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## Queering women, peace and security

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## **Queering Women, Peace and Security**

In all regions, people experience violence and discrimination because of their sexual orientation and gender identity. In many cases, even the perception of homosexuality or transgender identity puts people at risk.<sup>1</sup>

After 15 years of the WPS architecture,<sup>2</sup> the continued silence about homophobic and transphobic violence targeting lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and queer (LGBTQ) individuals in conflict-related environments is alarming. Those vulnerable to insecurity and violence because of their sexual orientation or gender identity remain largely neglected by the international peace and security community. The goal of this article is to not only point out this silence but also propose ways a queer security analysis drawing on trans theorists can address and mitigate these silences in policy with attention to the damaging role heteronormativity and cisprivilege play in the current gap in analysis of gendered violence. This article reviews the policy implications when sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV) against the LGBTQ community is excluded from policy implementing and NGOs monitoring the WPS agenda. This neglect is in part due to heteronormative assumptions in their framing by the WPS age: the worldview that heterosexual relationships are the preferred or normal orientation. Understanding what drives violence against individuals marginalized for their sexual orientation and gender identity will also shed light on the larger question of how SGBV operates in conflict-related environments.

Because the LGBTQ community is one under constant security threat in many places, understanding how insecurity for this population shifts in conflict-related environments through a gender lens offers a meaningful contribution to how policy makers understand human security more broadly. International NGOs including Human Rights Watch and OutRight Action International have already begun to look into homophobic and transphobic violence in some conflicts including in Iraq.

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<sup>1</sup> A/HRC/19/41, para 1.

<sup>2</sup> See Paul Kirby and Laura J. Shepherd, 'Re-Introducing Women Peace and Security' for history of WPS.

## **Peace and security for the LGBTQ community too**

Violence against the LGBTQ takes a similar shape as the targeted violence against women the WPS architecture has long worked to address. Of utmost importance to recognizing gendered vulnerabilities is the necessity to understand how an individual's multiple social identities compound putting some at greater risk of violence. For example, the Human Rights Council report regarding violence against individuals based on their sexual orientation and gender identity explains: 'lesbians and transgender women are at a particular risk because of gender inequality and power relations within families and wider society'.<sup>3</sup> Gender is 'at its heart, a structural power relation'.<sup>4</sup> Gendered power relations drive homophobic and transphobic violence in similar ways to the now well documented systemic use of a rape as a weapon of war in some conflict-related environments.

Using a queer lens to understand global SGBV remains fringe within international relations. Cynthia Weber describes the way scholars outside the traditional international relations discipline have been made into 'intellectual immigrants' explaining: 'The poorest neighborhoods of IR have always been those populated by new intellectual immigrants to IR. These include Marxists, poststructuralists, feminists, critical race scholars, postcolonial scholars, critical studies scholars and queer scholars. These scholars are poor because they wield the least disciplinary capital in IR. This is because their analyses deviate from an exclusive focus on 'the states-system, the diplomatic community itself' (Wight 1966:2) and because they refuse Disciplinary IR's epistemological and methodological claims about knowledge collection and accumulation'.<sup>5</sup> Whether the WPS community intends to include the human rights of the LGBTQ community in WPS driven protective measures with a more expansive understanding of who experiences SGBV is unclear. Budhiraja, Fried and Teixeira explain, 'Those who challenge traditional norms of gender and sexuality- among them feminists, sex workers, lesbian/gay/bisexual and transgender people – are situated within

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<sup>3</sup> A/HRC/19/41, para 21.

<sup>4</sup> Carol Cohn, 'Women and wars: toward a conceptual framework', Carol Cohn ed., in *Women & wars*, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2013), pp. 4.

<sup>5</sup> Cynthia Weber, 'Why is there no queer international theory?' *European Journal of International Relations* 21:1, 2015, pp. 42.

such a common context of struggle'.<sup>6</sup> Gender mainstreaming and the documentation of SGBV by the WPS architecture can be a force of oppression and erasure of LGBTQ experience. The causes of exclusion of the LGBTQ community from monitoring and reporting on WPS resolutions pertaining to SGBV are both theoretical and political.

Particular security problems for the LGBTQ community exemplified by the violence faced by gay men and transgender women are not addressed by the dominant heteronormative gender assumptions within the WPS architecture. A 2009 study by Human Rights Watch found targeted violence against men in Iraq who were not viewed to be 'manly' enough or were assumed to be 'gay'.<sup>7</sup> The report notes that how gender is comprehended socially is vital to understanding the homophobic violence. Furthermore, the media portrayal of 'gay' as a 'third sex' threatening the male and female binary is an extension of socialized homophobia. The report notes, 'Fear of 'feminized' men reveals only hatred of women. No one should be killed for their looks or clothing. No one should be assaulted or mutilated for the way they walk or style their hair'.<sup>8</sup> Furthermore, the report reveals ways lesbians continue to be overlooked as a population vulnerable to SGBV stating, 'Despite wide acknowledgement that violence against women is a serious crisis in Iraq, state authorities have ignored it and most NGOs have concentrated on "public", political patterns of attacks on men. Amid this neglect, the question of whether and how violence targets women for non-heterosexual behaviors has been double neglected'.<sup>9</sup> Lesbians as a group of women vulnerable to SGBV remain nearly invisible in today's conversation about conflict-related violence. These are just some examples of the forms of SGBV that could well be addressed by policy directed by the WPS architecture, were it to incorporate a queer lens.

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<sup>6</sup> Sangeeta Budhiraja, Susana T. Fried and Alexandra Teixeira, 'Spelling it out: from alphabet soup to sexual rights and gender justice' in Amy Lind, ed, *Development, sexual rights and global governance*, (London and New York: Routledge, 2010)

<sup>7</sup> Human Rights Watch, "'They Want Us Exterminated": murder, torture, sexual orientation and gender in Iraq,' (Human Rights Watch, New York 2009).

<sup>8</sup> Human Rights Watch "'They want us exterminated": murder, torture, sexual orientation and gender in Iraq,' p. 11.

<sup>9</sup> Human Rights Watch "'They want us exterminated": murder, torture, sexual orientation and gender in Iraq,' pp. 42-43.

