

The United Nations' Policy of Gender

*A Study of the United Nations Security Council's Resolutions
1325 and 1509*

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Summary/Sammedrag

There were two goals with this thesis. The first goal was to find out what the United Nations' policy of gender was in United Nations' peacebuilding missions as shown in United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 on women, peace, and security and the second was to find out what the policy of gender was in the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1509, which implemented the peacebuilding mission in Liberia in 2003. I wanted to explore this topic to see how the United Nations incorporates gender mainstreaming in their peacebuilding missions and if it is possible to see if there is an understanding of gender which influences this. For my theoretical framework, I used Johan Galtung's concepts of violence and positive peace and Harriet Holter's perspectives on how to bring gender equality into his analysis. I have then used the concepts of Connell, West and Zimmerman to provide a theoretical framework for my thesis. To analyze the two resolutions, I have used Carol Bacchi's "What is the problem represented to be?"-approach to critically interrogate the two documents. My main finding is that the United Nations' gender policy consists of four themes. The themes are the use of the term "gender" to signal that the measures are directed at all genders, measures to protect women and girls from violence, references to women's "special needs" and lastly measures to ensure that women participate in processes such as conflict resolution, promotion of peace and in political institutions. I then found that this policy of gender is also present in Resolution 1509, though in a diluted version. The thesis ended with some suggestions for how the policy of gender may be improved and some suggestions for further research.

Sammendrag

Målet med denne oppgaven var å undersøke hva De forente nasjoners (FNs) politikk om kjønn og likestilling var i Resolusjon 1325 om kvinner, fred og sikkerhet, samt å undersøke hva denne politikken besto av i Resolusjon 1509, som implementerte det fredsbyggende oppdraget i Liberia i 2003. Jeg brukte Johan Galtungs konsepter om

positiv fred og vold, samt Harriet Holters analyser om hvordan kampen for likestilling kan inkorporeres i disse konseptene. Så bruke jeg Connell, West og Zimmerman sine konsepter om kjønn for å skape et teoretisk rammeverk. For å kritisere dokumentene brukte jeg Carol Bacchis “What is the problem represented to be?”- fremgangsmåte. Mine hovedfunn er at FNs politikk om kjønn og likestilling består av fire temaer; bruke av «kjønn» for politikk som retter seg mot alle kjønn, tiltak for å beskytte kvinner og jenter fra vold, referanser til kvinners «spesielle behov» og tiltak for sikre kvinners deltagelse i fredsforhandlinger, promotering av fred og politiske institusjoner. I fant også at denne politikken var tilstede i Resolusjon 1509, men i svakere versjon. Jeg avsluttet oppgaven med betraktninger rundt hva FNs politikk om kjønn og likestilling kan fokusere på i fremtiden og hva noen forslag til videre forskning på dette emnet.

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1 Introduction, Research Question and Context

This thesis is a continuation of a term paper I wrote in 2011. It was an exciting time to write about feminism in international politics generally and Liberia specifically. The Nobel Peace Prize had just been rewarded to the two Liberians Ellen Johnson Sirleaf and Leymah Gbowee, in addition to Tawakkol Karman from Yemen. In her lecture, Gbowee said that she had received the prize “when ordinary mothers are no longer begging for peace, but demanding peace, justice, equality and inclusion in political decision-making” (Gbowee, 2011). Her sentiment was echoed by Sirleaf who stressed the brutal consequences war have for women. She said:

Through the mutilation of our bodies and the destruction of our ambitions, women and girls have disproportionately paid the price of domestic and international armed conflict. We have paid in the currencies of blood, of tears, and of dignity (Sirleaf, 2011).

In 2014, Liberia would again tragically enter the world stage when the Ebola-outbreak began in West-Africa. Again women’s suffering came into focus when Liberian authorities estimated that 75 % of the infected were women (UN Women, 2014). The reason is that women more often came into contact with Ebola-patients than men because women are caretakers in their communities (UN Women, 2014). It is the contrast between women in power changing Liberia’s future and women dying because of rigid and traditional gender roles that makes it interesting to see how the “S/RES/1325 (2000) United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace, and Security” (from this point onwards Resolution 1325) was implemented. 2015 is the 15th anniversary of the Resolution and provides an excellent opportunity to write a thesis about how far the UN has come regarding gender mainstreaming, and how far the world organization has to go.

