



## **SCHOOL OF GLOBAL STUDIES**

### **Women or victims?**

**- An analysis of National Action Plans in response to United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security**

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## Abstract:

Conflict affects and engages men and women in different ways. United Nations Security Council's Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security draws attention to the disproportionate impact on women during and after conflict. The resolution, adopted in 2000, calls for equal participation and full involvement. It challenges the traditional notion of gender equality, highlights the unequal and gender-specific impact on women in the context of conflict and recognizes their undervalued role in peace-building and conflict resolution. Resolution 1325 is a key milestone in international human rights and humanitarian law. This year is the fifteenth anniversary of the resolution, but still much needs to be done to implement the resolution in a successful way.

This thesis aims to analyse National Action Plans adopted in response to the implementing of the Security Council Resolution 1325 by the five countries: the Republic of Korea, Iraq, Nigeria, Macedonia and Kyrgyzstan, to examine how an international document linked to peace and security is interpreted and converted into national aims in terms of gender mainstreaming and securitizing women's rights in the context of conflict. The empirical material consists of these five National Action Plans. By conducting a critical discourse analysis the content of the action plans are analysed and assessed in relation to the four core mandates of the resolution, Participation, Protection, Prevention and Peace-building and the theoretical framework based on theories regarding gender and power structures.

National efforts, aims and priorities to achieve gender mainstreaming and the provisions of the resolution are crucial for women's access to rights and agency. The findings of the analysis show five rather different interpretations of the resolution. The rhetoric and restrictive formulations in the plans occasionally tend to boost deep-rooted gender structures and assumptions such as women are victims in need of protection.

Keywords: Human rights, Women's rights, Gender, National Action Plans, SCR 1325, Human Security, Korea, Iraq, Nigeria, Macedonia, Kyrgyzstan.

## List of acronyms:

CEDAW	Convention on the Eliminating of All forms of Discrimination Against Women
CSO	Civil Society Organization
DDR	Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration
DFS	Department of Field Support
DPKO	United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations
ECOSOC	Economic and Social Council
GBV	Gender-Based Violence
GNWP	The Global Network of Women Peacebuilders
NAP	National Action Plan
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NGOWG	NGO Working Group for Women, Peace and Security
OHCHR	Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights
OSAGI	Office of the Special Adviser on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women
ROK	Republic of Korea
SC	Security Council
SCR	Security Council Resolution
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UN	United Nations
UNIFEM	United Nations Development Fund for Women
UPR	Universal Periodic Review
WILPF	Women's International League for Peace and Freedom
WPS	Women, Peace and Security

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# 1. Introduction – Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security

*"Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person"* states the third article of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. All people have the right to security. Security has been on the top of the international agenda for the last years especially concerning women in times of conflict. In terms of livelihood, economic security and civil rights women and men live under dissimilar conditions (Miller, Pourniak and Swaine 2014, p.5). Women and men are also differently violated, have dissimilar needs and roles during and after armed conflict and wars. The patriarchal order is often reinforced in conflict situations where the man becomes the warring offender or guardian while the woman is the passive victim. The suffering of women during armed conflict and its aftermath is well documented. Women suffer severe victimization in their everyday life such as loss of family members, income and property. Men are overwhelmingly the perpetrators (Moser et. al. 2001, p.8, Reilly 2007, p.165). Women are usually the most disadvantaged, insecure and marginalized (Hoogensen and Vigeland Rottem 2004, p.156). There is also evidence which shows that women bear the major burden of conflicts, as gender-based inequalities such as sexual and physical violence often exacerbate in times of conflict (Gardam and Charlesworth 2000, p.148, True 2009, p.41). One recurring human rights abuse during conflict is sexual violence (Alison 2007, p.75). Women are victims and targets of gender-based violence (GBV) as sexually organized violence is used as a widespread systematic tactic to achieve military and political objectives as well as to demoralize and intimidate local communities. Women's bodies become a battleground, a part of a warfare method (DPKO, DFS 2010, p.33, Jansen 2006, p.134). Women and children also make up the majority of those forced to flee during conflict (Boyd 2014, p.4). Grave violations of the human rights of women arise which include murder, forced marriage, forced pregnancy, forced abortion, systematic rape, trafficking and torture (Beijing Declaration 1995, p.9).

There has been a lack of recognition of women's active role during and after conflict. Women often become marginalized when threats to their security and their full participation are neglected. Sustainable security is not achievable without the involvement of women (Neville 2011, p.2). Sustainable peace likewise contains understanding of different gender perspectives during and after conflict. A sustainable post conflict society requires both women and men (Lindestam 2014, p.37). Equal protection and gender justice are essential elements for sustainable peace building (UN Women 2012a, p.12). Women tend to obtain a

marginalized role in the social and political sphere of conflict-affected countries. Less than eight per cent of peace negotiators are women, few are allowed to participate in peace negotiations, and even fewer are allowed to sign the peace agreement. Numbers that effects political choices and structures in rebuilding communities, where few women hold political positions and even fewer vote in political elections (UN Women undated, p.2ff).

Women's rights are a matter of international security. Due to strenuous lobbying of civil society and women's organizations resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security (hereafter SCR 1325), was adopted unanimously in October 2000 by the United Nations Security Council under the presidency of Namibia. SCR 1325 calls on UN member states to incorporate a gender perspective in all aspects of peace work. It mandates all member states and actors of conflict to protect women's rights and to take their specific needs into account (DPKO, DFS 2010, p.11). The resolution seeks to involve and give more influence to women in the entire peace process, getting women to become active participants rather than passive victims. Women's peace initiatives should therefore be supported and women should participate in the whole mechanism around the peace agreement. SCR 1325 is putting pressure on member states to increase the representation of women in all policymaking at all levels of decision making to prevent and resolve conflicts. SCR 1325 stresses all actors in every stage of conflict, peacekeeping and post conflict reconstruction to protect and respect women's human rights. SCR 1325 is based on binding international law and has the responsibility of all member states to implement and deploy it (Hudson 2009, p. 62).

### **1.1. SCR 1325 - a tokenistic or transformative framework?**

In practice SCR 1325 is often referred to and considered as an independent framework without clear recognition or linkage to other existing conventions. SCR 1325 does not in itself provide any well-defined concepts or indicators of how gender-mainstreaming processes operates in a conflict context or how to achieve it. Neither does the resolution include any benchmarks or targets (Barrow 2010, p.229f). The understanding of the resolution vary, to some SCR 1325 is just guidelines for mainstreaming gender in a post-conflict context, a symbolic document (Puechguirbal 2010a, p.161). To some it is an important advocacy tool for securitization of women's rights, to some a new threshold of action (Hudson 2009, p.55, 58). To others the SCR 1325 paved a way for new measures and

programs since it constructs a link between gender and political conflict (Pratt & Richter-Devroe 2011, p.490).

Even though the resolution was unanimously adopted the implementation cannot be enforced and member states cannot be penalized since the resolution comes under Chapter VI of the UN Charter (Anderlini 2007, p.196). Resolutions under Chapter VI are placed into a legal limbo and there is no penalty for noncompliance (Anderlini 2010, p.20). SCR 1325 is relegated to the realm of soft law rather than hard law. There is no component in SCR 1325 that compels states to act (Swaine 2009, p.410). In addition since SCR 1325 is not a treaty there is no mechanism for ratification, compliance or verification. States cannot be compelled to implement the provisions of the resolution (Willett 2010, p.142). Neither is there an accountability mechanism to track how the SCR 1325 is implemented on the ground (Puechguirbal 2010b, p.181). Nor are there time-bound targets for achievements, no special representatives to monitor or a watch list over countries failing to meet the objectives of SCR 1325 (Steinberg 2011, p.118). Even though there are no legal obligations to uphold the Security Council resolution, the documents are still legally binding to member states (Hudson 2009, p.62). States have the primary responsibility to implement the provisions of the resolution (UN Women 2010, p.4).

## **1.2. National Action Plans**

The action plans were first requested in 2004 from the Security Council to raise awareness and to clarify the provisions of the resolution after advocacy from the civil society (Anderlini 2007, p. 192,199). National Action Plans (NAPs) is one among many ways to implement the resolutions on the national context. The key provisions of SCR 1325 can also be mainstreamed into foreign policies, national security or integrated into other priority plans (UN Women 2012a, p.4). At the same time NAPs are recognized as a key strategy to ensure achievements in the field of women, peace and security, a provision of evaluation and monitoring of policy goals (UNSC 2010b, p.4).

The NAP is a document that outlines a policy of actions that a state plans to take in order to fulfil the provisions of SCR 1325 and reach goals relating to national or global matters. A NAP contains strategies, priority areas and indicators (Miller, Pourniak and Swaine 2014, p.10). A NAP also serves to outline responsibility and relevant actors (Swaine 2009, p.413).



The Security Council urged Member States and other stakeholders to develop action plans with clear guidelines, strategies, achievable targets and timeframes for the national government. Still few of the 193 UN member states have adopted a plan of action. In January 2015, 48 states had set up a national action plan on SCR 1325 (Peacewomen 2015). There is no standard template, or any systematic method to assist government for the development of a NAP promoted by the UN. Instead different UN entities such as UN Women support governments in this task. Consequently, the current NAPs differ widely in terms of methods, content and structure. The fact that NAPs are not legislated makes the document unsecure and sometimes ineffective. The NAPs are thereby just policy documents, which can easily be ignored under governmental changes or new leaderships and fail to raise awareness of the issues and challenges facing women (Anderlini 2010, p.31).

### **1.3. Research problem**

SCR 1325 is a worldwide-recognized legal framework for promoting gender equality and addressing issues affecting women at local, regional and international levels of conflict (Dharmapuri 2013, p.124). SCR 1325 and supporting NAPs are a call for UN member states and impose no specific obligations, reporting requirements or legal obligations. Even though it has been fifteen years since the passing of the resolution there is a lack of measurement whether the implementation is progressing (Swaine 2009, p.409). There is also a knowledge gap between how member states are supporting SCR 1325 through adopting or not adopting a NAP. The NAPs are not given much attention, there is fierce criticism that they fail to clarify responsibilities for the implementation process, and many also question the availability of the NAP. In addition, there is very little research presented over the effectiveness and efficiency of SCR 1325 and NAPs. There is also insufficient research done of the differential impact and long-term consequences of conflict on men and women (Puechguirbal 2010a, p.163). Most of the scholarly work on conflict does not include either women or gender. When it does, women are often framed in a limited role, like victims or helpless civilians. Gender is often reduced to women and femininity, associated with need or lack, which implies that men do not matter to gender issues (Sjoberg 2014, p.3, Shepherd 2011, p.515). There is an increasing use of the term gender as a synonym to women (Swaine 2009, p.421). Women are primarily identified through gender, men are not (Lee-Koo 2013, p.45). Much of the statistics are thereby gender blind and do not shed any light on the different living conditions of women and men (Söderberg Jacobsson 2009, p.10).

#### **1.4. Objective and research questions**

The aim of this thesis is to analyse the National Action Plans in response to the implementing of SCR 1325 and examine how an international document linked to peace and security is interpreted and converted into national aims in terms of gender mainstreaming and securitizing women's rights in the context of conflict. This thesis also addresses the criticism and scepticism that SCR 1325 would be too wide, vaguely worded, rhetorical and not practically applicable. The objective will be answered through the two following research questions:

- In what way are women and gender mainstreaming defined and outlined in the NAPs?
- How do the NAPs contribute to implement SCR 1325 and ensure the rights of women before, during and after conflict?

#### **1.5. Delimitations of the study**

I have chosen to analyse the five latest available NAPs launched during 2013-2014 of the Republic of Korea, Iraq, Nigeria, Macedonia and Kyrgyzstan. The Gambian NAP from June 2014 was still not accessible in May 2015. The NAPs are selected because they are recently launched and thereby have the greatest potential to include the latest research, reports and supplementary resolutions. The NAPs are developed in different contexts, continents and conflict situations. The only component that connects the NAPs is the time period and the link to SCR 1325. This study will thereby only cover NAPs, and other document such as Universal Periodic Reviews (UPRs) and CEDAW reports from those five chosen countries. This study is also limited to SCR 1325 even though there are six more recent, subsequent, complementing and inter-related resolutions adopted by the Security Council on the Women, Peace and Security (WPS) agenda. I will focus on the rhetoric of the NAPs and the references made to women and gender to analyse whether the language recognises women's rights. I do not intend to measure the effectiveness of the resolution, the NAPs, nor how the documents are working on the ground or the relation between policy level and practice. There will be no wider focus on the efforts and activities organized by civil society or the UN. The analysis is centred to the four core mandates of the resolution, Participation, Protection, Prevention and Peacebuilding and the theoretical framework based on theories regarding gender and power structures. The literature and research is also limited and consists of peer reviewed articles and books all dated to the years after the upcoming of SCR 1325.

## **1.6. Outlines of the thesis**

This thesis is divided into nine chapters. A section about the methodological considerations concerning analysis, data collection, source criticism and ethics follows this introduction chapter. The methodology chapter also contains an explanation of the theoretical and analytical framework. The third chapter is about the theoretical framework based on theories regarding gender and power structures. The fourth chapter describes the previous research made, focusing on women's rights, notions of human rights and human security discourse, masculine language in the UN-documents and obstacles and opportunities for SCR 1325. Chapter five provides a background of the research countries in terms of human rights and conflict context. Then the five NAPs are presented and analysed in the sixth and the seventh chapter. The last two chapters provide concluding remarks and recommendations.

