council's resolutions and by developing national action plans in collaboration with civil society;
- Improving international strategic coordination to prevent and respond to sexual violence against women in international conflicts by devoting funds by states to the implementation of programs for the prevention of sexual violence against women in international conflicts⁷².

Moreover, Women for Women International, an humanitarian organisation, have also proposed some recommendations to ending sexual violences in conflicts, based on 4 pillars:

- **Protection**: International laws need to be implemented by governments in order to protect women in war and conflict zones;
- Participation: All survivors of sexual violence in conflict have a right to be heard because their voices can influence decisions that affect their futures.
 They also deserve the right to be entitled to justice for the abuse they have survived;
- Partnership: Resources for women's rights groups to respond to the needs of sexual violence survivors and challenge the harmful norms that underpin violence against women need to be increased;

⁷²Amnesty International, "La lutte contre les violences sexuelles dans les conflits". Recommandations aux Etats participant au sommet mondial pour mettre fin aux violences sexuelles dans les conflits, 10-13 Juin 2014. https://www.amnestv.org/download/Documents/8000/ior530062014fr.pdf

 Prevention: There is also a need to work both with women and men in order to break down the social norms that portray abuse as 'normal' or part of 'tradition'⁷³.

BLOC POSITIONS

Civilians are increasingly targeted in armed conflict, and are exposed to extreme violence, including sexual violence⁷⁴. While many countries face risks of sexual violence, there is ample evidence of the use of sexual violence and its effects in 2016 in 19 countries in Africa, Asia, Europe and South America such as Afghanistan, Central African Republic, Colombia, Democratic Republic of Congo, Iraq, Libya, Mali, Myanmar, Somalia, South Sudan, Sudan (Darfur), Syrian Arab Republic and Yemen for conflict situations, but also Bosnia-Herzegovina, Côte d'Ivoire, Nepal and Sri Lanka for post-conflict situations⁷⁵. However, there are also conflict situations of some concern in Burundi and Nigeria⁷⁶.

Case study on the Rwandan Genocide

In the spring of 1994, the Tutsi genocide killed one million people in Rwanda⁷⁷. It is true that a number of women took part in the genocide but most, however, were rather the victims⁷⁸. They may even be regarded as the main victims of the massacres since they were abused, raped, massacred and subjected to other brutalities⁷⁹. Rape

⁷³ Women for Women International. « Sexual Violence in Conflict ». https://womenforwomen.org.uk/sexual-violence-conflict.

⁷⁴ Sine Vorland Holen, & Dr Lotte Vermeij. (2017, 26 octobre). *La lutte contre les violences sexuelles liées aux conflits*. Revue de l'OTAN. https://www.nato.int/docu/review/fr/articles/2017/10/26/la-lutte-contre-les-violences-sexuelles-liees-aux-conflits/index.html

⁷⁵ United Nations. (2018, mars). Rapport du Secrétaire général sur les violences sexuelles liées aux conflits (S/2018/250). https://www.un.org/sexualviolenceinconflict/wp-content/uploads/2019/12/report/rapport-du-secretaire-general-sur-les-violences-sexuelles-liees-aux-conflits/FR.pdf

⁷⁶ Ibid.

Mouna El Mokhtari, « Génocie au Rwanda : histoire d'une manipulation ». Le Monde, 22 Juin 2020. https://www.lemonde.fr/culture/article/2020/06/22/genocide-au-rwanda-histoire-d-une-manipulation 6043771 3246.html

 $^{^{78}}$ « UN Commission on Human Rights - situation of human rights in Rwanda », 29 January 1996. <u>http://hrlibrary.umn.edu/commission/country52/68-rwa.htm</u>.

