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Gendered Peace:

The Problematique of Gender Analyses in Peace Research

© Hans Günter Brauch,

Chairman, Peace Re-search and European Security Studies (AFES-PRESS)
Editor, Hexagon Series on Human, Environmental Security and Peace

Security in Peace Research and Security Studies Deficits on Gender Issues?



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1. Introduction

- In **Covenant of League of Nations (1919) & United Nations Charter (1945)**, 'international peace and security' are key goals of collective security.
- Security has been **contextualized** in the context of a **conceptual quartet** & six dyadic conceptual relationships between four research programmes of
 - i) **peace research or peace studies**,
 - ii) **security, strategic or war studies** as well as
 - iii) development and
 - iv) environmental studies
- **Security concept** has been reconceptualised globally since 1990 due to
 - end of the Cold War in 1989
 - the process of globalization and
 - the impacts due to Global Environmental Change.
- **This has resulted in a**
 - **widening** from the narrow military and political dimensions to economic, societal and environmental dimensions;
 - **deepening** from the 'state-centred' to 'human centred' concepts of human security;
 - **sectorialization** to energy, food, water, health, soil, livelihood, climate security concepts that are used to upgrade the urgency of their activities or fields.

1.1. Research Questions

- How has the security concept evolved in both schools during the 20th century and how was it reconceptualized since 1990?
- Was the gender dimension of security addressed by both programmes and by major schools of thought?
- Has UNSC Res. 1325 contributed to an agenda setting of the gender dimension of peace & security in national governments and international organizations?
- How was UNSC Res.1325 implemented by governments and international organizations (2000-2010)?
- Has UNSC Res. 1325 contributed to a scientific mainstreaming of gender issues in the analysis of peace and security in both scientific programmes?

2. Three Traditions of International Relations

Three intellectual traditions on IR co-exist:

- the *Hobbesian* or *Machiavellian realist* with a primary focus on power politics and on military strategy;
- the *Kantian idealist* focusing on internat. law & human rights;
- the *Grotian rationalist* pursuing co-operation.

- While in the early years of IR legal perspectives in the Wilsonian tradition prevailed in the UK and US,
- Since 1945 US scholars dominated IR thinking.
- Three ideal type traditions and five fundamental debates affected the research in
 - Kantian & Grotian: peace and conflict research
 - Hobbesian & Grotian: security, strategic, and war studies.

2.1. Peace and Conflict Research

- In Cold War, PR focused both on East-West conflict, underdevelopment and North-South relations and offered alternative expertise for social movements.
- **In most PR studies a narrow security concept prevailed focusing on political & military security dimension.**
- **During the 1980's**, critical peace researchers acted as alternative experts for
 - political parties, social movements and the media,
 - thus contributing to a conceptual debate that mobilized millions of people in Europe against the deployment of new nuclear weapons and missiles, but also for disarmament and human rights.
- Since 1990's many peace researchers have shifted to a *widened/ deepened security concept*, especially to **societal, environmental & human security issues**
- **Thus, many contributed to the debates on human, environmental and gender security**

2.2. Security, Strategic, War Studies

- **International & national security, strategic, war studies: research programmes in realist or Hobbesian tradition.**
- Security or strategic studies emerged in the US, dealt with **military affairs**.
- US global military role created a **need of the national security, military, and intelligence community for policy advice**, but also a political interest in an intensive national debate to sustain high military expenditures.
- In **1950's/1960's**, security studies contributed to development of doctrines & theories of nuclear deterrence, focused on arms control, strategic decision-making, alliance policy, counterinsurgency, economics of defence.
- In the **1970's** area studies, arms race theory, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and advanced technology, and intelligence were added.
- Since **1960's** security studies became an academic undertaking distinct from think tanks. Research programmes were set up and in **1970's** sections on international security studies were formed in ISA and APSA.
- Main security st. institution: *International Institute of Strategic Studies* (1958)
- **Gender issues no role in security, strategic studies**
- **Feminist Perspectives on security since 1990s**
- **'critical security studies' in US, Canada, UK: gender focus**

3. Security Concepts in Security Studies

- ‘**international peace & security**’ in UN Charter (1945),
- ‘**national security**’ in US National Security Act (1947).
- During Cold War (1947-1989), for realists ‘national security’ focused on the **state as referent object** in the political debate and in the **research on ‘security studies’**.
- **Arnold Wolfers** shift from a welfare to a national security interpretation of ‘national interest’ to national security.
- Wolfers defined “**security, in an objective sense, measures the absence of threats to acquired values, in a subjective sense, the absence of fear that such values will be attacked**”.
- Security dangers cannot be measured objectively but is the result of subjective evaluation and speculation.