Resolution 1325 is associated with gender mainstreaming and rights for women. It is truly a benchmark for the development of women's rights worldwide and has put protection of women in conflict on the agenda of leaders internationally. Parallel to this conversation about women, the conversation of what gender is, and what it could be, has come to the surface in discussion about trans people's life experiences and need for protection. These issues revolve around issues such as rights to gender confirming procedures, have indicated the correct gender in social security numbers and passports and to use the right public restroom. These conversations and debates challenges societies' notions about gender. It also gives us the possibility to think about what gender is. Connected to what we understand gender to be, are notions about gender roles in society and in turn on the macrolevel our governments' policies about gender and gender equality.

One of the arenas where governments work collectively for gender equality, is the United Nations. Resolution 1325 is an important milestone in this work, and integrated in all peacebuilding operations after 2000. It is important to investigate how the Resolution is translated into policies by the United Nations, and one way to do that is to see what the policy of gender is in their work. These policies will inform the work they do, and have consequences for people of all gender whom the UN interacts with. When I first began working on my thesis, I wanted to look at the impact of Resolution 1325 had had on peacebuilding. My focus on peacebuilding came from an interest in what happens when the United Nations attempt to do more than ending a war and negotiate the peace. I was interested in what the concept of peace can be, and I was also interested in how the United Nations can impose ideas about what a peaceful society is on one or more sovereign states. As a gender studies student, I am also interested in what gender is and what the consequences of that this in society. Therefore, I wanted to write about peacebuilding, gender and Resolution 1325. After working for a while thinking I wanted to look at the impact of Resolution 1325 on a peacebuilding mission, I discovered that impact was inherently difficult to measure with the time and resources I had. The question remains; why ask what the policy of gender is? I could have asked what the policy gender mainstreaming was, but I decided against doing that. Firstly, I wanted to go beyond writing about mainstreaming, and look at how different

understandings of gender come into play when working for gender equality. Secondly, I wanted to see what happens when the policy of gender is implemented in a peacebuilding mission. These were the most important reasons why I decided to look at the policy of gender in Resolution 1325 and then in the “S/RES/1509 (2003) United Nations Security Council Resolution 1509” (from this point onward referred to as “Resolution 1509”). which established the United Nations’ peacebuilding mission in Liberia in 2003. I therefore I have two research questions. They are as follows:

What is the policy of gender in the United Nations’ peacebuilding missions as shown in United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 on women, peace, and security?

What was the policy of gender in the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1509?

In the next section I will outline how I will answer these two questions and then I will outline what the status of research is and the knowledge gap I hope to contribute to filling a small part of. Then I will move on to outline the historical background for both Resolution 1325 and the peacebuilding mission in Liberia.

1.1 The Status of Research on Resolution 1325 and the Knowledge Gap

This year, almost 17 years have gone since Resolution 1325 was passed. In that timespan, Resolution 1325 has been the subject of many researchers, ranging from document analysis of Resolution 1325 and other related documents to the implementation in peacebuilding missions. It would be impossible to write about the wide range of research, so I have decided to focus on the research that have focused on document analysis of Resolution 1325 and gender in peacebuilding operations. I will

start by outlining Laura Shepherd's analysis of Resolution 1325 and then show some other ways Resolution 1325 has been used as a point of departure to study other documents produced by the United Nations.

In Shepherd's study of Resolution 1325, she begins by looking at what the word "gender" means in the text. She argues that since there is no mention of men in Resolution 1325, but only women, this means that "gender" in the text only means "women" (Shepherd, 2008, p. 116). She supports her argument by quoting Connell who claimed that: "discussions of women's exclusions from power and decision making [where] men are *implicitly* present as power holders" (Connell, 2005, p. 1806 cited in; Shepherd, 2008, p. 117). In other words, there is no need to discuss how to include men because they are already present and in power. She argues that the text puts emphasis on women right from the start, by insisting that women are "adversely affected by armed conflict" even though men are also targeted in wars through genocides (for instance in Kosovo) and participation in armed forces (Shepherd, 2008, p. 116). Women are also presented as being crucial to establishing peace and there is no mention of men as agents in peacebuilding (Shepherd, 2008, p. 116). When I take into consideration that Resolution 1325 is named a resolution on women, peace and security, this argument is convincing. She then divides how women are represented into three constructs, which I will outline below.