It should be noted choice of acronym used in this article encapsulates not only the categories most often utilized to capture sexual and gender minorities, LGBT (lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender), but also includes the q to refer to the radical impact of trans (in the sense of using trans as an umbrella term) and queer identities in terms of non-normative framing. As the editors to the collection *Sexualities in world politics* explain, adding queer to LGBT is a way to, 'highlight the inherent linkage between inclusionary and transgressive approaches towards sexual equality for all.'<sup>10</sup>

### *Citizen security and the LGBTQ population*

Determining who is in need of protection by the state is a charged and political act. Human security, introduced by the 1994 UNDP Human Development Report, is a 'people centered' security.<sup>11</sup> Utilizing a gendered approach to human security allows for a focus on the linkages between the insecurity faced by individuals in conflict-related environments. For example, 'It is not unusual for violence conflict to leave in its wake famine, disease, and even ecological devastation.' Recognizing how the same gender constructions that give rise to SGBV against women also does so for the LGBTQ population is part of building these linkages.<sup>12</sup>

Feminists who influenced the writing of UNSCR 1325 and UNSCR 1820 drew on the human security framework.<sup>13</sup> As Lene Hansen writes, 'For problems or facts to become questions of security, they need therefore to be successfully constructed as such within political discourse'.<sup>14</sup> Feminists look to human security framing as one way to include gender in this discourse of security. Yet Hansen continues, 'Even if one speaks security

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<sup>10</sup> Manuela Lavinas Picq and Markus Thiel 'Introduction: sexualities in world politics', in Manuela Lavinas Picq and Markus Thiel eds, *Sexualities in world politics: how LGBTQ claims shape international relations*, (New York: Routledge, 2015), pp. 5.

<sup>11</sup> United Nations Development Programme. 'New Dimensions of human security', Human Development Report, 1994.

<sup>12</sup> Aili Mari Tripp, 'Toward a gender perspective on human security', in Aili Mari Tripp, Myra Marx Ferree and Christine Ewig eds, *gender, violence and human security*, (New York: NYU, 2013), pp. 15.

<sup>13</sup> Tripp, 'Toward a gender perspective on human security', pp 11.

<sup>14</sup> Lene Hansen, *Security as practice: discourse analysis and the Bosnian war*, pp. 33-24.

in the name of the individual, claiming the rights, threats or concerns of the individual constitutes an engagement in the public and political field; 'individual security' is in this respect always collective and political'.<sup>15</sup> Human security discourse of securitizing the human rights of the individual ultimately requires engaging in a politics of citizen security.

A full picture of those who experience gender insecurity requires an intersectional context specific analysis of individuals that may be most vulnerable to rape and other forms of SGBV. This analysis must account for ethnic, religious, social, and political drivers of violence. Intersectionality is a tool to better understand whose interests are represented when the category 'woman' or 'women and girls' are listed in policy documents. For example, an intersectional awareness of the type of woman who is sitting at the peace table is necessary to understand how race and class matter in addition to gender for an individual's access to a livelihood and peace and security. Relatedly, the issue of who gets to be labeled a woman is one that continues to cause great controversy, especially as trans visibility increases globally. Intersectionality is also fundamental to framing violence against feminized men as facing vulnerabilities similar to women raped during conflict. As a more intersectional approach is used to understand the drivers of sexual violence in conflict, some argue that rather than be a rare occasion, men may number as many as one in three victims of sexual violence. Dubravka Zarkov explains, 'the invisibility of men who endured sexual violence is related to the position of masculinity and the male body within nationalist discourses on ethnicity, nationhood and statehood'.<sup>16</sup> Zarkov's work illustrates it is impossible to separate the way ethnicity, nationalism, sexuality and gender interplay in the context of violence in conflict and all must be present for a complete intersectional analysis that encapsulates the targeted demographic. This intersectional lens helps reveal how SGBV targeting the LGBTQ population is similar to the SGBV already highlighted by the WPS architecture.

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<sup>15</sup> Lene Hansen, *Security as practice: discourse analysis and the Bosnian war*, pp. 36.

<sup>16</sup> Dubravka Zarkov, 'The body of the other man: sexual violence and the construction of masculinity, sexuality and ethnicity in croatian media' in *Victims, Perpetrators or Actors? Gender, Armed conflict, and political violence*, ed. by Caroline Moser and Fiona Clark, (London: Zed Books, 2001) p. 73.

### **Gender limitations in the WPS architecture**

The WPS architecture refers to not only the discourse within the 8 WPS UNSCRs, but also the international NGOs as well as the policy developed to implement the WPS documents. All three of these locations offer different spaces for voices and representation of women concerned with international peace and security. Who is allowed to engage in the WPS architecture is limited by the individuals lived intersection of social, economic and political access. For example, cisprivilege, a term that refers to the privilege enjoyed by individuals who identify with the sex/gender they are assigned at birth, is apparently in the WPS architecture and this is likely due in part to a lack of participation by the LGBTQ in the architecture. Those who invoke cisprivilege assume people fit into the binary categories of male and female and an individual identifies with the sex assigned at birth. Trans activists point to some examples of how cisprivilege may present itself including how cisgender people are not denied access to medical attention, access to bathrooms, prisons or domestic violence shelters based on their bodies and identities.<sup>17</sup>

The words gender and women are often used interchangeably, an especially problematic practice in implementing the WPS resolutions and operationalizing the WPS architecture. The conceptual slippage between woman and gender is a topic feminists have long grappled with as Terrell Carver explains: ‘In many contexts one finds that a reference to gender is a reference to women, as if men, males, and masculinities were all unproblematic in that regard – or perhaps simply nothing to do with gender at all’.<sup>18</sup> Carver continues, ‘Why map gender onto sex as one-to-one, just when the term was helping to make visible the ambiguities of sexuality, orientation, choice, and change that have been undercover for centuries?’<sup>19</sup> As an example, violence against gay men is arguably not relevant to the work of the WPS architecture when considered from the

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<sup>17</sup> Julia R. Johnson, ‘Cisprivilege, intersectionality, and the criminalization of CeCe McDonald: why intercultural communication needs transgender studies’, *Journal of International and Intercultural Communication*, 6:2, 2013, pp. 135-144.

<sup>18</sup> Terrell Carver, *Gender is not a synonym for women*, (London: Lynne Rienner, 1996), pp. 5.

<sup>19</sup> Carver, *Gender is not a synonym for women*, pp. 5.

perspective of sex though this limited view neglects to account for the way norms about masculinity and femininity operate as a part of social norms and practices about gender.

A binary understanding of the gender (exclusive categories of male/female or man/woman) utilized in conflict-related SGBV monitoring work as an example of the repercussions of how a discourse of gender is operationalized. SGBV targeting LGBTQ individuals remains unaccounted for in current conversations about gender and conflict as a result of this binary categorization of gender. SGBV is physical, sexual and psychological violence directed against a person because of their real or perceived sexual orientation or gender identity. This violence occurs on a spectrum that includes street harassment, domestic violence, sexual exploitation, homophobic slurs and rape.

