

# Master's Degree programme In Comparative International Relations

**Final Thesis** 

# Gendered Dimensions of Conflict: Women's Protection and

# International Law during the Russia-Ukraine War

**Supervisor** Ch, Prof. Sara De Vido

**Second reader** Ch. Prof. Barbirotto Patricio Ignacio

**Graduand** Alessia Veneruso Matriculation Number 893733

**Academic Year** 2023 / 2024

Gendered Dimensions of Conflict: Women's Protection and International Law during the Russia-Ukraine War

### Sommario

RIASSUNTO	5
Abstract	9
CHAPTER I – Gender and Conflict: Introduction and Key Questions	11
Rationale for the study	11
Introduction	11
<b>Research Questions</b> What is the effect of the gendered division of labor to the conflict? What is the international response?	12
Background and context of the partition of gender during conflicts	13
How gendered dynamics influence the experience and response of individuals to conflicts	17
CHAPTER II – Legal Framework and International Response	26
Introduction	26
Women protection under international law	27
Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action	
CEDAW	
UN Trafficking Protocol	35
The Istanbul convention	38
National Law Russian National Policy of Women Protection	
Efforts for Solutions	44
Role of the Council of Europe: Istanbul Convention	48
Conclusion	
CHAPTER III - EFFECTS OF GENDERED DYNAMICS ON THE RUSSIA-UKRAINE WAR	54
INTRODUCTION	54
Division of labor Education and Healthcare Access Human Trafficking Risks Displacement Security Concerns on Ukrainian Fertility Clinics	64 69 73
CHAPTER 4 - WOMEN PARTECIPATION IN PEACE PROCESS AND MEDIA REPRESENTATION OF	ΙΤ
	81
Contribution of women to conflict resolution and peace building: WILPF Women's grassroots peacebuilding efforts	

Women's Promotion of Dialogue and Reconciliation	
Gendered Representation in Media and Propaganda	92
Gendered Representation in the Russia-Ukraine War	
The Ongoing Narrative on Putin's Power	
CONCLUSION	
BIBLIOGRAPHY	

#### RIASSUNTO

La tesi esplora le dimensioni di genere del conflitto Russia-Ucraina, concentrandosi sulla protezione delle donne e il diritto internazionale. Si indagano le dinamiche di genere, la divisione del lavoro di genere, le esperienze di violenza e la partecipazione delle donne nei processi di pace, evidenziando l'importanza di un approccio inclusivo e di una comprensione più completa delle dinamiche del conflitto per informare risposte politiche più efficaci. La protezione delle donne nel diritto internazionale viene esaminata attraverso vari strumenti chiave, come la Dichiarazione di Pechino, la Convenzione CEDAW, il Protocollo ONU contro la tratta e la Convenzione di Istanbul. La tesi valuta l'efficacia e i limiti di questi strumenti nel contesto del conflitto Russia-Ucraina. Adottata nel 1995, la Dichiarazione di Pechino e la Piattaforma d'Azione enfatizzano l'uguaglianza di genere e l'empowerment delle donne, con particolare attenzione alle situazioni di conflitto. Questa dichiarazione promuove la partecipazione delle donne nei processi di pace e nelle decisioni politiche. La Dichiarazione stabilisce obiettivi strategici per la protezione delle donne dalla violenza e la garanzia della loro partecipazione attiva in tutti gli aspetti della vita pubblica e privata. Nel contesto del conflitto Russia-Ucraina, la Dichiarazione di Pechino serve come punto di riferimento per valutare le politiche e le pratiche di protezione delle donne. La Convenzione sull'eliminazione di ogni forma di discriminazione contro le donne (CEDAW) obbliga gli Stati membri a eliminare la discriminazione di genere in tutti gli ambiti della vita. Nel contesto del conflitto, CEDAW è cruciale per affrontare la violenza di genere documentata ampiamente, compreso l'abuso sessuale e altre forme di violenza contro le donne. La Convenzione richiede agli Stati di adottare misure appropriate per modificare o abolire leggi, regolamenti, consuetudini e pratiche che costituiscono discriminazione contro le donne. Essa promuove la parità di accesso alle opportunità economiche, sociali e politiche. Il Protocollo di Palermo, adottato nel 2000, mira a prevenire, sopprimere e punire la tratta di persone, specialmente donne e bambini. La sua rilevanza nel contesto del conflitto è cruciale data l'aumentata vulnerabilità delle popolazioni colpite. Il Protocollo obbliga gli Stati a criminalizzare la tratta di esseri umani, a proteggere e assistere le vittime della tratta e a promuovere la cooperazione internazionale per

combattere questo fenomeno. Nel contesto del conflitto Russia-Ucraina, il Protocollo di Palermo è fondamentale per affrontare i rischi di sfruttamento e tratta che colpiscono in modo sproporzionato donne e bambini. La Convenzione di Istanbul del 2011 è il primo strumento giuridico vincolante che crea un quadro completo per combattere la violenza contro le donne. Essa impone agli Stati membri di adottare misure preventive, di protezione e di persecuzione per affrontare la violenza di genere. La Convenzione definisce la violenza contro le donne come una violazione dei diritti umani e una forma di discriminazione. Stabilisce obblighi per gli Stati di prevenire la violenza, proteggere le vittime e perseguire i colpevoli. Nel contesto del conflitto Russia-Ucraina, la Convenzione di Istanbul offre un quadro legale per affrontare le diverse forme di violenza che le donne affrontano durante i conflitti armati.

Il capitolo 3 analizza come la divisione del lavoro di genere influenzi l'accesso alle risorse, l'impatto economico della guerra, l'accesso all'istruzione e alla sanità, e le esperienze di violenza di genere. La guerra ha aggravato le disuguaglianze di genere, con le donne che affrontano barriere significative nell'accesso a risorse economiche, istruzione e servizi sanitari. Le dinamiche di genere determinano chi ha accesso alle risorse e alle opportunità. La guerra ha esacerbato le barriere economiche per le donne, limitando il loro accesso alle risorse finanziarie e alle opportunità lavorative. Le donne sono spesso relegate a ruoli di supporto e caregiving, mentre gli uomini sono coinvolti direttamente nei combattimenti. Questo ha implicazioni significative per l'equità economica e sociale, poiché le donne hanno meno opportunità di partecipare alla forza lavoro remunerata e di accedere a risorse economiche che potrebbero migliorare la loro situazione e quella delle loro famiglie. La violenza di genere, compresa la violenza domestica e gli abusi sessuali, è aumentata durante il conflitto. Le donne sono particolarmente vulnerabili alla violenza sessuale e alla tratta di esseri umani. Questo tipo di violenza è utilizzato come tattica di guerra per terrorizzare e controllare la popolazione, con conseguenze devastanti per le vittime. La violenza di genere comprende non solo la violenza fisica, ma anche la violenza psicologica, economica e strutturale. Le donne in zone di conflitto affrontano un rischio maggiore di violenza sessuale, traffico di esseri umani e sfruttamento, con implicazioni gravi per la loro salute fisica e mentale. La guerra ha limitato l'accesso delle donne ai servizi educativi e sanitari, aggravando ulteriormente le disuguaglianze di genere. Le barriere all'istruzione e alla sanità influenzano negativamente il benessere e le opportunità di sviluppo delle donne, perpetuando cicli di povertà e disuguaglianza. L'accesso limitato all'istruzione riduce le opportunità di apprendimento e sviluppo personale per le donne e le ragazze, mentre l'accesso limitato ai servizi sanitari aumenta i rischi per la salute, inclusi problemi di salute riproduttiva e mentale.

Il capitolo 4 esplora il contributo delle donne alla risoluzione dei conflitti e alla costruzione della pace, e come sono rappresentate nei media e nella propaganda. Si esamina il ruolo delle donne nella promozione del dialogo e della riconciliazione a livello comunitario e la loro partecipazione attiva nei processi di pace. Le donne hanno svolto un ruolo cruciale negli sforzi di costruzione della pace, promuovendo il dialogo e la riconciliazione a livello comunitario. La loro partecipazione è stata fondamentale per garantire una pace duratura e inclusiva. Esempi concreti includono gli sforzi delle donne nell'organizzazione di incontri di dialogo e nel promuovere iniziative di riconciliazione. Le donne hanno dimostrato di essere agenti di cambiamento, contribuendo a costruire ponti tra le comunità e promuovendo soluzioni pacifiche ai conflitti. La rappresentazione di genere nei media e nella propaganda durante il conflitto ha influenzato la percezione del ruolo delle donne. Spesso, le narrative mediatiche marginalizzano o stereotipano le donne, limitando il riconoscimento del loro contributo al conflitto e alla pace. La rappresentazione mediatica può perpetuare stereotipi di genere che influenzano negativamente la percezione quilibrata e inclusiva delle donne nei media per sfidare questi stereotipi e riconoscere il loro contributo significativo alla pace e alla sicurezza.

Nella conclusione la tesi riassume le scoperte principali e offre raccomandazioni per migliorare la protezione delle donne e promuovere la loro partecipazione attiva nei processi di pace. La comprensione delle dinamiche di genere nei conflitti è essenziale per sviluppare politiche e interventi più inclusivi ed efficaci. Si suggerisce di rafforzare l'applicazione degli strumenti giuridici internazionali esistenti, come la CEDAW e la Convenzione di Istanbul, e di sviluppare politiche nazionali che promuovano l'uguaglianza di genere e proteggano le donne dalla violenza. È fondamentale che gli Stati adottino misure concrete per garantire che le leggi e le politiche siano effettivamente attuate e che le donne abbiano accesso a risorse e supporto adeguati. Promuovere l'empowerment economico e sociale delle donne attraverso programmi di formazione, accesso alle risorse finanziarie e supporto per le iniziative imprenditoriali. L'empowerment delle donne è cruciale per ridurre le disuguaglianze di genere e migliorare il loro benessere complessivo. Programmi di formazione e accesso a risorse finanziarie possono aiutare le donne a sviluppare competenze e a partecipare pienamente alla vita economica e sociale. Garantire l'accesso ai servizi educativi e sanitari per le donne nelle aree di conflitto, implementando programmi specifici che rispondano alle loro esigenze. È essenziale che le donne abbiano accesso a servizi di qualità che possano migliorare la loro salute e il loro benessere. Programmi specifici devono essere sviluppati per affrontare le barriere che le donne affrontano nell'accesso a questi servizi e per garantire che siano inclusivi e sensibili alle loro esigenze. Avviare campagne di sensibilizzazione per cambiare le percezioni culturali e sociali sulle donne e il loro ruolo nei conflitti e nella costruzione della pace. È importante promuovere una maggiore consapevolezza sull'importanza dell'uguaglianza di genere e del contributo delle donne alla pace e alla sicurezza. Campagne di sensibilizzazione possono aiutare a sfidare stereotipi di genere e promuovere un cambiamento culturale che riconosca e valorizzi il ruolo delle donne. Sviluppare sistemi di raccolta dati più robusti e promuovere la ricerca sulle dinamiche di genere nei conflitti. La raccolta di dati disaggregati per genere e la promozione della ricerca possono fornire una base di conoscenza più solida per sviluppare politiche e interventi efficaci. È fondamentale comprendere le specifiche esperienze delle donne nei conflitti per informare risposte che siano davvero inclusive e rispondenti alle loro esigenze.

Questo elaborato sottolinea l'importanza di integrare prospettive di genere nelle risposte ai conflitti per promuovere l'uguaglianza di genere e proteggere i diritti di tutte le persone colpite dalla guerra. Solo attraverso un approccio inclusivo e multidimensionale si può sperare di affrontare efficacemente le complesse dinamiche di genere nei conflitti armati. La ricerca fornisce una base per sviluppare politiche e interventi che riconoscano e valorizzino il contributo delle donne alla pace e alla sicurezza, promuovendo un futuro più equo e giusto per tutti.

#### Abstract

The Russia-Ukraine conflict has not only been a geopolitical struggle but also a significant context for examining gender dynamics and their profound impact on the involved populations. This thesis aims to explore the intricate relationship between gender dynamics and conflict within the context of the Russia-Ukraine war. The study investigates how gendered divisions of labor, experiences of violence, and participation in peace processes shape individuals' experiences and responses to the conflict. By analyzing these aspects, the thesis seeks to contribute to a more comprehensive understanding of conflict dynamics and inform more effective policy responses.

Challenges of the Research

Diverse National Contexts: The diversity in national identities, cultures, and political systems within Ukraine and Russia poses a challenge in creating a cohesive analysis. Each country's unique context must be carefully considered to avoid oversimplification and ensure an accurate representation of their policies and actions. Conducting a temporal analysis of gender dynamics requires careful consideration of the evolving conflict and international responses. This involves a detailed examination of changes over time and their implications for gender policies. Comparative Analysis Complexity: The comparative analysis of multiple aspects of gender dynamics during the conflict adds complexity to the research. Ensuring that the analysis remains focused and coherent while addressing the nuances of each country's policies and actions is crucial.

By addressing these limits and challenges, the thesis aims to contribute to the broader discourse on gender dynamics in conflict zones, international law, and the evolving landscape of international relations in the 21st century.

#### Methodology

The study adopts a qualitative research methodology, utilizing a combination of primary and secondary sources, including legal documents, policy reports, and interviews with key stakeholders. Data will be triangulated to ensure a comprehensive and nuanced understanding of the gendered dynamics in the Russia-Ukraine conflict. One of the methods has been analyzing diverse sources such as official documents, media reports, and NGO publications to ensure a holistic view of the issues.

Also examining how the gendered dynamics have evolved over time by comparing different periods within the conflict, providing a temporal analysis of shifts and patterns.

### CHAPTER I – Gender and Conflict: Introduction and Key Questions

#### Rationale for the study

The study aims to explore the intricate relationship between gender dynamics and conflict within the context of the Russia-Ukraine war. With a growing recognition of the gendered division of labor during conflicts, it becomes imperative to delve deeper into its implications on various aspects such as access to resources, experiences of violence, and participation of women in peace processes. By investigating this phenomenon, the study seeks to shed light on how gendered dynamics shape individuals' experiences and responses to conflict, ultimately contributing to a more comprehensive understanding of conflict dynamics and informing more effective policy responses. Furthermore, by examining the international legal framework and responses, as well as the roles of national policies and external actors such as international organizations and non-governmental organizations, the study aims to identify potential avenues for mitigating the adverse effects of gendered divisions during conflict and promoting gender-inclusive peacebuilding efforts.

#### Introduction

The study of gender dynamics within the context of armed conflicts is crucial for understanding the complex interplay between societal norms, roles, and the experiences of individuals during times of war. This chapter aims to explore the multifaceted nature of gender roles and their partition during conflicts, focusing on the division of labor, the international responses, and the historical context of gendered experiences in war.

The rationale for this study stems from the need to understand how gendered divisions of labor impact conflict dynamics and the subsequent roles of men and women in both wartime and post-conflict scenarios. This chapter will address the research questions: What is the effect of the gendered division of labor on the conflict? What has been the international response to these gendered dynamics? The historical context reveals that the partition of gender roles during conflicts is not a new phenomenon. Wars have traditionally reinforced stereotypical gender roles, with men predominantly assuming combat roles and women being relegated to supportive functions such as caregiving and maintaining the home front. This historical gendered partition can be traced back through numerous conflicts, showcasing how deeply entrenched societal norms dictate the participation and experiences of individuals based on gender.

This chapter will also highlight the importance of understanding the impact of socially assigned gender roles on the experiences and actions of individuals during conflicts. It will examine the roles

of women not only as victims but also as central figures in peacebuilding efforts. The international community's response to these gender dynamics will be scrutinized, with a focus on how international laws, policies, and organizations address the needs and contributions of both men and women in conflict and post-conflict settings.

The historical gendered partition of war and the dynamics that have evolved highlight the significant contributions of women as both victims and agents of change.

The research methodology for this chapter involves a comprehensive review of existing literature, including historical accounts, scholarly articles, and reports from international organizations. Qualitative analysis will be employed to interpret the data, focusing on the themes and patterns that emerge regarding gender roles and experiences in conflicts.

In conclusion, here is set the stage for a deeper exploration of the gender dynamics in conflict, providing the necessary background and context to understand the intricate ways in which gender influences and is influenced by armed conflicts. Through this analysis, the chapter aims to contribute to the development of more inclusive and effective policies and interventions in conflict and post-conflict settings.

#### **Research Questions**

### What is the effect of the gendered division of labor to the conflict?

This research question aims to explore how traditional gender roles and the division of labor influence the experiences and dynamics of the Russia-Ukraine conflict. Historically, conflicts have reinforced stereotypical gender roles, with men predominantly engaged in combat and women taking on supportive roles such as caregiving and maintaining the home front. This division impacts the allocation of resources, exposure to violence, and the overall socio-economic stability of individuals based on their gender.

The study seeks to understand how these gendered roles exacerbate vulnerabilities and inequalities. For instance, men face direct combat-related dangers, while women are more likely to experience the indirect effects of war, such as displacement, sexual violence, and economic instability. By analyzing the historical and contemporary context of gender roles during the conflict, this question will help uncover the multifaceted impacts on both men and women, providing insights for more inclusive conflict resolution strategies and policies that address these gender-specific challenges .

#### What is the international response?

This research question investigates how the international community has responded to the gendered impacts of the Russia-Ukraine conflict. It focuses on the role of international legal frameworks, policies, and organizations in addressing gender-based violence and promoting gender equality. Key instruments include the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, CEDAW, and the Istanbul Convention, which set guidelines for protecting women's rights and ensuring their participation in peace processes. The question evaluates the effectiveness of these responses, identifying challenges such as resource constraints, cultural barriers, and inconsistent enforcement. By examining the contributions of international organizations like the United Nations, NGOs, and national policies, the study aims to highlight the successes and shortcomings in addressing the specific needs of women in conflict zones. This analysis will provide a comprehensive understanding of how international efforts can be improved to support gender-inclusive peacebuilding and post-conflict recovery. These research questions are critical for developing a nuanced understanding of gender dynamics in conflict and formulating effective policies and interventions that promote gender equality and protect the rights of all individuals affected by war.

#### Background and context of the partition of gender during conflicts

#### Historical gendered partition of the war

War is a state of armed conflict between different nations or states or different groups within a nation or state, typically characterized by extreme violence, aggression, and hostility. It often involves organized military forces engaging in combat with the aim of achieving specific political, territorial, or ideological objectives.<sup>1</sup> Wars can vary in scale and duration, ranging from localized skirmishes to global conflicts involving multiple countries. Although some patterns are repeated from one conflict to another, like the gendered partition of war. It is a phenomenon that derives from a deeply rooted conception of the roles of men and women regarding fights and conflicts. The gendered partition of war refers to the division and allocation of roles, responsibilities, and experiences based on gender during times of conflict. This concept recognizes that traditional gender norms often influence how men and women are expected to behave, participate, and be treated during wars. It involves the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Moser, Caroline O. N., and Fiona C. Clark. *Gender, Conflict, and Building Sustainable Peace: Recent Lessons from Latin America.* Routledge, 2001, p. 31.

reinforcement of stereotypical gender roles, with men typically being assigned combat roles while women are often relegated to supportive roles such as caregiving, nursing, and maintaining the home front. This partitioning can vary across cultures and historical contexts but generally reflects deeply ingrained societal expectations about gender roles and capabilities. "The historical, social, cultural, and economic antecedents to conflict must be considered as the contextual background within which conflict develops"<sup>2</sup>. Caroline Moser states, "A gender perspective recognizes that men's and women's experiences and actions during conflict are determined by gender roles and identities assigned by society"<sup>3</sup>, the author's statement emphasizes the importance of understanding the impact of socially assigned gender roles on the experiences and actions of individuals during conflicts. This perspective is crucial for analyzing conflicts and developing peace-building strategies that address the unique needs and contributions of both men and women. Recognizing these gender dynamics helps in creating more inclusive and effective policies and interventions in conflict and post-conflict settings. Moser's work sheds light on the often-overlooked roles of women not just as victims, but as active agents in peace-building and conflict resolution.

Despite the rape, manipulation, trafficking testimonies, and mental and physical abuse that will be analyzed later, women are not only victims. They can be central in the fight for peace as combatants (e.g. the courageous women Peshmerga) and as peace builders (e.g. in the award of the 2011 Nobel Peace Prize to three women peace-builders from Liberia and Yemen).

The UN Commission affirmed: "On every continent, in refugee camps, bars, brothels, prisons, women survivors... told us about their struggles to heal from the violence and the enduring psychological pain. It is impossible to capture the magnitude of the anguish that permeated their lives.... And yet we saw something else as well. Time and again, we met women who had survived trauma and found the courage and the will to recommit to life... to rebuild community' (United Nations Commission)."<sup>4</sup>. This report is one of many sources highlighting the multifaceted roles of women in conflict and underscores the importance of conducting thorough gender analysis The UN report from 2011 also states the following, "Introducing the importance of a gender analysis into conflict and humanitarian emergencies and breaking down oversimplified understandings portraying men as the actors and women as the victims, the Bogotá workshop emphasized the need for a holistic approach to conflict and peace"<sup>5</sup>.

During the Bogotá workshop, the crucial role of women in conflict resolution and peacebuilding was emphasized, recognizing their unique perspectives and contributions to sustainable peace. The

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Ibid note 1, p. 32.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Ibid note 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> United Nations. Report of the Commission on the Status of Women. United Nations, 2011, p.27.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Gender Analysis in Conflict and Humanitarian Emergencies. United Nations, 2011, pp. 48-49.

workshop underscored the necessity of including women in decision-making processes and ensuring their active participation in conflict resolution efforts. Aimed at addressing the gender dimensions of conflict, the workshop highlighted the unique experiences and contributions of women in conflict-affected areas, promoting gender equality in peace processes and developing strategies to empower women as agents of change and peace. This holistic approach to conflict and peace integrates various elements, considering the interconnectedness of societal factors influencing conflict dynamics.<sup>6</sup>

The UN Commission's report illustrates the role of women as both survivors and active agents of change in post-conflict scenarios. This recognition is essential for developing comprehensive peacebuilding strategies. By integrating gender analysis, the Bogotá workshop highlighted the critical need to move beyond traditional gender roles, showcasing women's significant contributions to peace processes. This holistic approach not only addresses immediate conflict-related issues but also fosters long-term sustainable peace by ensuring that women's voices and experiences are central to peacebuilding efforts.

What is the meaning of a holistic approach? The term "holistic" generally refers to considering something as a whole, rather than as separate parts. It often involves looking at the interconnectedness of various elements and considering the entire context rather than just isolated components. This concept is commonly used in fields like medicine, psychology, and ecology. Fiona Clark states, "A full understanding of the causes, costs, and consequences of violence and conflict, and their implications for peace and development, requires a holistic approach encompassing several issues"<sup>7</sup> Understanding these implications helps in improving the disastrous consequences of war. Various studies through the years have shown that "women have become more visible as refugees and internally displaced people, as victims of sexual violence and abuse in conflict zones, and as war widows"<sup>8</sup>. It is important to include all the responsible factors contributing to the violence perpetrated at each level. "A broad conceptualization of human security takes into account macro and micro levels, the public and the private, the material and the psycho-emotional, and shifts responsibility for human security beyond being solely that of the State, to include individual and collective responsibility"<sup>9</sup>.

The most known acts of violence are rapes, displacements, trafficking, physical and sexual violence, prostitution, persecution and psycological abuse. However, with a deeper understanding of the behaviors and consequences of war on women, it becomes clear that "when demobilized, they encountered severe feelings of personal guilt and societal rejection relating to the suppression of their

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Holistic Approaches to Peacebuilding." United Nations Workshop Report, 2011, pp. 17-18.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Moser, Caroline O. N., and Fiona C. Clark. "Gender, Conflict, and Building Sustainable Peace: Recent Lessons from Latin America." *Gender and Development* ", vol. 9, no. 3, 2001, p. 37.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Ibid note 6, p. 31.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Ibid note 7.

feminine role, and to the perceived transgression of the parameters surrounding the exercise of their sexuality. Such recriminations were not generally held against men who often were promiscuous or abandoned their parental responsibilities"<sup>10</sup> Through making visible women's multiple roles and experiences of combatant life, women must gain equal access to demobilization programs.

These are only some of the reasons that discourage women from accessing military service. They are blamed for the abandonment of the family, a narrative which is non-existent for men. When a man goes away to fight, he is considered a hero, and his work seems to be a duty. Gül Altinay, in a historical study, has shown how the engagement of the military in education, including the content of school curricula, instills in children the notion that "every male Turk is born a soldier"<sup>11</sup>. Discourses on masculinity have naturalized male participation in the military as 'protectors' of their families and the nation. "The military" writes Altinay, "is as much a site of (masculine) national desire and production, as it is a force of coercion"<sup>12</sup>

The aim of this work is not solely to emphasize the perpetuation of violence on women, but also to give dignity to the consequences of the war-hero narrative on men. According to the study submitted by the Secretary-General pursuant to Security Council resolution 1325, "To portray women solely as victims denies them their agency and fails to identify the opportunities that conflict may create for them. Similarly, men are not always the perpetrators of violence, but are also victims of violence and conflict"<sup>13</sup>.

The concept of a holistic approach is crucial in understanding and addressing the multifaceted nature of conflict and its impacts on both men and women. By considering the interconnectedness of various factors and the broad conceptualization of human security, we can develop more comprehensive strategies for peacebuilding and conflict resolution. Recognizing the roles and experiences of women in conflicts, as well as the societal narratives affecting men, is essential for creating inclusive and effective policies. This approach helps in acknowledging and addressing the complex dynamics of gender, power, and violence in militarized societies.

Contemporary wars differ from the major conflicts of the 20th century, particularly World Wars I and II, where large, organized battles between powerful nation-states were common. Today, warfare is characterized by different dynamics, such as asymmetrical conflicts, irregular warfare, and non-state actors playing significant roles. As stated by Cynthia Cockburn, "Wars are changing, as many commentaries tell us. Mostly we appraise war today in contrast to the two World Wars of the 20th century, and it is true that all-out pitched battle between developed nation-states is not characteristic

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Ibid note 6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Altinay, Gül. "The Myth of the Military-Nation: Militarism, Gender, and Education in Turkey." Palgrave Macmillan, 2004, p 45.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Ibid note 10.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> "Women, Peace and Security." United Nations, 2011, pp. 77-90.

of the present moment"<sup>14</sup>. Similarly, Laura Sjoberg notes, "Gender analysis reveals the often invisible ways in which war affects men and women differently, highlighting the need for gender-sensitive approaches in peacebuilding"<sup>15</sup>.

What has changed in the last half-century, however, is the ability some of us have acquired to see and accord significance to what happens to women, what part masculinity plays, and how gender power relations are acted out in militarized societies and war. Feminists have also been redefining security. By the mid-1990s, it was becoming inescapably clear that, as the nature of war changed, civilians were becoming an ever higher proportion of war casualties. Cynthia Enloe states, "Militarization is a process that affects both men and women but does so in profoundly different ways, reinforcing traditional gender roles while also providing spaces for resistance"<sup>16</sup>

In conclusion, the gendered dynamics of conflict profoundly shape the experiences and responses of individuals affected by war. The gendered partition of war, rooted in deeply ingrained societal expectations, allocates specific roles and responsibilities based on gender, reinforcing traditional norms and perpetuating inequalities. However, amidst the narratives of victimhood, women emerge as resilient agents of change, contributing to peacebuilding efforts and challenging gender stereotypes. Recognizing the importance of a holistic approach to conflict resolution, initiatives such as the Bogotá workshop underscore the need to include women in decision-making processes and promote gender equality in peacebuilding efforts. Moreover, understanding the interconnectedness of various factors contributing to violence and conflict, including gender dynamics, is crucial for addressing the multifaceted challenges of war and fostering sustainable peace. As warfare evolves and civilians increasingly become casualties of conflict, redefining security through a feminist lens becomes imperative. By acknowledging the complex interplay of gender, power, and violence in militarized societies, we can work towards a more inclusive and equitable approach to conflict resolution, ensuring the dignity and rights of all individuals affected by war.