## 2. Methodological considerations

To achieve the purpose of my research I have carried out a critical discourse analysis of the content of five documents. The five NAPs were all adopted during 2013-2014 as a response to implement SCR 1325. According to Eliasson it is easier to understand texts if the temporal, social and cultural distance is short. A long distance could affect the interpretation needs and create barriers to better understanding (Eliasson et al 2014, p.222ff). The five action plans are all produced during the same period, but they are derived from different continents with different conditions. The NAPs are analysed through a qualitative discourse analysis, since they emphasize words rather than data. Some feminists argue that quantitative research is incompatible with feminism, that quantitative research silences the voices of women and transforms them into objects. According to many feminists qualitative research instead raises the voices of women (Bryman 2008, p.374f). Therefore a quantitative content analysis based on the presence of specific concepts or categories is not current. A qualitative text analysis enables another framing of important passages and the text as a whole (Esaiaasson et al 2012, p.210). An argumentation analysis is not either appropriate since the document does not aim to convince. Nor does the analysis focus on the actors of the text, as in ideology analysis (Bergström and Boréus 2013, p.25). Since the form of the NAPs differ a lot the documents are not analysed regarding any specific criteria or indicators, rather in vast way. The NAPs are analysed as a whole including introduction, background and appendices. The content of the documents and the way they refer to women is interpreted and analysed with focus on the usage of words in the documents relative to relevant marks in SCR 1325 as the four pillars: Participation, Protection, Prevention and Peacebuilding. The pillars will be explained more detailed in the analytical framework below.

### 2.1. Data collection

The empirical material in this thesis is mainly based on the five latest launched National Action Plans available at [peacewomen.org](http://peacewomen.org), the website with focus on the Women, Peace and Security agenda created by Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF), the longest-standing women's peace organization. The exact same plans are also available at ministries of the selected countries. The main part of the data collection for the previous research section consists of documents from the UN entities and articles. Most of the used data is peer-reviewed articles and debates about gender, conflict and security from the library catalogue and available databases on the University of Gothenburg, foremost the Gender

Studies Database by Ebsco and the International Bibliography of the Social Sciences by ProQuest. This study is also derived from public documents such as the UPR and CEDAW reports both accessible from the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) website. To fill in the gaps of the country profile and circumstances online-information is collected from *The World-Factbook* from CIA to portray the context of the countries in terms of conflict and challenges.

### **2.1.1. Case selection**

The five NAPs have been chosen only as they represent the latest developed action plans. Another selection, for example based on revised plans, plans from a certain area, plans with common features, a higher amount of plans, the first developed NAPs or plans based on a strategic, targeted or random selection would of course show different findings. Due to time constraints and other boundaries this thesis is limited to NAPs from year 2013 and 2014 with the exception for the non-available Gambian NAP. The five countries are diverse in many ways in terms of conditions and approaches. Different governance, sources of legislation, view on women are discernable, which affects the understanding and implementation of SCR 1325. Nonetheless the aim of this thesis is to analyse the National Action Plans in response to the implementing of SCR 1325 and examine how an international document linked to peace and security is interpreted and converted into national aims in terms of gender mainstreaming and securitizing women's rights in the context of conflict, therefore the variation of countries should not be crucial. All five countries are responsible to set up a plan to implement the same resolution. This thesis only shows a picture of how different the NAPs are framed and formulated.

### **2.2. Critical discourse analysis**

Terms such as women, men and gender are situated constructs of particular discourses (Jutta and Schneiker 2012, p.532). Fairclough understands discourse as use of language viewed as a form of social practice. Conducting a discourse analysis is to examine how texts work within that social practice, like an instrument to expose veiled power structures. According to Fairclough and Foucault the concept of order of discourse refers to a set of discursive practices associated with a certain social domain or institution and the relation and boundaries between them (Fairclough 1995, p.7, 12). A discourse is made up of a series of meanings, which can be articulated and represented (McLeod 2012, p.136), which also

maintain current power structures (Bergström and Boréus 2013, p.374). Discourses are constrained by interdependent networks, also called social order or order of discourse. We experience the social reality and society through these orders (Fairclough 2001, p.24). The creation of identity is taking place through the discourse, which also determines our discretion (Bergström and Boréus 2013, p.380). All notions about agency and the construction of the subject itself emerge in particular discursive contexts, which are both produced by and productive of practices of power (Shepherd 2011, p.514).

Discourses also touch the situations and strategies related to text creation, dissemination and reception. Discourse analysis is not a neutral tool to create meaning. Discourse analysis is a method that can be applied to texts. There is not just one definition or form of discourse analysis. The critical discourse analysis refers to the role of language as a power resource linked to ideology and socio-cultural change (Bryman 2011, p.484). Language does not reproduce but molds reality, and is not neutral. Language is shaped by social contexts, and at the same time shapes social phenomenon such as identities and relations. Language can influence behaviour, attitudes and beliefs (Hudson 2009, p.66). Who we are and how we perceive reality is constituted by language (Bergström and Boréus 2013, p.378f). Language is a part of society, a social process. There is an internal and dialectical relationship between language and society (Fairclough 2001, p.19). Discourse analysis highlights aspects of society that otherwise are taken for granted. The discourse is the hidden structures that govern human behaviour (Esaiasson et al 2012, p.212f).

Critical discourse analysis is an appropriate tool for analysing the NAPs because it reveals and recognizes the interrelation between language and the construction of identities. Critical discourse analysis also contains issues of power, as in this case where gender power structures and the construction of womanhood is vital. A critical discourse analysis questions the taken for granted aspects of society and attention the hidden structures which forms human behaviour (Esaiasson et al. 2012, p.213). The method also seeks to examine the ratio between discourses and social structures (Bergström and Boréus 2013, p.376). This thesis touches the discourse of human rights, security and conflict. Therefore a discourse analysis is a more suitable than other methods of document or text analysis. A critical discourse analysis makes it possible to explore the extent of recognition of women embedded through the rhetoric import in them.

However there are disadvantages with the critical discourse analysis in terms of reliability and validity in the social science field. Qualitative research is in general not as measurable as quantitative research, which also affects the validity. Validity is about measurability, if the research measures and answers what it intends to respond. If the research is reliable depends on if the research can be remade with the same results. When conducting a text analysis the aspect of interpretation is an important question of reliability. If the concepts are used consistently and if the analysis tool is well developed and explained the chance of intersubjectivity is greater and several researchers can achieve similar results (Bergström and Boréus 2013, p.41, 405f).

### **2.3. Source criticism**

There are four source-critical principles to be aware of in searching and treating information. The first criterion is about authenticity, whether the source is counterfeit or not. The second criterion deals with time, and how the source is affected by the period it is produced in. Some sources are more relevant and reliable when they are contemporary, others when decades have passed. The third criterion is dependency, which means how different sources depend, confirm and strengthen each other. The last criterion when treating information is tendency and how sources sometimes tend to be partial and angled in a certain way (Thurén and Strachal 2011, p. 13ff). In this case the main material is the National Action Plans, all produced during 2013-2014 and outlined by various ministries and civil society representatives. The NAPs are formed more as visionary than factual documents, therefore there is not much to counterfeit, rather beautified. Domestic and international human rights law and SCR 1325 in particular support the NAPs, which could strengthen their dependency. Still there is huge space for various interpretations within and between these documents. The documents may also be angled, and of course be partial, but since the documents are drawn up by various actors both from grass root and governmental level available for global inspection, the authenticity should be strong. Eventual inaccuracies will also be shown in prospective audits. The other used sources are primary published during the last decade. They mostly consist of downloaded, peer-reviewed articles from different, well-known journals and quarterlies of the field of human rights and gender studies. The authors refer to the same human rights documents and important historical events. Facts and information are consistent and reappear in several of the sources and therefore indicate dependency and authenticity. I

have not used any websites except some information from the UN agencies and of course Peacewomen.org.

## **2.4. Analytical and theoretical considerations**

Based on the four global indicators *Prevention, Participation, Protection* and *Peacekeeping* the content of the NAPs are examined with the use of a critical discourse analysis. How the four pillars are understood and incorporated are examined by an analysis of actions taken, strategies, formulated objectives, implementation, responsible parties, reporting and monitoring mechanisms in relation to the prevailing discursive practices of gender power structures. The NAPs are examined in relation to the latest UPR and CEDAW report of each country to problematize the human rights situation and how the reality of women is reflected in the NAPs. This thesis also relies on a theoretical framework based on theories regarding gender and power structures since gender is crucial to how people understand and perpetuate conflict. All conflict are coloured by sex and gender dynamics. The theoretical framework will be presented further in the next chapter.

### **2.4.1. The four pillars**

The core mandates of SCR 1325, also known as the four key pillars of the women's peace and security agenda, are; women's *Participation* in peace processes and decision making, *Protection* of women's rights in the context of conflict, conflict *Prevention* through inclusion of women and women's perspectives, and gender-sensitive *Peacebuilding* that addresses women's specific needs in relief and recovery (Anderlini 2010 p.20). The four pillars are commonly used for intervention and actions for the construction of NAPs. The pillars all respond to several of the eighteen operational paragraphs in SCR 1325 (UN Women undated, p.6). The domestic understanding and use of these pillars are essential partly because they define the provisions of SCR 1325 and are crucial for actualizing women's rights during and in the aftermath of conflict. The participation pillar addresses the inclusion of women and their equal participation in all public decision-making processes in a peace and security context, such as prevention, resolution and peace building (Ibid, p.9). The protection pillar measures the progress towards protecting and promoting women's rights. It ensures the safety of women, their physical and mental health during and after conflict by both national and international actors and ensures that their human rights are respected (Ibid, p.15). The prevention pillar is related to conflict prevention, conflict relapse and prevention all forms of



structural and physical violence against women. The fourth pillar addresses peace building and women's specific needs and priorities in relief and recovery in post conflict situations by incorporating their perspectives into early warning systems and developing specific guidelines for equal justice as well as reporting systems for abuses and prosecution of violations of women's rights (Ibid, p.4 (Ibid, p.16).

#### **2.4.2. Universal Periodic Reviews and CEDAW reports**

The UPR reports aim to improve the human rights situations in every member state and represent one of the key elements of the Human Rights Council, which prompts states their responsibility to respect and implement all human rights and freedoms. The reports are a unique universal mechanism to promote and protect human rights as well as to address human rights violations (OHCHR 2015). In addition to implement the Convention on the Eliminating of All forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), states are obliged to submit reports to the Committee, at least every four years. The report should contain adopted legislative, judicial and administrative measures to improve the situation of women to implementing the convention and to achieve gender equality (UNIFEM 2006, p.7, UN Women 2015). The UPR reports of the countries are all reviews from the second cycle published between 2012 and 2014. The latest available state party's CEDAW reports of the countries are published between 2006 and 2013.

#### **2.5. Ethical considerations**

When conducting this type of research there are not too many ethical considerations. I am not conducting any interviews or other research directly linked to individuals. There are no participants, whose integrity or private life could be harmed in this thesis. The NAPs, as well as SCR 1325, are public, online available documents. None of the material is of a sensitive nature, prohibited or unavailable for the public (Bryman 2008, 140ff). In this case what the Swedish Research Council call professional ethics is more relevant such as ethical questions concerning the craft and the researcher's responsibility towards research and the social and cultural context of it. I am aware of my own role and responsibilities in the conducting of truthful research without favour to personal motives (Hermerén 2011, p.13, 16).

### 3. Theoretical framework

In this chapter the theoretical framework are presented. The theoretical framework is based on theories regarding gender and power structures. In the context of conflict the concept of gender roles is vital. Gender both causes and constitutes consequences of conflict (Cockburn 2007, p.6). Gender defines who goes to war, who is victim, who is peaceful and who is not (Hoogensen and Stuvøy 2006, p.212). How gender is maintained and “lived” is also a significant resource for peace (Cockburn 2013, p.433). Gender inequalities are often amplified in times of conflict, since it is a male dominated sphere where women often are disadvantaged in terms of access to resources and human rights (Jansen 2006, p.134). Gendered power dynamics underpin war and conflict. Gender relations and gender issues are part of militarism and perpetuation of conflict. Wartime analysis therefore needs to take the construction and interplay of gender, ethnicity, sexuality and so forth into account (Alison 2007, p.90). The meaning, causes and consequences of war cannot be explained or understood without reference to gender. Gender should be a central element of how we define and think about conflict because conflicts and wars are lived and felt as gendered (Cockburn 2007, p.8, Sjoberg 2013, p.286). A fundamental power relation is erased from reality without gender analysis. Security is also a gendered concept. The security debate is gendered. The concept of human security is gendered. The culture of peacekeeping is highly militarised and patriarchal (Olonisakin et al. 2010, p.6). The concepts used in the theoretical framework are essential in the way we understand conflict, they also connect to the field of human rights, since they all affect the agency and discretion of women, and thereby their access to fundamental and universal rights.

#### 3.1. Theories regarding gender

Gender dynamics are context-bound, as are perceptions of peace and security (UN Women undated, p.14). The interpretation and implementation of SCR 1325 depends upon how gender is discursively constructed and understood (McLeod 2012, p.140). There are a lot of different meanings of gender, the term is in many ways confusing, abstract and problematic. Scholars, policy makers and activists have employed gender in different ways, which has led to a lack of common understanding of the concept (Cohn 2013, p.3). Gender is however not a set of simple ideas about femininity and masculinity. Cohn defines gender as a social structure, which shapes individuals daily life, identities and access to power. Gender is a way of ordering, categorizing and symbolizing different power structures and hierarchies among

different categories of people. With other words, gender is a structural power relation shaped by different institutions (Cohn 2013, p.3f). A socially constructed, learned role subjected to change when affected by factors as class, culture, ethnicity, age and race (WILPF 2012, p.4). Gender pertains the constructions of and the power dynamics within the relationship between male and female (Hoogensen and Vigeland Rottem 2004, p.163). Cockburn understands gender as something produced and reproduced in social processes, a power relation. A process both shaped by and shaping social structures (Cockburn 2007, p.6). Through the practices of individuals, organizations and states gender is being made and remade (Kronsell and Svedberg 2012, p.1). Applying a gender-perspective means to consider different experiences of women, men, girls and boys based on their different roles, needs, status and priorities in the society. A gender-perspective requires attention to existing gendered inequalities and considerations of to reduce them (Dharmapuri 2013, p.132).