3.1. Copenhagen School of Security Studies

- **Buzan (1983):** prevailing use of concept is weakly developed as to be inadequate to the task, an underdeveloped concept 'ambiguous' and 'contested'
- His referent objects **individuals, states, international system. Individual security** is seen as a social problem ('**social security**') with the state as a protector & source of threat.
- **He pleaded for a holistic view of security that discusses national security in relation to the individual, the state, and the international system.**
- **Buzan, Wæver, de Wilde (1998):** state-centred traditionalists vs. widening (different referent objects & dimensions),
- **Copenhagen school** for widening & deepening
- Key innovation is **Wæver's theory of securitization** as an intersubjective process that is socially constructed.
- Traditional referent object of security: **state & people** who may be threatened by another or their state.

3.2. School of Critical Security Studies

- For **Ken Booth (1995)** “the enemy is us, Western consumerist democracy ... is the problem. ... security studies at the end of the twentieth century seem disaggregated.”
- With widening & deepening security studies have changed, “neo-realism is no longer dominant,” & “the state is no longer the only actor, less privileged.”
- Booth distinguished between *traditional security studies* that adhered to the state as key referent object, while the *non-traditional literature on alternative defence and common security; Third World security school, Copenhagen school, constructivist, critical, feminist, poststructural security studies*
- **R. Wyn Jones (1999)** emancipation paradigm for security theory practice & argued that with end of Cold War the old concepts/theories “lost whatever limited relevance they once enjoyed”.
- **Security analysts should make “individual human beings the ultimate referents” as “a prerequisite for bringing about comprehensive security”**. ... for those who are made insecure by prevailing order, and their purpose must be to aid their emancipation.”

3.3. Booth: Critical Security Studies

- **Ken Booth (2005)** called for a bottom-up critique of orthodoxy in security studies & rethinking of the security debate after 9/11. Ideas of mainstream realism during the Cold War: “derived from a combination of Anglo-American, statist, militarized, **masculinized**, top-down, the experiences and memories of inter-war years, WW II & perceived necessities of the Cold War.
- **In *Theory of World Security*, Booth (2007: 71) introduced gender as a category of analysis**
 - security has been one area where feminist empirical work was minimal for a long time, and is still in short supply. ... Those feminists working in security studies have thought to de-naturalize the dominant framework of patriarchal assumptions, explanations, understandings, and prescriptions; the latter have all been attacked as gendered. ...
 - Feminist theorists remain a beleaguered group within IR. They are criticized ... for not understanding ‘the real world’, for their middle-class bias; for generalizing from a distinctly ‘Western’ position; for overgeneralizing;
 - for overlooking other referents (notably men); for dwelling on victimhood; for not ‘doing’ theory properly; and for a reductive concern with gender. ... Many of the concerns at the heart of feminist scholarship converge directly with those central to a critical theory of world security.

4. Security Concepts in Peace Research

- **Key goal of peace research community** → ‘peace’ concept. **Galtung** distinguished between ‘positive’ and ‘negative’ peace where ‘negative peace’ focused on wars, conflicts, armaments, arms control & security
- While ‘security’ affects both positive & negative peace, it was discussed by those working on military & state-centred security issues in Cold War.
- **Gert Krell (1981)** offered a first analysis of “concept of security”. For him
 - “security means first **absence of danger and protection against danger**, or ... the presence of desired values.”
 - He also noted **individual non-military dimensions of security**: globalization & interdependence, & observed new developments for security policy, such as resource scarcity, interdependence among actors and issues, new patterns of military, political and economic conflict; a reduced utility of the military instrument in the pursuit of security goals, an increase in complexity of decision-making, and unprecedented problems of adjustment and global responsibility.
- **IPRA conference in 1990** focused on “**Reconceptualizing Security**”
Randall Forsberg, Lothar Brock, Patricia Mische & Úrsula Oswald.
- They pre-empted the debate between narrow security concept and a widened, deepened, & extended security concept that has been in the centre of the debate since the early 1990’s.

