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Violations of women's rights while countering terrorism as a threat to collective survival:

A case-study of the right to participation

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Abstract

As nations around the world develop and review their strategies to counter terrorism, they are expected to comply with international human rights law (UNSC, 2015, PP. 9). Policy makers are also supposed to gain enough public approval to legitimize these strategies (Buzan et al., 1998). While counter-terrorism measures are often sanctioned by the general audience, women's right to participation is rarely viewed as a critical aspect of counter-terrorism by both policy makers and their audience (Hansen, 2000; Jamal, 2013). Applying a theoretical framework comprised of Securitization Theory (Buzan et al., 1998; Waever, 1993; Huysmans, 2010) and feminist contributions (Tickner, 1992; Hansen, 2000; Huckerby, 2016), this study argues that violations of women's right to participation in the context of counter-terrorism is not only a human rights problem but is also an issue of international security. More specifically, this study provides theoretical and empirical explanations of the ways in which the lack of a women's rights-sensitive perspective in counter-terrorism discourse creates barriers for developing effective counter-terrorism strategies and often contributes to the emergence of additional security threats.

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Introduction

In the recently published Global Survey of the Implementation of United Nations Security Council resolution (UNSCR) 1373 (2001), the Counter-Terrorism Executive Directorate (CTED) concluded that the global terrorist threat is evolving rapidly (UNSC, 2016, para. 3). Similarly, the world leaders constantly warn the international community about the global threat of terrorism. Claiming that “if we do not tackle this problem, everything else will be irrelevant,” they use a “speech act” to persuade the audience to accept their methods of handling terrorism through extraordinary means (Buzan et al., 1998, p. 24)¹.

Through this process, terrorism is presented to the audience as an issue that poses an existential threat to the world's collective identity and “the dignity and security of [innocent] human beings everywhere” (UNSC, 2001, p. 4). Without having an in-depth understanding of terrorism, a phenomenon with “intrinsically negative connotations that is generally applied to the enemies of [a state]” (Hoffman, 2006, p. 23), regular citizens tend to accept terrorism as an existential threat (Buzan et al., 1998), legitimizing the use of militarized force against, and “tough justice” (Golden, 2004) for, everyone who “may commit, aid, or support acts of terrorism” (The White House, 2017).

Members states are generally in agreement when it comes to the means of addressing terrorism. The study finds, for example, that in 68.75 percent of the UNSC meetings relevant to the threats caused by terrorist acts², member states expressed that “the news of military advances are welcome” (UNSC, 2001, p. 15). Being justified by the majority, military action further

¹ In addition to the statements made by politicians in their official capacity, the states utilize the media and academia to support their messaging.

² The data is provided for the period between January, 2001 and December, 2016.

typifies gender identities and responsibilities, replaying the traditional understanding of nationalism, war, and masculinity.

Even though there is a growing awareness about the need to uphold human rights in the process of developing counter terrorism strategies (UN, 2015; UNSC, 2015; UNSC, 2016), the lack of women's participation is rarely considered to be critical for collective survival. As a result, it remains ignored theoretically and empirically within the realm of security. Violations of women's right to participation are often mis-prioritized by the states as issues of social justice.

It is often ignored, however, that the repercussions of these violations extend beyond endangering women. Analyzing the study about the gender strategy of the Islamic State (ISIS), Ergas (2016), for example, argues that the lack of a women's rights-sensitive perspective in counter-terrorism can help a terrorist group build a statehood within another state. Hager Shareif of the 1325 Network of Libya also argues that by ignoring the role of young women in conflict prevention and early-warning systems, the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) and the international community contribute to the spread of extremism and the emergence of protracted crises (Kumskova et al., 2017). Ultimately, the persistent disregard for the value of women's participation, as well as securitization and instrumentalization of women within the counter-terrorism discourse, further strengthen insecurity within communities and perpetuate the development of counter-terrorism strategies with an explicit gender bias.

At the same time, the Global Survey (2016) suggests that the existing responses to terrorism failed to produce tangible results (para. 11); there is an increasing number of women who join terrorist groups (UNSC, 2016, para. 33); and the current security theories rarely discuss whether there are some mechanisms through which the audience can control the extraordinary

measures used by the states (para. 435). In the meantime, terrorism remains on the rise, providing further legitimacy to the states to strengthen their grip on power.

The Copenhagen School of Securitization, which provides a framework for determining emerging sources of instability, fails to consider the barriers to the construction of a women's rights-sensitive security theory, focusing primarily on the political and environmental fields. However, some followers of this school (Hansen, 2000; MacKenzie, 2010) suggest, in line with the findings of other scholars (Hudson, 2013; Bloom and Matfess, 2016; Chowdhury Fink et al., 2016; Huckerby, 2016), that women are deeply connected to the collectivity. International security, from their perspective, cannot be maintained without gender equality because without this equality and the respect for human rights, citizens are more likely to develop a sense of separation from the state, and the states are more likely to become involved in militarized disputes (Hudson, 2013, p. 103).

Applying a theoretical framework comprised of Securitization Theory (Buzan et al., 1998; Waever, 1993; Huysmans, 2010) and feminist contributions (Tickner, 1992; Hansen, 2000; Huckerby, 2016), this study argues that violations of women's right to participation in the context of counter-terrorism is not only a social problem but is also an issue of international security. More specifically, this study provides theoretical and empirical explanations of the ways in which the absence of a women's rights-sensitive perspective in counter-terrorism discourse creates barriers for the development of effective counter-terrorism strategies and contributes to the emergence of security threats. Utilizing discourse analysis of the discussions within the UNSC, the study adds to a growing body of research on the role of women in counter-terrorism, explaining specific political rhetoric that surrounds the evolution of the concept of women's

participation in international counter-terrorism efforts since January, 2001. Even though some progress has been made as the international community comes to realize the setbacks associated with the lack of a women's rights-sensitive perspective in counter-terrorism, the instrumentalization of women's participation in this field is still a critical characteristic of the state-centric counter-terrorism discourse and action.

Objective

Applying a theoretical framework comprised of Securitization Theory (Buzan et al., 1998; Waeber, 1993; Huysmans, 2010) and feminist contributions (Tickner, 1992; Hansen, 2000; Huckerby, 2016), as well as a variety of existing international legal standards³, resolutions, memoranda, and guidelines⁴, this study answers the following research questions:

- *Under which circumstances do violations of women's right to participation in counter-terrorism constitute a threat to international security?*
- *What are the dominant "frames" used by the states to present their views on women's rights in the counter-terrorism discourse?*
- *Was there a change in dominant "frames" used by the states to present their views on women's rights in the counter-terrorism discourse since 2001?*

³ The study investigates women's right to participation by analyzing the relevant provisions of the UDHR (1948), ICCPR (1966); ICESCR (1966); CEDAW (1979); UNSCR 1325 (2000); UNSCR 2242 (2015).

⁴ This study utilizes the findings and good practices developed through, and identified by, the United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy (2006), the UN Secretary-General's Plan of Action to Prevent Violent Extremism (2015), CEDAW General Recommendation 25 (1999), the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (1995), and Ankara Memorandum on Good Practices for a Multi-Sectoral Approach to Countering Violent Extremism (2012).

Literature Review

The concept of security is one of the most fundamental within the field of international relations (IR) (Ozcan, 2013, p. 3). Throughout history, the concept of security has evolved from traditional and military-centered security to the security of people, or human security. However, the roles traditionally devoted to men and women remain the same throughout all stages of this evolution. Tickner (1992) suggests that “masculinity and politics have a long and close association” (p. 3). This association further sustains patriarchal authority and legitimizes a patriarchal political and social order (Tickner, 1992, p. 3).

Existing literature collected to date suggests that women are denied access to decision-making bodies, including the bodies in charge of counter-terrorism measures (Tickner, 1999; Hansen, 2000; Sjoberg, 2009; Pratt, 2012)⁵. The body of research also shows that when women are granted entry into the security field, their agency is often instrumentalized with a view to fulfill a specific political purpose⁶ (Coomaraswamy, 2015; Huckerby, 2016; Johnson, 2016).

The definition of security

Ozcan (2013) suggests that there are two basic approaches to the notion of security. First, “the term *security* is deriving from a Latin word *securus* which means “safe and/or secure,” assigning the quality or state of being secure to this term (Lake & Morgan, 1997, p.53). According to this understanding, the term conventionally has been defined as being free from a physical danger. Another interpretation suggests that the English word “security” originates from

⁵ As of December 2016, 23.3 percent of women on average have seats in their parliaments (IPU, 2017). While these figures indicate some progress, stronger efforts are still needed to facilitate women’s increased and meaningful inclusion (Ní Aoláin, 2013; UNSC, 2016c).

⁶ For example, it is accepted feminist knowledge that the “War on Terror” abounds with gendered narratives, illustrated in the post-9/11 era with the U.S. Government and its allies launching a war in Afghanistan in part to “save” Afghan women (Huckerby, 2016, p. 535).

the Latin word “se-curus” (Mesjasz, 2006, p. 457). In this way, *se* means “without” and *curus* means “uneasiness.” Under this interpretation, *security* means liberation from uneasiness without any physical, mental, or other risks.

The term *security* can be used in three meanings, namely: “the traditional meaning,” defining security as an absence of conflict; “military security,” referring to the phenomena that takes place within international relations; and finally, “security as a public good,” considering security in a universal sense of a unit and social entity (Buzan & Hansen, 2009).

In sum, there is a variety of definitions for security that can be applicable in a variety of thematic and geographical contexts. This fact demonstrates a strong interlinkage between the definition of terrorism and the definition of security as they both are highly contextual and depend on the vision of an individual who defines them.

The evolution of security studies

For traditionalists and followers of Weber’s perspective (Wolfers, 1951; Waltz, 1979), understanding of security is only possible in military terms; and they do not wish to accept a broadening and/or widening of this concept. They believe that “security policy consists of the use of armed forces - the military and the police - to free the state and its citizens from threats” (Huysmans, 1998, p. 487). From this perspective, the concept of security is closely connected with the state, as well as with the maintenance of its territorial integrity and sovereignty.

After the Cold War, the field of security studies took an enormous step forward, predominantly emphasizing human security over state security (Axworthy, 2001; Heinbecker, 2000). This concept is people-centered and based on the same premise as the related concepts of

human rights and human development, namely, that the individual human being is the principal object of concern, regardless of race, religion, gender, or other factors (Dorn, 2003). Subsequently, global threats such as environmental degradation, economic recessions, and population growth, promoted by Krause and Williams (1996), were considered to be emerging threats that could not be dealt with in a traditional state-centric way.

Later, the peace movement has emerged within the field of security studies. Peace researchers believe that war is unnecessary and can be prevented through understanding the structural causes of violence (Enloe, 1989; Galtung, 1996; Pratt, 2012). Galtung (1996) has developed, in this vein, the concept of “positive peace.” This concept suggests that resolving conflicts through political mechanisms is not enough to achieve peace in the society. To work on stable peace, according to Galtung (1996), entails exploring how social attitudes, including religious and political views, diminish or increase the possibility of building a stable peace.

Despite the views on the concept of security have changed over time, terrorism has always been dealt with in “traditional” ways across the globe (Rubin, 2014; Gause, 2014; Corn et al., 2015). Believing that “the key to an effective counter-terrorism strategy is to raise the price of terrorism for its perpetrators and sponsors” (Rubin, 2014, p. 232), the states utilize “hard measures” to address this threat for decades. Military units were used to pursue day-to-day governing in 1950-1960s in Algeria to hunt the National Liberation Front (FLN) (Crenshaw, 1995, p. 494). Rubin (2014) also justifies the 1998 U.S. cruise missile strike against the Shifa factory in Khartoum, Sudan, claiming that this approach has influenced the Sudanese Government to comply on terrorism matters (p. 234). In counter-terrorism, therefore, coercion remains a critical element.

Some scholars (Croft, 2007; Nacos, 2014; Windsor, 2014), members of non- and inter-governmental organizations (Chowdhury Fink et al., 2013; Couture, 2014; Peters, 2015), and state leaders (UNSC, 2001; UNSC, 2003; UNSC, 2016a) attempt to bring attention of the international community to the fact that state-centric and militarized responses to terrorism are ineffective. Instead, they argue, this approach contributes to the development of grievances and insecurities within communities and often affects levels of people's engagement in terrorism. However, these opinions are largely disregarded by the majority of states.

Women in a security discourse

In the ongoing security debate, women's agency and experiences are also often ignored. Tickner (1992) suggests that "in most fields of knowledge, we have become accustomed to equating what is human with what is masculine" (p. 8). Some scholars (Hansen, 200; MacKenzie, 2009) argue that it is due to the fact that women and their problems largely remain in the private sphere, rather than in the political, international, or security sphere.

Recent literature also identifies that terrorism and counter-terrorism narratives have both mobilized and reinforced stereotypes around men, women, and sexual minorities (Carter, 2013; Huckerby, 2016). Almost all notable actors involved in the perpetration of terrorism, as well as those involved in designing and implementing counter-terrorism measures, have always been male (Huckerby, 2016, p. 541). Women's rights have also tended to be ignored in the literature on terrorism and political violence for a long time (Jackson et al., 2011, pp. 146-147). As a result, socially-constructed images of "vulnerable" women and "hyper-masculinized" male "savages"

and “saviors”⁷ became important tools used by the states to support militarized responses to terrorism and support gender stereotypes in the society.

Costs associated with gender-blind counter-terrorism strategies

There is a growing number of women who join terrorist groups and become active perpetrators of terrorism. Some scholars (Bloom, 2007; Chowdhury Fink et al., 2013) suggest that they are driven by systematic violations of their rights and limited space provided to them in the society to affect social change. As of 2015, women comprise 30 percent of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), 30-40 percent of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC), and 40 percent of Peru's Shining Path (Turner, 2015). Terrorists often use women to carry out logistical tasks, such as the smuggling of arms and munitions and the passing of information, because there is an assumption that women can pass checkpoints and avoid house inspections more easily than their male counterparts (UNSC, 2016, para. 33). In this context, the lack of women's rights-based considerations in counter-terrorism can influence women to express their grievances and create social change in more accessible ways.

Moreover, terrorist groups like ISIS and Boko Haram use sexual and gender-based violence to increase their influence and consolidate territorial gains. In 2015, the Iraqi Fact Finding Mission recorded violations of women's rights in the form of sex slavery, forced marriage, removal from school, physical confinement, and many others (Coomaraswamy, 2015, p. 223). Terrorists need women to build societies and to destabilize their enemies.

Gowrinathan (2014) believes that if securitized and militarized practice of countering terrorism will continue absorbing societies, there would be no outlet for women's grievances.

⁷ The savages-victims-saviors (SVS) construction has been presented by Makau Mutua in his article entitled “Savages, Victims, and Saviors: The Metaphor of Human Rights” (2001).

Moreover, without analyzing gender indicators and understanding gender strategy of terrorist groups, important security information about terrorists' further plans and goals may get lost (Ergas, 2016, p. 5). In this context, the lack of understanding of women's roles in terrorism and counter-terrorism can significantly endanger larger collectivities.

