



Security Council Scorecard on Women, Peace and Security: Lessons Learned from 2010-2016

WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR
PEACE & FREEDOM



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"Maintenance of International Peace and Security".

UN Photo/Kim Houghton

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In October 2000, in response to calls by women's civil society, Resolution 1325 was drafted and adopted by the United Nations Security Council. It has been followed by seven other Security Council Resolutions (1820, 1888, 1889, 1960, 2106, 2122 and 2242), which make up the Women, Peace and Security Agenda, a powerful tool for moving from exclusive to democratic decision-making, from gender inequality to gender justice and from conflict and violence to sustainable and feminist peace. It recognises that women's agency, voices and capacities are critical to local dialogues, better policies and lasting peace.

Today, the normative support for the Women, Peace and Security Agenda is clear: the highest number of debate speakers in the history of the Security Council was at the 2015 open debate on Women, Peace and Security, and Resolution 1325 is the most translated Security Council Resolution ever. At the same time, the practical implementation of the Agenda is still lacking, including within the Security Council. The commitments on paper do not match practice: from poorly planned and underfunded provisions of services in conflict-affected situations to the impunity for acts of sexual exploitation and abuse and sexual and gender-based violence, to the lack of support for women's civil society participation in peace processes. There continues to be a disconnected, fragmented and siloed approach to the implementation of the Women, Peace and Security Agenda in the Security Council.

The Security Council has a unique responsibility to implement the Women, Peace and Security Agenda, including by upholding its obligations on peace and security under Chapter V of the United Nations Charter (Article 24 (1)). When the Security Council adopted this Agenda, it committed itself to include gender analysis in its decision-making process, which requires a shift from militarised crisis response toward addressing root causes for conflict prevention and feminist peace. However, it fails to concretely and consistently recognise and support women's meaningful participation and empowerment as fundamental to achieving holistic peace and security.

The Permanent Members of the Security Council (the Permanent Five) -- the United States, the United Kingdom, France, Russia and China -- are also some of the top contributors to the global arms trade, which exacerbates sexual, gender-based and other forms of violence. They also contribute to the shrinking of space for civil society organisations, especially for women's organisations, support militarism as a way of thought and consequently undermine long-term conflict prevention essential for achieving feminist peace.

This research brief maps trends on compliance with relevant international standards around Women, Peace and Security by the Permanent Five in the period between 2010 and 2016. It addresses all four pillars of the Women, Peace and Security Agenda (participation, conflict prevention, protection and relief and recovery), analyses state actions at both the international and national levels and demonstrates the main gaps in the Women, Peace and Security implementation efforts, including around gender power analysis, disarmament and financing. It shows that strengthening women's meaningful participation, conflict prevention and disarmament are critical areas to address for achieving feminist peace.

We invite you to use the findings of the Security Council Scorecard on Women, Peace and Security to strengthen your action for achieving sustainable and feminist peace based on women's meaningful participation, disarmament, conflict prevention and political economies of peace and gender justice.

What Are The Key Challenges?

Militarism: Investing in militarised security over human rights and gender justice;

Exclusion: Tokenising and sidelining of women's peace leadership rather than ensuring women's meaningful participation, including for women-led civil society in peace processes;

Victimisation: Focusing on women primarily as victims rather than agents of change in conflict settings;

Top-Down Decision-Making: Failing to orient peace work around local women's experiences and voices for justice and rights;

Gender-Blind Analysis: Lacking consistent conflict analysis that recognises gendered power and takes action toward equality and non-violence;

Implementation Gap: Failing to localise commitments on Women, Peace and Security with clear planning and sustained, allocated funding.

International Action

At the international level, the Permanent Five have many opportunities to strengthen the implementation of the Women, Peace and Security Agenda. This includes engaging in democratic **Security Council Action**, including recognising gender issues around crises and limiting use of the veto; increasing **Women, Peace and Security Financing** and redirecting military spending toward gender equitable social development; taking action that progresses international **Gender and Human Rights** rankings; and increasing gender expertise and inclusion in **Peacekeeping Operations**, while eradicating sexual exploitation and abuse. However, many of these opportunities failed to be realised. Security Council Action on Women, Peace and Security continues to be inconsistent, especially in traditionally masculine issues. Military profiteering remains an ongoing challenge. Additionally, poor funding choices for human security and gender equality mean continued accountability gaps.

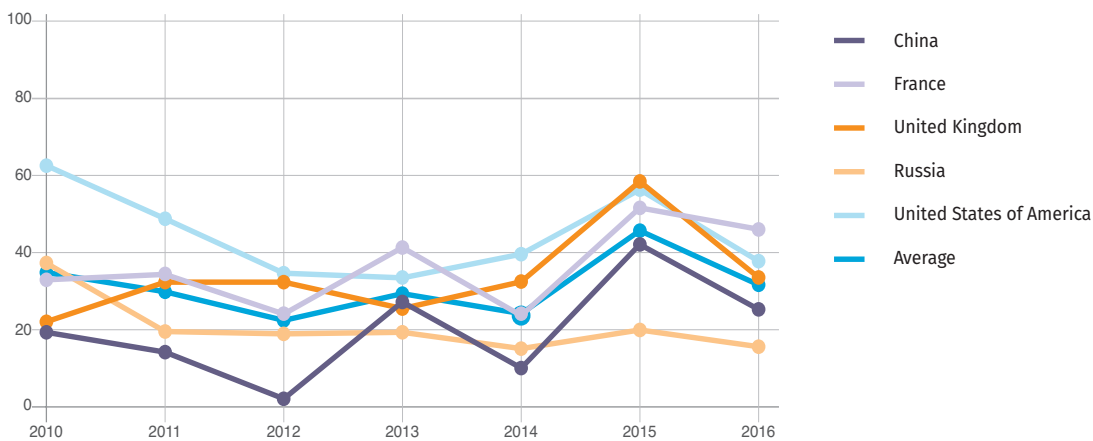
Security Council Actions

In the period between 2010 and 2016, the Permanent Five, on average, referenced Women, Peace and Security in 31.71 per cent of all Security Council open debates, with a fluctuating but slightly declining trend overall¹. This went from 35.38 per cent in 2010 down to 24.8 per cent in 2014, back up to 46.41 per cent in 2015 (the maximum during the period under review) and back down to 32.22 per cent in 2016 (slightly lower than in 2010). Relative high results in 2010 and 2015 were demonstrated around the 10th and 15th anniversaries of the adoption of Resolution 1325 (35.38 and 46.41 per cent, respectively). This illustrates that attention to gender issues often remains tied to public spectacles, rather than integrated consistently on a day-to-day basis.

The presence of a Women, Peace and Security perspective and the application of



Security Council Actions



gender analysis however varied substantially between Security Council open debates depending on their thematic focus. The references to Women, Peace and Security were made on average in 43.8 per cent of the Security Council open debates on the protection of civilians², with substantial increases in 2015 and 2016³. However, gender perspectives in traditionally masculine areas of Security Council work were consistently lacking: on average, references to Women, Peace and Security were included in only 4.8 per cent of the debates on threats caused by terrorist acts⁴ and only 16.2 per cent of the debates on maintenance of international peace and security⁵, with no significant improvement or changes during the reporting period. This demonstrates that gendered silos continue to limit Women, Peace and Security analysis and gender-aware security interventions from being integrated into all thematic issues under the purview of the Security Council. Meanwhile, an overarching gender analysis that

¹ Across all 2010-2016 UNSC open debates, the United States referenced Women, Peace and Security on average most frequently (39.72 per cent), with China making similar references the least (17 per cent).

