From the international to the local:

A qualitative study on how the Women, Peace and Security agenda is adopted in Bosnia and Herzegovina and what norm transformation can mean for social identity constructions

Elin Martine Doeland

Submitted as Master's thesis at the Department of Psychology,

UNIVERSITY OF OSLO

Spring semester, 2016

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Author: Elin M. Doeland

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Abstract

Name of author: Elin M. Doeland

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Name of supervisor: Inger Skjelsbæk

The thesis has two distinct but interrelated purposes. The first is empirical and focuses on how the WPS agenda is received and adapted to in Bosnia and what this tells us about social identity constructions. The second is primarily theoretical and focuses on how psychological scholarship can complement international relations (IR) perspectives on international norm diffusion. The study is part of the Equal Peace Project at the Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO) led by Inger Skjelsbæk. I conducted fieldwork in Bosnia and in Norway. The participants can be divided into three groups. The project leader selected the first group. Together with a research team I had three focus groups with members from civil society in Bosnia and one semi-structured interview with a female politician. I selected the second group. It consisted of three semi-structured interviews with members of civil society in Bosnia (one conducted in Bosnia and two on Skype), and five semi-structured interviews with the Bosnian diaspora in Norway. A PhD scholar for whom I was a research assistant during her fieldwork in Bosnia selected the third group. Four semi-structured interviews were held with civil society members and two female judges from the Bosnian criminal court. I performed a thematic analysis on the data and, in line with the social constructionist perspective, looked for narratives about the WPS agenda. I found two main narratives that I chose to call 'narratives of support' and 'narratives of resistance'. The narratives suggested that reactions and adaptation to the WPS agenda were related to what the agenda meant for constructions of a Bosnian national identity, ethnic identity, religious identity and gender identity. The insights can contribute to gaining a broader understanding of what norm adoption processes might look like at the local level, hereby complementing IR scholarship on international norm diffusion.

Foreword

In this thesis stories of a country and a population that was struck by a horrific war are told. They are stories of a country struggling to come to terms with the past and with coping with the present. But they are also stories of hope, of women and men fighting for what they believe in, aiming to direct the development of their country in a better direction. Ultimately, they are stories from a world in desperate need for more sustainable peace.

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Table of Contents

I. Introduction

Norms guide our thoughts, behaviour and identities. Ideas about how things should be influence us as individuals and as members of different groups. But what happens when others try to influence the norms of our societies in ways that might impact our identities? And what happens when this influence comes from an international community with funding, people who want to help and massive engagement? What happens when the international community exercises political normative pressure on a country to develop in a certain direction? How does such pressure unfold in a society where there recently has been war and where different identities compete for space and recognition? In the present thesis these types of questions will be examined.

In 2000 the United Nations Security Council adopted resolution 1325 (hereafter; UNSCR 1325) which argued that a gender perspective should be adopted in all matters related to peace and security (UN, 2000). This resolution, together with the seven follow-up resolutions and a number of National Action Plans (NAPs)[1], is referred to as the United Nations Women, Peace and Security agenda (hereafter; WPS agenda), providing a framework for the advocacy on UNSCR 1325 within the UN system itself as well as in its member states. A new thematic issue has been placed on the agenda of the UN, its member states and of multilateral organisations such as the EU, NATO and OSCE (Tryggestad, 2009). But how can normative frameworks like the WPS agenda be 'exported' as part of peacebuilding efforts (Sebastián-Aparicio, 2014)? How do individuals, groups and communities react and respond, and what does it mean for individuals and social identities?

Normative frameworks like the WPS agenda bring about an interesting dynamic between what I look at as *norm providers* and *norm adapters*. In this thesis norm providers are the organisations, states and networks advocating for the WPS agenda. Norm adapters are the countries willing to make structural changes and develop policies for the implementation of the new norm. By accepting the WPS agenda the norm adapters often benefit from funding schemes and other political and financial benefits, which in turn is vested in the hope that changes will lead to more sustainable peace. Importantly, the dynamic between norm providers and norm adapters does something with the people who are involved. In the present

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[1] The eight resolutions that comprise the WPS agenda are: UNSCR 1325, UNSCR 1820, UNSCR 1888, UNSCR 1889, UNSCR 1960, UNSCR 2106, UNSCR 2122, UNSCR 2242. So far 57 countries have developed National Action Plans (see http://www.peacewomen.org/member-states for an overview)

thesis a case of normative pressure for the WPS agenda on Bosnia will the studied. A large body of literature (e.g. Anderlini, 2007; Barnes, 2011; Cockburn, 2007; Cohn, 2008; Hudson, 2010; Olonisakin, Barnes, & Ikpe, 2011; Olsson & Tryggestad, 2001; Porter, 2007; Pratt & Richter-Devroe, 2011; Schnabel & Tabyshalieva, 2012) has addressed different issues concerning the WPS agenda. Scholars from international relations (IR) have looked into its origins, its development and implementation. However, none of these contributions have been from the field of psychology. Psychological scholarship can contribute to the literature on the WPS agenda by looking into processes of norm transformation that link sociopolitical and individual levels.

In the present study[2] I adopt an interdisciplinary and qualitative approach to the study of the norm adoption process of the WPS agenda in Bosnia. I aim to explore the ways in which support and opposition to the normative framework is created. The thesis leans on IR scholarship on international norm diffusion (Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998; Gilardi, 2012) and complements this field with theoretical and analytical approaches from social psychology. In particular, a narrative perspective is adopted to analyse group identity formation as a way of studying the norm adoption process. The ambition is to contribute to the growing body of literature on the WPS agenda with a psychological theoretical and methodological approach. This thesis will focus on the following questions:

- How is the WPS agenda received and adapted to in Bosnia and what does this tell us about social identity constructions?
- How can psychological scholarship complement international relations perspectives on international norm diffusion?

II. Background

Gender enters the UN discourse on peace and security

The UN discourse on peace and security has traditionally been strongly male dominated (Gierycz, 2001). The absence of women around the negotiating table was not questioned and gender issues were not included in peace agreements and other political decision-making mechanisms related to peace and security. In scholarship on peace and

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[2] This study is part of the Equal Peace Project (EPP) at the Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO). The project is entitled *Equal Peace? Women's Empowerment and Multicultural Challenges in War-to-Peace Transitions*. It is funded by the Norwegian Research Council and led by research professor Inger Skjelsbæk. The EPP runs from January 2015 until December 2018.

conflict the absence of a gender dimension has been described as a distortion of reality as 'male norms and male behaviour have been taken to represent the *human* norm' (Skjelsbæk & Smith, 2001, p. 1, emphasis in original). In 2001 UN Assistant Secretary-General and Special Adviser on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women, Angela King, argued that 'most women seem to have a somewhat different understanding of peace, security and violence than most men' (Skjelsbæk & Smith, 2001, p. viii). An emerging consensus argues that women might have something different to offer. At the basis of the WPS agenda lays the assumption that the involvement of women in political decision-making related to peace and conflict will lead to a change in policies, activities and institutional arrangements that can contribute to sustainable peace.

Developments towards including gender in peace and security issues can be traced back to the creation of the UN Commission on the Status of Women (UNCSW) in 1947 (Gierycz, 2001). However, it was not until the beginning of the 21st century that gender issues became part of the official UN discourse on peace and security and included in policies and practices. Years of lobbying within the UN system and by women's NGOs (Swaine, 2009; Tryggestad, 2009) as well as the occurrence of mass rapes during the Balkan wars (Hansen, 2001), combined with massive attention and campaigning in response to the sexual violence, led to the adoption of UNSCR 1325 (UN, 2000) in 2000. It marked the beginning of the international proliferation of the WPS agenda (Tryggestad, 2014). It also represented a major milestone in the struggle towards a more gender equal understanding and practice in international peace and security (Tryggestad, 2010; Willet, 2010). A number of norm providers, most notably the UN, EU, NATO and OSCE in the Bosnian case, have worked to promote the WPS agenda since.

The WPS agenda and its current state of affairs

The WPS agenda comprises a total of eight resolutions adopted by the UN Security Council. UNSCR 1325 represents the original agenda and consists of 18 points of action divided among four pillars: (1) women's participation in all matters related to peace, security and conflict; (2) inclusion of women and adoption of a gender perspective in prevention of conflict and of sexual or gender-based violence; (3) protection of women and girls, as well as their human rights both in times of peace and in times of conflict; and (4) inclusion of women and adoption of a gender perspective in relief and recovery initiatives (UN, 2000). Together, the seven follow-up resolutions provide a global normative framework for implementing and monitoring the WPS agenda.

Table 1: An overview of the WPS agenda[3]

The Women Peace and Security agenda	
Gender dimension to peace and security	*Combating conflict-related sexual violence*
UNSCR 1325 (UN, 2000) Political and legal framework acknowledging the importance of participation of women and the inclusion of gender perspectives in peacekeeping operations, peace negotiations, humanitarian planning, post-conflict peacebuilding and governance. **UNSCR 1889** (UN, 2009b) Stresses the need to monitor and strengthen the implementation of UNSCR 1325. **UNSCR 2122** (UN, 2013b) Provides stronger measures to enable women to participate in conflict resolution and recovery. Posits gender equality and women's empowerment as critical to international peace and security. **UNSCR 2242** (UN, 2015) The WPS agenda is set in place as a central component in addressing the challenges of the new global peace and security context, including rising violent extremism.	**UNSCR 1820** (UN, 2008) Recognises sexual violence as a tactic of war. **UNSCR 1888** (UN, 2009a) Stresses the need to increase measures to address conflict-related sexual violence. **UNSCR 1960** (UN, 2010) Sets in place an accountability system for stopping conflict-related sexual violence. **UNSCR 2106** (UN, 2013a) Stresses that the United Nations entities and all Member States need to take serious measures to implement previous mandates and to combat impunity for conflict-related sexual violence.

In a statement by the UN Security Council in 2002 and in a report by the UN Secretary-General in 2004, member states were encouraged to develop National Action Plans (NAPs) for the implementation of UNSCR 1325 (Gumru & Fritz, 2009). It was seen as a way of bringing an international agenda to national levels. In a study for the OSCE a number of advantages of NAPs were identified, such as awareness rising, a sense of ownership, as well as accountability and evaluation mechanisms (Ormhaug, 2014). In addition to government's primary responsibility for implementing the resolution, commitment of the UN itself and multilateral institutions such as the EU, NATO and OSCE were also seen as crucial (Swaine, 2009). However, despite serious efforts, implementing the WPS agenda has thus far not been a straightforward endeavour and much remains to be done (UN, 2015). A lack of capacity and commitment of the actors involved and the scarce amount of resources earmarked for the

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[3] For more information about the resolutions please visit: http://www.unwomen.org/en/what-we-do/peace-and-security/global-norms-and-standards

implementation were identified as fundamental reasons for the slow progress (Ormhaug, 2014). Moreover, the author stressed that the agenda must be experienced as relevant at the local level for implementation to work. How to do this and what this entails is, however, less clear. The present thesis takes this criticism as a starting point and explores how these localising efforts are mapped out in Bosnia.

A social psychological perspective makes it possible to look at mechanisms that may influence some of the factors related to successful implementation as identified in the OSCE study (Ormhaug, 2014). Since the WPS agenda is normative, norm transformations towards a more gender equal society are necessary for an adoption of the framework. These norm transformations are clearly political, but also deeply personal. They relate to various aspects of political, social and individual identities and to gender dynamics in domestic structures. Conceptualising and understanding norm transformations related to gender is therefore crucial. One way of studying this is through social psychology. Looking at the WPS normative framework from a psychological perspective it is reasonable to presume that it is more likely to be functional if the norms are internalised by communities and individuals. In particular, gender equality norms attached to the agenda must be seen as meaningful both socially and individually. A way of studying this is to look at how gender equality norms relate to other identities than gender. More specifically, how do gender equality norms intersect with salient identities in Bosnian society today? In order to study this I have operationalized the WPS normative framework in the following way: *Stories about the participation of women in public life and about women's protection needs in the past, present and future in stories about the implementation of the WPS agenda.*

Bosnia: conflict, transitions, contested identities, and the WPS agenda

The present thesis is a case study on post-conflict Bosnia. In order to understand processes of norm transformation related to the implementation of the WPS agenda in Bosnia, attention must be paid to the particularities of the gendered histories in the Bosnian context. The importance of context for the analysis and understanding of peacebuilding efforts has been stressed in the case of the Balkans (Pickering, 2007; Sebastián-Aparicio, 2014) and for a number of African post-conflict societies (Moss, 2015). The WPS agenda is part of multiple peacebuilding efforts in Bosnia. A devastating war lasted from April 1992 until the signing of the Dayton Peace Agreement in December 1995. From 1945 until 1992 Bosnia belonged to the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY). In the former Yugoslavia communism was the main ideology. Both women and men were active on the labour market,

the social welfare system was highly developed, and religion belonged to the private sphere. However, when Yugoslavia collapsed in 1991, emerging nationalist ideologies led to a strong (re)emphasis on ethnic and religious affiliation. Strong tensions between the three main ethnic groups, Croats, Serbs and Muslims, led to the devastating war where sexual violence was widespread. The nature of the Dayton Peace Agreement, dividing the power between the three ethnic groups, has resulted in a highly fragmented political system (Sebastián-Aparicio, 2014). Bosnia has long been a society comprising different social identities based primarily on ethnicity and religion (Bringa, 1993). Since the ending of the war the country has had a strong international presence up until today influencing on Bosnia's domestic and international affairs. As part of transitions towards becoming more 'Westernised', Bosnia applied for EU membership on February 15th, 2016.