Benefits of women's inclusion in counter-terrorism

There is a growing body of research that uncovers benefits of women's inclusion of, and respect for, women's rights. The Global Study on the implementation of UNSCR 1325 (2000), in this vein, suggests that "societies that respect women's rights are less prone to extremism" (Coomaraswamy, 2015, p. 222). In the ISIS-controlled territories, local women groups have organized networks to free captured women and return them to their families (UNSC, 2016, para. 37). Grassroots women in Iraq have also built crucial infrastructure, such as shelters and safe houses, and set up escape routes maintained by networks of women human rights defenders (Susskind, 2015). Women's participation in counter-terrorism, therefore, can address problems that have been ignored by state-centric counter-terrorism strategies for decades.

There is also a number of governments that have demonstrated positive effects of women's inclusion in the security field. In Pakistan, for example, policewomen have improved the operational effectiveness of police by more effectively de-escalating violence and collecting vital intelligence that men could not (Peters, 2014). To counter terrorism in Morocco, the *mourchidate* programs were created to train women as female imams to work with vulnerable populations, including women and youth (Couture, 2014). Follow-up data collected in Morocco

prove that women's full inclusion and integration in counter-terrorism efforts ensure their success and sustainability (Couture, 2014).

The presence of women in national security institutions and the work of women's organizations on the ground, therefore, have demonstrated a positive impact on counter-terrorism efforts. Huckerby and Fakih (2011) also suggest that women as active participants in counter-terrorism are less likely to compromise on gender equality when it comes to developing counter-terrorism strategies. Women's empowerment, in turn, enables them to become a stabilizing force in the society.

Problems associated with women's inclusion in counter-terrorism strategies

The participation of women in national security is often instrumentalized (Coomaraswamy, 2015; Huckerby, 2016). In particular, Huckerby (2016) suggests that the most recent so-called "inclusive" strategies are often used by the governments to justify the use of force and realize their own goals (i.e.: the invasion of Afghanistan by the U.S.). This behavior, therefore, encourages stereotypical portraits of women as vulnerable victims and problematizes the meaning of a gendered component in national and international security practices.

Brown (2013) also suggests that when any human rights-related considerations are included in the development of counter-terrorism strategies, it is often done in an instrumental sense because human rights only matter when human rights violations decrease the security of the state (p. 40). This argument, therefore, supports an idea that some human rights violations may result in the development of security threats.

The Global Study on UNSCR 1325 (2000) finds that when women's advocacy becomes too closely associated with a government's counter-terrorism agenda, the risk of a backlash

against women's rights defenders and women's rights issues increases (p. 222). For example, in her review of counter-terrorism strategies in the Northern Ireland and Sri Lanka, Ni Aolain (2013) finds that women's rights-sensitive considerations, if they are present within a counter-terrorism framework, may result in greater state regulation of women's lives. The Special Rapporteur on the promotion and protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms while countering terrorism (2016) also explains that when women's rights are seen to further national security interest, the possibility of the bartering of women's rights and gender equality increases (para. 53).

In sum, there is some recognition that women are both agents and drivers of change in their communities. However, this image often becomes a tool for achieving political goals, failing to become a separate priority. There are several ways in which women's rights can be instrumentalized. First, the violations of women's rights can be used to justify the use of force. Also, images of women as victims of terrorism can be used to justify the "shrinkage" of women's access to human rights and freedoms. Instrumentalization, in this vein, is based on the presumption of women's vulnerability and deeply-seated social roles. The current counter-terrorism measures, therefore, can either sideline women in efforts to combat terrorism or lead to their inclusion in ways that may perpetuate these stereotypes.

Women's right to participation in counter-terrorism

in international law, resolutions, memoranda, and guidelines

The states have unlimited power to construct international law; they can identify for themselves a framework for each right and the scope of their obligations towards the realization of these rights. As the international human rights framework is built on typically male life

experiences and does not respond to the most pressing risks women face, including a specific impact of counter-terrorism on women (Kolodziej, 2013; Charlesworth, 1994), women continue to experience significant discrimination, especially when it comes to their participation in public and political life, in most domains of the public sphere, and in all geographical regions. For example, the European Commission (2016) acknowledged that, “across the EU, women are still largely outnumbered by men in positions of responsibility in all fields” (p. 1). Subsequently, due to the underlying structures and dynamics of gender stereotypes (Enloe, 1989; Charlesworth, 1994; Lynch et al., 2000; MacKenzie, 2010; Glenn, 2016), counter-terrorism measures are built without any considerations given to women’s rights and, therefore, reinforce existing gender stereotypes.

While serious barriers to women’s meaningful participation in public and political life persist, including in the security field, some progress has been made by states on the international and regional arenas to develop a legal standard of women’s right to participation.

A. International Legal Framework

- International

The principle of equality and the prohibition of discrimination, which are at the basis of women’s access to public and political life, are enshrined in the founding document of the UN, the United Nations Charter (UN, 1945, PP. 2). Also, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) (1948), which forms the basis of the bill of rights of many national constitutions, also includes the entitlement of all persons to non-discrimination including on the basis of sex (Arts. 1, 7, 10, 16, 21, 23). Two instruments coming out of the UDHR, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) (UNGA, 1966) and the International Covenant on Economic

Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) (UNGA, 1966a) provide specific agreements on the right to equality between men and women in public and political life, and the General Comments of their respective treaty-monitoring organs actively promote the main principles of women's participation in public and political life (CEDAW Committee, 1999; CCPR, 2000).

The ICCPR suggests that everyone, without distinction of any kind, such as race, color, sex, birth, or other status, shall have “the right and the opportunity [...] to take part in the conduct of public affairs, directly or through freely chosen representatives” (UNGA, 1966, arts. 1, 25). Article 7 of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) specifically calls for the elimination of discrimination in political and public life (UNGA, 1979). The obligation specified in article 7 extends to all areas of public and political life and is not limited to those areas specified in subparagraphs (a), (b) and (c). General Comment 23, adopted by the CEDAW Committee in 1997, specifically, suggests that governments should ensure the right of women 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 the government (p.1).

While international standards develop a solid basis for women's claims for “their space at the table,” the General Comment 25 of the CEDAW Committee (1999) notes that the application of the norm of non-discrimination is not enough for a substantive realization of women's right to participate (para. 18). For example, Bailey (2014) warns, for example, that electoral quotas do not always translate into actual political influence and decision-making power. Instead, there should be an emphasis that temporary special measures are part of a necessary strategy by states

parties directed towards the achievement of *de facto* or substantive equality of women with men in the enjoyment of their rights and fundamental freedoms.

- *Regional*

Most European countries are members of the Council of Europe and are subject to the European Convention on Human Rights (Council of Europe, 1950). These treaties request member states to combat the discrimination of women in all fields. The Treaty of Amsterdam (European Communities, 1997) and the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union (European Communities, 2000) further support regional mechanisms for the promotion of equality between men and women in all activities throughout the European Community, including in formulation and implementation of laws, regulations, administrative provisions, and policies.

In Latin America and the Caribbean, the majority of states have signed on to a number of regional human rights agreements pertaining to gender equality and the prohibition of discrimination on the basis of sex, such as the American Declaration on the Rights and Duties of Man (IACHR, 1948), the American Convention on Human Rights (IACHR, 1969), and the Inter-American Convention on the Prevention, Punishment and Eradication of Violence Against Women (OAS, 1994). The Inter-American System of Human Rights has also recognized the right of every citizen to participate in government and public affairs as a fundamental right, which must be exercised free from all forms of discrimination and in accordance with the principle of equality (Dersnah, 2015).

The Inter-American Convention on the Prevention, Punishment and Eradication of Violence Against Women (OAS, 1994) specifically recognizes the right of women to have equal

access to the public services of their countries and to take part in the conduct of public affairs (Art. 4(j)). This Convention is a particularly important mechanism within the international human rights framework because it explicitly incorporates a women's rights-sensitive perspective, recognizing the link between violence against women and discrimination and their impact on civil, political, economic, social, and cultural rights (Art. 5, 6b). It also establishes that the states have a positive duty to use due diligence to address direct and indirect discrimination against women in all fields (Dersnah, 2015).

The Arab Charter of Human Rights (2008) guarantees equality but within the framework of the "positive discrimination" of the sharia (Art. 3.3), creating some challenges in the interpretation of the Charter by member states. The Charter also provides some guarantees non-discrimination, including on the basis of sex (Art. 34.1), freedom of political activity (Art. 24.1), and the right to public office (Art. 24.2).

The Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa (ACHPR, 2003) is another positive step towards promoting and ensuring respect for the women's right to political participation. According to this Protocol (2003), member states are obliged to integrate a women's rights-sensitive perspective in their policy decisions, legislation, development plans, and activities (Art. 2c).

Across different geographic regions, states, and societies, there are specific international and regional human rights mechanisms that serve to promote equality between men and women, including in the realm of security. In this context, the body of international law suggests that women are entitled to be a part of all decision-making processes. This legal framework is "at once a legally binding framework, a contested international terrain of meaning, a discursive

practice, and an ideological construct” (Huckerby & Satterthwaite, 2013, p. 5). Using this framework as an analytical tool helps identify the spectrum and nature of violations of women’s right to participation arising in the context of gender-blind counter-terrorism measures.

In addition to the obligations to realize the aforementioned rights, the states have a duty to protect the security of their citizens. The ICESCR (1966a) refers to multiple rights that individuals can claim from their sovereign in times of peace, disaster and conflict, which include the right to life, food, shelter and health. Subsequently, in *Nicaragua vs. United States of America* (1986), the judge of the International Court of Justice (ICJ) suggested that “provision of strictly humanitarian aid to persons or forces in another country, whatever their political affiliation or objectives, cannot be regarded as unlawful intervention, or as in any other way contrary to international law” (ICJ, 1986, para. 23).

Since many perpetrators and victims of terrorism are women, the presence of a women’s rights-sensitive perspective in the development of counter-terrorism strategies provides a better understanding of key actors, impacts, and opportunities for appropriate action. Generally, it helps decision-makers understand different dimensions of terrorism and become more effective in preventing violence and terror committed by both men and women.

B. Resolutions, Memoranda, Guidelines

Even though the legal framework on women’s right to participation has been developing for decades, the growing awareness of the need for a better understanding of the role of women’s participation in counter-terrorism has emerged only recently (USAID, 2011, p. 4). A big role in this process has been played by the adoption of the Vienna Declaration and Program of Action

(1993), the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (1995), and the women, peace and security (WPS) agenda.

UNSCR 1325 (2000) set out a mandate to require both the participation of women and a women's rights-sensitive perspective in policies and programs related to international peace and security. As a result of this landmark call, sixty-six countries have designed national-level strategies - known as national action plans on WPS - aimed at translating this resolution into reality (WILPF, 2017). These action plans are comprehensive mechanisms for integrating a women's rights-sensitive perspective throughout national defense, diplomacy, and development processes, with a goal of increasing women's participation in preventing, resolving, and rebuilding from conflict.

The adoption of UNSCR 1325 (2000) also spearheaded a number of international agreements and UNSC resolutions that require the states to use a mixture of methods to ensure women's rights-sensitive conflict resolution (UNSC, 2003; UN, 2015; UNSC, 2015; UNSC, 2016).

Developed by the Global Counter-Terrorism Forum (GCTF) (2012), *Ankara Memorandum on Good Practices for a Multi-Sectoral Approach to Countering Violent Extremism* highlights that counter-terrorism strategy design should, where appropriate, take into account the different needs of young women (p. 12).

In 2014, the European Commission adopted *Operational Human Rights Guidance for EU external cooperation actions addressing Terrorism, Organized Crime and Cybersecurity*. The document highlights that "gender is an integral part of the rights-based assessment," and that

“the integration of gender issues in all security sector actions makes them more thorough and sustainable” (pp. 20-21).

The Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) also adopted a set of guidelines on how to engage with women while countering violent extremism and terrorism. In its guide titled *“Preventing Terrorism and Countering Violent Extremism and Radicalization that Lead to Terrorism: A Community-Policing Approach,”* the OSCE (2014) claims that “removing the barriers that hamper the active participation of women in countering terrorism, as part of law enforcement, other public authorities, and civil society, is indispensable” for proper realization of women’s rights and developing effective counter-terrorism strategies (p. 142).

The 2014 review of *the Global Counter-terrorism Strategy* notes “the important contribution of women to the implementation of the Strategy” and encourages member states, United Nations (UN) entities, and international, regional, and sub-regional organizations “to consider the participation of women in efforts to prevent and counter terrorism” (UNGA, 2014). This was the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA)’s first recognition of the role of women in a resolution on counterterrorism and countering violent extremism (CVE), and it provided an important foundation on which to build the new vision on the role of women in counter-terrorism (Bhulai et al., 2016).

Since then, additional initiatives by the UNGA have called for a greater focus on women in counter-terrorism. For example, in December 2015, the UNGA adopted a resolution titled *“A World Against Violent Extremism,”* which called upon member states to place greater emphasis on understanding drivers of violent extremism, particularly for women and youth and to develop targeted and comprehensive solutions (UNGA, 2015, OPs. 2, 5).

Furthermore, in his *2015 Plan of Action (PoA)* to prevent violent extremism, the UN Secretary-General urged member states to mainstream women's rights-based perspectives in efforts to prevent and counter violent extremism (UN, 2015). The PoA highlighted the need to promote women's participation and leadership across governments, the security sector, and civil society ((UN, 2015, para. 51). It also encouraged member states to develop national and regional plans that reflect a number of priority areas, including gender equality and women's empowerment (UN, 2015, para. 44).

Developed by the African Commission on Human and People's Rights (2015), *Principles and Guidelines on Human and People's Rights while Countering Terrorism* suggest that states shall ensure that "legislation, procedures, policies and practices are designed to respect and protect the rights and special status and distinct needs of women and children who are victims of terrorism or subject to counter-terrorism measures, including but not limited to searches and investigations, all forms of detention, trials, and sentencing" (p. 23).

The Sustainable Development Agenda also spotlights women's political participation as a valuable tool for development, while recognizing the link between peace and gender equality. In particular, sustainable development goal five calls upon the UN member states to ensure equal participation and opportunities for women (UN, 2016, p. 20). Sustainable development goal 16, at the same time, invites the states to promote peaceful and inclusive societies based on respect for human rights, the rule of law, and transparent institutions (UN, 2016, p. 42).

More recently, the UNSC adopted *UNSCR 2242 (2015)*. It calls for greater integration by member states and the UN of their agendas on WPS and counter-terrorism (UNSC, 2015, OP. 11). Notably, this resolution urges member states to ensure the participation and leadership of

women and women's organizations in developing strategies to counter terrorism and violent extremism which can be conducive to terrorism, including through countering incitement to commit terrorist acts, creating counter-narratives and other appropriate interventions, and building their capacity to do so effectively (UNSC, 2015, OPs. 11, 12, 13).