⁷⁹ Ibid. I. A. 1. (a).

was systematic and was used as a "weapon" by the perpetrators of the massacres⁸⁰. Rape was the rule and its absence the exception. Unfortunately, there are no statistics to give but the Ministry for the Family and the Promotion of Women recorded 15,700 cases of women raped during the hostilities⁸¹. This official number certainly underestimates the true situation because first, it is limited in space and time, since it only covers the period of the massacres in Rwanda and does not take account of rape which took place after the hostilities in the refugee camps outside the country⁸². Secondly, some women, particularly young girls, were reluctant to confess or admit that they were raped⁸³. However, the important aspect is not so much the number as the principle and the types of rape as two may be noted: gang rape and incest⁸⁴. The former consisted in the victim being raped by several of her tormentors at one time and many women who underwent this type of rape died as a result⁸⁵. The cases of incest are still more revealing of the systematic and abominable nature of the rape: direct relatives, or blood relatives, were forced to have incestuous intercourse⁸⁶. According to reliable testimony, militiamen forced fathers or sons to have sexual relations with their own daughters or mothers and vice versa. In addition to these atrocities the women were subjected to various brutalities and sexual humiliation which generally caused their death: they were stripped and/or slashed and exposed to public mockery while others had pieces of tree branches pushed into their vagina⁸⁷. Even more had their external genitals, their buttocks and their breasts cut off88.

Case study on Tigray region in Ethiopia

A more recent case study was unfortunately observed in the Tigray region of Ethiopia

⁸⁰ Ibid, I. A. 1. (a).

⁸¹ Ibid, I. A. 1. (a). (ii). 16.

⁸² Ibid, I. A. 1. (a). (ii). 16.

⁸³ Ibid, I. A. 1. (a). (ii). 16.

⁸⁴ Ibid, I. A. 1. (a). (ii). 18.

⁸⁵ Ibid, I. A. 1. (a). (ii). 18.

⁸⁶ Ibid, I. A. 1. (a). (ii). 18.

⁸⁷ Ibid, I. A. 1. (a). (ii). 18.

⁸⁸ Ibid, I. A. 1. (a). (ii). 18.

as sexual violence is used as a weapon of war. Dr. Fasika Amdeselassie, the chief

public health officer for the government-appointed interim administration in Tigray, said in April that at least 829 cases of sexual assault had been reported in five hospitals since the conflict began in November last year⁸⁹. UN official Mark Lowcock said the majority of rapes were committed by men in uniform, with accusations levelled at all warring parties⁹⁰. He also added that "nearly a quarter of the reports received by one agency are of gang rapes, with several men assaulting the victim; in some cases, women have been raped repeatedly over several days. Girls as young as eight years old are targeted"91. There are also disturbing reports of individuals being forced to rape members of their own families under threat of imminent violence," said Patten, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General on Sexual Violence in Conflict, in a press release⁹². Some women have also reportedly been forced by military elements to have sex in exchange for commodities, while medical centers have reported an increase in demand for emergency contraception and testing for sexually transmitted infections (STIs), which is often an indicator of sexual violence in conflict⁹³. In addition, there are increasing reports of sexual violence against women and girls in a number of refugee camps⁹⁴.

RELEVANT INTERNATIONAL DOCUMENTS

- The 1995 Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, adopted in 1995 https://www.un.org/en/events/pastevents/pdfs/Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action.pdf
- UN Security Council Resolution 1325, adopted in 2000 https://www.unwomen.org/en/docs/2000/10/un-security-council-

⁸⁹ La Tribune. « Ethiopie: Les violences sexuelles utilisées comme arme de guerre dans le Tigré, selon l'ONU ». 16 Avril 2021. https://www.latribune.fr/depeches/reuters/KBN2C30F8/ethiopie-les-violences-sexuelles-utilisees-comme-arme-de-guerre-dans-le-tigre-selon-l-onu.html.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² ONU Info. « Ethiopie : préoccupée par les allégations de violence sexuelle au Tigré, l'ONU appelle à une politique de tolérance zéro », 21 janvier 2021. https://news.un.org/fr/story/2021/01/1087382.