### **3.1.1. Gender mainstreaming**

Gender terminology gained credence at the 1995 Beijing Conference. Gender mainstreaming is the second strategy of the UN to achieve gender equality (Mazurana 2005, p.15). The first strategy is gender balance, which refer to the degree of participation among women and men in UN activities. Gender equality is the ultimate goal, gender balance and gender mainstreaming is a strategy to achieve that goal (Detraz 2010, p.76f). The principle aim of the Beijing Platform for Action is to achieve gender equality by implementing gender as a core component within the UN system and beyond (Barrow 2009, p.51). The Economic and Social Council of the United Nations (ECOSOC) issued its definition of gender mainstreaming in 1997:

*"Gender mainstreaming is the process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programmes, in all areas and at all levels. It is a strategy for making women's as well as men's concerns and experiences an integral dimension 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 is to achieve gender equality"* (UN 2015).

Women are constructed in gender mainstreaming processes. Gender mainstreaming raises the question on whose voice is present and whose voice is silent and involves a process of institutionalization. It is about bringing experience, knowledge, perceptions and interests of both women and men to bear and in policy making as well as in decision-making. Gender mainstreaming during times of conflict is about recognizing how men and women are differently affected (Mazurana 2005, p.15). Furthermore, gender mainstreaming is about achieving gender equality by implementing gender as a core component at all the levels within and beyond the UN system (Barrow 2009, p.51). A gender approach allows us to examine differently constructed roles of women and men in culturally determined and changeable situations (Boyd 2014, p.9). Depending on how different actors frame gender mainstreaming, the concept encompasses different meanings in different contexts. There are also different connotations of gender mainstreaming, some view it as a strategy or as a desirable outcome, others as a process (Jutta and Schneiker 2012, p.536). Development practitioners such as peacekeeping experts and politicians who are bound to mainstream gender are not always certain of what the process should entail (Detraz 2012, p. 78). A problem with the approach is that gender, women and victim are often conflated with the assumption that gender only concerns women, which relegated the issue to the very edges of the peace and security discourse (Anderlini 2007, p.202, Detraz 2012, p.84). Gender mainstreaming remains far from complete, institutions lack interest in pursuing it (Kuehnast et al. 2011, p.15). International institutions, such as the UN, often promote gender mainstreaming, but at the same time view gender equality and gender inclusion as a problem-solving tool (True 2010, p.195ff).

Gender mainstreaming is represented in SCR 1325 as raising women's issues during and after conflict. Since the gender-mainstreaming norm is rather vague and elusive Jutta and Schneiker argue that different interpretations are possible at the domestic level. Various actors understand and apply norms, such as the gender-mainstreaming norm in SCR 1325 in dissimilar ways. Different understanding and interpretations of the norm might lead to different adoptions of different versions of the norm. Norms applied based on interpretation may reaffirm the status quo rather than support international policies (Jutta and Schneiker 2012, p.528f). Without appropriately developed frameworks for their implementations the central concepts underpinning SCR 1325 will not be fully understood (Swaine 2009, p.420). To integrate a gender perspective into peacekeeping language barriers are the first difficulty

to overcome. Changes in language are needed that would not victimize women but would consider them as citizens with rights (Puechguirbal 2010a, p.163).

### **3.2. Theories regarding power structures**

Between and within genders relations of dominance and non-dominance exist world over, which determines who define norms and who must follow them (Hoogensen and Stuvøy 2006, p.218f). Essentialized gender roles have been sustained by international law and policy. Women are being portrayed as mothers and caregivers in protective measures such as the Geneva Convention that address the status of women (Barrow 2010, p.222ff). Women are often ascribed as inherently nurturing and peaceable and men as inherently aggressive and territorial in times of conflict (El-Bushra 2007, p.133). Stereotyping language in the UN documents is further discussed in section 4.4 in the following chapter. Two important power-structuring factors are patriarchal order and intersectionality, which are explained below.

#### **3.2.1. Patriarchal order**

The making of gender is always part of a gender power-system, a gender order, the dominant masculinism, the male supremacy, the patriarchy (Kronsell and Svedberg 2012, p.1). Patriarchy normalizes constructed gender dichotomies and practices, which makes gender unessential and irrelevant (Hoogensen and Vigeland Rottem 2004, p.164). The literal meaning of patriarchy is “the rule of father”, but the word has a broader meaning. In patriarchal system men, not only fathers, exercise power and dominate women (Cohn 2013, p.4). The patriarchal gender order evolves over time and varies from society to society. Nevertheless patriarchal gender order is a root cause of conflict (Cockburn 2013, p.438). Research has revealed that gender relations are challenged under conflict when men’s tasks and responsibilities are taken over by women when men go to the front. Patriarchal barriers tend to break down in times of conflict, still peace and security has always been defined according to the masculine norm, which makes women’s needs irrelevant (Puechguirbal 2010b, p.180).

#### **3.2.2. Intersectionality**

There are not only differentials between categories, but also within categories. Gender is inflected through other hierarchal forms of structuring power such as class, ethnicity,

disability, age and sexuality (Cohn 2013, p.5). A person's ascribed identity is partly defined by her position in relation to several dimensions of power, which intersectionality enables us to take account of (Cockburn 2010b p.150). Intersectionality highlights the way dimensions of positions crosscut each other. Any individual is always identified as member of certain groups such as social class or religious belonging. However intersectionality does not apply solely to experience of individuals or groups but also to power systems and structures (Ibid 2007, p.8). It becomes crucial to examine the needs of people as individual not as a homogenous group in a human security framework. Through an intersectional approach individuals have intersecting identities that are in multiple relationships (Moosa et al. 2013, p.457). The fact that SCR 1325 does not contain any articulation of the intersection between other social categories such as nationality, ethnicity, religion or age may cause consequences for women's agency (Pratt and Richter-Devroe 2011, p.494).

## 4. Previous research

This chapter provides a summary of previous studies regarding women's rights, SCR 1325 and responding NAPs. The chapter is divided into five sections. The first section deals with the origin, provisions and benefits of SCR 1325 more detailed. The second section touches the framework of women's rights, which the resolution relies on and the upcoming of the Women, Peace and Security agenda. Furthermore the notions of human rights and human security discourse are presented in section three of the chapter. The fourth section is about the masculine language in the UN documents. Lastly in this chapter operational obstacles and opportunities of SCR 1325 are discussed as well as the weaknesses concerning the NAPs.

### 4.1. Putting women's rights on the security agenda

The overriding objective of SCR 1325 is to mainstream gender in all peacekeeping missions. SCR 1325 made a major impact throughout the world and the situation started to change after its adoption. SCR 1325 acknowledged the contribution of women and reaffirmed their role on the peace and security agenda (Puechguirbal 2010a p.161). The resolution also confirms the important role of women in conflict prevention, conflict resolution and peace building, and stresses the importance of women's equal participation and full involvement in all peace efforts (Res. 1325 2000, p.4).

Resolution 1325 calls on member states to take action and to recognize women's agency as peacemakers and their inclusion in all peace processes. The resolution aims to empower women at all levels of conflict prevention, conflict resolution and peace building (Barrow 2010, p.229). It focuses on the four thematic areas: access to decision-making, peacekeeping operations, GBV and Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration processes (DDR) (Alwis et al. 2013, p.183). SCR 1325 contains eighteen actions concerning women's participation, prevention, protection, relief and recovery during and after conflict that are based on human rights principles. They include equality and empowerment and require women to fully participate on equal terms in peace and security (UN Women, undated, p.5). The Security Council calls upon governments and other actors to take steps towards the implementation of the actions outlined (Miller, Pourniak and Swaine 2014, p.6). SCR 1325 is an attempt for establishing women's equal voices and to increasing the visibility of gender in conflict situations (Anderlini 2010, p.21). It is a tool for securing gender equity in demobilization, disarmament and reintegration efforts (Shepherd 2008, p.383).

SCR 1325 has been hailed as a major milestone in the struggle for gender equality. As a historical landmark it aims to support the transition of women from passive victims to active agents (Barrow 2010, p.223). SCR 1325 highlights the undervalued role of women in conflict, as a tool to reshape gender practices in peacekeeping and peace-making activities (Kronsell and Svedberg 2012, s.3), an intertwining piece in a growing body of international commitments on women's human rights and gender justice. Finally it is an important contribution to expand the concept of transitional justice (Reilly 2009, p.95, 112). Greeted as a major success, activists and scholars celebrated it as groundbreaking. The resolution marks the first time that the UN fully identified women as active agents of peace, security and reconstruction (Willett 2010, p.142). For the first time in history, women around the world require their position and their place in peace and security issues. For the first time, the most powerful multilateral security institution in the world, the Security Council turned its full attention to the subject of women and acknowledged their right to protection and role in maintaining peace and security (Anderlini 2007, p.7). For the first time during the Security Council's fifty-year long history, a resolution specifically focused on women's experiences. Women's rights were no longer separate or secondary concerns of the Council. From being passive, peripheral and vulnerable victims the gender-specific impact on women during conflict situations was globally recognized.

Adopting SCR 1325 marked a change in attitudes (Barrow 2010, p.229). The resolution brought greater visibility to women in masculinized, male dominated spheres (Alwis et al. 2013, p.184). SCR 1325 placed gender equality on the map and redefined the role of women in the context of peace and security (Swaine 2009, p. 405), even though peace talks still exclude women reflecting the gendered power in the conflicts and peace-building efforts. Women participate unequally in peace processes, as post-conflict reconstruction and reconciliation tend to bypass them (Anderlini 2007, p.192, Boyd 2014, p.9, Binder et al. 2008, p.23). Still rebel groups exploit women sexually. Women are being assaulted as reports of rape continue to increase. At the present women remain marginalized, underrepresented in parliaments, absent at the negotiation table and excluded from peacekeeping missions (Norville 2011, p.1). Talented women all around the globe face discrimination in cultural, traditional and juridical practices (Steinberg 2011, p.122). Still states remain silent about the very existence of SCR 1325 (Lindestam 2014, p.37). Women's human rights and concerns



need to be integrated into all peace building mandates (Kuehnast 2011, p.15). Women must be involved in conflict resolution and long-term peace building (UN Women 2012a, p.2).

#### **4.2. The human rights of women**

All women have the right to protection and a right to opinions of the future of their society. SCR 1325 has roots in the adoption of the UN Charter in 1945, which aims to realize equal rights of men and women (Olsson and Gizelis 2013, p.426). There are many conventions, declarations and other human rights documents relevant to women's conditions and rights. Most prominent is the human rights treaty on women CEDAW, which aims to ensure equal rights for women and men. Over ninety percent of the UN member states have adopted CEDAW. The convention is a legally binding source of international law for signatory parties. States are obliged to incorporate the provisions of CEDAW into national law and take the measures needed to advance gender equality and fully realize women's rights (UNIFEM 2006, p.5f). Despite this CEDAW is weakened by numerous state reservations (Freeman 2011, p.147). There is a synergy between CEDAW and SCR 1325. Both are critical tools for moving the gender equality agenda forward in the context of conflict, which together can operationalize the impact of norms for gender equality and enhance their implementation (UNIFEM 2006, p. 4f).

UN human rights bodies began to include gender issues and incorporate women issues in all planning after the Decade of Women in 1975-1985, which included three World Conferences on Women held in Mexico City, Copenhagen and Nairobi (Freeman 2011, p.147). By 1995, at the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the UN, member states gathered in Beijing at the fourth World Conference on Women. At the conference women's experiences of armed conflict was highlighted. The conference resulted in another important milestone, an agenda for women's empowerment, the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action. The declaration states that equality between women and men is a matter of human rights and an important condition for development, which is inextricably linked with peace. To achieve lasting peace women's full participation in decision-making, conflict prevention and resolution is essential. The declaration identifies twelve critical areas of women's daily life which governments, international community, Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) and the private sector are called upon to take strategic actions on. One of twelve critical areas of concern is the effect of conflict on women (Beijing Declaration

1995, p.7, 11). The agenda of “Women and Armed conflict” called for greater understanding of women’s experiences and role during conflict and peace building (Lee-Koo 2013, p.38). The Platform also identified the effects of conflict on women and emphasized the importance of a gender perspective (Pratt & Richter-Devroe 2011, p.491). Before decisions are made a visible and active policy of mainstreaming a gender perspective should be promoted. An action that should be taken by states and intergovernmental institutions is to integrate a gender perspective and aim for gender balance in the resolutions, programs and policies of conflict (Beijing Declaration 1995, p.58). SCR 1325 reaffirms the themes of the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing, which raised the consciousness about women’s role in lasting peace and security (Hudson 2009, p.58).