² During 2010-2016 Security Council open debates on the protection of civilians, the United States referenced Women, Peace and Security on average the most (55 per cent), with China the least (33 per cent).

³ During 2010-2016 Security Council open debates on the protection of civilians, the United States, Russia, China and France referenced Women, Peace and Security in 75 per cent of their statements, while the United Kingdom made such references in every statement.

⁴ During 2010-2016 Security Council open debates on the threats caused by terrorist acts, the United States referenced Women, Peace and Security the most (10 per cent), with China and the United Kingdom making no such references.

⁵ During 2010-2016 Security Council open debates on maintenance of international peace and security, the United States referenced Women, Peace and Security the most (40 per cent), with Russia the least (3 per cent).

would support prioritisation of women's human rights as a prevention measure relative to military solutions remains an even more serious challenge.

There was a significant improvement in the depth and quality of commitments to action made at the 2010 Security Council open debate on Women, Peace and Security⁶ relative to the Women, Peace and Security open debate in 2015⁷. At the 10th anniversary of Resolution 1325 in 2010, neither Russia nor China made any Women, Peace and Security commitments; and the statements of the United Kingdom, the United States and France were largely focused on women's protection needs, without specific actions to support women's effective and meaningful participation. However, at the 15th anniversary of Resolution 1325 in 2015, France, the United Kingdom and the United States made more detailed and expansive commitments, including those aimed at strengthening women's participation in peace processes and providing financial support for such action, China committed to address challenges of women and girls, and Russia was the only member of the Permanent Five to fail to make a stated commitment. Despite this improvement, in 2016, only the United States reported on the implementation of all Women, Peace and Security commitments made in 2015 and highlighted financial efforts introduced to support gender-sensitive initiatives. The United Kingdom and France reported on the implementation of their commitments only partially, and Russia and China failed to make relevant follow-up. This trend is in line with the global gap in moving from commitments to accomplishments⁸ and ongoing inconsistency in applying gender analysis.

Finally, despite thematic recognition of the Women, Peace and Security Agenda, the Permanent Five have an inconsistent record of country-specific action, limiting political progress in these countries. A particular obstacle on country-specific action is the use of the veto. In the reporting period, Russia used the veto the most. It vetoed 7 out of 9 Security Council draft resolutions between 2010 and 2016⁹.

⁶ Milestones: 2010 10th Anniversary. Available: <http://www.peacewomen.org/security-council/2010-anniversary>

⁷ Milestones: 2015 High-Level Review. Available: <http://www.peacewomen.org/security-council/2015HLR>

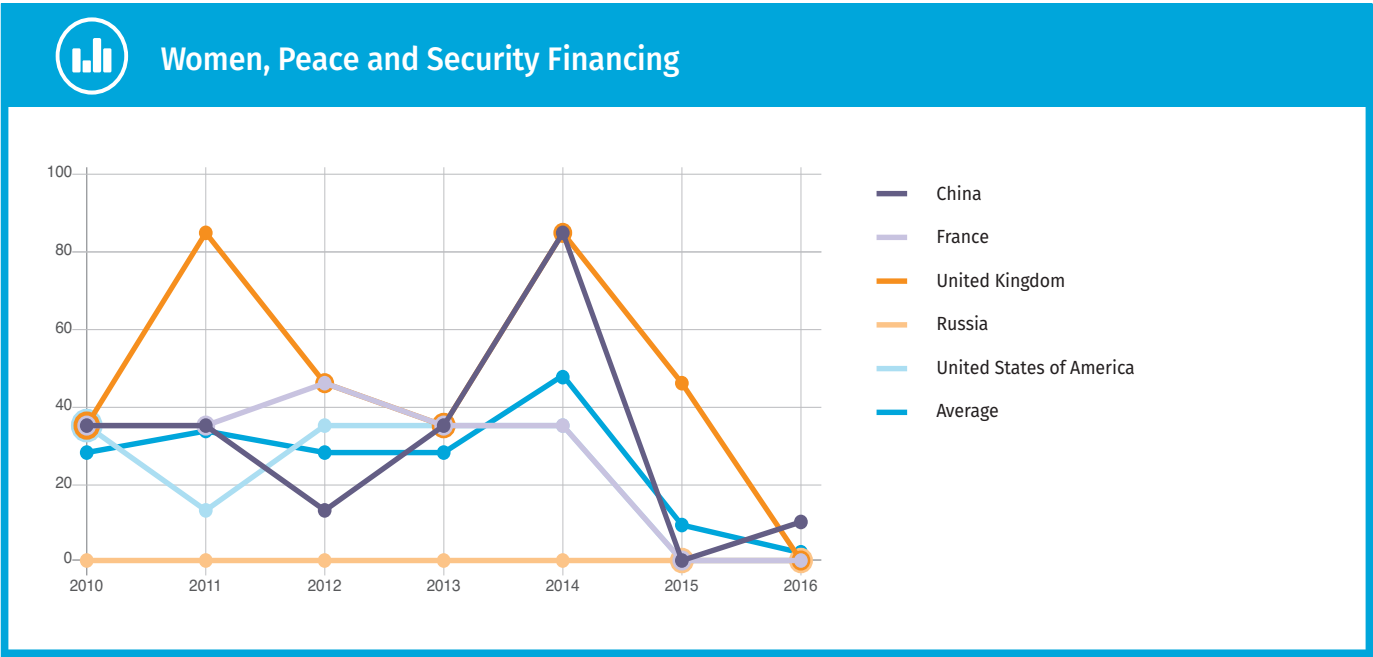
⁸ Of the 58 concrete Women, Peace and Security commitments made in 2015, less than half (24 statements or 41 per cent) were followed up on in 2016; furthermore, only 13 of 58 (22 per cent) of 2015 commitments were followed up holistically, while 11 of 58 (19 per cent) were followed up only partially.

⁹ Out of 7 draft Security Council resolutions vetoed by Russia, 5 concerned the situation in Syria and 3 contained gender-sensitive language.

China also used the veto frequently: 5 out of 9 draft resolutions, all addressing the situation in Syria. The United States used the veto once in 2012 to veto a draft resolution on the situation in the Middle East. France and the United Kingdom did not use the veto at all during the reporting period. Overuse of the veto by members of the Permanent Five is a demonstration of domineering masculine power which stalls crisis decision-making and has contributed to prolonging conflict and instability in countries such as Yemen, Syria and Ukraine, with particular impacts on women.