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

resolution-1325

- UN Security Council Resolution 1468, adopted in 2003 https://www.peacewomen.org/sites/default/files/monuc_res1468_2003_0.p
 df
- UN Security Council Resolution 1674, adopted in 2006
 https://www.un.org/ruleoflaw/files/S-Res 1674%20on%20protection%20civilians%20in%20armed%20conflict%20%
 2828Apr06%29.pdf
- UN Security Council Resolution 1820 on Women, Peace and Security, adopted in June 2008 https://www.un.org/ruleoflaw/files/women peace security resolution1820.

ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N09/534/46/PDF/N0953446.pdf?OpenElement

- UN Security Council Resolution 1960, adopted in 2010 http://www.peacewomen.org/SCR-1960
- UN Security Council Resolution 2106, adopted in 2013 http://unscr.com/en/resolutions/doc/2106
- UN Security Council Resolution 2467, adopted in 2019 https://static.un.org/press/en/2019/sc13790.doc.htm

GUIDING **Q**UESTIONS

- 1. What are the roots of sexual violences against girls and women in international conflicts?
- 2. What are the possibilities of an assessment of sexual violence among girls and women in international conflicts?
- 3. How can the protection of girls and women in international conflict situations from sexual violences can be improved?
- 4. How could instances of misconduct by the parties involved in the conflicts be

addressed in order to fight against sexual violences against girls and women?

TOPIC B: Promoting Women's Participation and Representation in Parliaments

Introduction

"Study after study has taught us, there is no tool for development more effective than the empowerment of women. No other policy is as likely to raise economic productivity or to reduce child and maternal mortality. No other policy is as sure to improve nutrition and promote health, including the prevention of HIV/AIDS. No other policy is as powerful in increasing the chances of education for the next generation." Kofi Annan, UN Secretary General, 1997-2006.

Women have always been at a disadvantage when it came to representation in the political life of numerous countries. Even though the immense progress of women's right to vote and running for political office has improved in the 20th century, many countries fail to bring equal representation of men and women, not to mention the right to vote. Globally, women's participation in parliament was 25% in 2020. Some regions have seen improvement over the last 20 years: the Sub-Saharan region grew about twice and the Arab States grew five times between 2000-2020⁹⁵. Despite all this good news, women's participation is still below the critical mass- a considerable minority that can make an impact⁹⁶. Only four countries have an equal majority around the world: Rwanda, Cuba, Bolivia, and the United Arab Emirates⁹⁷. The importance of women's participation in political life is emphasized as a tool for gender equality, and research has shown that male and female leaders have different priorities. Research has shown that women are able to put aside ideological differences to work in a

⁹⁵ Pepera Sandra, "Why Women in Politics ?", Women Deliver, National Democratic Institute, 28th February 2018. https://womendeliver.org/2018/why-women-in-politics/

⁹⁶ Didi Zeena, "Why we need more women in politics?", King's College London, 4th May 2020. https://www.kcl.ac.uk/news/why-we-need-more-women-in-politics
⁹⁷ *Ibid*.

more collaborative way than men leaders⁹⁸. They are more likely to bring values of fairness, inclusion, flexibility, collaboration, persuasiveness, and empathy into the political world⁹⁹. Because of all these qualities, women likely put more emphasis on peace and humanitarianism than their male counterparts¹⁰⁰. This has shown to be true in such diverse countries such as Rwanda, Russia, United Kingdom, Sri Lanka, and Kuwait.

HISTORY OF THE TOPIC

Throughout most of the history of the world, women have always been at a disadvantage when it came to political life¹⁰¹. True, throughout history there were female monarchs but when it came to parliamentary representation, no woman was present¹⁰². The first time that women's rights entered the world's conscience was when Mary Wollstonecraft published A *Vindication of the Rights of Women*. The book sparked the suffragist movement, which called the right to vote for women¹⁰³. By 1893, New Zealand had become the first ever country to grant the right to vote for women. As a result of the women's contribution to the war effort in WW1, most of Europe and North America granted women the right to vote¹⁰⁴.