5. New Post Cold War Conceptual Disputes and Efforts for an Integration of Critical Approaches

Innovations were evolving before 1989-1991 suggesting:

- A peace and security policy ‘beyond deterrence’;
- a *widening* of the agenda (of what and for whom?) of US national security during the 1980’s;
- a *broadening* of the scope from ‘national’ to ‘common’, ‘mutual’, and ‘comprehensive’ security;
- a *deepening* of the concept of security from ‘national’ to ‘international’, ‘global’ and ‘world’ security;
- a *sectorialization* of security from national and international to ‘ecological’, environmental security and
- an *alternative focus and goal* from an offensive towards ‘alternative security’ since the late 1970’s;

5.1. Reconceptualizing of Security

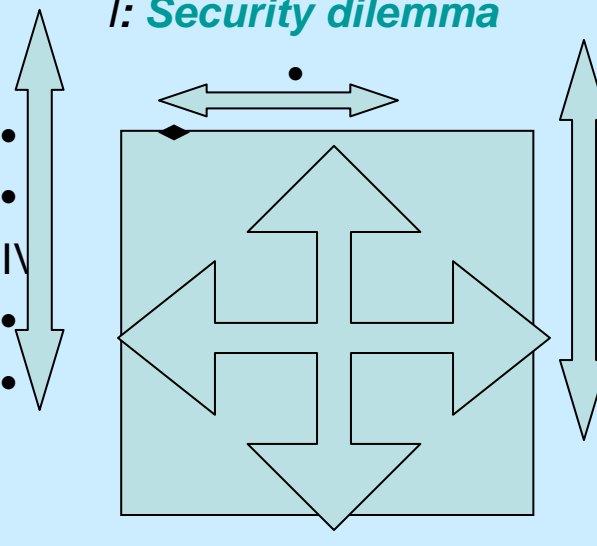
- **Since 1990, contextual change triggered several additional conceptual innovations suggesting:**
 - a **widening of the scope** (*of what*) to five dimensions’;
 - a **deepening** of actors, referent objects (individuals, humankind)
 - a **reorientation** from a ‘**state-centred**’ to a ‘**people’s-centred**’ approach by UNDP, UNESCO, Commission on Human Security;
 - a **further development of people-centred human security concepts** from human to gender security & to a combined concept of human, gender, and environmental security;
 - a **sectorialization of security** as energy, food, water, health sec.;
 - a **shift** from a ‘national’ to a ‘post-national constellation’;
 - a **diversification** of the theoretical approaches within international relations and security studies from positivism to constructivism, and post-modern, postpositivist, post structuralist, **feminist, critical security studies**;

5.2. My Conceptual Proposals

- a critical *reflection* and deeper understanding on the concept of security, its etymological and historical evolution, and contemporary use in different cultures and religions in all parts of the world and not only in Europe, North America, and in the OECD world;
- a *progressive integration* of the components of a new critical theory of security, including a deepening of the actor and referent objects, a widening of the sectors, dimensions, and fields;
- an *internationalization* of the new thinking on security by overcoming its Northern (European, North American) focus and Western theoretical resource base.

6. Towards a Conceptual Quartet: Peace, Security, Development and Environment

• Pillars & linkage concepts within the quartet

IR research programs	Conceptual Quartet	Conceptual Linkages
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Peace Research ▪ Security Studies ▪ Development Studies ▪ Environment Studies <p>4 conceptual pillars</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ I: <i>Security dilemma</i> ▪ II: <i>Survival dilemma</i> ▪ III: <i>Sust. developm.</i> ▪ IV: <i>Sustain. Peace</i> <p style="text-align: center;">IPRA</p>	<div style="text-align: center;"> <p>Peace Security</p> <p>I: <i>Security dilemma</i></p>  <p>Developm. Environm.</p> <p>III: <i>Sustainable development</i></p> </div>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Policy use of concepts & Theoretical debates on six dyadic linkages • L1: Peace & security • L 2: Peace & development • L 3: Peace & environment • L 4: Devel. & security • L 5: Devel. & environment • L 6: Security & environm. <p>[six chapters reviewing & assessing the debates]</p>