These legal and political developments and emergence of good practices present some guidance on upholding women's rights while countering terrorism is possible in legal and practical terms. Specifically, this framework outlines some obligations of member states under international law. These include the following obligations: to guarantee equality between men and women the enjoyment of all civil and political rights (UNGA, 1966, art. 26; UNGA, 1979, art. 15); to ensure that traditional stereotypes are not used to justify violations of equality (UNGA, 1979, arts. 3 & 10); to ensure participation of affected communities in decision-making (UNGA, 1966, art. 27); and ensure that the above-mentioned obligations are exercised in all branches and levels of government (UNGA, 1979, art. 7).

Despite the progress, systematic violations of women's rights are not viewed as a problem that should be addressed through the reforming of counter-terrorism strategies and as a matter of priority. Pratt (2013) suggests that the failures to recognize women's rights violations as a threat to international peace and security range from the continued impunity for terrorists who directly and differently target women and girls' security in conflict and post-conflict settings to failure to learn from women's rights-sensitive disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration for women returning from ISIS to gender-based abuses in the name of national security that frustrate the building of peaceful societies and women's rights-based security apparatus.

Theoretical Framework

From George W. Bush's initial success in bringing a majority of Americans to accept the view that Saddam Hussein possessed a stock of easily deployable weapons of mass destruction (WMDs)⁸ to the attempts of some Western governments to present migrants as a threat to national cohesion, culture, and welfare systems⁹ to the differentiated reactions to environmental degradation and global warming amongst the states¹⁰, there is ample evidence that security issues do not always objectively reflect real situations or contexts. Similarly, it is arguably hard to measure the threat of terrorism nationally or globally beyond utilizing information delivered to the audience by the states and other relevant actors, such as the media and non- and inter-governmental organizations.

1. Security as a "Speech Act"

The criteria put forward by the Copenhagen School suggest that "security is a speech act" (Waever, 1993). In other words, securitization is a form of linguistic representation that positions a particular issue as an existential threat to the collectivity. Buzan and colleagues (1998) argue that the existential threat has to be articulated verbally and gain enough resonance with the audience for a platform to be made from which it is possible to legitimize emergency measures that cannot be easily justified before something is approved to be a security issue (p. 41).

⁸ This version, however, has been discredited later, contributing to the development of an opposition movement against the war in Iraq (Tharoor, 2013).

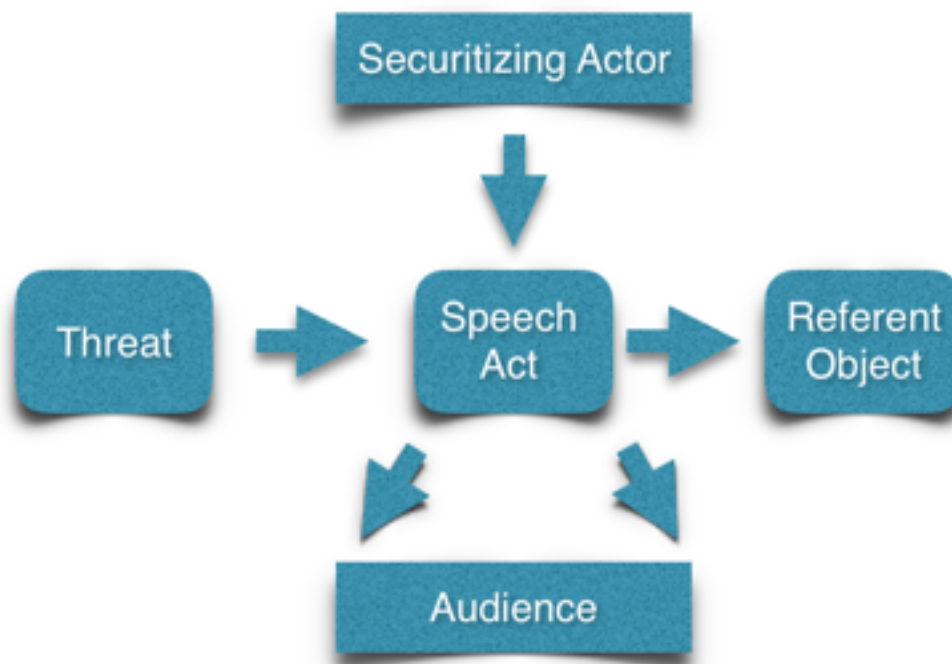
⁹ Munck, Schierup and Delgado Wise (2013) explain that the social polarization brought about by economic restructuring and policies privatization left little room for minority rights. In this context, "it is easier to turn [migrants] in the scapegoats for the social crisis, by blaming them not only for their own marginality, but also for the decline in general standards" (Munck, Schierup & Delgado Wise, 2013, p. 69).

¹⁰ Chomsky (2016) argues that the two most dangerous threats the human species faces today are the possibility of nuclear war and the accelerating destruction of human-fueled climate change.

Generally, this school argues that nothing is a security issue by itself; an issue only becomes a security threat if someone labels it, and approves it, as such (Waever, 1993, p. 55).

In this context, the states pose as *securitizing actors* as they have greater power to define what constitutes a security threat by virtue of being generally accepted voices of security (UN, 1945, Art. 51; UN, 1949; ECHR, 1950, Art.3). Also, the body of research developed by academia and non-governmental organizations target the states as main actors of change due to an unquestioned expectation that they are responsible for safety and security of all.

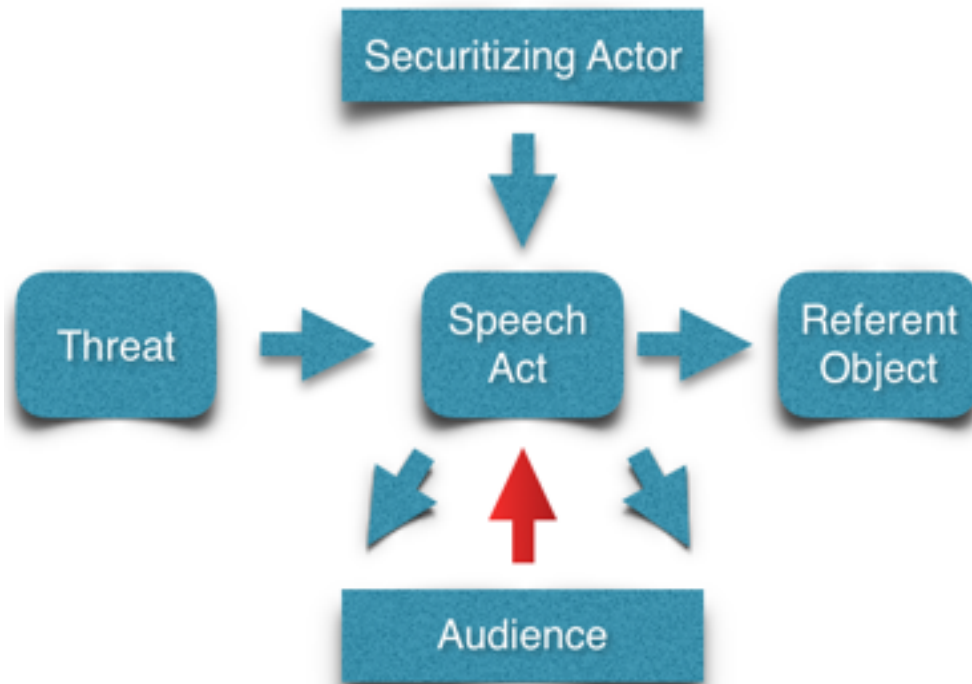
Table 1: Securitizing Move:



As claimed by Buzan and colleagues (1998), a discourse that takes the form of presenting something as an existential threat to *a referent object* - often people within the state - does not by itself create securitization – this is a securitizing move (See Table 1). Following the main principles of social contract theory, the states should demonstrate some degree of accountability.

Securitizing actor, therefore, is to use a “speech act” to build an argument and obtain [public] permission to override rules that would otherwise bind it. Only when the issue is accepted by *the audience* as a threat, the issue becomes entirely securitized (See Table 2).

Table 2: Securitization:



Notably, Buzan and colleagues (1998) argue that “no one conclusively ‘holds’ the power of securitization” (p. 31) and that the practice of securitization itself should remain the center of analysis. By exploring a variety of threats to a collectivity, the representatives of the Copenhagen School invite relevant stakeholders to re-evaluate militarized threats and assess the importance of political, societal, environmental, and other types of threats to security. However, there is no research to date that suggests that some other units of society can be considered as the securitizing actor, who declares that a referent object is existentially threatened (Buzan et al., 1998, 36).

2. What is a Security Threat?

The invocation of security is the key to legitimizing the use of force. More generally, it also opens the way for the securitizing actor to mobilize power to handle existential threats. However, this view is often short-sighted and based on the priorities and interests of those who have the power of securitization. For example, securitization of migration and refugee flows has skyrocketed since the beginning of the war in Syria and the advancement of ISIS, while environmental threats are still considered to be a social issue (Chomsky, 2016).

Table 3: What is a security threat?



In this vein, it becomes extremely important to understand when an issue becomes a security threat in order to understand the logic of security and de-securitization. Utilizing Securitization Theory (Buzan et al., 1998) and the individual work of Buzan (1997), Waever (1993), and Hansen (2000), this study develops a set of indicators that serves to assess "security-ness" of any issue (see Table 3). These indicators are developed with a view to gain a precise understanding of the ways in which something constitutes the threat to security. Further, this

categorization can be applicable to other societal issues that have been ignored by member states for decades.

a) Security is about survival/poses an existential threat

In an effort to explain the concept of security, Buzan and colleagues (1998) start with an assertion that undoubtedly presents a traditionalists' heritage: "security is about survival" (p. 21). Something can be qualified as a security issue when it is presented as posing an existential threat to a designated referent object; subsequently, this "dangerousness" justifies the use of extraordinary measures to handle it (Buzan et al., 1998, p. 21). Therefore, the securitizing actor must demonstrate that the referent object is existentially endangered.

There is no unified standard for identifying something as an existential threat based on what threatens an individual human life. Buzan and colleagues (1998) believe that the essential quality of existence will vary greatly across different sectors and levels of analysis; therefore, so will the nature of existential threats (p. 22). In this regard, assessing "security-ness" of an issue can be done in two ways. First, to argue that something poses an existential threat, the states generally use "securitized" *linguistic figures* and structures¹¹. Moreover, *the link should be present between a problem and a need to involve defense institutions* to counter potential threats.

The Copenhagen School argues that engaging security institutions is possible through the use of a "speech act" and building narratives (Buzan et al., 1998, p. 27). These two methods, therefore, are inter-linked in the process of securitization. Daniel Deudney (1995) explains that applying the concept of securitization in alternative fields, including the environmental field, is nothing but a convincing act for a statesman or actor who runs the state to legitimize military or

¹¹ Dunn, Moore and Nosek (2005) hypothesized that words that imply destruction (i.e.: explosion, blast) and malicious motivation (i.e.: hostile, plot, threat) would be associated with anti-U.S. violence (p. 71).

other security action to protect the state. As soon as security institutions become involved in building the capacity of a state to produce an effective and efficient governance mechanism to fight against a threat, one can be certain of the presence of an existential threat.

b) Security threats are accepted by the audience

The Copenhagen School also suggests that the “security-ness” of an issue is negotiated between the securitizing actor and the audience in public (Buzan et al., 1998, p. 24). The securitizing actor can use a public “speech act” to build an argument and obtain public permission to override rules that would otherwise bind it.

There is, however, no clarity when it comes to identifying the audience. Vuori (2008), in this vein, suggests that the audience has to be such that they have the ability to provide the securitizing actors with whatever they are seeking to accomplish (p.72). Therefore, the audience can be any group that can provide the legal power of securitization to the states.

Securitization Theory also remains vague and under-theorized about how the audience’s acceptance actually takes place. Bigo (2000) suggests that the public does not need to agree and support the securitization of an issue; instead, it is enough when the public does not publicly oppose state decisions (p. 350). For less-democratic regimes, the audience can be the international community, as it has some limited power over states’ decision-making¹².

The audience’s acceptance is not always fulfilled in a civilized and dominance-free process. On the contrary, Buzan and colleagues (1998) believe that the acceptance can be based on coercion as well as on consent (p. 25). Balzacq (2005) adds that coercion can be processed

¹² Mohamed (2013) explains that the decision of the UNSC to authorize military intervention in Libya in 2011, for example, was driven by the recognition of the embarrassment the UNSC would suffer if it stood by in the face of an imminent slaughter of civilians, and atoning for their sins of inaction in Rwanda, Bosnia, and Darfur (p. 1191).

through the strategic use of language. Language has an intrinsic force that rests with the audience's scrutiny of truth claims being made by a speaker (Balzacq, 2005, p. 173).

There are also exceptions to the "acceptance rule." Buzan and colleagues (1998) suggest that when the audience accepts several extraordinary means, a "package legitimization" becomes operational (Buzan et al., 1998, p. 28). Also, some security practices are not legitimized in public through the security discourse because they are generally not in public (i.e.: "the black programs" of the U.S., which are not presented in the budget) (Buzan et al., 1998, p. 28).

Theoretically, for something to be categorized as a security threat, it has to be publicly accepted by the audience as such. Full acceptance, however, is not required. In practice, it is expected for the audience to not publicly oppose states' counter actions. Moreover, the audience encompasses many groups, depending on each specific situation. Different types of the audience are to follow the securitizing lead, create, or refuse to create a social understanding of a security threat on a mass scale, and mobilize public support around the security reference.

c) Security is about collective survival/an issue of international security

The Copenhagen School makes a distinction between "international security" and "social security." Within the former, it is argued that security is about survival of a referent object (Buzan et al., 1998, p. 7). In contrast, "social security" concerns questions of "entitlement and social justice" (Hansen, 2000, p. 294). Problems within this field are not located within the same rhetoric of danger, urgency, and survival (Buzan et al., 1998, p. 78). Unemployment and crime, for example, are threats primarily to individuals; therefore, they do not qualify as security issues.

The distinction between social security and international security relies less on whether an issue, or a potential security problem, is located at the national or international level. Instead,

security issues are worthy of political consideration because they can be successfully presented as one of collective survival. Social security often negatively affects groups and classes of people (i.e.: indigenous peoples' rights to land or women's rights to abortion); however, it barely poses an immediate and existential threat to these groups. Even when it does, the states use their own judgment to assess collective impact of social issues. For something to be considered as an issue of international security, the threat to a referent object posed by this issue should be of such magnitude that the national security will be at stake.

d) Security threats present themselves with great urgency

Buzan and colleagues (1998) suggest that an argument with a particular rhetorical and semiotic structure has a potential to achieve sufficient effects to make the audience tolerate violations of rules only using an argument about the priority and urgency of an existential threat (p. 27). Since security is a "speech act," something has to be labeled as "important" and "urgent" in order to "legitimize the use of special measures outside of the usual political process" (Buzan & Waever, 2003, p. 491). By mentioning the word *defense*, for example, one most often means security and priority. Therefore, in order for something to be considered as a security issue, specific sentence structures, framing structures, and rhetoric that imply urgency are necessary.