The first women ever in the world to be granted a seat in parliament were as a result of the socialist revolutions in Russia. The first democratically elected female head-of-state was in 1960 when Sirimavo Bandaranaike of Sri Lanka was elected as the leader of the country. By 1999, India, Israel, Argentina, Central African Republic, United Kingdom, Dominica, Iceland, Canada, Philippines, Pakistan, Liberia, Turkey, and Ireland had all had female heads-of-state¹⁰⁵.

Today, virtually every country (except for the Vatican City) has the right to vote, but on the

⁹⁸ *Ibid*.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ Bowens Karen, "Women in Politics - What is their role?", Empower Women, 9th August 2016. https://www.empowerwomen.org/en/community/stories/2016/08/women-in-politics--what-is-their-role
101 Aspinal Georgia, "Here are the countries where it's still really difficult for women to vote", in Grazia, 8th March 2021. https://graziadaily.co.uk/life/real-life/countries-where-women-can-t-vote/

¹⁰² *Ibid*.

¹⁰³ *Ibid*.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid*.

¹⁰⁵ *Ihid*.

other hand, there are countries who actually discourage women from voting. Women are still discouraged from voting in Saudi Arabia, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Uganda, Kenya, Oman, Qatar,

DISCUSSION OF THE PROBLEM

Egypt, Nigeria, Papua New Guinea, and Tanzania¹⁰⁶.

The concept of gender equality aims to grant all genders equal access to equal benefits and equal responsibilities, taking into account the different aspirations and behaviours of both women and men, with the goal that all people can develop to their full potential without being restricted by gender roles¹⁰⁷. Women and men should not become equal, but should have equal rights and equal opportunities¹⁰⁸.

3.1 Women political participation

Gender equality concerns the context of human rights, and constitutes a prerequisite and indicator for sustainable, human-oriented development¹⁰⁹. This concept aims to empower women and girls "at all levels" by adopting and strengthening sound policies and enforceable legislation for the promotion of gender equality¹¹⁰. The fulfillment of this goal may be indicated by public allocations through state legislation¹¹¹.

Worldwide, women make up almost 50% of the world's population,¹¹² but compared to men, they are still even far underrepresented in political decision-making bodies in certain countries¹¹³. This is how high or low the proportion of women in (selected) national parliaments (primary chambers) currently is worldwide¹¹⁴:

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid*.

¹⁰⁷ EIGE, Gender Equality, https://eige.europa.eu/thesaurus/terms/1168?lang=en (June 14, 2021).

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁹ Ihid

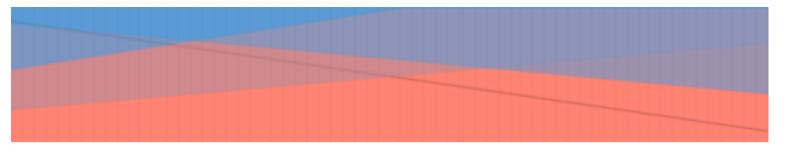
¹¹⁰ UNGA, 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, Target 5.C.

¹¹¹ *EIGE*, Producing and Assessing Gender Statistics and Indicators, 2011, 10.

¹¹² https://countrymeters.info/de/World (June 14, 2021).

¹¹³ GIZ. Strengthening Women's Political Participation, 2014, 7.

¹¹⁴ *Statista*, Proportion of Women in National Parliaments, https://de.statista.com/infografik/22210/frauenanteil-in-parlamenten-weltweit/ (June 14, 2021).



- Rwanda: 61.3%

- Cuba: 53.4%

- UAE: 50%

- New Zealand: 48.3%

- Sweden: 47%

- Spain: 44%

- Switzerland: 42%

- France: 39.5%

Germany: 31.5%

- USA: 27.3%

Article 21 Universal Declaration of Human Rights states that everyone has the right to take part in the government of their country, directly or through freely chosen representatives.