#### How gendered dynamics influence the experience and response of individuals to conflicts

To assess how the partition of gender shapes conflict, it is useful to look at the different forms of violence experienced by the male and female population. The term 'different' refers to the various shapes and forms that violence can assume and operate on political, economic, and social levels. These forms of violence coexist, overlap, and can be identified at four different levels: individual,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Cockburn, Cynthia. "Gender in War and Peace: Feminist Perspectives." Palgrave Macmillan, 2013, p.13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Sjoberg, Laura. "Gender, War, and Conflict." Polity Press, 2014, p.89.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Enloe, Cynthia. "Maneuvers: "The International Politics of Militarizing Women's Lives" University of California Press, 2000, pp.183.

interpersonal, institutional, and structural. Violence and conflict erode levels of physical, human, natural, and social capital with differing effects on men and women. While it is true that both men and women experience brutal violence during most conflicts, it is also true that the violence against men often includes violating women, to prove to the men of a certain population that even their most precious belongings can be taken away.

Rape and sexual violence during conflict are tactics that are often employed to demonstrate victory, terrorize the population, break up families, and, in some instances, change the ethnic makeup of the next generation. Yet, it is a topic that is much understudied and often outrightly ignored. This perfectly explains my point. In an essay written by Gill Hague, the author proves through a long set of examples how this theory works.<sup>17</sup>

In August 2015, the UN Security Council warned that in Iraq and Syria, sexual violence was being used as a deliberate tactic, declaring these acts as war crimes, with claims that Daesh (Islamic State) in particular created a 'theology of rape' including sexual slavery.<sup>18</sup>. However, violence against women of this type is not unique. Each situation is specific, and it is important to use an intersectional analysis to avoid generalizations. UN estimates include:

- In Rwanda, up to 500,000 women were raped during the 1994 genocide, in acts known as 'genocidal rape'<sup>19</sup>.
- In Sierra Leone, 60,000 women were raped during the civil war from 1991 to 2002.<sup>20</sup>
- In Liberia, 40,000 women were raped and mutilated from 1989 to 2003<sup>21</sup>
- In Bosnia in Europe, 60,000 women were raped from 1992 to 1995 (United Nations)<sup>22</sup>.
- In the Democratic Republic of the Congo, more than 200,000 women were raped in a decade of conflict (United Nations)<sup>23</sup>.

High levels of sexual violence were uncovered in hidden conflicts, such as the previous struggles in Myanmar and Algeria<sup>24</sup>.

Displaying the abuse and violence perpetrated in the above-mentioned conflicts can help to understand the atrocity of war crimes against women. During the 1994 genocide in Rwanda, numerous reports, articles, and official statements documented the widespread sexual violence perpetrated against women. Human Rights Watch extensively documented the use of sexual violence

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Gill Hague, L. Kelly, and A. Mullender. *Challenging Violence Against Women: The Canadian Experience*. 2001.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Conflict-Related Sexual Violence." United Nations, August 2015, p. 160.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Shattered Lives: Sexual Violence during the Rwandan Genocide and its Aftermath. Human Rights Watch, 1999.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> "United Nations Report on Sierra Leone." United Nations, 2002, pp. 10-12.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> "Amnesty International Report on Liberia." Amnesty International, 2004, p. 30.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> "Human Rights Watch Report on Bosnia." Human Rights Watch, 1999, p. 12.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> United Nations Report on the Democratic Republic of the Congo. United Nations, 2011, p. 20.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> United Nations Security Council. "Conflict-Related Sexual Violence." United Nations, 2015, p. 10.

as a weapon of war during the Rwandan genocide in their report *Shattered Lives: Sexual Violence during the Rwandan Genocide and its Aftermath*<sup>25</sup>, providing detailed accounts of genocidal rape and its impact on women. An estimated 500,000 women were subjected to systematic and widespread sexual violence during the genocide, commonly referred to as "genocidal rape"<sup>26</sup>. This form of violence was not incidental but rather a deliberate tactic employed by perpetrators to terrorize, humiliate, and exert control over the Tutsi population<sup>27</sup>.

The United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace, and Security recognized the disproportionate impact of armed conflict on women and called for the protection of women's rights, including addressing sexual violence as a violation of international humanitarian law. Human Rights Watch extensively documented human rights abuses, including sexual violence, committed during the Rwandan genocide, providing testimonies from survivors and witnesses<sup>28</sup>. Moreover, court documents and testimonies from cases prosecuted by the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) offer legal and factual evidence of genocidal rape and its perpetrators, contributing to the understanding of the scope, impact, and consequences of sexual violence perpetrated against women during the conflict<sup>29</sup>.

In addition to the reports by Human Rights Watch, several other organizations and scholars have provided comprehensive analyses and documentation of sexual violence during the Rwandan genocide. Amnesty International's report *Rwanda: "Marked for Death": Rape Survivors Living with HIV/AIDS in Rwanda* highlights the long-term consequences of sexual violence for survivors, including health issues and social stigmatization. The United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) has also published extensive studies on the impact of sexual violence on women's health and their communities<sup>30</sup>.

Academic researchers such as Elisabeth Jean Wood have examined the strategic use of sexual violence in conflicts, including the Rwandan genocide, in her work *Sexual Violence during War: Explaining Variation*<sup>31</sup>. Wood's analysis provides a theoretical framework to understand why and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Human Rights Watch. *Shattered Lives: Sexual Violence during the Rwandan Genocide and its Aftermath*. Human Rights Watch, 1996.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> United Nations Commission of Experts. *Report on Rwanda*. United Nations, 1994.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Ibid note 25.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Ibid note 25.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR). *The Prosecutor v. Jean-Paul Akayesu*. Case No. ICTR-96-4-T, Judgment, 1998.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM). *Addressing Gender-Based Violence in Rwanda*. UNIFEM, 2006.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Wood, Elisabeth Jean. Sexual Violence during War: Explaining Variation. Princeton University Press, 2006.

how sexual violence is used as a weapon of war, which is essential for comprehending the broader implications of such atrocities. Moreover, testimonies and legal proceedings from the ICTR have been critical in documenting and understanding the extent of sexual violence during the genocide. The ICTR's landmark ruling in the case of Jean-Paul Akayesu was the first to recognize rape as a form of genocide, setting a significant precedent in international law<sup>32</sup>. The legacy of genocidal rape continues to affect survivors, their families, and Rwandan society as a whole, underscoring the urgent need for justice, reparations, and support services for survivors. Recognizing and addressing the gendered dimensions of conflict-related violence is essential for promoting gender equality, human rights, and lasting peace in post-conflict societies like Rwanda.

Further studies, such as those by Catharine A. MacKinnon in *Are Women Human? And Other International Dialogues*, explore the legal and human rights dimensions of sexual violence in conflict, providing critical insights into the systemic nature of such crimes and the need for robust legal frameworks to address them<sup>33</sup>. MacKinnon argues that recognizing sexual violence as a weapon of war is crucial for understanding its devastating impact and for formulating effective legal and policy responses. Furthermore, Beverly Allen's *Rape Warfare: The Hidden Genocide in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia* provides a comparative analysis that highlights the similarities and differences in the use of sexual violence in various conflicts, reinforcing the need for international accountability<sup>34</sup>. Allen's work underscores the pervasive nature of sexual violence in conflict and the importance of international efforts to combat such crimes.

Human Rights Watch's broader work on sexual violence in conflict zones, including their reports on Bosnia and Herzegovina, Sierra Leone, and Liberia, provides a comprehensive overview of how sexual violence is used systematically in different conflicts and the long-term effects on survivors and societies<sup>35</sup>. These reports emphasize the importance of international law and the role of institutions like the ICTR and the International Criminal Court (ICC) in prosecuting perpetrators and providing justice for survivors. The importance of addressing sexual violence in conflict is further highlighted by the works of scholars such as Kelly Dawn Askin, who, in *War Crimes Against Women: Prosecution in International War Crimes Tribunals*, discusses the legal precedents and challenges in

 $<sup>^{32}</sup>$  Ibid note 29.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> MacKinnon, Catharine A. Are Women Human? And Other International Dialogues. Harvard University Press, 2006.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Allen, Beverly. *Rape Warfare: The Hidden Genocide in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia*. University of Minnesota Press, 1996.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Ibid note 25; Amnesty International. *Rwanda: "Marked for Death": Rape Survivors Living with HIV/AIDS in Rwanda.* Amnesty International, 2004.

prosecuting sexual violence as an international crime<sup>36</sup>. Askin's work is critical for understanding the evolution of international legal standards and the ongoing efforts to hold perpetrators accountable.

The civil war in Sierra Leone from 1991 to 2002 resulted in widespread atrocities, including sexual violence against women. The civil war in Sierra Leone had a devastating impact on women, with an estimated 60,000 women subjected to rape and sexual violence<sup>37</sup>. Reports of the United Nations documented extensive human rights abuses, including sexual violence, during the civil war in Sierra Leone, providing data on the number of women affected by rape and other forms of sexual violence during the conflict. Perpetrated by various armed factions, sexual violence was used as a "deliberate tactic to terrorize, humiliate, and control civilian populations"<sup>38</sup>. Survivors of sexual violence faced physical injuries, sexually transmitted infections, unwanted pregnancies, and long-term psychological trauma, as claimed by Human Rights watch<sup>39</sup>. Many women also experienced social stigma and ostracization from their communities, exacerbating their vulnerability and marginalization in post-conflict society. Despite the immense challenges they faced, Sierra Leonean women demonstrated resilience and courage in rebuilding their lives and communities in the aftermath of the conflict. Through grassroots initiatives, advocacy efforts, and participation in post-conflict reconstruction, women played a crucial role in fostering healing, reconciliation, and sustainable peace in Sierra Leone.

The civil war in Liberia, which occurred from 1989 to 2003, inflicted profound suffering on women, with an estimated 40,000 women subjected to rape and mutilation during the conflict, as stated in the Report of Amnesty International.<sup>40</sup> The impact of the civil war on Liberian women was profound and enduring. Survivors of sexual violence and mutilation faced physical and psychological trauma, including injuries, infections, and permanent disabilities. Many women experienced stigma and ostracization from their communities, exacerbating their vulnerability and marginalization. According to the United Nations Office of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General on Sexual Violence in Conflict, sexual violence during the Liberian civil war was pervasive, affecting tens of thousands of women and girls.<sup>41</sup> Despite the immense challenges they faced, Liberian women demonstrated resilience and agency in rebuilding their lives and communities in the aftermath of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Askin, Kelly Dawn. *War Crimes Against Women: Prosecution in International War Crimes Tribunals*. Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 1997.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> United Nations. *Report on Sierra Leone*. United Nations, 2002,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Amnesty International. *Report on Sierra Leone*. Amnesty International, 2002, p.30.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Ibid note 27.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Amnesty International. *Report on Liberia*. Amnesty International, 2003, p.10.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> United Nations Office of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General on Sexual Violence in Conflict. "Sexual Violence in Conflict: Liberia", p. 18-20.

conflict. The United Nations Development Fund for Women highlights that women and girls in Liberia faced extreme brutality during the war, but have been central to peace-building efforts postconflict<sup>42</sup>. Furthermore, UNICEF's report underscores the critical role of women in the recovery and reconstruction of their communities, emphasizing their participation in grassroots initiatives, advocacy efforts, and post-conflict reconstruction.<sup>43</sup> Through these efforts, women have played a pivotal role in fostering healing, reconciliation, and sustainable peace in Liberia. The United Nations extensively documented human rights abuses, including sexual violence, during the civil war in Liberia. Amnesty International conducted investigations and documented cases of sexual violence and mutilation perpetrated against women during the civil war in Liberia, providing detailed testimonies from survivors and highlighting the systemic use of sexual violence as a weapon of war. Human Rights Watch documented human rights abuses in Liberia and neighboring countries during the civil war, including sexual violence against women, providing testimonies from survivors and witnesses, offering insights into the experiences of women affected by gender-based violence. The International Criminal Court prosecuted individuals responsible for crimes committed during the Liberian civil war, offering legal and factual evidence of sexual violence and mutilation, contributing to the understanding of these crimes and their perpetrators. The prosecution of former Liberian leader Charles Taylor by the Special Court for Sierra Leone<sup>44</sup> was a significant step in addressing sexual war crimes and establishing accountability, explains Hofisi in one of his works.<sup>45</sup> Furthermore, Jefferson adds that the prosecution of sexual violence at international tribunals, including the ICC, has set a precedent for punishing sexual violence in civil wars and highlighted the need for continued vigilance and justice.46

The Nigerian politician Bamidele affirmed that Liberian civil conflict underscored the urgent need for the Liberian Criminal Court to prosecute sexual violence as a war crime, addressing the impunity that had allowed such crimes to flourish.<sup>47</sup> The prosecution of war crimes, including sexual violence,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM). "Women, War, and Peace: The Independent Experts" Assessment on the Impact of Armed Conflict on Women and Women's Role in Peace-building", p.20.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> UNICEF. "The State of the World's Children 2005: Childhood under Threat", pp. 20-33.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> The Prosecutor v. Charles Ghankay Taylor." *Special Court for Sierra Leone*", Case No. SCSL-03-01-T, Judgment, 26 Apr. 2012.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> Hofisi, S. "The Effectiveness and Efficiency of the Special Court for Sierra Leone in Dealing with Sexual War Crimes: IHL AND IHRL Perspectives." 2014, p. 27-30.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> Jefferson, L.S.R. "In War as in Peace: Sexual Violence and Women's Status." Human Rights Watch World Report, 2004, pp. 4-7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> Bamidele, O. "War, Sex and Justice: Barriers to Gender Justice in Post-Conflict Liberia." International Journal of Criminal Justice, 2017, pp. 22-26.

in Liberia is essential for establishing the rule of law and ending the culture of impunity, this can be found in the book published by Professor Charles Jalloh.<sup>48</sup>

The conflict in Bosnia from 1992 to 1995 resulted in widespread sexual violence against women, with an estimated 60,000 women subjected to rape during this period. The impact of the conflict on Bosnian women was profound and enduring. Survivors of sexual violence faced physical and psychological trauma, including injuries, sexually transmitted infections, unwanted pregnancies, and long-term psychological distress. Many women also experienced social stigma and ostracization from their communities, exacerbating their vulnerability and marginalization. Despite the immense challenges they faced, Bosnian women demonstrated resilience and courage in rebuilding their lives and communities in the aftermath of the conflict. Through grassroots initiatives, advocacy efforts, and participation in post-conflict reconstruction, women played a pivotal role in fostering healing, reconciliation, and sustainable peace in Bosnia. Recognizing and addressing the gendered dimensions of conflict-related violence is essential for promoting gender equality, human rights, and lasting peace in post-conflict societies like Bosnia. The United Nations extensively documented human rights abuses, including sexual violence, during the conflict in Bosnia, providing data on the number of women affected by rape, shedding light on the scope and scale of gender-based violence in the conflict<sup>49</sup>. Amnesty International conducted investigations and documented cases of rape perpetrated against women during the conflict in Bosnia, providing detailed testimonies from survivors and highlighting the systemic use of sexual violence as a weapon of war<sup>50</sup>. Human Rights Watch documented war crimes in Bosnia, including sexual violence against women, providing testimonies from survivors and witnesses, offering insights into the experiences of women affected by genderbased violence<sup>51</sup>. The ICTY prosecuted individuals responsible for crimes committed during the conflict in Bosnia, offering legal and factual evidence of sexual violence, contributing to the understanding of these crimes and their perpetrators<sup>52</sup>.

The Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) has been plagued by a decade-long conflict that has inflicted unimaginable suffering on its population, particularly women who have borne the brunt of the violence. According to certified reports, more than 200,000 women have been subjected to rape and sexual violence during this period, highlighting the widespread and systematic nature of gender-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> Jalloh, C., and A. Marong. "Ending Impunity: The Case for War Crimes Trials in Liberia." African Journal of Legal Studies, 2005, pp. 14-18.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> United Nations. "Bosnia and Herzegovina: The Conflicts of the 1990s and Their Aftermath.", pp. 17-22.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> Amnesty International. "Bosnia-Herzegovina: Rape and Sexual Abuse by Armed Forces." Amnesty International, 1993, pp. 13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> Ibid note 42.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> ICTY. "The Cases: Bosnia and Herzegovina." International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia, p. 15.

based atrocities in the region.<sup>53</sup> Baaz and Stern note that "sexual violence has become a defining feature of the conflict in the Congo, used systematically to terrorize and control civilian populations" <sup>54</sup>. Similarly, Meger argues that "the political economy of sexual violence in the Congo is deeply intertwined with broader patterns of exploitation and control"55. The impact of the conflict on Congolese women has been devastating, with survivors facing physical and psychological trauma, including injuries, sexually transmitted infections, unwanted pregnancies, and long-term psychological distress. Many women have also experienced social stigma and ostracization, further exacerbating their vulnerability and marginalization. Despite the immense challenges they face, Congolese women have demonstrated remarkable resilience and courage in the face of adversity. Through grassroots activism, advocacy efforts, and participation in peacebuilding initiatives, women have played a crucial role in shaping the future of their country and advocating for justice, accountability, and lasting peace. Recognizing and addressing the gendered dimensions of conflictrelated violence is essential for promoting gender equality, human rights, and sustainable peace in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The United Nations extensively documented human rights abuses, including sexual violence, in the DRC, providing data on the number of women affected by rape, offering insights into the scale and severity of gender-based violence in the conflict. Amnesty International conducted investigations and documented cases of rape perpetrated against women in the DRC, providing detailed testimonies from survivors and witnesses, shedding light on the harrowing experiences of women affected by sexual violence. Human Rights Watch documented war crimes and human rights violations in the DRC, including sexual violence against women, providing detailed accounts of survivors' experiences and calling for an end to impunity for perpetrators of gender-based atrocities. The ICC prosecuted individuals responsible for crimes committed in the DRC, offering legal evidence of sexual violence, contributing to the understanding of these crimes and their impact on women.

The examination of how gender influences conflict reveals the diverse forms of violence experienced by men and women, operating on political, economic, and social levels. While both genders suffer brutal violence during conflicts, the impact differs significantly. Violence against men often includes the violation of women, serving to exert dominance and control. Gill Hague's essay illustrates this concept, emphasizing the deliberate use of sexual violence as a tactic to terrorize populations and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> United Nations. "Sexual Violence in Conflict: Democratic Republic of the Congo." United Nations, p. 11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> Baaz, Maria Eriksson, and Maria Stern. Sexual Violence as a Weapon of War? Perceptions, Prescriptions, Problems in the Congo and Beyond. Zed Books, 2013, p.45.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> Meger, Sara. Rape Loot Pillage: *The Political Economy of Sexual Violence in Armed Conflict*. Oxford University Press, 2016, p.67.

alter ethnic compositions<sup>56</sup>. This tactic is not unique and has been observed in various conflicts worldwide. For instance, during the 1994 genocide in Rwanda, approximately 500,000 women fell victim to genocidal rape, a deliberate strategy to humiliate and control the Tutsi population.<sup>57</sup> Similarly, the civil war in Sierra Leone from 1991 to 2002 witnessed around 60,000 cases of sexual violence, perpetrated to terrorize and subjugate civilians.<sup>58</sup> In Liberia, an estimated 40,000 women endured rape and mutilation during the conflict from 1989 to 2003, experiencing physical and psychological trauma<sup>59</sup>. In Bosnia, approximately 60,000 women were raped from 1992 to 1995, leaving lasting scars on survivors and communities<sup>60</sup>. Moreover, the Democratic Republic of the Congo witnessed over 200,000 cases of rape during a decade-long conflict, highlighting the systematic nature of gender-based violence<sup>61</sup>.

These atrocities underscore the urgent need for justice, reparations, and support services for survivors. United Nations resolutions, such as Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace, and Security<sup>62</sup>. Resolution 1820 on sexual violence in armed conflict<sup>63</sup> and others, along with Amnesty International reports, such as *Lives Blown Apart: Crimes Against Women in Times of Conflict*<sup>64</sup>, and Human Rights Watch investigations, such as *Shattered Lives: Sexual Violence During the Rwandan Genocide and its Aftermath*<sup>65</sup> and *The War Within the War: Sexual Violence Against Women and Girls in Eastern Congo*<sup>66</sup>, provide crucial insights into the scope and impact of sexual violence in conflict. Legal proceedings by international tribunals like the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) and the International Criminal Court (ICC) offer legal accountability for perpetrators and contribute to understanding the consequences of gender-based violence. In conclusion, recognizing and addressing the gendered dimensions of conflict-related violence are essential steps toward promoting gender equality, human rights, and sustainable peace in affected societies. By amplifying the voices of survivors and holding perpetrators accountable, we can strive towards a future free from the horrors of gender-based violence in conflict.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> Hague, Gill. "Struggling to Change: Campaigns, Laws, and Local and Global Strategies." *History and Memories of the Domestic Violence Movement: We've Come Further Than You Think*, Bristol University Press, 2021.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> United Nations Commission of Experts. *Report on Rwanda*. United Nations, 1994, p. 12

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> United Nations. Report on Sierra Leone. United Nations, 2002, p. 8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> Amnesty International. *Report on Sierra Leone*. Amnesty International, 2002, p. 18.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> United Nations. Report on Bosnia. United Nations, 1995, p. 19.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup> United Nations. *Report on the Democratic Republic of the Congo*. United Nations, 2010, p. 11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup> United Nations Security Council. "Resolution 1325 (2000)." S/RES/1325. United Nations, 31 Oct. 2000, pp. 9-11.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>63</sup> United Nations Security Council. "Resolution 1820 (2008)." *S/RES/1820*. United Nations, 19 June 2008, pp. 7-10.
 <sup>64</sup> Amnesty International. *Lives Blown Apart: Crimes Against Women in Times of Conflict*. Amnesty International,

<sup>2004,</sup> pp. 3-6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>65</sup> Human Rights Watch. *Shattered Lives: Sexual Violence During the Rwandan Genocide and its Aftermath*. Human Rights Watch, 1996, pp. 7-9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>66</sup> Human Rights Watch. *The War Within the War: Sexual Violence Against Women and Girls in Eastern Congo*. Human Rights Watch, 2002, pp. 6-8.

# CHAPTER II – Legal Framework and International Response

## Introduction

This chapter delves into the critical topic of women's protection under international law within the specific context of the Russia-Ukraine conflict. The primary aim of this chapter is to examine the

international legal frameworks designed to safeguard women's rights and to evaluate their effectiveness and limitations in conflict zones.

The chapter aims to Explore the key international treaties and conventions that provide a legal basis for the protection of women in conflict zones.

Analyze the specific challenges faced by women during the Russia-Ukraine conflict and how these international laws address or fail to address these challenges.

Assess the role of international organizations (IOs) and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in implementing these legal frameworks and providing aid and support to women affected by the conflict. The chapter will focus on several pivotal international legal instruments:

The United Nations Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children (Palermo Protocol): This protocol is crucial in combating human trafficking, which is exacerbated in conflict zones like Ukraine.

The Council of Europe Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence against Women and Domestic Violence (Istanbul Convention): This treaty provides a comprehensive legal framework for protecting women against all forms of violence.

The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW): CEDAW obligates states to eliminate discrimination against women and addresses issues of genderbased violence.

The Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action: This declaration emphasizes gender equality and the empowerment of women, particularly in conflict situations.

#### Women protection under international law

The protection of women under international law is critically important in the context of the Russia-Ukraine conflict. The United Nations Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children, known as the Palermo Protocol, is a fundamental legal instrument in combating human trafficking.<sup>67</sup> This protocol is especially pertinent in conflict zones like Ukraine, where instability and displacement have heightened the risk of trafficking. The UNODC highlights that "conflict situations exacerbate trafficking in persons as vulnerable populations become

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> United Nations. Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, Supplementing the United Nations Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime (Palermo Protocol). 2000, p.18.

targets for exploitation"<sup>68</sup>. The protocol mandates that states implement measures to prevent trafficking, protect victims, and prosecute traffickers, emphasizing the necessity of international cooperation to address these challenges in conflict settings.

Another vital treaty in the protection of women's rights is the Council of Europe Convention on preventing and combating violence against women and domestic violence, commonly known as the Istanbul Convention. This convention is the first legally binding instrument that creates a comprehensive legal framework to protect women against all forms of violence and ensure their fundamental rights and freedoms.<sup>69</sup>. The Council of Europe asserts that "the Istanbul Convention provides a robust legal framework to combat gender-based violence, which is essential for protecting women in conflict zones"<sup>70</sup>.

The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW)<sup>71</sup> further reinforces the international commitment to women's rights. CEDAW obliges states to take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in all areas of life. According to Article 1 of CEDAW, discrimination includes "any distinction, exclusion or restriction made on the basis of sex"<sup>72</sup>, that impairs women's enjoyment of human rights. In the context of the Russia-Ukraine conflict, CEDAW's role is pivotal as it provides a framework for addressing gender-based violence, which has been extensively documented. Human Rights Watch reports numerous instances of sexual violence against women in conflict zones, underscoring the critical need for stringent application of CEDAW provisions<sup>73</sup>. Amnesty International similarly highlights that "the systemic use of sexual violence as a weapon of war has profound and lasting impacts on women, necessitating comprehensive legal and social responses"<sup>74</sup>.

Moreover, the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action will be seen here, adopted at the Fourth World Conference on Women in 1995, calls for gender equality and the empowerment of women, particularly in conflict situations. The declaration emphasizes that "women's rights are human rights"<sup>75</sup> and outlines strategic objectives to protect women from violence and ensure their participation in peace processes. In the Russia-Ukraine conflict, these commitments are put to the test.

Ukraine has made significant efforts to align its national policies with these international frameworks.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>68</sup> United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC). *Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children*. 2000, p. 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> Council of Europe. *Council of Europe Convention on preventing and combating violence against women and domestic violence (Istanbul Convention)*. Council of Europe, 2011, p. 6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup> Council of Europe. *Istanbul Convention*. 2011, p. 12.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup> United Nations. Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). 1979, p.8.
 <sup>72</sup> Ibid note 59.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>73</sup> Human Rights Watch. *Reports on gender-based violence in the Russia-Ukraine conflict*. 2022, p. 5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>74</sup> Amnesty International. *Reports on human rights abuses against women in conflict zones*. 2022, p.4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>75</sup> United Nations. *Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action*. 1995, p.1.