Attention to the masculine and feminine power relations of a gendered hierarchy is also absent from those implementing and developing the WPS architecture. Importantly feminist security scholarship engages security issues in a way that highlights gendered power-relations not generally interrogated in international relations work. An especially important aspect of this understanding of gender power-relations is an awareness of how masculinity operates in a way that may normalize and promote rape of the ‘other’ during conflict.<sup>20</sup> This ‘other’ may be the homosexual as has been observed when conflict-related SGBV targets the LGBTQ population when same-sex relationships are perceived as threatening to traditional heterosexual social norms.

The characterization as either masculine or feminine can be ascribed to not just people, but also in states and institutions. Women’s organizations continue to be characterized as weak and suffer from substantially limited funds when compared with the amount of money devoted to the military-based operations perceived as masculine. Similarly former colonial states continue to carry a masculine identity while those that have been colonized are typically viewed as feminine. Elizabeth Philopose explains, ‘If we consider the colonial configuration of modern Western versions of gender, it is the case that

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<sup>20</sup> Maria Eriksson Baaz and Maria Stern, ‘Why do soldiers rape? Masculinity, violence and sexuality in the armed forces in the Congo (DRC), *International Studies Quarterly* 53 2009 pp. 495-518.



masculinity is a raced, classes and sexualized category, encompassing the attributes of the idea of human as white, Euro-derived, propertied, heterosexual and male. In this sense, to be male and called underdeveloped is to be feminized as an unfit male, terms that signal both the subject and object of the assumptions of deviant sexuality, impotency and pollution'.<sup>21</sup> Without awareness of how masculinity informs gender relations in post-conflict sites, important power dynamics are missed. To this point V. Spike Peterson draws our attention to privilege and gender hierarchy noting that not all men are privileged and that in privileging what is masculinized, what is feminized is in turn devalued.<sup>22</sup>

While passing WPS resolutions at the Security Council was crucial to bring attention to SGBV at the international level, NGOs have historically done much of the work of tracking and monitoring the implementation and overlooked the LGBTQ population in the process. One way the absence of the LGBTQ community is evident is in the WPS architecture and in turn in the work<sup>23</sup> by NGOs monitoring the implementation of SCR 1325 by UN member states. Both the Global Network of Women Peacebuilders (GNWP), and Peacewomen, a project of the organization Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) monitor different aspects of the implementation of SCR 1325.<sup>24</sup> GNWP writes annual reports with the help of local members of civil society in UN member states to report on progress from the grassroots perspective. Peacewomen assesses yearly statements by member states to the Security Council about their progress implementing WPS documents from the perspective of international women's rights NGO. Both GNWP and Peacewomen developed indicators to monitor and assess different aspects of the WPS architecture.<sup>25</sup> Within these indicators there is a lack of

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<sup>21</sup> Elizabeth Philipose, 'Decolonizing the racial grammar of international law' in Chandra Mohanty, Minnie Bruce Talpade, and Robin L. Riley, eds *Feminism and war* (London: ZED Books, 2008), pp. 104-105.

<sup>22</sup> V. Spike Peterson, 'Thinking through intersectionality and war', pp. 13.

<sup>23</sup> Global Network of Women Peacebuilders, 'Women count – security council resolution 1325: civil society monitoring report 2012', <http://www.gnwp.org/resource/women-count-%E2%80%93-security-council-resolution-1325-civil-society-monitoring-report-2012>, accessed 3 July 2015.

<sup>24</sup> The author was an intern for both Peacewomen and GNWP and a consultant for the 2012 GNWP report.

<sup>25</sup> Peacewomen, 'Implementation of SCR 1325: Indicators on Women, Peace and Security' accessed May 22 2014: [http://www.peacewomen.org/security\\_council\\_monitor/indicators](http://www.peacewomen.org/security_council_monitor/indicators), accessed 22 May 2014.

gender analysis for non-heterosexual family structures, as well as a lack of attention to gender diversity beyond the male/female binary in the indicators created to hold states accountable for enforcing the WPS documents. The result of this limited conception of gender is monitoring reports that only monitor the needs of women narrowly understood and captured within a heterosexual family and social structure.

Gender mainstreaming in UN operations is meant to meet some of the same objectives at the core of the WPS documents. Yet, how UN gender specialists understand gender is at the crux of whose experiences are included in the National Action Plans (NAPs) states develop to track and monitor implementation of WPS documents pertaining to SGBV. Appointed gender specialists have a mandate to work for gender equality under UN directed initiatives. Although the name of gender specialist suggests the office should handle issues of gender more broadly, often their work is limited to gaining access to resources for women and promoting the election of women to office. NAPs that limit gender indicators to only women's experiences or to the experiences of those that fall in the category of women and children do not capture the full-spectrum of sexual orientation and gender identity concerns.

#### *Homophobia and other institutional barriers to queer inclusion*

What explains an absence of the LGBTQ population in the WPS UNSCR documents, by NGO's advocating on behalf of the documents and in policy implementing WPS documents? Each of these locations faces different challenges to queer inclusion.

In her introduction to *Development, Sexual Rights and Global Governance*, Amy Lind seeks to address 'notions of gender and sexuality that are inscribed in development institutions, politics, and frameworks, often through a heteronormative and gender

normative lens'.<sup>26</sup> Unfortunately, much of the development work of UN organizations, including women's rights organizations, reproduce gender norms through binary monitoring indicators and ignores the work of queer theorists and advocates. More research utilizing a queer lens is necessary to determine how marginalized trans individuals experience violence in conflict and what protections should be provided in conflict-related environments. Homophobia at local, state and international level may also be the root of the lack of attention of male rape by men by most NGOs addressing SGBV. Many organizations addressing the violence and discrimination women face continue to neglect the additional marginalization faced by lesbians and trans women.

Additional explanations for the neglect of the LGBTQ in the WPS architecture may include political expediency and strategic essentialism. To get global movement to address violence against women as a serious issue it may be a strategic decision to only define women in a what is perceived as less threatening a category of women: cisgender heterosexual women. In terms of addressing SGBV on the NGO level, funding continues to use essentialist categorization to address rape primarily against women, leaving men and LGBTQ victims out of the equation of targeted survivors to aid.

### **A theoretical framework beyond heteronormativity**

The tense border between feminist and queer theory provides a useful context for a gendered analysis of the heteronormativity in the WPS architecture.<sup>27</sup> Protection of LGBTQ individuals from SGBV has not entered the discourse in the WPS architecture in the same way as it has for heterosexual women. Diane Richardson explains: 'This tension

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<sup>26</sup> Amy Lind, *Development, sexual rights and global governance* (London; New York: Routledge, 2010); Ara Wilson, 'NGOs as erotic sites, in Amy Lind ed., *Development, sexual rights and global governance* (London; New York: Routledge 2010) pp. 86-98.