#### **4.2.1. The Women, Peace and Security agenda**

SCR 1325 does not stand alone, it reinforces global commitment, treaties and conventions on women’s rights such as CEDAW and the Beijing Declaration and Platform for action. As Reilly argues, SCR 1325 is an interlocking piece of a growing international body on women’s rights, gender equality and gender mainstreaming (Reilly 2007, p.167). SCR 1325 is also strengthened by six subsequent SC resolutions (UN Women 2013,p.1). Three of the additional resolutions, 1820 (2008), 1888 (2009), 1960 (2010), address sexual violence as a warfare tactic in armed conflict. Resolution 1889 (2009) calls for indicators to monitor the implementation of SCR 1325 and specifically addresses gender equality and women’s empowerment in a post conflict context. Two years ago SC adopted a fifth additional resolution, 2106 (2013) to strengthen monitoring and prevention of sexual violence during conflict (UNSC 2013a, p.2). In the fall of 2013 another sixth resolution was adopted by the SC on the WPS agenda, which urges women’s full inclusion in peace talks and traditional justice (UNSC 2013b, p.2). Together the resolutions make up the WPS agenda, a coherent international legislative framework. The resolutions aim to improve the status of women and protect their rights during and after conflict (UN Women undated, s.2, 6). The resolutions contributed to new mandated measures for accountability and demands for naming and shaming offending parties (Steinberg 2011, p.116).

#### **4.3. Human rights and human security discourse**

The nature and number of conflict has altered dramatically during the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, which also reformed and expanded the concept and concerns of security from national nation-

state territorial security to focus on human security and the safety of individuals (Boyd 2014 p.1). The expansion of the security concept challenges traditional state-based notions of security centred to the use of the military as an instrument to ensure the core values of the state, territoriality and sovereignty. As most conflicts nowadays are rather internal than interstate and are fought amidst civilians (Reilly 2007, p.157), state sovereignty and nonintervention are no longer seen as absolute principles (Tryggestad 2009, p. 545). The passage of SCR 1325 broke down the gendered binaries and boundaries of international security (Pratt 2013, p.772). Kofi Annan adopted and articulated the concept of human security in his 2005 report *“In Larger Freedom: Toward Security Development and Human Rights for All”*. Security is interconnected with development and human rights, which also reinforce each other. It is not possible to enjoy development without security or security without development, or none of them without respect for human rights (UN General Assembly 2005, p.5f). [Security has remained a masculine domain for long](#). The broadening of the scope and concept of security has contributed to the inclusion of women and gender issues on the security agenda (NAP ROK 2014, p.1). There has been a clear ambition from UN agencies and related NGOs to put women’s rights on the security agenda. [Human security is referring to a condition where basic human needs are satisfied](#) (Cockburn 2013, p.441). Human security is about protecting people whoever they are, wherever they are. It is about addressing people’s rights. It is about freedom from fear and want (Boyd 2014, p.2) Hudson views human security as both a conceptualization, which allows issues like female inclusion in the security discourse, and as a framework for action that changes how the international community’s approaches to security. According to this view, human security is not a pre-existing condition or situation (Hudson 2009, p.54ff). The understanding of security and how it can be achieved is a prerequisite for successful implementation of SCR 1325 (Olonisakin et al. 2010, p.7).

### **3.3.1 The UN security framework**

Hudson analyses the language in the UN security framework. The security language has the potential to be both limiting and exclusionary. According to Hudson the essential assumption of women as mothers and nurturers, which underlines the discursive position of SCR 1325 enables pushing post conflict societies back to oppressive traditional gender roles (Hudson 2009, p.62, 65). Bell and O’Rourke examine how SCR 1325 impacted on the drafting of peace agreements in practice through analysing references to women in the documents. Their

research shows that the references to women made in peace agreements have increased significantly since the adoption of the SCR 1325. Even though they claim that SCR 1325 has been more effective for women outside of peace processes than women within formal peace processes. Focusing on mobilization rather than participation (Bell and O'Rourke 2010, p.954, 969). Peacekeeping operations without a gender perspective tend to reinforce the legitimacy of men as key stakeholders in peace building processes and will at the same time contribute to the invisibility of women. Sometimes, Puechguirbal argues, integrating a gender-perspective in peacekeeping is just a way of repackaging the militaristic approach and making the goals of the mission look more acceptable (Puechguirbal 2010a, p.167f). Besides there are concerns of which women that are presented and represented in peace negotiations, if women are fully utilized at the peace table or just as a symbolic gesture to showcase democracy (Alwis et al. 2013, p.186). According to United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) and Department of Field Support (DFS) women participating in peace talks more often represent civil society with informal status rather than delegates or mediators. It is also mainly elite women from the capitals who manage to be part of the peace process, leaving rural women behind (DPKO, DFS 2010, p.17). Excluding women's view and participation in post conflict reconciliation causes loss of rebuilding opportunities (Norville 2011, p.4).

#### **4.4. Masculine language in the UN system**

Puechguirbal deconstructs the language of UN documents related to peace operations. She argues that a stereotyping, masculine language of UN peacekeeping documents, and the way women are defined in these documents maintain the subordinated position of women, which undermines their agency. Women are often referred to as vulnerable, harmless victims and in association with children. Women are also often defined as caretakers, caregivers and providers in need of protection of male protectors (Puechguirbal 2010b, p.172ff). Women are the helpless individuals who bear the brunt of conflict. Defined as victims women become part of the vulnerable group together with the children, the elderly and the disabled. Barrow shows the same argumentation about women being essentialized. She stresses that the provisions of the UN documents fail to broaden gender-based issues as the language of laws and international documents plays important roles in constructing gender-based-understanding (Barrow 2010, p.227).

The UN language in most of the official human rights documents and instruments portray women in a passive, victimized role, portrayals that restrict women to the private sphere (Kuehnast 2011, p.15). According to Puechguirbal structural obstacles remain within the UN system that still prevent a gender-informed approach on peace and security issues, which hinder women's active participation (Puechguirbal 2010a, p.161). The UN documents also tend to perpetuate the myth that women are more peaceful than men (Kuehnast 2011, p.15). Assumptions such as women are non-aggressive, victims of war and naturally more peaceful need to be rejected, as well as the myth that peace and security issues are the natural preserve of men and that there is a causal link between masculinity and violence (Cohn 2013, p.2, Reilly 2007, p.158). Otherwise traditional gender roles tend to be reinforced rather than challenged (Hudson 2013, p.2).

#### **4.4.1. Power and agency discourse**

So, if previous UN documents tend to treat women as victims, does SCR 1325 with its gender-recognition approach make any difference? A shift has perhaps taken place in the Council's language, nevertheless women still are mainly represented in gendered terms (Pratt & Richter-Devroe 2011, p.490, 494). Puechguirbal argues that the SCR 1325 contains the language of victimization and that peace and security issues still are defined and framed in a hyper-masculine environment that silences women's voices and prevents them from being seen as key stakeholders (Puechguirbal 2010a, p.162).

The language of the SCR 1325 sets the framework of how women are seen and treated during and after conflict, and what they are expected to do. The victimization of women limits their agency, disempowers them and takes away the active agents who are in charge of their own life. Through the rhetoric of the 'protected' versus the 'protectors' the victimization of women is reinforced (Puechguirbal 2010a, p. 162). An extensive strand of the research made on SC resolutions is concerned with the tendency of such documents to advance protective stereotypes that marginalize and essentialize women in times of conflict (Bell and O'Rourke 2010, p.945). Shepherd identifies delimiting gender structures in SCR 1325 synonymous with biological sex and reproduced gender logics of identity, which characterize women as fragile and passive (Shepherd 2011, p.506).

## **4.5. Operationalizing SCR 1325**

The SCR 1325 remained unknown the first years after its adoption in 2000. The funding to support the implementation was limited and the promotion was only done by national and transnational CSOs (Anderlini 2010, p.29). Since the adoption SCR 1325 has gained both major critique as well as praise (Miller, Pourniak and Swaine 2014, p.14). Whether the resolution is a successful tool or not is also debated frequently by many scholars, especially feminist scholars. Some view SCR 1325 as a radical document with potential to make an impact upon the UN system. To others the resolution is problematic in terms of how to operate gender mainstreaming. Overall SCR 1325 faces a lot of criticism for conceptual gaps and the lack of practical guidelines. There is also huge critique of the lack of accountability and the lack of capacity of SCR 1325 (Hudson 2009, s.65). To McLeod the failures of the resolution are also the resolution's strength. To her SCR 1325 is a flexible document that can be interpreted and implemented in different ways by local initiatives (McLeod 2012, p.135, 145). Cockburn views SCR 1325 as an anti-patriarchal measure by the most masculine and authoritative body, the Security Council, as a result of organized pressure from women (Cockburn 2010a, p.112). Barrow claims that SCR 1325 is not radical enough to be used as a transformative gender-mainstreaming tool (Barrow 2009, p.21). Söderberg Jacobson argues that a problem with resolutions is that they easily develop into arrays of words on a policy level rather than instruments for profound change (Söderberg Jacobson 2009, p.9). Tachou-Sipowo argues that non-restrictive declaratory thematic resolutions such as SCR 1325 are nothing more than pale imitations of international conventions (Tachou-Sipowo 2010, p.213). Even the language appears weak in the resolution, more hortatory than directive because of the use of words like urges, requests, encourages and calls (Tryggestad 2009, p.544). Barnes views the language of SCR 1325 as ambiguous and open to a myriad of different interpretations (Barnes 2010, p.19). How the language of SCR 1325 is interpreted and how the concepts of security, gender mainstreaming and peace are understood can cause radical consequences on the ground (Olonisakin et al. 2010, p.8).

### **4.5.1. From victims of conflict to agents of transformation**

Women have the right to demand justice. Women have the right to participate in the promotion of peace, the rebuilding of their society and the prevention and resolution of conflict (UN Women undated, p.3). Post conflict activities should, but do not always empower women. In some post conflict context violations against women reach new levels of

brutality (True 2009, p.41). The end of a conflict may not bring an end to the violence. Conflict-affected societies often lack a strong state. In conflict-affected societies people tend to rely on customary mechanism, which often discriminates women (Kuehnast 2011, p.15). There may be a pressure from post-conflict societies to come back to pre-war order, sometimes with narrowly defined gender roles (Puechguirbal 2010a, p. 165). DDR efforts are essential to rebuild security in the post conflict environment. The DDR programmes thus tend to ignore how, and the fact that, women are associated with fighting forces (UN Women 2012a, p.9). Jutta and Schneiker illustrate how the SCR 1325 has been implemented in rather different ways. In their study they examine how international norms are translated and altered on both the national and domestic level. Their analysis shows that the gender-mainstreaming norm has been implemented in very different ways in different countries. Their research also shows that norms are more likely to be implemented in a proper way when they fit in with the existing domestic policies and institutions. In countries with a higher gender awareness SCR 1325 seems to be implemented to a higher extent (Jutta and Schneiker 2012, p.528f, 550, 554). Puechguirbal defines the masculine norm in peacekeeping as a complex of attitudes and behaviours that favour tough, heterosexual macho bravura, a norm that is affecting the realities of women when, as in many countries, it gets institutionalized. It makes life comfortable for male decision-makers and consolidates the status quo. Because of pre-existing inequalities and gendered power hierarchies' women are made more vulnerable, they are not more vulnerable under conflict per se. The stereotyping of women is used to keep them away from peace negotiations since they did not participate in the conflict (Puechguirbal 2010b, p.174, 177). According to Cockburn SCR 1325 is limited to the effects of conflict rather than the causes. Nothing had been said about men and masculine cultures of violence during the drafting and redrafting of SCR 1325 (Cockburn 2013, p. 444).

#### **4.5.2. Conceptualizing implementation**

Since the passing of SCR 1325 in October 2000 much has changed, there has been measurable progress in all areas of the WPS agenda. Sexual and gender-based violence is recognized as a threat to international peace and security and is set as a priority challenge (UN Women 2012a, p.2). In spite of this, the overall implementation of SCR 1325 remains slow. According to the NGO Working Group for Women, Peace and Security (NGOWG) women, peace and security are still not at the very core of the Council's work or top priorities, more like an add-on (NGOWG 2013, p.15). Still there are conceptual challenges

underscoring the WPS agenda and SCR 1325, which are as relevant as operational and political obstacles. According to Hudson the agenda lacks consistency, concrete data, political will and gender expertise (Hudson 2013, p.1). Olsson and Gizelis echoes the same argumentation that the implementation of SCR 1325 has been inconsistent due to lack of political pressure and resource scarcity (Olsson and Gizelis 2013, p.425).

Anderlini focuses in her study on the normative and conceptual challenges as well as institutional and structural issues of the international human rights system. According to her there is a lack of clarity at the normative level, which has led to ineffective implementation (Anderlini 2007, p.193, 197). Barnes argues that SCR 1325 fails to address inherent issues at the root of gender inequality such as notions of masculinity, militarized power and structural obstacles (Olonisakin et al. 2010, p.225). Adding women without addressing deeper gender issues can be counterproductive (Detraz 2012, p.75). The roots of the problem will not be tackled adequately without raising attention to why and how the patriarchy and other power structuring factors are perpetuated. It requires a systematic change to implement the words of SCR 1325. Women must be included at every stage from the early planning to practice (Anderlini 2007, p.201, 230f). SCR 1325 is not solely able to address the deep-rooted gender inequalities produced and reproduced in political, legal, social, cultural and economic practices, institutions and processes. To assure women's equal and sustainable political participation in decision making and post conflict transformation there needs to be a re-conceptualization of all democratic institutions and processes (Reilly 2009, p.111, 114). The potential of SCR 1325 is enhanced when the resolution is understood as part of a range of international commitments within the universal and indivisible human rights framework (Reilly 2007, p.169). Women's right to participation in decision-making and inclusion in peace processes also needs to be socially and culturally accepted, not just politically mandated (Lee-Koo 2013, p.41). The WPS agenda is still facing challenges of informational, analytical and accountability gaps (WILPF 2012, p.12). The Global Network of Women Peacebuilders, (GNPW), is the first initiative of CSOs to monitor the implementation of the WPS agenda. One of their identified main obstacles is the lack of gender-disaggregated data and the underreporting of widespread sexual and gender-based violence and the link to impunity of such crimes (GNPW 2014, p.3).