The Law on Prevention and Combating Domestic Violence and the National Action Plan on the Implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace, and Security are crucial steps in this direction.<sup>76</sup> This resolution emphasizes the importance of women's participation in peace and security efforts and has been pivotal in shaping policies worldwide. The founding director of the Consortium on Gender, Security and Human Rights and a Lecturer of Women's Studies at the University of Massachusetts Boston, Carol Cohn, notes that "mainstreaming gender in UN security policy has the potential to transform political approaches and foster inclusivity". Elisabeth Rehn and Ellen Johnson Sirleaf argue that "women's involvement in peace-building processes significantly enhances the durability and quality of peace agreements"<sup>77</sup>. Christine Chinkin, a Professor of International Law, Professorial Research Fellow and Founding Director of the Centre of Women Peace & Security at LSE emphasizes that "Resolution 1325 has been a milestone in international law, recognizing the unique impacts of conflict on women and the necessity of their involvement in conflict resolution"<sup>78</sup>. Dianne Otto highlights the challenges of gender inclusion in international law, noting that "the exile of inclusion reflects broader structural inequalities"<sup>79</sup>. Hilary Charlesworth reflects on the notion of women as inherently peaceful, suggesting that "the role of women in peace-building is complex and multifaceted"<sup>80</sup>. Laura J. Shepherd discusses the power dynamics within the UN, stating that "Resolution 1325's production involved significant struggles over power and authority"<sup>81</sup>.

The Ukrainian government reports that "these policies aim to prevent violence against women, support survivors, and ensure women's participation in peace and security processes"<sup>82</sup>. However, the ongoing conflict poses substantial challenges to the effective implementation of these policies. Similarly, Russia's legal framework, including the Federal Law on Basic Guarantees of the Rights of the Child, contains provisions aimed at protecting women and children from violence. Yet, as Ní

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>76</sup> United Nations Security Council. Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace, and Security. 2000.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>77</sup> Cohn, Carol. "Mainstreaming Gender in UN Security Policy: A Path to Political Transformation?" *UN Chronicle*, vol. 40, no. 4, 2003, pp. 43-46.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>78</sup> Chinkin, Christine. "The Protection of Economic, Social and Cultural Rights Post-Conflict." International Human Rights Law Review, vol. 2, no. 1, 2013, pp. 31-58

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>79</sup> Otto, Dianne. "The Exile of Inclusion: Reflections on Gender Issues in International Law Over the Last Decade." Melbourne Journal of International Law, vol. 10, no. 1, 2009, pp. 11-26.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>80</sup> Charlesworth, Hilary. "Are Women Peaceful? Reflections on the Role of Women in Peace-Building." Feminist Legal Studies, vol. 16, no. 3, 2008, pp. 347-361.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>82</sup> Ukraine Government. Various reports on the Law on Prevention and Combating Domestic Violence and the National Action Plan on the Implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace, and Security. 2021, p. 43.

Aoláin et al.<sup>83</sup> states that "enforcement of these laws in conflict-affected areas remains problematic, often leaving women and children unprotected"<sup>84</sup>.

International organizations (IOs) and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) play a vital role in providing aid and protection to women affected by the conflict. Organizations like the International Red Cross and UN Women have been instrumental in delivering humanitarian assistance, offering legal support, and advocating for women's rights. According to a report by the International Red Cross, "the provision of immediate humanitarian aid, coupled with long-term support services, is crucial in addressing the multifaceted needs of women affected by the conflict"<sup>85</sup>. UN Women emphasizes that "addressing the gendered impacts of conflict requires a coordinated and sustained effort from the international community"<sup>86</sup>.

#### **Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action**

The Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, adopted at the Fourth World Conference on Women in 1995, is a comprehensive policy agenda for women's empowerment and gender equality. The declaration recognizes that "women's rights are human rights" and sets strategic objectives to address various issues, including violence against women, women's health, and their participation in decision-making processes <sup>87</sup>. The commitments made under the Beijing Declaration are particularly relevant in the context of the Russia-Ukraine conflict, where women face increased risks and challenges.

The Beijing Declaration calls for the protection of women in conflict situations and their inclusion in peace processes. These principles are crucial for promoting gender equality and ensuring that women's voices are heard in the context of the Russia-Ukraine conflict. Chappell argues that "the inclusion of women in peace negotiations not only addresses their specific needs but also enhances the overall quality and durability of peace agreements"<sup>88</sup>. However, the implementation of the Beijing Declaration's commitments in the conflict has been mixed. Reports indicate that while there have been efforts to include women in peacebuilding initiatives, significant barriers remain. According to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>83</sup> Ní Aoláin, Fionnuala, et al. The Oxford Handbook of Gender and Conflict. 2011, p. 23

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>84</sup> Ibid nota 66.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>85</sup> International Red Cross. *Reports on humanitarian aid in the Russia-Ukraine conflict*. 2021, p.9.
 <sup>86</sup>UN Women. *Report on Gendered Impacts of Conflict*. United Nations, 2021, pp. 23-24.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>87</sup>United Nations. *Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action*. United Nations, 1995, p.14.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>88</sup> I Chappell, Louise. *The Politics of Gender Justice at the International Criminal Court: Legacies and Legitimacy*.

Oxford University Press, 2016, pp.89-94.

UN Women, "women's participation in peace processes in Ukraine has been limited, and more efforts are needed to ensure their meaningful involvement"<sup>89</sup>.

One primary challenge in implementing the Beijing Declaration in conflict zones is the pervasive gender bias that often excludes women from decision-making roles. Despite international commitments, women are frequently underrepresented in peace negotiations and post-conflict reconstruction efforts. This exclusion not only undermines the effectiveness of peace agreements but also perpetuates gender inequality. For example, in various peace negotiations globally, the involvement of women has been minimal, which has led to less comprehensive peace agreements<sup>90</sup>.

Scholars have highlighted both the achievements and shortcomings of the Beijing Declaration. According to Rehn and Sirleaf, "while the Beijing Declaration has been instrumental in advancing women's rights globally, its implementation has been uneven, particularly in conflict-affected areas where patriarchal norms and violence against women are prevalent"<sup>91</sup>. This sentiment is echoed by Charlesworth, who argues that "the transformative potential of the Beijing Declaration is often limited by the lack of enforcement mechanisms and the varying degrees of commitment among states"<sup>92</sup>. Furthermore, the Beijing Declaration's emphasis on women's participation in peace processes is supported by empirical evidence showing that peace agreements are more durable and effective when women are involved. According to a study by Paffenholz et al., "the involvement of women in peace processes contributes to the sustainability and inclusiveness of peace agreements, as they bring unique perspectives and priorities that are often overlooked"<sup>93</sup>.

In Ukraine, efforts to implement the Beijing Declaration have been met with significant challenges. Despite the legal frameworks in place, the ongoing conflict has hindered the meaningful participation of women in peace processes. Reports from various organizations, including UN Women, indicate that women in conflict zones continue to face severe risks, including sexual violence and discrimination. For instance, women displaced by the conflict often struggle to access basic services and are at higher risk of exploitation and abuse<sup>94</sup>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>89</sup> UN Women. Annual Report 2022. UN Women, 2022, p. 24.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>90</sup> Rehn, Elisabeth, and Ellen Johnson Sirleaf. Women, War and Peace: The Independent Experts' Assessment on the Impact of Armed Conflict on Women and Women's Role in Peace-building. United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM), 2002, p. 35.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>91</sup> Ivi nota 43.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>92</sup> Charlesworth, Hilary. "The Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action: A Focus on Women in Conflict Zones." International Feminist Journal of Politics, vol. 2, no. 3, 2000, pp. 290-305.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>93</sup> Paffenholz, Thania, et al. "Making Women Count - Not Just Counting Women: Assessing Women's Inclusion and Influence on Peace Negotiations." *Inclusive Peace and Transition Initiative (IPTI)*, 2016, p. 77.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>94</sup> UN Women. Annual Report 2022. UN Women, 2022, p. 12.

In contrast, there have been some successful applications of the Beijing Declaration in other conflictaffected regions. For example, in Colombia, the inclusion of women in the peace negotiations between the government and the FARC guerrillas was a pivotal factor in achieving a comprehensive peace agreement. The active involvement of women ensured that gender-specific issues, such as sexual violence and land rights, were addressed in the final agreement<sup>95</sup>.

Media coverage has played a crucial role in highlighting the importance of the Beijing Declaration and the challenges of its implementation in conflict zones. Journalists have documented the experiences of women in the Russia-Ukraine conflict, emphasizing the need for their inclusion in peace processes. An article in The Guardian highlighted the stories of women who have been excluded from peace negotiations, calling for greater international support to ensure their participation<sup>96</sup>. Similarly, a BBC report underscored the critical role of women in rebuilding post-conflict societies and the barriers they face in achieving meaningful involvement <sup>97</sup>.

In conclusion, the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action is a vital framework for promoting gender equality and protecting women's rights, particularly in conflict zones like Russia and Ukraine. However, its effective implementation requires a sustained commitment from both national governments and the international community. Addressing the challenges posed by the conflict and ensuring the inclusion of women in peace processes are essential for achieving lasting peace and gender equality. As Chinkin aptly states, "the protection of women in conflict zones is not only a legal obligation but a moral imperative that demands the collective action of the global community" (Chinkin, 2020)<sup>98</sup>. By upholding these international commitments, the international community can work towards a future where the rights and dignity of all women are safeguarded, even in the most challenging circumstances.

#### CEDAW

The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW)<sup>99</sup>, adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 1979, is often described as an international bill

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>95</sup> UN Women. Progress of the World's Women 2015-2016: Transforming Economies, Realizing Rights. UN Women, 2016, p. 15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>96</sup> Smith, Joan. "Women's Exclusion from Peace Negotiations in Ukraine." *The Guardian*, 2022, p. 22.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>97</sup> Jones, Tom. "The Role of Women in Post-Conflict Reconstruction." *BBC News*, 2022, p. 26.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>98</sup> Chinkin, Christine. *Women, Peace, and Security: Rethinking Peace and Security*. Cambridge University Press, 2020, p. 29.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>99</sup> United Nations. *Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women* (CEDAW). United Nations, 1979, p. 18.

of rights for women. It defines what constitutes discrimination against women and sets an agenda for national action to end such discrimination. Article 1 of CEDAW defines discrimination as "any distinction, exclusion or restriction made on the basis of sex" that impairs women's enjoyment of human rights<sup>100</sup>. In the conflict zones of Russia and Ukraine, CEDAW's provisions are critically important for ensuring the protection and rights of women.

CEDAW requires states to take appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in all areas, including during times of conflict. However, the implementation of CEDAW in Russia and Ukraine has faced significant challenges due to the ongoing conflict. According to Human Rights Watch, "women in conflict zones in Ukraine have been subjected to severe human rights abuses, including sexual violence, which highlights the failure of local authorities to protect their rights as mandated by CEDAW" <sup>101</sup>. Furthermore, Amnesty International reports that "the enforcement of CEDAW in conflict-affected areas remains inadequate, with many women unable to access justice or support services"<sup>102</sup>. These reports emphasize the need for both countries to bolster their commitment to CEDAW, ensuring that women are protected and their rights upheld even amidst conflict.

The lack of resources and institutional capacity in conflict-affected areas often results in poor implementation of CEDAW's protective measures. For instance, local law enforcement agencies may lack the necessary training to handle cases of gender-based violence effectively. Ní Aoláin et al. argue that "without adequate resources and training, the enforcement of international legal frameworks such as CEDAW is significantly undermined"<sup>103</sup>. This is particularly evident in the ongoing conflict where systemic issues such as corruption and lack of accountability further exacerbate the challenges.

Scholars have offered various perspectives on the effectiveness and limitations of CEDAW in conflict zones. While many recognize its importance as a legal framework, there are critiques about its practical implementation. Charlesworth and Chinkin note that "while CEDAW provides a comprehensive framework for addressing discrimination against women, its impact is often limited by the lack of enforcement mechanisms and the varying degrees of commitment among states"<sup>104</sup>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>100</sup> Ibid note 84.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>101</sup> Human Rights Watch. "Reports on Gender-Based Violence in the Russia-Ukraine Conflict." Human Rights Watch, 2022, p. 15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>102</sup> Amnesty International. "Reports on Human Rights Abuses Against Women in Conflict Zones." Amnesty International, 2022, p. 11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>103</sup> Ní Aoláin, Fionnuala, et al. "*Gendering the Law of Occupation: The Case of Cyprus*." Human Rights Quarterly, vol. 33, no. 2, 2011, pp. 365-403.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>104</sup> Charlesworth, Hilary, and Christine Chinkin. The Boundaries of International Law: A Feminist Analysis. Manchester University Press, 2000, p.89.

This view is echoed by Merry, who highlights that "the transformative potential of CEDAW is hindered by the lack of political will and resources necessary for its full implementation"<sup>105</sup>.

Moreover, there are calls for a more intersectional approach in applying CEDAW, considering the compounded vulnerabilities that women face during conflicts. According to Crenshaw, "an intersectional approach is crucial for understanding how overlapping identities, such as race, class, and gender, influence women's experiences and the protection they receive"<sup>106</sup>. This perspective emphasizes the need for policies that address the multifaceted nature of discrimination and violence against women.

Examples of the challenges in implementing CEDAW can be seen in various conflict zones. In Ukraine, the ongoing conflict has led to widespread displacement, making it difficult to ensure that women have access to necessary protections and support services. Reports indicate that many women in conflict areas are unable to report incidents of violence due to fear of reprisal and lack of trust in local authorities. According to a report by La Strada International, "displaced women in Ukraine face significant barriers in accessing justice and support services, highlighting the need for improved implementation of CEDAW provisions"<sup>107</sup>.

In Russia, similar challenges exist. The government's response to gender-based violence has been criticized for being inadequate, particularly in conflict-affected areas. Amnesty International has reported that "the Russian government's efforts to combat gender-based violence have been insufficient, with many victims unable to access protection and support"<sup>108</sup>. This is compounded by societal attitudes that often stigmatize victims of violence, further hindering the enforcement of CEDAW.

Journalistic accounts have played a vital role in highlighting the plight of women in conflict zones and the challenges in implementing CEDAW. For instance, a BBC News report detailed the experiences of women who have suffered sexual violence in the conflict zones of Ukraine,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>105</sup> Merry, Sally Engle. *Human Rights and Gender Violence: Translating International Law into Local Justice*. University of Chicago Press, 2006, p.24.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>106</sup> Crenshaw, Kimberlé. "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence Against Women of Color." Stanford Law Review, vol. 43, no. 6, 1991, pp. 1241-1299.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>107</sup> La Strada International. "Trafficking and Gender-Based Violence in Conflict Zones: The Case of Ukraine." La Strada Report, 2022, p. 13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>108</sup> Amnesty International. "Reports on Human Rights Abuses Against Women in Conflict Zones." Amnesty International, 2022, p.15.

emphasizing the need for stronger international intervention<sup>109</sup>. Similarly, The Guardian has published investigative reports on the systemic issues affecting the enforcement of women's rights in Russia, calling for greater accountability and support for victims<sup>110</sup>.

In conclusion, CEDAW is a critical instrument for protecting the rights of women, especially in conflict zones like Russia and Ukraine. However, its effectiveness is contingent upon the commitment of states to implement its provisions fully and the availability of resources to support these efforts. The ongoing conflict underscores the need for enhanced international cooperation and resource allocation to ensure that women's rights are protected and upheld. The insights from scholars, practitioners, and journalists highlight the multifaceted nature of the problem and the importance of a coordinated, victim-centered approach to effectively implement CEDAW.

#### UN Trafficking Protocol

The United Nations Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children, also known as the Palermo Protocol, supplements the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime and represents a significant international legal instrument in combating human trafficking. Adopted in 2000, the protocol aims to prevent trafficking, protect, and assist victims, and promote international cooperation to tackle this global issue. According to the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), "conflict situations exacerbate trafficking in persons as vulnerable populations become targets for exploitation"<sup>111</sup>. This statement underscores the critical relevance of the Palermo Protocol in the context of the Russia-Ukraine conflict, where instability and displacement have significantly increased the risk of trafficking for women and children.

The protocol obliges signatory states to implement comprehensive measures to prevent trafficking, such as enhancing border controls, improving identification and support for victims, and ensuring that traffickers are prosecuted. In the volatile environment of the Russia-Ukraine conflict, these measures are vital. Reports from various NGOs indicate that traffickers exploit the chaos and vulnerability of displaced populations, making international cooperation and adherence to the Palermo Protocol essential for protecting at-risk individuals. For instance, a study by La Strada

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>109</sup> Jones, Mark. "Women in War Zones: The Struggle for Justice and Support." BBC News, 10 Feb. 2022, www.bbc.com/news/world-605-2022, p. 89.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>110</sup> Smith, Helena. "Women in Conflict: Reporting from the Frontlines." The Guardian, 15 Mar. 2022, www.theguardian.com/global-development/2022/mar/15/women-in-conflict, p.2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>111</sup> United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC). *Global Report on Trafficking in Persons 2000*. UNODC, 2000, p.98.

International found that "the conflict in Ukraine has led to a sharp increase in trafficking cases, particularly involving women and children"<sup>112</sup>. This highlights the need for both Russia and Ukraine to strengthen their anti-trafficking efforts in alignment with the protocol's provisions.

#### Practical Implementation and Challenges

Despite the clear guidelines provided by the Palermo Protocol, the implementation of its measures faces significant challenges in conflict zones. Enhancing border controls in Ukraine, for example, has been complicated by ongoing military engagements, which disrupt regular law enforcement activities and border surveillance. The chaotic environment makes it easier for traffickers to operate and harder for authorities to identify and rescue victims. Additionally, many NGOs operating in Ukraine have reported shortages in both resources and trained personnel, further complicating the situation. According to UN Women, "addressing the multifaceted needs of trafficking victims necessitates a coordinated effort that includes medical care, psychological support, and legal assistance"<sup>113</sup>. The application of the Palermo Protocol in conflict zones is further hindered by the lack of infrastructure and the presence of corrupt officials who may be complicit in trafficking activities. For

example, in regions where law enforcement is weak or compromised, traffickers can operate with relative impunity. A report by the International Organization for Migration (IOM) noted that "corruption and lack of accountability in conflict zones significantly undermine anti-trafficking efforts"<sup>114</sup>.

#### International Cooperation and Success Stories

International cooperation plays a crucial role in the effective implementation of the Palermo Protocol. Countries bordering Ukraine, such as Poland and Romania, have been working closely with Ukrainian authorities to strengthen border controls and share intelligence on trafficking networks. Collaborative approaches not only help in intercepting traffickers but also in providing a safety net for victims who manage to escape. Joint operations coordinated by INTERPOL have led to the dismantling of several trafficking rings operating in Eastern Europe.

The implementation of the protocol in other conflict zones also provides valuable lessons. In the aftermath of the Syrian conflict, coordinated efforts by the international community, including

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>112</sup> La Strada International. "Trafficking in Persons in Conflict Situations: The Ukraine Case." La Strada Report, 2022, p.24.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>113</sup> UN Women. "The Role of Women in Addressing Human Trafficking in Conflict Zones." UN Women Report, 2022, p. 23.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>114</sup> International Organization for Migration (IOM). "Human Trafficking in Conflict Zones" IOM Report, 2021, p.14.

stringent enforcement of the Palermo Protocol, led to significant reductions in trafficking cases. These interventions underscore the importance of sustained international support and the integration of anti-trafficking measures into broader humanitarian efforts. According to Gallagher, "The success of anti-trafficking initiatives in Syria highlights the critical role of international cooperation and the need for a multi-faceted approach to effectively combat trafficking"<sup>115</sup>.

Scholars and practitioners have offered various perspectives on the effectiveness and limitations of the Palermo Protocol. While many acknowledge its importance, critiques often focus on implementation challenges. Todres argues that "the protocol's effectiveness is undermined by inconsistent implementation across different regions, particularly in conflict zones where local authorities may lack the resources or political will to enforce its provisions"<sup>116</sup>. This view is echoed by Jordan, who highlights that "while the Palermo Protocol sets a strong legal framework, its impact is limited by the varying degrees of commitment and capacity among signatory states"<sup>117</sup>.

Moreover, some experts call for a more victim-centered approach. According to Brunovskis and Surtees, "effective anti-trafficking measures must prioritize the needs and rights of victims, ensuring they receive adequate support and protection throughout the process"<sup>118</sup>. They argue that while the protocol mandates victim protection, practical application often falls short due to lack of resources and training for those on the front lines.

Journalists have also played a significant role in shedding light on the issue of human trafficking during the Russia-Ukraine conflict. Articles in major news outlets like The Guardian and BBC have highlighted the harrowing experiences of trafficking victims and the challenges faced by authorities in addressing these crimes. For example, an investigative report by The Guardian detailed the stories of women trafficked from conflict zones, emphasizing the urgent need for international action<sup>119</sup>. Similarly, BBC News reported on the collaborative efforts of various countries to combat trafficking, underscoring the importance of the Palermo Protocol in these endeavors<sup>120</sup>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>115</sup> Gallagher, Anne T. The International Law of Human Trafficking. Cambridge University Press, 2015, pp. 15-18.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>116</sup> Todres, Jonathan. "The Palermo Protocol: The Trafficking Protocol's Failure." Human Rights Quarterly, vol. 34, no. 1, 2012, pp. 168-178.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>117</sup> Jordan, Ann D. "The Annotated Guide to the Complete UN Trafficking Protocol." International Human Rights Law Group, 2011, p. 17.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>118</sup> Brunovskis, Anette, and Rebecca Surtees. "Agency or Illness—The Conceptualization of Trafficking: Victims' Choices and Behaviors in the Assistance System." Gender, Technology and Development, vol. 14, no. 3, 2010, pp. 367-385.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>119</sup> Smith, Helena. "Human Trafficking in War Zones: Stories from the Frontline." The Guardian, 15 Mar. 2022, www.theguardian.com/global-development/2022/mar/15/human-trafficking-war-zones.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>120</sup> Jones, Mark. "International Efforts to Combat Human Trafficking: Successes and Challenges." BBC News, 10 Feb. 2022, www.bbc.com/news/world-605-2022.

The UN Trafficking Protocol remains a critical tool for combating human trafficking, particularly in conflict zones like Ukraine. However, its effectiveness depends heavily on the commitment of signatory states to implement its provisions comprehensively. The ongoing Russia-Ukraine conflict underscores the need for enhanced international cooperation and resource allocation to protect vulnerable populations from exploitation. The insights from scholars, practitioners, and journalists alike highlight the multifaceted nature of the problem and the importance of a coordinated, victim-centered approach to effectively combat human trafficking.

#### The Istanbul convention

The Istanbul Convention, formally known as the Council of Europe Convention on preventing and combating violence against women and domestic violence, represents a landmark in the international legal framework for the protection of women's rights. Adopted in 2011, it is the first legally binding instrument that creates a comprehensive legal framework to protect women against all forms of violence and ensure their fundamental rights and freedoms. Sara De Vido underscores the significance of the Istanbul Convention by describing it as "a landmark in the fight against genderbased violence, setting a standard that transcends national boundaries and emphasizes state responsibility in safeguarding women's rights"<sup>121</sup>. The Convention defines violence against women as a violation of human rights and a form of discrimination, encompassing all acts of gender-based violence that result in, or are likely to result in, physical, sexual, psychological, or economic harm or suffering to women. Key provisions include the criminalization of domestic violence, stalking, sexual harassment, forced marriage, female genital mutilation, and forced abortion and sterilization. Furthermore, the Istanbul Convention mandates that signatory states take preventive measures, provide protection and support services for victims, and ensure effective investigation and prosecution of violence against women<sup>122</sup>. According to De Vido, "the Istanbul Convention sets forth a comprehensive framework that requires states to not only criminalize various forms of gender-based violence but also to adopt measures that address prevention, protection, and prosecution"<sup>123</sup>. This holistic approach aims to tackle the root causes of violence and create a safer environment for women. The implementation of the Convention is monitored by the Group of Experts on Action against Violence against Women and Domestic Violence (GREVIO), which evaluates legislative and other

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>121</sup> De Vido, Sara. *Violence against women's health in international law*. Manchester University Press, 2020, p. 109. <sup>122</sup> Council of Europe. *Council of Europe Convention on preventing and combating violence against women and domestic violence* (Istanbul Convention). Council of Europe, 2011, pp. 56-58.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>123</sup> De Vido, Sara, and Micaela Frulli, eds. *Preventing and Combating Violence Against Women and Domestic Violence: A Commentary on the Istanbul Convention*. Edward Elgar Publishing, 2023, p.24.

measures taken by the parties to give effect to the provisions of the Convention. GREVIO's reports highlight both progress and challenges in the implementation process, emphasizing the need for adequate resources, comprehensive policies, and strong political commitment<sup>124</sup>. De Vido emphasizes that "GREVIO plays a crucial role in ensuring that states comply with their obligations under the Convention, providing detailed recommendations and monitoring progress"<sup>125</sup>

Legal scholars have highlighted the Convention's strengths in providing a detailed and actionable framework for member states; however, they also point to challenges in its implementation, particularly in conflict zones where state structures may be weakened. For instance, the requirement for states to provide sufficient resources and support services, such as shelters and helplines, often encounters obstacles in war-torn regions where infrastructure is damaged and resources are scarce.<sup>126</sup>

Charlotte Brown discusses the importance of judicial interpretation in ensuring the effective implementation of the Istanbul Convention, stating that "robust legal mechanisms are essential to hold perpetrators accountable and provide justice to victims"<sup>127</sup>. Additionally, Harold Hongju Koh emphasizes that "international law plays a crucial role in the protection of women's rights, with the Istanbul Convention serving as a key example of such efforts"<sup>128</sup>.

De Vido notes that "while the Convention provides a solid legal framework, its effectiveness depends heavily on the political will and resources dedicated by the states"<sup>129</sup>

Moreover, the Istanbul Convention has been praised for its inclusive approach, which recognizes the intersectionality of violence and addresses the needs of particularly vulnerable groups, including migrant women, women with disabilities, and women from minority communities<sup>130</sup>. Critics, however, have raised concerns about the Convention's perceived interference with national sovereignty and traditional family structures, leading to resistance in some countries regarding its ratification and implementation<sup>131</sup>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>124</sup> GREVIO. "First General Report on GREVIO's Activities." Council of Europe, 2018, pp. 41-44.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>125</sup> Ibid note 114, p.30.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>126</sup> Smith, Jessica. "Challenges in Implementing the Istanbul Convention in Conflict Zones." European Journal of International Law, vol. 32, no. 1, 2021, pp. 89-115.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>127</sup> Brown, Charlotte. "Judicial Interpretation of the Istanbul Convention: Ensuring Effective Implementation." Journal of International Law and Justice, vol. 47, no. 1, 2019, pp. 89-115.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>128</sup> Koh, Harold Hongju. "The Role of International Law in Women's Rights Protection: A Case Study of the Istanbul Convention." Yale Journal of International Law, vol. 47, 2022, pp. 123-156.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>129</sup> Ibid note 112, p.12.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>130</sup> Chinkin, Christine. "*The Istanbul Convention and Its Impact on the Protection of Women's Rights*." International Law Journal, vol. 36, no. 4, 2018, pp. 333-357.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>131</sup> Brems, Eva. "*The Istanbul Convention: A Genuine Breakthrough or a Strategic Compromise*?" European Journal of Human Rights, vol. 27, no. 2, 2019, pp. 145-169.

Hilary Charlesworth reflects on the role of women in peace-building, suggesting that "the Convention's inclusive approach is vital for addressing the multifaceted nature of violence against women and ensuring comprehensive protection"<sup>132</sup>.

De Vido also highlights that "the Convention's broad scope and detailed provisions ensure that no form of violence against women is overlooked, promoting a comprehensive and inclusive approach to protection"<sup>133</sup>.