Women, Peace and Security Financing

In the period between 2010 and 2016, the Permanent Five increased their total arms transfer revenue by 15 per cent from \$17,815,000,000¹⁰ to \$20,962,000,000¹¹. At the same time, they increased their total contribution to UN Women more than three times during this period, from \$13,260,000¹² in 2010 to \$43,964,000¹³ in 2016. However, in



¹⁰ In 2010, the arms transfer revenue for the United States was \$8,098,000,000, for France \$898,000,000, for the United Kingdom \$1,151,000,000, for Russia \$6,172,000,000 and for China \$1,496,000,000. (Data provided by the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI))

¹¹ In 2016, the arms transfer revenue for the United States was \$9,894,000,000, for France \$2,226,000,000, for the United Kingdom \$1,393,000,000, for Russia \$5,483,000,000 and for China \$1,966,000,000. (Data provided by the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI))

¹² In 2010, the total UN Women budget contribution by the United States was \$6,000,000, by France \$20,000, by the United Kingdom \$7,200,000 and by China \$40,000. (Data provided by UN Women)

¹³ In 2016, the total UN Women budget contribution by the United States was \$14,899,000, by France \$1,719,000, by the United Kingdom \$25,316,000 and by China \$2,030,000. (Data provided by UN Women)

2016, UN Women was allocated only 0.2% (\$15.3 million) of the Regular Budget of the UN Secretariat as a whole¹⁴. Due to the extremely low baseline for investment in gender equality, this kind of incremental increases in funding for gender equality remains insufficient.

Overall, investing in gender equality continues to remain an embarrassingly low priority. The problem is not a lack of funding, but a failure to effectively use existing funding to promote human security based on women's lives and experiences. Only about 10 per cent of National Action Plans on Women, Peace and Security include dedicated budgets; only two percent of aid to peace and security for fragile states in 2012-2013 targeted gender equality; and Member States only limitedly and inconsistently have begun to integrate women's human rights and gender equality into national budgets. A global survey by AWID in 2015¹⁵ found 740 women's organisations worldwide in 2010 had a combined income of only \$106 million – less than the cost of one F-33 fighter plane (\$137 million). Several Permanent Five members, including the United States and United Kingdom, justify not allocating resources for Women, Peace and Security work on the grounds that they would discourage attempts to mainstream gender into all activities, making it difficult to track spending allocated to support women's rights and women's meaningful participation.

Limited funding for gender equality coupled with the ever-growing process of military profiteering, including from arms transfers, support unacceptable civilian tolls in conflict with specific impact on women. For example, according to the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), weapons from the Permanent Five are found in several focus areas under WILPF's review, including Nigeria, Iraq, Colombia and Lebanon, among others. Such arms proliferation contributes to exacerbation of violence, including sexual and gender-based violence¹⁶ across the

¹⁴ UN Women Draft Integrated Budget 2016-2017 (2017). Available: <http://www.unwomen.org/-/media/headquarters/attachments/sections/executive%20board/2015/ibs/eb-2015-ib2eb-draft-integratedbudget2016-2017-pdf-en.pdf?la=en&vs=3636>

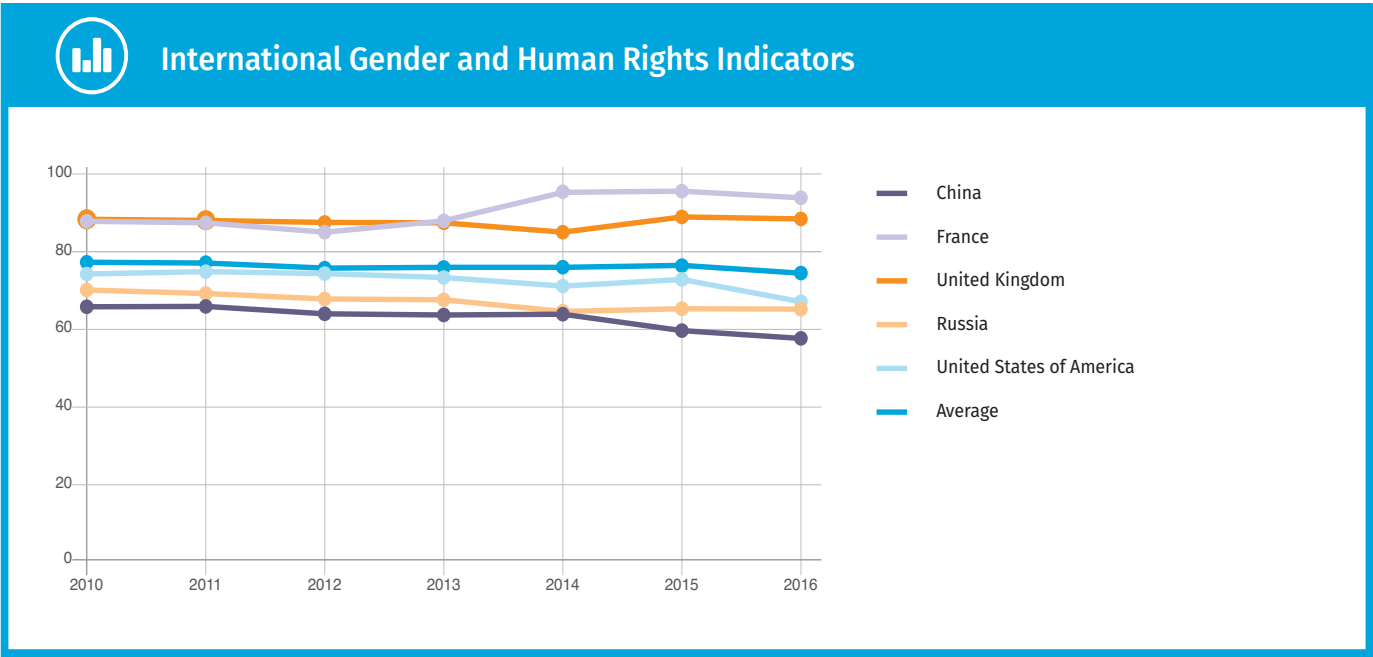
¹⁵ Women Moving Mountains: The Collective Impact of the Dutch MDG3 Fund (2013). Available: <https://www.awid.org/publications/women-moving-mountains-collective-impact-dutch-mdg3-fund>
equality, this kind of incremental increases in funding for gender equality remains insufficient.

¹⁶ Remote Warfare and Sexual Violence in Djibouti (2017). Available: http://wilpf.org/wilpf_statements/press-release-research-suggests-link-between-foreign-military-bases-and-sexual-violence-in-djibouti/

globe, with a specific impact on women. Moreover, the increasing normalisation of emergency response as the norm rather than the exception legitimises military solutions and supports gender inequality by reinforcing the idea that we live in a dangerous world where just warriors must use violence to protect beautiful souls, rather than building a world where citizen defenders are able to promote bottom-up democratic justice and human rights for long-term conflict prevention and peace.

International Gender and Human Rights Indicators

The position of the Permanent Five on different human rights rankings has historically been relatively high. In the 2010-2016 period, the Permanent Five ranked on average 38.4 in the Human Development Index (HDI): this ranged from the USA (6), France (18), UK (19) and Russia (56), which are categorised as countries of “very high human development”, to China (93), which is categorised as a country of “medium human development”. Gender equality rankings are similar overall, but not consistently related. Similarly, the Permanent Five are ranked relatively high in the Gender Inequality Index during the reporting period, with an average 37.2, ranging from France (13) and United Kingdom (33) to China (36), the United States (50) and Russia (54). The



United Kingdom¹⁷ and Russia¹⁸ have had small improvements in ranking over the period while France¹⁹ and the United States²⁰ have had small regressions, with China²¹ remaining relatively stable. As for the Global Gender Gap Index, the Permanent Five are ranked on average 42.6 during the reporting period, ranging from the United Kingdom (19), the United States (25), France (34) to Russia (61) and China (74). With the exception of France²², which has improved, gender gap rankings have generally declined in the reporting period²³. The position of the Permanent Five on international gender equality rankings is relatively low, which demonstrates that development does not guarantee gender equality. Further, gender gaps show little signs of abating at the current rate, and Nordic countries continue to lead on gender equality on a global scale.