<sup>27</sup> J. Ann Tickner, 'What Is Your Research Program? Some Feminist Answers to International Relations Methodological Questions', *International Studies Quarterly*, 49:1, 2005, pp. 1-21.

within and between feminist and queer theory can be understood as a pull between the disciplinary and enabling effects of gender and sexual categories'.<sup>28</sup>

Queer theory in many ways overlaps with feminist theory and the two face some of the same challenges within the discipline of international relations. To this point, the book *Sexualities in world politics* considers how queer theory and feminist international relations work together to inform how gender operates:

Both perspectives share a commitment to redefining conceptual foundations of IR away from familiar gender-neutral, patriarchal narratives. Both denounce hierarchies based on sexual difference as well as the obscuring of such inequalities by patriarch practices. They both seek to problematize theoretical assumptions founded on hegemonic masculinities. Each contests claims of universal knowledge based largely on the status of privileged men. Each seeks to bring sexual difference as fundamentals to the understanding of global politics.<sup>29</sup>

As Weber points out, the values that a queer theory has brought to other disciplines is largely absent from the international relations community as it continues to be kept at the border of the discipline, rather than integrated in any serious way. Though there are tensions between feminists and queer theorists regarding the boarder of each discipline, an intersection of the two serves to enrich conversations about addressing SGBV in conflict-related environments.

Feminist international relations scholars until very recently treated trans-people as invisible. Trans-theorizing corrects this in important ways that recognize both trans experiences as securitized individuals and the transbody as a challenge to binary thinking about gender. V. Spike Peterson questions this gender binary, either/or thinking and the idea that there is a homogenous woman or man by rejecting 'institutionalization and normalization of heterosexuality and the corollary exclusion of non-heterosexual

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<sup>28</sup> Diane Richardson, 'Bordering theory', in Diane Richardson, Janice mclaughlan and mark e. casey, eds, *intersections between feminist and queer theory*, (England: Palgrave MacMillon,2006), pp. 22.

<sup>29</sup> Manuela Lavinias Picq and Markus Thiel 'Introduction: sexualties in world politics', ` pp. 7.

identities and practices'.<sup>30</sup> Trans-theorists similarly challenge the limitations of strict categories of gender and instead view genders as 'porous and permeable spatial territories'.<sup>31</sup> Untangling the influence of cisprivilege in research practice requires feminist theorists to acknowledge the influence of aforementioned binary categorization of gender. Gender expression is not a zero-sum game but, 'Rather than seeing genders as classes or categories that by definition contain only one kind of thing (which raises unavoidable questions about the masked rules and normativities that constitute qualifications for categorical membership), we understand genders as potentially porous and permeable spatial territories (arguably numbering more than two), each capable of supporting rich and rapidly proliferating ecologies of embodied difference'.<sup>32</sup> Trans-theorizing pushes feminist international relations scholarship beyond the binary categories of male and female to instead consider a spectrum of identities.

A queer theory analysis reveals there is a large spectrum of identities that do not fit neatly into a binary conception of gender. Queer theory, a term coined in the early 1990s, draws from the fields of literary criticism and post-structuralist philosophy, 'to emphasize deviance and unstable sexualities and question established norms, categories, and orders'.<sup>33</sup> For example, a transgender woman in the process of transitioning from a male to female identity might not be captured within the woman category, but is also not accurately placed in the male category. Furthermore, some countries including Nepal<sup>34</sup> and India<sup>35</sup> recognize a third sex that would also be unrecognized by a system of organizing identities limited to the binary categories women and man. Again it must be noted that when reports use the words women and gender interchangeably neglect to

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<sup>30</sup>V. Spike Peterson, 'Sexing political identity/nationalism as heterosexism', *International Feminist Journal of Politics* (1:1, 1999) pp. 39.

<sup>31</sup> Susan Stryker, Paisley Currah, and L.J Moore, 'Introduction: trans-, trans, or transgender?' *WSQ: Women's Studies Quarterly*. 36: 3-4 2008, pp. 12.

<sup>32</sup> Susan Stryker, Paisley Currah, and L.J Moore, 'Introduction: trans-, trans, or transgender?', pp. 12

<sup>33</sup> Sexualities in world politics, pp. 8

<sup>34</sup> Manesh Shrestha, 'Nepal Census recognizes "third gender"', *CNN Online*, 31 May 2011, <http://www.cnn.com/2011/WORLD/asiapcf/05/31/nepal.census.gender/>, accessed 2 July 2015.

<sup>35</sup> Geeta Pandey, 'India court recognizes transgender people are third gender', *BBC Online*, 15 April 2014, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-india-27031180>, accessed 2 July 2015.

consider gender as it is experienced beyond the heteronormative woman, erasing many experiences.

How those who implement the WPS architecture define gender has practical implications policy development. For example, this determines who is included in monitoring work by NGOs. Similarly, the discourse about gender is crucial when states develop National Action Plans to map out ways to incorporate WPS resolutions into peace and security work. There is no universal application of gender by those implementing the WPS architecture. On the one hand, the UN Women website source for concepts and definitions defines gender as:

social attributes and opportunities associated with being male and female and the relationships between women and men and girls and boys, as well as the relations between women and those between men. These attributes, opportunities and relationships are socially constructed and are learned through socialization processes. They are context/time-specific and changeable. Gender determines what is expected, allowed and valued in a woman or a man in a given context.<sup>36</sup>

Importantly this definition recognizes that gender is socially constructed, context/time-specific and changeable. However, this definition of gender falls short of a broader understanding of gender fluidity that also includes LGBTQ identities given that it limits the context to only women and men and male and female. Cissexism appears in the political discourse of gender quite notably around the gender-mainstreaming project. The UN Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) defines gender mainstreaming as:

The process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programmes, in any area and at all levels. It is a strategy for making the concerns and experiences of women as well as of men an integral part of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programmes in all political, economic and societal spheres, so that women and men benefit equally, and inequality is not perpetuated. The ultimate goal of mainstreaming is to achieve gender equality.<sup>37</sup>

Again this definition addresses gender equality, but with an awareness of only two static categories: women and men.

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<sup>36</sup> UN Women. 'Concepts and Definitions', <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/osagi/conceptsanddefinitions.htm>, accessed 22 May 2014.

<sup>37</sup> UN Women, 'Intergovernmental mandates on gender mainstreaming' <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/osagi/intergovernmentalmandates.htm>, accessed on 3 July 2015.