The post conflict era of Bosnian society is highly relevant for the study of the implementation of the WPS agenda. In a study it was found that women's position in society were influenced by two opposing forces, namely transitions towards capitalist ideologies on the one hand and traditional ways of living on the other (Skjelsbæk, 2009). Other studies have looked into gender dimensions of the war legacy. The occurrence of mass rapes[4] during the war politicised women's bodies (Helms, 2013; Meznaric, 1994) and placed gender issues at the centre of ethnic politics. Interestingly, in a narrative study Skjelsbæk (2006) found that women who had been raped during the war engaged with a 'victim story' connected to gender identity (see also Nikolic-Ristanovic, 2000) and a 'survivor story' was connected to ethnic identity. In a study on discourses on the mass rapes, Hansen (2001) found that in one of the main representations was what the author called 'Balkan patriarchy'. According to this representation the perpetrators of rape against women were considered to be the patriarchal and nationalist leaders. These insights about how the war rapes became political are important as they suggest that the private and the political are connected. This notion is part of the backdrop for the rationale for looking at both the public and the private spheres in the present thesis.

Bosnia's highly complex history and its transitional status have led to a situation in which different identities compete for space and recognition. For women's activists in Bosnian civil society the adoption of UNSCR 1325 meant the provision of a tool for their work for women's rights and gender equality (Björkdahl & Selimovic, 2015). At the official

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[4] A number of organisations and institutions have released figures and estimated how many women were raped during the war. Estimates range between about 20,000 victims and 50,000 victims (Meznaric, 1994), the Bosnian Ministry of Interior estimated that the number of victims were 50,000 (Nikolic-Ristanovic, 2000).

state level, the Bosnian Gender Equality Agency developed a Bosnian NAP for the implementation of UNSCR 1325 in 2010 (Ministry for Human Rights and Refugees, 2010) and in 2013 (Ministry for Human Rights and Refugees, 2013). According to reports by Sarajevo Open Centre, a Bosnian civil society organisation focusing on the state of women's rights in Bosnia and on the progress in terms of including more women in politics, some progress has been made towards adapting the WPS agenda (Sarajevo Open Centre, 2014, 2015). In particular, there were developments in the positive direction in the areas of women's political participation, women in police and military forces and in terms of efforts to combat gender-based violence and to support victims of conflict related sexual violence. Even so, in a discursive study of the Bosnian NAP it was found that the document does not function as an instrument for a more substantial change in gender dynamics in domestic structures (Björkdahl & Selimovic, 2015). The authors pointed out ways in which NAPs developed in light of the WPS agenda could be used as a vehicle for societal transformation. Central to this strategy was what Björkdahl and Selimovic termed 'critical agency', in which change is promoted by making use of often informal, hidden and unutilised spaces to question existing norms and practices, claim and extend women's rights, challenge power relations, and confront inequitable distribution of resources (Björkdahl & Selimovic, p. 330). Looking into narratives in Bosnia about the WPS agenda can provide insight into how this strategy takes form when Bosnians themselves talk about these changes, and ultimately what the adoption process entails from a social psychological perspective.

III. Theoretical Orientation

In order to better understand the norm adoption process, this thesis draws upon theoretical frameworks from both international relations (IR) and from social and cultural psychology. In particular, theories about how identities are narrated at different levels and what identities mean for individuals and society will be used to expand IR theory on international norm diffusion. This enables conceptualisations of analytical levels that are not integral to IR scholarship. This psychological approach can provide insight into what the international effort at norm transformation entails at societal, interpersonal and individual levels in communities that are encouraged to adapt to international normative frameworks like the WPS agenda. In this manner the present thesis can contribute to the growing body of knowledge generated from applying insights from psychology to the study of phenomena

7

relevant for international politics (Stein, 2012). Conversely, including phenomena usually studied in IR scholarship into our area of interest as psychological researchers has the potential to contribute to theory development in our field.

International relations perspectives on international norm diffusion

In the IR literature, a *norm* is most often defined as 'a standard of appropriate behavior for actors with a given identity' (Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998, p. 891). 'Normative' theories in IR are concerned with what *should* be done in global politics, often related to questions about the nature and requirements of 'global justice' (Hurrell & Macdonald, 2012). Developments in global governance are related to international normative frameworks. The WPS agenda is one such normative framework. A central concept in IR theory is that of *transnational diffusion* (Gilardi, 2012). Diffusion describes the way in which norms spread and has been defined as 'a consequence of interdependence' (Gilardi, 2012, p. 454). An example of norm diffusion is when authorities in one country make decisions that are influenced by, among others, norms displayed and/or promoted by the international community or by other countries. The political goal in global governance efforts on norms is that the norms in question are diffused to receiving societies.

A central theoretical framework is *The Life Cycle of Norms* (Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998). The authors argue that international norm dynamics are described in terms of three stages. Each stage involves different social processes and behavioural logics. Different actors, motives, and mechanisms of influence are central to change at each stage of what is referred to as the norm adoption process. At the first stage, *norm emergence,* so-called norm entrepreneurs, such as the UN, other multilateral organisations and NGOs spread new norms to states through persuasion mechanisms. When enough states have accepted the new norm, a *norm cascade* is believed to take place in which the new norm becomes widely accepted. At the third stage, norms are *internalised* and no longer part of broad public debate. In this framework it is assumed that the internalisation of norms is a consequence of different processes and mechanisms operating at the state level.

In Bosnia, the WPS norm diffusion appears to still be in its initial stages (Tryggestad, 2014). Finnemore and Sikkink (1998) pointed out that international norms 'always work their influence through the filter of domestic structures and domestic norms' (p. 893). This is in line with the argument presented in this thesis, stressing the importance of studying processes of norm transformation at the intra and interpersonal levels and paying close attention to the Bosnian context. As suggested by Finnemore and Sikkink, domestic influence might be the

strongest in early stages of a norm's life cycle, making it even more important for understanding the Bosnian case.

Interestingly, Finnemore and Sikkink (1998) point to the potential of psychological scholarship to understand what they refer to as the microfoundations of norm-based behaviour at the state level. According to the authors, the psychological concepts of conformity and esteem can help explain why states respond to pressure from other states to adopt a certain norm. This pressure is seen as a form of socialisation among states in which states imitate other states. Importantly, in the Life Cycle of Norms framework, socialisation among states is considered to work because states *identify* themselves as belonging to the international community. States' identities and state elites' political selves are believed to be part of the elements shaping a state's behaviour. But what does this mean for the individuals and communities within the states?

Social psychological scholarship on narrative and identity can help us elucidate how not merely states' identities but also different identities of communities and individuals are related to the norm transformation process at the domestic level. By looking into identity formation from a constructionist narrative perspective the bridge can be made between different analytical levels, all the way from sociopolitical levels to the individual level.

Studying norms form a social identity perspective

A number of scholars within the fields of cultural, political and social psychology have argued for the adoption of an identity-oriented approach to the study of various phenomena in the contemporary world (David & Bar-Tal, 2009; Hammack, 2008; Simon, 2004). Peacebuilding efforts and norm advocacy related to the WPS agenda are phenomena that comprise the global and the local, the international community and actors at the domestic level. In a context of simultaneous processes of *globalisation* and *localisation* (David & Bar-Tal, 2009) identities at national, community and individual levels are contested. This has consequences for personal and social meaning making (Hammack, 2008). In this thesis I want to find out what it is that individuals in receiving countries (the norm adapters) say about the global gender equality norm when they talk about national and international interaction linked to the WPS agenda.

In psychological studies on norms it was found that the meaningfulness of different norms varied according to context (Cialdini, Kallgren, & Reno, 1991) and that situational constraints influenced individuals' motives to conform to norms (Pool & Schwegler, 2007).

Social psychological scholarship on norms and identity has demonstrated that norms are closely connected to group identities (e.g. Christensen, Rothgerber, Wood, & Matz, 2004). Norms shape group behaviour and feelings of belongingness to the group. However, what individuals and groups consider the *normative* to be needs to be established within the complex and dynamic composition of different identities. In the context of globalisation and localisation, ideas of *normality* are shaped by the need to connect to the global on the one hand and the need to define the uniqueness of the local – one's own nation, community and/or culture - on the other (David & Bar-Tal, 2009). Because the WPS agenda can be said to be part of the global, looking into how it relates to contestations of local identities in Bosnia is crucial. In order for the normative framework to be accepted and internalised (Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998) it has to be integrated into central identities in Bosnian society. With an identity perspective we can look at how the Bosnian context is related to what the WPS agenda *means* for different identities and when the normative framework 'fits' with identities and when it does not. One way of approaching this dynamic is to investigate when and how the global gender equality norms are narrated as a 'fit' to pre-existing norms and practise related to core social identities in Bosnia, and when it is seen as a 'misfit'.

I take as a starting point the Social Ecological Model of Bronfenbrenner (1979). The model was initially developed to study human development but has been applied to a variety of different areas, such as public health (e.g. McLeroy, Bibeau, Steckler, & Glanz, 1988) and conflict communication (e.g. Oetzel, Dhar, & Kirschbaum, 2007). In the present thesis the utility of the model lies in its conceptualisation of change as occurring at different levels. The change that I look at in this thesis is *societal development*. In particular, I will focus on the micro, meso and macro levels. This allows me to examine the process of norm transformation at these different levels. In this way of thinking the micro level would refer to how individuals adapt to the normative framework and how it manifests itself in interaction between individuals, the meso level to how the normative framework manifests itself in societal dynamics and structures and the macro level to how the normative framework manifests itself in societal ideals, norms and values.

The notion that individual identities are shaped by the groups to which we belong is one of the foundations of social psychology, but they do not engage in these efforts in a passive way. Three integrative and complementary theoretical frameworks on identity form the conceptual basis for the analysis in this thesis, which highlight different aspects of these mutually adaptive processes. The approaches to identity build upon insights from the classic and widely used 'Social Identity Tradition' with the classic and widely used Social Identity

Theory of Intergroup Relations (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) and Self-Categorization Theory (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, & Reicher, 1987). In addition, they are inspired by insights and longstanding traditions from the social sciences more broadly and the humanities. The integration of insights from various disciplines fits nicely with the stance taken in this thesis regarding the opportunities of interdisciplinary scholarship. However, although various disciplines form the foundation of the theoretical frameworks, the concepts they describe and the analysis they inspire reside in the fields of cultural and social psychology.

The first framework in this thesis is the Self-Aspect Model of Identity (Simon, 2004). It conceptualises identity as taking shape through 'constant (re)negotiation among the interaction partners' and as 'rooted in socially structured practice' (Simon, 2004, p. 44). The Self-Aspect Model helps us see why individuals behave in accordance with the norms of their various social identities and how a new normative framework like the WPS agenda might manifest itself within identity formations. Since individuals have various identities that are more or less important in a given situation, norms belonging to different identities might influence individuals' perceptions and behaviour simultaneously. This is interesting when we are going to study how the WPS agenda is received in the context of pre-existing norms in a landscape of different identities. Perhaps most importantly, the framework helps us to conceptualise the *functions* of identities. According to Simon (2004), identities are so important because they provide individuals with 1) a sense of belongingness, 2) distinctiveness, 3) respect and esteem, 4) understanding and meaning, and 5) agency (Simon, 2004). One could speculate that reactions and adaptation to the WPS agenda might be intertwined with the normative framework's capacity to serve these functions within different identities. A cultural approach to identity (Hammack, 2008), however, brings us to an examination of how the dynamic between discourses in a culture and the meaning it provides to individuals can inform us about how norms are reproduced or changed. Identity is here defined as: 'ideology cognized through the individual engagement with discourse, made manifest in a personal narrative constructed and reconstructed across the life course, and scripted in and through social interaction and social practice' (Hammack, 2008, p. 223). The approach allows us to look into how individuals are at the centre of processes of norm transformation. In a third approach (David & Bar-Tal, 2009) it is the meaning of collective (or social) identities for the society at large that is in focus. In their Sociopsychological Conception of Collective Identity, the authors conceptualise collective identity in terms of two levels. The micro level refers to individuals' identification with the collective identity, which has cognitive, emotional, and behavioural consequences. The macro level refers to the

shared awareness of the collective identity. The authors map out how the *content* of collective identities, their features and the social-cultural context within which identities are formed can be studied in an integrative way. Examples of the content related to the context are *collective memories* of among others what have been referred to as *major events* (Nets-Zehngut, 2013). The war in Bosnia can be looked at as a major event that is central to collective memories. This is interesting as David and Bar-Tal conceptualise major events as part of what they refer to as *the transitional context*. The transitional context can help us look at how the WPS agenda is seen as part of ongoing societal changes in Bosnia and how it relates to the more stable cultural context.