On international treaties on gender and human rights, France leads the way, having ratified all major related instruments, with the United Kingdom²⁴ also demonstrating strong commitment to the principles of international law on women's rights. China²⁵ failed to sign or ratify four major agreements. Russia²⁶ failed to sign or ratify three. And the United States failed to sign or ratify seven major agreements. Key gaps include the Convention for the Suppression of the Trafficking in Persons and of the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others (the United Kingdom, the United States, China), the

¹⁷ The United Kingdom's ranking in the Gender Inequality Index has improved by 6 points in the period between 2010 (34) and 2016 (28). (Data Provided by the Human Development Index)

¹⁸ Russia's ranking in the Gender Inequality Index has improved by 7 points in the period between 2010 (59) and 2016 (52). (Data Provided by the Human Development Index)

¹⁹ France's ranking in the Gender Inequality Index has decreased by 9 points in the period between 2010 (10) and 2016 (19). (Data Provided by the Human Development Index)

²⁰ The United States' ranking in the Gender Inequality Index has decreased by 8 points in the period between 2010 (47) and 2016 (55). (Data Provided by the Human Development Index)

²¹ China's ranking in the Gender Inequality Index has decreased by 2 points in the period between 2010 (35) and 2016 (37). (Data Provided by the Human Development Index)

²² France's ranking in the Gender Gap Index has increased by 29 points in the period between 2010 (46) and 2016 (17).

²³ According to the Gender Gap Index, Russia's ranking has decreased by 30 points (from 45 to 75),

²⁴ The United Kingdom failed to sign and ratify the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress, and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children to The Convention Against Transnational Organised Crime.

²⁵ China has failed to ratify the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, and has neither signed nor ratified the Convention on Consent to Marriage, Minimum Age for Marriage and Registration of Marriages; the Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women; the Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and of the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others; and the Arms Trade Treaty.

²⁶ Russia has abstained from a vote during the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It has neither signed nor ratified the Convention on Consent to Marriage, Minimum Age for Marriage and Registration of Marriages and the Arms Trade Treaty.

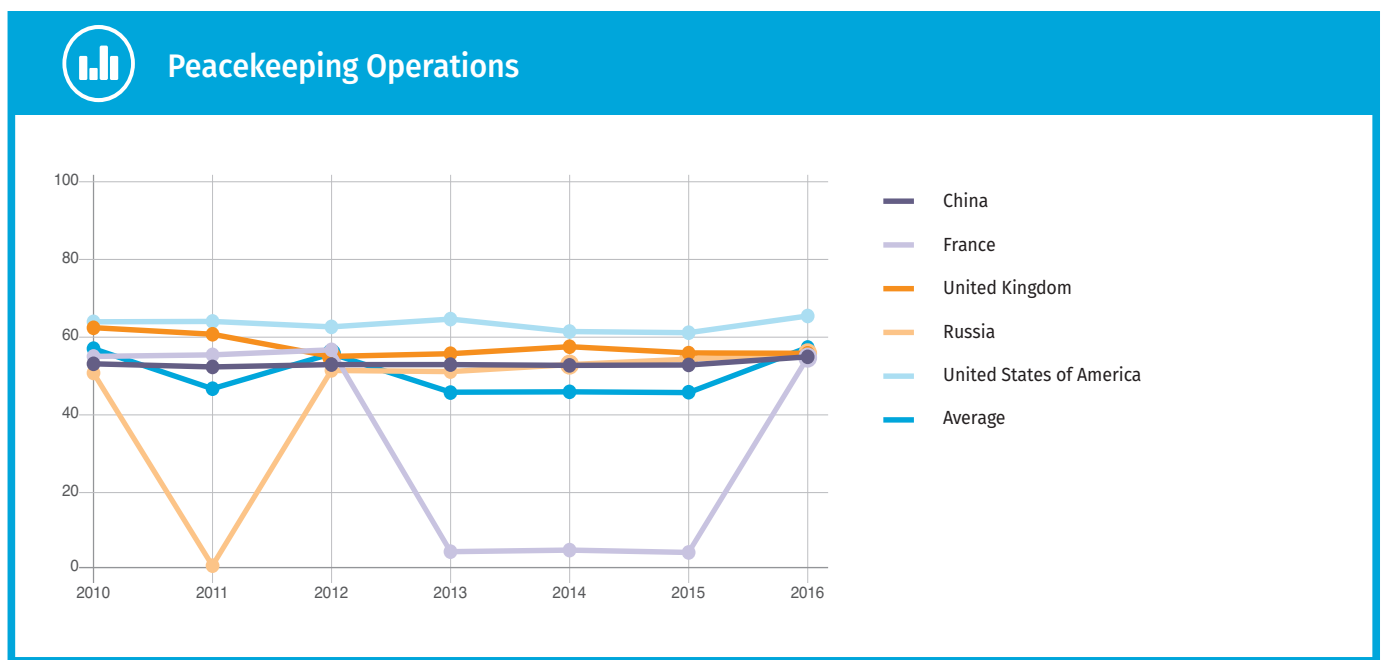
Convention on Consent to Marriage, Minimum Age for Marriage and Registration of Marriages (China, the United States and Russia), the Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (the United States, China), and the Arms Trade Treaty (China, the United States and Russia). Differential gaps on support demonstrate that Member States use international law in line with their political priorities rather holistically. For example, China ratified the Convention on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights but not the Convention on Civil and Political Rights; the United States took the reverse approach; and France, the United Kingdom and Russia ratified both. In addition, of the treaties supported, the United States²⁷ frequently chooses to sign rather than ratify treaties, while China is the only other member of the Permanent Five who has left a treaty at the signature level. Such failure to ratify treaties reduces opportunities for national implementation and international accountability. Finally, gaps in addressing structural barriers to gender equality and peace remain an ongoing challenge. Despite the Permanent Five being major contributors to the arms trade and strengthening of the military industrial complex, France and the United Kingdom are the only members of the Permanent Five to have ratified the Arms Trade Treaty (ATT), which prohibits the sale of arms if there is a risk that the weapons could be used to commit or facilitate serious violations of international humanitarian or human rights law. However, national action for all Permanent Five remains inadequate to assess the risk of arms on gender-based violence²⁸ in line with Article 7.4 of the ATT. Selective prioritisation and lack of leadership to address systemic violence restricts opportunities move beyond the status quo at the national and international levels.

²⁷ The United States has neither signed nor ratified the Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women and the Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and of the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others. It also has not ratified the Arms Trade Treaty; the Protocol Additional to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949, and Relating to the Protection of Victims of Non-International Armed Conflicts (Protocol II); the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women; the Convention on Consent to Marriage, Minimum Age for Marriage and Registration of Marriages; and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights.