The use of the term gender varies greatly from one WPS document to the next. A discourse analysis of the term gender in the 8 WPS documents informed by queer theory reveals how the term gender operates in the WPS architecture and is then applied in any gender mainstreaming work for international peace and security. Laura Shepherd's discourse analysis of SCR 1325<sup>38</sup> provides a helpful building block to extend the idea of a need for a 'radical reform' of gender perspectives in conflict-related environments to also include the LGBTQ population. In her 2008 book Laura Shepherd reviews the ways gender is invoked throughout SCR 1325 noting, 'Gender is articulated in UNSCR as a 'perspective' (preamble), and also as a prefix to 'sensitive training efforts (Article 7) and 'based violence' (Article 10). Furthermore, there are 'gender considerations' (Article 15) and 'gender dimensions' (Article 16)'.<sup>39</sup> Shepherd importantly argues the reference to a 'gender perspective' in the final sentence of SCR 1325 provides the potential for radical reform.

Considering the now eight WPS documents, what at once seemed like an opportunity to radically reform the way gender is understood in peace and security work seems somewhat of a lost opportunity. Importantly UNSCR 1325 mentions gender 10 times, whereas UNSCR 1820, perhaps the second most referenced of the WPS documents does not mention gender once and instead relies on the categories *women* or *women and girls* to denote the vulnerable populations. Fortunately UNSCR 2106 calling for accountability for perpetrators of sexual violence again mentions gender and for the first time in the WPS documents also calls attention to *men and boys* as possible victims, yet the LGBTQ community still remains absent. This discourse has policy implications that then use these categories to develop indicators and determine which vulnerable populations deserve targeted services and funding.

### *Unique vulnerabilities of the queer population*

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<sup>38</sup> Laura J. Shepherd, *Gender, Violence and Security: Discourse as Practice* (Zed Books: 2008).

<sup>39</sup> Laura J. Shepherd, *Gender, violence and Security: discourse as practice*, pp. 120.

Although WPS literature does not consider how this absence of LGBTQ individuals manifests in the field, Kyle Knight and Jennifer Rumbach highlight the ‘harms of exclusion’ in the data as well as in services denied to this refugee population. LGBTQ refugees are impacted by limited gender categories that ‘can manifest on forms or in official data registers, or in the ways programs or infrastructure are designed and constructed’.<sup>40</sup> For example, female-bodied individuals who are feminine-identified or presenting have been denied emergency aid after the 2004 Indian Ocean tsunami.<sup>41</sup> In conflict-related environments that force migration this becomes especially relevant to those who may be seeking refuge or asylum across borders with government-issued identification that may not represent their identity. Cissexist programmatic work neglects to take these issues into account when developing programs to serve populations in emergencies and conflict-related environments.

Though there is still very limited data about the LGBTQ community in conflict-related situations, data from some humanitarian emergencies does shed light on the topic. Two researchers, Rumbach and Knight, who have looked into how sexual and gender minorities experience discrimination in humanitarian emergencies report, ‘Relief programs targeting women only, for example, have been problematic for transgender people and people who do not live in a home with a female who qualifies as head of household, such as gay men’.<sup>42</sup> As another example of inadequate programmatic work to target sexual and gender minorities, refugees in Kenya in the largest refugee population in the world as of August 2012 were unable to find any focused programs for LGBTI refugees within the refugee camp and instead had to travel to Nairobi for services. The authors highlight the need to feel safe declaring their non-normative family structure to humanitarian aid workers explaining: ‘Same-sex families can also be negatively affected during processes such as refugee resettlement if they do not feel able, or are not offered

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<sup>40</sup>Jennifer Rumbach and Kyle Knight (2014) ‘Sexual and gender minorities in humanitarian emergencies’, L.W. Roeder J. (ed) *Issues of gender and sexual orientation in humanitarian emergencies, humanitarian solutions in 21<sup>st</sup> Century*, pp. 40.

<sup>41</sup> Jennifer Rumbach and Kyle Knight, ‘Sexual and gender minorities in humanitarian emergencies’.

<sup>42</sup> Jennifer Rumbach and Kyle Knight ‘Sexual and gender minorities in humanitarian emergencies’, in L. W. Roder J red, *Issues of gender and sexual orientation in humanitarian emergencies* (Switzerland: Springer, 2014), pp. 41.



the opportunity, to declare their partnership, for instance, because they are asking limiting questions about the opposite sex, or because they believe the staff member handling their case may bar them from receiving any benefits if they disclose a same-sex relationship'.<sup>43</sup> As another example, after Hurricane Katrina in New Orleans, Louisiana same-sex families were denied federal aid and health care by the Red Cross because of the way 'families' are defined by the organization. It is clear that without sensitivity to the needs of LGBTQ individuals as part of humanitarian aid response, this population remains underserved and vulnerable.

Questions about the safety of the LGBTQ community continue to be lost in work intended to be gender inclusive in the international peace and security arena. This lapse is exhibited by the NGOWG, a group of about a dozen NGOs and operates on a consensus basis to bring issues to the Security Council from the civil society point of view with Monthly Action Points. The NGOWG sees the key challenges to the implementation of the WPS agenda as, 'the need for strong, concerted leadership on women, peace and security; the need for systematic approach to women peace and security issues; and the need for concrete monitoring of progress and gaps in implementation'. Consider the following comment by the NGOWG:

Sustainable peace depends on the participation of women in all decision-making to prevent violent conflict and to protect all civilians. The NGO Working Group believes that a broad and positive impact on the lives of all people experiencing conflict will result from full implementation of SCR 1325 and promotion of the Beijing Platform for Action, CEDAW and other supporting instruments. We further believe that implementation of SCR 1325 is a necessary tool for the prevention of armed conflict and to facilitate inclusion of gender in the ongoing peace and security discourse taking place within the UN and internationally.<sup>44</sup>

Here the first sentence of the quote refers to the participation of the category 'women' and then by the third sentence, the language shifts to the 'inclusion of gender'. This shift is crucial to note because the words women and gender are used seemingly

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<sup>43</sup> Rumbach and Knight, 'Sexual and gender minorities in humanitarian emergencies', pp. 41.

<sup>44</sup> NGO Working Group on Women, Peace and Security, 'About Us', <http://www.womenpeacesecurity.org/about/>, accessed on 22 May 2014.

interchangeably. Furthermore, the NGOWG promotes a gender perspective that requires for accounting for the way femininity and masculinity impact peace and security discourse both locally and nationally. It is unclear how gender is a category different from women in the way the two are utilized by the NGOWG.