The presented theoretical frameworks can help us to analyse reactions to the WPS agenda and the norm adoption process. International norms are not imported into a vacuum and norm diffusion might not be a simple and natural consequence of state acceptance of international norms. From an identity perspective where we look at constructions of social identities at different levels we can gain insight into what the normative framework means for Bosnian society, for individuals and their lives.

A narrative approach to identity

In this thesis I adopt a narrative approach to identity (Gergen, 2001; Hammack, 2008; Hammack & Pilecki, 2012; McAdams & McLean, 2013; Singer, 2004). Narrative can be understood as 'the sensible organization of thought through language, internalized or externalized, which serves to create a sense of personal coherence and collective solidarity and to legitimize collective beliefs, emotions, and actions' (Hammack & Pilecki, 2012, p. 78). In their simplest meanings narratives are stories, with a beginning, mid part and an end (Gergen, 1994, 2001). In this thesis I will look at stories about changes related to the WPS normative framework, looking at stories about the past, the present and the future. In particular, I will look for different social identities that are discussed within narratives about the WPS agenda and how these are located at different levels. Hammack and Pilecki (2012) made a distinction between the collective and the individual levels in the ways in which identities are narrated. The authors referred to narratives at the collective level as accounts that 'exist *in* the material world […] and are embodied in cultural practice' (Hammack & Pilecki, 2012, p. 78, emphasis in original) and as narratives at the individual level as the cognitive process of *meaning making* (Bruner, 1990). Both conceptualisations of identity and of change have been located at different levels in the theoretical frameworks presented above (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; David & Bar-Tal, 2009; Hammack, 2008; Simon, 2004). In this thesis

I will therefore look for narratives at the societal level, referring to narratives about Bosnian society and its history and culture, at the interpersonal level, referring to interaction between individuals, and the individual level, referring to reflections upon individuals' lives and experiences. Importantly, the narratives at the societal level do not necessarily represent the perspectives and opinions of individuals. Rather, individuals can *engage* (Hammack & Pilecki, 2012) with stories at the societal level, as a way of positioning themselves relative to the narrative. I thus see narratives at the societal level as existing in the public discourse and culture, similar to Hammack and Pilecki's conceptualisations. By looking at narratives at the different levels, we can gain insight into the dynamic between how the WPS agenda manifests itself in Bosnian society and what this means for individuals and groups.

IV. Methods and Material

The aim of this study is to gain access to the lifeworlds of the interviewees and the *meanings* they attribute to the WPS agenda as a norm pushed from the international community and what that entails for norm diffusion. I therefore choose a qualitative, narrative approach in the social constructionist tradition (e.g. Gergen, 1994, 2001). This implies that what we study is a construction of reality in which both interviewees and researchers' influences how social reality is constructed through discourse (Hibberd, 2005). The *actual* reactions to the WPS agenda cannot be represented by language but the narratives are a way of approaching reality (Gergen, 1999). I want to explore how individuals and groups experience, understand, and are motivated to take part in or exclude themselves from societal developments. Through 'thick descriptions' (Geertz, 1973) I could explore the life worlds of the interviewees in a rich and multi-layered manner.

Data Collection

Data was collected during fieldwork in Bosnia in November 2015 and in Norway in November and December the same year. Three groups were selected for focus group interviews and semi-structured interviews. The first group consisted of three focus groups with civil society members from international organisations, local NGOs and religious communities and one interview with a politician. These were selected by the project leader in collaboration with a local contact and conducted with a research team. The second group consisted of eight semi-structured qualitative interviews that were held in Bosnia and in

Norway. The interviewees in this group were recruited by me, through my own network and by applying a so-called 'snowball technique'. The third and last group consisted of interviews with some local NGO workers, a politician and two judges selected and conducted by a PhD scholar during which I was able to ask some questions for the present study[5]. The interviewees in the present study were primarily selected on the basis of having central roles in civil society in Bosnia. Some worked directly with the WPS agenda whereas others worked in areas not directly related to the agenda but potentially influencing the norm adoption process in Bosnian society nevertheless, i.e. by promoting norms in line with it through their work or, on the contrary, in opposition to it. The Bosnian diaspora was selected for knowing Bosnia well but having an outsider perspective on the country. This dynamic could be particularly interesting studying reactions to a normative framework coming from 'the West'. Most of the focus groups and interviews were in English, however, some were partly translated from Bosnian to English by our translator. The translator, when used, played an active role in the process of knowledge production (Temple & Young, 2010).

Both focus groups and the interviews lasted for 1 – 1,5 hours and were based on interview guides that I developed (see Appendixes I, II and III). The focus groups were held at a quiet place at a hotel in Sarajevo. Other interviews, both in Bosnia and in Norway, were either held at the organisations' buildings (in participants' offices or in the cafeteria) or in cafés. It was important for me to make sure that the interviewees felt comfortable. Sessions therefore always began with some small talk with coffee or tea and refreshments. I also asked interviewees whether they felt comfortable about being interviewed at the chosen location before starting the interview. Focus groups and interviews were recorded and later transcribed by me using the software HyperTRANSCRIBE. Focus groups and interviews held in English were transcribed and analysed in English whereas interviews held in Norwegian were transcribed and analysed in Norwegian. In line with suggestions by Van Nes and colleagues (2010) I only translated the direct quotes that I used in the final report into English. This was to limit the meanings lost in translation.

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[5] I was a research assistant for the PhD scholar when we both did fieldwork in Bosnia in November 2015. The number of questions asked for the present study varied (usually around 10 to 20 minutes were spent discussing issues related to this study).

<div align="center">**Research participants**</div>

A total number of 25 interviewees between the ages of about 25 and 65 years old[6] participated in this study. All interviewees were from Bosnia, except for one who was from another country in the former Yugoslavia. Information about the research participants and where and when fieldwork took place is specified in Table 2.

Table 2: Research participants

Fieldwork location and time	Type	Number of interviewees (female/male)	Representatives/positions
Bosnia (Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Republic of Srpska), November 2015	Focus group	5 (5/0)	International organisations
		6 (6/0)	Bosnian NGOs
		4 (2/2)	Religious communities
	Semi-structured interview	7(6/1)	Politicians, international organisations, Bosnian NGOs, judges
Norway, November and December 2015	Semi-structured interview	5 (3/2)	Bosnian diaspora; students and professionals

<div align="center">**Interview Guide**</div>

The interview guides for the focus groups were in English and there was one version for the semi-structured interviews carried out in Bosnia and another version for those carried out with the Bosnian diaspora in Norway. The guides were structured to cover different aspects of gender issues, including gender roles, women's position in society, and gender equality norms in the private and public spheres. In order to be able to gain access to interviewees' life worlds I included questions about different aspects of daily life that interviewees could relate to. Besides referring to a variety of themes I tried to get the time dimension into the guides, starting by asking about the past, then discussing the present and, ultimately, to encourage interviewees to reflect upon the future. Having thought through topics that I wanted to discuss helped me to lead focus group discussions and to conduct the interviews in a useful and attentive manner. The use of the interview guides varied between the different focus groups and interviews. Sometimes lively conversations developed without

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[6] I did not ask for the interviewees' ages, as I did not consider this particularly relevant.

much use of the guide whereas at other occasions the guide was followed more closely. The advantage of the first scenario was that I was sure that the topics discussed reflected those that interviewees found important. The advantage of the second scenario, however, was that I felt more in control of the situation and capable of leading the discussions and interviews. As a consequence of the two different uses of the guides, depending on the nature of the focus group discussions or interviews, not all topics and time dimensions were discussed to the same extent at the different occasions of data collection.

Ethical Considerations

For the present thesis, ethical guidelines of the University of Oslo (University of Oslo, 2011) were followed. The study was reported to and approved by the Norwegian Social Science Data Services, NSD. Oral informed consent was obtained from all interviewees. Interviewees were informed that all data would be treated carefully and that they were able to withdraw from the study at any time.

Reflexivity

Being aware of oneself as a researcher, of how one's social position, personal experiences, and political and professional beliefs influences the collection, selection, and interpretation of data, is a major element of good practice in qualitative research (e.g. Elliott et al., 1999; Finlay, 2002a, 2002b). Reflexivity can be defined as 'thoughtful, conscious self-awareness' (Finlay, 2002b, p. 532). My interdisciplinary background, interest in what international politics leads to in the life of people and my belief that a gender equal society is both fair and the best for all are aspects related to the way in which I conducted the present study. I recognise myself in what DeMarrais (2004) describes as classic mistakes of a novice researcher, such as asking long ended questions not really coming out of my words. Leading focus group discussions and conducting interviews in or about a foreign country discussing themes that were rather new to me was challenging. The relationship between researchers and researched (Finlay, 2002a) deserves some attention as it is part of the context of meaning making. In Bosnia researchers are often considered to be part of the international community (Skjelsbæk, 2006), which could be linked to the way in which both researchers and researched represented themselves. In spite of our introductory talk that we were independent researchers wanting to learn about *their* perspectives, I have the impression that some of the informants had a clear view of us researchers as being part of the 'international community' and from 'the West' leading to a certain power imbalance (Finlay, 2002a, 2002b).

16

Mode of analysis

Getting from data gathering, transcription and over to analysis I used a thematic approach, as described by Braun and Clarke (2006). A number of decisions needed to be made before embarking on the analysis itself (Braun & Clarke, 2006). First, themes were identified on the basis of their content and on the basis of having been talked about by several interviewees. Second, rather than aiming to describe the whole data set, the thematic organisation of the data focused on information about reactions and interpretations of the WPS agenda and identity. Third, the analysis was mostly inductive but the theoretical approach on identity made me look for how identities were constructed in the data. Fourth, the themes were of a latent character as I examined the underlying conceptualisations, understandings, assumptions, ideologies, and ideas rather than the explicit meaning of text fragments.

The data were analysed following six phases (Braun & Clarke, 2006) using the qualitative data analysis software NVivo 11 Pro. First, I familiarised myself with the data through data collection and the transcription of recordings. Initial ideas about the content were written down and initiated the thought process that developed throughout the analysis. Then, all data items were carefully read. Placing a label on data fragments generated initial codes covering most of the data set. Fragments were attached to more than one code when I found them saying something about more than one aspect. Also, I coded most of the data extracts as suggested by Braun and Clarke. Topics that I did not consider relevant in initial stages could turn out to be so during later phases. This created a list of in total 112 codes. During the initial coding I organised codes into main and sub codes. This made it clearer and pushed me to start looking for themes.

In phase 3 initial codes were sorted into potential themes, placing all data extracts from the codes into the new themes. The themes were different narratives about the WPS agenda. In phase 4, when reviewing themes, I looked for a distinction between narratives at the collective and individual levels. The criteria of *internal homogeneity* and *external heterogeneity* (see Braun & Clarke, 2006) were used in the process of specifying the narratives. Once I had a fairly good overview of the different narratives I proceeded to phase 5. By looking through the narratives and taking notes of their content I identified their 'essence'. At this point in the analysis I had the benefit of presenting the initial results to students and two supervisors at my faculty at the university and to about 15 researchers at PRIO. Writing the report involved going back and forth between phases until the different narratives were presented as in the results section.

Reliability, Validity and Trustworthiness

In qualitative studies both reliability and validity have been referred to as trustworthiness (see Stiles, 1993). Reliability concerns the trustworthiness of the observations or data and validity concerns the trustworthiness of interpretations and conclusions derived from the data. The trustworthiness of the present thesis was increased through different processes. The study was rigorous (Tracy, 2010) in a number of ways. First, the inclusion of several theoretical frameworks allowed me to consider the theoretical constructs in an abundant manner. Second, in terms of the adequacy of data (see Morrow, 2005) the material was rich in descriptions and involved a variety of interviewees with different perspectives. Third, in line with the goal of providing a 'thick description' (Geertz, 1993) I tried to learn as much about Bosnia as I could during the process of working with the present study (Cho & Trent, 2006; Stiles, 1993). Furthermore, transparency was obtained both during data collection and analysis as well as in this report. I did not stand in the project alone and have been able to discuss the observations and my interpretations of the data along the way with other researchers. Conducting part of the fieldwork in a research team led to fruitful discussions at several moments of data collection and analysis. I was also challenged on my interpretations when presenting my initial findings at the university and at PRIO.

V. Results

Two main narratives about the WPS agenda and gender equality norms were identified in the data; these were what I have chosen to call 'narratives of support' and 'narratives of resistance'. Both narratives tell stories about how the WPS agenda intersects with core identities in Bosnian society, and this intersection can be seen on collective and individual levels. I will return to this in the discussion. Narratives of support refer to storied accounts about a certain acceptance or embracement of the normative framework, while narratives of resistance refer to storied accounts about opposition to the normative framework.