### **4.5.3. The NAPs**

To develop a NAP is one, and maybe the most important, way to operationalize SCR 1325, since enforcement on domestic level is vital for the realization of SCR 1325. NAPs are a good tool for governments to articulate their commitments, priorities and to advance accountability, a guiding national policy document tasked with security and gender mainstreaming. Nevertheless it is difficult to get an overview of what has been done and what remains to be done in implementing SCR 1325 in a successful way, since NAPs consist of various elements and responsible actors. Developing a NAP is a useful tool to evaluate and monitor the implementation process, a concrete step towards addressing accountability and measuring whether states fulfil their obligations to implement SCR 1325, as a means of holding states accountable (Lindestam 2014, p.43ff, Swaine 2009, p.413). A NAP also increases the visibility of national efforts as well as awareness and ownership of the implementation (Un Women undated, p.10). Thus the NAPs are sometimes reduced to what a state already is doing on women, peace and security more than focusing on the actions each state needs to take (Swaine 2009, p.423). The NAPs vary between countries in terms of thematic areas covered, approaches, involvement of civil society and international actors, amount of funding as well as the size and scope of the plan (OSAGI 2010, p.23). Miller, Pourniak and Swaine performed a detailed content analysis of 40 NAP in 2014. The presented findings show that a NAP in support of SCR 1325 is neither necessary for promoting gender mainstreaming nor is it sufficient (Miller, Pourniak and Swaine 2014, p.4). Barnes points out that many of the launched NAPs face a number of shortcomings such as effective indicators, lack of allocated resources and monitoring mechanisms (Barnes 2010, p.25). Effective implementation is contingent on adequate monitoring, reporting and reviewing mechanisms (Swaine 2009, p.423). The Secretary General also admits in his report that successful NAPs are depending on funding and commitment, which is a great challenge. Another constraint to effective implementation has been the lack of coherent, coordinated approach and a clear framework with targets (UNSC 2010b, p.4, 30).

## 5. Background of reporting results

In this chapter the five countries are presented focusing on the human rights situation and women in specific in relation to the conflict context of each country. The background is formed by the latest UPR and CEDAW report of the courtiers with some short additions from CIA:s *The World Factbook*.

### 5.1 Republic of Korea

Korea is located in the Northeastern part of the Asian continent. The country gained its independence from Japanese colonial rule in 1945 after years of grave human rights violations by the Japanese Imperial Army, for instance forced military sexual slavery (NAP ROK 2014, p.2). At the same time a democratic-based government was set up in the southern part of the Korean peninsula, the Republic of Korea, and a communistic government was set up in the north, Democratic People's Republic of Korea. After the Korean War in the early fifties the peninsula was split into two countries (CIA 2015a). Resulting from the war Korea is the only remaining divided nation in the world under an armistice agreement (NAP ROK 2014, p.1). The Republic of Korea ratified CEDAW in December 1984 and its optional protocol in 2006. In 2001 the government prohibited indirect discrimination such as discriminatory laws and policies where people are restricted because of gendered roles and societal statuses (CEDAW ROK 2010, p.6). The awareness of gender-sensitive statistics has increased in government offices and organizations. Another part of the gender mainstreaming policy is to build "women-friendly cities" where women can enjoy happiness (Ibid, p.12ff). From January 2012 victims of sexual crimes including rape are eligible protective service. The same year the government launched a plan to promote and protect human rights, which includes the incorporation of a gender perspective into all government policies (UPR ROK 2012, p.12).

### 5.2. Iraq

The republic of Iraq is situated in the southwest of Asia, in the eastern part of the Arab homeland. Iraq is a part of the Islamic world and known as a land of religions and nationalities. Iraq has recently become a democratic, parliamentary republic. From 1979 until 2003 the regime was dictatorial, which led the country into several wars, the eight-year war with Iran, the occupation of Kuwait and the third Gulf war. The ruinous wars resulted in

grave human rights violations, such as forced displacement and the use of chemical weapons. Years of noncompliance to Security Council Resolutions and the ouster of the regime of Saddam Husain caused to the US-led invasion in 2003 (CIA 2015c). After the fall of the dictatorship in 2003 Iraqi women were exposed to many levels of intimidation as events of armed violence and terror occurred. Hundreds of women were targeted directly and killed by extremist groups or religious fanatics. Hundreds of women got subjected to physical or mental abuse. At the same time the phenomenon of female suicide bombers, as well as the number of kidnapping and trafficking of women and girls emerged (CEDAW Iraq 2013, p.5ff). At the same year women were able to engage political and join parties. Even though Iraq ratified CEDAW in June 1986, the Iraqi women still do not enjoy adequate and equal opportunities of access to basic resources and services such as land, income and credit. Unemployment is higher among women than men (Ibid, p.33ff). Sharia is a fundamental source for legislation (UPR Iraq 2014, p.2). Since 2010 considerable progress has been made to protect and promote human rights. Actions has been taken to reduce gender inequalities, gender units have been created, a large number of human rights law has been enacted as well as many human rights institutions has been established (Ibid, p.5ff). In the election in 2010 women's participation reached 25 percent, still women are grossly underrepresented or absent in many of the decision making bodies, legal instances and authorities. Nevertheless there are still many remaining challenges for Iraq, the country is still concerned with fighting corruption. Former dictatorship policies are still an obstacle for the government. The human rights progress is also undermined by assaults on people. Recent and persistent terrorist bombing and a wave of violence posed a threat to security and stability and caused enormous human and material damage. The acts of violence also caused migration, an endless flow of refugees and internal displaced persons. Thus Iraq is the first country in the first country in the Middle East to adopt a NAP to implement SCR 1325 (NAP Iraq 2014, p.5ff).

### **5.3. Nigeria**

Nigeria is situated in West Africa and signifies the most populous country of the continent. Nigeria was granted its independence from the British colonial creation in 1960 after 16 years of military rule. The separation of the British Crown and the formation of the new republic led to a federation of three autonomous regions. The inherited regional structure caused a series of crisis in the early sixties between and within the three ethno-centric regions, which furthermore caused a series of military interventions, coups and a civil war. A new

constitution was adopted in 1999 and a civilian, democratic government was formed. Since the independence thousand of Nigerians have lost their lives in armed conflicts and violence. Even more have become internally displaced. The last decades of conflicts have caused gender-based violence such as assault, rape, involuntary pregnancies, abuses, HIV-infections and other health complications. Many suffer from posttraumatic stress and other psychological consequences of conflict. Others fear being kidnaped, used as a sexual slave or as a domestic servant. Nigeria also faces severe ethnic and religious tensions since the country has more than 450 ethnic groups (CIA 2015b, CEDAW Nigeria 2006, p.14f). Due to inherent cultural attitudes discrimination against women still exist in Nigeria. Deep-rooted patriarchal traditional beliefs and customs still hugely contribute to the perpetuation of gender inequalities in the country. Norms in the pluralistic legal system composed both of received English law, sharia law and customary legislation is in conflict with human rights norms guaranteeing equality between men and women (UPR Nigeria 2013, p.19). Recently gender mainstreaming plans and efforts were emphasized in political, economic and sociocultural spheres. A gender policy is formulated as a tool to achieve gender mainstreaming and as a strategy to reach the Millennium Development Goals, which encompasses the provisions of CEDAW (Ibid, p.12).

#### **5.4. Macedonia**

Macedonia is located in the Southeastern Europe. The country peacefully gained independence from Yugoslavia in 1991. Macedonia has an on-going name dispute with Greece who rejects to use the constitutional name of the country even though more than 130 nations have since 2004 recognized the country as the Republic of Macedonia. Grievances from ethnic Albanians over political and economic inequities caused an insurgency in 2001. The fighting was ended by the international Ohrid Framework Agreement, which established guidelines and new laws over minorities' rights. Macedonia became a EU candidate in 2005, although the country still faces challenges as democratic backsliding and stimulating economic growth and development (CIA 2015d). In 2010 the first law that tackles discrimination issue was adopted in Macedonia. Two years later a new law on equal opportunities for women and men was adopted. Still measures need to be taken to harmonize the national legal framework with international human rights standards, such application of laws against GBV (UPR Macedonia 2013, p.21f) There are still few ministries headed by women. The first time a woman signed as a presidential candidate was during the presidential

election in 2009, though no woman was elected a mayor during that election (CEDAW Macedonia 2011, p.24).

## **5.5. Kyrgyzstan**

Kyrgyzstan is located in central Asia. Most of the country was annexed to Russia in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. In 1916 the Kyrgyz staged a revolt against the Tsarist Empire, which caused the death of a sixth of the Kyrgyz population. From 1963 until the dissolving of USSR in 1991 Kyrgyzstan was a Soviet republic. The decades after the independence signifies by the ouster of President Askar Akaev in 2005, who had run the country for fifteen years. The same year Kurmanabek Bakiev overwhelmingly won the presidential election, who then manipulated the parliament for years. Bakiev was re-elected four years later in 2009, the following year his regime collapsed. The collapse resulted in series of events during 2010 such as the April revolution, which caused injuries to a thousand and the death of nearly 90 persons (UPR 2014, p.12). Almazbek Atambaev took power in 2011, which marks the first peaceful transfer of presidential power in the country. The election also took place in transparency and in the presence of over 800 international observers. Kyrgyzstan still faces a lot of challenges concerning the democratization process, poor interethnic relations and corruption. The country is also confronted with the “Afghan factor” and threats of extremism activities and terrorism (CIA 2015e). Many criminal cases do not go to trial. Victims of GBV tend to not visit law authorities fearing social exclusion. However Kyrgyzstan has ratified numerous human rights instrument during the last five years (UPR 2014, p.3). The principle of equal opportunities and gender equality is incorporated in the Constitution. The Ministry has also established a gender policy department responsible for conducting gender analysis and monitoring of gender policy implementation. The National Strategy for Gender Equality to 2020 prioritizes eradicating gender discrimination. Still measure needs to be taken to improve women’s representation. According to the CEDAW report many efforts to combat violence against women, human trafficking and prostitution mainly remain on paper because lack of funding (CEDAW Kyrgyzstan 2013, p.6, 18).

## 6. Presentation of findings: Women in the National Action Plans

This section presents the findings of the National Action Plans from the Republic of Korea, Iraq, Nigeria, Macedonia and Kyrgyzstan. Firstly there is a brief background of the upcoming of the plan followed by a summary of the content of the plan in terms of strategic areas, objectives, actions, indicators and expected results. Since the disposition of the NAPs differ a lot they are presented in rather different ways. A more detailed analysis and comparison is carried out in chapter seven.

### 6.1 Republic of Korea

The National Action Plan of the Republic of Korea is eleven pages long and is composed of ten objectives and subsequent strategies in the four areas: Prevention, Participation, Protection and Relief and Recovery. Each objective also has a set of concrete actions associated with it. The final plan was launched in 2014, although the drafting started by the government in 2012 after adopting the resolution by the National Assembly calling for systematic and strategic implementation of SCR 1325 in February 2012. The government-wide effort to develop a NAP has been led by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in cooperation with the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family, the Ministry of Justice and several other ministries and agencies. Also representatives from the civil society were part of the drafting (NAP ROK 2014, p.2). There is a matrix in the end of the NAP over the objectives, activities, strategies and implementing ministries. Twice a year inter-agency meetings are held to monitor effective implementation. The NAP does not specify a timeframe over the listed objectives, activities or the time period covered in the document. Though the ROK Government, in consultation with the civil society, is responsible to review the NAP three years after its launch. The four strategic areas, the ten objectives and their provision are presented below (Ibid, p.1ff).

#### 6.1.1. Prevention

The prevention pillar consists of three objectives. The first objective is to “*Raise awareness of all persons related to conflict prevention and the peace process*”, which focuses on education for military personnel, soldiers and public officials on gender perspectives and the prevention of sexual harassment, sexual assault and commercial sexual exploitation. The first objective also touches human rights education and the importance to raise awareness on

women, peace and security issues. Concrete actions tied to the first objective are among others to ensure specific training for all military personnel, employ external education, improve educational content, provide education on SCR 1325, effective reporting of human rights violations and strengthening education on human rights to eliminate violence against women and achieve gender equality. The second objective is to *“Incorporate gender perspectives into the activities and policies on conflict prevention and the peace process”*, which highlights the significance of strengthening gender impact assessment in policy-making and to incorporate gender perspectives into the National Contingency Plan. The third strategy under the second objective is to expand and strengthen gender-responsive budgeting in the areas of national defence and foreign affairs. The actions connected to the second objective is about, for example, to establish implementation plans, conduct gender impact assessment on major policies, and incorporate opinions from CSOs into gender-responsive budgeting processes. The third and last objective of the first pillar is to *“Develop a prevention system through international cooperation”*, which includes strategies of strengthening cooperation with NGOs and international organizations to prevent sexual violence, sexual exploitation and human trafficking. The objective also touches efforts to strengthen UN mechanism and supplement the UN Convention against Transnational Organized Crime. Actions like strengthening cooperation with the international community, support UN mandates, raise public awareness and provide political support for SCR 1325 are tied to the objective (Ibid, p.2, 4ff).