Importantly, participants in the NGOWG including Amnesty International, Oxfam International and Madre are well placed to bring issues to the Security Council related to the WPS architecture. The NGOWG produces Monthly Action Points (MAP) with analysis of country specific situations and action points to address these gender-related security concerns. None of the MAPs for the year highlight lesbian, trans women or any individuals within the LGBTQ as particularly vulnerable identity within any of the action points for country specific situations as of October 2015, though they do point to the need for SADD.<sup>45</sup> Though it is understandable that the emphasis for a working-group focusing on the participation of women in conflict-related work would emphasize women in their vision, it is fundamental to recognize that all people regardless of gender must take part in the work necessary to strive for gender equality. In other words, to include the vulnerabilities of the LGBTQ community in work to address SGBV requires a macro analysis of social and political dynamics that encompass a non-heteronormative political discourse of gender.

Reports are starting to emerge that confirm the presence of conflict-related violence directed towards individuals of because of their sexual orientation or gender identity. As an example of this, a number of organizations collaborated to produce reports about homophobic and transphobic violence in Iraq. In November of 2014 OutRight Action International (formerly IGLHRC) in conjunction with MADRE and the Organization of Women's Freedom in Iraq (OWFI) released two reports that address the targeted violence against the LGBTQ population in Iraq. The report *We're Here: Iraqi LGBT People's Accounts of Violence and Rights Abuse* includes the stories of three gay men, a lesbian

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<sup>45</sup> NGO working group on women peace and security, 'Advocacy', <http://www.womenpeacesecurity.org/advocacy/>, accessed on 25 Oct, 2015.

and a transgender woman.<sup>46</sup> Mahmud, a transgender woman, shares how her only dream is to have the freedom to choose her gender and sexual orientation. Mahmud shares how in 2011 three men raped her and stole pictures of her dressed in women's clothes. When Mahmud's family discovered the photos, she said they 'started pursuing me with the intent to kill'.<sup>47</sup>

Whether the violence documented by OutRight Action International is representative of the type of violence targeted at the LGBTQ community in other conflict-related environments remains unknown. Several of the WPS resolutions call for better tracking and monitoring of commitments to address rape and sexual violence by the Secretary General.<sup>48</sup> Collecting sex and age disaggregated data (SADD) is one way to begin to understand the public health needs and ways the LGBTQ community experience violence. In the 2011 report *Sex & Age Matter* the authors explain, 'To ensure that vulnerabilities, needs and access to life-saving services are best understood and responded to, it is necessary to collect information based on sex and age'.<sup>49</sup> The report continues, 'Proper citation, analysis and use of sex and age disaggregated data or SADD, allows operational agencies to deliver assistance more effectively than without SADD'.<sup>50</sup> Public health officials have begun to do this in some humanitarian emergencies to understand how these emergencies impact people with different sexual orientation and gender identity.

### *Improving implementation of WPS*

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<sup>46</sup> International Gay and Lesbian Human Rights Commission, 'We're Here: Iraqi LGBT People's Accounts of Violence and Rights Abuse', (International Gay and Lesbian Human Rights Commission 2014).

<sup>47</sup> International Gay and Lesbian Human Rights Commission, 'We're here: Iraqi LGBT people's accounts of violence and rights abuse', pp. 7.

<sup>48</sup> S/RES/1960 pp 3; S/RES/2106 pp 3.

<sup>49</sup> Dyan Mazurana, Prisca Benelli, Huma Gupta and Peter Walker, 'sex and age matter: improving humanitarian response in emergencies,' Feinstein international center, Tufts University, Aug 2011.

<sup>50</sup> Dyan Mazurana, Prisca Benelli, Huma Gupta and Peter Walker, 'sex and age matter: improving humanitarian response in emergencies,' pp. 1.

While UNSCR 1325 pays attention to gender insecurity in conflict-related environments, it also reinforces a limited discourse of gender. This creates narrow categories of who is most vulnerable to violence due to their gender. These limiting categories, meant to secure all women, can ultimately create even more insecure environments for certain women who endure intersecting oppressions because of their sexual orientation and gender identity. For example, lesbians who are raped experience SGBV because of how heteronormative masculinity operates socially and politically. As another example, the identification of *women and girls* as a category of SGBV victims requires further analysis. The category assumes women are the caretakers of children and raising children is a feminine trait. The category also prioritizes motherhood as a vulnerable category. While this motherhood may make women vulnerable in certain ways, other aspects of gender identity are equally if not more important to recognize as targets of violence. For example, a person's gender in addition to their race or class may make them vulnerable to violence much more so than motherhood alone. Additionally this categorization assumes children recognized as most vulnerable to SGBV are only girls, despite growing evidence boys and men also are also targets of SGBV. Furthermore, the equal participation of women urged for a gender perspective but may not necessarily create a post-conflict environment that incorporates the gender-relevant concerns of the LGBTQ community.

The WPS architecture does not address homophobia or transphobia as a form of SGBV. Silence on these issues may be intentional if those who are creating the reports and indicators do not consider tracking homophobia and transphobia relevant to the work of the WPS architecture. One example of this invisibility is evident in the proposed global indicators to monitor UNSCR 1325 and the work NGOs have done for years to hold states accountable for including a gender perspective in peace and security work, especially in post-conflict. An absence of the LGBTQ community is apparent in the indicators proposed by the UN Technical Working Group on Global Indicators for 1325 (TWGGI 1325).<sup>51</sup> The aforementioned UN Women definition of gender is

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<sup>51</sup> United Nations Security Council, 'Women and peace and security report of the Secretary General' 6 April 6 2010, available from: <http://undocs.org/s/2010/173> accessed 3 July 2015.

operationalized in the indicators recommended to the Secretary General in April 2010 for implementation for SCR 1325. These indicators lack any attention to how sexual minorities may also be targets of SGBV. Of the twenty-six indicators currently proposed by the TWGGI 1325, none specifically mention the LGBTQ population. Five of the indicators specifically mention *women and girls* as a category and seven of the indicators reference gender, but with the narrow definition provided by UN Women above. Three examples of these indicators include percentage of peace agreements with specific provisions to improve the security and status of women and girls, extent to which national laws to protect women's and girl's human rights are in line with international standards, and percentage of referred cases of SGBV against women and girls that are reported, investigated, and sentenced.