Narratives of support

Narrative of socialist compatibility

The first narratives of support portray gender equality as something that was part of Bosnian culture dating back to before the war and the breakdown of Yugoslavia. In doing so

reference was made to the past and how the past had influenced the presence and, even further, how it might influence the future. In particular, the main element of this narrative is the socialist ideology that was the foundation of the former Yugoslav state. In terms of the past, gender equality norms were constructed as integral to the socialist period and was part of their way of living, as one of the interviewees stated:

> So during the socialism we did have eh, gender equality ideology let's call it. That goes in hand with such a regime ehm, in terms of socialist belief related to working class and equality of the proletariat and stuff like that. So we did have, in theory, good laws. And also in practice, we did see that happening, women gaining the right to vote, women gaining mass education. Getting all sorts of professional positions and stuff.
>
> <div align="right">(Female representative religious community)</div>

Interviewees told about how their mothers had been active at the workforce alongside men and that the former Yugoslav state had a solid welfare system. There was no gender gap in salaries and working women were provided with one year of paid maternity leave when having a child. In stories about the private sphere interviewees told about how female role models for them had all been working and about how their parents (in the case of female interviewees), had raised them to be empowered and encouraged them to believe in themselves: 'But he [referring to her father] was very empowering in the sense that, what he and mom did, you know, everything was doable, with everything it was like 'you can do it''. The narrative thus describes the socialist period as the main element of the past and that citizens of the former Yugoslavia had lived lives with gender equality norms dominating in the public spheres. The socialist past was then linked to strong gender equality norms. In the following extract one of the interviewees reflected upon the situation in her own family and about to what extent she considered this to be linked to the communist ideology:

> However, in my personal relationship with my father and my mother in that times I think that they were both trying to advance eh, the gender equality. Not that they were particularly communistic, but I think, the best they knew, they were raising two girls and I think my father's perspective, I think he did quite okay! Because he himself grew up in, you know, in the patriarchal. But he was very empowering, in the sense that, what him and mom did, you know, everything was doable. With everything it was like: "You can do it".
>
> <div align="right">(Female representative international organisation)</div>

What is interesting in this extract is the way in which the informant talked about the values of the society in relation to the values in her own family and how these values manifested themselves in the relationships between her parents and herself. The interviewee continued to talk about how the way that she was raised had influenced her life and opportunities. She reflected upon what it meant to her to be a feminist and a mother. Working was important to her and she attributed part of her happiness to the fact that she was working. She also felt that working made her being a better mother and questioned the notion of 'perfect motherhood', as a Western foreign concept. The story illustrates how this woman had embraced gender equality norms as part of her own values.

Going back to the societal aspect of the narrative, the socialist legacy was linked to gender equality norms in Bosnia today and to reactions to the WPS agenda. The normative framework was considered to be compatible with the socialist legacy of Bosnian society; it was seen as compatible with long standing norms and modes of life and thereby not as foreign and imported. The following quote shows this clearly:

> Well, I mean, that is a very complex topic, right? So it's not a yes or no answer kind of thing. Eh, I don't think it's a, I don't think it's as much the question of the values of the society, right? Because, I mean, Bosnia was part of Yugoslavia, which was a very strong communist or socialist system. So I mean women's rights were not really ever a big issue here. Because I mean in socialism you had this equality kind of, it was very advanced you know.
>
> (Female representative international organisation)

The extract illustrates how interviewees discussed the WPS agenda in light of the socialist legacy and how they connected this legacy to gender equality norms in Bosnia today, i.e. 'women's rights were not really ever a big issue here'. The narrative suggests, then, that rather than being something 'imported' from the international community, the underlying norms of the WPS agenda as well as the notion that women should participate in the public spheres, are seen as having historical roots back to a socialist legacy of the former Yugoslav state and ideology. When changing the focus to the current Bosnian state a different narrative of support comes to the surface.

Narrative of modernisation of the Bosnian state

When talking about the WPS agenda in current day Bosnia little reference was made to the past or the socialist legacy; instead the focus was on how the Bosnian state was performing at present. In these stories adaptation to the WPS agenda was seen as a necessary

step to *Europeanization*. Different legislation, policies and strategies had been developed to implement UNSCR 1325 in various sectors (notably the security sector) with considerable international pressure and effort. But the results are a source of pride. As a former female politician expressed it: '1325 is very important and has got excellent results in BiH'. The narrative suggests that positive views of the Bosnian modern state are important to the interviewees. The following extract reflects this:

> We had the first country in the region that had 27 percent of women in the parliament, and we did it, we were at several levels always the first. Even Germany and France didn't have that many women.
>
> (Former female politician)

The participation of women in different public spheres, including in politics and peacebuilding efforts was seen to be a central part of the Bosnian modern state. A statement by a female representative from an international organisation with Bosnian background suggest that women's participation was seen as something normal: 'I mean, nobody say "Oh, she can't do this job because she is a woman", no'. Positive characteristics attached to the women were described, such as stated by a female politician: 'Women are more rational, good managers, they are good in taking care of money, budgets, like they do it at home'. A female politician reflected upon how she experienced being a female politician:

> Maybe it is a little more difficult in the beginning. Now when we know each other there is no problem. I have always been equally treated by all my colleagues, at local and at state level as well.
>
> (Female politician)

Noteworthy were stories from and about what I would call norm entrepreneurs of the new modern Bosnian state. These were women who worked in policy areas directly related to the WPS agenda, such as training women to become politicians. Women working in these international organisations and in local women's NGOs talked about experiences of empowerment and had it as one of their main goals to empower other young women as a way of moving the Bosnian modernisation and increasing Europeanization forward. They do this by telling fellow women that they should apply their knowledge and skills to fight for their rights and to work for what they believed in. The norm entrepreneurs themselves described their position as being unique in the sense they situated themselves between the local Bosnian

and the international contexts. The following extract suggests what this unique position can entail for the WPS agenda: 'But I mean, working for the UN is different, you don't feel like you're working in Bosnia because we have this very clear UN core values that we all identify with'. This position was considered key to be able to lead Bosnia in the direction of modernisation, suggesting that a certain level of manoeuvre was important to ensure what they see as desired changes.

A theme that Bosnian young women working in international organisations and in women's NGOs talked extensively about was the fact that they considered themselves to be more empowered than most other women in Bosnia. Some interviewees considered this to be a result of personal experiences and support from their families; others attributed their empowered state of being to the work itself. The following extract illustrates how important her job was for one of the interviewees: 'I have no problems with that, that actually saved me to be honest, I'm good, I'm good'. These women further expressed that they wanted to use their position to empower other women in Bosnia. One of the interviewees told about how she used to tell young women that they should apply their skills and knowledge to fight for their rights and to work for what they believed in. Several interviewees made a divide between urban and rural areas in terms of women's empowerment. Modernisation and increased gender equality was seen to be most visible in urban areas. The notion that women were getting married at later ages and were more economically independent than what previous generations of women had been was ascribed to life in the cities.

Overall, then, these narratives suggest that there was a 'fit' of the WPS agenda with the modernisation aims of the Bosnian state. In the narrative gender equality norms were considered to be a characteristic of modern states, a characteristic seen as desirable for Bosnia. Rather than embracing gender equality norms, the narrative suggests a support on the basis of its value for the modernisation process and desired changes in Bosnia. Interestingly, another narrative of support was also brought to the fore in stories about the impact of religious communities in Bosnia.

Narrative of religious flexibility

While Bosnia has become an increasingly religious state where at least three (or four) religious communities dominate (Muslim, Orthodox and Catholic – and a small Jewish community too) their stories about religious influence was not one of a strong resistance and restraint. Rather, several argued that religion was not necessarily in opposition to modernisation and gender equality. Reference to the past was made in terms of accounts

about how religion had been used or even misused as a way of legitimising certain ways of organising social life. One of the interviewees, who represented the Islamic community, stated that it was wrong to think that religion itself influenced the organisation of religious communities, such as the distribution of tasks between women and men. Instead, she argued, it was all about how people *interpreted* religion. What had been interpreted in the past did not necessarily need to be the interpretation in the future, and this was seen as particularly true when it came to women's involvement in religious communities. The following extract illustrates:

> And from that perspective, to have a woman in the Assembly of our church is science fiction. But of course we have some explanation I can say because we have bishops in the Assembly and as you can see and you know, women cannot be priests so we cannot have women so it is more a theological explanation, and we don't have [it is not that we have] anything against that.
>
> (Female representative religious community)

As the extract above suggests religious communities were not unwilling to adapt to central norms in the WPS agenda such as women in leading roles - in religious communities. It was more a question of the international community not knowing how Bosnia functioned, according to religious representatives. As expressed by one of the interviewees: 'They want to bring us something that is really different from our culture and our real need'. The international community did not know the Bosnian context. It was therefore seen as inappropriate that the international community should tell Bosnians, as one of the interviewees put it: 'how we should organise our lives'. The core argument was that women could very well have leading positions in religious communities; the religious texts were more flexible (in their view) than people were willing to acknowledge, but these changes would have to come from within the religious communities and not be imposed from outside actors.

Even so, the accounts included the notion that although gender equality norms were not an integral part of religious communities, there were no official rules that would prohibit them to adapt to societal developments in terms of more gender equality. The accounts also included the notion that to some extent women had been part of religious communities' organisation for a long time. What was new was that, as representatives from religious communities understood it, the normative framework implied that women should also be part of decision-making bodies. The interviewees talked about religious communities as having an open attitude towards adapting to the normative framework and to include women into religious boards. One of the interviewees considered this to be part of natural progression

23

connected to globalisation and feminist movements, a development that came from within the communities themselves. With more women being educated religious communities would gradually allow women into decision-making mechanisms, this was seen as a natural development and path by several interviewees. It was also emphasized that many religious leaders were not personally against including women into decision-making bodies in their communities. One of the interviewees from a religious community told about what the imam had said about women's involvement in the community: 'But in terms of women, really, he himself, what was, he is not as a person against for example engagement of women and participation of women'.

A central element in their accounts was that religious communities felt that the international community had overlooked their internal efforts. Some expressed their frustration about the, in their opinion, limited view of gender equality among the international community and that they failed to see different expressions of development and gender equality that did not fit with what they saw as a pre-defined set-up. As one of the interviewees expressed it: 'It was always about their own view of what gender equality is, percentages and women should be imams'. As another informant put it: 'The traditional churches and religious communities remain outside'. The extracts suggest that religious communities were seen to have no ownership of the new normative framework. One of the interviewees referred to her personal experience in explaining why she believed that women could not be priests:

> My father is a priest and my husband is a priest and according to their life and everything, and some practical issues, I cannot imagine that priests can be pregnant. Because women are different from men and I am talking from my own experience because I am from that kind of family and I am experienced in that. It is not just about my *right* but the experience is that it is very hard. (…) Especially during some last periods when my father had to take a horse and ride over the hills to visit people. So can you imagine women riding a horse and everything through the woods and forests?
>
> (Female representative religious community)

In order to be able to integrate gender equality norms into their communities they needed a dialogue with international actors about what the WPS agenda entailed for them and how it could be adapted to religious structures and values. The reason for why this had not been done was considered partly due to confusions about the position of religion in the Bosnian state. Bosnia was portrayed as being a secular society within which religious communities needed to attempt to find their place. As one of the religious community representatives expressed it:

'What is a secular society and how are religious communities seen as legitimate actors within such a society'. In line with the notion that religious communities wanted to be able to interpret the normative framework from their own perspectives, as seen in the narratives of collective support, religious women wanted the opportunity to become active in a way that they found useful and appropriate within the religious parameters they subscribed to. Rather than wanting to become priests or imams, as they saw as a central part of the WPS agenda, they wanted to contribute to civil society in other ways:

> They would like to be more, as a religious people, as women of faith, they would like to be active
> and recognized by the society as some kind of strength of the society that can, that they can do
> something together for the benefit of civil society. But recognised as women of faith.
>
> (Female representative religious community)

Interestingly, emphasis was put on the fact that it was important for them that they were recognised as a religious group when performing this type of work. What we see in this narrative, then, is that religious communities were in fact flexible and open to adapt to the gender equality norms coming to Bosnia with the introduction of the WPS agenda. The narrative included accounts about the past and the future, and how this influenced the understanding of gender equality norms at present.

Although there were narratives about how the WPS agenda was a 'fit' with pre-existing structures and ideals and sometimes connected to desired changes, there were also strong narratives in the opposite direction

Narratives of resistance

Narrative of a dysfunctional state

The strongly dysfunctional Bosnian state with over bureaucratization and extreme degrees of corruption was also an element of a narrative of opposition. There were elements that were seen in direct opposition to the implementation of the WPS agenda and to gender equality norms more broadly. In the stories it became apparent that the state did not address gender equality and the WPS agenda seriously, neither in terms of participation nor in terms of the protection pillar. As stated by a male politician: 'Gender equality is seen as a women's issue, not as a societal concern'. The legal system was described as being 'messy' and this was seen as one of the reasons for the lack of legal support to the majority of war-victims of rape. The narrative also included the notion that with all the problems in Bosnia, such as the

inadequate health system, educational system, pension system and problems with the economy, gender equality was not a prioritised issue. Turning to the political sphere it was portrayed as not being gender sensitive in a satisfactorily manner. The political system did not create a good climate for female political engagement. According to a male politician this was a deliberate strategy of male politicians in power positions who did not want to share their power with women. He said the following about the obstacles for female political engagement:

> So they put women on the list, they are finding representatives that they know will not make it into the assembly. Even when some women are elected into the assembly there is a large question: Are they allowed to discuss their opinion? Or do they need to represent the party, the opinion of the president? They elect women to be part of a party, giving them false power. But they do not have real power.
>
> (Male politician)

When I asked about whether female politicians were able to make a difference interviewees told me that those women who were elected into parties did not promote gender equality, neither in their parties nor in Bosnian society in general. An NGO worker who had worked in programs aiming to empower women in politics said it like this: 'They didn't change the culture within the party, they left us, they left women'. The narrative suggests that in the political sphere there was a superficial 'fit' of the WPS agenda with the Bosnian state.