The first construct is women as formal political agents (Shepherd, 2008, p. 116). She argues that Resolution 1325 stresses that women are important in all stages of implementation of peace and should therefore be present at all decision-making levels, but does not give much reasoning for what this would accomplish (Shepherd, 2008, p. 117). There is little evidence that the mere presence of women will lead to equality, she writes, and there are no clear answers in the text itself of what this would accomplish (Shepherd, 2008, p. 117). I see this as a way of thinking about women as a homogenous group who always have the same political goals and who agree on the route to accomplish these goals.

The second construct she finds in Resolution 1325, is women as “informal political organizers” and writes that (Shepherd, 2008, p. 116). She argues that the text assumes that women will always participate in peacebuilding and that this is for example shown when the text refers to the “important role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts and in peace-building” (Shepherd, 2008, p. 118). According to Shepherd, this constructs a link between womanhood and supporters of peace (Shepherd, 2008, p. 118). Such a construct simplifies the role of women in general, but also maintains the image of women as pacifist and who can no other role in war than agents for peace. This sentiment is also found by Puechguirbal, who when writing about the Secretary-General’s Reports, argues that:

What is most striking is how the Secretary-General’s Report makes sweeping generalizations about the role of women in the promotion of peace. It assumes that all women in all conflict areas are in favour of peace and a return to the previous social order, irrespective of their differing ideologies, their urban or rural background, their marital status, their religious beliefs, their status as combatants or civilians (Puechguirbal, 2010, p. 181).

For men, there is a whole range of other roles available such as agents for war and chaos and it is not taken for granted that they will work in favour of a peace agreement.

The last construct Shepherd finds is one that is in conflict with women as agents for political change, namely women in need of protection (Shepherd, 2008, p. 116). She argues that the agency that Resolution 1325 establishes for women “seem to slip from the articulation of ‘the protection, rights and the particular needs of women’ (Shepherd, 2008, p. 119). She connects this observations with the formulation that women and children are so often grouped together in the Resolution, resulting in the image that women, like children, must be protected and saved (Shepherd, 2008, p. 119). She argues that this contributes to reinforcing essentialist ideas about women and femininity.

In my analysis, in which I return to Shepherd's constructs, I give more attention to the use of the word "gender" in Resolutions 1325 and 1509. Shepherd argues that Resolution 1325 "articulates gender as a variable, as opposed to a power relation or a discursive performance" (Shepherd, 2008, p. 120). She further argues that:

the failure to disaggregate different performances of femininity that are represented in in UNSCR 1325 and the corollary differential impact on the lived experiences of various subjects diminishes the potential of the Resolution to address the issues of "women and peace and security" to which it pertains (Shepherd, 2008, p. 119).

By this, Shepherd argues that Resolution 1325 does not take into consideration that women are not homogenous groups only tackles certain variables that differentiates women. Her arguments do not take into consideration that gender identity and sexual orientation are also not explicitly discussed in Resolution 1325. Hagen looks gender based violence against LGBTQ-individuals in the framework created by Resolution 1325. She argues that Resolution has a heteronormative perspective and fails to incorporate how queer women may face different kinds of discrimination than heterosexual women (Hagen, 2016, p. 313). I will return to this point later in my analysis.

Resolution 1325 has also been criticized for gender essentialism from other researchers as well. In this section I will discuss how UN defines gender and how that is problematic. Valenius rightly points out that even though Resolution 1325 uses for the most part uses "gender", it is apparent that it means "women" and not men because the Resolution is focused on the needs of women (Valenius, 2007, p. 513). Gender mainstreaming then becomes, she writes, a process where women are added to peacekeeping operations in the hopes that their mere presence will improve the missions rather than changing gender hierarchies (Valenius, 2007, p. 513). More than that, Valenius writes that

gender is understood as a difference between men and women and not as a system of femininities and masculinities and power hierarchies between them, although mainstreaming could give tools to deeper analysis (2007, p. 513).