### **6.1.2. Participation**

The second pillar is broken down in three objectives to assure women’s participation. The first objective on the participation pillar, which is the fourth objective of the NAP is to *“Ensure greater participation of women in conflict prevention and the peace process”*, which only comprises of the strategy to increase the number of participating women in international meetings and in the process of conflict prevention. The two actions tied to the fourth objective are to expand female participations and support and educate female experts in negotiation. *“Promote gender equality and equal participation of men and women in the decision-making process on peace and security issues”* is the fifth objective, which is about promoting women’s and civil societal participation in areas of national defence and foreign affairs. Concrete actions regarding the fifth objective is to set annual target quotas of female members in government committees, establish cooperation mechanism with private sector

organizations and strengthen cooperation with the civil society. The sixth objective in the Korean NAP is to “*Advocate women’s greater social participation in fragile and conflict/conflict-affected areas*”, which highlights the need to encourage women’s participation in social structures within conflict areas, as well as to encourage the civil society to take part in Official Development Assistances (ODA) projects promoting gender equality. To increase the number of female participants in Korea International Cooperation Agency (KOICA) programs is also part of the sixth objective. Actions include providing training programs to encourage female participation and give priority to female candidates in programs with a low participation rate of women (Ibid, p.2f, 7f).

### **6.1.3. Protection**

The protection pillar is divided in three objectives. The seventh objective of the Korean NAP is to “*Provide support for victims of sexual violence in conflict*”, through the strategy to provide more support and programs recognizing the victims who were forced into sexual slavery by the Japanese Imperial Army, the so-called “comfort women”. Providing medical treatment and livelihood support to these victims and establish the correct view of history is actions under the seventh objective. The eighth objective is to “*Introduce policies sensitive to women, children and youth*”, which deal with strategies to develop gender-sensitive policies and improve the treatment of female refugees and asylum seekers. Actions for the eighth objective is among others to provide guidelines on sexual crimes in the military court, impose heavier punishment on sexual misconduct, provide social security and vocational training for refugees. The last objective of the protection pillar is to “*Ensure the punishment of sex offenders and protection of victims in fragile and conflict/conflict-affected areas*” and the two strategies to enforce application on national law on inducement and sexual abuse and to implement programs to support victims of sexual violence. The actions concerning the ninth objective is about revising law, toughening guidelines and cooperate with CSOs to protect victims of sexual violence (Ibid, 3, 8ff).

### **6.1.4. Relief and recovery**

The tenth objective of the Korean NAP is to “*Support for self-reliance of female victims in conflict areas through ODA projects*”, which is the only objective under the forth pillar, relief and recovery. The strategies concerning the last objective is about providing education on gender equality and integrating gender perspectives in ODA policies, programs and



projects. Furthermore to shed light on these projects and implement them in conflict-affected areas, also to support gender-sensitive peace-building projects and initiatives by international organizations. The last objective contains a lot of actions to take as providing additional points for assessing and evaluating projects in terms of gender perspectives, analyse project in conflict affected areas to achieve improvement, support international organizations and contribute to peace building efforts of international organizations (Ibid, p.3, 10f).

## **6.2. Iraq**

The National Action Plan for implementing SCR 1325 in Iraq was launched in 2014 for the period 2014-2018. The plan is 29 pages long including funding and a matrix over the pillars. The NAP of Iraq is significant because it reflects the political will of two governments to cooperate with the civil society for the benefit of all women. The implementation of SCR 1325 is an important part of the commitment between the Federal Government of Iraq and Kurdistan Regional Government to promote all efforts towards strengthening the role of women in the society. The NAP is complimentary to already existing efforts of the government such as the two adopted strategies, Anti-violence against Women Strategy and the Advancement of Women Strategy. The development of the NAP was drawn in cooperation between the Ministry of Interior, Ministry of Women's Affairs, Ministry of Defence in Bagdad and Women's High Council in Kurdistan. The Iraq NAP1325 Initiative of women's right organizations and networks also played an important role in the drafting of the plan. The Iraq NAP is organized into six pillars: Participation, Protection and Prevention, Promotion, Social and Economic Empowerment, Legislation and Law Enforcement, Resources and Monitoring and Evaluation. Each pillar has a general objective, strategic objectives and a set of corresponding actions tied to it. Each pillar also contains expected results, indicators, responsible and supportive actors, timeframes and a budget section (NAP Iraq 2014, p.4ff).

### **6.2.1. Participation**

The overall objective of the first pillar is to *“Increase influence of women and women's right approach in negotiation, civil peace and in political decision-making”*. The objective is followed by two strategic objectives to develop mechanisms for and to ensure sustainable, effective and proportional participation of women in both decision-making and all reconciliation committees and peace building negotiations (Ibid, p.15). The strategic

objectives of the participation pillar will be achieved by six actions. The specific actions are among others to review existing security policy to promote women's participation, gender training on SCR 1325, raise public awareness and arrange national meetings of the reconciliation committees on SCR 1325. The expected results for the first pillar is for example: improved legislation, enhanced status of women, gender-sensitive policies and more senior women occupying decision making positions. Indicators to achieve the expected results are for example the number of women and presence of their rights in peace-building structures, number of policies improving women's participation, percentage and position of women in legislative bodies, percentage of elected women in top decision-making positions, position of women in the ministries and security sector and status of women in the reconciliation committees (Ibid, p.19).

### **6.2.2. Protection and Prevention**

The overall objective of the protection and prevention pillar is to *“Improve the living conditions of women and ensure their rights and services and access to them therewith”*. The second objective will be reached through two strategic objectives and ten major actions. The first strategic objective touches the integration of women's rights in the security system to address and reduce GBV and end impunity for perpetrators. The second strategic objective is to protect and provide victims of GBV rehabilitation and societal reintegration (Ibid, p.15f). The major activities to achieve the overall objective of the second pillar is about amendment of rape legislation and penal code, develop gender based statistics, create a NAP monitoring and implementation commission, identifying women affected by conflict, establish safe spaces for psychosocial support and develop training programs on GBV for NGOs and professionals. The expected results for the pillar is among others to strengthen the security system to protect women from GBV, protect women's dignity and personal freedom, improved skills and knowledge of all forms of GBV, monitoring of women's rights legislation, decreased rate of crimes against women and free access to legal advices and services for victims of conflict. The expected result will be measured through indicators such as number of addressed cases on GBV, number of legal provisions in the family law and penal code, formulation of law, number of investigated cases and amount of women receiving legal protection and psychosocial service, improved gender segregated institutional statistics and number of training programs on GBV (Ibid, p.20f).

### **6.2.3. Promotion**

*“Integration of UNSCR1325 on a national level”* is the overall objective of the third pillar. The overall objective is divided into two strategic objectives and six major actions. The strategic objections concern gender integration in all policies and processes related to conflict prevention, conflict resolution and peace-building and to empower women, raise awareness and enhancing their capacities through a rights based approach (Ibid, p.16). The objective of the promotion pillar will be reached through six specific actions such as, introducing gender mainstreaming on governmental level, reviewing governmental policies and programs to include the WPS agenda, advocacy campaigns for gender mainstreaming, addressing gender stereotypes in media and education, reviewing school curricula to include gender perspectives and school training to foster positive attitudes with regard to women’s rights and fundamental freedoms. Indicators of the pillar are for example the number of engendered policies, number of schools that have incorporated UNSCR1325 and number of persons reached out through awareness raising campaigns (Ibid, p.22).

### **6.2.4. Social and Economic Empowerment**

The overall objective of the fourth pillar is *“Women in Iraq have better economic conditions and are more independent”*, which covers the strategic objective to ensure women’s full enjoyment and equal access to resources and opportunities during the transitional period (Ibid, p.16). There are eight specific actions to achieve the overall objective of the forth pillar concerning raising awareness towards local communities, government and international donors, enacting policies for equal opportunities on the social, economic and political field, introducing employment policies, improving governmental support to victims of conflict and human trafficking. The expected results of the fourth pillar is about improved economic status of women, decreased poverty and unemployment rates, better level of security in employment, better working conditions, better access to resources and improved governmental policy for victims of trafficking. Expected results, which will be tackled through indicators such as, percentage of women below poverty line, gender segregated employment statistics, percentage of women entering to market and numbers of programs and rate of employment (Ibid, p.23f).

### **6.2.5. Legislation and Law Enforcement**

For the fifth pillar the overall objective is “*Harmonization national legislation with international standards and mechanisms for women’s rights, including UNSCR1325, annulling articles which violate women’s rights and promulgating/enacting legislation that protects them*”. The two strategic objectives tied to the overall objective are to end impunity for perpetrators and to adopt legislation that respects the basic and universal human rights for all (Ibid, p.16). The fifth pillar contains six strategic actions such as, law enforcement in accordance with international standards, revising of discriminatory legislation, awareness raising on discriminatory laws and training programs for judges on such laws. The expected results on the pillar contain improved functioning of the security system, decreased level of discrimination against women, societal awareness of GBV and gender discrimination. Indicators on the fifth pillar touches the amount of gender equality in the public debate, presence of SCR 1325 in the media, evidence of improved justice, increasing number of complaints of GBV and number of cases on the judiciary level (Ibid, p.25f).

### **6.2.6. Resource mobilization, Monitoring and Evaluation**

The overall objective of the last pillar is “*Implementation of NAP1325 has the support of all actors and I-NAP1325 Initiative supports effectively its monitoring*”. The last pillar is set up with two strategic objectives to allocate funding and to enable result oriented and transparent reporting (Ibid, p.17). The seven strategic actions tied to the sixth pillar handles governmental implementation of NAP, incorporation of NAP in periodic and sectorial plans, budget and programs, mobilizing resources and developing a coordination mechanism. The expected results to achieve the overall objective are effective monitoring, institutionalized evaluation mechanism, accessibility of objective reports and available resources to implement SCR 1325. The expected results will be measured through indicators such as nature of the monitoring process, number of women’s right NGOs involved in the process, improved community awareness of WPS, allocated annual budgeting and numbers of agencies and actors willing to support and participate in the implementation (Ibid, p.26f).

## **6.3. Nigeria**

The Nigerian National Action Plan was launched in 2013, and consists of 45 pages. The NAP is developed by a wide spectrum of actors such as the government, institutions, civil society and other development partners led by the Ministry of Women Affairs and Social

Development (NAP Nigeria 2013, p.11). The NAP does not include any clearly stated timeframe. A matrix of activities, progress indicators, expected outcome and key actors of respectively five pillars Prevention, Participation, Protection, Promotion and Prosecution structure the NAP (Ibid, p.20f).

### **6.3.1. Prevention**

The strategic objective of the first pillar of the Nigerian NAP is to *“Prevent all types of violence against women and girls, enact and strengthen utilisation of existing laws”*. The strategic objective is supported by five objectives concerning the strengthening of women’s role during conflict, promoting the culture of peace, strengthening early warning mechanism and conduct research. The objectives are followed by a set of activities, for example, revising discriminatory laws related to sexual offences, providing relevant training to female peacekeeping personnel, promoting collaboration with CSOs, organize seminars on SCR 1325, mobilizing support and document experiences of women leaders in peace-building. The prevention pillar also contains various progress indicators such as number of advocacy activities, number of training sessions held for peacekeepers on gender, human rights and GBV, number of seminars on SCR 1325 and budgetary allocation to promote early warning and early response training. The expected outcome of the pillar is for example the passing of a law on violence against person, increased understanding of policies and laws on violence against women, improved legal status of women and raised awareness on women’s role in peace building (Ibid, p.23ff).

### **6.3.2. Protection**

*“To protect women and girls from all types of violence including sexual and gender-based violence during and after conflicts”* is the strategic objective of the second pillar. The participation pillar is further divided in five objectives tackling that political measures should strengthen women during conflict, economic empowerment of women, adequate and accessible humanitarian service and effective post conflict relief. The activities tied to the protection pillar is about developing and implementing advocacy activities addressing issues related to GBV, adopting modules for legal education, support provision of legal clinics, ensuring socioeconomic empowerment of women in post conflict reconstruction, developing psychosocial and trauma counselling policies and providing relief materials to women affected by all types of violence. Progressive indicators for the pillar is among other numbers

of institutions, NGOs and schools involved in popularising the law, number of provided legal education workshops, number of women provided with psychosocial counselling, quantity and quality of relief materials, number of rehabilitation centres provided for women in conflict zones and number of survivors of GBV that have received counselling. The expected outcome of the pillar is increased public awareness about discriminatory practices, reduced incidences of GBV in times of conflict, higher amount of women protected by government agencies, increased access to justice for victims of GBV and a higher self-esteem among women (Ibid, p.26ff).

### **6.3.3. Participation**

The strategic objective for the third pillar in the Nigerian NAP is to “*Promote dissemination of NAP and ensure women’s full participation in all activities in conflict prevention, peace-building and post-conflict recovery processes at all levels*”. The strategic objective of the protection pillar followed by four additional objectives touching the need to train women as mediators, special measures should be taken to ensure women’s participation at all levels of peace processes and involvement of men in the dissemination of the NAP. The activities connected to the pillar tackles, capacity building for women in negotiation skills, governmental support for women’s participation in post-conflict meetings, awareness raising among desk officers on the NAP, organizing gender training for legislators and advocacy for increased representation and participation of women at all levels of decision-making. The progress of the participation pillar will be measured through indicators such as number of initiatives to train women in negotiation processes, number of women involved in DDR processes, raised awareness and gender incorporation among stakeholders, percentage of legislation benefited from gender training programmes, measures undertaken to change the attitudes about the NAP, number of women in peacekeeping missions and monitoring of the recruitment process and deployment of peacekeeping personnel. The expected outcome is appreciation of women’s capacity as negotiators, promoted equality through women participating in DDR efforts, incorporating of gender issues in programs, legislators supporting gender issues and recruitment of women as qualified gender advisers in armed forces and peace missions (Ibid, p.29ff).