²⁸ Explosive weapons and the right to health, education, and adequate housing (2016). Available: <http://www.reachingcriticalwill.org/resources/publications-and-research/publications/10914-explosive-weapons-and-the-right-to-health-education-and-adequate-housing>

Peacekeeping Operations

The number of women peacekeepers contributed by the Permanent Five remained consistently low between 2010 and 2016. This went from 4.28 per cent women peacekeepers in 2010 (194 women out of 4,529 peacekeepers) to 4.9 per cent in 2016 (206 women out of 4,210 peacekeepers). Insufficient progress was made by Russia, the United States and China, while the number of women peacekeepers in the United Kingdom and France dropped even lower. For example, the number of women peacekeepers in the United Kingdom decreased from 12.4 per cent in 2010 to 5.82 per cent in 2016. Despite new provisions in peacekeeping mandates, including in Libya²⁹, Afghanistan³⁰ and South Sudan³¹, calling for gender analysis and expertise in peace processes, this trend goes hand in hand with the increased militarisation of peacekeeping that was highlighted as a challenge by the 2015 Global Study on the Implementation of Resolution 1325³².



²⁹ Security Council Resolution Resolution 2376 (2017). Available: <http://www.peacewomen.org/security-council/resolution/united-nations-security-council-resolution-2376>

³⁰ Security Council Resolution Resolution 2274 (2016). Available: <http://www.peacewomen.org/security-council/resolution/security-council-resolution-2274>

³¹ Security Council Resolution Resolution 2327 (2016). Available: <http://peacewomen.org/security-council/resolution/security-council-resolution-2327-2016>

³² A Global Study on the Implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 (2015). Available: <http://peacewomen.org/security-council/2015-high-level-review-global-study>

As the Permanent Five support peace operations on the ground, they have a specific responsibility under the UN's zero-tolerance policy for sexual exploitation and abuse. However, until recently, little data has even been available to recognise challenges on this issue. Official data on sexual exploitation and abuse became available in 2015. Available data indicates that of the 550 allegations by civilians during the reporting period, 17 involved peacekeepers from the Permanent Five. Fifteen allegations were made against French peacekeepers throughout the reporting period, and two were brought up against Russian peacekeepers in 2011. Given the difficulty of reporting sexual exploitation and abuse, ensuring that action goes beyond zero-tolerance policies and toward effective accountability and prevention frameworks require further action on behalf of the Permanent Five at the Security Council. The United Kingdom has taken the lead on these issues with its Preventing Sexual Violence Initiative³³. However, effective mechanisms to prevent and address sexual exploitation and abuse and to ensure gender parity, justice and services in peacekeeping remain issues requiring further action.

³³ Preventing Sexual Violence Initiative (2017). Available: <https://www.gov.uk/government/organisations/preventing-sexual-violence-initiative>

National Action

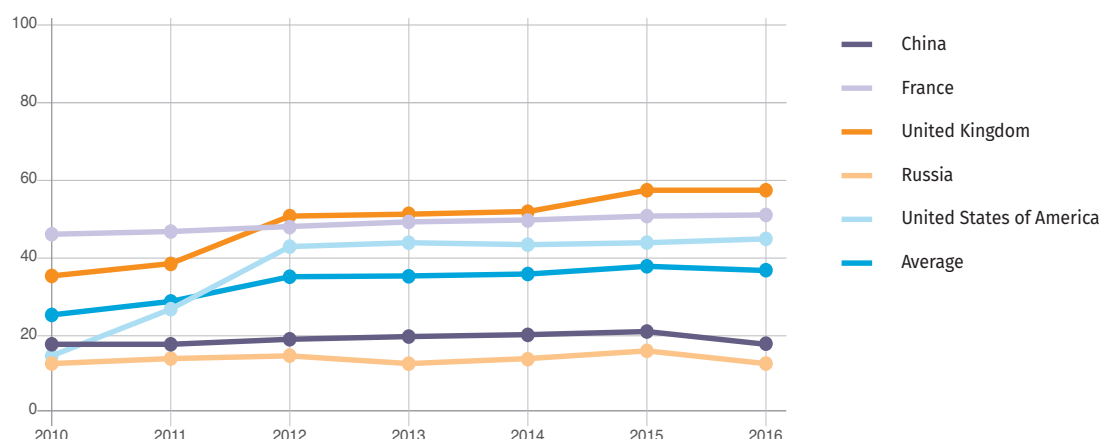
Although national action on Resolution 1325 tends to be focused internally for developing states and focused externally for developed states, the Permanent Five have opportunities to strengthen implementation of the Women, Peace and Security Agenda through national action with both domestic and international components. Opportunities include enhancing **Conflict Prevention**, including by supporting feminist movements and gender equality programmes while curbing military expenditure; overcoming obstacles to women's **Participation**, including by building political and economic leadership and providing access to education; ensuring women's **Protection**, including through full and effective access to justice, social services and legal frameworks; and providing non-discriminatory **Recovery Support**, including through dedicated programmes and services for women refugees, veterans and survivors of sexual violence and human trafficking. Despite these opportunities, structural obstacles continue to limit change that is meaningful to women's lives. Women's participation continues to be substantially lower than parity. Militarised, masculine frameworks continue to prioritise programmes and services based on assumptions of women's vulnerability and men's strength, failing to address women-specific needs and experiences, including around political participation, livelihood and justice. This narrows the scope of action and misses opportunities for strengthening women's agency and leadership.

Prevention

The Permanent Five are the top military spenders in the world, which directly undermines conflict prevention through support of arms proliferation and violence. On average, more than 40 per cent of the budgets for every member of the Permanent Five was used for military spending during the reporting period. The total military spending by Permanent Five members increased by 4 per cent, going from \$992,466,000,000 in



Prevention



in 2010³⁴ to \$1,033,530,000,000³⁵ in 2016³⁶. This is consistent with a broader trend recognised by the 2015 Global Study on the Implementation of Resolution 1325³⁷ regarding the increase in the global military spending worldwide between 2000 and 2015. This also demonstrates poor and unsustainable spending choices which prioritise militarised crisis response over long-term conflict prevention. Military spending reduces funding available for gender equitable social development while also directly contributing to arms proliferation and exacerbation of violence³⁸, with particular impact on women.

Broader action on prevention action is limitedly and inconsistently implemented. National Action Plans on Women, Peace and Security provide one important mechanism for localising relevant commitments, including on prevention. However, prevention remains the key gap pillar. Of the Permanent Five, the United Kingdom,

³⁴ In 2010, the military expenditure of the United States was \$698,180,000,000, of France \$61,782,000,000, of the United Kingdom \$58,083,000,000, of Russia \$58,720,000,000 and of China \$115,701,000,000. (Data provided by the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI))

³⁵ In 2016, the military expenditure of the United States was \$611,000,000,000, of France \$55,730,000,000, of the United Kingdom \$46,600,000,000, of Russia \$69,200,000,000 and of China \$215,000,000,000. (Data provided by the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI))

³⁶ It should be noted that the United States, the United Kingdom and France have decreased their military expenditures, while the military spendings by Russia and China has increased between 2010 and 2016.