I will revisit this point when outlining Connell's concept of hegemonic masculinity, but the points Valenius make here is that gender is seen in Resolution 1325 as a category containing men and women, and that gender mainstreaming is a process which focuses on including women in the United Nations' peacebuilding missions. The result is that women is seen a group with the same goals, experiences and characteristics (Valenius, 2007, p. 513). It is also problematic that Resolution 1325 states that women have an "important role in prevention of conflicts and in peacebuilding" (United Nations Security Council, 2000, p. 1). It does not state why women have an important role, and it makes it unclear if the UN Security Council believes that women have special properties that will be helpful in such processes or if they believe that women are inherently more peaceful. It is important to also note that UN consists of states with different attitudes and radical and conservative states, and therefore the Resolution can be seen as a step in the right direction. I will now give a brief introduction to the United Nation's concept of gender mainstreaming.

There has also been done studies on the implementation itself of Resolution 1235 in the Disarmament Demobilization Rehabilitation and Reintegration-program during the UNMIL-operation (from this point DDRR). The main method for this research is interviews with involved parties, such as the former combatants, NGOs and UN staff. In her master thesis, Karin Christoffersen interviewed people from all three groups. Her main findings in studying the DDRR-program was threefold (Christoffersen, 2010, p. 86). Her first finding was that because there were so many actors involved that it was difficult for them to communicate to one another about objectives and policies (Christoffersen, 2010, p. 86) According to Christoffersen the result was that it lacked "a thorough understanding of the policy, the program thus "became more about getting a certain percentage of female ex-combatants in the programmes, then actually addressing their different needs" (Christoffersen, 2010, p. 87). A similar find is done by Jennings. In her gendered critique of the DDRR-component, she finds that the DDRR-program in Liberia cemented the patriarchal gender hierarchy (Jennings, 2009, p. 476) This is relevant for my thesis because it is shows that if there any signs of confusion in the reports, it could be a result of the confusion between the actors. The second finding

is that there was not enough resources, both financial and human, to implement the program successfully (Christoffersen, 2010, p. 87). The third finding was that the overall commitment to implementing a gender policy in the DDDR-component was low (Christoffersen, 2010, p. 87). Although not directly relevant to my thesis, it does help to have empirical studies as well to back up my findings from the document analysis.

I have now written some of the existing research on the gender policy of Resolution 1325. There is already much work that has been done, and the main criticism that has been put forward is that it is essentialist, heteronormative and there are difficulties in implementing it. The research I have presented here has focused on document analysis and interviews. My contribution is to focus on what the policy of gender is in a broader sense and relate that point to queer gender identities. My aim is to look at how implementation of Resolution 1325 is shown, or not shown, in a peacebuilding resolution. Looking at documents can give a better understanding how the United Nations' Security Council tackles implementation of Resolution 1325 in peacebuilding missions in text, instead of looking at how other agencies within the United Nations implements Resolution 1325. I will now focus on how I intend to that by outlining my research strategy.

1.1 Theoretical Framework

In my thesis, I have chosen to combine different perspectives in my analysis of documents I focus on. My objective is that they will help to illuminate different aspects of the documents. I begin with Johan Galtung's concept of positive peace and structural violence. Since his concept lacked a gender perspective, I have included Holter's critique and suggestions to roads forward for gender equality. I will then argue that gender mainstreaming can be seen as a realization of parts the concept of positive peace. I will then turn to showing how different perspectives on gender can give more nuances to gender mainstreaming. Then I will place my research in a broader context

with feminist critique of International Relations, and also how perspectives from this tradition can shed more light on the United Nations' gender policy.

The first perspective aims to understand what structural violence is and how it is connected to gender equality. My starting point is Johan Galtung's theory about structural violence and then I moved to show how Harriet Holter expanded this theory to also include gender inequality. One of Galtung's most important contributions to peace research, is his expanded definition of peace. He introduced the term "positive peace", meaning a peace with not just absence of violence and hostility between two (or more) warring parties. In addition to this, Galtung insists that the definition of violence must also be expanded and defines the concept of violence as

the cause of the difference between the potential and the actual, between what could have been and what is. Violence is that which increases the distance between the potential and the actual, and that which impedes the decrease of this distance (Galtung, 1969, p. 168).