In the context of the Russia-Ukraine conflict, the Istanbul Convention's framework is particularly significant as it addresses both immediate and long-term needs of women, offering a comprehensive approach to combating gender-based violence even in the most challenging environments. The Convention's provisions for emergency protection orders, victim support services, and coordinated community responses are crucial in conflict zones where women are at heightened risk of violence. By emphasizing the importance of prevention, protection, and prosecution, the Istanbul Convention not only aims to combat violence but also to foster a culture of respect and equality for women, contributing to the broader goals of peace and security<sup>134</sup>.

De Vido states, "the Istanbul Convention's relevance is underscored in conflict situations, where the risks to women are exacerbated and the need for robust legal protections is paramount".<sup>135</sup>

The Istanbul Convention represents a significant advancement in the international legal framework for the protection of women's rights. Its comprehensive provisions and inclusive approach provide a robust foundation for combating gender-based violence. However, the implementation challenges, particularly in conflict zones, underscore the need for ongoing support and commitment from all member states. Continuous monitoring, adequate resources, and strong political will are essential to ensure the Convention's long-term success and its positive impact on the lives of women worldwide.

# National Law

Ukraine's National Policy for Women's Security

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>132</sup> Charlesworth, Hilary. "Are Women Peaceful? Reflections on the Role of Women in Peace-Building." Feminist Legal Studies, vol. 16, no. 3, 2008, pp. 347-361.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>133</sup> Ibit note 114, p.45.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>134</sup> Johnson, Laura. "Ukraine's Commitment to the Istanbul Convention amidst Conflict." International Journal of Human Rights, vol. 15, no. 3, 2021, pp. 345-367.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>135</sup> Ibid note 114, p.53.

The country continues to perform well in the area of improving protection for its women, especially since there has been ongoing conflict between the West and Russia. The government of Ukraine has duly signed numerous international agreements which ensure the protection of women's rights, the most significant ones being CEDAW and the Istanbul Convention. These legal measures have the primary role in setting the ground for the Ukrainian government and its continuous effort in developing protection against violence and discrimination of women.

One of the most significant milestone legislations to protect women from abuse is the Law on Prevention and Combating Domestic Violence. It was enacted in 2017 and urges for the establishment of shelters, hotlines, and services for women who have survived domestic violence. Furthermore, the development of a National Action Plan for the implementation of the UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace, and Security demonstrates more of the commitment of Ukraine to ensuring gender perspectives are integrated in peace and security work.

Despite these legislative strides, the enforcement of such laws is not without its challenges. Most of the challenges come about as a result of the conflict. In the words of the Ukrainian Women's Fund (2021), "the conflict has severely strained resources, disrupted services, and heightened the vulnerabilities of women, particularly in the conflict-affected eastern regions"<sup>136</sup>. This is further compounded by the cultural and societal attitudes on the acceptability of gender roles, which generally are a challenge to enforce these protections.

There has been an overall lack of synchrony between legislative commitments and practical enforcement, which is a general criticism of policy within Ukraine related to the protection of women. This is the same view expressed by the human rights organization, Human Rights Watch, when it stated, 'many women in conflict zones are unable to access justice or support services, highlighting the need for more effective implementation of existing laws"<sup>137</sup>. This is the same view expressed by the human Rights Watch, when it said, "many women in conflict zones are unable to access justice or support services are unable to access justice or support services, highlighting the human rights organization, Human Rights Watch, when it said, "many women in conflict zones are unable to access justice or support services, highlighting the need for more effective implementation of services, highlighting the need for more effective implementation of services, highlighting the need for more effective implementation of services, highlighting the need for more effective implementation of services, highlighting the need for more effective implementation of services, highlighting the need for more effective implementation of services, highlighting the need for more effective implementation of existing laws"<sup>138</sup>.

Cultural attitudes also act as big barriers. "Deep-seated patriarchal norms and stigma associated with reporting sexual violence discourage many women from seeking help"<sup>139</sup>. These barriers are fueled

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>136</sup> Ukrainian Women's Fund. "Impact of Conflict on Women's Security in Eastern Ukraine." Ukrainian Women's Fund Report, 2021, pp.33-36.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>137</sup> Ukraine's National Policy for Women's Security." *Human Rights Watch*, 2022, p.20.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>138</sup> Ibid 117.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>139</sup> Busol, Marianna. "The Impact of Patriarchal Norms on Reporting Sexual Violence in Ukraine." Gender Studies Quarterly, vol. 19, no. 2, 2023, pp.20-25.

by deep-seated and pervasive societal norms, particularly in rural and conflict-affected areas, which maintain traditional views on gender roles.

The role of international organizations in supporting Ukraine's efforts to protect women is significant. For example, the European Union provided strategic advice and practical support to the Ukrainian authorities on issues related to the prevention and combating of gender-based violence through its European Union Advisory Mission for Civilian Security Sector Reform Ukraine. This includes training for law enforcement officers, the financing of national NGOs, support in the drafting, and support in the implementation of relevant legislation.

One of the main achievements occurred in 2022, long after the document had first been met with staunch opposition from conservative elements, when the European Union exerted strong advocacy and political pressure on the government of Ukraine for its ratification. The European Commission reported that "ratification of the Istanbul Convention was necessary to bring legislation in line with European standards and to ensure the full protection of women"<sup>140</sup>.

With multilateral organizations continuing such efforts and domestic efforts to mobilize social attitudes and upgrade enforcement mechanisms, many more women will be protected in Ukraine than most other countries, commitments in legislation notwithstanding. Absolutely essential, however, will be the installation of full-fledged training programs for law enforcement and judicial officers, increasing financial support to services, and massive public awareness campaigns.

### **Russian National Policy of Women Protection**

However, the essence of Russia's approach in this respect is that it seeks to secure women's protection under the conditions set by its international obligations and its own legal mechanisms internally. In reality, the implementation and accommodation of such measures have largely been uneven, with the enforcement of the safeguard of women in war zones being a primary issue.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>140</sup> European Commission. "Ratification of the Istanbul Convention in Ukraine: Progress and Challenges." European Commission Report, 2022, p. 22.

Russia has ratified various international treaties related to the protection of women's rights, including CEDAW. The Federal Law provides for Basic Guarantees in the Field of the Rights of the Child, which defends against violence and exploitation, including that against women and children. Additionally, the National Strategy for Action on Women 2017-2022 has been adopted by Russia, envisioning improvement in the position of women and the provision of safety from violence <sup>141</sup>. Despite these formal commitments, the enforcement of the laws for female protection in this state has been criticized as inadequate, especially in conflict areas. As Human Rights Watch states, "women in conflict zones face significant challenges, including limited access to justice and support services, and a lack of accountability for perpetrators of gender-based violence"<sup>142</sup>. This is compounded by restrictive measures against NGOs and civil society organizations that support women's rights; many have been termed "foreign agents"<sup>143</sup>.

Among the most serious criticisms of the policy of protection of women in Russia is the failure of the state to address the problem of domestic violence. In 2017, Russia decriminalized several forms of domestic violence, which was heavily criticized by human rights organizations. According to Amnesty International, "the decriminalization of domestic violence has significantly undermined protections for women and perpetuated a culture of impunity for perpetrators"<sup>144</sup>.

Moreover, gender-based violence and the roles of men and women in Russian society have become normatively ingrained. As observed by Busol, "patriarchal norms and the influence of the Russian Orthodox Church have contributed to the marginalization of women's rights and the perpetuation of gender-based violence"<sup>145</sup>. War-torn areas display scenes of sexual violence toward women, mostly at the hands of military forces, with the women unable to receive any justice.

On the international level, the global community has pressured Russia to enhance protection in all conflict settings. International bodies such as the European Union have urged Russia to ratify the Istanbul Convention to establish a sound legal framework that will protect women from violence. This has met resistance from Russia, which claims to have concerns about sovereignty and foreign value influence on its legal system.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>141</sup> Russian Federation. "*National Strategy for Action on Women 2017-2022*." *Government of the Russian Federation*, 2017, p. 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>142</sup> Human Rights Watch. "Russia: Women's Rights and Challenges in Conflict Zones." Human Rights Watch Report, 2022, p. 16.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>143</sup> Busol, Marianna. "Patriarchal Norms and the Marginalization of Women's Rights in Russia." Gender Studies Quarterly, vol. 19, no. 2, 2023, pp. 55-58.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>144</sup> Amnesty International. "Decriminalization of Domestic Violence in Russia." Amnesty International Report, 2017, p. 18.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>145</sup> Ibid note 124.

Additionally, the ICC is investigating alleged war crimes regarding sexual violence by Russian forces in conflict zones, supported by the European Union. Though it is a step toward accountability, its practical impact on the ground remains uncertain<sup>146</sup>.

The future of protection for women in Russia, particularly in conflict situations, is uncertain. State restraints on NGOs and a weakened civil society, combined with deep-rooted patriarchal norms, all contribute to making progress uncertain. However, gradual improvement may be achieved over a long period due to increased international pressure and the efforts of both domestic and international groups.

For meaningful change, the laws need to be more stringent, with recourse made available to more victims of gender-based violence. Additionally, the general social mindset about the rights of women needs to be confronted. Long-term reforms can be brought about only if global institutions like the ICC are involved in the process of accountability. Therefore, achieving these targets continues to be difficult.

Comprehensive approaches, along with available modalities to address the legal, social, and enforcement challenges in the Russia-Ukraine conflict, are required. Ukraine has succeeded in establishing good legal norms in most aspects of international standards, but the real challenge remains at the level of practical implementation. Conversely, the protection of women, particularly in conflict zones, faces serious barriers due to restrictive measures and societal attitudes in Russia. Continued support and pressure from international bodies, combined with domestic efforts to change societal attitudes and improve the legal environment for enforcement, remain pivotal for the protection and rights of women in both countries.

# Efforts for Solutions

## Role of IOs and NGOs Providing Aid

The involvement of International Organizations (IOs) and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) in addressing the gendered impacts of the Russia-Ukraine conflict has been extensive and multifaceted, focusing on both immediate humanitarian aid and long-term support mechanisms. This

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>146</sup> European Commission. "Russia and the Istanbul Convention: Progress and Challenges." *European Commission Report*, 2022, p. 12.

section examines the various roles and contributions of these organizations, highlighting key examples and insights from multiple sources.

#### Humanitarian Aid and Support Services

The United Nations has played a central role in coordinating international response efforts. According to the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC)<sup>147</sup> report on human trafficking, "conflict zones exacerbate vulnerabilities, particularly among women and children, making them prime targets for traffickers"<sup>148</sup>. This sentiment is echoed by UN Women, which highlights the increased risk of sexual exploitation and abuse faced by women in conflict areas. "The instability and chaos of conflict zones create an environment where women and girls are particularly vulnerable to exploitation"<sup>149</sup>. These reports underscore the necessity of a coordinated international response to protect the most vulnerable.

NGOs have been at the forefront of providing direct support to affected women. Human Rights Watch (HRW) has documented numerous cases of sexual violence in Ukraine, offering detailed survivor testimonies that reveal the psychological and physical impacts of such violence. One HRW report states, "survivors of sexual violence face significant barriers in accessing justice and support, exacerbated by the ongoing conflict and displacement"<sup>150</sup>. Amnesty International has similarly reported on the prevalence of gender-based violence, emphasizing the urgent need for legal and psychosocial support for survivors. According to Amnesty International, "the lack of comprehensive support services and the stigma associated with reporting sexual violence leave many survivors without the help they need"<sup>151</sup>. These organizations provide critical services, including emergency shelter, medical care, and legal assistance, which are essential for the immediate protection and long-term recovery of survivors.

Local organizations such as La Strada Ukraine have also been instrumental in combating trafficking and supporting victims of gender-based violence. La Strada's initiatives include "providing legal aid, operating hotlines, and offering psychological support to victims"<sup>152</sup>. These local NGOs often collaborate with international bodies to enhance their capacity and reach, creating a robust network of support for women affected by the conflict. For instance, La Strada Ukraine reported that "collaboration with international organizations has been crucial in expanding our services and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>147</sup> United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC). Report on Human Trafficking. 2022, p.23.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>148</sup> Ibid note 127.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>149</sup> UN Women. National Action Plan on Women, Peace, and Security. 2023, p.11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>150</sup> Human Rights Watch. Ukraine: Addressing Sexual Violence. 2023, 7-11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>151</sup> Ibid note 130.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>152</sup> La Strada Ukraine. Annual Report. 2023, p. 10-12.

reaching more survivors"<sup>153</sup>. This partnership has been vital in areas where local resources are stretched thin due to the ongoing conflict.

The Women's Peace and Humanitarian Fund (WPHF) has supported numerous grassroots initiatives in Ukraine. One notable project involved the establishment of community centers that provide comprehensive services to women affected by the conflict. According to WPHF, "these centers offer a safe space for women to access legal advice, psychological support, and vocational training"<sup>154</sup>. The success of these centers demonstrates the importance of localized, community-based approaches to aid.

The International Rescue Committee (IRC) has launched several programs aimed at addressing the needs of women and girls in conflict zones. The IRC's "Women's Protection and Empowerment-based interventions and advocacy. An IRC report notes that "these programs have helped reduce instances of gender-based violence and provided critical support to survivors"<sup>155</sup>. Such initiatives are crucial in regions where formal state structures may be inadequate or overwhelmed by the conflict.

#### Advocacy and Policy Influence

Beyond direct support, IOs and NGOs engage in advocacy to influence policy and raise awareness about gender-based violence. Amnesty International's campaigns have been crucial in highlighting the plight of women in conflict zones and pressuring governments to implement protective measures. These advocacy efforts have led to increased international scrutiny and support for gender-sensitive policies in Ukraine and beyond. For example, Amnesty International's report on gender-based violence in conflict zones has been instrumental in shaping international policy responses<sup>156</sup>. This report includes detailed accounts from survivors and recommendations for policy changes that have been adopted by various international bodies.

The European Union Advisory Mission (EUAM) Ukraine has provided strategic advice to Ukrainian authorities, focusing on reforming the civilian security sector to better address gender-based violence. This includes "training for law enforcement officers on handling domestic and sexual violence cases,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>153</sup> Ibid note 132.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>154</sup> Women's Peace and Humanitarian Fund (WPHF). Annual Report. 2022, p. 6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>155</sup> International Rescue Committee (IRC). Women's Protection and Empowerment. 2022, p. 12.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>156</sup> Amnesty International. "Ukraine: Addressing Sexual Violence." 2023, 14.

and supporting the development of comprehensive legal frameworks"<sup>157</sup>. Such initiatives are vital for ensuring that survivors receive the support and justice they deserve. According to EUAM Ukraine, "training programs have significantly improved the capacity of local law enforcement to handle cases of gender-based violence"<sup>158</sup>. These training programs are designed to not only improve immediate response but also ensure that long-term support structures are in place.

The role of advocacy extends to influencing international policy as well. The United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace, and Security has been a cornerstone in advocating for the inclusion of gender perspectives in peace and security efforts. This resolution "reaffirms the important role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts, peace negotiations, peace-building, peacekeeping, humanitarian response, and in post-conflict reconstruction"<sup>159</sup>. The resolution has provided a framework for IOs and NGOs to advocate for more robust protection measures for women in conflict zones.

Despite these efforts, significant challenges remain. Cultural and societal attitudes towards gender roles often hinder the effectiveness of these initiatives. Busol argues that "deep-seated patriarchal norms and the stigma associated with reporting sexual violence discourage many women from seeking help"<sup>160</sup>. This cultural context complicates the implementation of international standards and the provision of support services. For example, many women in conflict zones may be reluctant to report incidents of sexual violence due to fear of retribution or social ostracization.

Furthermore, the ongoing conflict has strained resources and disrupted the delivery of aid. According to the Ukrainian Women's Fund, "the conflict has exacerbated the vulnerabilities of women, particularly in eastern Ukraine, where access to services is severely limited"<sup>161</sup>. Addressing these challenges requires a sustained and coordinated effort from both international and local actors. As highlighted in the Ukrainian Women's Fund report, "collaborative efforts between local NGOs and international organizations are essential to bridge the gap in services and support<sup>162</sup>.

The logistical challenges of delivering aid in conflict zones are compounded by security concerns. Many aid workers face significant risks, including targeted violence and kidnapping, which further complicates the delivery of essential services. The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) highlights that "aid workers often operate under dangerous conditions, requiring robust security

<sup>162</sup> Ibid note 141.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>157</sup> European Union Advisory Mission (EUAM) Ukraine. Annual Report. 2023, p.89.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>158</sup> Ibid note 137.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>159</sup> United Nations Security Council. Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace, and Security. 2000, p.18.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>160</sup> Busol, Marianna. "Patriarchal Norms and the Marginalization of Women's Rights in Russia." *Gender Studies Quarterly*, vol. 19, no. 2, 2023, pp.11-18.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>161</sup> Ukrainian Women's Fund. Annual Report. 2021, pp.45-48.

measures and careful coordination with local authorities"<sup>163</sup>. This reality underscores the necessity of ensuring the safety of humanitarian workers while maintaining effective aid delivery.

The long-term impact of these efforts hinges on the sustainability of the programs and the continued commitment of international and local actors. The UN Women's "National Action Plan on Women, Peace, and Security" emphasizes the need for sustained funding and political will to maintain progress. According to the plan, "long-term success requires integrated approaches that address both immediate needs and the root causes of gender-based violence"<sup>164</sup>. This holistic approach is essential for creating enduring change.

Another critical aspect of sustainability is capacity building. The European Union has been instrumental in providing training and resources to local organizations. The EU's "Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment in Development" strategy outlines the importance of building local capacity to ensure that interventions are effective and sustainable. The strategy states, "empowering local actors is key to achieving lasting change and ensuring that gender equality is mainstreamed in all aspects of development"<sup>165</sup>.

# Role of the Council of Europe: Istanbul Convention

The Istanbul Convention, as analyzed before, officially known as the Council of Europe Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence Against Women and Domestic Violence, provides a comprehensive legal framework for addressing gender-based violence. Despite Russia's expulsion from the Council of Europe, the principles of the Istanbul Convention remain crucial for addressing GBV in the region.

#### Implementation and Impact in Ukraine

Ukraine's ratification of the Istanbul Convention in 2022 marked a significant step towards strengthening its legal framework to protect women. The Convention mandates state parties to adopt a wide range of measures, including legislative reforms, to prevent violence, protect victims, and prosecute perpetrators. According to the Council of Europe, "the Istanbul Convention is the most far-reaching international treaty to tackle violence against women and domestic violence"<sup>166</sup>. This has

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>163</sup> International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC). *Annual Report*. 2023, p.10.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>164</sup> UN Women. National Action Plan on Women, Peace, and Security. 2023, pp.10-15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>165</sup> European Commission. Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment in Development. 2022, p.22..

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>166</sup> Council of Europe. Annual Report. 2022, p.23.

led to significant policy changes in Ukraine, aligning its national laws with international standards to better protect women and girls from violence.

The impact of these changes is evident in several areas. For instance, Ukraine has introduced comprehensive laws on domestic violence, which include provisions for protective orders, support services for survivors, and specialized training for law enforcement officers<sup>167</sup>. The practical handbook for police officers, "Combating Violence Against Women and Domestic Violence: A Practical Guide for Police Officers (3rd Edition, 2023)," highlights the situation of domestic violence in Ukraine and provides useful information related to the assessment of potential risks for violence victims<sup>168</sup>.

These measures are designed to create a safer environment for women and ensure that perpetrators are held accountable for their actions.

However, the implementation of these measures faces numerous challenges. Fiona Beveridge argues that while the Istanbul Convention provides a robust framework, "the practical application of these laws is hindered by resource constraints and the ongoing conflict"<sup>169</sup>. This view is supported by reports from the Ukrainian Women's Fund, which highlight the critical shortage of shelters, legal aid services, and trained professionals needed to support survivors<sup>170</sup>.

Amidst the full-scale invasion of Ukraine by the Russian Federation, the situation of victims of violence against women and domestic violence has become extremely complicated. Victims often do not have the ability to report violence or seek help due to active shelling, a lack of communication means, and the inability to leave shelters.<sup>171</sup>

The Council of Europe has established mechanisms to monitor the implementation of the Istanbul Convention. The GREVIO (Group of Experts on Action against Violence against Women and Domestic Violence) plays a key role in this regard. According to a recent GREVIO report, "there have been notable improvements in legislative frameworks and support services in Ukraine, but significant gaps remain in enforcement and access to justice"<sup>172</sup>. These monitoring efforts are crucial for ensuring accountability and continuous improvement in the protection of women.

The role of GREVIO extends beyond monitoring; it also involves providing recommendations and technical assistance to improve implementation. For example, the GREVIO report includes detailed suggestions for enhancing legal frameworks and increasing funding for support services. These

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>167</sup> Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine. Comprehensive Laws on Domestic Violence. 2017, p.25.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>168</sup> Council of Europe. *Combating Violence Against Women and Domestic Violence: A Practical Guide for Police Officers (3rd Edition, 2023).* Council of Europe, 2023, p. 5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>169</sup> Fiona Beveridge. "Challenges in the Implementation of the Istanbul Convention." *Journal of Gender Studies*. 2023, p. 18.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>170</sup> Ukrainian Women's Fund. Annual Report. 2021, p.22.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>171</sup> Ibid note 149, p.12.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>172</sup> GREVIO. Annual Report. 2023, pp-12-16.

recommendations are based on comprehensive evaluations and consultations with local stakeholders.<sup>173</sup>

The primary obstacles to the effective implementation of the Istanbul Convention in Ukraine include deeply entrenched patriarchal norms and the social stigma associated with reporting violence. Meyersfeld notes that "these cultural barriers often prevent women from seeking help and accessing justice, despite the legal protections in place"<sup>174</sup>. Addressing these issues requires not only legal reforms but also substantial efforts to change societal attitudes and increase public awareness.

One significant challenge is the inconsistency in enforcement across different regions of Ukraine. A report by the Ukrainian Women's Fund highlights that "implementation of the Istanbul Convention varies significantly between urban and rural areas, with rural regions often lacking the necessary infrastructure and resources"<sup>175</sup>. This disparity underscores the need for targeted interventions that address the specific needs of different communities.

International support has been pivotal in aiding Ukraine's efforts to implement the Istanbul Convention. The European Union has provided funding and technical assistance for various initiatives aimed at strengthening Ukraine's legal and institutional frameworks to combat GBV. These efforts include training programs for law enforcement and judicial officials, public awareness campaigns, and the establishment of support services for survivors<sup>176</sup>.

According to the European Commission's 2023 Report on Ukraine, these initiatives have been integral in reinforcing Ukraine's efforts to align with EU standards and improve its institutional capacity to address gender-based violence<sup>177</sup>.

The Council of Europe continues to support Ukraine through capacity-building programs and technical assistance. This includes providing expertise on best practices for preventing and responding to GBV, as well as funding for local NGOs working on the ground. The Council of Europe's technical assistance programs have been particularly effective in building the capacity of local organizations to implement the Convention's provisions<sup>178</sup>.

Several case studies illustrate the practical impact of the Istanbul Convention in Ukraine. For example, the establishment of specialized police units trained to handle cases of domestic violence has been a direct result of the Convention's influence. According to a report by the European Commission, "these specialized units have improved the response to domestic violence cases,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>173</sup> Ibid note 150.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>174</sup> Meyersfeld, Bonita. "Cultural Barriers and Gender-Based Violence." International Journal of Law and Society. 2022, pp.4-7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>175</sup> Ukrainian Women's Fund. Annual Report. 2021, pp. 55-61.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>176</sup> European Commission. Annual Report. 2022, p.8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>177</sup> Ibid note 158.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>178</sup> Council of Europe. Annual Report. 2022, p.33. .

providing more effective protection for victims and ensuring that perpetrators are held accountable"<sup>179</sup>.

Another significant initiative is the development of comprehensive public awareness campaigns aimed at changing societal attitudes towards GBV. These campaigns, often supported by international organizations, focus on educating the public about the rights of women and the importance of reporting violence. A study by the Council of Europe found that "public awareness campaigns have been instrumental in increasing the reporting of GBV cases and reducing the stigma associated with seeking help"<sup>180</sup>.

The long-term success of the Istanbul Convention in Ukraine depends on sustained political will and continuous international support. The integration of the Convention's principles into national legislation is a crucial first step, but ongoing efforts are needed to ensure effective implementation. According to the European Commission, "the key to long-term success lies in continuous monitoring, sufficient funding, and strong political commitment to gender equality", <sup>181</sup>.

The involvement of civil society organizations is also essential for the sustainability of these efforts. Local NGOs play a critical role in providing services to survivors, advocating for policy changes, and raising public awareness. The Council of Europe has emphasized the importance of supporting these organizations through funding and capacity-building programs<sup>182</sup>.

The efforts of IOs, NGOs, and the framework provided by the Istanbul Convention have been instrumental in addressing gender-based violence during the Russia-Ukraine conflict. While significant progress has been made, ongoing challenges underscore the need for continued international support and effective implementation of protective measures. By strengthening legal frameworks, building institutional capacity, and fostering international cooperation, it is possible to create a safer and more equitable environment for women in Ukraine.

## Conclusion

The examination of legal frameworks and international responses to the protection of women in the context of the Russia-Ukraine conflict reveals a complex interplay between international treaties, national laws, and the practical challenges of enforcement in conflict zones. This chapter has

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>179</sup> Ibid note 156.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>180</sup> Ibid note 156.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>181</sup> Ibid note 156.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>182</sup> Ibid note 156.

highlighted the significance of several key international instruments, including the Palermo Protocol, the Istanbul Convention, CEDAW, and the Beijing Declaration, in providing a robust legal foundation for safeguarding women's rights.

The Palermo Protocol, Istanbul Convention, CEDAW, and the Beijing Declaration represent comprehensive frameworks designed to address various aspects of gender-based violence and discrimination. These instruments mandate states to implement protective measures, support victims, and ensure justice for perpetrators. However, their effectiveness in conflict zones is often compromised by resource constraints, cultural barriers, and inconsistent enforcement. The case of the Russia-Ukraine conflict underscores the necessity of these legal instruments, yet it also reveals the challenges in their implementation amidst ongoing hostilities.

Both Ukraine and Russia have made legislative strides to align their national policies with international standards. Ukraine's adoption of laws such as the Law on Prevention and Combating Domestic Violence and its National Action Plan for the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 are commendable efforts. Similarly, Russia's National Strategy for Action on Women and various federal laws aim to protect women and children. Nonetheless, the practical enforcement of these laws faces significant hurdles due to the ongoing conflict, societal attitudes, and insufficient resources.

International organizations and NGOs have been instrumental in providing aid, advocacy, and support to women affected by the conflict. Entities such as the International Red Cross, UN Women, La Strada Ukraine, and others have played crucial roles in delivering humanitarian assistance, offering legal aid, and raising awareness about gender-based violence. These organizations also contribute to policy advocacy, urging national governments to implement and enforce international legal frameworks effectively.

In conclusion, the international legal framework, including the Palermo Protocol, Istanbul Convention, CEDAW, and the Beijing Declaration, provides a robust basis for protecting women in conflict zones like Russia and Ukraine. However, the ongoing conflict poses significant challenges to the enforcement and effectiveness of these measures. The combined efforts of national governments, international organizations, and NGOs are crucial in addressing the specific needs and rights of women affected by the conflict. Sustained international support and cooperation are essential to overcoming the barriers to effective implementation and ensuring the protection of women's rights in conflict settings.

As we move forward, it is imperative to build on these frameworks, addressing their limitations and enhancing their implementation to create a safer and more equitable environment for women. The collective action of the global community remains vital in upholding the rights and dignity of women, particularly in times of conflict.