To capture SGBV targeting individuals based on perceived or actual sexual orientation and gender identity requires analysis to move beyond heterosexual assumptions. The TWGGI 1325 are just one example of the result of operationalizing a limited political discourse of gender where women are the victims, the SGBV of men is minimized and homophobia and transphobic violence are not discussed. Furthermore, the indicators provided by the TWGGI 1325 leave non-heterosexual behaviors neglected. In the March 2015 Report of the Secretary-General on Conflict-related sexual violence acknowledged violence against the LGBTQ community for the first time noting in the section reporting on sexual violence in Iraq states, 'attacks on women and girls as well as lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and intersex individuals have taken place as a form of 'moral cleansing' by armed groups'.<sup>52</sup>

Expanding indicators to be more inclusive of gender non-conforming individuals and capture other forms of SGBV currently undocumented within the WPS monitoring mechanisms is one way to address this shortcoming. A radical reform to the current response to conflict-related SGBV requires moving the analysis beyond one where rape

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<sup>52</sup> United Nations Security Council 'Conflict-related sexual violence', [http://www.securitycouncilreport.org/atf/cf/%7B65BFCF9B-6D27-4E9C-8CD3-CF6E4FF96FF9%7D/s\\_2015\\_203.pdf](http://www.securitycouncilreport.org/atf/cf/%7B65BFCF9B-6D27-4E9C-8CD3-CF6E4FF96FF9%7D/s_2015_203.pdf), accessed on 3 July 2015, pp. 10.

victims are primarily, if not solely, understood to be women who are victims of men. Instead, a more complete response to this violence must also consider the social, political and economic factors that drive perpetrators of SGBV. To this point, data shows rape is not always used as a weapon in all conflicts and that when it is the violence is sometimes targets feminine men or men of a particular ethnicity, an understudied phenomenon. Elizabeth Jean Wood notes that sexual violence may take many different forms depending on the conflict. Wood writes, 'in some conflicts, the pattern of sexual violence is symmetric, with all parties to the war engaging in sexual violence to roughly the same extent; in other conflicts, it is very asymmetric'.<sup>53</sup> Furthermore, Wood used a case study analysis to determine that sexual violence may target women and girls but it may also target men; some acts of sexual violence are committed by individuals and some are of sexual violence are committed by groups. Responding to SGBV requires localized nuance of the state of LGBTQ rights and cultural understanding of sexual orientation and gender identity.

Collecting SADD is necessary to better understand when, where and why SGBV occurs. Moving beyond a heteronormative paradigm of understanding SGBV requires conflict-related response programs to expand on women-focused workshops to also train counselors and health workers to be sensitive to the needs of LGBTQ people, include LGBTQ organizers and community leaders in courses and training, and create safe space for LGBTQ people in the ways Rumbach and Knight discuss in their work in humanitarian emergencies. SADD could help answer targeted questions about how and when lesbians become targets of SGBV, whether LGBTQ victims of SGBV are accessing the WPS programs in post-conflict, and how the WPS architecture can incorporate tools to support those who may become targets for homophobic and transphobic violence. Though one might argue the LGBTQ community is a small population to focus an analysis on in conflict, a lack of data leaves this assumption unverified. Writing about her work queering security studies in Northern Ireland Sandra McEvoy problematizes the irresponsible assumption that the primary referent of research is a heterosexual man.

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<sup>53</sup> Elisabeth Jean Wood, 'Variation in sexual violence during war', *Politics and society*, 34:3, Fall 2006, pp. 308.

McEvoy writes, 'It is irresponsible for several key reasons, but primarily because in actual fact we have no verifiable sense of the number of LGBT-identified people living in any postconflict zone'.<sup>54</sup> It is difficult to capture information relevant to the LGBTQ unless data is disaggregated in a way that also includes an understanding of families and sexualities broader than binary heteronormative categories. As reported to the Human Rights Council:

Quantifying homophobic and transphobic violence is complicated by the fact that few states have systems in place for monitoring, recording, and reporting these incidents. Even where systems exist, incidents may go unreported or are misreported because victims distrust the police, are afraid of reprisals or threats to privacy, are reluctant to identify themselves as LGBT or because those responsible for registering the incidents fail to recognize motives of perpetrators' <sup>55</sup>

Screening tools where health officials confidentially ask survivors of SGBV if they believe the violence was driven by homophobia or transphobia as well as how they self-identity in terms of sexual orientation and gender identity could go along way towards gathering information about this demographic. Some public health officials have begun to tackle this issue in other contexts with improved data-collection practices including the Trans-health Information Project based in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.<sup>56</sup> To be inclusive monitoring to implement WPS documents in conflict-related environments must consider local gender norms, including those of the LGBTQ community.

#### *Transnational focus on homophobic and transphobic violence*

LGBTQ rights as human rights are now on the global agenda. In 2011 the UN released the first report to address homophobia and transphobia, *17/19 Human rights, sexual orientation and gender identity from the human rights council*. Within the report, discriminatory laws criminalizing homosexuality and imposing arbitrary arrest and detention, or in some cases the death penalty, for LGBTQ individuals were identified as

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<sup>54</sup> Sandra McEvoy, 'Queering security studies in Northern Ireland: problem, practice, and practitioner' in Manuela Lavinas Picq and Markus Thiel, ed., *Sexualities in world politics: how LGBTQ claims shape International Relations*, p. 148.

<sup>55</sup> A/HRC/19/41, para 23.

<sup>56</sup> T. Benjamin Singer, 'The profusion of things: the "transgender matrix" and demographic imaginaries in US public health', *TSQ: Transgender studies quarterly*, 2:1, 2015, pp. 58-76.

in violation of international standards and obligations by the UN report under international human rights law. The report outlines a disturbing reality for LGBTQ individuals, including that in 76 countries it remains illegal to engage in same-sex behavior and in five of those, the penalty is death. In 2013 the UN launched the *Free and Equal* campaign, the first campaign directly working to support the rights of LGBT rights, and to work against homophobia and transphobia. This campaign comes two years after the UN released their first report on gay rights as human rights, 'Discriminatory laws and practices and acts of violence against individuals based on their sexual orientation and gender identity,' as a response to a request by the UN Human Rights Council.

The role of transnational advocacy organizations in the discourse of gender as exemplified by the UN *Free and Equal* campaign unveiled in 2013 to highlight the LGBT community globally will also be engaged.<sup>57</sup> The issues raised by the UN in this campaign along with emerging data about targeted violence against the LGBTQ population as documented by NGOs such as the OutRight Action International speak to the concerns of the LGBTQ community and how these concerns may intersect with the work of the WPS architecture to address SGBV. Data from complex humanitarian emergencies also offer insights into the ways in which sexual orientation and gender identity impacts who is able to access basic needs and services in spaces similar to those faced by many in post-conflict environments with WPS programs operate, so will also be considered.