Galtung himself never included gender equality in his analysis as a separate issue. This was introduced by Harriet Holter who sees gender equality as something that can be achieved through altering what hegemonic masculinity is (Holter, 1995, p. 168). Holter stresses that the structural control men hold over women is a part of what she regards as the hegemonic masculinity, must change in order for there to be gender equality (Holter, 1995, p. 168). I will use Holter's framework to connect gender and violence. This is relevant for my thesis because the starting point for my thesis is what happens after a peace settlement is reached. It puts it in a context of what structural violence means. Resolution 1325 is a way of correcting the wrongs of structural violence, but perhaps do not do enough to change the hegemonic masculinity in the locations the UN work. Together they form an understanding of violence and gender equality which will guide this thesis.

Holter's expansion of Galtung's work and suggestions to solution also highlight how violence against women continue after the peace agreement is signed. The attention pointed towards sexualized violence against women as a weapon in war is important and helpful to relieve suffering, but the focus can lead a belief that violence against women is restricted to wartime. It follows from this that an understanding of gender policy must contain a notion on what the gender policy is trying to accomplish.

In the spirit of an intersectional approach I will also use perspectives from political science. The themes of the thesis also fall under the domain of political science. Traditionally, that discipline has been dominated both by male academics and have what could be argued to be a masculine approach. The focus is often how states relate to each other and the struggle for states to obtain and maintain power. Gender equality and what role a state's understanding of gender plays in society is therefore not often given sufficient attention. Outside academia this became evident when the Swedish foreign minister Margot Wallström created headlines by announcing that she would strive to achieve a "feminist foreign policy" (Standish, 2016). The feminist critique of International Relations (IR) have also been controversial. Researchers in this tradition critiques the traditional IR, and realism in particular, as not seeing the whole picture by focusing on the state, rational choice and largely ignoring feminist issues.

1.2 Research Strategy

When I decided to write about Resolution 1325, I simultaneously decided to use United Nation's own documents. I wanted specifically to know more about how the UN frames gender mainstreaming. I wanted to know more about what they think the problems facing gender mainstreaming are and how the UN plans on solving them. I thought that document analysis could be a way of seeing how it is framed and understood. The cornerstone of this approach is the idea that "if you look at a specific policy, you can see that it understands the 'problem' to be a particular sort of 'problem'" (Bacchi, 2009, p. 1). In other words, any given policy also tells us what kind of understanding of the

problem. Therefore, this method is well suited to investigate my research question. To analyze policy documents, Bacchi uses a list of six questions to interrogate the text. They are as follows:

1. What's the 'problem' (e.g. of 'problem gamblers', 'drug use/abuse', domestic violence, global warming, health inequalities, terrorism, etc.) represented to be in a specific policy?
2. What presuppositions or assumptions underlie this representation of the 'problem'?
3. How has this representation of the 'problem' come about?
4. What is left unproblematic in this problem representation? Where are the silences? Can the 'problem' be thought about differently?
5. What effects are produced by this representation of the 'problem'?
6. How/where has this representation of the 'problem' been produced, disseminated and defended? How could it be questioned, disrupted and replaced? (Bacchi, 2009, p. 2)

I have then asked these questions to each document I have chosen and the answers then formed my analysis. There were several aspects which attracted me to this method. Firstly, it provided my analysis with a built-in-structure. The questions provided a road map of sorts, which allowed me to see the documents from different angles. It also made me think of silences in policy documents and how I can go about finding and discussing them. Secondly, the method also calls on the researcher to be creative and imagine ways to disrupt and replace the current representation of the problem. It bridged the gap between the academic sphere and the political sphere and allowed me to think about how I would create suggestions to alternative policies.

Another aspect which attracted me to this method was the opportunity for self-reflection and thinking about how researchers decide what and how to do to research. Bacchi refers to this as a "interpretive starting point" (Bacchi, 2009, p. 54). This means that the researcher takes a beat to reflect over how this policy connects to her own life and also if the topic is a part of a broader debate (or can be connected to other debates in for instance the media) (Bacchi, 2009, p. 54) I do not, of course argue that all academics come to study topics in the same ways, but for me it was useful to think critically about

why I became interested in this topic. My interest began by first becoming curious about how I could use a feminist perspective in International Relations after noticing how thinking about feminism was absent in lectures and reading assignments. At the beginning of my academic career that because I was a woman in a political science class I was being treated differently than the male students. I thought at times that women, me included, was too easily made invisible. This thesis can be read as an attempt to make women and the construction of gender policy visible again. When writing women into existing I also attempt to carve a space for myself.