Article 7 Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) even stipulates:

States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in the political and public life of the country and, in particular, shall ensure to women, on equal terms with men, the right:

- (a) To vote in all elections and public referenda and to be eligible for election to all publicly elected bodies;
- (b) To participate in the formulation of government policy and the implementation thereof and to hold public office and perform all public functions at all levels of government;
- (c) To participate in non-governmental organizations and associations concerned with the public and political life of the country.

This shows that there is broad consensus within the international community that the concept of gender equality as such embodies a crucial development goal and a key driver for human development; a distinct percentage of women in decision-making bodies is

crucial, not only for reasons of mere egalitarianism, but also to include women's perspectives in policy and decision-making¹¹⁵.

3.2 Education

However, the way to the top has some hurdles – and one of them poses girls and women's lack of access to education¹¹⁶. As defined within the framework of the Sustainable Development Goals, access to education may be described as the "ability of all the people to have equal opportunities in education regardless of their caste, class, gender, ethnicity, or physical or mental disability."¹¹⁷

Women's lack of participation in decision-making bodies can often be traced back to a lack of education¹¹⁸. There are various explanations for women and girl's lack of education: Frequently, this lack of education roots in cultural, religious or traditional ideas and values, apart from such structural conditions that could be tackled through socio-political reform efforts¹¹⁹. Building upon this observation, various driving factors for inequality in access to education can be identified: early marriages and pregnancies, safety issues, menstrual hygiene management (MHM), lack of female teachers, students living in war-torn regions, women and girls with disability¹²⁰.

In consequence, women and girls are being prevented from realising their full potential¹²¹. At the same time, studies and empirical results suggest that the SDG "Access to Education" is crucial to fulfill many of the other SDGs¹²². There even is a correlation between education and democracy itself; education – empirical results suggest – has a

¹¹⁵ GIZ, Strengthening Women's Political Participation, 2014, 7.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., 8.

¹¹⁷ *Kumar/Pandey*, Access to Education and Gender Equality, in: Leal/Azul/Brandli/Lange, Wall (eds), Gender Equality. Encyclopedia of the UN Sustainable Development Goals, 2020, 1.

¹¹⁸ GIZ, Strengthening Women's Political Participation, 2014, 8.

¹¹⁹ Ihid

¹²⁰ *Kumar/Pandey*, Access to Education and Gender Equality, in: Leal/Azul/Brandli/Lange, Wall (eds), Gender Equality. Encyclopedia of the UN Sustainable Development Goals, 2020, 3 et seqq. ¹²¹ *Ibid.* 1.

¹²² *Ibid.*. 2.

major impact on the stability of a democracy¹²³.

3.3 Implications of geographical factors

Last but not least, geographical factors can influence girls and women's access to education, too¹²⁴. A greater inequality in access to education can be noted when comparing urban and rural girls¹²⁵. UN Women noted that "[w]hile progress has been made in reducing the gender gap in urban primary school enrolment, data from 42 countries shows that rural girls are twice as likely as urban girls to be out of school." ¹²⁶ In regard to secondary school enrolment, only 39% of rural girls attend secondary school which is far fewer than rural boys (45%), urban girls (59%) and urban boys (60%) ¹²⁷. In regard to decision-making, UN Women adds: "A large gender gap remains in women's access to decision-making and leadership. [...] Women's participation as chairs or heads in rural councils is also much lower than men's [...]." ¹¹²⁸

PREVIOUS UN INVOLVEMENT

Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (1979):

The parties condemn all forms of discrimination. To adopt all forms of legislation that will protect women's rights, and to abolish all forms of practices and customs that discriminate against women.

https://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/CEDAW.aspx

Beijing Platform for Action (1995): Women's rights are equal rights, acknowledges that women are fundamental for peace and prosperity. Take all necessary action to eliminate all forms of discrimination towards women and girls.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, 1.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 2.

¹²⁵ *Ihid*

¹²⁶ UN WOMEN, Facts & Figures, https://www.unwomen.org/en/news/in-focus/commission-on-the-status-of-women-2012/facts-and-figures (June 14, 2021).