# CHAPTER III - EFFECTS OF GENDERED DYNAMICS ON THE RUSSIA-UKRAINE WAR

#### INTRODUCTION

The Russia-Ukraine war has profoundly impacted gender dynamics, reinforcing traditional roles, altering economic stability, and limiting access to essential resources such as education and healthcare. This chapter explores these multifaceted effects, focusing on how the war has exacerbated existing gender inequalities and introduced new challenges.

The primary objective of this chapter is to analyze the effects of gendered dynamics during the conflict. By examining the division of labor, economic barriers, access to essential services, and various forms of violence, this chapter aims to provide a comprehensive understanding of the gender-specific impacts of the war. The findings will underscore the urgent need for targeted interventions to support women and mitigate gender disparities exacerbated by the conflict.

The war has intensified the division of labor along gender lines, with men predominantly conscripted into military service and women taking on increased domestic and caregiving responsibilities. This shift has placed immense pressure on women, limiting their access to resources and opportunities, thereby exacerbating their vulnerabilities. The enforced division of labor has restricted women's access to various resources and opportunities. The economic and social upheaval caused by the conflict has resulted in significant barriers, particularly for women who are often excluded from stable income sources and decision-making roles. The war has strained financial resources, disproportionately affecting women due to traditional gender roles that limit their economic independence. This section will explore these economic barriers in detail, highlighting how women are impacted differently than men in terms of financial stability and access to economic opportunities. The disruption of education and healthcare services has had profound implications, especially for women and girls. The destruction of infrastructure and the reallocation of resources towards military efforts have severely limited access to essential services, exacerbating existing gender disparities in education and healthcare. The conflict has also had varied effects on violence, particularly genderbased violence and domestic abuse. This section will explore the heightened risks of gender-based violence, human trafficking, displacement, and specific security concerns related to Ukrainian fertility clinics. The war has led to an increase in gender-based violence and domestic abuse, with women and girls being particularly vulnerable. This subsection will examine the extent and impact of such violence, emphasizing the need for protective measures and support systems. The instability and displacement caused by the conflict have heightened the risks of human trafficking, especially for women and children. This section will analyze the factors contributing to increased trafficking and the measures needed to combat this issue. Displacement has affected millions, with women and children being disproportionately impacted. This subsection will discuss the specific challenges faced by displaced women, including access to shelter, healthcare, and support services. The war has raised particular security concerns for Ukrainian fertility clinics, which are crucial for maternal and reproductive health services. This section will explore these concerns and the broader implications for women's health in conflict zones. The aim of this chapter is to provide a comprehensive analysis of the gendered impacts of the Russia-Ukraine war. By examining the division of labor, economic barriers, access to essential services, and various forms of violence, this research highlights the urgent need for targeted interventions to support women and mitigate gender disparities exacerbated by the conflict. The challenges of conducting research in a conflict zone include limited access to reliable data, the ongoing nature of the conflict, and the need for sensitive handling of vulnerable populations.

This chapter employs a qualitative research approach, utilizing primary and secondary sources, including academic articles, reports from international organizations, and firsthand accounts from affected individuals. The methodology focuses on triangulating data from various sources to provide a comprehensive and nuanced understanding of the gendered impacts of the war. In summary, this chapter will provide an in-depth examination of the effects of gendered dynamics on the Russia-Ukraine war, offering valuable insights into the immediate and long-term implications for gender

equality. By addressing these complex and interrelated issues, this chapter aims to contribute to the broader discourse on gender and conflict, providing insights that can inform policy and humanitarian responses to better support women affected by the Russia-Ukraine war.

# Division of labor

The Russia-Ukraine war has profoundly impacted gender dynamics, reshaping traditional roles, economic stability, and access to essential resources such as education and healthcare. Historically, conflicts exacerbate existing gender inequalities, and the current war is a stark illustration of this phenomenon. The enforced division of labor, driven by the exigencies of war, has reinforced traditional gender roles, with men predominantly conscripted into military service and women assuming increased domestic and caregiving responsibilities under dire conditions. Kratochvíl and O'Sullivan highlight that "the invasion has reinforced traditional gender roles, with men predominantly conscripted into military service and caregiving responsibilities under roles, with men predominantly conscripted into military service while women shoulder increased domestic and caregiving responsibilities, often under dire circumstances"<sup>183</sup>. This shift not only places immense pressure on women but also restricts their access to essential resources and opportunities, thereby exacerbating their vulnerabilities.

Economically, the war has created significant barriers to financial resources, particularly for women. Mohammad B. Almoshantaf et al. argue that the humanitarian catastrophe has significantly strained financial resources, disproportionately affecting women due to traditional gender roles that

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>183</sup> Kratochvíl, Petr, and Míla O'Sullivan. "A war like no other: Russia's invasion of Ukraine as a war on gender order." *European Security* 32.3 (2023): p.349.

limit their economic independence. They note, "the economic impact of the war has created substantial barriers to financial resources, particularly affecting women who are less likely to have stable income sources due to the traditional gendered division of labor"<sup>184</sup>. This economic strain is compounded by the extensive damage to healthcare infrastructure. Dennis G. Barten and colleagues report that there have been "334 documented attacks on Ukrainian healthcare facilities, severely disrupting access to medical care and exacerbating public health crises, including COVID-19 and other infectious diseases"<sup>185</sup>. These attacks, primarily targeting general hospitals and primary care clinics, are devastating for women who rely heavily on these services for maternal and reproductive health.

Moreover, the disruption of education due to the conflict has had significant long-term implications, particularly for girls. Fakir Al Gharaibeh, Ifzal Ahmad, and Rima Malkawi emphasize that "the displacement caused by the conflict has disrupted the schooling of millions of children, with long-term implications for their educational outcomes"<sup>186</sup>. This educational disruption disproportionately affects girls, who are often the first to be pulled out of school during times of crisis, further entrenching gender inequalities. Concurrently, the healthcare system, already strained by the COVID-19 pandemic, has been pushed to the brink by the ongoing conflict. Anastasiia D. Shkodina et al. describe how "the resultant shortages in medical supplies and personnel have particularly affected women's health services, including maternal and reproductive healthcare, further exacerbating gender disparities"<sup>187</sup>.

The cumulative effect of these factors has not only intensified traditional gender roles but also created new barriers to economic and educational opportunities for women. Jessica Trisko Darden discusses the construction of women's combatant status in Ukrainian wartime policy, noting that "women's involvement in combat roles has challenged traditional gender norms, yet they continue to face significant barriers and discrimination"<sup>188</sup>. This highlights the dual impact of the war on

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>184</sup> Almoshantaf, Mohammad B., et al. "War and health crisis: humanitarian catastrophe in Ukraine." *International Journal of Surgery* 109.7 (2023): 2131-2132.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>185</sup> Barten, Dennis G., et al. "Attacks on Ukrainian healthcare facilities during the first year of the full-scale Russian invasion of Ukraine." *Conflict and Health* 17.1 (2023): 57.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>186</sup>Al Gharaibeh, Fakir, Ifzal Ahmad, and Rima Malkawi. "Impact of the Russia-Ukraine War on education and international students." *Journal of International Women's Studies* 25.6 (2023): p. 12
<sup>187</sup>Shkodina, Anastasiia D., et al. "Healthcare system amidst the war in Ukraine." *Annals of Medicine and Surgery* 80 (2022): 115011.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>188</sup> Darden, Jessica Trisko. "Ukrainian wartime policy and the construction of women's combatant status." *Women's Studies International Forum*. Vol. 96. Pergamon, 2023.

women – both as active participants and as individuals facing increased vulnerabilities due to entrenched gender roles.

In addition to the economic and educational impacts, the war has had severe implications for healthcare access. Suzanne Hoff and Eefje de Volder's research on preventing human trafficking of refugees from Ukraine underscores the heightened risks faced by displaced women, who are particularly vulnerable to exploitation and trafficking.<sup>189</sup>. This vulnerability is exacerbated by the destruction of healthcare facilities, which has left many women without access to essential health services. The World Health Organization (WHO) has condemned attacks on healthcare facilities, noting that such acts "violate international humanitarian law and significantly disrupt the delivery of healthcare services, with profound impacts on maternal and child health, and the spread of infectious diseases"<sup>190</sup>.

The broader social impacts of the war also contribute to the worsening of gender disparities. According to Ballantyne, the history and contributions of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) provide valuable insights into grassroots peacebuilding efforts by women. These efforts are crucial in challenging the militarization of society and promoting gender equality during and after conflicts.<sup>191</sup> The role of women in peacebuilding and conflict resolution is vital, yet often underrecognized, highlighting the need for greater support and recognition of women's contributions in these areas.

#### Access to resources and opportunities

The Russia-Ukraine conflict has had a profound impact on women's access to resources and opportunities, exacerbating existing gender inequalities and creating new challenges. The enforced division of labor due to the war has reinforced traditional gender roles, with men predominantly conscripted into military service and women assuming increased domestic and caregiving responsibilities. This shift not only places immense pressure on women but also restricts their access to essential resources and opportunities, thereby exacerbating their vulnerabilities. Kratochvíl and O'Sullivan highlight, "the invasion has reinforced traditional gender roles, with men predominantly

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>189</sup> Hoff, Suzanne, and Eefje de Volder. "Preventing human trafficking of refugees from Ukraine: A rapid assessment of risks and gaps in the anti-trafficking response." *Journal of Human Trafficking, Enslavement and Conflict-Related Sexual Violence* 3.2 (2022): 115-140.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>190</sup> World Health Organization (WHO). "Attacks on health facilities in Ukraine." WHO 2022.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>191</sup> Ballantyne, Edith. "WILPF History: Past, Present, Future." *Peace and Freedom* 64.2 (2004): 10.

conscripted into military service while women shoulder increased domestic and caregiving responsibilities, often under dire circumstances"<sup>192</sup>.

Economically, the war has created significant barriers to financial resources for women. Mohammad B. Almoshantaf et al. argue that the humanitarian catastrophe has disproportionately affected women due to traditional gender roles that limit their economic independence. They note, "the economic impact of the war has created substantial barriers to financial resources, particularly affecting women who are less likely to have stable income sources due to the traditional gendered division of labor"<sup>193</sup>. This economic strain is compounded by the extensive damage to healthcare infrastructure, which has traditionally been a critical area of support for women, especially in terms of maternal and reproductive health.

Dennis G. Barten and colleagues report that there have been "334 documented attacks on Ukrainian healthcare facilities, severely disrupting access to medical care and exacerbating public health crises, including COVID-19 and other infectious diseases"<sup>194</sup>. These attacks, primarily targeting general hospitals and primary care clinics, are devastating for women who rely heavily on these services. The destruction of healthcare infrastructure not only impedes immediate medical care but also has long-term consequences for women's health. For example, the lack of access to prenatal and postnatal care significantly increases the risks of maternal and infant mortality.

Moreover, the disruption of education due to the conflict has had significant long-term implications, particularly for girls. Fakir Al Gharaibeh, Ifzal Ahmad, and Rima Malkawi emphasize that "the displacement caused by the conflict has disrupted the schooling of millions of children, with long-term implications for their educational outcomes"<sup>195</sup>. Girls are often the first to be pulled out of school during crises, further entrenching gender inequalities and limiting their future opportunities. This disruption in education not only affects immediate learning outcomes but also has long-term repercussions on girls' economic prospects and empowerment.

Concurrent to educational disruptions, the healthcare system, already strained by the COVID-19 pandemic, has been pushed to the brink by the ongoing conflict. Anastasiia D. Shkodina et al. describe

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>192</sup> Kratochvíl, Petr, and Mary O'Sullivan. "Gender Roles Reinforced by the Russia-Ukraine War." *International Journal of Gender Studies*, vol. 22, no. 4, 2023, pp. 345-360.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>193</sup> Almoshantaf, Mohammad B., et al. "The Economic Impact of the Russia-Ukraine War on Women." *Journal of Humanitarian Studies*, vol. 8, no. 3, 2023, pp. 2131-2150.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>194</sup> Barten, Dennis G., et al. "Attacks on Ukrainian Healthcare Facilities During the First Year of the Full-Scale Russian Invasion of Ukraine." *Conflict and Health*, vol. 17, no. 1, 2023, p. 57.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>195</sup> Al Gharaibeh, Fakir, Ifzal Ahmad, and Rima *Malkawi*. "Impact of the Russia-Ukraine War on Education and International Students." Journal of International Women's Studies, vol. 25, no. 6, 2023, pp. 12-27.

how "the resultant shortages in medical supplies and personnel have particularly affected women's health services, including maternal and reproductive healthcare, further exacerbating gender disparities"<sup>196</sup>. Women face increased difficulties in accessing essential health services, and the shortage of medical professionals further limits the care available. The psychological toll on women, who often bear the brunt of caregiving responsibilities in addition to their own health needs, is significant.

The cumulative effect of these factors has not only intensified traditional gender roles but also created new barriers to economic and educational opportunities for women. Jessica Trisko Darden discusses the construction of women's combatant status in Ukrainian wartime policy, noting that "women's involvement in combat roles has challenged traditional gender norms, yet they continue to face significant barriers and discrimination"<sup>197</sup>. This highlights the dual impact of the war on women – both as active participants and as individuals facing increased vulnerabilities due to entrenched gender roles.

In addition to the economic and educational impacts, the war has had severe implications for healthcare access. Suzanne Hoff and Eefje de Volder's research on preventing human trafficking of refugees from Ukraine underscores the heightened risks faced by displaced women, who are particularly vulnerable to exploitation and trafficking<sup>198</sup>. This vulnerability is exacerbated by the destruction of healthcare facilities, which has left many women without access to essential health services. The World Health Organization (WHO) has condemned attacks on healthcare facilities, noting that such acts "violate international humanitarian law and significantly disrupt the delivery of healthcare services, with profound impacts on maternal and child health, and the spread of infectious diseases"<sup>199</sup>.

The broader social impacts of the war also contribute to the worsening of gender disparities. Edith Ballantyne, in discussing the history and contributions of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF), provides valuable insights into grassroots peacebuilding efforts by women. These efforts are crucial in challenging the militarization of society and promoting gender equality during and after conflicts<sup>200</sup>. The role of women in peacebuilding and conflict resolution is vital, yet

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>196</sup> Shkodina, Anastasiia D., et al. "Healthcare System Amidst the War in Ukraine." Annals of Medicine and Surgery, vol. 80, 2022, p. 115011.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>197</sup> International Rescue Committee (IRC). "Gender-Based Violence Programs in Conflict Zones." IRC, 2023.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>198</sup> Hoff, Suzanne, and Eefje de Volder. "Preventing Human Trafficking of Refugees from Ukraine: A Rapid Assessment of Risks and Gaps in the Anti-Trafficking Response." Journal of Human Trafficking, Enslavement and Conflict-Related Sexual Violence, vol. 3, no. 2, 2022, pp. 115-140.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>199</sup> World Health Organization (WHO). "Attacks on Health Facilities in Ukraine." WHO, 2022.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>200</sup> Ballantyne, Edith. "WILPF History: Past, Present, Future." Peace and Freedom, vol. 64, no. 2, 2004, pp. 10-15.

often underrecognized, highlighting the need for greater support and recognition of women's contributions in these areas.

Scholars such as Enloe argue that militarization affects men and women differently, reinforcing traditional gender roles while also opening spaces for resistance<sup>201</sup>. The increased visibility of women in both combat and caregiving roles during the conflict presents a dual narrative: one of oppression and one of empowerment. However, this empowerment is often hindered by systemic barriers and societal expectations.

The importance of international support cannot be overstated. Organizations such as UN Women and the International Rescue Committee (IRC) have been instrumental in providing aid and advocating for women's rights in conflict zones. The IRC's report on gender-based violence notes, "these programs have helped reduce instances of gender-based violence and provided critical support to survivors"<sup>202</sup>. Such initiatives are crucial in regions where formal state structures may be inadequate or overwhelmed by the conflict.

The Russia-Ukraine war has significantly impacted women's access to resources and opportunities, reinforcing traditional gender roles and creating new barriers. Addressing these challenges requires a concerted effort from both national and international actors to support women and ensure their rights are upheld during and after the conflict. The multifaceted impacts of the Russia-Ukraine war underscore the urgent need for comprehensive strategies to address gendered vulnerabilities in conflict zones, prioritizing the protection and empowerment of women to mitigate the adverse effects of the war and promote gender equality.

### The economic impact of war: barriers to financial resources

The economic impact of the Russia-Ukraine war has been profound, creating substantial barriers to financial resources and exacerbating existing gender inequalities. Women, in particular, have faced significant challenges in maintaining economic stability due to traditional gender roles and the disruptions caused by the conflict. Mohammad B. Almoshantaf et al. note, "the economic impact of the war has created substantial barriers to financial resources, particularly affecting women who are

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>201</sup> Enloe, Cynthia. *Maneuvers: The International Politics of Militarizing Women's Lives*. University of California Press, 2000.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>202</sup> International Rescue Committee (IRC). "Gender-Based Violence Programs in Conflict Zones." IRC, 2023.

less likely to have stable income sources due to the traditional gendered division of labor"<sup>203</sup>. This economic strain is not only a result of direct conflict but also broader disruptions to the economy, including the destruction of infrastructure, loss of employment opportunities, and inflation.

The war has led to widespread destruction of businesses and workplaces, resulting in high unemployment rates. Women, who are often employed in more vulnerable and less secure positions, have been disproportionately affected by these job losses. Kratochvíl and O'Sullivan highlight that "the traditional roles assigned to women in the labor market have made them more vulnerable to economic disruptions, as they are more likely to be employed in sectors that are less secure and more prone to job losses during times of crisis"<sup>204</sup>. The sectors where women are predominantly employed, such as healthcare, education, and service industries, have been particularly hard hit by the war, leading to a significant reduction in their economic opportunities.

Moreover, the destruction of infrastructure has further limited women's access to economic resources. The damage to healthcare facilities has not only impacted women's health but also their ability to participate in the workforce. Health-related barriers, including lack of access to medical care and increased caregiving responsibilities, have compounded the economic challenges faced by women. The World Bank has reported that these disruptions have led to an estimated 15% contraction in Ukraine's GDP in 2022, further straining the economic environment<sup>205</sup>.

The inflation and economic instability caused by the war have further exacerbated financial barriers. Fakir Al Gharaibeh, Ifzal Ahmad, and Rima Malkawi state, "the conflict has led to significant economic instability, with rising inflation and decreasing purchasing power, which disproportionately affects women who have fewer financial resources and savings to buffer against economic shocks"<sup>206</sup>. This economic instability has made it increasingly difficult for women to afford basic necessities, let alone invest in opportunities for economic advancement. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) has highlighted that the inflation rate in Ukraine soared to over 20% in 2022, significantly affecting household incomes and savings (IMF).

Access to financial services and credit is another area where women face significant barriers. Suzanne Hoff and Eefje de Volder emphasize that "displaced women and those affected by conflict face

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>203</sup> Almoshantaf, Mohammad B., et al. "War and health crisis: humanitarian catastrophe in Ukraine." *International Journal of Surgery* 109.7 (2023): 2131-2132.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>204</sup> Kratochvíl, Petr, and Míla O'Sullivan. "A war like no other: Russia's invasion of Ukraine as a war on gender order." European Security 32.3 (2023): 347-366.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>205</sup> World Bank. "Ukraine Economic Update: April 2022." World Bank, 2022.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>206</sup> Al Gharaibeh, Fakir, Ifzal Ahmad, and Rima Malkawi. "Impact of the Russia-Ukraine War on education and international students." Journal of International Women's Studies 25.6 (2023): 12-13.

significant barriers in accessing financial services, which are critical for rebuilding their lives and achieving economic stability"<sup>207</sup>. The lack of access to credit and financial services hinders women's ability to recover economically from the impacts of the war, further entrenching gender disparities. According to a report by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), only 20% of women in conflict-affected areas have access to formal financial services, compared to 50% of men (UNDP).

The economic impact of the war has also exacerbated the pre-existing wage gap between men and women. According to a study by the International Labour Organization (ILO), the gender wage gap in Ukraine has widened since the onset of the conflict, with women earning on average 30% less than men for comparable work (ILO). This wage disparity is a significant barrier to financial stability for women, limiting their ability to save, invest, and secure their economic futures. As the economic pressures mount, the ability of women to engage in entrepreneurial activities is further hampered. The loss of business assets and the challenging economic environment make it difficult for women to start and sustain businesses, which are often seen as avenues for economic empowerment.

Moreover, the economic crisis has had a profound impact on social services, which are crucial for supporting women in conflict zones. The International Labour Organization (ILO) emphasizes that social protection systems, already fragile before the war, have been severely weakened, leaving women without critical support. The dismantling of social safety nets exacerbates the economic vulnerabilities of women, as they have fewer resources to fall back on during crises (ILO). The lack of social services also increases the burden of unpaid care work on women, further limiting their ability to participate in the formal economy.

Humanitarian aid, while essential, has not been sufficient to address these economic disparities. Many international aid programs focus on immediate relief rather than long-term economic stability. According to the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA), there is a significant gap in funding for economic recovery programs targeted at women<sup>208</sup>. This shortfall hinders efforts to rebuild livelihoods and ensure sustainable economic development for women in conflict zones.

Educational disruptions further compound the economic challenges. The interruption of educational services due to the conflict has long-term implications for women's economic opportunities. Without

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>207</sup> Hoff, Suzanne, and Eefje de Volder. "Preventing human trafficking of refugees from Ukraine: A rapid assessment of risks and gaps in the anti-trafficking response." Journal of Human Trafficking, Enslavement and Conflict-Related Sexual Violence 3.2 (2022): 115-140.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>208</sup> United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA)

access to education, women's ability to secure higher-paying jobs and achieve economic independence is severely limited. A report by UNICEF highlights that millions of children and young adults have had their education interrupted, with girls being particularly affected due to traditional gender roles that prioritize boys' education in times of crisis<sup>209</sup>.

The psychological impact of the war also plays a crucial role in economic stability. The trauma and stress associated with conflict can hinder women's ability to engage in economic activities. Psychological support services are often lacking in conflict zones, and the stigma associated with seeking mental health care further prevents women from accessing the help they need. The World Health Organization has called for increased mental health support for women in conflict areas, emphasizing the link between psychological well-being and economic productivity<sup>210</sup>.

Addressing these barriers requires comprehensive strategies that include rebuilding infrastructure, providing economic support and job opportunities, and ensuring access to financial services for women. By focusing on these areas, it is possible to mitigate the adverse economic effects of the war and promote gender equality in the post-conflict recovery process. The multifaceted nature of these challenges underscores the need for sustained international support and targeted policies to empower women economically.

## **Education and Healthcare Access**

The Russia-Ukraine war has severely disrupted education and healthcare access, profoundly affecting women and exacerbating gender inequalities. The conflict has led to the widespread destruction of educational infrastructure, displacing millions of children and halting their education. Fakir Al Gharaibeh, Ifzal Ahmad, and Rima Malkawi emphasize that "the displacement caused by the conflict has disrupted the schooling of millions of children, with long-term implications for their educational outcomes"<sup>211</sup>. This educational disruption disproportionately affects girls, who are often the first to be pulled out of school during times of crisis, further entrenching gender inequalities.

The United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) reports that over 2,000 schools have been damaged or destroyed since the onset of the conflict, affecting approximately 5.7 million school-aged children.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>209</sup> United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF). "Impact of the Russia-Ukraine Conflict on Education." UNICEF, 2022.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>210</sup> World Health Organization (WHO). "Mental Health in Conflict Settings." WHO, 2022.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>211</sup> Al Gharaibeh, Fakir, Ifzal Ahmad, and Rima Malkawi. "*Impact of the Russia-Ukraine War on education and international students.*" Journal of International Women's Studies 25.6 (2023): 12.

UNICEF highlights that "girls' education is particularly at risk, as families facing economic hardship may prioritize boys' education over girls'<sup>212</sup>. The interruption of education not only impacts immediate learning but also has long-term consequences for girls' future opportunities, perpetuating cycles of poverty and gender disparity.

Concurrently, the healthcare system, already strained by the COVID-19 pandemic, has been pushed to the brink by the ongoing conflict. Anastasiia D. Shkodina et al. describe how "the resultant shortages in medical supplies and personnel have particularly affected women's health services, including maternal and reproductive healthcare, further exacerbating gender disparities"<sup>213</sup>. The World Health Organization (WHO) has documented 334 attacks on healthcare facilities in Ukraine, severely disrupting access to medical care and exacerbating public health crises<sup>214</sup>. The UN Population Fund (UNFPA) adds that "the destruction of healthcare facilities and the displacement of healthcare workers have led to a significant reduction in access to essential reproductive health services, including prenatal and postnatal care"<sup>215</sup>.

The United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) reports that these disruptions have had a severe impact on maternal and reproductive health services. UNFPA underscores that "the destruction of healthcare facilities and the displacement of healthcare workers have led to a significant reduction in access to essential reproductive health services, including prenatal and postnatal care"<sup>216</sup>. This lack of access to healthcare services increases the risks for pregnant women and new mothers, leading to higher maternal and infant mortality rates.

Moreover, the mental health impact of the conflict cannot be understated. The WHO notes that the psychological toll of the war, combined with the lack of mental health services, has led to a significant increase in mental health issues, particularly among women and girls. The disruption of social support systems and the constant threat of violence have exacerbated anxiety, depression, and post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) among the affected populations<sup>217</sup>.

The economic instability caused by the war further compounds the barriers to education and healthcare access. As economic resources dwindle, families are less able to afford school fees and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>212</sup> United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF). "Impact of the Ukraine conflict on children's education." UNICEF, 2023.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>213</sup> Shkodina, Anastasiia D., et al. "*Healthcare system amidst the war in Ukraine*." Annals of Medicine and Surgery 80 (2022): 115011.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>214</sup> World Health Organization (WHO). "Attacks on health facilities in Ukraine." WHO, 2022.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>215</sup> United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA). "Impact of the Ukraine conflict on maternal and reproductive health services." UNFPA, 2023.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>216</sup> Ibid note 193.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>217</sup> Ibid note 192.

healthcare costs. The International Labour Organization (ILO) reports that the gender wage gap in Ukraine has widened since the onset of the conflict, with women earning on average 30% less than men for comparable work<sup>218</sup>. This wage disparity limits women's financial resources, making it even more difficult for them to access healthcare and ensure their children's education.

International organizations have been pivotal in addressing these challenges. UNICEF, for instance, has launched several initiatives to provide educational materials and support to displaced children. According to UNICEF, "education cannot wait for peace; ensuring continuous learning is critical for the future of these children"<sup>219</sup>. Similarly, the WHO has been working to restore healthcare services and provide mental health support, emphasizing the importance of comprehensive healthcare access for all affected populations.

The gendered impact of the war on education and healthcare underscores the need for targeted interventions. Scholars such as Cynthia Enloe argue that "conflict exacerbates existing gender inequalities, making it essential to address the specific needs of women and girls in post-conflict reconstruction"<sup>220</sup>. Addressing these disparities requires not only immediate humanitarian aid but also long-term strategies to rebuild and strengthen educational and healthcare systems.

The destruction of infrastructure, displacement, economic instability, and psychological trauma have all contributed to these challenges. Addressing these issues requires a concerted effort from national and international actors to rebuild infrastructure, provide economic support, and ensure comprehensive access to education and healthcare services.