³⁷ A Global Study on the Implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 (2015). Available: <http://peacewomen.org/security-council/2015-high-level-review-global-study>

³⁸ Remote Warfare and Sexual Violence in Djibouti (2017). Available: http://wilpf.org/wilpf_statements/press-release-research-suggests-link-between-foreign-military-bases-and-sexual-violence-in-djibouti/

the United States and France have adopted National Action Plans, while China and Russia resorted to more general gender-specific programmes. The United Kingdom's National Action Plan commits the government to ensuring women play a key role in action to control the use of illicit small arms and light weapons, while the National Actions Plans of the United States and France simply recognise the distinct needs of women in security sector and disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration processes. Beyond this, the National Actions Plans of the United Kingdom, the United States and France are predominantly externally-oriented, without recognising the need to address the situation of women within national boundaries; and none have allocated budgets. While China and Russia do not have National Action Plans on Women, Peace and Security by this name, they have developed alternative gender strategies: China has developed a National Programme for Women's Development (2011-2020), while Russia has developed a National Strategy for Action for Women (2017-2022). In contrast to the National Actions Plans of the United States, the United Kingdom and France, Russia's and China's national plans focus limitedly on increasing women's participation in political life and the decision-making process; improving their economic situation, including promoting entrepreneurship for women; creating conditions conducive to better women's health, without addressing issues of militarism and violence. Gender training for security and law enforcement personnel is important because it creates security and justice institutions that can be more representative, accountable, rights-respecting and responsive to the specific security and justice needs of women, men, boys and girls. Such training is provided by the United Kingdom, France and the United States, while the action is missing in Russia³⁹ and China. For the United Kingdom, France and the United States, further action is needed to address gaps in training, lack of gender parity among trainers and trainees, absence of engagement with women's organisations in the security sector and absence of monitoring

³⁹ The Russian police do not receive domestic violence training and are reluctant to respond to or register domestic violence complaints. They tend to view such violence as "a private matter pertaining to the sphere of marital and familial relationships or as a personal problem of the affected woman". Violence Against Women in the Russian Federation (2016). Available: http://www.stopvaw.org/russian_federation#_ednref50

of law enforcement performance. The absence of gender-sensitive training in Russia and China makes it challenging for them to properly respond to the needs of both women in law enforcement and during the interactions with civilians. Finally, the United Kingdom, France and the United States have taken steps to improve engagement with women civil society during the reporting period, including by providing financial support, supporting collaborative projects and taking action on civil society recommendations. However, national security and anti-terrorism initiatives have restricted civil space, with disproportionate impact on women civil society⁴⁰; financial support for women's organisations remains inadequate; and joint initiatives and civil society influence on governmental action requires continued improvement. Meanwhile, the situation with women civil society in Russia and China remains even more challenging. Both Russia and China have engaged in some joint projects for women's rights and provided financial support for civil society. However, collaborative projects and civil society funding remains low, and neither support specifically women peace activists. Furthermore, women human rights defenders in these countries face high levels of risks, including possible detention, criminal charges and restrictive regulations that undermine their independence. For example, between 2012 and 2015, the number of civil society groups in Russia decreased by 33 per cent due to strengthening regulations restricting action and funding for their work and persecuting activists.

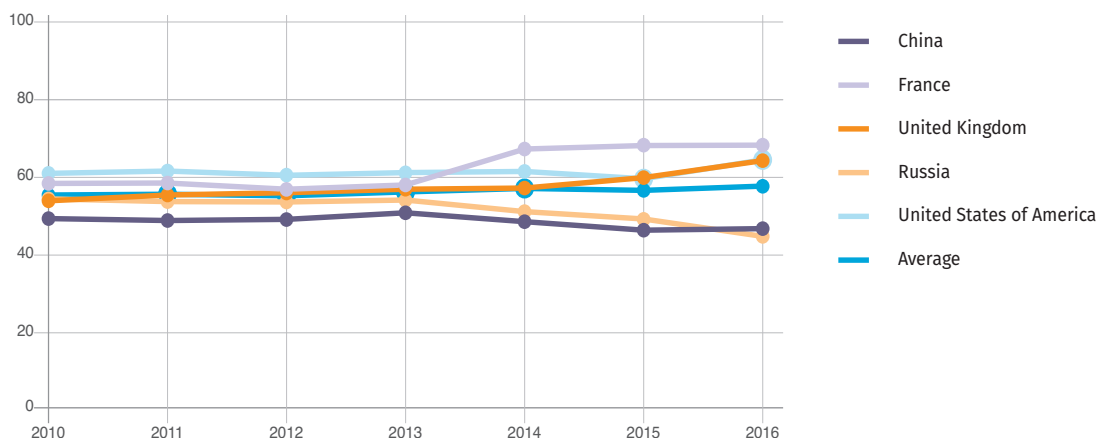
Participation

The number of women in parliaments, judiciary and ministerial positions has increased for all members of the Permanent Five during the reporting period. Women in parliament have increased on average from 17.37 per cent in 2010 to 22.37 per cent in 2016, with China, France and the United Kingdom currently leading between 23 and 27 percent. Women in ministerial positions have increased on average from 21 per cent in 2010 to 26.8 per cent in 2016, with France currently leading and achieving

⁴⁰ Tightening the Purse Strings: What Countering Terrorism Financing Costs Gender Equality and Security (2017). Available: <https://law.duke.edu/humanrights/tighteningthepursestrings/>



Participation



parity at 50 per cent. Women in the judiciary have also increased on average from 38.35 per cent in 2010 to 43.08 per cent in 2016, with France and Russia currently leading at 64 per cent and 62.2 per cent respectively. Meanwhile, in 2016, Russia had only 7 per cent of women in the ministerial positions and 14.9 per cent of women in Parliament, while the United Kingdom had 28 per cent of women in the judiciary.