If a social problem fails to meet the "security" threshold based on the use of "emergency" language, it should be considered within the realm of "social security" because these problems are not located, as it is presented by securitizing actors, within the same rhetoric of danger, urgency, and survival as other "international" security problems. However, when an action meets the threshold of urgency through a "speech act," it can be convincingly argued that

the primary task of building a linguistic basis, using which the securitizing actor can take a securitizing issue forward into the realm of security, is accomplished.

3. Feminist Perspective

Despite its liberal stance on the actors within the security field, the Copenhagen School, as any other participant in the ongoing security debate, fails to consider the barriers to the construction of a women's rights-sensitive security theory. Some followers of this school, including Megan MacKenzie (2009), explain that security threats that typically concern women "do not make the cut for securitization in patriarchal societies" because women and their issues largely remain in the domestic sphere, rather than in the political, international, or security spheres. In fact, the "security-ness" of a specific issue often stems from the interactions between the securitizing actor, often a patriarchal state, and its audience, often a patriarchal society (Enloe, 1989; Charlesworth, 1994; MacKenzie, 2010; Lynch et al., 2000). In this context, women's rights are rarely given a priority.

However, after a comprehensive analysis of the securitization framework, the argument in support of identifying women's rights-based concerns as a security issue can be made. Specifically, some standards that can be applicable to a variety of social problems, including the lack of women's access to decision-making in the security field, are reflected within this framework¹³.

e) Systematic oppression of a specific group is a security threat

¹³ For example, there are several decisions of the International Court of Justice, recognizing systematic rape in war as a crime against humanity (Hansen, 2000). Moreover, sexual violence is considered by many states as a weapon of war (Pratt, 2013).

Since the Copenhagen School allows for making Securitization Theory applicable on other social issues, Lene Hansen (2000) argues that violations of human rights targeted against a specific population can threaten the breakdown of society and should, therefore, be considered a security issue.

Building on the ICTY legal conclusion reached in the “Foca case¹⁴,” Hansen (2000) suggests that systematic violations of women’s rights can be considered as a security threat. Specifically, she argues that the practice of honor killings constitutes a security threat that should be addressed by governments using extraordinary means because it is sustained by the legal, religious, and political establishments. In the context of honor killings, women are systematically threatened because of their location within a particular gendered collective (Hansen, 2000, p. 291). Therefore, in order to apply the same standard on other social issues, one has to prove that a potential security issue stems from systematic targeting of a specific group of people on the basis of their sex, gender, or other characteristics.

The problem that this study confronts, therefore, is not a poor implementation of a women’s rights-based perspective in security policies. Similarly, the study will not discuss the barriers in translating these policies into practice. The women's rights violations, critically, flow from how key categories – gender, security, violence – are constructed by the securitizing actors through a “speech act” (MacKenzie, 2010). Therefore, this study provides theoretical and empirical explanations of the ways in which the lack of women’s participation in counter-

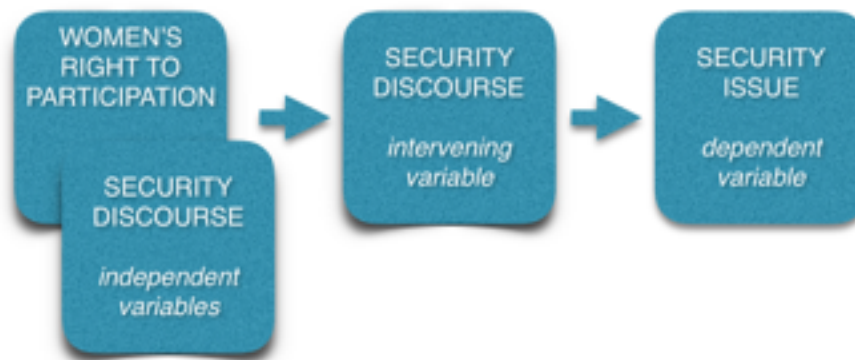
¹⁴ On February 22, 2001, nine years after the Bosnian Serb soldiers came to Foca, Trial Chamber II of the ICTY found three Bosnian Serb soldiers (Dragoljub Kunarac, Radomir Kovac and Zoran Vukovic) guilty of committing crimes against humanity including torture, rape, and enslavement (McHenry, 2002).

terrorism discourse creates barriers for developing effective counter-terrorism strategies and often contributes to the development of security threats.

Methodology

The research for this study was carried out mainly through content and discourse analyses. The methodology includes an analysis of the relevant legal human rights frameworks, scholarly literature, and reports published by the UN-related and non-governmental entities, as well as an examination of the ways in which security discourse on terrorism and counter-terrorism is constructed and maintained within the UNSC. Using this method, this study develops set of indicators, enabling further application of security analysis to other spheres of life, and further uses these criteria to assess whether and under what conditions the disregard for women's right to participation in counter-terrorism threatens nations' collective security.

Table 4: Variables:



A specific women's right to participation outlined in a variety of sources of international law. Therefore, it is presented as an *independent variable*; and a security issue is a *dependent variable*. The analysis of relationships between women's right to participation and securitization of this issue, is possible through analysis of the discourse that plays the role of both *independent and intervening variable*. It acts as an intervening variable because it shapes the common

understanding of women's right to participation within the field of security, providing women's right to participation with either greater importance or greater invisibility. The discourse also serves as an independent variable because the security discourse itself creates an understanding of threats and directly influences the process of securitization (See Table 4).

First, analyzing indicators that, in combination, make something a security issue, the study identifies under what conditions violations of women's right to participation in the context of counter-terrorism can be considered as a security issue. These determinations are made using both qualitative content analysis and discourse analysis. In this vein, the content analysis contributes to a better understanding of the previous findings; introduces historical contexts; and assists in creating an interpretive understanding of current security trends. The discourse analysis of the UNSC meetings relevant to the issue of terrorism, on the other hand, provides a better understanding of the ways in which women's rights are currently integrated in the conversations about counter-terrorism to support, discredit, or strengthen findings made by security scholars.

In fact, using either of these methods alone would affect objectivity and integrity of the argument. Utilizing discourse analysis alone is not effective for building a proper argument because the current counter-terrorism discourse fails to provide proper attention to women's rights. The analysis of existing literature is also not reliable simply due to the general absence of guidelines for conducting women's rights-sensitive counter-terrorism analysis. In this vein, this study attempts to use both methods to ensure an in-depth analysis of the role of women in counter-terrorism discourse and literature.

It should be further noted that even if violations of women's right to participation pass a "security threat" test, this does not mean that a "securitization move" is complete. The study

would have to prove that the main securitizing actor in the context of counter-terrorism, the state, supports the importance of women's right to participation in counter-terrorism.

To do so, the study conducts discourse analysis, utilizing a sample that consists of 10,548 UNSC meeting records that were collected throughout the period between January, 2001 and December, 2016. This list includes records from debates, briefings, and consultations on the threats caused by terrorist acts¹⁵, as well as on other relevant geographic and thematic issues¹⁶. When at least one reference to women's rights is made during the meeting, this meeting is identified in the data-base as the one in which this issue was addressed. Additional information on how many states have referenced a particular issue during a specific meeting is provided when it is necessary to support the argument.

This method has been chosen primarily due to its reliability. Traditionally, all statements delivered at the UNSC are well-prepared and, therefore, provide the best possible expression of the state's "speech act." Moreover, the majority of member states, except for Taiwan, Kosovo, and fifty dependent territories¹⁷, are allowed to make statements during open debates.

The study provides a general analysis of the role of women's rights in counter-terrorism discourse, a specific analysis of women's right to participation in counter-terrorism, and a specific analysis of the ways in which the discourse progresses over time in the discussions at the

¹⁵ Collected information also generates a data-base on the frequency of references to women's rights-related statements made at the UNSC's meetings in which terrorism-related concerns have been discussed.

¹⁶ Terrorism and counter-terrorism are often discussed during the UNSC meetings on the situations in Afghanistan, the Middle East, West Africa, Somalia, and Mali. These themes are also frequent at the UNSC meetings on the protection of civilians, WPS, and sexual violence in conflict.

¹⁷ Not all member states made equal amount of statements. Only five members of the UNSC are permanent and, therefore, responsible for making a statement in each meeting. The presence of other member states at the meetings can be optional and limited.

UNSC. Each statement is analyzed on the basis of specific “frames” constructed around women’s right. These frames can be “participatory” or “protective.” For the purpose of this study, “participatory” frames are those in which the adherence to women’s right to participation obligations is a part of states’ “speech act;” those in which women’s rights are not used to justify urgent militarized counter-terrorism responses; and those in which there are objective evidence that women are considered to be valuable partners in counter-terrorism efforts. “Protective” frames are those in which women’s experiences in counter-terrorism are discussed in the context of “victimhood.”

By assessing the views on women’s right to participation in the context of counter-terrorism and by tracing the progress that has been achieved in the security discourse for the last sixteen years, this study attempts to transform security knowledge in ways that go beyond including women into the discourse. The analysis attempts to utilize available empirical and legal evidence to support the images of women as equal political actors and subjects, rather than the objects, of counter-terrorism. Discussing the lack of political will to encourage women’s participation in counter-terrorism and address women’s rights violations, the study aims to show that women’s insecurity concerns not only social redistribution but presents a fundamental question of survival, which makes violations of women’s rights a security threat.

Hypothesis

On the basis of preliminary literature review and a theoretical framework comprised of Securitization Theory (Waever, 1993; Buzan et al., 1998; Huysmans, 2010) and feminist contributions (Tickner, 1992; Hansen, 2000; Huckerby, 2016), the following general hypotheses have been developed:

- Violations of women's right to participation in the context of counter-terrorism constitute a threat to international security because
 - they pose an existential threat to a referent object;
 - they have been articulated in public and accepted by some members of the audience as a security threat;
 - they are the issues of collective survival;
 - the need to address them is present with a greater urgency;
 - they are systematically targeted against a specific group of people.
- Women are more likely to be identified as victims of terrorism; and their rights are used by the states to demonize political opponents and legitimize "hard" counter-terrorism measures.
- The number of statements in support of women's participation in developing counter-terrorism strategies is increasing over time.

Chapter 1: Is a violation of women's right to participation a security threat?

The literature on the role of women in counter-terrorism has contributed to the development of an interdisciplinary perspective into security studies. Women's rights-based counter-terrorism measures reflect general dynamics of terrorism in the modern world. In this context, women's agency has a strategic significance for the states. The increasing disregard on the part of member states for women's rights has "spillover effects," including state's inability to understand some terrorism strategies and effectively prevent terrorism.

Security dynamics could no longer be reduced only to the military-political relations between the states. While the states refrain from focusing on women's right to participation in their counter-terrorism discourse, the study moves away from discussing any specific securitizing actors and conducts a more liberal analysis of the scope of existing research on women's participation in counter-terrorism. Using distinctive criteria which separates a security issue from a non-security issue, the study attempts to resolve the question of whether or not violations of women's right to participation falls under the scope of security threats.

a) Security is about survival/poses an existential threat

In order to understand whether violations of women's right to participation can be presented as an existential threat to a referent object, it should be found whether there are ways in which violations of women's right to participation can (a) threaten the very existence of the state or the nation and (b) justify the involvement of defense institutions to counter potential threats arising from the lack of women's participation in counter-terrorism.

References to the involvement of defense institutions are often made to support militarized responses to terrorism, while upholding gender stereotypes in human society.

Martinez-Salazar (2008) claims that “global patriarchy under the excuse of protecting women, children and national securities is becoming a mask to invade other countries and to curtail fundamental social justice gains in the global north as well as in the global south” (p.1). Similarly, the analysis conducted for this study suggests that references to the involvement of defense institutions are not used to promote, protect, or fulfill women’s rights; instead, the states use references to women’s vulnerabilities to justify the use of force against their political opponents and support their counter-terrorism measures¹⁸.

At the same time, women’s participation is considered to be an optional privilege that does not require any additional state support¹⁹, as the states deny the existence of a link between the lack of women’s participation and the development of security threats. While references to women’s right to participation, however, are not accompanied with the same linguistic structures, the research conducted by academia and non-governmental organizations provide alternative ways to prove that the lack of women’s participation in counter-terrorism threatens the very existence of nations.

First, women’s participation in decisions that affect them is crucial for the population’s sustainable livelihood. Even though the international community only recently came to realize the importance of women’s agency for developing effective counter-terrorism measures²⁰, the

¹⁸ In light of the tragic experiences of women enslaved, raped and killed by ISIS and other terrorist groups, terrorism appears to be “the most serious challenge facing the international community” (UNSC, 2004. p. 31). Subsequently, the preference is given to militarized solutions (more than 68.75 percent of the UNSC meetings analyzed for this study) that are traditionally implemented through a global consensus between member states.

¹⁹ In the WPS-related resolutions, member states refuse to highlight that providing women with a right to participate is their obligation under international law.

²⁰ This study finds that in the period between January, 2001 and December, 2016, 15.39 percent (on average) the UNSC meetings on terrorism-related issues include statements made by member states about the importance of women’s participation in the development of counter-terrorism measures (See Table 8).

body of research built by non-governmental organizations and academia has already demonstrated the strategic necessity of providing women with an opportunity to meaningfully participate in decision-making when it comes to counter-terrorism.

Generally, *gender inequality is found to be a strong predictor of violence and instability*. Tessler and Warriner (1997), Caprioli (2000), and Caprioli (2005) found that the states with a higher level of gender inequality (measured by fertility rates and the level of women's participation in the labor force) are more prone to inter- and intra-state conflicts.

Herbert (2014) also suggests that *the more years a country has had female suffrage for before an international dispute, the more likely it is to resolve the dispute without using military violence*; countries with lower levels of women's representation in parliament are more likely to use military violence to settle international disputes and are at higher risk of intrastate armed conflict. Caprioli (2005) finds that "a five percent decrease in the percentage of women in parliament makes a country nearly five times as likely to resolve the international disputes using military violence" (p. 514).

Since the launch of the Global Study on UNSCR 1325 (2000), there is also a wide recognition of the importance of women's participation in peace processes for lasting peace. UN Women's 1325 (2000) Factsheet (2016) suggests that *women's participation increases the probability of a peace agreement lasting at least two years* by 20 percent and by 35 percent the probability of a peace agreement lasting 15 years (p. 4).

Additionally, there is a direct relationship between women's right to participation and the success of counter-terrorism measures. The Global Study on UNSCR 1325 (2000) suggests that "countries with relative gender equality are less prone to violent extremism" (Coomaraswamy,

2015, p. 227). One assumption in this context is that *an exclusion of women from decision-making processes on counter-terrorism matters can lead to the outbreak of violent extremism*. Even though the data quality on terrorism is generally poor due to the lack of proper definition of terrorism, some studies (Dumas, 2010; Younas & Sandler, 2017) indicate that gender inequality and the lack of access to decision-making increases the risk of terrorism with high statistical significance.