Prejudice towards women was part of individuals' reflection about elements of the Bosnian state that were not in line with the normative framework. A female politician told about how she felt that she was not treated fairly and not valued by her male colleagues. Another female politician told about how she had led a project dealing with gender issues that had failed since there was so little support for this policy area. She further told that the first time she had felt fully accepted by her male colleagues was when she was seen as being one of them: 'And then you have the feeling that you are a little bit a man'. There was no room for the expression of 'femininity' in Bosnian politics: 'And also, to exclude somehow personal feelings and emotions, just to perceive that as a job'. The following extract about the female prime minister of Republika Srpska illustrates how pervasive the association of politics with constructions of masculinity (and the nationalist character of Bosnian politics in general) were:

I only know one, and she is gruesome. She is a nationalist and as bad as all the others. So she hasn't brought any feminist values with her. I actually think that she tries to be more male than men, to make it in that environment. She is surrounded by gruesome men and, as a consequence, wants to be an even more gruesome woman, not to be… And that is typical. Just to say: "Hi, I fit in".

(Young man, Bosnian diaspora)

In terms of the Bosnian norm entrepreneurs (i.e. people who wanted to create changes), these were well aware of the dysfunction of the state apparatus as it was today. Many of the projects they were engaged in, and that were funded from the international community, had none or poor results. When one type of project did not work the strategy changed, something that the involved individuals found highly frustrating. They were disappointed and found it difficult to find the energy to keep on working in the current political climate. Women who were actively involved were also uncertain about whether there would be women like them in the future at all, who would continue working for women's rights.

Overall, the narrative suggests that the state did not function in a good way and that the political system and climate was not a good basis for promoting gender equality.

Narrative of tradition and patriarchy

Alongside the narratives about how the WPS agenda was a 'fit' with pre-existing structures and ideals and sometimes connected to desired changes, there were also strong narratives in the opposite direction. Stories were told about how elements of Bosnian society were strong 'misfits' with the WPS agenda. These stories were about traditional roles and patriarchal values, the dysfunctional Bosnian state and the war legacy and strong ethnic division.

Tradition was a term that was used to denote parts of what interviewees referred to as the 'Bosnian mentality'. It was seen as something that had existed in the past and influenced the present. Most of the interviewees referred to this term when talking about opposition to the WPS agenda and to gender equality norms. It was considered to be something integral to Bosnian society and as partly disconnected from both religion and socialism. When discussing the traditional gender roles in Bosnia one of the interviewees explained it like this:

I agree, I just would like to add that tradition, especially in Bosnia, is mentality. You know, I think it's not just connected with religion. It is mentality and I think that it could be seen during the

socialism era, communism. We didn't have practising [of religion] but we had very traditional
attitudes you know, connected with this country. So it's mentality actually.

<div align="right">(Male representative, religious community)</div>

A strong counter story to the notion that the socialist time had brought with it gender equality to Bosnia was the notion that in fact there was no real gender equality. As one of the male interviewees from the Bosnian diaspora said it: 'It [referring to gender equality] was more talk than reality'. Bosnian society was described as 'extremely patriarchal', with a strong male-domination in public spheres and with traditional gender roles being prominent in the private sphere. Interviewees also spoke about a 're-traditionalisation' of Bosnia linked to the increased religious influence after the war. Tradition hindered women from participating in public spheres and was seen as a reason for a lack of interest among women to be politically engaged. As said by a male representative from the religious community: 'And those who aren't [interested in participating] just stick to tradition, and the bad part of tradition'.

Expectations to women and the roles they should fulfil were part of stories interviewees told about their own lives of that of female family members. For instance, one of the interviewees told about how her mother had lost part of her freedom and ability for self-expression when she had married her father. They lived on the countryside and it was a custom that the woman moved in with her family in law and took over their values and habits. Others told about how it had always been their mothers who had taken care of the household and who had the main responsibility for raising the children, although she had worked outside the home as well. A story was told about a man who, out of principle, would not put his plate into the dishwasher himself because there were three women in the house who should do it, his wife and two daughters.

Importantly, interviewees linked these traditional gender roles to difficulties in adapting to the WPS agenda. Expectations to women related to traditional gender roles were seen as difficult to combine with for instance a political career. One of the interviewees, a female politician, said the following about this issue: 'According to our tradition women's roles is to be mother, wife, I mean house lady and then it is possible to get something else'. This implied that being a mother and wife was considered as more important than being politically engaged or pursuing a career. She continued by telling that young women could be politically engaged if they were single but that if they wanted to have a family this was more difficult. Some women were afraid to become politically engaged since their families did not

approve of it. Interestingly, the female gender roles were constructed as being stricter than male gender roles:

> I don't know if women are, you are not just an individual, you are not just Amina[7], you are also someone's daughter, a wife, a mother, much more than what men are. My boyfriend, he is just Amir, he is not that much the other things. Or maybe he is also 'the man' and so on, but anyway the associations with being a man are much more positive than those that come with being a woman. Women have many more burdens. They have much more freedom being a man. It is kind of automatically a power position.
>
> (Young woman, Bosnian diaspora)

The extract illustrates how women and men were seen to be different from one another and how this was seen to influence the gender dynamics in Bosnia. Stories were also told about what were seen as female 'traits' that made it more difficult for them to be successful in politics than for men. Women were described as being less expressive but also less aggressive than men. This suggests that politics was considered to be a masculine arena. One of the female politicians reflected upon this and said that the first time that she had felt as an equal in political life was when her male colleagues did not pardon themselves when they said bad words in the presence of a woman, upon which she said: 'And then you have the feeling that you are a little bit a man'.

Another theme that was part of the framing of resistance was the notion that there was a lack of awareness among the population, including women, about what gender equality entailed. Feminism and gender equality were not considered to be part of the public discourse but contained within civil society, which is funded primarily by international donors, only. Stories were also told about individual experiences with the absence of an awareness of feminism and gender equality. An interviewee told about female and male friends of her who studied at the university who did not have a reasonable idea about what the concept of feminism actually meant. One of the interviewees had an example illustrating the lack of support to feminist values in academic circles: 'Oh God, at the university of East Sarajevo there was even a young lady talking against feminism'. Some people that the interviewees even considered feminism to be unnecessary or even stupid; many women in Bosnia were of the opinion that feminism had not done anything good for them. An illustrative story about how some women did not feel the need to have influence in what were considered to be 'male issues' was that of a woman who was part of a governing board in her municipality but who

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[7] All names referring to interviewees are pseudonyms and not the interviewees' real names.

often told her husband to attend meetings in her place as she found them boring, especially when they discussed financial issues. Reasons for the lack of gender awareness and possibilities to change were the lack of interest among women to participate and the fact that many women were comfortable with how things were.

Connected to the traditional and patriarchal values in Bosnian society were stories about prejudice and disrespect towards women. Female politicians were considered to be less credible than their male colleagues. As a female politician said it: 'According to our mindset people would say, "What is she doing here?" like giving less credibility to the women than to the men'. Disrespect to women was described as being part of both the public and the private spheres. One of the male interviewees told me about an episode that happened on Bosnian television, where a female journalist had been told to, as the informant put it: 'Go and wash yourself down there' by a male politician who was not happy with the question she asked him. He told me that the politician had received applause to this comment, mostly from males in the audience. In Croatia the event was presented as a scandal while it in Bosnian media was presented as, as the interviewee told me, a 'funny sketch'. In terms of the private sphere the issue of domestic violence came up. For instance, one of the interviewees reflected upon the fact that there was no single woman in her family who was a generation or more above her who had not experienced some form of domestic violence. Psychological violence was the most widespread, but economic and sexual violence were also common. The interviewee linked this story to her reflections upon disrespect towards women in Bosnian society today.

What we see, then, is that traditional gender roles in Bosnia were limiting opportunities to adapt to the WPS agenda. Gender equality norms were seen as part of elements of both socialist as well as modernisation rhetoric, but it was not something that was manifest in gendered equal lives in the private spheres of home and family life. In addition, Bosnian society was portrayed as being hostile towards women.

Narrative of the war legacy and ethnic division

Finally, the legacy of the Bosnian war was a big part of the stories and with that came stories about past and current ethnic divisions. For instance, some referred to all the elements related to the conflict that still caused problems in Bosnian society, which in sum made a gender equality agenda and effort seem less important than many other pressing issues. From the perspective of ethnicity, which is the most salient social identity in Bosnian society, adapting to the WPS agenda implied adding 'support to the normative framework' as yet another 'marker' alongside the one of 'ethnic belonging'. Ethnicity is extremely decisive for

the opportunities and choices citizens of Bosnia have, and it is deeply rooted in social practices. For instance most schools are divided along ethnic lines and ethnic belonging often decides where in Bosnia individuals decide to build their lives. Interviewees considered ethnicity; being such an ever-present 'marker' influencing people's lives in so many ways, as standing in the way for societal change for Bosnia as a united country. As one of the interviewees pointed out when we were talking about the division between ethnic groups:

> So people have kind of, the situation has led to the creation of a society within society, kind of. And that is because of the war, which has created dividing lines between people. And everyone has kind of chosen to walk in their own direction. But before everyone went in the same direction, to put it that way.
>
> (Young woman, Bosnian diaspora)

Another big part of the stories was the mass rapes during the war. The rapes were founded on an inequality between women and men, socially, politically, economically and domestically. As stated by one of the interviewees who worked for an international organisation: 'So I don't think sexual violence in the conflict, in the war here just happened out of nowhere, really, we must not kid ourselves'. She continued by stating that the question about why men strategically targeted women had to be raised. Similarly, the following extract illustrates how war-time sexual violence was linked to aspects of Bosnia that were also existent during the socialist period:

> You know, and they were afraid of being raped you know. So this keeps coming up in a lot of conversations. Yes, it was a tactic of war and in our case it was systemised. Raped women were locked in and all of that. But on the other hand it was, it was eh, an extension on a grand scale of what happened to us before that. The situation of women in the '80s, we were sex objects that managed to get jobs in essence. That was it, that was our, that was the '80s.
>
> (Female representative international organisation)

The occurrence of the rapes is still an open wound and accountability is still unsettled. The vast majority of the victims of sexual violence have never received any compensation from the state.[8] Interviewees linked the public silence about the wartime rapes to the taboo of

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[8] According at a report by OSCE (2014), the Bosnian court addressed 111 cases involving wartime sexual violence between 2005 and 2013. In the 2015/2016 yearly report of Amnesty International (2016), it is stated that the first financial compensation to a war-victim of sexual violence by a Bosnian court ever was granted in June 2015. The perpetrators were sentenced to 10 years in prison. Ten thousands of cases remain unresolved and the majority of victims will not receive justice in their lifetime.

female sexuality that was still part of Bosnian society. This shows how difficult the climate within which norm entrepreneurs for the WPS agenda and women's NGOs worked.

The mass rapes were linked to a politicisation of women's bodies. As the war was fought along ethnic lines, the rapes were linked to ethnicity. Coming to terms with the fact that all parties of the war were both perpetrators and victims of this type of violence is strongly needed, but still out of reach in Bosnia. This is primarily because ethnic differences have created perpetrator and victim identities along ethnic lines. This makes it hard to focus on the gender dimensions of the sexual violence complex; the ethnic divisions override all other conceptualisations. The aim of the agenda is to go beyond ethnicity in working to provide victims with different forms of assistance and legal reparations. The interviewees engaged in this type of work, however, told that this was difficult. They found the work along the protection pillar of the WPS agenda particularly difficult and saw this type of work as the most political. One of the interviewees, however, said quite the opposite; she found the participation pillar more political to work with than the protection pillar.   In the following extract one of the interviewees talked about how the strong tension between ethnic groups became part of norm entrepreneurs' work:

> So when things get bad, so bad on a political level as they are. Now you see women's
> organisations and the state and entity institutions stuck into that, derived into that. (…) So I mean,
> like I said, you suddenly see a group of women, human rights fighters, activists and so on dragged
> into a political conversation about who raped whom. (…) So this is causing strides.
>
> <div align="right">(Female representative international organisation)</div>

The narrative further included stories about how experiences during the war had motivated individuals for their current work related to peacebuilding, including the WPS agenda. One of the interviewees told that she had been abused by military forces of her own ethnic group during the war, but who had thought that she was from another ethnic group, and that this influenced her views and experiences working with the protection of female war victims of sexual violence: 'And yes, I have been here during the war so I guess that also played a big part into sort of my narrative when it comes to what we do on 1325'. The war had obliged some to make difficult decisions, which had been decisive for their current personal and professional life:

> The most important, the very much important to me was to think by myself, by my own head. And
> to make judgements led by my heart and soul. I didn't leave Bosnia for two reasons. Because I

didn't want to be in a position to listen to stories of how war happens. And the second reason was that in 1992 I had an opportunity to meet with Marija, who was a coordinator, although at that time I was not aware about the meaning of this position, of this work.