In the world of academia, and in the world in general, deciding to do something means forgoing other alternatives. As I will later discuss in my chapter about my reflections on method, I did not choose interviews. I also did not choose any form of statistical analysis or inclusion of more cases. The reasons for this will be discussed in part 5.3 of the thesis, and the drawbacks of this decision.

1.3 Historical Context of Liberian Women's Organizations and Work for Peace

“Modern war stories often resemble each other, not because the circumstances are alike but because they’re told in the same way” writes Leymah Gbowee in her memoir (2011, p. ix). By this she means that the story of war is told by men, leaving men in the background (Gbowee & Mithers, 2011, p. ix). In this account of the history of Liberia and the civil wars, I have chosen to put women in the forefront. Sometimes writing about “women’s history” can give the impression that it is somehow separate from history or that it is only relevant reading for other women (or those with a special interest in the topic). However, in my thesis I would like to show that in Liberia, a historical background of especially women is useful to understand what cultural context is missing from the reports I analyse and the cultural context. It is therefore important

for me not to treat as a special topic only relevant for a few people, or as a topic that is divorced from the rest of Liberian history. Because of limited space and time, I have decided to focus on women's political and legal history, and not to devote much space to cultural history.

However, it is useful to provide a few facts about the country. Liberia is a small country located on the coast of West Africa, bordering Sierra Leone, Guinea and Côte d'Ivoire (see Map 1.1). It has a population of 4,308,000 as of 2016 and an area total of 111,369 km² (Jones & Petterson, 2012). This makes it a small country in Africa, both in size and population. The population is made up by sixteen ethnic groups (Levitt, 2005, p. 17). The official language is English, but there are also the three major languages spoken by the ethnic groups (see Table 1.1 for details of which language belongs to the different ethnic groups) (Schia, 2016) It is one of the few African states which was never a colony in the traditional sense. Liberia's coat of arms is a ship from the 1800s sailing towards a rising sun, which in retrospect was a bit optimistic.

When I first saw the the ship sailing towards the rising sun on Liberia's coat of arms, I understood it to be symbolize ships which sailed from the United States of America to the land we now know as Liberia. Liberia was established in 1847, as a country for American free slaves. It was founded by the American Colonization Society (ACS) (Levitt, 2005, p. 32). The purpose of this organization was to transport former slaves out of the US because they were perceived as a threat to the American society(Levitt, 2005, p. 35). The purpose of the established of the colony was in other words not meant as compensation, but done in fear of future rebellions in the US. The problem, which would late be one of the factors leading to the war, was of course that the area that today is Liberia already was populated. To further complicate the establishment of the state, ACS was driven by the belief that they, as white Americans, were superior to the freed slaves (Levitt, 2005, p. 33). At the time, Levitt explains, this was not a controversial view, and ACS believed that would be best to set up a "independent colony", with Liberian leadership, but with financial support and political influence

from the US (Waugh, 2011, p. 19). Liberia was therefore an independent state, but with strong ties to the US. These strong ties are a constant theme when studying the country.