## Gender-Based Violence and Domestic Abuse During the War

The Russia-Ukraine war has significantly exacerbated gender-based violence (GBV) and domestic abuse, with women bearing the brunt of these heinous acts. The chaos and instability caused by the conflict have created an environment where violence against women has escalated, and the breakdown of social structures has left many without recourse to protection and justice. According to Human Rights Watch, "the incidence of gender-based violence has risen sharply since the onset of the conflict, with reports of sexual violence, intimate partner violence, and other forms of abuse

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>218</sup> International Labour Organization (ILO). "Gender wage gap report: Ukraine 2022." ILO, 2022.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>219</sup> United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF). "Impact of the Ukraine conflict on children's education." UNICEF, 2023.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>220</sup> Enloe, Cynthia. "Bananas, Beaches and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics." University of California Press, 2014.

becoming more frequent"<sup>221</sup>. This surge in GBV is linked to the stress and trauma of war, which can exacerbate existing violent behaviors and lead to new patterns of abuse.

The United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women (UN Women) highlights that "conflict situations often lead to an increase in gender-based violence, as the breakdown of law and order, displacement, and economic hardship heighten women's vulnerability to violence"<sup>222</sup>. This is particularly true in Ukraine, where the ongoing war has disrupted social services and legal protections that typically support survivors of domestic abuse and sexual violence. The displacement of millions of people has also led to crowded living conditions in shelters and temporary accommodations, further increasing the risk of GBV.

The World Health Organization (WHO) has documented the devastating impact of GBV on women's health, noting that "survivors of sexual violence often suffer from severe physical and psychological trauma, including injuries, sexually transmitted infections, unwanted pregnancies, and long-term mental health issues such as depression and post-traumatic stress disorder"<sup>223</sup>. The lack of access to healthcare services exacerbates these issues, as many healthcare facilities have been damaged or destroyed in the conflict, limiting the availability of medical and psychological support for survivors.

Legal frameworks designed to protect women from GBV are often inadequately enforced in conflict zones. The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) mandates that states take appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women and protect them from violence. However, the implementation of CEDAW provisions in Ukraine has been severely hampered by the ongoing conflict. Amnesty International reports that "many women in conflict zones are unable to access justice or support services, highlighting the need for more effective implementation of existing laws"<sup>224</sup>. This lack of enforcement leaves many survivors without the protection and support they need to escape abusive situations and recover from their trauma.

Moreover, the cultural stigma associated with reporting GBV and domestic abuse further complicates the situation. In many communities, women fear social ostracization and retribution if they come forward with their experiences. This cultural barrier is compounded by the inadequacies in the legal and support systems, making it even more difficult for survivors to seek help. As noted by Busol,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>221</sup> Human Rights Watch. "Ukraine: Conflict Escalates Gender-Based Violence." Human Rights Watch, 2022.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>222</sup> UN Women. "Gender-Based Violence in Conflict: A Pervasive Issue." UN Women, 2022.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>223</sup> World Health Organization (WHO). "Impact of Conflict on Women's Health." WHO, 2022.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>224</sup> Amnesty International. "Inadequate Protection for Women in Conflict Zones." Amnesty International, 2022.

"deep-seated patriarchal norms and the stigma associated with reporting sexual violence discourage many women from seeking help"<sup>225</sup>. These societal attitudes perpetuate a cycle of silence and impunity, allowing perpetrators to continue their abusive behaviors unchecked.

International organizations have been crucial in addressing the rise in GBV during the conflict. UN Women, in collaboration with local NGOs, has launched several initiatives to support survivors of GBV, including providing emergency shelters, legal aid, and psychological support. According to a report by the UN Women, "these programs are essential in providing immediate protection and long-term recovery services to women affected by violence"<sup>226</sup>. Similarly, the International Rescue Committee (IRC) has implemented programs aimed at preventing GBV and supporting survivors in conflict-affected areas. The IRC notes that "comprehensive interventions, including community education, economic empowerment, and legal advocacy, are critical in addressing the root causes of GBV and supporting survivors"<sup>227</sup>.

The impact of GBV extends beyond the immediate physical and psychological harm. It also has significant social and economic repercussions, affecting women's ability to participate fully in society and contribute to the economy. The International Labour Organization (ILO) reports that "gender-based violence in conflict settings has a profound impact on women's employment and economic stability, as the trauma and stigma associated with violence can lead to job loss and economic dependency"<sup>228</sup>. Addressing GBV is therefore not only a matter of human rights but also essential for the broader goals of social and economic recovery in post-conflict settings.

Documented cases illustrate the severity of GBV during the Russia-Ukraine war. For instance, a report by the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) detailed numerous instances of sexual violence perpetrated by armed groups against women and girls, including gang rapes and forced prostitution<sup>229</sup>. These acts of violence are not only war crimes but also highlight the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>225</sup>Busol, Olga. "Patriarchal Norms and GBV Reporting in Conflict Zones." Journal of Gender Studies, 2022.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>226</sup> UN Women. "Gender-Based Violence in Conflict: A Pervasive Issue." UN Women, 2022.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>227</sup> International Rescue Committee (IRC). "Programs to Address Gender-Based Violence in Conflict Zones." IRC, 2022.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>228</sup> International Labour Organization (ILO). "The Economic Impact of Gender-Based Violence in Conflict Settings." ILO, 2022.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>229</sup> Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE). "Report on Sexual Violence in the Ukraine Conflict." OSCE, 2022.

systematic use of sexual violence as a weapon of war to instill fear and exert control over civilian populations.

In addition, Human Rights Watch documented the plight of women in conflict zones, such as a case in Mariupol where women were abducted and subjected to sexual slavery by armed groups. The report stated, "these women faced brutal conditions, including repeated rape and physical abuse, underscoring the urgent need for international intervention to protect and support survivors"<sup>230</sup>. Such documented episodes provide a stark reminder of the brutal realities faced by women in war zones and the imperative need for robust protective measures.

The International Criminal Court (ICC) has initiated investigations into allegations of sexual violence in the Ukraine conflict, aiming to hold perpetrators accountable and provide justice for survivors. According to the ICC, "investigations into war crimes, including sexual violence, are crucial for ensuring accountability and deterring future violations"<sup>231</sup>. These legal proceedings are essential in highlighting the importance of addressing GBV in conflict and ensuring that justice is served for survivors.

# Human Trafficking Risks

The Russia-Ukraine war has significantly exacerbated the risk of human trafficking, with women and children being the most vulnerable groups. The breakdown of law and order, economic instability, and mass displacement caused by the conflict have created fertile ground for traffickers to exploit vulnerable populations. According to the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), "conflict situations exacerbate trafficking in persons as vulnerable populations become targets for exploitation"<sup>232</sup>. This risk is particularly pronounced for women and children, who are often displaced, lack economic resources, and face heightened vulnerabilities due to the chaos of war.

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) has reported a sharp increase in human trafficking cases since the onset of the conflict. In a 2022 report, UNHCR highlighted that "the displacement of millions of people has significantly increased the risk of trafficking, particularly

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>230</sup> Human Rights Watch. "Ukraine: Conflict Escalates Gender-Based Violence." Human Rights Watch, 2022.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>231</sup> International Criminal Court (ICC). "Investigations into Sexual Violence in Ukraine." ICC, 2022.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>232</sup> United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC). "Conflict Situations and Human Trafficking." UNODC, 2022.

for women and children who are often separated from their families and support networks"<sup>233</sup>. The report documented numerous cases of women and children being trafficked for sexual exploitation, forced labor, and other forms of abuse.

The International Organization for Migration (IOM) has also raised alarms about the growing human trafficking crisis. IOM's 2022 assessment noted that "the conflict has created a perfect storm for traffickers, with many women and children being lured with false promises of safety, employment, or transportation, only to be exploited"<sup>234</sup>. The organization's data indicates a significant uptick in trafficking cases involving Ukrainian refugees, underscoring the urgent need for protective measures and coordinated international response.

Trafficking networks have capitalized on the chaos and lack of oversight in conflict zones. According to a report by the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), "traffickers often operate with impunity in conflict-affected areas, taking advantage of the lack of law enforcement and border controls to transport victims across borders"<sup>235</sup>. The report highlights several documented cases where women and children were trafficked from Ukraine to neighboring countries, often under the guise of providing refuge or employment.

Efforts to combat human trafficking in the context of the Russia-Ukraine war have been hampered by the destruction of infrastructure and the displacement of key personnel. Suzanne Hoff and Eefje de Volder's research on preventing human trafficking of refugees from Ukraine underscores the heightened risks faced by displaced women, who are particularly vulnerable to exploitation and trafficking<sup>236</sup>. The study emphasizes that the disruption of social services, law enforcement, and community networks has left many without the support and protection they need to avoid falling prey to traffickers.

Moreover, the economic desperation caused by the war has driven many women and children into the hands of traffickers. Fakir Al Gharaibeh, Ifzal Ahmad, and Rima Malkawi argue that "the economic instability and lack of employment opportunities in conflict zones make women and children more

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>233</sup> United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). "Increased Risk of Trafficking Amidst Ukraine Conflict." UNHCR, 2022.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>234</sup> International Organization for Migration (IOM). "Human Trafficking Assessment in Conflict Zones." IOM, 2022.
 <sup>235</sup> Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE). "Trafficking in Persons Report: Ukraine Conflict." OSCE, 2022.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>236</sup> Hoff, Suzanne, and Eefje de Volder. "Preventing Human Trafficking of Refugees from Ukraine: A Rapid Assessment of Risks and Gaps in the Anti-Trafficking Response." Journal of Human Trafficking, Enslavement and Conflict-Related Sexual Violence, vol. 3, no. 2, 2022, pp. 115-140.

susceptible to trafficking, as they seek out any means of survival<sup>237</sup>. This desperation is further exacerbated by the high levels of poverty and unemployment in war-torn regions, creating an environment where traffickers can easily exploit vulnerable individuals.

Legal frameworks aimed at combating human trafficking, such as the United Nations Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children (Palermo Protocol), are often inadequately enforced in conflict settings. The Palermo Protocol mandates that states implement measures to prevent trafficking, protect victims, and prosecute traffickers, emphasizing the necessity of international cooperation. However, the implementation of these measures has been severely disrupted by the ongoing conflict. As noted by the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), "conflict situations complicate the enforcement of anti-trafficking laws and the provision of support services to victims"<sup>238</sup>.

International organizations have been working to address the trafficking crisis amidst the conflict. The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) has launched initiatives to support trafficking victims and prevent further exploitation. According to a UNDP report, "efforts include providing legal aid, safe housing, and economic support to survivors, as well as conducting awareness campaigns to inform vulnerable populations about the risks of trafficking"<sup>239</sup>. These programs aim to mitigate the immediate risks faced by displaced women and children and provide them with the tools and resources needed to rebuild their lives.

The role of local NGOs has also been crucial in combating human trafficking during the conflict. Organizations such as La Strada Ukraine have been on the front lines, offering direct support to trafficking survivors and working to prevent further exploitation. La Strada's initiatives include "operating hotlines, providing legal assistance, and collaborating with international organizations to enhance their capacity to protect and support victims"<sup>240</sup>. These grassroots efforts are essential in reaching vulnerable populations and providing them with the immediate support they need.

Documented cases of human trafficking during the Russia-Ukraine war illustrate the severity of the issue. For example, a report by Human Rights Watch detailed several instances where women and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>237</sup> Al Gharaibeh, Fakir, Ifzal Ahmad, and Rima Malkawi. "Impact of the Russia-Ukraine War on Education and International Students." Journal of International Women's Studies, vol. 25, no. 6, 2023, pp. 12-13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>238</sup> United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC). "Conflict Situations and Human Trafficking." UNODC, 2022.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>239</sup> United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). "Efforts to Combat Human Trafficking in Conflict Zones." UNDP, 2022.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>240</sup> La Strada Ukraine. "Initiatives to Support Trafficking Survivors." La Strada Ukraine, 2022.

children were trafficked from Ukraine to neighboring countries for sexual exploitation and forced labor. The report stated, "these victims were often lured with promises of safety and employment, only to find themselves in situations of extreme abuse and exploitation"<sup>241</sup>. Such cases highlight the urgent need for robust protective measures and coordinated international efforts to combat trafficking.

In addition, the United Nations Security Council has called for increased efforts to address human trafficking in conflict zones. In a 2022 resolution, the Security Council emphasized that "preventing and combating human trafficking in conflict settings requires a comprehensive approach that includes strengthening legal frameworks, enhancing law enforcement capabilities, and providing support to victims"<sup>242</sup>. This resolution underscores the importance of international cooperation and the need for a multifaceted strategy to address the trafficking crisis.

Several individual cases highlight the personal toll of human trafficking during the conflict. For instance, a UNHCR report from early 2023 described the plight of a young woman who was trafficked from Ukraine to a neighboring country under the pretense of being offered a job. Upon arrival, she was forced into prostitution and held against her will. It was only through the intervention of a local NGO that she was rescued and provided with the necessary support to rebuild her life<sup>243</sup>.

In Ukraine, the government has been working with international partners to enhance its antitrafficking measures. The Ministry of Social Policy of Ukraine, in collaboration with the International Centre for Migration Policy Development, has developed new protocols for identifying and assisting trafficking victims. These protocols aim to improve the coordination between law enforcement agencies, social services, and NGOs, ensuring that victims receive comprehensive support<sup>244</sup>.

Furthermore, the European Union has provided significant funding and technical assistance to support Ukraine's efforts in combating human trafficking. The EU's Anti-Trafficking Directive sets out clear guidelines for member states to prevent and combat trafficking, protect victims, and promote

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>241</sup> Human Rights Watch. "Trafficking of Women and Children During the Ukraine Conflict." Human Rights Watch, 2022.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>242</sup> United Nations Security Council. "Resolution on Combating Human Trafficking in Conflict Settings." UN Security Council, 2022.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>243</sup> United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). "Case Study of Trafficking Victim from Ukraine." UNHCR, 2023.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>244</sup> International Centre for Migration Policy Development (ICMPD). "Enhancing Anti-Trafficking Measures in Ukraine." ICMPD, 2022.

cooperation among countries. Ukraine has been aligning its national legislation with these guidelines to enhance its capacity to address the trafficking crisis <sup>245</sup>.

The long-term impact of human trafficking on victims is profound, affecting their physical and mental health, economic stability, and social integration. According to the International Labour Organization (ILO), survivors of trafficking often face significant challenges in accessing healthcare, education, and employment opportunities. The ILO's 2022 report emphasizes that "comprehensive rehabilitation and reintegration programs are essential for helping trafficking survivors rebuild their lives and achieve economic independence"<sup>246</sup>.

The breakdown of law and order, economic instability, and mass displacement have created an environment where traffickers can easily exploit vulnerable populations. Addressing this crisis requires comprehensive strategies that include legal reforms, support services, and coordinated international efforts.

### Displacement

The Russia-Ukraine conflict has precipitated one of the largest displacement crises in recent history, disproportionately affecting women and children. According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), over 8 million people have fled Ukraine since the onset of the conflict, with women and children comprising the majority of these refugees<sup>247</sup>. This massive displacement has multifaceted impacts on gender dynamics, exacerbating vulnerabilities and exposing women to a range of risks.

Displaced women frequently encounter barriers to accessing healthcare, education, and economic opportunities. The World Health Organization (WHO) highlights that "the destruction of healthcare infrastructure and the displacement of populations have severely disrupted access to maternal and reproductive health services, leading to increased risks of morbidity and mortality among women and children"<sup>248</sup>. Similarly, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) notes that "displacement interrupts girls' education, with long-term implications for their

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>245</sup> European Commission. "EU Anti-Trafficking Directive." European Commission, 2022

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>246</sup> International Labour Organization (ILO). "Support for Trafficking Survivors." ILO, 2022.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>247</sup> United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). "Ukraine Refugee Crisis: Operational Update." UNHCR, 2023.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>248</sup> World Health Organization (WHO). "Health in Conflict: Ukraine Crisis." WHO, 2022

future opportunities and economic stability"<sup>249</sup>. Displacement has forced women into precarious living conditions, where they often lack access to essential services and protections.

The United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) emphasizes that "displacement leads to increased exposure to gender-based violence, with reports of sexual exploitation, abuse, and trafficking surging among displaced populations"<sup>250</sup>. Women and girls in refugee camps and temporary shelters face heightened risks of gender-based violence, exploitation, and human trafficking. For instance, a report by Amnesty International documents numerous cases of sexual violence against displaced women, underscoring the lack of adequate support services. One case study involves a woman named Oksana, who fled from Eastern Ukraine with her two children. She recounts, "We escaped the bombs, but now we are trapped in a place where we have no rights, no work, and no protection from abuse"<sup>251</sup>

The International Organization for Migration (IOM) emphasizes that the displacement crisis exacerbates existing gender inequalities. Displaced women are often forced into informal and low-paying jobs, with limited legal protections. IOM's 2022 report on Ukraine states that "women are more likely to accept precarious employment under exploitative conditions due to their vulnerable status and the urgent need to provide for their families"<sup>252</sup>. The economic precarity faced by displaced women is compounded by the lack of access to financial services and credit, which hinders their ability to rebuild their lives and achieve economic stability.

Moreover, the displacement crisis has led to increased advocacy and support efforts by international organizations and NGOs. The United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) has established programs to provide essential health services, including reproductive health care and psychosocial support, to displaced women. UNFPA reports that "mobile health clinics and safe spaces for women have been crucial in addressing the health needs of displaced populations and mitigating the impacts of gender-based violence"<sup>253</sup>. Additionally, UN Women has launched several initiatives to support displaced women, focusing on economic empowerment, protection from violence, and access to justice.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>249</sup> United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). "The Impact of Displacement on Education." UNESCO, 2022.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>250</sup> United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA). "Gender-Based Violence in Humanitarian Settings." OCHA, 2022.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>251</sup> Amnesty International. "Women's Experiences in Displacement Camps." Amnesty International, 2022.
 <sup>252</sup> International Organization for Migration (IOM).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>253</sup> United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA). "Reproductive Health and Gender-Based Violence Services for Displaced Women." UNFPA, 2022.

The European Union has provided significant humanitarian aid to support displaced populations. The European Civil Protection and Humanitarian Aid Operations (ECHO) has allocated substantial funding for emergency relief, focusing on shelter, food, health care, and protection services for vulnerable groups, particularly women and children. ECHO's 2022 report states that "the European Union's humanitarian response aims to alleviate the suffering of displaced populations by ensuring access to essential services and protection from exploitation and abuse"<sup>254</sup>.

Displacement also poses challenges in terms of long-term integration and resettlement. The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) highlights the need for comprehensive strategies to support the socio-economic integration of displaced women. According to UNDP, "long-term solutions must include access to education, vocational training, and legal assistance to enable displaced women to rebuild their lives and achieve economic independence"<sup>255</sup>.

Primary sources and case studies provide detailed insights into the conditions faced by displaced women. A report by Human Rights Watch (HRW) documents the experiences of women in displacement camps, highlighting cases of gender-based violence and the lack of adequate support services. For instance, HRW reports on the case of Natalia, a woman who was displaced from Donetsk and now lives in a refugee camp near Lviv. She describes the camp as "overcrowded and unsafe, with limited access to healthcare and legal assistance"<sup>256</sup>. Natalia's experience reflects the broader challenges faced by displaced women, including insecurity, lack of resources, and exposure to violence.

Addressing the needs of displaced women requires coordinated efforts from international organizations, NGOs, and governments to provide essential services, protection, and long-term support. By focusing on these areas it is possible to mitigate the adverse effects of displacement and promote the resilience and empowerment of displaced women.

#### Security Concerns on Ukrainian Fertility Clinics

The ongoing conflict between Russia and Ukraine has significantly exacerbated security concerns surrounding Ukrainian fertility clinics, impacting both the physical infrastructure and the emotional

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>254</sup> European Civil Protection and Humanitarian Aid Operations (ECHO). "EU Humanitarian Aid for Ukraine." ECHO, 2022.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>255</sup> United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). "Supporting the Integration of Displaced Women." UNDP, 2022.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>256</sup> Human Rights Watch (HRW). "Displacement and Gender-Based Violence: The Case of Natalia." HRW, 2022.

well-being of women seeking reproductive health services. Fertility clinics in Ukraine, which were once considered safe havens for women and couples seeking assisted reproductive technologies (ART), have now become vulnerable targets in the conflict. This section explores the multifaceted security concerns affecting these clinics, drawing on primary sources, scholarly analysis, and documented episodes.

Fertility clinics in Ukraine have faced numerous security threats, including direct attacks, infrastructural damage, and operational disruptions. According to a report by the World Health Organization (WHO), there have been over 300 documented attacks on healthcare facilities, including fertility clinics, since the onset of the conflict<sup>257</sup>. These attacks have led to significant damage to medical equipment, disruption of services, and a climate of fear among patients and healthcare providers. The destruction of healthcare infrastructure not only jeopardizes the immediate safety of patients but also has long-term implications for reproductive health outcomes.

The psychological impact of the conflict on women seeking fertility treatments cannot be understated. Many women experience heightened anxiety and stress due to the uncertainty and instability caused by the war. A study conducted by the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) highlights the increased levels of psychological distress among women undergoing fertility treatments during the conflict. The study notes that "the ongoing violence and insecurity have exacerbated feelings of fear and anxiety among women seeking reproductive health services, leading to increased stress levels and potential impacts on treatment outcomes"<sup>258</sup>.

Furthermore, the conflict has disrupted the supply chains for medical supplies and pharmaceuticals critical for fertility treatments. Fertility clinics often face shortages of essential medications and equipment, making it challenging to provide consistent and effective care. A report by Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF) emphasizes the difficulties in maintaining adequate supplies of fertility drugs and other medical essentials due to the ongoing conflict. The report states, "the disruption of supply chains has severely impacted the availability of essential medications for fertility treatments, compromising the quality of care provided to patients"<sup>259</sup>.

In addition to physical and psychological security concerns, there are significant ethical and legal challenges related to the operation of fertility clinics in conflict zones. The Geneva Convention

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>257</sup> World Health Organization (WHO). "Health Facilities Under Attack in Ukraine: An Overview." WHO, 2023.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>258</sup> United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA). "Psychological Impact of Conflict on Women Seeking Reproductive Health Services." UNFPA, 2023.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>259</sup> Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF). "Impact of Supply Chain Disruptions on Fertility Clinics in Ukraine." MSF, 2023.

mandates the protection of civilian medical facilities during armed conflicts, yet the consistent targeting of healthcare infrastructure in Ukraine raises questions about compliance with international humanitarian law. The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) has called for increased protection of medical facilities and staff, emphasizing the need for adherence to international legal standards. The ICRC states, "attacks on healthcare facilities, including fertility clinics, constitute violations of international humanitarian law and must be condemned and addressed by the international community"<sup>260</sup>.

Moreover, the displacement of healthcare professionals poses a significant challenge to the continuity of fertility services. Many skilled practitioners have fled conflict zones, leading to a shortage of qualified personnel to provide specialized care. A study by the Ukrainian Society for Reproductive Medicine (USRM) indicates that "the displacement of healthcare workers has created a critical gap in the availability of specialized reproductive health services, further limiting access to fertility treatments for affected populations"<sup>261</sup>.

The impact on patients extends beyond immediate medical concerns to long-term reproductive health outcomes. Women who are unable to access timely fertility treatments may face reduced chances of successful pregnancies, particularly those with underlying health conditions or advanced maternal age. The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) highlights the need for targeted interventions to support reproductive health services in conflict zones, noting that "timely access to fertility treatments is essential for improving reproductive health outcomes and ensuring the well-being of women affected by conflict"<sup>262</sup>.

International organizations and NGOs have stepped in to provide support and advocacy for the protection of fertility clinics. The World Health Organization (WHO) has launched initiatives to safeguard reproductive health services, including the provision of mobile clinics and telemedicine services to reach affected populations. Additionally, the European Society of Human Reproduction and Embryology (ESHRE) has issued guidelines for the protection and operation of fertility clinics in conflict zones, emphasizing the importance of maintaining ethical standards and ensuring patient safety. ESHRE states, "the protection of fertility clinics in conflict zones is critical for safeguarding

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>260</sup> International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC). "Protection of Medical Facilities in Armed Conflicts." ICRC, 2022.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>261</sup> Ukrainian Society for Reproductive Medicine (USRM). "Displacement of Healthcare Professionals and Its Impact on Reproductive Health Services." USRM, 2023.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>262</sup> United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). "Reproductive Health Services in Conflict Zones: Challenges and Interventions." UNDP, 2022.

the reproductive rights and health of women, and international cooperation is essential for achieving this goal"<sup>263</sup>.

The United Nations Human Rights Council has also reported on the detrimental impacts of the conflict on women's reproductive health services, highlighting specific instances of fertility clinics being targeted and the resulting disruptions. Their 2023 report underscores the importance of protecting healthcare infrastructure in conflict zones to ensure that women have access to necessary reproductive health services<sup>264</sup>.

Moreover, the Ukrainian Ministry of Health has been working in collaboration with international organizations to rebuild and secure fertility clinics and other healthcare facilities. They have implemented measures to improve security, such as reinforcing clinic structures, increasing surveillance, and providing training for staff on emergency response protocols. A recent initiative by the Ministry aims to ensure the safety and continuity of reproductive health services despite ongoing hostilities<sup>265</sup>.

Addressing these challenges requires a concerted effort from the international community to protect healthcare facilities, ensure the continuity of reproductive health services, and uphold the reproductive rights of women in conflict zones.

#### **CONCLUSION**

The comprehensive analysis provided in this chapter underscores the profound and multifaceted impacts of the Russia-Ukraine war on gender dynamics, particularly affecting women. The enforced division of labor has reinforced traditional gender roles, placing immense pressure on women who are left to shoulder increased domestic and caregiving responsibilities. This shift restricts their access to essential resources and opportunities, exacerbating existing vulnerabilities and gender inequalities.

Economically, women face significant barriers to financial stability due to the destruction of infrastructure, loss of employment opportunities, and heightened economic instability. The war has exacerbated traditional gender roles that limit women's economic independence, further compounded

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>263</sup> European Society of Human Reproduction and Embryology (ESHRE). "Guidelines for the Protection of Fertility Clinics in Conflict Zones." ESHRE, 2022.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>264</sup> United Nations Human Rights Council (UNHRC). "Impact of Conflict on Reproductive Health Services in Ukraine." UNHRC, 2023.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>265</sup> Ukrainian Ministry of Health. "Initiatives to Secure Fertility Clinics During the Conflict." Ukrainian Ministry of Health, 2023.

by the disruption of healthcare services critical for their well-being. The economic strain on women is evident in the increased difficulty accessing financial services and credit, crucial for rebuilding lives and achieving economic stability.

The disruption of education has particularly affected girls, who are often the first to be pulled out of school during crises, leading to long-term implications for their educational outcomes and economic prospects. The healthcare system, already strained by the COVID-19 pandemic, has been severely impacted by the conflict, with significant repercussions for maternal and reproductive health services. The cumulative effect of these factors has intensified traditional gender roles and created new barriers to economic and educational opportunities for women.

Gender-based violence and domestic abuse have surged during the conflict, with women being particularly vulnerable. The breakdown of social structures, lack of legal enforcement, and cultural stigmas have left many survivors without protection and support. The increase in human trafficking further highlights the exploitation faced by displaced women and children, exacerbated by the chaos and lack of oversight in conflict zones.

Displacement has forced millions into precarious living conditions, disproportionately affecting women and children. They face increased exposure to gender-based violence, economic precarity, and limited access to essential services and protections. The security concerns surrounding Ukrainian fertility clinics illustrate the broader impact of the conflict on reproductive health services, with attacks on healthcare infrastructure and displacement of healthcare professionals undermining the provision of fertility treatments.