7. Deficits on Gender Issues

- **Which role has “gender” and have “gender concerns” as an objective of scientific analysis and reflection played in peace and conflict research and in security, strategic and war studies and most particularly in the debate on the reconceptualization of security since 1990?**
 - There are various feminist approaches to the study of security problems and issues (**Terriff/Croft/James/Morgan 1999; Sheehan 2005**),
 - Founders of the Copenhagen School ignored the gender dimension in their major work (**Buzan/Waever/De Wilde 1998**) while **Booth (2005, 2007)** stressed the importance of gender dimension of security.
 - Ecofeminists (**Mies; Shiva**) stressed the gender dimension to environmental and also environmental security issues,
 - As one of very few authors from the peace research community, **Ursula Oswald Spring (1990, 2001, 2009)** suggested a composite security concept the combines human, gender and environmental security concepts and approaches with a double meaning as a scientific scheme but also as a goal for a HUGE security policy.
- **Thus there is a need for a systematic analysis of the gender dimension within the conceptual quartet.**

7.1 From Gender Insensitive to Gendered Security

- While analysing the topic of “gendered peace” is the focus of this workshop, in the discussion of security concepts and issues – except for feminist approaches to security – an insensitivity towards a “gendered security” has prevailed so far. For the narrowly focused security and strategic studies gender issues have been and still are largely a research desideratum.
- While the fathers of the Copenhagen School did not analyse the gender dimension, Lene Hansen (2006) has extensively addressed gender issues as well as masculinity and femininity in her study on *Security as Practice. Discourse Analysis and the Bosnian War*.
- For Ken Booth (2005, 2007), a major representative of the school of *Critical Security Studies* the gender dimension and gender-related issues matter.
- Topics related to “gendered peace” and “gendered security” have remained rather marginal in both peace research and security studies so far,
- The **United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 on “Women, Peace and Security” that was adopted on 31 October 2000** put the gender dimension of peace and security on the agenda of national governments and of international security organizations (UN, NATO) that triggered governmental activities that merit an empirical assessment.

7.2 The Turning Point: UNSC Res. 1325: Politics & Science

- While topics related to “gendered peace” and “gendered security” have remained rather marginal in both peace research and security studies so far,
- **United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 on “Women, Peace and Security”** of 31 October 2000 put the gender dimension of peace and security on the agenda of national governments and of many international security organizations (e.g. UN, NATO et al.) that triggered many governmental activities during the past decade that merit an empirical assessment.

8. Research Outlook: and Springer Briefs on ESDP

- Thus, a huge field for conceptual, theoretical and empirical studies has emerged that may be addressed also by peace researchers and members of the Peace Studies Section of ISA in the years to come. Thus, the gender dimension of peace and security is an area that needs more research, where innovative studies and publications are needed.
- As the editor of two peer reviewed book series published by Springer that are available as printed and electronic books this speaker is interested in **book proposals from authors**, especially from women of developing countries, on these themes and to have them peer reviewed globally and published.
- He would be keen to publish peer reviewed contributions resulting from this workshop in his peer reviewed book series.