#### **6.3.4. Promotion**

*“Develop strategies for awareness of the provisions of UNSCR 1325 and NAP, promote advocacy for its ownership and adequate funding to implement and sustain it”* is the strategic objective of the fourth pillar. The following four objectives addresses mass enlightenment programs to increase awareness of the provisions of the WPS agenda, advocacy against traditional practices that inhibit the implementation of SCR 1325, governmental facilitation in the promotion of international and national instrument on women and to create adequate funding for effective implementation of SCR 1325. The activities on the pillar aims to strengthen the capacity of state institutions to undertake publicity of the NAP, communicate culturally sensitive messages to promote the provisions of SCR 1325, initiate community dialogue to support peace building initiatives, advocacy to traditional rulers to minimise cultural patterns that perpetuate gender stereotypes, advocacy on prevention of harmful traditional practices around reproductive health and secure financial support for the implementation of the NAP. The progress indicators on the pillar touches number of educational activities, number of community debates, number of initiatives taken to remove cultural patterns that perpetuate gender stereotypes, sessions held for traditional leaders, existence of functional networks among CSOs and numbers initiated on NAP promotion. The expected outcome of the promotion pillar is about community debates, initiatives undertaken to minimise patterns that perpetuate gender stereotypes and increased budgetary allocation for peace building activities and NAP promotion (Ibid, p.31f).

#### **6.3.5. Prosecution**

*“Strengthen prosecution and ensure quick trial of perpetrators of gender-based violence and end impunity”* is the overall objective of the last pillar in the Nigerian NAP followed by three additional objectives. The objectives addresses establishment of special courts to try violators of women during conflict, initiate collaboration between the police and social workers on prosecution of GBV and initiate the process of transitional justice in Nigeria. The intentional activities of the prosecution pillar is for example developing programmes with focus on GBV for judges, lawyers and police, to recruit qualified gender advisers in the police, strengthening of the justice system at the court level and provide support of inclusive transitional justice mechanisms. The indicators for the pillar will be measured through for instance the number of training programmes provided for judicial staff, percentage of successfully prosecuted cases of GBV, number of qualified gender advisers in the police and

number of cases handled in conformity with SCR 1325. The expected outcome of the last pillar is prosecution of perpetrators of GBV, networking to combat GBV and support of transitional justice mechanism that empower women to demand their rights (Ibid, p.34f).

#### **6.4. Macedonia**

The Macedonian NAP was launched in 2013 and covers the period 2013-2015. The 19 pages long action plan does not contain any pillars like the plans above or an action matrix. The NAP does not either specify who led the drafting process or mention any involved civil society actors. The Macedonian NAP affirms that the multi-layered role of gender and particularly women's role in peace efforts are often simplified or misunderstood. Further the importance and meaning of gender sensitivity during conflict is explained, that numerous factors affects the manifestation of conflict and the role of gender. Gender equality is one of the fundamental values of the republic, which is based on the full recognition of equal opportunities of women and men (NAP Macedonia 2013, p.3ff). Uniquely in the Macedonian NAP is an annex of basic terms and terminology with explanation of concepts such as gender equality, gender sensitivity, empowerment, human security and so forth. Gender equality is defined as respecting and supporting different behaviours, aspirations and needs of women and men, and further that the rights, responsibilities and opportunities should not depend on the sex of the person. The core pillars of SCR 1325 are briefly mentioned in the list of terms. Prevention is described as integrating gender equality in all activities and strategies of conflict prevention. To develop gender-sensitive mechanism, strengthen efforts to prevent GBV and fight against impunity. Participation is defined as the support of female participants in all peace processes and their involvement in all levels of decision-making as well as to network with local and international organizations for women's rights. The meaning of Protection in the Macedonian NAP is to expand efforts to ensure the safety, mental health, economic security and welfare of women and promoting their human rights. Peace building is explained as a long-term process involving activities aimed to reduce violence such as early warning, mediation and developmental cooperation, based on the concept of human security (Ibid, p.16f).

##### **6.4.1. Three primary objectives**

The three primary objectives set out in the NAP is firstly to, *“Strengthen the gender perspective in the formulation and implementation of peace, security and defence policy of*



*the Republic of Macedonia*". The second objective is to "*Strengthen the participation and contribution of women to international, civilian and military missions in which the Republic of Macedonia takes part*". And the last one aims to "*Prevent violence and protect women's rights in the time of peace, conflict and humanitarian disasters*". To achieve the objectives of the NAP expected results are for example greater representation of women in security sector institutions, incorporation of a gender-sensitive approach in the development of a security policy, increased participation of women in politics, identification of priority points in SCR 1325, identification of human and financial capacities to implement SCR 1325, establishment of a strategy in line with international humanitarian law for participation in civilian and military missions and to create a participatory approach in policymaking and implementation of SCR 1325 (Ibid, p.5f).

## **6.5. Kyrgyzstan**

The Kyrgyzstani NAP was launched in 2013. The NAP does not provide an overview of the development process, an overall time frame, indicators or expected results. The NAP is just a four pages matrix divided in objectives, activities, timeframe and responsible parties around the five goals of the NAP, which will be presented below.

### **6.5.1. Institutional protection**

The first goal is "*Elaboration of a system of institutional protection of women's and girls' rights in conflict prevention activities*". The first goal is divided in three objectives to bring laws into compliance with requirements in SC resolutions, develop clinical protocols on medical and psychological aid and improve interaction mechanisms of state authorities and international organizations. The objectives is divided in seven activities addressing the conduct of parliamentary hearings, creation of an inter-agency committee to review laws dealing with security, training of medical personnel and identifying responsibility of the implementation of the NAP (NAP Kyrgyzstan 2013, p.1).

### **6.5.2. The role of women in the security area**

"*Strengthening the role of women in the area of security, defence, public order, and emergency situations, including at the decision-making level*" is the second goal of the Kyrgyzstani NAP with the two objectives to strengthen the role and participation of women in the security area and to increase the number of female peacekeepers. The objectives are

followed by the four activities tackling gender reviews, educational workshops for female employees, conduct of informal campaigns to raise awareness about the possibilities for women and develop a database about female peacekeepers (Ibid, p.2).

### **6.5.3. Zero-tolerance**

The third goal is “*Development of zero-tolerance toward violence against women and girls in conflict situations*”. The goal consists of the sole objective to decrease the impact of conflict through informational and educational activities. There are three activities tied to the third goal about conducting a WPS campaign and raise awareness about the resolution and conducting a media campaign, educational seminars and law enforcement towards zero-tolerance on violence against women in the context of conflict (Ibid, p.2).

### **6.5.4. Secure environment**

“*Creation and support of secure environment for women and girls*” is the fourth goal with three objectives tackling intensifying activities and ensuring a safe environment, disseminate information and educate the public and mainstreaming a gender approach. There are six activities tied to the goal handling the creation of a shelter for victims of violence, rehabilitation for victims of violence and gender review of existing standards (Ibid, p.2f).

### **6.5.5. Readiness**

The last goal of the Macedonian NAP is the “*Enhancement of readiness of response entities with consideration of women and girls protection in conflict situations*”. The goal is separated in three objectives concerning training experts on documenting cases on violence against women, ensure readiness of justice system during conflict and ensure psychological counselling for women. The activities tied to the last goal is among others to conduct educational seminars, develop educational programs on WPS for judges and develop groups on emergency psychological counselling for women in conflict situations (Ibid, p.3).

## 7. Analysis

This section provides an analysis of the NAPs in relation to the aim of the thesis and the theoretical framework. The section is formed in line with the two research questions stated in the beginning. The aim of this thesis was to analyse the National Action Plans in response to the implementing of SCR 1325 and examine how an international document linked to peace and security is interpreted and converted into national aims in terms of gender mainstreaming and securitizing women's rights in the context of conflict. The section is divided into three subsections, the first one is about women in the security framework, the victimization of women and the four pillars. The second subsection answers the first research question about the definition of women and gender mainstreaming in the NAP. The last part of this section touches the effects of the NAPs and answers the second research question about the implementation of SCR 1325 and the assurance of women's rights in the context of conflict.

### 7.1. Women's rights in the security framework

The content of the five NAPs differ a lot. Of course they are developed in and represent different countries with dissimilar backgrounds, interests and priorities. Nevertheless, they are all in response to the same four pages long resolution. It is clear that the provisions of SCR 1325 are interpreted in very different ways. The NAPs vary from four to forty-five pages, with one containing dozens of indicators while another one contains none. Though they are all ambitious, at the same time they are simultaneously weak. As Swaine points out, the understanding of underpinning concepts of SCR 1325 might be used and understood in an insufficient way since there is no appropriate framework for the implementation of the resolution (Swaine 2009, p.420). The concepts of peace and security are never clearly defined in the NAPs, which according to Olonisakin are crucial prerequisites for successful implementation of SCR 1325 and realization of women's rights (Olonisakin et al. 2010, p.7).

#### 7.1.1. Victimhood

The content of SCR 1325 has been criticized for affecting the agency of women and limits their discretion during and after conflict (Puechguirbal 2010a, p.162). Women in policy documents are often portrayed as a homogenous uniformly vulnerable group in the context of conflict (Detraz 2012, p.79). Such assumptions are visible in the NAPs when references are made as: "*Women are the first to be affected by infrastructure breakdown, as they struggle to*

*keep families together and care for the wounded. Women may also be forced to turn to sexual exploitation in order to survive and support their families” (NAP Nigeria 2013, p.8). Furthermore “their male family members have gone to participate in the conflicts or have been maimed or killed, leaving the households headed by women to fend for themselves and the entire family. Women even at displaced camps experience increased insecurity that comes from not having their traditional support systems available” (Ibid, p.6). Similar references are made in the Iraqi NAP: “Iraqi Women have played an important part during times of armed conflicts and deterioration of social conditions. They have long struggled to maintain social order and ensure its sustainability“ (NAP Iraq 2014, p.5). Formulations like “to care for the wounded”, “support their families” and “maintain social order” may limit the agency of women. References are also made to women as in need of protection. As we can read in the Iraqi NAP “that modern Iraqi society can reorganize social and family relations and guarantee the protection of women’s rights and the participation of women in creating a safe society where all can live decently and in peace, and achieve justice and equality within social and familial environment; can harmonize laws and systems with universal norms and standards and realize the aspirations of the civil society towards reinforcing and promoting women's rights. /.../ Women should be protected against any violation of their rights and they shall be enabled to have a full participation in decision making processes that shape their lives” (Ibid, p.3). The Korean NAP mentions support for self-reliance of female victims in conflict. Part of the expected outcome in the Nigerian NAP is a higher self-esteem among women, another one appreciation of women’s capacity as negotiators. One more expected outcome is to empower women to demand their rights. Simplistic binaries that cast women solely as fragile or victims and pre-existing gender-stereotyped patterns limits and shapes women’s experience of conflict and causes at the same time human rights abuses (Reilly 2007, p.158, 165).*

### **7.1.2. Participation, Protection, Prevention and Peacebuilding**

The four core mandates of the resolution are addressed in dissimilar ways. However they are mentioned in some way in all of the five plans. Iraq reaffirms women’s active role during conflict: *“There is a close relationship between the concept of empowering women into becoming autonomous and performing their social roles, and the provision of human security. It is thus necessary to integrate women in the efforts for peace and security in cases of post-armed conflict and crises, on the national and international level. Their participation*

*and contribution to these efforts is a confirmation of their role as actors and not merely as victims of these conflicts”* (NAP Iraq 2014, p.4). One of the indicators in the Iraqi NAP is the percentage of elected women in top decision-making position. Another one is the status of women in reconciliation committees. In the Korean NAP one strategy is to set annual target quotas of female members in governmental committees and one of the strategies is to increase the number of participating women in international meeting.

## **7.2. Women and gender mainstreaming in the NAPs**

Conflicts are underpinned with gendered power dynamics. Gender relations are part of the perpetuation of conflict (Alison 2007, p.90). Conflicts are lived and felt gendered (Sjoberg 2013, p.286). The interpretation of the provisions and the implementation of SCR 1325 depend on how gender is understood and discursively constructed (Cohn 2013, p.3). The task for gender mainstreaming has been set for two decades, still important actors remain unclear what the process should entail (Detraz 2012, p.78). According to Barrow UN-documents fail to broaden gender-based issues. Puechguirbal argues that the whole UN system prevents a gender-informed approach (Barrow 2010, p.227, Puechguirbal 2010a, p.161). One problem with the NAPs is that gender mainstreaming and other decisive words are not distinctly defined. The Macedonian NAP is the only one to contain a list of terms. Otherwise concepts like gender sensitive and rights based are frequently mentioned, but never further explained. Gender needs to be a legitimate subject since national and international documents play important roles in constructing gender-based-understanding (Barrow 2010, p.227). Another obstacle to gender mainstreaming is the way women are portrayed in the discussion of peace and conflict (Detraz 2012, p.77). Macedonia reaffirms *“The multilayered role of gender and particularly the role of women in the promotion of peace, maintaining security and addressing conflicts, is often misunderstood or simplified”* (NAP Macedonia 2013, p.1). Nigeria mentions the need to involve men in the dissemination of the NAP. One of the indicators is the undertaken measure to change the attitude about the NAP.