The lack of services provided to women can be considered as a predictor of further involvement of these women in terrorist activities. A study of female suicide bombers in Chechnya revealed that each of the 27 former female terrorist fighters studied was driven into terrorism by deep personal traumatization and post-traumatic stress disorder; these types of trauma are more likely to be imposed on women when a women's rights-sensitive perspective is absent from counter-terrorism measures (Speckhard & Akhmedova, 2006). Similarly, the discourse analysis conducted for the present study found that inequality is the third most popular root cause of political violence, as it is presented by member states during the UNSC meetings²¹. While specific factors behind an individual's decision to participate in violent extremism are multi-faceted and complex, gender inequality and gender-based violence are factors generally understood to be conducive to radicalization (GCTF, 2016).

Finally, *gender analysis is of utmost importance in addressing the evolving nature of counter-terrorism*. Bloom and Matfess (2016) highlight that women suicide terrorists capitalize and thrive on the "element of surprise" (p. 2). Women terrorists can simply take advantage of

²¹ This study finds that under-development (i.e.: unemployment and the lack of education), poverty, and religious intolerance are the most popular causes of political violence, followed by the unregulated flow of arms and the lack of access to human rights being other widely-accepted causes of terrorism (See Table 3).

cultural reluctance toward physical searches to evade detection. Given their seemingly feminine facade, they are categorically perceived as gentle and non-threatening. Symbolically, the death of women bombers is more likely to evoke a feeling of desperation and sympathy (Bloom & Matfess, 2016).

There are also some examples of newly developed ways of utilizing women's agency in terrorism. Slaughter and Weingarten (2016) found a specific pattern in ISIS gender strategy: the paths of women and men to join ISIS were generally different; men were going first to Turkey and then on to Syria while the women were heading directly to Libya. This shows that ISIS recruits women into functions associated with reproduction and consolidating territorial gains. The pathway of women showed that ISIS was not simply enhancing its fighting forces in Libya but attempting to build a statehood there. As the phenomenon of terrorism evolves quickly, it is crucial to address areas in which a state-centric approach to security lacks women's rights-sensitive understanding.

In the recent years, member states begin to consider the connection between women's participation in counter-terrorism and the success of counter-terrorism measures. The analysis of the progress made in this direction by the states over the last fifteen years suggests that member states are more willing to accept the importance of women's participation in counter-terrorism for security by the end of 2016²² as opposed to the end of 2005²³.

²² During the period 2012 and 2016, 25.60 percent of the UNSC meetings on terrorism-related issues include references to women's participation in counter-terrorism (See Table 8).

²³ While analyzing the period between 2001 and 2005, this study finds that 16.92 percent of the UNSC meetings on terrorism-related issues include references to women's participation in counter-terrorism (See Table 8).

Some member states express their open support to women's role in counter-terrorism and connect the success of these measures with women's agency. For example, during the 2016 WPS open debate (UNSC, 2016b), the representative of France suggested that "the fight against terrorism [...] is a common undertaking and, to be effective, no stakeholder should be neglected; [...] it is essential to provide [women] with the necessary means to play their parts" (p. 256).

In sum, this study argues that the lack of women's participation in counter-terrorism meets the threshold of a security threat because it poses an immediate and sufficient existential threat to the existence of human society in many instances. This threat lies primarily in the fact that the absence of women leads to the development of counter-terrorism strategies that overlook specific gendered terrorist tactics; it can also lead to increased involvement of women in terrorist activities due to the general ignorance of patriarchal societies to the needs and problems of women.

b) Security threats are accepted by the audience

Even though the lack of women's participation poses an existential threats to the survival of nations, there are little work done by the states to receive approval of the audience on this matter. In order to understand the processes that accompany the counter-terrorism dialogue between the securitizing actor and the audience, it is important to determine who is the audience in the counter-terrorism discourse. Only when this determination is made can approaches and specific linguistic structures that accompany this dialogue be analyzed with a view to understand the potential of the states to advocate for women's right to participation to be a security threat.

In 2015, the UNSC has adopted its most recent WPS resolution 2242 (2015) with a strong focus on the role of women in counter-terrorism. In this resolution, the UNSC provides specific

guidance to the international community on how women's participation should be incorporated in counter-terrorism and commit to work with specific audiences, including the CTED, member states, sanctions committees, and others, while moving this agenda forward.

In this resolution, the UNSC requests the relevant expert groups for sanctions committees to have the necessary gender expertise (UNSC, 2015, OP. 6). In fact, there is no mention of the inclusion of women in these committees. Inviting member states to "integrate their agendas on WPS and counter-terrorism", the UNSC "encourages the Counter-Terrorism Committee (CTC) and CTED to hold further consultations with women and women's organizations to help inform their work" (UNSC, 2015, OP. 11). Similar to the previous example, in this context the UNSC does not see the inclusion of women in decision-making as a necessary process. Instead, the UNSC suggests that getting to know the position of women and women's organizations through a consultative process is important. As suggested in the General Comment 23 to the CEDAW (1997), states parties have a responsibility both to appoint women to senior decision-making roles and to consult and incorporate the advice of groups which are broadly representative of women's views and interests (para. 26).

There are very limited instances in which this resolution outlines specific opportunities for women to participate in decision-making. Operational paragraph 12 of this resolution suggests "relevant United Nations entities, including CTED within its existing mandate and in collaboration with UN-Women, to conduct and gather gender-sensitive research and data collection [...] in order to develop targeted and evidence-based policy and programming responses" (UNSC, 2015). However, there is lack of specificity of who the final recipient of these data would be.

Finally, this resolution urges member states and the UN system “to ensure the participation and leadership of women and women’s organizations in developing strategies to counter terrorism” (UNSC, 2015, OP. 13). Women are expected to (a) counter incitement to commit terrorist acts and (b) create counter narratives and other appropriate interventions (UNSC, 2015, OP. 13). In this context, the responsibility of member states is not to ensure women’s meaningful participation in the government and provide special measures to ensure this participation. Instead, member states are invited to “build women’s capacity to do so effectively” by empowering them (UNSC, 2015, OP. 13).

This agreed rhetoric demonstrates the lack of consideration given to the concept of women’s participation developed under the international human rights law. This rhetoric upholds the masculine values that are supported by the state-centric security approach, persuading the audience to believe that women have their space in counter-terrorism. However, this participation does not stem from the main principles enshrined in the International Bill of Rights; it comes from previous language on women’s participation developed by the Council in its previous WPS resolutions. Some statements lower the importance of UNSC resolutions, presenting them as voluntary international guidelines. In fact, the representative of the Russian Federation in the 2015 WPS open debate suggested that National Action Plans on UNSCR 1325 (2000) “should be drawn up on a voluntary basis by those states that are in the grip of armed conflict or at the post-conflict reconstruction phase” (UNSC, 2015*a*, p. 23). Specifically, member states are more likely

to suggest women's empowerment²⁴ and cooperation of state entities with women's organizations as opposed to specifying a place for women in decision-making bodies²⁵.

The positive outcome of securitization, whether it is strong or weak, lies with the securitizing actor's choice of determining the appropriate strategy within which the recognition, including the integration of the 'imprinting' object — a threat — by the masses, is facilitated (Balzacq, 2014). There is some acceptance on the part of member states of the importance of women's participation in counter-terrorism²⁶. The current international agreements provide some space for women to change their role in the security field. However, these calls for women's inclusion lack specificity and, therefore, can be falsely interpreted by member states. Since the states usually have no interest promoting women's right to participation in counter-terrorism, the audience accepts the reality on the basis of the information that it is received through a "speech act."

c) Security is about collective survival/an issue of international security

Whether migrants, sexual minorities, people with a specific religious affiliation, or systematic violations of human rights constitute security threats depends on whether the securitizing actor sees them as such, taking a traditional view on what poses an existential threat to it and a referent object. The issues of international security are often the issues that affect

²⁴ On average, during the period between January, 2001 and December, 2016, the states have recommended empowering women in 7.61 percent, addressing human rights concerns in 12.50 percent, increasing the protection of "women and children" in 79.36 percent during the UNSC meetings on terrorism-related issues.

²⁵ During the period between January, 2001 and December, 2016, the states have recommended to ensure women's participation in counter-terrorism decision-making in 15.39 percent of the UNSC meetings on terrorism-related issues.

²⁶ According to Huckerby (2016), this inclusion is often instrumentalized in order to further strengthen women's victimhood and to justify state-centric approaches to counter-terrorism.

people's "basic" rights, including the rights to life and security, because "the conditions they protect are necessary for the enjoyment of any other rights" (Beitz & Goodin, 2011). If the states can connect an issue with the threat to basic rights and the very existence of the nation, they may consider this issue as a security threat.

In the context of current power relations, protection of women, including from sexual violence, is presented as an issue that is more important than women's participation, unless a different version is specifically identified by the state. In addition to the preference given by member states to the issues of women protection, the UNSC hosts annual debates on sexual violence in conflict and protection of civilians, providing a platform for member states to discuss the experiences of women in the context of counter-terrorism.

A threat associated with the right to life and right to the sovereignty of the state in the context of terrorism is widely prioritized by the states, often implying the need for international cooperation for targeting the threat²⁷. For example, during the 2001 UNSC open debate on the threats caused by terrorist acts, the representative of China, joining another fourteen speakers, suggested that "terrorism is a brazen challenge to all of the human civilization and a common enemy to humanity" (p. 4). In fact, considering how terrorism has transitioned over time in collective meaning, the idea of "evil" and "threat" has been only further reinforced in the discussion of the UNSC, as member states continue to refer to it as something that disturbs the values of human dignity, human rights, and freedoms that we all hold dear (UNSC, 2001), causes "the loss of human lives and in insecurity" (UNSC, 2015a), threatens women and children,

²⁷ The study finds that member states are more likely to propose cooperation and increased militarization as the main solutions to the problem of terrorism. Specifically, member states believe that international cooperation is the best way to organize in response to terrorism and that military solution of the problem is unavoidable (See Table 4).

(UNSC, 2015c). It is a powerful discourse, which de-contextualizes and further de-historicizes the actions of the terrorists, emptying them of any political content, while simultaneously de-humanizing them.

In this context, the inclusion of women's rights-sensitive consideration in security analysis often falls under the category of social security because it is concerned with individuals, not collective security (Hansen, 2000). Even though without women's participation, countries are more likely to engage in conflict (Caprioli, 2005; Coomaraswamy, 2015), the current discourse is built in a way that provides an understanding of terrorism as a threat to people's "basic" rights to life and security. In this life-threatening context, women's right to participation is often seen as a benefit and as an empowerment and/or economic issue.

As discussed earlier in this study, the lack of women's participation threatens nation's collective identity by failing to address terrorists' gendered strategies and by threatening the basic principles of gender equality and international human rights law. The findings of this study, as well as other scholarly research (Hansen 2000; MacKenzie, 2013; Huckerby, 2016), suggest that the lack of women's participation affects collective security of the nation and should not simply be regarded as a benefit for women. However, it is not yet a part of a "speech act," as the current construction of counter-terrorism discourse is framed in a specific way that allows only for further strengthening of states' grip on power. The shift in this logic towards women's participation will require re-consideration of the security discourse exercised by the states.

d) Security threats present themselves with great urgency

In times of emergency, the balance between protecting human rights and ensuring national security is difficult to find and maintain. From a legal perspective, a state of emergency

is defined as a “situation in which a state is confronted by a mortal threat and responds by doing things that would never be justifiable in normal times, given the working principles of that state” (Scheppelle, 2003, p. 1004). By invoking security to address a specific issue, the states declare that a current situation is different from normal with a view to get a permission from the audience to disregard the norms that the state is usually bound by (Buzan et al., 1998, p. 24).

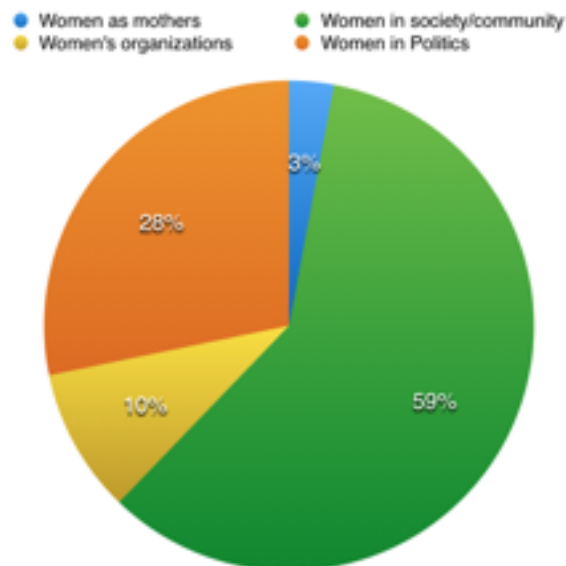
When it comes to women's rights, member states are more likely to imply urgency when it comes to women's victimhood in the context of terrorism because this threat can be assessed and analyzed. In 2014 and 2015, member states were more likely to use specific linguistic structures that invite others to act immediately using all means available to their disposal to address the use of sexual violence as a tactic or terror²⁸. At some point, these violations became “essential to address” (UNSC, 2015*c*) as “a key driver” of terrorism (UNSC, 2016*c*). In this vein, the words that are used to highlight this trend place the issue of sexual violence in the realm of urgency.

To highlight the urgency attached to an issue, many states, including Israel and the United States, statistics on violence against women and girls frequently. During the 2016 open debate on sexual violence in conflict, the representative of Israel invited the international community to “think of the 219 girls of Chibok, Nigeria, still missing from their homes; think of the thousands of Yazidi girls abducted, sold as slaves, raped, and impregnated” (UNSC, 2016*c*). Very often, statements of the United States in the UNSC meetings on terrorism-relevant issues start with a story of a woman or a child whose family was “killed,” “tortured,” and “destroyed” by terrorists (UNSC, 2004; p. 11; UNSC, 2013, p. 16; UNSC, 2015*c*, p. 8).

²⁸ The UNSC has organized specific debates on the use of sexual violence as a tactic of war in 2014 and 2015. Before, this targeted approach to discuss this specific issue has never been undertaken.

At the same time, the lack of women's access to participation is not usually seen as an urgent issue. For example, in the 2016 UNSC open debate on sexual violence in conflict, the representative of South Africa mentioned that "women's voices need to be heard, and they also need to be at the forefront of the war against impunity" (UNSC, 2016c). There is no urgency attached to these calls. Moreover, the necessity of women's presence in counter-terrorism is often framed as a women's social duty²⁹ or through the lens of women's role in the community³⁰ (See Table 5).

Table 5: Women's proposed roles in counter-terrorism:



***This graph demonstrates the frequency of specific references made by member states in the UNSC meetings on terrorism-related issues (out of all meetings in which women's rights participation in counter-terrorism has been mentioned) for the period between January, 2001 and December, 2016.

²⁹ This study finds that out of all UNSC meetings on terrorism-related issues which provided references to the importance of women's participation in counter-terrorism, 59.26 percent of meetings include references made to their roles as members of societies and communities.

³⁰ This study finds that out of all UNSC meetings on terrorism-related issues which provided references to the importance of women's participation in counter-terrorism, 9.549 percent of meetings include references made to their roles as members of women's organizations that member states are welcome to collaborate and partner with.