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*

https://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/beijing/pdf/BDPfA%20E.pdf

UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000): Urges member states to give equal representation for women. Also urges the UNSG to implement more women for field-based work for civilian and humanitarian causes. Calls on member states to fully respect international law for women in armed conflicts and protect them from any violence, including sexual

https://www.securitycouncilreport.org/atf/cf/%7B65BFCF9B-6D27-4E9C-8CD3-CF6E4FF96FF9%7D/WPS%20SRES1325%20.pdf

UN General Assembly Resolution 58\142 (2003): Urges states to increase participation of women in governments. https://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/RES/58/142

UN Security Council Resolution 1889 (2009): Urges member states to improve women's role in the peace process, including female leadership roles. Calls upon the Secretary General to promote female workers on his behalf and in all UN offices. Stresses the increasing of women's education as part of the peace process. https://www.peacewomen.org/SCR-1889

UN General Assembly Resolution 66/130 (2011): Calls upon member states to eliminate laws that discriminate against women in the political process, and to make them equal to men. Urges member states to implement the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, and to call upon countries who had not ratified it yet, to do so. Also encourages countries for female participation in government, as well as a gender balance.

https://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/RES/66/130

UN Security Council Resolution 2242 (2015): Urges member states to implement women's rights as part of the peace process, increased participation of women in local, national, and international institutions. Calls upon the United Nations itself to further women's employment in leadership roles, as well as the peacekeeping force. Expresses deep concern

on allegations of sexual exploitation and abuse inside the United Nations. http://www.securitycouncilreport.org/atf/cf/%7B65BFCF9B-6D27-4E9C-8CD3-CF6E4FF96FF9%7D/s res 2242.pdf

UN Security Council Resolution 2493 (2019): Urges member states to increase funding towards programs that benefit women, calls upon member states to create safe environments towards women leaders, including political ones, without harassment, hate speech and violence towards them.

https://undocs.org/en/S/RES/2493(2019)

Possible Solutions

Gender Sensitive Rules: In 1995, Sweden adopted a network of female speakers to increase the quantity of women in parliament. They collaborate with their male counterparts in increasing gender equality in the Swedish Parliament. Finland has followed suit with a similar program in its parliament.

Increasing the proportion of women in parliament and their capacity¹²⁹: Globally, over 50 countries have adopted such quotas for female representation in parliament. In addition, many political parties have seats reserved for women on candidate lists and leadership. According to the Inter-Parliamentary Union, 25% of parliamentary seats in Iraq are reserved for women. Constitutionally, the Rwandan parliament must have at least 30% of women in parliament at all times.

Establishing legislative frameworks for gender equality: Finland adopted amendments for the law on gender equality during the 1990s.

Microcosmic representation: Parliament should reflect the composition of the country itself¹³⁰.

World Economic Forum, "How do we get more women in politics?", Project Syndicate, 28th September 2018. https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2018/09/closing-the-political-gender-gap

¹³⁰ The Conversation, "How can we better represent women in Parliament?", 2nd March 2015. https://theconversation.com/how-can-we-better-represent-women-in-parliament-37787

BLOC POSITIONS

Case study Australia¹³¹: Australia was one of the first countries to grant the right to vote for women in 1902 (aboriginal women got the right to vote only in the 1960s). Despite this, it was only in 1943 when Australia elected its first female political leader. By 2020, almost half of the Australian senate were women. The turning point came during WW2, when Australian men were recruited to the army, leaving women in their place. Women became a large part of the workforce, and quotas were adopted for female leaders in government. In 1994, a quota was adopted in which in any positions, delegations, and candidacies will be no less than 35% and in 2012, the law was updated to $40\%^{132}$. In 2010, Julia Gillard became the first ever woman Australian prime minister.