(Female representative, Bosnian NGO)

Overall, the narrative suggests that the legacy of the war and the ethnic division in Bosnian society created a highly challenging climate for adapting to the WPS agenda. The many painful and unresolved issues from the conflict and the deeply rooted inequalities between women and men, as connected to the occurrence of the mass rapes, were strong 'misfits' to the WPS agenda.

VI. Discussion

In the present thesis my first question was how the WPS agenda is received and adapted to in Bosnia and what this can tell us about social identity constructions. I found that stories about the WPS agenda brought about narratives of different kinds of support and opposition. Six narratives were identified; narratives about *socialist compatibility*, *modernisation of the Bosnian state*, *religious flexibility*, *tradition and patriarchy*, *a dysfunctional state*, and about *the war legacy and ethnic division*. These narratives were grouped into two main categories that I have chosen to refer to as 'narratives of support' and 'narratives of resistance'. In terms of 'narratives of support', I found that the WPS agenda was considered to be compatible with the socialist legacy of Bosnia, to be accepted as an integral aspect of the modernisation of the Bosnian state, and that religious communities were open to discuss how they could adapt to the normative framework in their communities. These narratives suggest that there was a kind of 'fit' of the WPS agenda with these aspects of Bosnian society. However, there were also strong narratives in the opposite direction. The WPS agenda was considered to be a 'misfit' to the emphasis on traditional gender roles and patriarchal values, to the poor functioning of the Bosnian state, and to unresolved issues concerning the occurrence of sexual violence during the war and the strong ethnic division of the Bosnian population.

I wanted to look at how reactions and adaptations to the WPS agenda in Bosnia were related to social identity constructions. As I pointed at in the beginning of this thesis, Bosnia is a country in which different social identities are contested and in which the war and the

Dayton Peace Agreement have contributed to the maintenance of the strong fragmentation of Bosnian society. In addition, the transitional status of the country creates a climate in which the meanings and functions of social identities might change along with different societal developments (David & Bar-Tal, 2009). What does the introduction of the WPS agenda do to social identity formation within this context? When looking at the narratives from a social psychological identity perspective, I found that the narratives of support and narratives of resistance included negotiations of different social identities. The identities that became particularly salient in the stories were the *Bosnian national identity*[9], *ethnic identity*, *religious identity* and *gender identity*. I will look at ways in which the introduction of the WPS agenda intersects with these identities and does something to them, and ultimately also something to the WPS agenda. In particular, I will do this by considering what the normative framework might do with the constructed identities by looking primarily at the functions of identity (Simon, 2004), i.e. with identities' capacity to provide individuals and groups with a sense of *belongingness, distinctiveness*, *respect and esteem*, *understanding and meaning*, and *agency*. In addition to looking at what the WPS agenda meant for constructions of social identities, I wanted to understand how this was related to processes of norm transformation. Based on Bronfenbrenner's model of human development (1979) I have posited that *societal* development takes place at different levels, all the way from the sociopolitical level to the individual level. By looking at narratives at the societal, interpersonal and individual levels, inspired by Bronfenbrenner (1979), Hammack and Pilecki (2012) and the theoretical frameworks on identity applied in this thesis, I can gain insight into what Hammack (2008) referred to as processes of social reproduction and social change.

Meanings WPS agenda for social identity constructions

So what would adapting to the WPS agenda mean when intersected with the *Bosnian national identity*, i.e. an identity above the various ethnic and more divisive identities in Bosnia? When the Bosnian national identity was salient, stories of both 'fit' and 'misfit' were told. The narrative about socialist compatibility suggests that the normative framework was functional to the 'Bosnian national identity'. Gender equality was a principle at the societal level that was part of how people perceived the world and lived their lives, and thus also

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[9] I consider the 'Bosnian national identity' as a new identity that was created when the Bosnian state was founded with the Dayton Peace Agreement and the Bosnian Constitution in 1995. The identity, as I see it, comprises elements of the identity of the former Yugoslav state. However, citizens of Bosnia do not identify strongly with the new Bosnian state. The Bosnian national identity can therefore be seen as a 'weak' or 'official' identity.

recognisable at the interpersonal and individual levels. The normative foundation of the WPS agenda was a 'fit' to norms and values of socialism, i.e. female participation at the labour market was seen as *normal*. The WPS agenda was therefore in line with how individuals understood the world and attached meaning to it and adapting would not disrupt a shared sense of continuity in time (David & Bar-Tal, 2009). We can speculate that adapting to the WPS agenda provided individuals with respect and esteem, as the normative framework was not considered to be 'imported' from outside. By living by stories (Hammack, 2008) about how gender equality norms were part of Bosnian culture, individuals reproduced these types of norms.

The functions of adapting to the WPS agenda were somewhat different in terms of the modernisation of the Bosnian state. In part, norm transformation could serve as a means to feel a sense of belongingness to the international community and a liberal market economy. This adaptation at the societal level is in line with Finnemore and Sikkink's (1998) notion that states conform to international norms because of their identification with other states or with the international community. In their work, David and Bar-Tal (2009) similarly point out that collective identities are influenced by among other global political and cultural conditions. A successful adoption of the normative framework into state policy and legislation could serve the function of distinctiveness, in terms of the Bosnian state being better than less successful norm adopters. This could provide respect and esteem to those who identified with the Bosnian state and perhaps to norm entrepreneurs in particular, as one of the interviewees pointed out: 'We did it, we were at several levels always the first'. Adaptation provided norm entrepreneurs with agency. Through promoting gender equality norms, empowering young women, supporting victims of sexual violence, and having trainings for women who aspired to become politicians these individuals attempted to transform norms in line with the WPS agenda. The norm entrepreneurs found their work meaningful and talked about the strong commitment to their work, one of the essential conditions for successful implementation according the OSCE study (Ormhaug, 2014). The norm entrepreneurs' work is an example of how individuals can promote social change (see Hammack, 2008). However, the interviewees were not concerned with what adapting to the WPS agenda meant at the interpersonal and individual levels for the Bosnian population at large. A reason for the little concern with these levels in the narrative about modernisation may be the poor identification with the Bosnian state resulting from among others the way in which the state was created. This illustrates a situation in which the context weakens individuals' identification with a collective identity (David & Bar-Tal, 2009).

Even so, adapting to the WPS agenda was less compatible with other elements of the Bosnian national identity and state. In particular, the actual functioning of the state was not a reflection of the modernisation efforts. Rather, it was a result of a patriarchal and nationalist political system favouring nobody but the individuals in power and their own networks. This social structural reality (Hammack, 2008) limited individuals' possibility for agency in line with the WPS agenda. The lack of actual influence that female politicians had illustrates this clearly. As one of the interviewees put it: 'They elect women to be part of a party, giving them false power. But they do not have real power'. It also illustrates how the transitional context and the cultural context, as set out in David and Bar-Tal's (2009) conceptualisation of collective identities, can pull in different directions. In the case of the fragmented and weak Bosnian national identity, in which this cultural context of the Bosnian state's functioning is meaningful to only a subgroup within the collective, a different way of conceptualising the sociopsychological foundations of the two contextual layers might be needed. We see, then, that the way elements of the Bosnian national identity, i.e. the dysfunctional state, are rooted in social practices creates a reality within which women politicians are not able to contribute in the way set out by the WPS agenda and in which there is limited space for adaptation.

When *ethnic identity* was salient, however, different functions of the WPS agenda emerged in stories about a 'misfit'. As a peacebuilding effort, the ambition of the WPS agenda is to go beyond the strong ethnic divides in Bosnian society. Even so, in the narratives it is clear that the legacy of the war and the ethnic divides created a situation within which the WPS agenda became subordinate. The WPS agenda was framed into narratives of resistance, as it was hard for individuals to look beyond ethnicity once it was the salient identity. The WPS agenda was in different ways a disruption of ethnic groups' basis for understanding the social world and for attributing meaning to it. Again, the transitional context of societal change in line with the WPS agenda was quite opposite from the cultural context of strong ethnic divide (see David & Bar-Tal, 2009). One can speculate that the WPS agenda was, in fact, a *threat* to ethnic identities. This threat then manifested itself at societal, interpersonal and individual levels. In Bosnian politics the WPS agenda was at best paid attention to if it did not disrupt the political agendas of nationalist parties[10] and was at worst not prioritised at all. The many problems in Bosnian society, as part of the war legacy, made the WPS agenda and gender equality norms look unimportant. The 'rules of practice' (David & Bar-Tal, 2009)

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[10] The nationalist parties are, as pointed at in the section about Bosnia, based on ethnicity. The division of power between the three main ethnic groups in Bosnia, Bosniaks, Croats and Serbs, was decided during the peace talks and is part of the Dayton Peace Agreement from 1995.

hindered the type of norm transformation necessary for adoption of the WPS agenda and limited norm entrepreneurs' space for agency. Ethnic divides limited the experience of relevance at the local level and the commitment of state actors, hindering successful implementation of the WPS agenda (see Ormhaug, 2014).

Based on the narrative of the war legacy and ethnic division, one could speculate that a second element of threat for ethnic identities was the neutral character of the WPS agenda in terms of understanding the war, i.e. focusing on protection needs of *all* victims. This was in conflict with the conflict-supporting narratives (Bar-Tal, Oren, & Nets-Zehngut, 2014) of the different ethnic groups. A central aspect of these narratives is the notion that other ethnic groups perpetrated sexual violence against members of the own ethnic group, which politicised women's bodies (Helms, 2013) and targeted women's ethnic identity in addition to their gender identity (Skjelsbæk, 2006). Adapting to the WPS agenda, implying that the focus is on victims of rape as a group and not on the ethnic dimension of the rapes, could challenge the narratives of ethnic groups by which individuals live (Hammack, 2008). The way in which ethnic groups' way of understanding the war at the societal level hindered norm transformation was visible at interpersonal and individual levels. For instance, as we saw, the unresolved ethnic conflict hindered individuals working with support initiatives for victims of war-time rape: 'You suddenly see a group of women, human rights fighters, activists and so on dragged into a political conversation about who raped whom'. It could be that looking beyond ethnic divides could undermine the respect and esteem that individuals derived from their ethnic belonging. As a major event (Nets-Zehngut, 2013), then, the collective memory of the war was part of a narrative supporting development in a direction that was a clear 'misfit' to the development aspired for by the WPS agenda. The strong controversy of the collective memory and the dominance of ethnic identities placed norm entrepreneurs in a difficult position. The strong symbolic and political nature of the agenda manifested itself at the individual level as norm entrepreneurs' ethnic identities could be in conflict with their work. One of the interviewees, however, wanted to go against the politicisation of work on the WPS agenda in Bosnia. She reflected upon how her own experience of having been raped by military forces from her own ethnic group, but who had thought that she had a different ethnicity, made her understand the rapes as not primarily linked to ethnicity. She talked to women in different regions in Bosnia about the issue, advocating for an understanding of the rapes as a crime against women (see also Hansen, 2001) as much as a crime perpetrated against them based on their ethnicity. In her work she questioned existing practices based on

the ethnic conceptualisation of the rapes, hereby engaging with a form of 'critical agency' (Björkdahl & Selimovic, 2015).

When *religious identity* was salient there was a different dynamic, primarily related to stories of a 'fit'. The narrative of religious flexibility suggests that religious communities were willing to adapt to the WPS agenda. To make this point, religious community representatives pointed out that interpretations of religion in the past did not necessarily imply that these interpretations were the only possible ones and should be followed in the present or the future. This could be seen as a way in which political normative pressure might lead to reconsiderations of the collective identities' content or 'repertoire' and engage members of the collective (David & Bar-Tal, 2009). Representatives from religious communities reflected upon the role of religion in society: 'What is a secular society and how are religious communities seen as legitimate actors within such a society'. The openness to adaptation is perhaps surprising as religious groups are often portrayed as counter forces to modernisation (Herbert, 2003). One could speculate that becoming part of societal developments towards modernisation provided religious communities with a sense of belongingness to, and respect and esteem from, Bosnian society at large. This was reflected in the importance that the interviewees attributed to making clear that religious communities should not be seen as a counter force to societal development. Instead, they portrayed religious communities as central actors in Bosnian society that could contribute to leading the country in a positive direction[11]. As one of the interviewees said: 'They would like to be more, as religious people, as women of faith, they would like to be active and recognized by the society as some kind of strength of the society'. What this suggests is that the WPS agenda was functional in terms of providing individuals with agency as well as respect and esteem. If religious women would become active in these ways they would contribute to transforming norms through their social practice and contribute to social change in their communities (Hammack, 2008).