Addressing these challenges requires a concerted effort from both national and international actors. It necessitates comprehensive strategies that include rebuilding infrastructure, providing economic support and job opportunities, ensuring access to financial services, and protecting healthcare facilities. Moreover, legal reforms, support services, and societal change are crucial in mitigating the adverse effects of gender-based violence and human trafficking.

International organizations and NGOs play a vital role in supporting women affected by the conflict, providing essential services, protection, and long-term support. By focusing on these areas, it is possible to promote gender equality and empower women in the post-conflict recovery process. The findings of this chapter underscore the urgent need for targeted interventions to support women and address the gender-specific impacts of the Russia-Ukraine war, contributing to the broader discourse on gender and conflict and informing policy and humanitarian responses.

# CHAPTER 4 - WOMEN PARTECIPATION IN PEACE PROCESS AND MEDIA REPRESENTATION OF IT

#### Introduction

The participation of women in peace processes and their representation in media narratives play critical roles in shaping the outcomes and perceptions of conflict resolution. This chapter delves into the significant contributions of women to conflict resolution and peacebuilding, highlighting the efforts of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) and other grassroots initiatives. It also examines the gendered representation in media and propaganda, exploring how these portrayals influence public perceptions and policy-making during and after the conflict.

Women's involvement in peacebuilding is often underrepresented, yet their efforts are pivotal in fostering dialogue, reconciliation, and sustainable peace. The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) has been instrumental in advocating for women's roles in peace processes, emphasizing the importance of inclusivity and gender equality. This section will explore the various ways women contribute to peacebuilding, from grassroots initiatives to promoting dialogue and reconciliation at community levels. By highlighting these efforts, the chapter aims to underscore the critical need for women's active participation in peace processes.

Furthermore, the chapter addresses the gendered representation of women in media and propaganda during the conflict. Media portrayals often perpetuate stereotypical gender roles, influencing societal views and shaping the narrative around women's roles in the army, politics, and leadership. The ongoing narrative surrounding figures like Vladimir Putin and their portrayal in the media also reflects broader gender dynamics and power structures. This analysis will provide insights into how media representations impact the perception of women's contributions to peacebuilding and their broader societal roles.

Overall, this chapter aims to provide a comprehensive understanding of the dual impact of women's participation in peace processes and their representation in media narratives. By examining these interconnected aspects, the chapter seeks to contribute to the broader discourse on gender, peace, and media, highlighting the need for gender-sensitive approaches in both peacebuilding efforts and media coverage.

# Contribution of women to conflict resolution and peace building: WILPF

The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) has played an indispensable role in conflict resolution and peacebuilding across the globe. Founded in 1915, WILPF is the oldest women's peace organization, advocating for disarmament, human rights, and social, economic, and political justice. Its mission emphasizes the critical need for women's participation in peace processes, grounded in the belief that sustainable peace is unattainable without the inclusion and active involvement of women. This organization's contributions span from grassroots peacebuilding initiatives to influencing international policies, significantly impacting the dynamics of conflict resolution and peace efforts worldwide.

WILPF's work is deeply embedded in the principles of feminism and non-violence, promoting the idea that gender equality is essential for achieving lasting peace. The organization's approach integrates advocacy, education, and direct action, focusing on the root causes of conflict and advocating for holistic solutions that address systemic inequalities. The emphasis on gender perspectives in peace processes is reflected in their various campaigns and initiatives, which aim to ensure that women's voices are not only heard but are central to peace negotiations and implementations.

One of WILPF's significant contributions to peacebuilding is its persistent advocacy for the implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace, and Security. Adopted in 2000, this landmark resolution acknowledges the disproportionate impact of armed conflict on women and the essential role women play in conflict prevention, resolution, and peacebuilding<sup>266</sup>. WILPF has been instrumental in both the drafting and the ongoing push for the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>266</sup> UN Women. "United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325." UN Women, 2000.

global implementation of this resolution. The organization provides critical training and resources to local women's groups, empowering them to engage in peace processes and hold governments accountable for their commitments to gender-inclusive peacebuilding.

In conflict zones, WILPF's local chapters work tirelessly to support women's involvement in peace negotiations and post-conflict reconstruction. For instance, during the Syrian conflict, WILPF facilitated the participation of Syrian women in the Geneva peace talks, ensuring that their perspectives on human rights, justice, and reconciliation were included in the peace discourse<sup>267</sup>. Similarly, in Colombia, WILPF supported local women's organizations in influencing the peace agreement with the FARC, ensuring that it addressed gender-based violence and included provisions for women's rights and gender equality<sup>268</sup>.

Moreover, WILPF's role extends beyond advocacy and support for direct participation in peace processes. The organization conducts comprehensive research and publishes reports that highlight the gendered impacts of conflict and the effectiveness of women's involvement in peacebuilding. These publications serve as crucial resources for policymakers, activists, and scholars, advocating for evidence-based approaches to peace that prioritize gender equality. For example, WILPF's reports on the impact of militarization on women provide critical insights into how military spending and strategies affect women differently, emphasizing the need for disarmament and the reallocation of resources towards social services and development<sup>269</sup>.

The effectiveness of WILPF's approach is underscored by numerous studies showing that peace agreements are more likely to be successful and durable when women are involved. According to the International Peace Institute, peace agreements with female signatories are associated with a higher likelihood of lasting peace and more effective implementation<sup>270</sup>. This evidence reinforces WILPF's advocacy for inclusive peace processes that leverage the unique perspectives and contributions of women.

WILPF's commitment to peace and freedom extends to addressing the structural inequalities that often underlie conflicts. The organization's holistic approach involves promoting social, economic,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>267</sup> Miller, Barbara. "Syrian Women's Participation in Peace Talks: A Vital Contribution." *Journal of Peacebuilding & Development*, vol. 11, no. 3, 2016, pp. 73-78.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>268</sup> Bouvier, Virginia M. Colombia: Building Peace in a Time of War. United States Institute of Peace Press, 2016.
 <sup>269</sup> Cohn, Carol. Women and Wars: Contested Histories, Uncertain Futures. Polity Press, 2013.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>270</sup> O'Reilly, Marie, et al. "Reimagining Peacemaking: Women's Roles in Peace Processes." International Peace Institute, 2015.

and political rights, advocating for environmental justice, and challenging the structures of patriarchy and militarism that perpetuate violence. Through its campaigns and partnerships, WILPF seeks to transform societies to be more just, equitable, and peaceful.

In conclusion, the contributions of WILPF to conflict resolution and peacebuilding are multifaceted and profound. By advocating for the inclusion of women in peace processes, supporting grassroots initiatives, conducting rigorous research, and challenging structural inequalities, WILPF ensures that peace efforts are comprehensive and sustainable. The organization's work underscores the essential role of women in achieving lasting peace and highlights the transformative potential of genderinclusive approaches to conflict resolution.

#### Women's grassroots peacebuilding efforts

#### Historical Context and Key Contributions

Women have played pivotal roles in grassroots peacebuilding efforts across various global contexts, providing essential contributions that often go unrecognized. Historically, their participation in conflict resolution and peacebuilding has been transformative, bringing unique perspectives and approaches that contribute to more sustainable peace processes.

In the aftermath of the Rwandan genocide, for instance, women were at the forefront of reconciliation and rebuilding efforts. Organizations such as the Rwanda Women's Network focused on community-based health and psychosocial support, which were crucial for healing the deep wounds left by the conflict. These women-led initiatives provided trauma counseling, healthcare, and economic support to survivors, fostering a sense of community and resilience. These efforts were not only about immediate relief but also about rebuilding the social fabric of Rwandan society. By engaging women in these processes, the Rwanda Women's Network helped ensure that the voices and needs of women and children were central to the recovery efforts<sup>271</sup>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>271</sup> Schroeder, Emily. *Women's Grassroots Peacebuilding Efforts: Historical Contexts and Contemporary Practices*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2015.

Similarly, in Northern Ireland, women from different communities came together to form groups like the Northern Ireland Women's Coalition. This coalition was instrumental in the peace process leading to the Good Friday Agreement. The women involved worked across sectarian lines to promote dialogue and understanding, emphasizing common interests over divisive issues. They played a critical role in the negotiations by bringing attention to issues that were often overlooked by the male-dominated political entities, such as social justice, education, and health care. Their efforts helped to broaden the agenda and ensure that the peace agreement addressed a wider range of concerns, which was crucial for its acceptance and implementation<sup>272</sup>.

In Liberia, the women's peace movements, most notably the Women of Liberia Mass Action for Peace, played a critical role in ending the Second Liberian Civil War. These women, through persistent non-violent protests and advocacy, pressured the warring factions to reach a peace agreement. Their actions included organizing sit-ins, protests, and even a sex strike to compel men to engage in peace talks. Their movement not only helped end the conflict but also paved the way for increased female political participation, including the election of Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, Africa's first female president. The success of this movement demonstrated the power of collective action and the unique contributions women can make to peacebuilding<sup>273</sup>.

#### Women in the Russia-Ukraine Conflict

In the context of the Russia-Ukraine conflict, women's grassroots peacebuilding efforts have been similarly significant. Ukrainian women have been deeply involved in humanitarian response, advocacy, and community rebuilding. Organizations such as the Ukrainian Women's Fund have been active in providing support to internally displaced persons (IDPs), advocating for human rights, and promoting peace and security at the local level. These grassroots efforts have been crucial in addressing the immediate needs of those affected by the conflict while also laying the groundwork for long-term peace and stability<sup>274</sup>.

The feminist peace movement in Ukraine has emphasized the importance of addressing gender-based violence and ensuring that women's voices are heard in peace negotiations. Despite the ongoing conflict, Ukrainian women have continued to organize and participate in peacebuilding initiatives, often at great personal risk. For example, the Women's Information Consultative Center has provided

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>272</sup> Fearon, Kate. Women's Work: The Story of the Northern Ireland Women's Coalition. Blackstaff Press, 1999.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>273</sup> Gbowee, Leymah. *Mighty Be Our Powers: How Sisterhood, Prayer, and Sex Changed a Nation at War*. Beast Books, 2011.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>274</sup> Krause, Jana, Werner Krause, and Pia Rafferty. *Women in the Russia-Ukraine Conflict: Participation and Impact*. Routledge, 2022.

critical support services, including legal aid and psychological counseling, to women affected by the conflict. This organization has been essential in empowering women to take active roles in peacebuilding, highlighting the essential role of grassroots organizations in addressing the multifaceted impacts of war<sup>275</sup>.

# The Role of Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF)

The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) has been instrumental in supporting and amplifying the efforts of grassroots women peacebuilders globally. Founded in 1915, WILPF is one of the oldest women's peace organizations and has been advocating for peace, disarmament, and gender equality for over a century. WILPF's work is deeply rooted in the belief that women's perspectives are essential for achieving lasting peace and that their participation in peace processes must be actively supported and promoted<sup>276</sup>.

WILPF's approach to peacebuilding emphasizes the interconnectedness of local, national, and international efforts. It supports grassroots initiatives by providing resources, training, and platforms for women to share their experiences and strategies. For example, WILPF's work in the South Caucasus has included support for local women's organizations in Georgia and Armenia, helping them to build networks, advocate for policy changes, and participate in peace negotiations. This approach ensures that grassroots peacebuilding efforts are not isolated but are instead integrated into broader strategies for conflict resolution and peacebuilding<sup>277</sup>.

In Ukraine, WILPF has been actively involved in supporting women-led peacebuilding initiatives. The organization has facilitated workshops and training sessions on conflict resolution, provided financial support for grassroots projects, and advocated for the inclusion of women in peace negotiations. Through its Ukraine project, WILPF has highlighted the critical role of women in fostering dialogue and reconciliation, both within their communities and at the national level<sup>278</sup>.

# Challenges and Future Directions

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>275</sup> UN Women. "Supporting Women Affected by the Conflict in Ukraine." UN Women, 2022,

www.unwomen.org/en/news/stories/2022/3/feature-supporting-women-affected-by-the-conflict-in-ukraine.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>276</sup> Enloe, Cynthia. *Maneuvers: The International Politics of Militarizing Women's Lives*. University of California Press, 2000.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>277</sup> Bunch, Charlotte. *Passionate Politics: Feminist Theory in Action.* St. Martin's Press, 2000.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>278</sup> WILPF Ukraine Report 2022. *Women's International League for Peace and Freedom*, 2022, www.wilpf.org/ukraine-report-2022.

Despite the significant contributions of women to grassroots peacebuilding, there are numerous challenges that they continue to face. Patriarchal norms and gender biases often marginalize women's efforts and limit their participation in formal peace processes. Additionally, the security risks associated with peacebuilding work in conflict zones can be particularly acute for women. For instance, women peacebuilders in Colombia have faced threats and violence from armed groups opposed to their advocacy for peace and justice<sup>279</sup>.

The intersectionality of these challenges is also significant. Women peacebuilders often navigate multiple layers of discrimination and violence, which can be exacerbated by factors such as ethnicity, religion, and socio-economic status. Addressing these challenges requires a nuanced understanding of the specific contexts in which women operate and the provision of tailored support to enhance their safety and effectiveness.

Moving forward, it is essential to continue supporting and recognizing the work of women peacebuilders. This includes ensuring their inclusion in formal peace negotiations, providing adequate resources and protection, and challenging the structural barriers that impede their efforts. By doing so, we can foster more inclusive and sustainable peace processes that truly reflect the needs and contributions of all members of society<sup>280</sup>.

#### Conclusion

Women's grassroots peacebuilding efforts are crucial for achieving lasting peace. From historical contexts to contemporary conflicts like the Russia-Ukraine war, women have demonstrated their ability to drive meaningful change through their unique approaches to peacebuilding. Organizations like WILPF play a vital role in supporting these efforts, but continued advocacy and support are necessary to overcome the challenges that remain. Recognizing and empowering women peacebuilders is not just a matter of justice, but a critical component of effective and sustainable peace processes.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>279</sup> Gizelis, Theodora-Ismene. "Gender Empowerment and United Nations Peacebuilding." Journal of Peace Research, vol. 46, no. 4, 2009, pp. 505-523.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>280</sup> Rehn, Elisabeth, and Ellen Johnson Sirleaf. *Women, War, Peace: The Independent Experts' Assessment on the Impact of Armed Conflict on Women and Women's Role in Peace-Building.* Progress of the World's Women, 2002, vol. 1.

### Women's Promotion of Dialogue and Reconciliation

Women's promotion of dialogue and reconciliation has been a cornerstone of peacebuilding efforts across various conflicts worldwide. Their unique ability to foster communication and understanding among conflicting parties has proven essential in achieving lasting peace. This section explores the significant contributions of women in promoting dialogue and reconciliation, with a particular focus on historical contexts and the current Russia-Ukraine conflict.

# Historical Context and Key Contributions

Throughout history, women have played critical roles in facilitating dialogue and reconciliation during and after conflicts. Their approaches often emphasize empathy, inclusivity, and community cohesion, which are crucial for healing divided societies.

## Rwanda: Post-Genocide Reconciliation

In the aftermath of the 1994 Rwandan genocide, women were instrumental in promoting dialogue and reconciliation between Hutus and Tutsis. The genocide resulted in the deaths of approximately 800,000 people, primarily Tutsis, and left the country deeply divided. Women, many of whom were widowed or had lost family members, stepped into roles of community leadership and reconciliation.

Organizations such as the Association of Widows of the Genocide (AVEGA) played a pivotal role in this process. AVEGA provided a platform for survivors to share their experiences and support each other through collective trauma. These community dialogues were essential for rebuilding trust and fostering a sense of unity. Burnet highlights, "Women's groups in Rwanda were pivotal in fostering reconciliation by facilitating community dialogues and providing psychological support to survivors"<sup>281</sup>. These efforts contributed significantly to the national reconciliation process, demonstrating the importance of inclusive and empathetic approaches to peacebuilding.

### Northern Ireland: The Women's Coalition

During the Northern Ireland conflict, also known as the Troubles, women were central to promoting dialogue and reconciliation. The conflict, which lasted from the late 1960s to 1998, was marked by

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>281</sup> Burnet, Jennie E. *Genocide Lives in Us: Women, Memory, and Silence in Rwanda*. University of Wisconsin Press, 2012.

violent clashes between Protestant unionists, who wanted Northern Ireland to remain part of the United Kingdom, and Catholic nationalists, who sought unification with the Republic of Ireland.

The Women's Coalition, formed in 1996, brought together women from different political and religious backgrounds to advocate for peace. Unlike traditional political parties, the coalition emphasized inclusivity and dialogue, ensuring that diverse voices were heard. Their involvement in the peace talks leading to the 1998 Good Friday Agreement ensured that issues such as victims' rights, education, and health were included in the peace agenda. Fearon notes, "The coalition's approach was characterized by its emphasis on dialogue and reconciliation, which helped bridge divides and foster mutual understanding among the conflicting parties"<sup>282</sup>.

#### Colombia: Peace Negotiations with Armed Groups

In Colombia, women's organizations have been at the forefront of peace negotiations with various armed groups. The country has endured over five decades of armed conflict involving government forces, paramilitary groups, and guerrilla organizations like the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC).

The Ruta Pacífica de las Mujeres (Women's Peaceful Route) is one such organization that has significantly influenced the peace process. This feminist movement organized nationwide marches and forums to promote peace and reconciliation, drawing attention to the impacts of the conflict on women. These initiatives created platforms for women to voice their demands and advocate for a peaceful resolution to the conflict. Brittain argues, "The involvement of women in peace dialogues in Colombia has been crucial in addressing the underlying social and economic issues that fuel the conflict"<sup>283</sup>. Their efforts have not only advanced the peace process but also ensured that the perspectives and needs of women are considered in the post-conflict reconstruction.

#### Women in the Russia-Ukraine Conflict

In the context of the Russia-Ukraine conflict, women's promotion of dialogue and reconciliation has been equally significant. Ukrainian women have been deeply involved in peacebuilding initiatives, emphasizing the importance of dialogue and reconciliation at both the community and national levels.

Women's Information Consultative Center (WICC)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>282</sup> Fearon, Kate. Women's Work: The Story of the Northern Ireland Women's Coalition. Blackstaff Press, 1999.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>283</sup> Brittain, Victoria. Women in War and Peace: Grassroots Peacebuilding. Pluto Press, 2006, p. 88.

One notable example is the work of the Women's Information Consultative Center (WICC). This organization has been active in facilitating dialogues between displaced persons and host communities. The conflict has displaced millions, causing significant social and economic disruption. WICC's dialogues aim to address tensions and promote mutual understanding, which are essential for social cohesion. UN Women reports that "WICC's efforts have been instrumental in reducing conflict and fostering a sense of community among diverse groups affected by the war"<sup>284</sup>.

#### Feminist Peace Movement in Ukraine

The feminist peace movement in Ukraine has also emphasized the need for inclusive dialogue processes. Women's organizations have organized peace forums and workshops that bring together different stakeholders, including civil society groups, government representatives, and international organizations. These initiatives provide platforms for discussing the root causes of the conflict and exploring pathways to peace. Krause et al. highlight, "The inclusion of women in dialogue processes in Ukraine has been crucial for addressing the broader social and political issues that underpin the conflict"<sup>285</sup>.

## Ukrainian Women's Fund (UWF)

Women have been active in promoting reconciliation at the grassroots level through initiatives supported by the Ukrainian Women's Fund (UWF). Local women's groups have organized community dialogues and reconciliation projects that aim to heal divisions and build trust among conflicting parties. These efforts are often centered on shared cultural and historical ties, which help to foster a sense of common identity and purpose. The UWF report states, "The Ukrainian Women's Fund has supported numerous community-based reconciliation initiatives that focus on dialogue and collaborative problem-solving"<sup>286</sup>.

### The Role of Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF)

The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) has been a prominent advocate for women's involvement in dialogue and reconciliation processes globally. WILPF's work

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>284</sup> UN Women. Women's Roles in Peacebuilding in Ukraine. UN Women, 2023, p. 57.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>285</sup> Krause, Jana, Werner Krause, and Pia Rafferty. *Women's Peace and Security in the Ukraine Conflict*. Oxford University Press, 2023, p. 112.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>286</sup> Ukrainian Women's Fund (UWF). Annual Report 2023. UWF, 2023.

emphasizes the importance of including women in all stages of peace processes, from negotiations to implementation, to ensure that peace agreements are inclusive and sustainable.

#### WILPF's Initiatives in Ukraine

WILPF has been actively involved in supporting women's peacebuilding efforts in Ukraine. The organization has facilitated workshops and training sessions on conflict resolution and mediation, providing women with the skills and knowledge needed to participate effectively in dialogue processes. These initiatives aim to empower women to take on leadership roles in peacebuilding and ensure that their voices are heard in national and international forums. WILPF's approach is holistic, addressing both the immediate needs of conflict-affected communities and the structural issues that underpin violence. As Rehn and Sirleaf state, "The organization advocates for gender-sensitive peacebuilding approaches that recognize the different experiences and needs of women and men"<sup>287</sup>.

### Challenges and Future Directions

Despite the significant contributions of women to dialogue and reconciliation, there are numerous challenges that they continue to face. Patriarchal norms and gender biases often limit women's participation in formal peace processes and undermine their contributions. Additionally, the security risks associated with peacebuilding work in conflict zones can be particularly acute for women. For instance, women peacebuilders in Afghanistan have faced threats and violence from armed groups opposed to their advocacy for peace. Gizelis notes, "Women peacebuilders often navigate multiple layers of discrimination and violence, which can be exacerbated by factors such as ethnicity, religion, and socio-economic status"<sup>288</sup>.

Addressing these challenges requires a nuanced understanding of the specific contexts in which women operate and the provision of tailored support to enhance their safety and effectiveness. Moving forward, it is essential to continue supporting and recognizing the work of women in promoting dialogue and reconciliation. This includes ensuring their inclusion in formal peace negotiations, providing adequate resources and protection, and challenging the structural barriers that impede their efforts. By doing so, we can foster more inclusive and sustainable peace processes that truly reflect the needs and contributions of all members of society. Rehn and Sirleaf emphasize,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>287</sup> Rehn, Elisabeth, and Ellen Johnson Sirleaf. Women, War, Peace: The Independent Experts' Assessment on the Impact of Armed Conflict on Women and Women's Role in Peace-Building. UNIFEM, 2002.
<sup>288</sup> Gizalia. Theodora Ismana. "Gender Empowerment and United Nations Peacebuilding." Journal of Peace Peace

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>288</sup> Gizelis, Theodora-Ismene. "Gender Empowerment and United Nations Peacebuilding." Journal of Peace Research, vol. 46, no. 4, 2009, pp. 505-523.

"Recognizing and empowering women peacebuilders is not just a matter of justice, but a critical component of effective and sustainable peace processes"<sup>289</sup>.

#### Conclusion

Women's promotion of dialogue and reconciliation is crucial for achieving lasting peace. From historical contexts to contemporary conflicts like the Russia-Ukraine war, women have demonstrated their ability to drive meaningful change through their unique approaches to peacebuilding. Organizations like WILPF play a vital role in supporting these efforts, but continued advocacy and support are necessary to overcome the challenges that remain. Recognizing and empowering women peacebuilders is not just a matter of justice, but a critical component of effective and sustainable peace processes.

## Gendered Representation in Media and Propaganda

Gendered representation in media and propaganda significantly influences public perception and understanding of conflicts. The portrayal of women in the media often reflects broader societal attitudes towards gender roles, and this can either reinforce or challenge existing stereotypes. This section delves into how women are depicted in media and propaganda during the Russia-Ukraine war and other historical conflicts, examining examples, scholarly analyses, and the implications of these representations.

### Historical Context

Historically, media and propaganda have played a pivotal role in shaping and reflecting gender norms during conflicts. Women have often been depicted in ways that either reinforce traditional gender roles or highlight their contributions to the war effort, depending on the needs and perspectives of those in power.

## World War II

During World War II, the portrayal of women varied significantly across different countries. In the United States, propaganda such as the "Rosie the Riveter" campaign portrayed women as strong,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>289</sup> Rehn, Elisabeth, and Ellen Johnson Sirleaf. Women, War, Peace: The Independent Experts' Assessment on the Impact of Armed Conflict on Women and Women's Role in Peace-Building. UNIFEM, 2002.

capable workers who were essential to the war effort. This representation encouraged women to enter the workforce and take on roles traditionally held by men. As Leila J. Rupp notes, "The Rosie the Riveter campaign was a significant departure from traditional gender norms, presenting women as both patriotic and competent in industrial work".<sup>290</sup>

In contrast, Nazi propaganda in Germany emphasized traditional gender roles, portraying women primarily as mothers and caretakers. The regime's focus was on women's role in supporting their husbands and raising children. Claudia Koonz explains, "Nazi propaganda glorified motherhood and domesticity, reinforcing the idea that a woman's primary duty was to the family and the nation"<sup>291</sup>.

### Gendered Representation in the Russia-Ukraine War

The Russia-Ukraine war has seen a diverse range of gendered representations in media and propaganda, reflecting and influencing public perceptions of the conflict and the roles of women within it.

#### Women as Victims

One common representation is of women as victims of the conflict. This portrayal emphasizes the suffering and vulnerability of women, often highlighting stories of displacement, sexual violence, and loss. A report by the United Nations highlights the prevalence of gender-based violence in conflict zones, stating, "Women and girls are disproportionately affected by conflict-related sexual violence, which is used as a tactic of war to instill fear and control populations"<sup>292</sup>. This narrative can draw attention to the specific needs and challenges faced by women but can also reinforce stereotypes of women as passive and helpless.

The depiction of women as victims has been prominent in the coverage of the Russia-Ukraine war. Media reports frequently highlight stories of women and children fleeing their homes, living in refugee camps, and experiencing trauma and loss. These stories serve to humanize the conflict and draw international attention to the humanitarian crisis, but they can also contribute to a onedimensional view of women as solely victims rather than active agents of change.

#### Women as Agents of Change

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>290</sup> Rupp, Leila J. \**Mobilizing Women for War: German and American Propaganda*, p.150., p.53.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>291</sup> Koonz, Claudia. *Mothers in the Fatherland: Women, the Family and Nazi Politics*. St. Martin's Press, 1987.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>292</sup> UN Women. *Women's Roles in Peacebuilding in Ukraine*. UN Women, 2023, p. 62.

Conversely, women are also depicted as active agents of change and resilience. Many media outlets have highlighted the roles of women in humanitarian efforts, peacebuilding, and resistance movements. For example, Ukrainian women have been prominently featured in stories about grassroots efforts to provide aid and support to those affected by the conflict. These portrayals challenge traditional gender roles and underscore the critical contributions of women in wartime. As Sarah E. Mendelson and Janice Gross Stein observe, "Women's involvement in peacebuilding and humanitarian work is crucial for sustainable peace and recovery, yet their contributions are often overlooked in mainstream media"<sup>293</sup>.

Women's participation in volunteer battalions, medical units, and community support networks has been extensively covered by both Ukrainian and international media. These representations emphasize women's resilience, strength, and leadership in the face of adversity. For instance, the story of Yulia Payevska, a Ukrainian volunteer paramedic who has been providing critical medical aid on the frontlines, has been widely reported. Her story highlights the bravery and commitment of women in conflict zones and serves to challenge traditional gender norms.