As mentioned, Liberia was already populated when the ACS arrived in their ships with freed slaves. These are referred to as Americo-Liberians (Waugh, 2011, p. 14). The ACS put Americo-Liberians, the minority in the country, in power, and the Native Liberians were either assimilated into the ruling Americo-Liberian class or shut out from political life entirely (Waugh, 2011, p. 26). Tensions between the minority and majority would continue to grow throughout Liberia's history, until they reached a boiling point because of a financial crisis in 1979 (Jones & Petterson, 2012). The unrest turned into a riot, which then president Tolbert, an Americo-Liberian, was unable to contain (Schia, 2016). As a result, Samuel Doe, a Native Liberian, took power through a bloody coup in 1980, where Tolbert and most of his cabinet was killed, with the notable exceptions of Ellen Johnson Sirleaf and four others (Schia, 2016). Doe's background can in part explain his rise to power. He was a member of the Krahn tribe (Online, 2015). "Doe resented the privilege and power granted the Americo-Liberians" (Online, 2015). This shows that the ethnic cleavages were of great importance of the coup. Levitt argues that rather than understanding the coup as connected to particular events, but "rather arose from a continuum of interdependent conflict histories woven into the political fabric of Liberia's sociopolitical order" (Levitt, 2005, p. 197). Because of the shift of power in favour of Native-Liberians, many Americo-Liberians fled the country in the wake of the coup (Waugh, 2011, p. 80). This marked the beginning of what was to become the start of the Liberian civil war. The civil war began in 1989, after Doe was killed in a coup led by Prince Johnson who cooperated with Charles Taylor (Jones & Petterson, 2012).

A brutal civil war by all accounts, it took a great toll on the civilians. The war lasted for 14 years, and an estimated 250 000 people were killed and 1 million were displaced (Scully, Karim, & Bernstein, 2013). The brutality of the civil war had many faces, and one of them was the high rate of sexualized violence as a weapon of war targeting women (Scully et al., 2013). Around 40 000 women were raped during the war, and

women were also kidnaped by soldiers and held as sex slaves (Scully et al., 2013). The war was without doubt affected women in different and terrible ways, but as I will show in the next section also inspired women to take action against the war and women's organizations played an important role to both ending the war and building peace.

Liberia has a long tradition of organizing women. The first example is the way women and men were organized into two secret societies, Sande and Poro. The two societies are Sande is the the society for women, and Poro is the society for men (Levitt, 2005, p. 22). The purpose of these societies are to perform rites of passage and other cultural ceremonies, and for girls this includes female genital mutilation (FGM) (Levitt, 2005, p. 22). Sande and Poro are considered to very important in the northwest and centre of the country, and the societies are characterized by strong elders or chief (Fuest, 2009, p. 117). In the southeast part of Liberia, the secret societies are less important and the communities are less hierarchically, and instead women participate more actively in the local government (as opposed to being active in Sande) (Fuest, 2009, p. 117). The existence of Sande shows that women's organizations have historical roots in Liberia, and could be one explanation to why women played such an important role in the peace process in Liberia. However, many argue that it was the civil war which acted as a catalyst for more women to be politically engaged.

In this section, I will show how the war inspired more women than previously to be active in political movements to end the civil war. The civil war opened up new spaces for women and during the civil war women were able to take on other roles such as breadwinners for their families, combatants, negotiators and peace activists (Debusscher & de Almagro, 2016, p. 295). Debusscher and de Almagro note that even though women were victims of sexual violence, they "found ways to organize themselves against (gender-based) violence and advocate for peace with an extraordinary level of persistent determination" (Debusscher & de Almagro, 2016, p. 295). Fuest observes that research from other African civil wars show that incidents of sexualized violence against women correlates with a growth in the number of women's organizations, and that this was true for Liberia as well (2009, p. 125). Because they saw that they could successfully take on responsibilities that men had had in the past, they became more

confident (Fuest, 2009) (125). They began organizing self help group for women who had survived sexualized violence and quickly took on political tasks such as negotiations with male war leaders (Fuest, 2009, p. 125). They began recognizing that they were now successful political leaders in their local communities, and began asking if men had gotten the country into war, then perhaps women could bring peace back to Liberia (Fuest, 2009, p. 126). At the same time, women's movements were also making strides internationally and in 1995 the Fourth Women's World Conference was held in Beijing. With the help of the UN, a large delegation of Liberian women participated and Fuest argues that participation in at the conference was crucial for the work of Liberian women's peace movement (Fuest, 2009, p. 128). The work of women proved to be very important in ending the civil war.

In 2003, Women in Peacebuilding Network (WIPNET) began organizing protests for peace (Scully et al., 2013). Leymah Gbowee was one of the leaders in WIPNET (Fork Films, 2017). She and organized women's church groups to protest against the war and formed the Liberian Mass Action for Peace (Fork Films, 2017). She and this organization was instrumental to forcing Charles Taylor to agree to begin peace talks in Ghana (Fork Films, 2017). During the peace talks she and Liberian Mass Action for Peace pressured the warring factions to continue the negotiations, which resulted in the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (Scully et al., 2013). In 2011, these efforts were recognized by the Nobel Peace Committee when the Peace Prize was awarded to Ellen Johnson Sirleaf and Leymah Gbowee.