### **7.2.1. Gender patterns**

A huge critique towards SCR 1325 is that it delimits and reproduces gender structures. Shepherd argues that references made to women in the resolution are synonymous with the biological sex and characterized as passive and fragile (Shepherd 2011, p.506). To others the resolution is problematic in terms of how to operate gender mainstreaming. Inherent and

deep-rooted gender inequalities need to be addresses as well as notions of masculinity and power (Olonisakin et al 2010, p.255). One of the actions in the Nigerian plan is to communicate culturally sensitive messages, another one to minimize cultural patterns that perpetuate gender stereotypes. The Iraqi NAP recognizes the need of gender equality *“Human society cannot achieve its goals in development and progress if half of its members are exposed to discrimination and prejudice. When human beings are deprived of their freedom they lose their legitimacy, dignity freedom and will. The issue of equality between women and men is vital and inseparable from the development of the community and society as a whole. Empowering women and reinforcing their active participation in all fields of social, economic and political life is in itself a noble human goal in our contemporary world”* (Iraqi NAP 2014, p.3). Furthermore *“Women are very vulnerable during wartimes. /.../ Because of the Iraqi patriarchal system, in the absence of a male relative, a woman lacks economic, physical and social protection and support”* (Ibid, p.6).

### **7.2.2. Gender based violence**

One of the eighteen operational paragraphs of SCR 1325 is to take special measures to protect women from gender-based and all other forms of violence during times of conflict. One of the activities in the Iraqi NAP is to develop and improve gender-based institutional statistics since *“women live in constant fear of violence and abuse of their dignity and do not have access to justice”* (NAP Iraq 2014, p.11). One of the indicators in the Iraqi NAP is to measure the number of addressed cases of GBV as *“Sexual assaults are part of the dangers faced by women in time of armed conflicts. Moreover, in a traditional society of Iraq, the victim suffers a double trauma: the assault itself, and the social stigma and shame associated with the assault”* (Ibid, p.6).

### **7.3. An (in)effective tool for securing women’s right**

It is hard to tell in what way the NAPs are effective tools for highlighting women’s rights. Maybe revised plans will tell a different story in a couple of years. Three clear benefits found in the analysis is law revising, awareness raising and civil society advocacy, which are further explained below.

### **7.3.1. Law revising**

One positive outcome of the NAPs are the adjustment of existing law. All of the five countries mention the need to review and improve existing law, governmental legislative and security policies to promote women's rights. A strategic objective in the Iraqi NAP is to adopt legislation that respects the universal human rights for all. One of the activities in the Nigerian NAP is to revise discriminatory laws related to sexual offences. Macedonia has also undertaken special measures to incorporate gender concepts in the domestic law. One of the objectives in the Kyrgyzstani NAP is to bring law in compliance with the requirements of the SC resolutions.

### **7.3.2. Awareness raising**

Another positive outcome of the NAPs are awareness raising. All of the documents mention the importance to raise awareness about women, peace and security issues. For example, the Iraqi NAP intends to raise awareness about GBV. The Macedonian NAP also stresses the need of awareness raising for institutions, governmental and non-governmental sector. One objective in the Nigerian NAP is to increase awareness of the provisions of the WPS agenda. Raising awareness also means a higher extent of education and training for various actors on human rights and gender issues.

### **7.3.3. Civil society advocacy**

A third benefit of a NAP is the increased cooperation with civil society. All action plans, except the Macedonian mentions the important link to civil society advocacy. Korea's NAP mentions the incorporation of opinions from CSOs and strengthening cooperation with NGOs. One of the indicators in the Iraqi NAP is the number of women's rights organizations involved in the monitoring and evaluation process. Civil society is a central part in the Iraqi NAP.

## 8. Conclusion: marginalized or mainstreamed?

The concluding question echoes the title of the thesis, are women marginalized victims or mainstreamed agents in the National Action Plans in response to implement Security Council Resolution 1325 on women, peace and security. SCR 1325 has been known as the landmark resolution with the overriding objective of reaffirming women's role during conflict, mainstreaming gender and supporting the transition of women from victims to actors. Still there is a long way to fully implement the provisions of the resolution. Still women are facing gender-based violence, discrimination, sexual assault and physical abuse in times of conflict. [Still women's rights are violated and neglected.](#)

There are still member states that give SCR 1325 little emphasis since the resolution is of a noncoercive nature. Developing a NAP is a good progress towards social change and women's equal inclusion. Both SCR 1325 and responding NAPs have great potential to broaden women's roles during and after conflict as long as they do not remain an array of words and [visionary goals](#). However there is a gap between the resolution, supportive NAPs and the ground. Words need to be translated into real achievements. The critique is massive, researchers argue that SCR 1325 lacks capacity, accountability mechanisms and practical guidelines. It is also criticized for being inadequately funded and insufficiently promoted.

[Nonetheless NAPs contribute to the implementation of SCR 1325 and the fulfilment of women's rights.](#) As mentioned in the previous chapter NAPs have contributed to law revising, awareness raising and civil society advocacy. Women's rights are to a great extent included in the NAPs. The plans all have ambitious objectives to protect and promote women's rights in the context of conflict. Still a shift needs to be taken to fully realise the human rights of women. The plans characterize a conceptual confusion and a lack of clarity at the normative level. Words like gender mainstreaming are not sorted out in a proper way. The rhetoric of policies plays an important role in constructing understandings of gender-based issues during conflict. Since deep-rooted gender issues are never addressed these documents might as well be counterproductive. References made to women in the NAPs tend to contribute to assumptions such as women are providers in need of protection. To cast women as victims of men's violence denies their agency. Women have multiple experiences of conflict rather than just being targets and victims of sexual violence. Neither are women a homogenous group as such assumptions suggest. [The NAPs tend to exclude rural and](#)



marginalised women. It also matters how the four global indicators Participation, Protection, Prevention and Peacebuilding are framed in the documents. The four core mandates are sometimes perceived as polarities. Especially between the first two pillars, participation and protection. Protection is closely related to passivity, to be protected by others. Contrariwise participation requires active agents. It seems like the protection pillar is given the most attention in the analysed NAPs. There is a huge difference between aiming to strengthen female participation or providing protection.

The question still remains how these documents contribute to the full involvement of women and how they reaffirm the important role of women in the context of conflict. Or if these documents, by the use of stereotyping language, perpetuate gender roles, which reinforces inequalities and subordinate women and their agency. These NAPs are fragile documents, which could cause as much damage as transformation. They might as well boost rather than prevent stereotypes and contribute to maintain power orders. There needs to be a greater awareness of how womanhood is constructed in terms of intersectionality, patriarchal order and other power structures. Assumptions of conflicts and stereotypes of masculinity and femininity need to be contested and women's voices on peace and security issues need to be raised and gender needs to be more than just a politically correct concept.

This thesis has explored five different National Action Plans in response to United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 on women, peace and security. In some extent the critics of SCR 1325 are reflected in the NAPs, women are just an add-on, a homogenous group that needs special treatment and protection. In another sense the NAPs are the planted seed of transformation and realization of women's rights in times of conflict.

## 9. Recommendations

There are still research that needs to be done on the women, peace and security area. What would be interesting is to analyse the NAPs after its timeframe, if envisaged activities are implemented and expected results obtained. To analyse the process after the formation of the NAP, or research on revised plans. Another important aspect is the applicability of the plans during and after armed conflict, and of course the efficiency of these documents. Another gap to fill in the research is the inclusion of minority, rural or other marginalized groups of women in times of conflict.

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# Security Council

Distr.: General  
31 October 2000

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## Resolution 1325 (2000)

**Adopted by the Security Council at its 4213th meeting, on  
31 October 2000**

*The Security Council,*

*Recalling* its resolutions 1261 (1999) of 25 August 1999, 1265 (1999) of 17 September 1999, 1296 (2000) of 19 April 2000 and 1314 (2000) of 11 August 2000, as well as relevant statements of its President, and *recalling also* the statement of its President to the press on the occasion of the United Nations Day for Women's Rights and International Peace (International Women's Day) of 8 March 2000 (SC/6816),

*Recalling also* the commitments of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (A/52/231) as well as those contained in the outcome document of the twenty-third Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly entitled "Women 2000: Gender Equality, Development and Peace for the Twenty-First Century" (A/S-23/10/Rev.1), in particular those concerning women and armed conflict,

*Bearing in mind* the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the primary responsibility of the Security Council under the Charter for the maintenance of international peace and security,

*Expressing* concern that civilians, particularly women and children, account for the vast majority of those adversely affected by armed conflict, including as refugees and internally displaced persons, and increasingly are targeted by combatants and armed elements, and *recognizing* the consequent impact this has on durable peace and reconciliation,

*Reaffirming* the important role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts and in peace-building, and *stressing* the importance of their equal participation and full involvement in all efforts for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security, and the need to increase their role in decision-making with regard to conflict prevention and resolution,

*Reaffirming also* the need to implement fully international humanitarian and human rights law that protects the rights of women and girls during and after conflicts,

*Emphasizing* the need for all parties to ensure that mine clearance and mine awareness programmes take into account the special needs of women and girls,

*Recognizing* the urgent need to mainstream a gender perspective into peacekeeping operations, and in this regard *noting* the Windhoek Declaration and the Namibia Plan of Action on Mainstreaming a Gender Perspective in Multidimensional Peace Support Operations (S/2000/693),

*Recognizing also* the importance of the recommendation contained in the statement of its President to the press of 8 March 2000 for specialized training for all peacekeeping personnel on the protection, special needs and human rights of women and children in conflict situations,

*Recognizing* that an understanding of the impact of armed conflict on women and girls, effective institutional arrangements to guarantee their protection and full participation in the peace process can significantly contribute to the maintenance and promotion of international peace and security,

*Noting* the need to consolidate data on the impact of armed conflict on women and girls,

1. *Urges* Member States to ensure increased representation of women at all decision-making levels in national, regional and international institutions and mechanisms for the prevention, management, and resolution of conflict;

2. *Encourages* the Secretary-General to implement his strategic plan of action (A/49/587) calling for an increase in the participation of women at decision-making levels in conflict resolution and peace processes;

3. *Urges* the Secretary-General to appoint more women as special representatives and envoys to pursue good offices on his behalf, and in this regard *calls on* Member States to provide candidates to the Secretary-General, for inclusion in a regularly updated centralized roster;

4. *Further urges* the Secretary-General to seek to expand the role and contribution of women in United Nations field-based operations, and especially among military observers, civilian police, human rights and humanitarian personnel;

5. *Expresses* its willingness to incorporate a gender perspective into peacekeeping operations, and *urges* the Secretary-General to ensure that, where appropriate, field operations include a gender component;

6. *Requests* the Secretary-General to provide to Member States training guidelines and materials on the protection, rights and the particular needs of women, as well as on the importance of involving women in all peacekeeping and peace-building measures, *invites* Member States to incorporate these elements as well as HIV/AIDS awareness training into their national training programmes for military and civilian police personnel in preparation for deployment, and *further requests* the Secretary-General to ensure that civilian personnel of peacekeeping operations receive similar training;

7. *Urges* Member States to increase their voluntary financial, technical and logistical support for gender-sensitive training efforts, including those undertaken by relevant funds and programmes, inter alia, the United Nations Fund for Women and United Nations Children's Fund, and by the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and other relevant bodies;

8. *Calls on* all actors involved, when negotiating and implementing peace agreements, to adopt a gender perspective, including, *inter alia*:
  - (a) The special needs of women and girls during repatriation and resettlement and for rehabilitation, reintegration and post-conflict reconstruction;
  - (b) Measures that support local women's peace initiatives and indigenous processes for conflict resolution, and that involve women in all of the implementation mechanisms of the peace agreements;
  - (c) Measures that ensure the protection of and respect for human rights of women and girls, particularly as they relate to the constitution, the electoral system, the police and the judiciary;
9. *Calls upon* all parties to armed conflict to respect fully international law applicable to the rights and protection of women and girls, especially as civilians, in particular the obligations applicable to them under the Geneva Conventions of 1949 and the Additional Protocols thereto of 1977, the Refugee Convention of 1951 and the Protocol thereto of 1967, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women of 1979 and the Optional Protocol thereto of 1999 and the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child of 1989 and the two Optional Protocols thereto of 25 May 2000, and to bear in mind the relevant provisions of the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court;
10. *Calls on* all parties to armed conflict to take special measures to protect women and girls from gender-based violence, particularly rape and other forms of sexual abuse, and all other forms of violence in situations of armed conflict;
11. *Emphasizes* the responsibility of all States to put an end to impunity and to prosecute those responsible for genocide, crimes against humanity, and war crimes including those relating to sexual and other violence against women and girls, and in this regard *stresses* the need to exclude these crimes, where feasible from amnesty provisions;
12. *Calls upon* all parties to armed conflict to respect the civilian and humanitarian character of refugee camps and settlements, and to take into account the particular needs of women and girls, including in their design, and recalls its resolutions 1208 (1998) of 19 November 1998 and 1296 (2000) of 19 April 2000;
13. *Encourages* all those involved in the planning for disarmament, demobilization and reintegration to consider the different needs of female and male ex-combatants and to take into account the needs of their dependants;
14. *Reaffirms* its readiness, whenever measures are adopted under Article 41 of the Charter of the United Nations, to give consideration to their potential impact on the civilian population, bearing in mind the special needs of women and girls, in order to consider appropriate humanitarian exemptions;
15. *Expresses* its willingness to ensure that Security Council missions take into account gender considerations and the rights of women, including through consultation with local and international women's groups;
16. *Invites* the Secretary-General to carry out a study on the impact of armed conflict on women and girls, the role of women in peace-building and the gender dimensions of peace processes and conflict resolution, and *further invites* him to

submit a report to the Security Council on the results of this study and to make this available to all Member States of the United Nations;

17. *Requests* the Secretary-General, where appropriate, to include in his reporting to the Security Council progress on gender mainstreaming throughout peacekeeping missions and all other aspects relating to women and girls;

18. *Decides* to remain actively seized of the matter.

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