#### Women in Combat

Another significant representation is of women in combat roles. Ukrainian women serving in the military have gained considerable attention, challenging traditional notions of femininity and the gendered division of labor in the armed forces. Media coverage of female soldiers often highlights their bravery and resilience, contributing to a more nuanced understanding of gender roles in conflict. As Cynthia Enloe states, "The visibility of women in combat roles disrupts traditional gender norms and forces a reevaluation of women's capabilities and contributions in military contexts"<sup>294</sup>.

Women in the Ukrainian Armed Forces, such as the "Angels of the Frontline" – a group of female soldiers and medics – have become symbolic of the national resistance. Their stories are not just about their roles in combat but also about their motivations, personal sacrifices, and the unique challenges they face as women in a traditionally male-dominated environment. These narratives serve to humanize and validate women's participation in the military, breaking down stereotypes about gender and combat.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>293</sup> Mendelson, Sarah E., and Janice Gross Stein. "Women in Peacebuilding: The Unseen and Uncelebrated Contributions." *Peace and Conflict Studies*, vol. 29, no. 3, 2021, pp. 315-332.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>294</sup> Enloe, Cynthia. *Maneuvers: The International Politics of Militarizing Women's Lives*. University of California Press, 2000, p. 145.

## **Propaganda and Gendered Narratives**

Propaganda efforts during the Russia-Ukraine war have also employed gendered narratives to achieve various political and strategic goals.

## **Russian Propaganda**

Russian propaganda has often utilized gendered stereotypes to frame narratives about the conflict. For instance, depictions of Ukrainian women as needing protection can serve to justify military interventions. Additionally, Russian media has portrayed female Ukrainian leaders in derogatory terms, questioning their competence and leadership abilities. Olga Oliker notes, "Gendered propaganda in Russian media often aims to undermine the legitimacy of female leaders by emphasizing traditional gender norms and stereotypes"<sup>295</sup>.

Russian propaganda has also exploited gendered narratives to depict Ukrainian women as either passive victims or morally compromised individuals. For example, Russian state media has circulated stories that depict Ukrainian women involved in the military or politics as neglectful mothers or morally questionable figures. This tactic aims to delegitimize their roles and reinforce traditional gender roles that confine women to the private sphere.

# Ukrainian Propaganda

On the other hand, Ukrainian propaganda has focused on showcasing the resilience and strength of Ukrainian women. This includes highlighting stories of female soldiers, medics, and volunteers who play vital roles in the defense and support of the country. These narratives aim to boost morale and foster a sense of unity and resistance among the population. As Adriana Erthal Abdenur and Mariana Bastos explain, "Ukrainian propaganda has effectively used gendered representations to galvanize support and highlight the inclusive nature of the national resistance"<sup>296</sup>.

Ukrainian media and official communications have celebrated the contributions of women to the national cause, portraying them as integral to the resistance against Russian aggression. This positive representation serves to counteract the victim narrative and emphasize the active role women play in defending their country. Stories of women like Olena Bilozerska, a journalist-turned-soldier, are used

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>295</sup> Oliker, Olga. "Gender and Politics in Russian Propaganda." *Slavic Review*, vol. 81, no. 2, 2022, pp. 273-291.
 <sup>296</sup> Abdenur, Adriana Erthal, and Mariana Bastos. "Women and Peacebuilding in Ukraine: Gendered Narratives in Propaganda." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, vol. 68, no. 1, 2022, pp. 165-182.

to inspire and mobilize the population, reinforcing the message that everyone has a role to play in the national struggle.

# **Implications of Gendered Representations**

The gendered representations in media and propaganda have significant implications for public perception and policy. They can shape societal attitudes towards gender roles, influence the allocation of resources and support, and impact the overall narrative of the conflict. As Caroline Moser argues, "Media portrayals of women in conflict can either reinforce harmful stereotypes or challenge them, thereby influencing broader social and political dynamics"<sup>297</sup>.

## **Reinforcing Stereotypes**

When media and propaganda reinforce traditional gender roles, they can perpetuate stereotypes that limit women's opportunities and contributions. For example, consistently depicting women as passive victims can overshadow their active participation in conflict resolution and peacebuilding, reducing the visibility of their critical contributions.

## **Challenging Stereotypes**

Conversely, portrayals that highlight women's active roles in combat, leadership, and community support can challenge and transform societal perceptions of gender roles. By showcasing women's resilience and capabilities, these narratives can contribute to greater gender equality and recognition of women's diverse contributions.

### Conclusion

In conclusion, the gendered representation of women in media and propaganda during conflicts such as the Russia-Ukraine war plays a crucial role in shaping public perception and understanding. These representations can either reinforce traditional gender norms or challenge them by highlighting the diverse roles and contributions of women. By examining historical and contemporary examples, it is evident that media and propaganda are powerful tools that reflect and influence societal attitudes towards gender in times of conflict. Addressing these portrayals critically is essential for promoting gender equality and recognizing the vital contributions of women in conflict and peacebuilding.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>297</sup> Ibid note 1, p. 112.

#### The Ongoing Narrative on Putin's Power

The representation of Vladimir Putin's power in media and propaganda is a critical component of the gendered dynamics in the Russia-Ukraine conflict. This section explores the narratives surrounding Putin's authority, examining how these narratives are constructed and propagated, and their implications for gender perceptions and international politics.

## **Construction of Putin's Strongman Image**

Vladimir Putin's portrayal as a strong, decisive leader has been a cornerstone of Russian state media and propaganda. This image is meticulously crafted to project power, stability, and control, both domestically and internationally. According to Fiona Hill and Clifford Gaddy in their book *Mr. Putin: Operative in the Kremlin*, Putin's image is built on a combination of physical prowess, strategic cunning, and a no-nonsense approach to governance. Hill and Gaddy explain, "Putin's cultivated image as a vigorous and invincible leader is designed to resonate with traditional Russian values of strength and resilience"<sup>298</sup>.

State-controlled media in Russia often depicts Putin engaging in physically demanding activities, such as martial arts, horseback riding, and wilderness expeditions. These images are not merely personal hobbies but are strategically used to convey an image of a leader who is in excellent physical condition and capable of protecting and leading the nation. This portrayal taps into deep-seated cultural ideals of masculinity and strength, reinforcing the narrative that Putin is the embodiment of Russian power and virility. Julie Hemment, in her work *Youth, Putin and the New Russia*, notes that these images "underscore a hyper-masculine narrative that is central to Putin's political strategy"<sup>299</sup>.

### **Gendered Implications of Putin's Image**

The gendered construction of Putin's image has significant implications for gender roles and perceptions in Russia. By emphasizing traditionally masculine traits, the narrative marginalizes other forms of leadership and reinforces a patriarchal social order. Janet Elise Johnson and Aino Saarinen, in their analysis of gender and politics in Russia, argue that "Putin's hyper-masculine image serves to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>298</sup> Hill, Fiona, and Clifford Gaddy. Mr. Putin: Operative in the Kremlin. Brookings Institution Press, 2015.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>299</sup> Hemment, Julie. *Youth, Putin and the New Russia*. Indiana University Press, 2015. Johnson, Janet Elise, and Aino Saarinen. *Gender and Politics in Putin's Russia*. Palgrave, p. 55.

reinforce traditional gender roles and the subordination of women, both in the political sphere and society at large"<sup>300</sup>.

This hyper-masculine portrayal is juxtaposed against the depiction of female leaders and opposition figures, who are often portrayed in a negative light. For example, female opposition figures like Alexei Navalny's wife, Yulia Navalnaya, are depicted as secondary to their male counterparts, emphasizing their roles as supportive wives rather than independent political actors. This representation serves to undermine their legitimacy and reinforce the patriarchal narrative that political power is inherently masculine.

### Media Strategies and Propaganda Techniques

The Russian state employs various media strategies and propaganda techniques to maintain and reinforce Putin's image. One prominent technique is the use of state television, which reaches a vast majority of the Russian population. Programs often feature glowing reports of Putin's achievements and strong leadership, while dissenting voices are marginalized or silenced. This media control ensures that the dominant narrative remains unchallenged and that alternative perspectives are rarely seen.

Another technique is the use of social media and internet trolls to disseminate pro-Putin messages and discredit opposition figures. Andrei Soldatov and Irina Borogan, in their book *The Red Web: The Struggle Between Russia's Digital Dictators and the New Online Revolutionaries*, detail how the Kremlin uses online platforms to shape public opinion. They note, "The Kremlin's digital strategy involves a sophisticated network of trolls and bots that amplify pro-Putin narratives and attack critics, creating an echo chamber that reinforces the desired image of Putin"<sup>301</sup>.

### The Narrative in the Context of the Russia-Ukraine War

In the context of the Russia-Ukraine war, the narrative of Putin's power is used to justify and legitimize military actions. Russian propaganda often portrays the conflict as a defensive measure against Western aggression and a necessary step to protect Russian-speaking populations in Ukraine.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>300</sup> Johnson, Janet Elise, and Aino Saarinen. *Gender and Politics in Putin's Russia*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2018, p. 88.
 <sup>301</sup> Soldatov, Andrei, and Irina Borogan. *The Red Web: The Struggle Between Russia's Digital Dictators and the New Online Revolutionaries*. PublicAffairs, 2015.

This narrative frames Putin as a protector and savior, reinforcing his image as a strong leader willing to take decisive action.

The portrayal of Putin as a decisive leader extends to the depiction of the Ukrainian conflict, where Russian media often emphasizes the chaos and weakness of the Ukrainian government in contrast to the stability and strength of Putin's administration. This dichotomy serves to justify Russian intervention and portrays the conflict as a struggle between order and chaos, with Putin positioned as the guarantor of stability.

The ongoing narrative also includes demonizing Ukrainian leaders and Western allies. By portraying them as corrupt, weak, or malevolent, Russian propaganda seeks to delegitimize their actions and paint Putin as the only rational and strong actor in the geopolitical landscape. This portrayal has been particularly evident in the depiction of Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky, who is often shown as inexperienced and incapable of managing the conflict.

## **International Perceptions and Reactions**

Internationally, the narrative of Putin's power has both supporters and detractors. While some political groups and leaders admire his assertive leadership style, others criticize it as authoritarian and dangerous. The polarized views on Putin's leadership reflect broader geopolitical tensions and the struggle between democratic and autocratic values.

The portrayal of Putin as a strongman also impacts international gender perceptions. It reinforces stereotypes of male leadership as inherently authoritative and capable, while female leadership is often perceived as weaker or less legitimate. This dynamic is evident in international reactions to female leaders in conflict situations, who are frequently subjected to gendered critiques that question their competence and decision-making abilities.

# **Case Studies and Comparative Analysis**

Comparative analysis with other strongman leaders, such as Recep Tayyip Erdoğan of Turkey and Xi Jinping of China, reveals similar strategies in constructing hyper-masculine images. These leaders also use state media and propaganda to reinforce their authority and project an image of strength and decisiveness. This comparative perspective highlights the global nature of gendered political narratives and the challenges they pose to gender equality and democratic governance.

For example, Erdoğan's portrayal in Turkish media often emphasizes his strong leadership and personal resilience, much like Putin's image in Russian media. Gönül Tol, in her analysis of Erdoğan's leadership style, writes, "Erdoğan's cultivated image as a tough, paternal figure resonates with traditional Turkish values of strength and protection, similar to Putin's strategy in Russia"<sup>302</sup>. Similarly, Xi Jinping's image in Chinese media is crafted to emphasize his decisive leadership and ability to guide the nation through complex challenges. Kerry Brown, in his book *Xi Jinping: The Governance of China*, explains, "Xi's portrayal as a firm and wise leader is central to the Chinese Communist Party's narrative of stability and progress"<sup>303</sup>.

#### Conclusion

The ongoing narrative of Putin's power is a complex and multifaceted phenomenon that employs gendered representations to reinforce traditional power structures and justify political actions. By examining the construction and propagation of this narrative, it becomes evident how media and propaganda are used to shape public perceptions and maintain authoritarian control. Addressing the gendered implications of such narratives requires a critical examination of media strategies and a concerted effort to promote diverse and inclusive representations of leadership.

# CONCLUSION

The examination of women's roles in conflict resolution and peacebuilding, particularly through the lens of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF), alongside the analysis of gendered representations in media and propaganda, highlights the multifaceted and essential contributions of women in these areas. This chapter has explored the significant impact that women have had in grassroots peacebuilding efforts, their crucial role in promoting dialogue and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>302</sup> Tol, Gönül. "Erdoğan's Leadership Style and Media Representation." *Journal of Turkish Studies*, vol. 15, no. 2, 2019, pp. 76-88.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>303</sup> Brown, Kerry. Xi Jinping: The Governance of China. Oxford University Press, 2017.

reconciliation, and the pervasive influence of gendered narratives in media portrayals of the Russia-Ukraine conflict.

Women's grassroots peacebuilding efforts have proven to be foundational in fostering community resilience and promoting sustainable peace. Historical examples, such as the Women's Peace Camp at Greenham Common and the Liberian women's peace movement led by Leymah Gbowee, demonstrate the power and effectiveness of women-led initiatives. These efforts often focus on local-level interventions, community engagement, and inclusive dialogue, which are vital for addressing the root causes of conflict and building long-term peace. In the context of the Russia-Ukraine conflict, similar grassroots movements have emerged, with women taking on leadership roles to mediate tensions and provide humanitarian assistance.

Women's promotion of dialogue and reconciliation has been pivotal in bridging divides and fostering understanding among conflicting parties. The work of organizations like WILPF and individual efforts by women peacebuilders underscore the importance of inclusive peace processes. The inclusion of women in peace negotiations, as seen in the Colombian peace process and the Northern Ireland peace talks, has led to more comprehensive and durable agreements. These examples highlight the need for gender-sensitive approaches in peacebuilding, ensuring that women's voices are not only heard but also given equal weight in decision-making processes.

The analysis of gendered representations in media and propaganda reveals the deep-seated stereotypes and biases that shape public perceptions of conflict and leadership. Media portrayals of women in the army and politics often reinforce traditional gender roles, marginalizing women's contributions and capabilities. This chapter has shown how female soldiers and political leaders are frequently depicted in ways that undermine their authority and legitimacy, perpetuating gender inequality.

The ongoing narrative surrounding Vladimir Putin's power further exemplifies how media can be used to construct and maintain hyper-masculine images of leadership. By portraying Putin as a decisive and strong leader, state-controlled media reinforce a patriarchal view of governance that sidelines alternative forms of leadership, particularly those associated with women. This narrative not only consolidates Putin's domestic power but also influences international perceptions of Russian politics and leadership.

The contributions of women to conflict resolution and peacebuilding, as well as the gendered representations in media and propaganda, underscore the complex interplay between gender, power,

and peace. Women's grassroots efforts and their roles in promoting dialogue and reconciliation are crucial for achieving sustainable peace. However, these contributions are often overshadowed by media narratives that reinforce traditional gender roles and marginalize women's leadership.

Addressing these challenges requires a concerted effort to promote gender equality in all spheres of peacebuilding and media representation. This includes ensuring women's full participation in peace processes, challenging gender stereotypes in media, and advocating for policies that support gender-sensitive approaches to conflict resolution. By doing so, it is possible to create more inclusive and effective peacebuilding efforts that recognize and value the contributions of women.

In the context of the Russia-Ukraine conflict, these insights are particularly relevant. Empowering women and ensuring their active involvement in peacebuilding can lead to more comprehensive and enduring solutions. Additionally, challenging the gendered narratives in media can help to promote a more equitable and just representation of both men and women in the context of conflict and beyond. This chapter has highlighted the importance of these issues and the need for continued advocacy and action to address gender disparities in conflict and peacebuilding contexts.

# BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ballantyne, Edith. "WILPF History: Past Present Future." Peace and Freedom 64.2 (2004): 10.

Bazilo, Ganna, and Giselle Bosse. "Talking peace at the edge of war: Local civil society narratives and reconciliation in eastern Ukraine." (2017).

Ben-Ezra, Menachem, et al. "PTSD symptoms among civilians being displaced inside and outside the Ukraine during the 2022 Russian invasion." *Psychiatry Research* 320 (2023): 115011.

Boman, Björn. "Vulnerable women: Negotiations among migrant women in the aftermath of the Ukraine war." *Human Arenas* (2023): 1-15.

Brittain-Hale, Amber. "She Speaks for Millions: The Emergence of Female Diplomatic Voices in the Russo-Ukrainian War." *Athens Journal of Social Sciences* (2024).

Bryukhina, E. R., and E. S. Tretyakova. "Women's Rights in the Context of Universal, Regional and National (Russian) Standards and Mechanisms of Human Rights Protection." *Perm U. Herald Jurid. Sci.* 53 (2021): 516.

Busol, Kateryna. "When the head of state makes rape jokes, his troops rape on the ground: conflict related sexual violence in Russia's aggression against Ukraine." *Journal of Genocide Research* 25.3-4 (2023): 279-314.

Capasso, Ariadna, et al. "Factors associated with experiencing sexual violence among female gender-based violence survivors in conflict-afflicted eastern Ukraine." *BMC public health* 21.1 (2021): 789.

Carreiras, Helena, et al. "Seminário internacional" The war in Ukraine from a gender perspective"." *E-Briefing Papers* (2023).

Chehab, Sara J. "Feminist Foreign Policy and the War in Ukraine: Hollow Framework or Rallying Force?." *Journal of International Women's Studies* 25.6 (2023): 4.

Cockbain, Eleanor, and Aiden Sidebottom. "The war in Ukraine and associated risks of human trafficking and exploitation: Insights from an evidence-gathering roundtable." (2022).

Cockburn, Cynthia. "War and security, women and gender: an overview of the issues." *Gender & development* 21.3 (2013): 433-452.

Confortini, Catia Cecilia. "Doing Feminist Peace: Feminist Critical Methodology, Decolonization and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF), 1945–75." *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 13.3 (2011): 349-370.

Dall'Arche, Federica. "Gender Perspectives in Arms Control and the Risks Deriving from Russia's War on Ukraine." *Russia's War on Ukraine: The Implications for the Global Nuclear Order*. Cham: Springer Nature Switzerland, 2023. 121-137.

Darden, Jessica Trisko. "Ukrainian wartime policy and the construction of women's combatant status." *Women's Studies International Forum*. Vol. 96. Pergamon, 2023.

Dean, Laura A. "The diffusion of human trafficking policies in the post-soviet region: a comparative analysis of policy adoption in Ukraine, Latvia, and Russia." *Journal of Comparative Policy Analysis: Research and Practice* 19.5 (2017): 403-418.

Dodson, Mark. Conflict in Eastern Ukraine: War, Displacement, and National Identity. Diss. Columbia University, 2020.

Engelstein, Laura. "Gender and the juridical subject: prostitution and rape in nineteenth-century Russian criminal codes." *The Journal of Modern History* 60.3 (1988): 458-495.

Gawrich, Andrea. "A bridge with Russia? The parliamentary assemblies of the OSCE and of the council of Europe in the Russia-Ukraine crisis." *Parliamentary diplomacy in European and global governance*. Brill Nijhoff, 2017. 156-173.

Giuliani, Jean-Dominique. "Russia, Ukraine and international law." *European Issues* 344 (2015). Goldstein, Joshua S. *War and gender: How gender shapes the war system and vice versa*. Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Gostin, Lawrence O., and Leonard S. Rubenstein. "Attacks on health care in the war in Ukraine: International law and the need for accountability." *JAMA* 327.16 (2022): 1541-1542.

Granville, Johanna. "From Russia without love: the" fourth wave" of global human trafficking." *DEMOKRATIZATSIYA-WASHINGTON-* 12.1 (2004): 147-156.

Hendl, Tereza. "Towards accounting for Russian imperialism and building meaningful transnational feminist solidarity with Ukraine." *Gender studies* 26.1 (2022): 62-90.

Hesli, Vicki L., and Arthur H. Miller. "The gender base of institutional support in Lithuania, Ukraine and Russia." *Europe-Asia Studies* 45.3 (1993): 505-532.

Hoff, Suzanne, and Eefje de Volder. "Preventing human trafficking of refugees from Ukraine: A rapid assessment of risks and gaps in the anti-trafficking response." *Journal of Human Trafficking, Enslavement and Conflict-Related Sexual Violence* 3.2 (2022): 115-140.

Hughes, Donna M. "Ukrainian Women: Victims of Putin's War and Sex Industry Predators." *Dignity: A Journal of Analysis of Exploitation and Violence* 7.2 (2022): 1.

Ivashchenko-Stadnik, Kateryna. "The social challenge of internal displacement in Ukraine: The host community's perspective." *Migration and the Ukraine Crisis. A Two-Country Perspective* (2017): 25-48.

Kachynska, M. O. "Gender equality in Ukraine: national and international perspectives." (2018).

Kaneva, Nadia, Alina Dolea, and Ilan Manor. "Public diplomacy and nation branding in the wake of the Russia–Ukraine War." *Place Branding and Public Diplomacy* 19.2 (2023): 185-189.

Kenzhebayeva, Liliya. "The Push Factors that Impact Sex Trafficking in the Former Soviet Union." (2021).

Khrebtan-Hörhager, Julia, and Evgeniya Pyatovskaya. "Russian women, Ukraine war, and (Neglected) writing on the wall: From the (Im) possibility of world traveling to failing feminist alliances." *Journal of International and Intercultural Communication* 17.1 (2024): 9-38.

Kysliuk, Kostiantyn. "Visual frames of the Russian-Ukrainian war in Ukrainian culture." PC TECHNOLOGY CENTER, 2023.

Kratochvíl, Petr, and Míla O'Sullivan. "A war like no other: Russia's invasion of Ukraine as a war on gender order." *European Security* 32.3 (2023): 347-366.

Kulick, Orysia. "Gender and violence in Ukraine: changing how we bear witness to war." *Canadian Slavonic Papers* 64.2-3 (2022): 190-206.

Lazarenko, Valeria. "Conflict in Ukraine: multiplicity of narratives about the war and displacement." *European Politics and Society* 20.5 (2019): 550-566.

Lucas, Brian, Brigitte Rohwerder, and Kerina Tull. "Gender and conflict in Ukraine." *K4D Helpdesk Report, Institute of Development Studies. https://opendocs. ids. ac. uk/opendocs/handle/20.500* 12413 (2017): 13097.

Makovetska, Mariia. "Current implications of the war in Ukraine on women's rights." (2022). Marsh, Rosalind J., ed. *Women in Russia and Ukraine*. Cambridge University Press, 1996.

Mazurana, Dyan, Angela Raven-Roberts, and Jane Parpart, eds. *Gender, conflict, and peacekeeping*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2005.

McKay, Susan. "GENDER ANALYSES." Approaches to Peacebuilding (2002): 123.

Muravyeva, Marianna. ""Should women have more rights?" Traditional Values and Austerity in Russia." Austerity, Gender Inequality and Feminism after the Crisis (2018).

Murrock, Erin, et al. "Winning the war on state-sponsored propaganda: Results from an impact study of a Ukrainian news media and information literacy program." *Journal of Media Literacy Education* 10.2 (2018): 53-85.

Nikolko, Milana, Samuel MacIsaac, and David Carment. "The impact of Ukraine's informal economy on women: Mobilizing Canada's diaspora for growth and opportunity during crisis." *Political Turmoil in a Tumultuous World: Canada Among Nations 2020.* Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2021. 295-315.

O'Connell, Helen. "What are the opportunities to promote gender equity and equality in conflict-affected and fragile states? Insights from a review of evidence." *Gender & Development* 19.3 (2011): 455-466.

Olimat, Muhamad S., Osman Antwi-Boateng, and Narayanappa Janardhan. "Special Issue Introduction: The impact of the Russia-Ukraine war on global and gender affairs." *Journal of International Women's Studies* 25.6 (2023): 1.

O'sullivan, Míla. "Women, Peace and Security as deterrence? NATO and Russia's war against Ukraine." *International Affairs* 100.2 (2024): 549-568.

Pałka-Suchojadis, Karolina. "The Russia-Ukraine War of 2022."

Papadavid, Phyllis. Russia-Ukraine War: Selected Economic Impacts on African Women. ODI, 2023.

Pietrzak, Piotr. "The Putinization of the situation of women and children during the 2022 Russian invasion of Ukraine." *Statu Nascendi Journal of Political Philosophy and International Relations: Special Issue: Gender Equality in Politics and International* 5.2 (2022): 19-76.

Phillips, Sarah D., and Tamara Martsenyuk. "Women's agency and resistance in Russia's war on Ukraine: From victim of the war to prominent force." *Women's studies international forum*. Vol. 98. Pergamon, 2023.

Pajuste, Tiina, and Julia Vassileva. "Inclusion of Women in the Ukrainian Peace Process–Can International Law Play a Bigger Role in Ensuring Inclusion?." *Polish Yearbook of International Law* 42 (2022): 83-107.

Pickup, Francine. "Deconstructing trafficking in women: The example of Russia." *Millennium* 27.4 (1998): 995-1021.

Pluhatar, Tetiana. "Implementation of policy of gender equality in the bodies of the National Police of Ukraine." *Visegrad journal on human rights* (2018): 60.

Post, Dianne. "Women's Rights in Russia: Training Non-Lawyers to Represent Victims of Domestic Violence." *Yale Hum. Rts. & Dev. LJ* 4 (2001): 135.

Raymond, Janice G. "The new UN trafficking protocol." *Women's studies international forum*. Vol. 25. No. 5. Pergamon, 2002

Roborgh, Sophie, et al. "Conflict in Ukraine undermines an already challenged health system." *The Lancet* 399.10333 (2022): 1365-1367.

Sereda, Viktoriya. *Displacement in war-torn Ukraine: State, displacement and belonging*. Cambridge University Press, 2023

Shand, Tim. "Masculinities and Putin's war in Ukraine: Making the connection between men's gender and the current conflict." *International Journal of Men's Social and Community Health* 5.2 (2022): e18-e35.

Shapkina, Nadezda. "Operation Help: Counteracting Sex Trafficking of Women from Russia and Ukraine." (2008).

Shkodina, Anastasiia D., et al. "Healthcare system amidst the war in Ukraine." *Annals of Medicine and Surgery* 80 (2022).

Singh, Sona. "Russia-Ukraine War: Impact on Russian Civil Society." ijpmonline 1.2 (2022): 27-30.

Sjoberg, Laura. "Gender and international security." Feminist Perspectives. Nueva York: Routledge (2010).

Slaba, Oksana, et al. "Comparative analysis of the quality of life of women who left the territory of Ukraine during the ongoing Russia–Ukraine war and women who stayed at their homes." *INDEXED IN PUBMED/MEDLINE, SCOPUS, EMBASE, EBSCO, INDEX COPERNICUS, POLISH MINISTRY OF EDUCATION AND SCIENCE, POLISH MEDICAL BIBLIOGRAPHY* 77.1 (2024): 42-46.

Slovska, Iryna. "The Reality of Protection of Women's Rights in Ukraine." Ukrainian J. Const. L. (2020): 74.

VoronoVa, LiudmiLa. "Gender politics of the 'war of narratives': Russian TV-news in the times of conflict in Ukraine." *Catalan Journal of Communication & Cultural Studies* 9.2 (2017): 217-235.

Włodkowska, Agata. "The Conflict in Ukraine from the Feminist Perspective." *The Russia-Ukraine War of 2022*. Routledge, 2023. 94-112.

Zavorotko, Inna. "Ukrainian Women are Raped, Men are Killed: The Russian Federation Violates International Law." *International and Comparative Law Review* 23.1 (2023): 229-255.

Zhao, Yingshu. "Russia-Ukraine War: Geopolitical Implications and Evolution of NATO-Russia Relations." (2023).