In the wake of the *Free and Equal* campaign there is the opportunity for the mainstreaming of a more expansive understanding of sexual orientation and gender identity from the UN and NGOs working to implement the WPS architecture. The Yogyakarta Principles, a number of principles developed in 2006 based on international human rights law as it applies sexual orientation and gender identity, provide a framework for incorporating rights for sexual minorities. The document is a set of 29

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<sup>57</sup> Free & Equal, <https://www.unfe.org/>, accessed 16 May 2015.



principles on the application of international human rights law in relation to sexual orientation and gender identity, are informative of how to more radically incorporate gender identity in the WPS framework. The introduction to the document explains the principles, 'address a broad range of human rights standards and their application to issues of sexual orientation and gender identity. The Principles affirm the primary obligation of States to implement human rights'.<sup>58</sup> Some of the principles included within the document are the right to seek asylum, the right to found a family and the right to security of the person. It is also important to note that the definition of gender identity used in the document is 'each persons deeply felt internal and individual experience of gender, which may or may not correspond with the sex assigned at birth, including the personal sense of the body (which may involve, if freely chosen, modification of bodily appearance or function by medical, surgical or other means) and other expressions of gender, including dress, speech and mannerisms'.<sup>59</sup> These principles highlight the need to move the conversation about gender beyond women to more critical analysis and bridge these concerns the LGBTQ community to current gender-related work by international women's rights organizations.

Transnational advocacy networks are working to harness international human rights norms advocacy to secure domestic rights for LGBTQI (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer and intersex) individuals around the globe. OutRight Action International founded in the United States in 1990, defines itself as, 'a leading international organization dedicated to human rights advocacy on behalf of people who experience discrimination or abuse on the basis of their actual or perceived sexual orientation, gender identity or expression' and has been at the forefront of these efforts.<sup>60</sup> Some countries violently discriminate against the LGBTQ population to such a dangerous degree that LGBTQ individuals seek safety through asylum status outside of

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<sup>58</sup> Sonia Onufer Correa and Vitat Muntarbhon, 'Yogyakarta Principles', [http://www.yogyakartaprinciples.org/principles\\_en.pdf](http://www.yogyakartaprinciples.org/principles_en.pdf), accessed 5 June 2014, pp. 7.

<sup>59</sup> Sonia Onufer Correa and Vitat Muntarbhon, 'Yogyakarta Principles', pp. 6.

<sup>60</sup> International Gay and Lesbian Human Rights Commission, 'Our issues', <http://iglhrc.org/content/our-issues>, accessed 3 July 2015.

their home country. OutRight Action International and Heartland Alliance have been working on these asylum cases since the 1990s.

Transnational work to promote 'gay rights as human rights' is not without criticism. Inclusion of the lived experiences of the LGBTQ community opens up a space for conversation about the reality of securitizing policies. Human security efforts are criticized for seeking solutions to protecting human rights through securitizing, or militarizing, forces. The same criticism about how effective is well placed when considering securitizing the lives of queer people. How effective could homophobic and patriarchal heads of state be in operationalizing any type of policy to protect LGBTQ citizens when in fact the state may be guilty of perpetuating this very paradigm? Queer theorist Jasbir Puar uses the term homonationalism, or 'gay racism', to explain some of the repercussions for the LGBTQ community as sexual rights are taken up as part of the larger human rights framework, particularly the danger of looking to a state that has largely been a form of discrimination as a form of protection against homophobia. Puar uses the example of the way the United States tied the 2009 Mathew Shephard James Byrd Hate Crimes Prevention Act to fund militaristic aims in Iraq and Afghanistan.<sup>61</sup> Similarly, it is alarming the degree to which UN Peacekeepers have been implicated in SGBV with near impunity.<sup>62</sup> Homonationalism is also used to describe the post-colonial neoliberal rhetoric by organizations in some Western countries to 'save' LGBTQ individuals in developing countries. While Uganda and Russia are two countries that garner much media attention for legislation banning homosexuality outright, violence against the LGBTQ occurs to staggering degrees in Western countries as well. For

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<sup>61</sup>Jasbir K. Puar, 'Homonationalism as assemblage: viral travels, affective sexualities', *Jindal Global Law Review*, 4:2, 2013, pp. 23-43.

<sup>62</sup> Joanne Mariner, 'UN peacekeepers who rape and abuse are criminals – so treat them as such', *Guardian Online*, 20 August, 2015, <http://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2015/aug/20/un-peacekeepers-rape-sexual-abuse-criminals-car-ban-ki-moon>, accessed 24 Oct, 2015.

example, a story in *Advocate* in late October reported 21 transgender women of color murdered in the United States in 2015 alone, marking a national epidemic.<sup>63</sup>

### **Conclusion: Queering WPS**

The WPS architecture is a powerful vehicle for improving peace and security work with a gender perspective, through heteronormative and cissexist assumptions about gender can have an exclusionary impact. Furthermore, applying a queer lens to the WPS architecture does more than bring attention to the LGBTQ community. Applying a queer analysis to the WPS architecture also highlights ways in which masculine and feminine assumptions influence operations at the Security Council, and requires an intersectional understanding of how class, race, sex and gender operate in conjunction to make individuals vulnerable to SGBV.

In terms of policy changes to address violence against the LGBTQ population, rather than an additional resolution to address the LGBTQ population in conflict, a more direct way to begin to include concerns related to sexual orientation and gender identity begins with the discourse of gender. Furthermore, gender mainstreaming is not a project limited to reaching quotas for women in office, but instead is about power in the form of political gender relations and socialized normative assumptions about masculinity and femininity. Transnational NGOs such as Peacewomen and GNWP monitoring the WPS architecture should be wary of cissexism and assumptions of heteronormativity in their crucial monitoring work of the implementation of the WPS documents. One way to address this may be to invite LGBTQ organizations to the table to help develop new indicators that address homophobic and transphobic violence to meet the security needs of the entire community, including men, women and the LGBTQ community. The NGO Working Group and UN Action Against Sexual Violence in Conflict are aboth well placed to begin to monitor this violence, and call on states to address the full-spectrum of sexual

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<sup>63</sup> Mitch Kellaway and Sunnive Brydum, 'These are the U.S. trans women killed in 2015', *Advocate online*, 21 Oct. 2015, <http://www.advocate.com/transgender/2015/07/27/these-are-trans-women-killed-so-far-us-2015>, accessed on 25 Oct. 2015.

orientation and gender identity related violence as part of the larger response to conflict-related SGBV.

Feminists and queer theorists alike raise questions about the securitizing impacts of the human security framing. The LGBTQ population is at the crux of this citizen security dilemma. As illustrated in this article, people pushed to the margins because of their sexual orientation and gender identity often experience vulnerability to SGBV in similar ways to women in conflict-related environments, often from multiple intersecting inequalities. The Security Council took cues from civil society to begin addressing SGBV against women. A radical gender perspective in peace and security operations that utilize the WPS architecture also requires addressing transphobic and homophobic violence in conflict-related environments.