Combatting terrorism is seen as a priority³¹ and immediate responsibility of member states, while the promotion of the WPS agenda is largely considered to be a “voluntary” undertaking and not of immediate effect. Subsequently, the terrorist groups are being accused of “disregard,” “disrespect,” and “ongoing violations” of international law³², while states’ disregard for women’s right to participation, as well as other women’s rights, is rarely³³ considered to be a violation of international law.

While decades of disregard for women’s rights provided terrorist organizations with an opportunity to develop gendered strategies and use women’s agency to advance their own causes, the international community still refuses to accept the urgency of the need to include women and a women’s rights-sensitive perspective in the development of counter-terrorism strategies. The states are more likely to strengthen their grip on power using methods that would not require reconsideration of the power structures and appear with a specific level of urgency (i.e.: the use of sexual violence by terrorist groups and the potential of terrorist organizations to acquire WMDs).

e) Systematic oppression of a specific group is a security threat

Women’s political participation not only empowers women in society, but also provides an alternative perspective on the traditional decision-making processes, providing more opportunities for women to have their problems and grievances addressed (Johnson, 2016).

³¹ This study suggests that 64 percent of the UNSC meetings on terrorism related issues include references to counter-terrorism as the responsibility of the UNSC and all member states.

³² This study finds that out of all statements used to describe the nature of terrorist groups, these groups are characterized as violators of international law in 65.45 percent of the UNSC meetings on terrorism-related issues.

³³ Direct references to the violations of women’s rights in counter-terrorism being a violation of international law have not been found during this study. In some cases, the empowerment and inclusion of women has been justified as a priority under international law.

When women have no prospects for having their role in society changed, they are more likely to become alienated from this society and commit to antisocial behavior (Agnew, 2000; Ní Aoláin, 2013; Chowdhury Fink et al., 2013). In this vein, targeted and systematic discrimination against women can create a significant threat to human society by negatively influencing social structures³⁴.

Nevertheless, legal systems around the world continue to perpetuate negative gender stereotypes, in violation of Article 5 of the CEDAW. The Statistical Division of the UN (2015a) suggests that inequality between women and men tends to be severe and highly visible in power and decision-making arenas; in most societies around the world, women hold only a small number of decision-making positions in public and private institutions (p. 89). Advances over the past two decades, according to the source, are evident in all regions and in most countries, but progress has been slow (UN, 2015a, p. xii). These statistics show that the current state of discrimination of women in decision-making is systematic and world-wide.

Since the state-centric political ideologies are highly gendered and lack women's rights-sensitive considerations, the same vision is applicable to the field of counter-terrorism as nationalism remains the main motivator of existing counter-terrorism policies. This, subsequently, perpetuates unequal relationships and distorts the analysis of the most pressing problems of the world (Huckerby, 2016). The states assert that concepts and doctrines that they use, including power and security, are neutral; therefore, assumptions about gender need not be addressed (Ozcan, 2013, p. 5). Following this state-centric logic, it seems natural for a man to dominate and for a woman to subordinate.

³⁴ The Foca case set a precedent, recognizing systematic rape in war as a crime against humanity and, therefore, as a security issue (Marhia, 2014).

Some consensus has been achieved within the international community when it comes to ways of addressing the lack of women's participation. This progress includes the adoption of the UNSCR 2242 (2015) and the UNSG's Plan of Action to Prevent Violent Extremism (2015). The UNSG's Plan of Action to Prevent Violent Extremism (2015), in this vein, only reference the fact that terrorist groups violate the rights of women and girls, including through sexual enslavement, forced marriages, and encroachment on their rights to education and participation in public life, as a rationale behind the development of this plan of action (para. 19). Subsequently, UNSCR 2242 (2015) recognizes the differential impact of terrorism and violent extremism on the human rights of women and girls, including in the context of their health, education, and participation in public life, and that they are often directly targeted by terrorist groups (PP. 14). None of these agreements explains the importance of women's participation to the international peace and security.

Overall, the current situation suggests that the lack of access to decision-making processes in the context of counter-terrorism is a systematic issue faced by women as a result of state-centric logic that situates itself within the legal framework. This treatment can be characterized as discrimination (CEDAW Committee, 1988). Even though the violations of women's right to participation in counter-terrorism present itself with different levels of urgency and within a different mode of reasoning, these violations are systematically targeted against a specific population. As a result, this discrimination can threaten the breakdown of society, including through states' inability to recognize women's agency and address relevant grievances, causing the emergence of additional security threats.

Conclusion

Viewing security as a “speech act” does not construct reality; reality exists outside of a “speech act.” It is neither theoretically useful nor is it empirically credible to hold that what one state says about a problem would determine its essence. At best, a “speech act” shapes audience’s understanding of the situation through the use of specific linguistic structures and the construction of a plot that includes an existential threat, the point of no return, and a positive way out (Buzan et al., 1998, p. 33). This approach provides a wide leeway for the states to choose what constitutes a security threat. While many states choose to securitize immigration and refugee flows, they fail to address violations of women’s right to participation in the context of counter-terrorism as a potential driver of insecurity.

The Copenhagen School has developed some means that can be used to affect a “speech act” by different actors. In many ways, understanding a “speech act” serves to empower the audience to engage in the conversation with the states about what constitutes a security threat. However, the role of the audience, as this study demonstrates, is significantly limited as the states are considered to be “duty-bearers” that are empowered to provide security. Subsequently, the role of the audience is minimal, especially in the counter-terrorism discourse.

Clearly, there is no certainty in an argument that all violations of women’s right to participation should be considered to be a security threat. However, certain cases demonstrate the urgent need to address the problem of women’s inequality in decision-making processes, as it has gone unaddressed for many decades and affects women who are being systematically discriminated as a group.

Targeted and systematic violations of women's right to participation threaten nation's collective identity. The current body of research suggests that the impact of gender inequality goes beyond discrimination. Even though the violations of women's right to participation in counter-terrorism present itself with different levels of urgency and within a different mode of reasoning, these are systematically targeted against a specific population and have proven to be able to cause security outbreaks. Gender-blind counter-terrorism strategies often mis-prioritize women's needs and problems, including previously experienced trauma, and refrain to analyze terrorist tactics from a women's rights-sensitive perspective. This disregard, in turn, can threaten the breakdown of society and be considered as a potential security issue.

Chapter 2: Women's right to participation in the United Nations Security Council counter-terrorism discourse

In 2000, the UNSC adopted WPS resolution 1325 (2000), highlighting the gendered impact of war and urging the participation of women into post-conflict reconstruction. The fact that the body of international law was enriched with specific references to women's participation provided an opportunity to member states to further strengthen the language on women's participation in the field of security more broadly. However, the main principles of UNSCR 1325 (2000) were largely eroded in the decade that followed, leaving all references to women remain in the realm of victimhood and vulnerability (Nesiah, 2013, p. 127).

This chapter explores the “frames” constructed around women's rights in the context of counter-terrorism³⁵ in the period between January, 2001 and December, 2016 by analyzing the UNSC meetings on terrorism-related issues. The main goal of this chapter, in this vein, is to better understand the women's rights-sensitive priorities discussed by member states in the counter-terrorism discourse and how these priorities have changed over time.

1. Root causes of terrorism

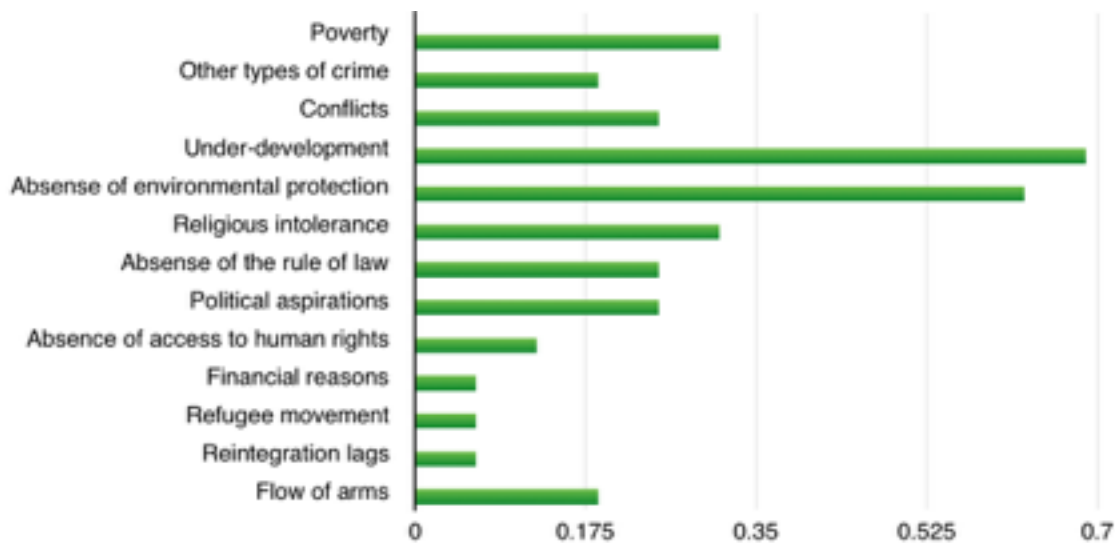
As a response to the attack on September 11, 2001, emergency laws and draconian measures have been adopted by the states in the name of homeland security. Internationally, there has also been an increase in the terrorism-specific discourse³⁶ with a view to “press for a war that is potentially infinite in scope and reach” (Nesiah, 2013, p. 130).

³⁵ The role of women in national conflicts (i.e.: situations in Kosovo and Somalia) were generally not considered for the purpose of this study as these conflicts have occurred on the basis of territorial concerns and do not address terrorism as a matter of general political violence (Hoffman, 2006).

³⁶ The number of the UNSC meetings on terrorism-related issues have increased from 0 in 1999 and 2000 to 3 in 2001 and 8 in 2016.

At the same time, member states, as well as scholars (Hoffman, 2006; Gottlieb, 2014) demonstrated no strict agreement on what are the root causes of this threat. As Table 6 demonstrates, the potential root causes of terrorism vary from poverty and under-development to hatred and religious intolerance.

Table 6: Most widely-discussed root causes of terrorism:



***This graph demonstrates the frequency of specific references made by member states in the UNSC meetings on terrorism-related issues for the period between January, 2001 and December, 2016.

The lack of access to human rights and development as a root cause of terrorism has a specific interest in this study. While member states provide no specifications about what kind of human rights violations may influence an individual to choose political violence as a way to express grievances, it is important to recognize that the states see the potential of human rights violations to incite an individual to join terrorist groups³⁷.

While the human rights-based view on the root causes of terrorism has some merit, the application of the “one-size-fits-all” approach to all individuals is impossible for understanding

³⁷ In 2017, the United States took an unprecedented initiative to host a UNSC briefing with a focus on human rights violations as a potential threat to security. Traditionally, human rights is not a thematic topic that is to be discussed by the UNSC.

the link between women-specific grievances and women's involvement in terrorist activities. Chowdhury Fink and colleagues (2016), for example, suggest that "women in Rwanda often were not allowed to make decisions outside of their fathers or husbands, and committing acts of violence was one way they could seek to regain control of their behavior and actions" (p.11). At the same time, the patriarchal values and stereotypes that are present in all societies (Enloe, 1989; Tickner, 1992; Charlesworth, 1994; MacKenzie, 2010) are among the most over-looked drivers of female terrorism. Therefore, the state-centric understanding of human rights violations as potential security threats needs to be further analyzed and developed to reflect interests of different groups within human society.

Some states, however, note specific connections between women's rights and their involvement in terrorism. During the 2016 UNSC WPS open debate, the representative of Azerbaijan stated that "restricting women's rights in conflict settings through the misappropriation of religion has become widespread and is a very dangerous development" (UNSC, 2016d, p. 83). Similarly, the representative of Cambodia suggested that "terrorist propaganda exploits perceptions of economic and political disenfranchisement among young Muslim women and men, leading to their radicalization and joining of terrorist forces" (UNSC, 2016c, p. 79). However, these specific references are minimal and explain that women are driven by the same concerns when they are joining terrorist groups.

In sum, the security vocabulary that is used by the states in the UNSC misses to incorporate women's grievances when it comes to the discussion about the root causes of terrorism. Indeed, the states mention the lack of women's empowerment and participation and, certainly, regularly highlight the horrific impact of terrorism on women. Ignoring women's

rights-driven root causes of terrorism, however, could result in the underestimation of women's passion for affecting change and loss of key intervention opportunities to prevent the development of instability.

2. Participation vs. Protection

On average, during the period between January, 2001 and December, 2016, the states made references to women's participation in 15.39 percent of all UNSC meetings on terrorism-related issues, while references to the need to protect women from the effects of terrorism has been highlighted in 79.36 percent of all meetings. These data further reinforce patriarchal characteristics of human society, in which women are presented as vulnerable groups in need of protection.

A. Protection

The protection of women, including from sexual violence, is posed as a very important security issue. It is discussed in more than 70 percent of all UNSC meetings on terrorism-related issues. Especially, its urgency is highlighted during the last three years (2014, 2015, 2016) when the UNSC discusses the use of sexual violence as a tactic of terrorism more often, including during the annual debates on the protection of civilians and sexual violence in conflict. The urgency attached to women's protection in context of counter-terrorism is also made its move into international law by being highlighted in the UNSC 2242 (2015)³⁸.

The "protective" frames often serve a very specific purpose. Due to the lack of a clear definition of terrorism, these references are used to *demonize political regimes* that are deemed to

³⁸ UNSCR 2242 (2015) is concerned with "acts of sexual and gender-based violence are known to be part of the strategic objectives and ideology of certain terrorist groups" (PP. 14) and reiterates its call for member states to ensure increased representation of women at all decision-making levels in national, regional and international institutions and mechanisms (OP. 1).

commit acts of “state terrorism,” as it is seen by some members states. In Syria, member states often highlight the persecution of women by the regime, the bombing of civilian areas by the Syrian army, and the multiple restrictions placed on the most basic economic and social rights that endanger the survival of whole families (UNSC, 2016c). In Iraq, member states emphasize that “thousands of Iraqi women lost their lives and suffered from terrorist acts, which have targeted the most vulnerable groups in society, namely, children, women, and the elderly” (UNSC, 2008, p. 15; UNSC, 2016f; UNSC, 2016g). In Libya, the main concern is that “the fear of abduction or other abuses has left many women in ISIS-controlled areas effectively trapped in their homes” (UNSC, 2016h, p. 6), “the rampant sexual violence and abuse perpetrated by [ISIS]” (UNSC, 2015e, p. 61), and “the use of sexual violence systematically to fund terrorist operations” (UNSC, 2016g, p. 14). In Nigeria, Boko Haram’s activities have been traditionally amplified using the examples of abducted schoolgirls (UNSC, 2015f; UNSC, 2016c; UNSC, 2016e). In this context, the situation in Afghanistan is the only one when women’s rights and women’s political participation are often cited as a political priority³⁹ (UNSC, 2012; UNSC, 2013a; UNSC, 2015d).