Case study China: Equal opportunity towards men and women was a part of Chinese policy ever since the PRC's founding, and is part of its 1954 constitution. However, women in politics are still underrepresented in China¹³³. No female president has ever governed China, and since the PRC's founding in 1949, only 2 women sat on the Politburo¹³⁴. The reason is because China still has many discriminatory laws towards women: for government employees, men retire at 60, while women retire at 50. This discourages female leadership, as many roles are filled with people already in their 60s¹³⁵. In all, the Chinese congress is 25% female, Chinese Communist party members are 26% women, and only 24% of the national parliament is made up of women, all below the 30% threshold of the critical mass¹³⁶.

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¹³¹ Parliament of Australia, "Women in Senate", No. 3, January, 2021.

 $[\]underline{https://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Senate/Powers_practice_n_procedures/Senate_Briefs/Brief03}$

¹³² International IDEA, "Voluntary political party quotas", Gender quotas database. https://www.idea.int/datatools/data/gender-quotas/voluntary-overview

¹³³ Guo Xiajuan and Zheng Yongnian, "Women's political participation in China", Briefing Series, Issue 34, The University of Nottingham, China Policy Institute, January 2008.

https://www.nottingham.ac.uk/iaps/documents/cpi/briefings/briefing-34-women-political-participation.pdf

¹³⁴ Sun Yazhou, "Why China has so few female leaders", CNN, 25th October 2017. https://edition.cnn.com/2017/10/22/asia/china-female-leaders/index.html

¹³⁵ Ibid.

BBC News, "Reality Check: Does China's Communist Party have a woman problem?", 25th October 2017. https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-41652487

Case study Romania¹³⁷: The number of women in the Romanian parliament has almost doubled between 1990-2013, which means that of 2013, Romania had 11.3% of women in its parliament. According to Interparliamentary Union statistics, the average number of women in parliament around the world stands at 20%, and in Europe 22%. The meaning of this is that the Romanian share of women in parliament is very low.

Case Study Rwanda¹³⁸: Rwanda has suffered a horrific genocide during the 1990s, and has risen by 2008, to become the very first country in which a majority of parliamentary seats are held by women. The Rwandan constitution from 2003 includes a quota in which 30% of governmental seats will be held by women. Even though the country still struggles with gender equality and democracy, there is already an impact, not least because of the women that sit in its parliament.

Case study United Kingdom¹³⁹: In 2019, 34% of British parliamentary seats were held by women, which is an all time high in the country. Since 1918, when British women were given the right to vote, more than half of women MPs have been part of the Labour Party. The Welsh parliament has a whopping 47% of female parliamentarians.

Case study United States: Although the country has seen a record number of women running and winning seats in Congress in 2018, the number is still lower than the critical mass- 25%¹⁴⁰. A survey found out that 86% of the population believe that not women get to Congress is because they have to try to prove themselves, discouraging many of them¹⁴¹. The result is that the United States became part of a shrinking number of western industrialized countries to not have ever elected a woman leader¹⁴².

https://www.huffpost.com/entry/looking-to-rwanda-for-les b 147833

¹³⁷ Permanent Electoral Authority, "The Evolution of Women Representation in Romanian Parliament", Direction of studies, February 2013. http://www.roaep.ro/prezentare/wp-content/uploads/2013/04/women_Parliament.pdf
¹³⁸ Friedman Andrea, "Looking for Rwanda Lessons on Gender Equality", 25th May 2011.

¹³⁹ UK Parliament, "Women in Politics and Public Life", House of Commons Library, 2nd March 2021. https://commonslibrary.parliament.uk/research-briefings/sn01250/

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- UN Security Council Resolution 2242 (2015)

 http://www.securitycouncilreport.org/atf/cf/%7B65BFCF9B-6D27-4E9C-8CD3-CF6E4FF96FF9%7D/s res 2242.pdf
- UN Security Council Resolution 2493 (2019)
 https://undocs.org/en/S/RES/2493(2019)

GUIDING **Q**UESTIONS

- What is your country's stance on women's rights?
- How can your country increase the number of women politicians?
- Does your country have any policy on the subject?
- Is your country a signatory on any UN documents about women's rights and the participation of women in politics ?
- How can your country contribute to the debate?

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