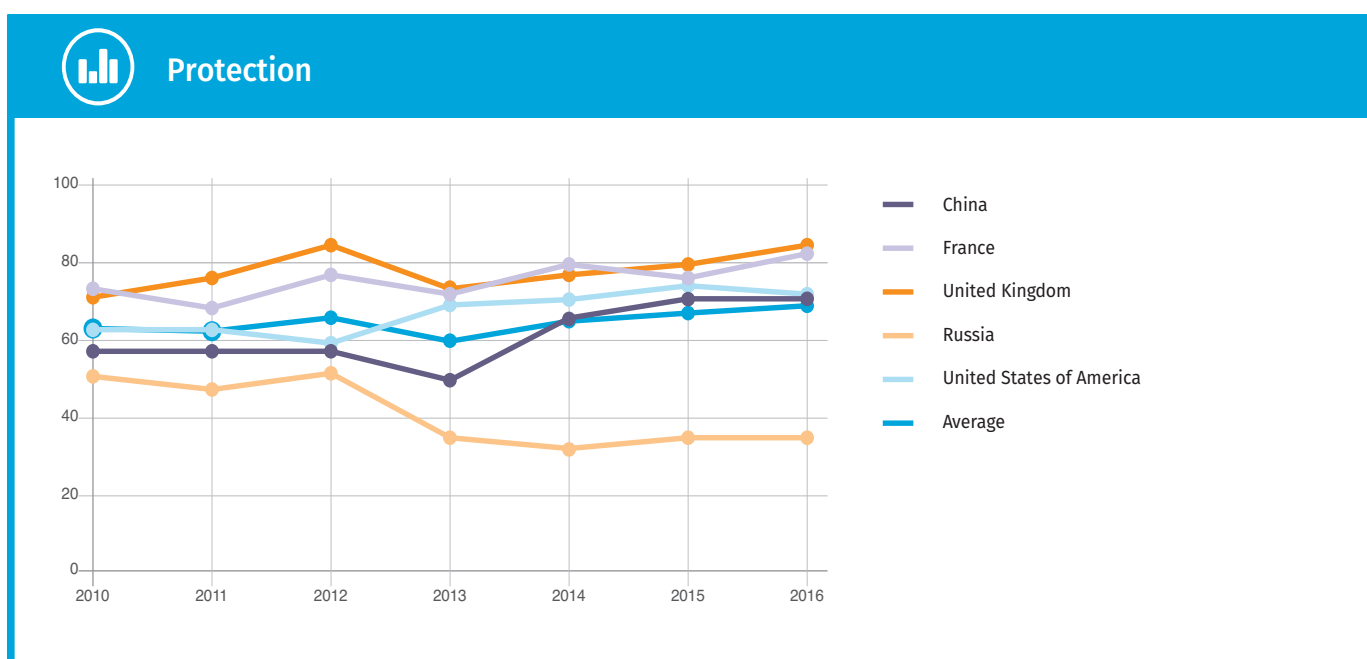
Despite some progress on women's political participation, progress is incremental and not guaranteed. In the period between 2010 and 2016, women law enforcement agents remained close to the average of 21.52 per cent: in 2016, this ranged from 14.9 per cent in China to 28.5 per cent in the United Kingdom⁴¹. Women's participation in the labour force on average has also remained stagnant. In the period between 2010 and 2016, an average of 68.4 per cent of women were in the labour force among the Permanent Five: in 2016, this ranged from 66 per cent of women in the United States to 67 per cent in France, to 68 per cent in Russia, to 70 per cent in China and to 71 per cent in the United Kingdom. In comparison, men's participation

⁴¹ In the United States, the number of women in law enforcement has decreased from 26.7 per cent in 2010 to 26.3 per cent in 2016. In the United Kingdom, the number of women in law enforcement has increased from 25.7 per cent to 28.5 per cent in 2016. In China and France, the number of women in law enforcement remains stagnant (14.9 per cent and 19.9 per cent respectively). In 2011, Russia had 20 per cent of women in law enforcement; however, according to Federal Law # 342-F3 of 2011, such data is no longer publically available.

in the labour force is 79.4 per cent on average, ranging from 75 per cent in France, 77 per cent in the United States, 79 per cent in Russia, 82 per cent in the United Kingdom and 84 per cent in China, with women's participation averaging 11 per cent less overall. At the same time, salary gaps between women also continue across the board: in 2016, women's average salary ranged from 53.7 per cent of men's average salary in the United Kingdom to 62 per cent of men's average salary in China⁴². Gaps on women's political participation demonstrate continued challenges to realising women's human rights and also limit opportunities for gender analysis and holistic action.

Protection

Protection efforts by the Permanent Five have remained relatively flat around the reporting period. Although most have improved, Russia has worsened over time, due to the legal challenges in addressing domestic violence and its inability to comply with the standards for human trafficking prevention and protection. On one hand,



⁴² On average, the difference between the estimated earned income of men and women is \$11,462 among the Permanent Five in 2016, with the biggest gap noted in the United Kingdom (Women: \$28,237 and Men: \$39,700) and the smallest gap in China (Women: \$10,049 and Men: \$16,177). As of 2016, in the United States, women earn on average \$43,122, while men earn \$66,338; in Russia, women earn on average \$17,496, while men earn \$29,321; in France, women earn on average \$33,148, while men earn \$45,845. (Data provided by the Gender Gap Index)

gender perspectives in national legal frameworks have remained relatively stable: all members of the Permanent Five ensure women and men their right to vote, equality in civil and business matters, and access to education. Furthermore, by 2016, all the Permanent Five, with the exception of Russia, fully or partially complied with the minimum standards for the elimination of trafficking⁴³. This includes: the existence of national action plans to combat trafficking, the presence of a coordinating authority for anti-trafficking efforts and funding in the federal and local budgets for trafficking prevention and victim protection, a systematic process for the identification of victims or their referral to care and prosecution of those accountable for relevant crimes.

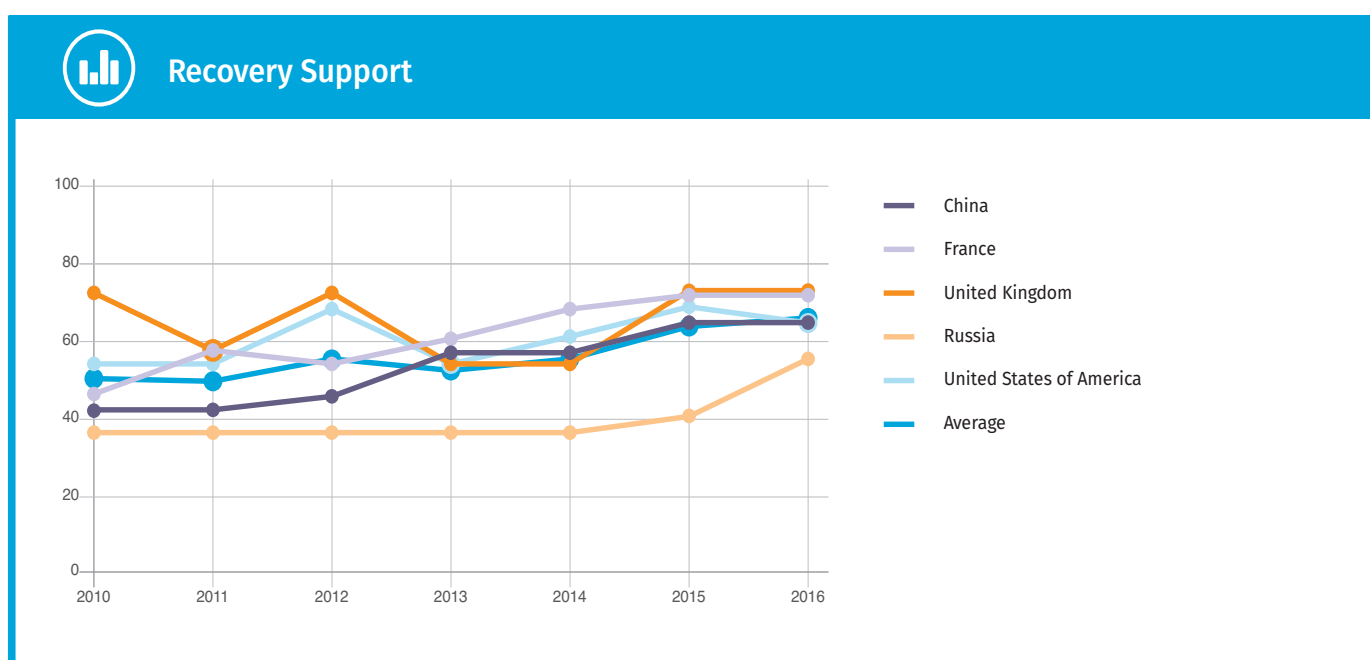
Challenges still remain for every member of the Permanent Five, including when it comes to the protection from sexual violence and women's access to justice. These gaps are particularly visible in Russia and China, as they provide less gender-specific protection in their legislations. In particular, little and inconsistent progress was made while developing and financing reporting mechanisms for sexual and domestic violence. On one hand, China increased the number of shelters and psychological services for women and set up 110 anti-domestic violence call centres in most provinces since 2013. On the other, in 2016, Russia began deliberating a law decriminalising domestic violence. Furthermore, while all Permanent Five members have provided equal access to dispute systems and legal representation, access to courts and judiciary and participation in victim protection programs across the reporting period, there are gaps that remain. In particular, China and Russia do not ensure that access to justice is an affordable and safe practice for women to demand accountability; and Russia does not have gender units within justice institutions. Within the context of systemic patriarchal obstacles and imbalanced gender roles, lack of effective and gender-specific protection efforts place women under a greater threat to become victims of violence.