Even so, religious communities wanted a dialogue with the international community about what the normative framework should entail *within* religious communities, i.e. about the way in which they could adapt. Interviewees representing religious communities were frustrated about what they experienced as a lack of interest of the international community in their views. They considered the international community to have a limited view on gender equality: 'It was always about their own view of what gender equality is, percentages and women should be imams'. A dialogue between the international community and religious

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[11] For a case study about the relationship between religion and civil society in Bosnia, see Herbert (2003).

groups is necessary if religious groups are to feel respected and provided with a sense of agency in the adaptation process. Standing on their own as a group and adapting in a way compatible with religious values could function as a way of providing religious communities with distinctiveness and a sense of uniqueness and continuity in time (David & Bar-Tal, 2009). In terms of the conditions that need to be in place for successful implementation as pointed out in the OSCE study (Ormhaug, 2014) it seems apparent that religious communities will consider the WPS agenda to be more relevant and they will be more committed and have a larger sense of ownership if they experience the adaptation as meaningful.

At the individual level, however, there was some opposition to the openness of religious communities to adapt. Religious structures and traditions as a basis for understanding the social world and for attributing meaning to different practices within the community could collide with the normative framework. An example of this was one of the interviewees who thought that it would be difficult, after all, to include women into the religious assembly. She reasoned that, although she seemed to agree with the principle of including women into religious boards, it would not be possible: 'But of course we have some explanation I can say because we have bishops in the Assembly and as you can see and you know, women cannot be priests so we cannot have women'. This illustrates how individuals contribute to a reproduction of social realities (Hammack, 2008). What we see, then, is that there was a difference between the societal and the individual levels, suggesting that although individuals might support the WPS agenda in principle it could be more difficult to adapt when it became personal. The way in which the different contextual layers (David & Bar-Tal, 2009) seem to diverge, as discussed in terms of the Bosnian national identity, manifests itself not only at the societal level but all the way down at the individual level.

Last, when *gender identity* was salient, there was again a different dynamic influencing reactions and adaptation to the WPS agenda. These were stories of 'misfit'. Despite the socialist legacy, a set of norms related to traditional gender roles and patriarchal values and structures at the societal level influenced how groups and individuals organised and experienced their lives. It provided a basis for understanding the world and attributing meaning to it that diverged greatly from gender equality norms underlying the WPS agenda. The traditional aspect of Bosnian society, or the 'Bosnian mentality' as many of the interviewees called it, was not so much related to religion but rather to a civic type of traditional. It was considered to hinder adaptation to the WPS agenda in different ways, visible at both interpersonal and at individual levels. For instance, in the interaction with her male colleagues, a female politician felt that she was, as she put it: 'a little bit a man'. The

political sphere was a masculine arena. In order to make it there, female politicians not only behaved more masculine but they also *felt* more masculine. Female politicians needed to leave a part of themselves, i.e. their feminine sides, behind in order to be respected in Bosnian politics: 'And also, to exclude somehow personal feelings and emotions, just to perceive that as a job'. Rather than transforming norms in line with the WPS agenda the example of the female politician illustrates how the patriarchal values are reproduced in social practices through individuals' thoughts and behaviour (Hammack, 2008). Within this context of patriarchy were also stories about disrespect towards and humiliation of women. This was seen as deeply rooted in Bosnian society, as one of the interviewees pointed out: 'The situation of women in the '80s, we were sex objects that managed to get jobs in essence'. This was then linked to the war rapes, which also targeted victims' gender identities (Hansen, 2001; Skjelsbæk, 2006). The example of how a female journalist had been humiliated on public television by a male politician, and the lack of public reactions to it, illustrates that this underlying disrespect is still present in Bosnian society.

The reproduction of existing norms and practices was also visible in terms of women, especially in rural areas, living up to what was expected from them. The internalisation of the collective narrative (Hammack, 2008) of tradition and patriarchy was also visible in terms of university students distancing themselves from the concept of feminism, living by stories about how feminism had not done anything good for them. Norm transformation in line with the WPS agenda would imply a disruption in the basis for understanding the social world and attributing meaning to life of Bosnian women and men who lived by stories of traditional gender roles and patriarchal values. The opposing forces influencing women's position in Bosnian society (Skjelsbæk, 2009), traditional ways of living on the one hand and modernisation on the other, could be conceptualised in terms of the different contextual layers in David and Bar-Tal's (2009) framework. From this viewpoint, in order for norm transformation to occur, women and men in rural Bosnia themselves would need to be engaged with these changes. However, if the norms related to the WPS agenda do not resonate to them, due to the meaning and practices attached to traditional values, the way towards norm transformation might be long.

The social psychological analysis in this thesis has shed light on how reactions and adaptation to the WPS agenda were constructed as intersecting with the functions of salient social identities in Bosnia. For *Bosnian national identity*, the WPS agenda could provide understanding and meaning, respect and esteem, belongingness, and distinctiveness at the societal level. At the interpersonal and individual levels it was not much discussed except for

the case of norm entrepreneurs. For them it provided meaning, esteem and agency, although the space for agency was limited by the dysfunctional nature of the state. For *ethnic identities*, the WPS agenda meant a disruption with the basis for understanding and attributing meaning to the social world and was constructed as an identity threat. The strong ethnic divides further limited norm entrepreneurs' space for agency. For *religious identities*, adapting to the WPS agenda provided a sense of belongingness to Bosnian society and feelings of respect and esteem. In order to fulfil the functions of distinctiveness and agency, adaptation had to be in a way that suited them. When it became personal, however, adaptation could pose a threat to individuals' basis for meaning-making. Last, for *gender identities* the WPS agenda was in conflict with traditional gender roles and patriarchal values as a basis for understanding the social world and attributing meaning to it. This was clearly visible at both interpersonal and individual levels and hindered adaptation to the WPS agenda.

Looking for narratives of identity enabled me to gain insight into how groups and individuals in Bosnia attributed meaning to the process of norm transformation. The knowledge generated in this study is situated in the context within which the research took place. It was created in a transactional way between the field of study and myself as a researcher. The transactional manner of constructing narratives is the strength of this study and part of its trustworthiness. The interviews in Bosnia were the first data that were gathered. These formed my initial thoughts and understandings of the themes discussed. Back in Norway, the two Skype interviews with women in Bosnia and the five interviews with the Bosnian diaspora served as an arena were I could 'test' the way I had first interpreted the material. Further on in the process the presentation for researchers at PRIO was useful as a last 'test' besides discussions with the project leader. All in all, the narrative approach has provided 'thick descriptions' (Geertz, 1973) of reaction and adaptation to the WPS agenda in Bosnia.

Complementing IR perspectives on international norm diffusion

My second research question was how psychological scholarship can complement IR perspectives on international norm diffusion. A social psychological analysis as performed in this thesis can shed light on some of the dynamics that influence the norm adoption process in receiving societies. Psychological scholarship makes it possible to study the *internalisation* of international norms, the third stage of the Life Cycle of Norms (Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998) at the different levels at which societal change takes place. International normative frameworks are not imported into a vacuum but need to be integrated into core identities

within states. For international norms to be experienced as relevant at the local level, and for actors to be committed and to experience a sense of ownership, essential conditions for successful implementation (Ormhaug, 2014), adaptation needs to be *functional* for the expression and recognition of core social identities. By complementing IR perspectives with social psychological scholarship a better understanding of how norms diffuse in receiving societies can be obtained.

The findings of the present study can provide the basis for interesting future research directions. First, for the Bosnian case, we have seen that the protection pillar of the WPS agenda was experienced as very symbolic to work with as it intersected with norm entrepreneurs' ethnic identities. How the unresolved issues of the war and ethnic divides influence on the meanings of the WPS agenda in terms of the participation pillar is something that could be explored further. Second, future studies could look at how the *simultaneous* influence of various social and individual identities influence perceptions and behaviour related to the WPS agenda (see also Simon, 2004). This would be interesting both in terms of psychological theory development and for the implementation of the normative framework. Third, the dynamic between the different levels at which societal change takes place could be a good starting point for research on how implementation strategies could be better suited to promote desired change. Fourth, an identity perspective could be adopted in studies of reactions and adaptation to international normative frameworks like the WPS agenda in other societies and contexts. In addition to inform policy, this could provide useful information for further theory development both in psychology and international relations. I hope that this study can be of inspiration to future interdisciplinary work integrating IR perspectives on international norm diffusion and psychological approaches to identity.

Conclusion

The present thesis has provided insight into reactions and adaptation to the WPS agenda in Bosnia by studying processes of norm transformation from a social psychological perspective on narrative and identity. It was found that the WPS agenda intersected with core social identities in Bosnian society. The *meaning* of the WPS agenda was related to whether there was a 'fit' of the normative framework with constructions of the Bosnian national identity, ethnic identity, religious identity and gender identity. The results suggest that adaptation might be easier when the WPS agenda is considered to be *functional* for the expression and recognition of salient social identities. The narratives illustrate how processes of norm transformation take place at different levels, from the societal to the individual level.

The analysis further suggests that identity might be both an opportunity and a pitfall. In the present study it was found that there were opportunities in terms of the Bosnian national identity and for cooperation with religious communities. The influences of deeply rooted divisions between ethnic groups, however, and the pervasive traditional and patriarchal values influencing gender identities, might be sources of pitfalls in the Bosnian case. The present thesis illustrates the utility of complementing IR perspectives on international norm diffusion with social psychological scholarship. Ultimately, an identity perspective might be fruitful as a complement to different perspectives on international peacebuilding (e.g. Lidén, Mac Ginty, & Richmond, 2009; Lidén, 2013; Lidén, Mikhelidze, Stavrevska, & Vogel, 2016).

Some policy implications can be derived from the insights of the present study. When developing strategies for implementation of the WPS agenda, policy makers should be aware of the different meanings that adapting might have for core social identities at the local level. Attempting to understand the perspectives of different communities and civil society actors in receiving societies can establish bases for cooperation. Moreover, recognising the dynamic nature of norm transformation, taking place at different levels, can increase strategies' potential to facilitate change in the desired direction. Last, looking for opportunities and addressing pitfalls at not only the societal level, but also at interpersonal and individual levels, could be a promising way forward.

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Interview schedule focus groups in Sarajevo 4th – 6th November 2015

Moderators: Inger Skjelsbæk and Elin Doeland

Participating groups: politicians, religious leaders, actors from Bosnian NGO's, actors from the international community in Bosnia

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Welcome everyone and thank you for being willing to participate in this interview. My name is Inger Skjelsbæk and assisting me is Elin Doeland. We are both from the Peace Research Institute in Oslo, Norway. Inger as a research professor and Elin as an MA student. We are here in relation to the Equal Peace Project funded by the Norwegian Research Council. We are having interviews like this with different groups of people here in Sarajevo.

It is a group interview, meaning that we are primarily interested in the discussion between you. The focus of the interview is on the role of men and women in Bosnia today as compared to 20 years ago.

Before we start I would like to give you some pieces of information:

- *First, because we are not able to make accurate notes of everything you say the interview will be recorded. The minidisks will, however, stay with me at all times and will be destroyed when the project is finished.*
- *Second, this interview is based on volunteer participation. You should feel free to not answer questions you may not wish to reveal answers to. If you wish to stop the entire interview, you are also free to do that whenever you want.*
- *Lastly, it is important for me to find out how <u>you</u> think about the different questions I will ask. There are no right or wrong answers to these questions, you are the expert and it is my goal to try to understand your viewpoint on the different issues. The interview will last about 1,5 hours.*

So, let's begin. Let's find out something more about each other by going around the table. Please say your name, where you live and where you work. Could we also ask everyone to

characterize the status of gender equality in Bosnia by saying whether they think it is good or bad?

1. How would you characterise gender roles in Bosnia at the end of the war?

<u>Follow-up questions:</u>

- What was the situation for women?
- What was the situation for men?
- What were the major issues for men/women as you see them?
- Who defined what men's and women's roles should be?
    - What was the role of the state/politicians in defining gender roles?
    - What was the role of religion in defining gender roles?
    - Was there a difference between ethnic groups regarding this?

2. How would you characterise gender roles in Bosnia today?

<u>Follow-up questions:</u>

- Are there different expectations for women and men in terms of education, family life, work..?
- In what way do you think that women and men have the same or different opportunities in Bosnia today?
    - How does this influence your own life? Examples?
- In what way has the war influenced the way that women's and men's roles evolve in Bosnia?
- In your opinion, in which ways have Bosnian women's lives in general changed since the war?
    - How is this visible?
- What is an ideal 21st century man/woman?
    - What is the *most* important for women to accomplish in their lives?
    - What is the *least* important for men to accomplish in their lives?
    - Who defines this?
    - Are there differences between the young generation and older generations?
    - Between ethnic groups?
    - In Sarajevo versus other places in Bosnia?

(Question 1 and 2 will be applied depending on the discussion generated by the opening question – they may not be necessary at all or serve as follow-up for the opening question.)