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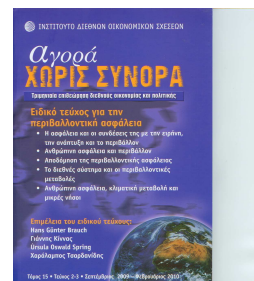
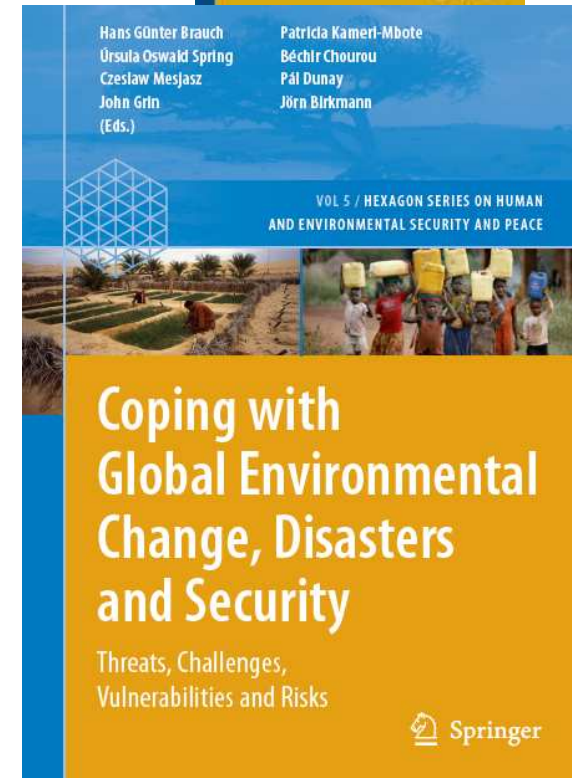
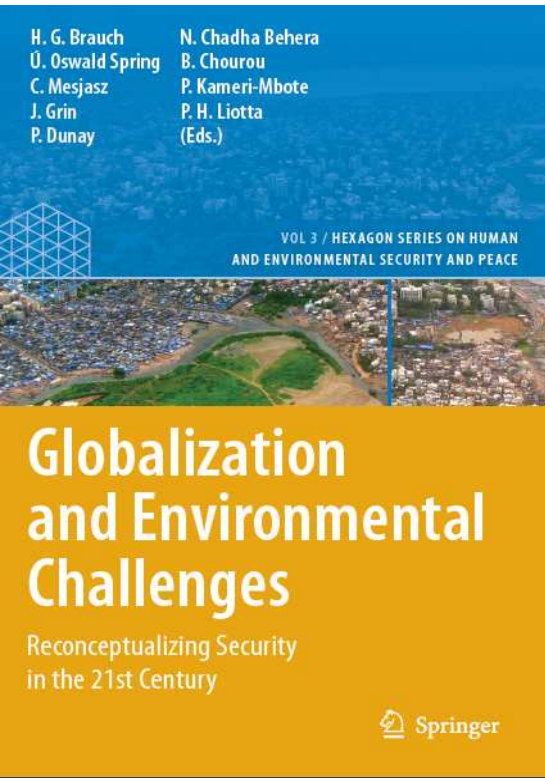
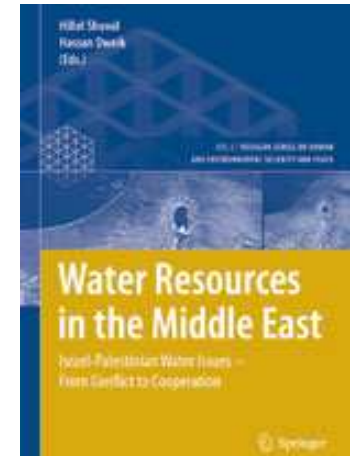
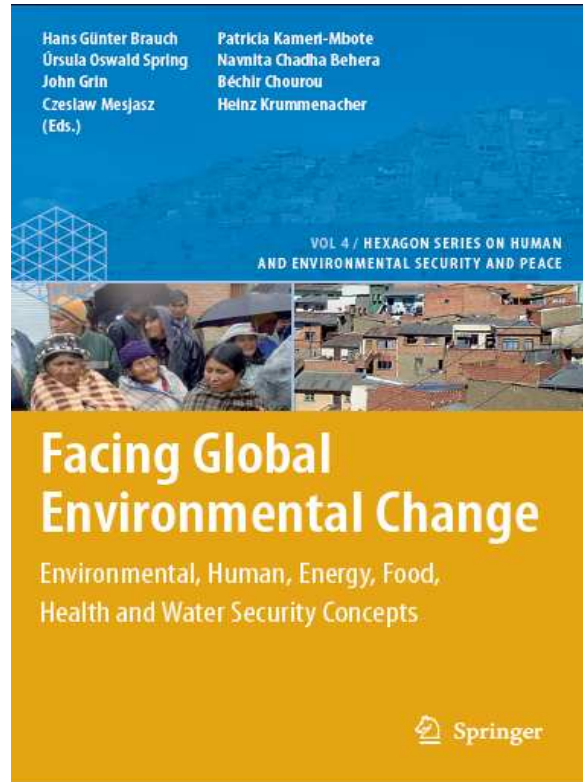
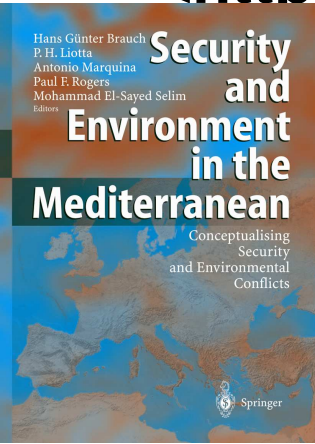
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