Recovery Support

On relief and recovery issues, significant improvement has occurred on programmes

⁴³ China only partially complies with the minimum standards for the elimination of trafficking.

and services for survivors of sexual violence and trafficking, including for women veterans among all members of the Permanent Five. Veteran services improved for the Permanent Five, with a growing number of women veterans affairs' offices in urban and rural areas, economic benefits (i.e. disability and housing), health benefits (i.e. free veterans health insurance, gender-sensitive psychological care), educational benefits and employment services. However, gender-specific considerations require substantial strengthening for all Permanent Five to address women's experiences as veterans. This includes supporting women when they are sole family caregivers and ensuring gender-specific services including for homeless and rural women veterans.



The efforts by the Permanent Five to respond to the needs of victims of violence and human trafficking have also improved during the reporting period, with all members of the Permanent Five providing required national crisis hotlines and women's shelters, and delivering a human trafficking hotline, basic necessities and health services for its victims⁴⁴. Additional protections have been introduced

⁴⁴ For example, the United Kingdom has adopted the Modern Slavery Act 2015, which requires some commercial organisations to prepare annual statements outlining steps the organisation has taken to ensure human trafficking is not taking place in their supply chain. In June 2014, a Federation Council Deputy of Russia has submitted a bill to significantly increase the penalties for inducement to prostitution, organisation of brothels, and advertisement of sexual services. In 2013, China has adopted the Action Plan on Combating Trafficking in Persons (2013–2020), which outlines strategies and procedures for combating human trafficking and providing services and protections to victims.

by all members of the Permanent Five during the reporting period. However, service quality, resource provision and service, as well as geographic availability based on national demand and the functionality of national mechanisms, still require continued further strengthening to ensure they are effective for women. Finally, the Permanent Five have been unable to respond effectively to the current refugee crisis. Between 2010 and 2016, the number of refugees in the Permanent Five increased by 29.8 per cent, from 1,010,582 in 2010 to 1,439,402 in 2016, with the number of approved asylum cases also increasing⁴⁵ with an exception of China, where acceptance rates remain generally the same (about 57 per cent). The extent of the crisis has overwhelmed existing response mechanisms and raised xenophobia and anti-refugee sentiments. For example, the United Kingdom adopted new refugee policies, which introduced sanctions on undocumented immigrants to incentivise their departure; and Russia⁴⁶ and China⁴⁷ significantly limited access of refugees to their homelands. While the United States and France maintained their existing policies, these did not compensate for the substantial increase in the number of refugee applications. For example, refugee applications submitted to the United States increased from 2010 (73,293 claims) to 2016 (96,874 claims)⁴⁸, which influenced a significant backlog in the process that restricts refugees' abilities to access their legal rights, including their access to legal personality, access to education and freedom of movement. The current refugee crisis creates specific challenges for women. Civil society has raised concerns that immigration and border services can have a "culture of disbelief" toward violence against women despite staff guidelines, which can make women less likely to receive correct decisions on asylum claims. Other concerns address the lack of gender durable solutions, including around lack of separate living spaces, standard

⁴⁵ In the United Kingdom, the number of approved asylum cases has increased from 2,988 in 2010 to 8,234 in 2015. In France, the number of approved asylum cases has increased from 10,401 in 2010 to 19,506 in 2015. In the United States, the number of approved asylum cases has increased from 21,113 in 2010 to 26,124 in 2015. In Russia, the percentage of approved asylum cases has increased from 50 per cent to 57 per cent.

⁴⁶ Since 2011, Russia has not offered one resettlement place for Syrian refugees, and Russian officials have claimed that receiving Syrian refugees is "not on the agenda".

⁴⁷ Although China ratified the UN Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees in 1982, the country still lacks related national institutions. It was only in 2012 that China adopted a revised Entry-Exit Administration Law that allows public security authorities to issue identity certificates to refugees and refugee status applicants.

⁴⁸ Refugees and Asylees (2017). Available: <https://www.dhs.gov/immigration-statistics/refugees-asylees>

processes to identify and support survivors of violence, comprehensive sexuality and reproductive services and psychosocial support, policies and procedures supporting asylum claims based on gender-based persecution and coordinated family reunification efforts. Further action is necessary to ensure dedicated programmes for refugees, asylum seekers and internally-displaced populations that address women's lives.

What Can the Permanent Five Do?

Over the last 16 years, the Security Council, with a significant support and commitment from the Permanent Five, has formed a strong foundation for the Women, Peace and Security Agenda. However, implementation remains inconsistent, including among the Permanent Five, who continue to support militarisation of societies by being some of the top contributors to the global arms trade and who fail to consistently recognise and support women's meaningful participation and gender power analysis as fundamental to achieving feminist peace and gender justice.

The Security Council Scorecard on Women, Peace and Security demonstrates that ensuring holistic implementation of the Women, Peace and Security Agenda requires accelerated action on prevention, women's meaningful participation, political economies of peace, disarmament towards non-violence, equality and feminist peace. To address these key gaps, the Permanent Five should:

1. Prioritise **political economies of gender justice and peace** over militarism and war.

2. Defend **women's meaningful participation**, including for women civil society in peace processes.

3. Recognise **women's agency** in conflict prevention through reconstruction processes rather than categorising women primarily as victims.

4. Reorient peace work around **local women's experiences** and voices for justice and rights.

5. Ensure consistent **conflict analysis that recognises gendered power** and takes action toward equality and non-violence.

6. Strengthen **gender-sensitive and sex-disaggregated data collection**, analysis and dissemination.

7. Develop and implement National and Regional Action Plans on Women, Peace and Security with **sustained, allocated funding**.

The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) is a worldwide non-governmental organisation (NGO) with national sections covering every continent, an International Secretariat based in Geneva, and an office in New York focused on the work of the United Nations (UN).

Since our establishment, we have brought together women from around the world who are united in working for peace. Our approach is always non-violent, and we use existing international legal and political frameworks to achieve fundamental change in the way states conceptualise and address issues of gender, militarism, peace and security.



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