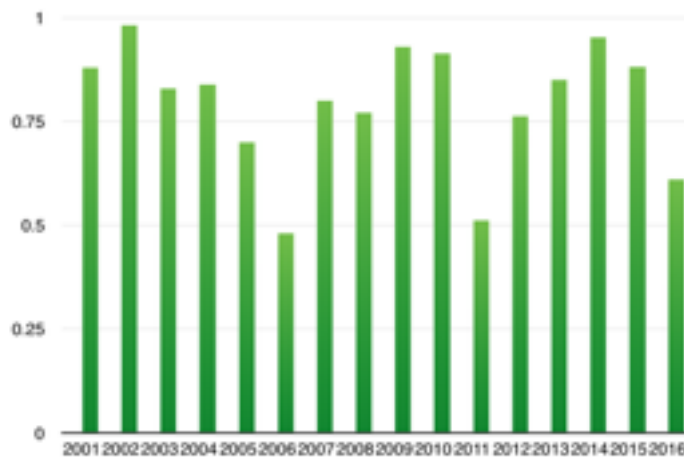
Moreover, references to women’s “victimhood” are used to provide the states with an opportunity *to get respect and understanding of the audience for actions that it undertakes*. The representative of Burkina Faso suggested that violations of women’s rights inspire the need for greater inclusion of all sectors of society and greater cooperation among all actors in counter-terrorism (UNSC, 2011, p. 36). More specifically, the representative of Canada mentioned that

³⁹ The mandate of the UN mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA) is to oversee the implementation of the Bonn Agreement that has several specific provisions on women’s political participation (Buchan, 2013, p. 186).

the issue of violence against women and girls requires the commitment of the leaders of the world to hold perpetrators of these crimes accountable (UNSC, 2016g, p. 45).

Finally, the use of references to “brutal” sexual violence is utilized *to support the intensification of “hard” counter-terrorism activities* (UNSC, 2015g, p. 21). “As many women and girls suffer the most and have become the most vulnerable groups to attacks and harm, the international community should attach great importance to strengthening the protection of their rights and interests and work together to support synergy and coordination in this area,” said the representative of China in the debate on the protection of civilians in January, 2015 (UNSC, 2015f, p. 11). These references are also used to further *demonize images of terrorist groups*, providing the states with an opportunity to uphold the notion of urgency and dangerousness of these groups and justify all types of security measures⁴⁰.

Table 7: References made to women’s vulnerability and need for protection:



***This graph demonstrates the frequency of references to women’s vulnerability made by member states in the UNSC meetings on terrorism related issues for the period between January, 2001 and December, 2016.

⁴⁰ As suggested by Huckerby and Satterthwaite (2013), references to women’s rights are used to demarcate “civilized” and “uncivilized” countries, further perpetuating “us versus them” narrative on the international arena (p. 3).

Subsequently, the calls to ensure women's protection appear with greater urgency. In connection to the tragic experiences of women enslaved, raped, and killed by ISIS and other groups, terrorism appears as "the most serious challenge facing the international community" (UNSC, 2016*b*, p. 256). The representative of Syria was asking the UNSC in 2004 whether the UNSC will "ever stop the killing and destruction," discussing the attacks of Israel on Palestinian women and children (UNSC, 2004. p. 31). Similarly, the representative of Israel, claiming losses and experiences of women, suggested that "the international community has accepted that situation for far too long; too many excuses have been made" (UNSC, 2007, p. 27).

Even though the use of women's experiences can serve many purposes for many different actors, the results of this exploitation have a variety of gender-specific impacts, including restrictions on the freedom of movement, unequal distribution of aid and food, and the lack of access to education, particularly in areas under control of terrorist groups (Huckerby, 2016). Moreover, an emphasis on women's victimhood has undermined women's roles as agents in post-9/11 global governance, including in the specific areas of terrorism and its prevention (Huckerby, 2016, p. 551).

B. Participation

On average, the "participatory" frames are more than five times less likely to appear in the UNSC discussions on the issues relevant to threats caused by terrorist acts⁴¹. Even when these references are made and in the focus of the discussion, their frequency is minimal. For example, the issue of women's participation, even though highlighted in UNSC 2242 (2015)

⁴¹ This study finds that in the period between January, 2001 and December, 2016, references to women's participation in the development of counter-terrorism measures have been made in 15.39 percent (on average) of the UNSC meetings on terrorism-related issues.

itself, barely gained any recognition in the statements of member states made in the follow-up 2015 WPS open debate⁴², where only 17 out of 110 statements specifically highlighted the role of women in counter-terrorism, with the majority of statements covering the general role of women in society and as members of a non-governmental organizations. In 2016, during one of the 2016 UNSC open debates on the threats caused by terrorist acts (S/PV.7670), only eight out of twenty-two speakers discussed either protection or participation of women in the context of counter-terrorism⁴³. During another 2016 UNSC open debate on terrorism (S/PV.7690), twenty-three speakers (out of eighty) have discussed the situation of women⁴⁴. In all these meetings, references to women's vulnerability and victimhood were made twice more often than references to women's participation. These references also appear with a different level of urgency.

Generally speaking, *the language on women's participation in counter-terrorism lacks specificity*. Member states are less likely to call on the international community to ensure increased representation of women at all decision-making levels in national, regional, and international security institutions and mechanisms. On average, during the period between January, 2001 and December, 2016, the states made references to the importance of women's political participation in 28.25 percent of the UNSC meetings⁴⁵, to the importance of women for

⁴² This UNSC open debate followed the adoption of UNSCR 2242 (2015).

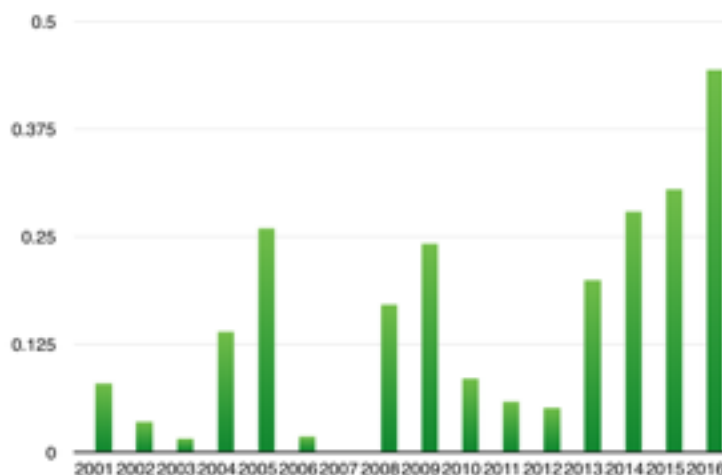
⁴³ The 2016 UNSC open debate on the threats caused by terrorist acts (S/PV.7670) includes eight statements on the notion of vulnerability and the need for protection and four statements on the importance of women's meaningful participation in counter-terrorism.

⁴⁴ The 2016 UNSC open debate on the threats caused by terrorist acts (S/PV.7690) includes twenty-three statements on the notion of vulnerability and the need for protection and six statements on the importance of women's meaningful participation in counter-terrorism.

⁴⁵ This study finds that the majority of available references consider the importance of women's political participation only in specific contexts (Afghanistan and Iraq), where the language on women's participation has been embedded into UNSC resolutions.

countering terrorism and radicalization in their communities in 59.26 percent of the UNSC meetings. Women's organizations were also mentioned; in 9.549 percent of the UNSC meetings, references to the importance of these organizations to countering terrorism have been made.

Table 8: References made to women's participation:



***This graph demonstrates the frequency of references to women's participation in counter-terrorism made by member states in the UNSC meetings on terrorism-related issues for the period between January, 2001 and December, 2016.

Statements of member states suggest that “women should be included in all stages of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of counter-terrorism efforts” (UNSC, 2015c, p. 41); and that women's role is “critical in tackling the problem of small arms and light weapons” (UNSC, 2013, p. 5). However, the role of women in counter-terrorism remains unclear and open to interpretation. In the majority of cases, references to women's participation are taken out of the context⁴⁶, being left under-developed by the representatives of the states. While

⁴⁶ The states, traditionally, make references to women's participation as a one-sentence commitment without developing this idea. In 2016, for example, out of all references (thirty-five) made by member states on the role of women in counter-terrorism, the majority (twenty-one) do not describe any specific commitments or plans to address this issue further.

references to women's vulnerability are often used to call for a specific action, there is no clarity about how women's participation is to be carried out⁴⁷.

Despite the persistent use of women's victimhood to justify extraordinary counter-terrorism measures⁴⁸, references to women's participation have increased in the last three years (See Table 10). This increase may be connected with the emergence of the women's rights-sensitive language in the Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy (UN, 2006) and the SG's Plan of Action to Prevent Violent Extremism (UN, 2015), as well as a greater push from the regional and international organizations, to further include gender-sensitive considerations in counter-terrorism and initiate a number of studies on the importance of women's empowerment for sustainable peace and building resilient societies. In one of his statements, the representative of Israel highlighted that "study after study has shown that there is a clear connection between advancing peace and advancing equal rights; when a woman generates her own income, she reinvests ninety percent in her family and community" (UNSC, 2014, p. 10).

While women's vulnerability is generally accepted as an urgent existential threat, references to the participation of women in the development of counter-terrorism strategies are less urgent in nature and less specific. Member states recognize "the unparalleled value of their contribution" (UNSC, 2005, p. 34), agree that women should be able to "contribute to building communities that are resilient against violent extremists" (UNSC, 2016*d*, p. 80), and commit to

⁴⁷ The main way in which the states are determined to address the problem of women's participation is through women's empowerment, including through eradicating poverty and providing women's access to education. However, these commitments constitute a part of the Sustainable Development Framework and cannot specifically address the role of women in counter-terrorism.

⁴⁸ The frequency of "protective" frames has been constantly over 50 percent since January, 2001.

“promote gender-sensitive strategies” (UNSC, 2013b, p. 36). These statements, however, lack urgency and specificity.

Women's participation in the development of strategies to counter-terrorism has been *accepted as a priority only by a small number of countries and very recently*. During the 2016 UNSC WPS open debate, the representative of Mexico reiterated “the importance of civil society and humanitarian organizations, as well as the participation of women, in formulating counter-terrorist measures” (UNSC, 2016d, p. 37). On a regular basis, this call is also supported in the UNSC statements of Uruguay (UNSC, 2016b), Colombia (2016e), and others. However, these statements do not specify in what capacity women are to be included.

The most recent attempts to bring together the agendas on WPS and counter-terrorism also appear to be worrisome for many. One of the major concerns associated with the use of references to women's participation in counter-terrorism is that they often serve *to legitimize states' counter-terrorism efforts*. During the 2016 UNSC open debate on the Middle East, the representative of Iceland mentioned that “we should not forget the huge potential that exists in involving women on all sides” (UNSC, 2016i, p. 31). Similarly, the Deputy Secretary-General suggested in 2016 that “we need to partner with faith leaders, women, and young people,” creating an understanding that these individuals are partners of the state, not a part of the state (UNSC, 2016e, p. 3). Similar statements are often used to create the appearance of the obedience to international law and serve to respond to the growing criticism on the part of civil society, while women are still considered to be only an additional support for the work done by member states.

The merge of two agendas is especially troubling for women's organizations that work on security issues. As women in communities and women's organizations are more likely to be called for action on the same security causes as the states, their agenda may become more "oriented toward security" (Huckerby, 2016, p. 574). This direction minimizes the importance of women's agency in security, as the process itself makes them to adopt the tactics of security. This merge is also often used to pull additional funding from the WPS work into counter-terrorism (Geuskens et al, 2016, p. 1). Finally, as Huckerby (2016) argues, "such securitization and protectionist approaches require and invest heavily in images of gendered victimhood" (p. 582).

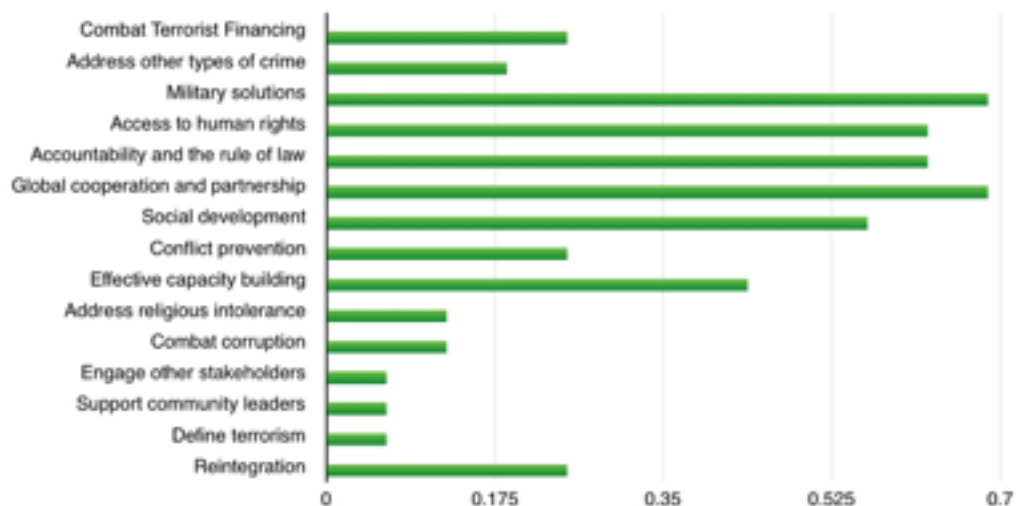
The current preference of "protective" frames reinforces stereotypes around the role of women in the field of security and prioritizes their vulnerabilities over their agency, making the right to participation to become a benefit or a tool for legitimization of states' security strategies. It is rarely seen as an obligation under international law. Notably, the use of both references is problematic. While women's participation is deeply securitized, the protection clauses serve specific security purposes, often being used to justify security measures and demonize an opponent.

3. The methods of countering terrorism

The current state-driven approach to the role of women in counter-terrorism coupled with the disregard for the role of women's rights violations in the emergence of political violence significantly influence the current strategies of addressing terrorism, with a prevalence given to militarized solutions that are traditionally implemented through a global consensus between member states. In fact, the study finds that member states are more likely to propose cooperation and increased militarization as the main solutions for the problem of terrorism. Specifically,

member states believe that international cooperation is the best way to organize in response to terrorism and that military solution of the problem is unavoidable (See Table 9).

Table 9: The most widely-supported ways of countering terrorism:



***The graph demonstrates the frequency of relevant references made by member states in the UNSC meetings on terrorism-related issues for the period between January, 2001 and December, 2016.

While “hard” solutions, as typical man-made ways of addressing the problem, were discussed and criticized in a variety of literature on gender and security (Enloe, 1989; Pratt, 2013; WILPF, 2016), the application of human rights framework and the framework of the rule of law are more challenging.

The human rights framework fails to incorporate and prioritize the most basic needs of women (Enloe, 1989; Charlesworth, 1994; Lynch et al., 2000; MacKenzie, 2010; Glenn, 2016). As a result, measures to counter terrorism financing, security sector reform, increased surveillance, and strengthened border control affect women and women’s organizations disproportionately. According to the most recent report *Tightening the Purse Strings* (2017), the ways in which countering terrorism financing rules have been designed and implemented take little account of specific features of women’s rights organizations and the environments in which

they operate (Duke Law, 2017). Specifically, legal and regulatory frameworks to counter terrorism financing often restrict transnational financial flows (e.g., from Western donors to grassroots groups); involve heavy compliance requirements; cause delays in, or block receipt of, funds; call for detailed information on civil society's activities; and decrease the risk appetite of donors and banks (Duke Law, 2017, p. 8).