3. Men's and women's roles in the labour market are being debated in many countries. How is it to be a woman/man at your workplace?

<u>Follow-up questions:</u>
- What does an ordinary day at work look like for you?
    - o What are your tasks?
- Does being a woman/man influence the way you see yourself at work?
    - o What are the reasons for this do you think?
- How many women are there at your workplace?
    - o How do you feel about this?
- Have you noticed in your work that being a woman/man influences
    - o The roles that people have?
    - o The ambitions that people have/what they emphasise at work?
    - o The opportunities that people have at work?
    - o The challenges that people have at work?
    - o How people are treated at work?
    - o What are the major differences?
- Is this a theme that is addressed in Bosnian public discourse? By whom?

4. As in many other countries, there seem to be changes in how gender roles are being defined in Bosnian society. In what way is this an important theme in the work that you do?

<u>Follow-up questions:</u>
- How do you deal with gender issues in society in the work that you do?
    - o Examples?
- Have you experienced any situation in which gender was important for a decision that you made at work?
    - o Examples?
- Have you experienced achieving something that you found particularly valuable?

- In what way do you think this might have been influential for gender equality in society?
- What do you want to accomplish in your work in terms of gender issues?
  - On what domain do you feel like there is the most potential for improvement in terms of gender equality?
  - On what domain do you feel like there is the least potential for improvement in terms of gender equality?

5. *What are the relations between politics and gender roles in Bosnia?*

Follow-up questions:

- What do you think most Bosnian people's opinion is about women's political engagement?
- How is it to be a female politician in Bosnia?
  - Do you have particular expectations for female politicians as compared to male? Which ones?
- If you were the president for a day, what would you do?
  - Is there anything in particular that you would try to influence/change in Bosnia?
- In what way do you think that gender roles in Bosnia differ from those in other countries?
  - What are the reasons for these differences?
- In what way do "Western values" influence gender equality norms in Bosnia?
  - How do you feel about this?
  - How is this visible?
  - On what domain is the influence the biggest?
  - On what domain is the influence the smallest?

6. *International actors are working to promote gender equality norms in Bosnia. Some local actors are also involved in this. How does this dynamic influence your work?*

Follow-up question:

- Do you work together with some other local or international actors?
  - Is this a successful cooperation?
  - Examples?
- In what way do you feel like you are having the same goals?
- Have you experienced disagreeing with the work others have done in terms of promoting gender equality norms?

7. *Do you envision changes in gender roles in Bosnia in the future?*

Follow-up questions:
- What kind of changes do you envision (political, social, cultural)?
  - Have you experienced any situation in which you noticed this change?
- On what basis will it change or not change?
  - Should women be more involved in decision-making and politics?
  - What is the role of religion?
  - Will Bosnia's aim to become an EU country influence gender roles?

8. *Is there anything you would like to add?*

Thank you very much for you participation. If you would like to add something or have any questions later on, please feel free to contact us at any time.

Interview schedule semi-structured qualitative interviews

Interviewer: Elin Doeland

Participants: young women in Bosnia

Thank you for being willing to participate in this interview. My name is Elin Doeland and I am an MA student at the Peace Research Institute in Oslo, Norway. The interview is in relation to my MA thesis and is part of the Equal Peace Project funded by the Norwegian Research Council. It is an honour for me to interview you and I am interested in hearing about your experiences related to gender roles in Bosnia.

Before we start I would like to give you some pieces of information:

- *First, because I am not able to make accurate notes of everything you say the interview will be recorded. The minidisks will, however, stay with me at all times and will be destroyed when the project is finished.*
- *Second, this interview is based on volunteer participation. You should feel free to not answer questions you may not wish to reveal answers to. If you wish to stop the entire interview, you are also free to do that whenever you want.*
- *Lastly, it is important for me to find out how <u>you</u> think about the different questions I will ask. There are no right or wrong answers to these questions, you are the expert and it is my goal to try to understand your viewpoint on the different issues.*
- *The interview will last about 1 hour.*

1. How would you characterize the gender roles in your family when you grew up?

Follow-up questions:

- How did your parents divide work outside the home and at home?
- What sort of job did your mother/father have?

- What were your own expectations for your future life in terms of gender roles (marriage/education/work….)
- Who defined what men and women's roles should be?
  - What was the role of the state/politicians in defining gender roles?
  - What was the role of religion in defining gender roles?
  - Was there a difference between ethnic groups regarding this?

2. How would you characterize gender roles in your environment today?

Follow-up questions:

- Are there different expectations for women and men in terms of education, family life, work..?
- Do you consider gender roles in Bosnia today as very different from the gender roles in your parents' generation?
  - How is this visible?
- In what way do you think that women and men have the same or different opportunities in Bosnia today?
  - How does this influence your own life? Examples?
- In what way has the war influenced the way that women's and men's roles evolve in Bosnia?
- What is an ideal 21st century man/woman?
  - What is the *most* important for women to accomplish in their lives?
  - What is the *least* important for men to accomplish in their lives?
  - Who defines this?
  - Are there differences between the young generation and older generations?
  - Between ethnic groups?
  - In Sarajevo versus other places in Bosnia?

3. Men and women's roles in the labour market are being debated in many countries. How is it to be a woman/man at your workplace?

Follow-up questions:

- What does an ordinary day at work look like for you?
  - What are your tasks?
- Does being a woman/man influence the way you see yourself at work?

- o What are the reasons for this do you think?
- How many women are there at your workplace?
  - o How do you feel about this?
- Have you noticed in your work that being a woman/man influences
  - o The roles that people have?
  - o The ambitions that people have/what they emphasise at work?
  - o The opportunities that people have at work?
  - o The challenges that people have at work?
  - o How people are treated at work?
  - o What are the major differences?
- Is this a theme that is addressed in Bosnian public discourse? By whom?

4. As in many other countries, there seem to be changes in how gender roles are being defined in Bosnian society. In what way is this an important theme in the work that you do?

Follow-up questions:
- How do you deal with gender issues in society in the work that you do?
  - o Examples?
- Have you experienced any situation in which gender was important for a decision that you made at work?
  - o Examples?
- Have you experienced achieving something that you found particularly valuable?
  - o In what way do you think this might have been influential for gender equality in society?
- What do you want to accomplish in your work in terms of gender issues?
  - o On what domain do you feel like there is the most potential for improvement in terms of gender equality?
  - o On what domain do you feel like there is the least potential for improvement in terms of gender equality?

5. What are the relations between politics and gender roles in Bosnia?

Follow-up questions:

- What do you think most Bosnian people's opinion is about women's political engagement?
- How do you think it is to be a female politician in Bosnia?
    - Do you have particular expectations for female politicians as compared to male? Which ones?
- If you were the president for a day, what would you do?
    - Is there anything in particular that you would try to influence/change in Bosnia?
- In what way do you think that gender roles in Bosnia differ from those in other countries?
    - What are the reasons for these differences?
- In what way do "Western values" influence gender equality norms in Bosnia?
    - How do you feel about this?
    - How is this visible?
    - On what domain is the influence the biggest?
    - On what domain is the influence the smallest?

6. *International actors are working to promote gender equality norms in Bosnia. Some local actors are also involved in this. How does this dynamic influence your work?*

Follow-up question:

- Do you work together with some other local or international actors?
    - Is this a successful cooperation?
    - Examples?
- In what way do you feel like you are having the same goals?
- Have you experienced disagreeing with the work others have done in terms of promoting gender equality norms?

7. *Do you envision changes in gender roles in Bosnia in the future?*

Follow-up questions:

- What kind of changes do you envision (political, social, cultural)?
    - Have you experienced any situation in which you noticed this change?
- On what basis will it change or not change?
    - Should women be more involved in decision - making and politics?
    - What is the role of religion?
    - Will Bosnia's aim to become an EU country influence gender roles?

8. *Is there anything you would like to add?*

Thank you very much for you participation. If you would like to add something or have any questions later on, please feel free to contact me at any time.

Én-til-én intervju deltakere i Norge med bosnisk bakgrunn

Intervjuer: Elin Doeland

Deltakere: den bosniske "diaspora" i Norge

Tusen takk for at du er villig til å bli intervjuet. Mitt navn er Elin Doeland og jeg er masterstudent i psykologi og har en MA stilling på Institutt for fredsforskning, PRIO. Intervjuet er til masteroppgaven min og inngår i Equal Peace prosjektet på PRIO som oppgaven min er en del av. Prosjektet er finansiert av Norges forskningsråd. Det er en ære for meg å få snakke med deg og jeg er veldig interessert i å høre om dine erfaringer relatert til kjønnsroller i Bosnia.

Før vi begynner vil jeg bare gi deg litt informasjon:

- *Er det greit at jeg tar opp intervjuet? Opptakerne vil bli passet godt på og ødelagt når prosjektet er ferdig.*
- *Det er helt frivillig å delta på dette intervjuet. Om det er noen spørsmål som du ikke ønsker å svare på så er det helt greit. Du kan også trekke deg fra intervjuet når som helst.*
- *Jeg ønsker å høre hva du tenker om de ulike temaene. Det finnes altså ingen "riktige" og "gale" svar, det er du som er eksperten.*
- *Intevjuet vil vare i ca. 1 time, hvis du har muligheten til det?*

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1. (Bakgrunnsspørsmål)

<u>Spørsmål:</u>

- Når flyttet familien din til Norge?
  - *Født i Norge? Født i Bosnia?*
  - *Husker du mye fra da dere bodde i Bosnia?*
- Hvordan er kontakten med familie og bekjente i Bosnia?

- Hvor ofte er du i Bosnia?

2. Hvordan vil du beskrive kjønnsroller i familien din da du vokste opp?

Oppfølgingsspørsmål:

- Jobbet begge foreldrene dine?
- Hva slags jobber hadde faren og moren din?
- Hva var dine egne forventninger til ditt fremtidige liv med tanke på kjønnsroller (utdanning, jobb, giftemål…)?
- Hvem "definerte"/bestemte hva menns og kvinners roller skulle være?
  - Hva var statens og politikers rolle i dette?
  - Hva var religionens rolle i dette?
  - Var det en forskjell mellom etniske grupper i hva de mente menns og kvinners roller burde være?

3. Hvordan vil du beskrive kjønnsroller i Bosnia i dag?

Oppfølgingsspørsmål:

- Er det ulike forventninger til kvinner og menn med tanke på utdanning, jobb og familieliv?
  - Hvordan kan man se det?
- Synes du at det er en forskjell i kjønnsroller i Bosnia i dag fra foreldrene dine sin generasjon?
  - Hva merker man dette på?
- På hvilken måte tror du at kvinner og menn har de samme mulighetene i Bosnia i dag?
  - Tror du de er annerledes enn mulighetene kvinner og menn har i Norge?
- Hva er en ideell kvinne/mann i Bosnia i dag slik du ser det?
  - Hva er det viktigste for kvinner å oppnå i livet sitt?
  - Hva er det viktigste for menn å oppnå?
    - Hvorfor er det slik tror du?
  - Er det forskjeller mellom etniske grupper?
  - Er det forskjeller mellom Sarajevo og andre steder i Bosnia?

4. På hvilken måte tror du kjønnsroller er forskjellige i Norge og i Bosnia?

Oppfølgingsspørsmål:

- Hva tror du grunnen er til disse forskjellene?
- Ville livet ditt vært annerledes om du vokste opp og bodde i Bosnia? På hvilken måte?

5. *På hvilken måte tror du at "vestlige verdier" har innflytelse på kjønnsroller i Bosnia?*

- Hva synes du om dette?
- På hvilken måte merker man at vesten har innflytelse?
  - Ser du tegn til dette hos dine bekjente (familie, venner) i Bosnia?
- Er dette noe man snakker om?
  - I familien?
  - I Bosnia?
- På hvilket området tror du denne innflytelsen er størst?
- På hvilket område tror du denne innflytelsen er minst?

6. *På hvilken måte tror du kjønn og politikk henger sammen i Bosnia?*

Oppfølgingsspørsmål:

- Hva tror du bosnieres syn er på kvinners politiske deltakelse?
- Hvordan tror du at det er å være en kvinnelig politiker i Bosnia?
- Hva tror du merverdien kan være av å ha kvinnelige politikere?

7. *Ser du for deg at det vil bli endringer i kjønnsroller i Bosnia i fremtiden?*

Oppfølgingsspørsmål:

- Hva slags endringer tror du kommer til å skje (politiske, sosiale, kulturelle)?
  - Har du opplevd en situasjon der du merket noe av denne endringen som pågår?
- Hvilke betingelser tror du ligger til grunn for en slik endring?
  - Kvinners politiske deltakelse?
  - Hva er rollen til religion i dette?
  - **Tror du at Bosnias ønske om å bli et EU land har innflytelse på dette?**

8. Er det noe du ønsker å tilføye?

Tusen takk for deltakelsen. Hvis du kommer på noe i etterkant som du ønsker å tilføye eller har spørsmål er det bare å ta kontakt med meg.

Denne intervjuguiden er basert på Inger Skjelsbæk sin intervjuguide som hun brukte i Bosnia i 2002.