Arguably, the general use of human rights framework⁴⁹ does not translate into more women's rights-sensitive approaches to counter-terrorism. Instead, Sheinin (2013) suggests that a standard approach to human rights and counter-terrorism has tended to render the full scope of women's rights-based violations invisible to policy makers and the human rights community alike (p. xii).

The rule of law framework is another way of addressing terrorism that continues to be normalized and legitimized⁵⁰. This framework justifies nation-building projects undertaken by the most powerful states in the most terrorism-torn countries around the world (i.e.: nation-building in Iraq and Afghanistan). It includes the promotion of free markets, human rights, and democracy.

However, this approach is also problematic. First of all, nation-building processes imply intervention and the change of cultural environment, with specific political vocabularies and

⁴⁹ In 62.5 percent of the UNSC meetings on terrorism-related issues, member states suggested that strengthening the human rights framework within the national and international law is one of the most sustainable ways of countering terrorism.

⁵⁰ In 62.5 percent of the UNSC meetings on terrorism-related issues, member states suggested that strengthening the rule of law framework within the national and international law is one of the most sustainable ways of countering terrorism.

institutional arrangements attached to this framework. Also, the nation-building in Afghanistan⁵¹, for example, with its specific emphasis on women's participation, has failed to produce tangible results. As per the most recent statements at the UNSC on the situation in Afghanistan, where, despite all of those advances in promoting women's rights, the international community still sees violent acts that target women as a group. During the last 2016 UNSC meeting on the situation in Afghanistan, the representative of Venezuela highlighted that armed men killed five women employed in the Kandahar airport on December 17, 2016, after they had previously received death threats because they wanted to exercise their right to work" (UNSC, 2016f, p. 20).

When it comes to the role of women in counter-terrorism, some member states agree, or say that they agree, that women are often the first to stand up to terrorism since they are among the first targets of terrorist tactics. During the 2016 UNSC open debate on sexual violence in conflict, the Under-Secretary-General, Zainab Hawa Bangura, also suggested that "without exception, the first sign of rising violent extremism has been the restriction of women's rights," highlighting that extremists know that to populate a territory and control a population, one must first control the bodies of women. In other words, women may be affected by violent extremism more than men (UNSC, 2016c, p. 4).

Recently, member states came to realize that women's agency can help them strengthen the understanding of terrorism as an "evil" that is to be addressed immediately. However, this approach has been incorporated into a general security framework that is built on a prevalence of specific state-centric methods that do not support the strengthening of women's agency and

⁵¹ This study finds that the majority of available references to women's political participation are used only in specific contexts of Afghanistan and Iraq, where the language on women's participation has been embedded into UNSC resolutions.

women's rights. Even the most human rights-sensitive approaches have been developed on the basis of the neutral and "one size fits all" approach to the international human rights law, without giving due consideration to women's specific rights attached to it.

Conclusion

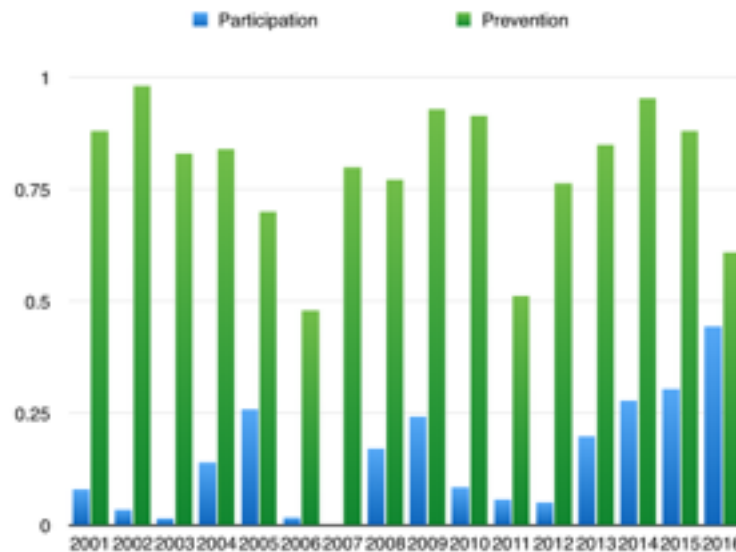
The security vocabulary and institutional arrangements that have been developed by member states for decades have significant difficulties in absorbing women's rights-sensitive considerations, as these strategies have been built by men and on the basis of patriarchal attitudes. In this vein, an emphasis on women's vulnerabilities is unquestionable and often used by member states for their own purposes (i.e.: to complete a securitization move on the national and international arenas or to demonize an opponent).

When it comes to the discussion of women's strengths and women's agency, this security framework has many difficulties in adaptation due to the lack of gender expertise in this field. While the states realize that human rights violations can be a reason for terrorism involvement; they fail to consider women's specific grievances (i.e.: women's general position in the private sphere, women's lack of access to funding). As a result, they fail to address these grievances effectively.

It is only in the last two years that member states came to realize the value of women's participation in counter-terrorism. In fact, the number of statements made in support of women's active participation in counter-terrorism is growing (See Table 8). However, as this study confirms, women's inclusion in counter-terrorism is not a matter of urgency, has a voluntary character, and remains abstract. It is also not clear whether the states are committed to

strengthening women's role in counter-terrorism or whether their agency is used as a method to further legitimize the application of force and foreign intervention.

Table 10: Women's protection vs. women's participation:



***This graph demonstrates the frequency of references made by member states to women's vulnerabilities and to women's participation in the UNSC meetings on terrorism-related issues for the period between January, 2001 and December, 2016.

While the use of military to counter terrorism remains a concern of many for decades, the newest "soft" tactics of addressing terrorism, including the rule of law framework, are also controversial. As the current laws and human rights frameworks are developed by men, gender-blind responses to terrorism can further perpetuate the cycle of violence as they are unable to recognize gendered terrorism strategies and respond to the needs of those affected by terrorism. Potential security threats that flow from this situation vary from women's active participation in political violence to facilitating transactions in support of terrorist organizations to passive compliance with terrorist activities going on around them to providing terrorist groups with an opportunity to exploit gender-blindness of counter-terrorism.

Limitations

The methodology chosen for this study implies several limitations. The statements at the UNSC are usually made by the most influential and developed states. Moreover, some countries never make statements at the UNSC⁵²; other countries are able to express their opinions only during open debates⁵³. Therefore, this method will not allow the application of these research findings to the situation in any specific state.

However, since the study addresses the issue of terrorism from a global perspective, the UNSC is the only international body responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security. The discourse in the UNSC also has a potential to influence decision-makers around the world through its resolutions.

Another methodological limitation of this study is that it does not analyze all steps of securitization (See Table 2). While providing an in-depth analysis of a “speech act” developed by securitizing actors and the legal framework of a right to participation that can be claimed by a referent object, the study does not provide a comprehensive overview of the audience’s perspective on women’s right to participation in counter-terrorism.

Even though to assess the readiness of the audience to accept women as necessary and meaningful partners of men in counter-terrorism is of primary importance for the success of “securitization,” the study suggests that the society is patriarchal and legitimizes a patriarchal political and social order (Tickner, 1992; Enloe, 1989, Charlesworth, 1994; MacKenzie, 2010). Moreover, since terrorism is a widely accepted security threat (UNSC, 2016: RAND, 2016), the

⁵² For example, all meeting records analyzed for this study do not include statements of Moldova, Tuvalu, or Mongolia, among others.

⁵³ Other meetings of the UNSC are reserved for the UNSC members and guests that are specifically invited by the UNSC.

states have already legitimized their methods and received acceptance of the audience to develop new counter-terrorism strategies. Generally, the study finds that audience's opinion does not influence a "speech act."

The chosen theoretical framework also implies several limitations. In fact, viewing security as a "speech act" amounts to reducing it to an institutional procedure guided by the states. Therefore, by arguing that violations of women's right to participation in counter-terrorism efforts constitute a security threat within this framework means to support the use of security framework to address women's rights violations. This, as Jayne Huckerby (2016) warns, may further strengthen securitization of the role of women in counter-terrorism⁵⁴.

However, this study does not focus on the application of counter-terrorism measures. Its primary goals are to exemplify the dangerousness of women's exclusion and instrumentalization of women's rights in the counter-terrorism discourse and, using a "security" language, prove that the threat caused by creating an enabling environment for women's exclusion is as urgent as any other types of security threats. Moreover, it opens opportunities for further exploration of the ways in which counter-terrorism measures can address the current exclusion and misrepresentation of women and their agency in the security field.

⁵⁴ Huckerby (2016) suggests that the most recent so-called inclusive strategies are often used by the Governments to justify further violations of women's rights (i.e.: the invasion of Afghanistan by the U.S.), encourage stereotypical portraits of women as vulnerable victims, and problematize the meaning of a gendered component in national and international security practices (p. 535).

Concluding observations

The security discourse is strongly infused with the notion of existential threats to the humanity caused by actions of terrorist groups, lone wolves, and states-sponsors of terrorism. The growing threat of terrorism is widely discussed by the United Nations and the leaders of the world. Subsequently, relevant news are on the front pages of every politically-sensitive newspaper almost every day. This threat is also emphasized by the representatives of member states in the United Nations Security Council (UNSC), the body entrusted with the maintenance of international peace and security.

What the states think and persuade the audience to think, essentially, translates into action. Through a “speech act,” state-led efforts to encourage the audience to believe that the threat of terrorism is real and requires urgent security measures have translated into a “package legitimization” of all actions of the states aimed at countering the pure evil of terrorism. This process, in turn, makes it hard to re-assess terrorism strategies and legitimize alternative means of countering them.

A “speech act” creates a set of specific political vocabularies and institutional arrangements that are traditionally ignorant to women’s views, experiences, and capacity to cause change. As a result, socially-constructed categories of feminine - often represented by the image of women as “victims” - and masculine - developed through portraying men as both “savage” and “savior” - support the patriarchal and “hard” responses to terrorism. For decades, women’s vulnerability and protection needs have been highly emphasized by member states and often used to demonize not only terrorist groups (i.e.: ISIS, Hamas, etc.) but also several political regimes (i.e.: the Palestinian authorities, the Assad regime in Syria, etc.). These references are

presented with a great urgency in an attempt to obtain audience's support for more robust counter-terrorism measures, while completely ignoring the need to incorporate a women's rights-sensitive perspective in both "soft" (i.e.: the rule of law framework) and "hard" (i.e.: militarized responses) solutions and understand the ways in which terrorist organizations use women to promote their cause.

Even though international law (UN, 1948, arts. 1, 7, 10, 16, 21, 23; UNGA, 1966, arts. 1, 25; UNGA, 1979, art. 7) provides a framework for achieving gender equality in politics, the need for women's participation in the security field has emerged in the discourse with the adoption of UNSCR 1325 (2000). This resolution set out a mandate to require both women's participation and the application of a women's rights-sensitive perspective in policies and programs related to international peace and security.

However, the determination of a small number of states was largely eroded in the decade that followed, making all references to women remain in the realm of victimhood and vulnerability, and some existing references to women's participation appear to be voluntary. As a result, all available references to women's participation lack clarity and urgency. For example, references to the importance of women's agency for addressing the threat of terrorism and illicit flows of small arms and light weapons are made frequently in the UNSC. In this context, the specific place that is to be taken by women in the security field is not specified. As the current situation reveals, this role is largely allocated to women in communities and members of women's organizations, while political participation is traditionally emphasized in a small number of country-specific situations (i.e.: Iraq and Afghanistan).

At the same time, the Global Survey (2016) confirms that the existing responses to the threat of terrorism failed to produce tangible results (para. 11); there is an increasing number of women who join terrorist groups (para. 33); and the current security theories rarely discuss any mechanisms through which the audience can control the extraordinary measures used by the governments (para. 435). This lack of progress and the emergence of new security challenges stem from the fact that the states continue utilizing traditional counter-terrorism methods that generally do not support newly adopted strategies of terrorist groups and support traditional gender stereotypes.

This approach is dangerous as it prevents member states from identifying grievances that are faced specifically by women in patriarchal and post-conflict societies and, subsequently, effectively addressing these grievances in an organized and coherent manner. Specifically, the lack of consideration given to women's experiences in countering terrorism financing (Duke Law, 2017) and strengthening border controls (Huckerby, Fakhri, 2011), among others, creates significant challenges for women. This behavior reflects the patriarchal essence of the society and current security framework. As many scholars (Bloom, 2007; Chowdhury Fink et al., 2013), as well as criminologists (Agnew, 1998), suggests, under these circumstances, women are more likely to join or support terrorist groups.

Moreover, the current gender-blindness in states' security strategies plays against them, as terrorist groups adjust to these conditions and use them effectively. For example, the lack of women's rights-based perspective in counter-terrorism can help a terrorist group start using women to consolidate territorial gains (Slaughter & Weingarten, 2016). Hager Shareif of Together We Build It and the 1325 Network of Libya also argued that by ignoring the role of

young women in conflict prevention and early-warning systems, the UNSC and the international community contribute to the spread of extremism and to the emergence of protracted crises (Kumskova et al., 2017). Since women are connected to the greater collectivity (Hansen, 2000), human society as a whole is put in danger.

Applying a theoretical framework comprised of Securitization Theory (Buzan et al., 1998; Waever, 1993; Huysmans, 2010) and feminist contributions (Tickner, 1992; Hansen, 2000; Huckerby, 2016), this study finds that that violations of women's right to participation in the context of counter-terrorism is not only a social problem but also, an issue of international security. Even though the need to include women in decision-making is presented by the states with a different level of urgency and within a different mode of reasoning, this mis-prioritization targets women systematically and as a group. As a result, this discriminatory discourse, informing the security action threatens the breakdown of society; and it should, therefore, be considered as a security issue.

A discourse analysis of the work of the UNSC also explains the evolution of the concept of women's participation in international counter-terrorism efforts since 2001 and demonstrates that some progress in states' recognition of the value of women's agency has emerged. From year to year, more states highlight the role of women in counter-terrorism, while providing no clarity about how this agency is to be integrated into counter-terrorism efforts. This discourse, eventually, fails to provide specific guidelines to member states on how to include women into counter-terrorism action. Moreover, as the adherence to international law is used by the states as another way of gaining respect from the audience, instrumentalization of women's participation becomes a common trend (Huckerby, 2016).

Providing preliminary findings on how the counter-terrorism discourse affects further development of counter-terrorism action and supplying some insights on the current problems associated with women's inclusion in counter-terrorism, this study provides some guidance for further empirical exploration of the ways in which the security discourse can incorporate existing international standards for women's participation, further affecting security action. This research, if continues, will inform decision-makers on how to ensure that counter-terrorism measures comply with international human rights standards both *de jure* and *de facto* and do not perpetuate cycles of violence by contributing to the development of new security threats.

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