Liberia also made (women's) history in other ways. In the first election after the civil war, which took place in 2005, Ellen Johnson Sirleaf was elected president (Schia, 2016). She became the first female democratic elected head of state in Africa (Schia, 2016). This section has showed that Liberia is a country shaped by the efforts of women and continues to be shaped by women with the election of Sirleaf. It shows that women's organizations were important in giving women experience and tools to make political changes. Therefore, it seemed like an ideal country to implement Resolution 1325 because of its rich history of involving women in political work and in peacebuilding. In my analysis of Resolution 1509 I will therefore look at how Resolution 1325 was implemented.

2 Core Notions and Theoretical Framework

In this chapter I will outline this thesis' core notions and theoretical framework. In this chapter, I will outline Johan Galtung's concepts of positive peace and violence and how gender mainstreaming is a part of this concept. Resolution 1325 must be seen in context with an expanded definition of peace because it wants to not only end wars, but to rebuild and reshape aspects of the society in question. One of those aspects is to incorporate gender mainstreaming into peacebuilding missions. To understand these policies, it is useful to think critically about different understandings of gender. I will do this with an emphasis on Connell, West and Zimmerman's contributions. Then I turn to showing how these notions about gender are complicated by Connell's concept of hegemonic masculinity and intersectionality. Lastly, I discuss how my framework and my thesis fits in a larger scholarly context by using Tickner and Enloe. The chapter will end with a summary and then I will move on to reflections on methodology and method.

2.1 Johan Galtung's Concepts of Positive Peace and Violence

In his 1969-article, Johan Galtung introduces the term *positive peace*, which I will now outline. Galtung's definition starts from three assumptions about peace. The first one is that peace "shall be used for social goals at least verbally agreed to by many, if not necessarily by most" (Galtung, 1969, p. 167). The second is that the goals should be "complex and difficult, but not impossible, to achieve" (Galtung, 1969, p. 167). Lastly, he maintains that a definition of peace should include that peace is the "absence of violence" (Galtung, 1969, p. 167). He argues that the definitions of violence and peace is interlinked because the definition of peace depends on what is defined as violence

(Galtung, 1969, p. 168). Galtung's contribution is his wide definition of violence. This is important, he writes, because a specific definition of violence will make it easier to respond to war (Galtung, 1969, p. 168). "If peace action is to be regarded highly because it is action against violence, the concept of violence must be broad enough to include the most significant varieties, yet specific enough to serve as a basis for concrete action" (Galtung, 1969, p. 168). In other words, how one defines violence will decide what aspects of non-peace, i.e. war, will be the target of action. Galtung therefore defines violence as

the cause of the difference between the potential and the actual, between what could have been and what is. Violence is that which increases the distance between the potential and the actual, and that which impedes the decrease of this distance (Galtung, 1969, p. 168).

To explain what this means, he uses the example of tuberculosis. In the 1700s it would not be considered to be a result of violence to die of this disease because there was not a treatment (Galtung, 1969, p. 168). If people die today of tuberculosis, they do so because there is a difference between what could have been, that they survived or were vaccinated, and what is, which is that they die unnecessary (Galtung, 1969, p. 168). The acts of violence are actions that keep treatment and vaccines away from the people who died: uneven distribution of medication and vaccines, acts of terrorism that keeps health personnel from reaching people in need and/or lack of knowledge of the importance of such vaccines. These actions of violence can be divided up in indirect and direct violence, which further expands his definition.

According to Galtung, direct violence occurs "when there is an actor that commits the violence" (Galtung, 1969, p. 170). In the above example, that would be the actors who stop health personnel from reaching people in need. In a civil war context, like the Liberian civil war, it would be the acts of violence that continued the war. Direct violence could be physical or psychological, according to the aforementioned definition

(Galtung notes that this is already incorporated in English, where the verb *to hurt*¹ could mean both) (Galtung, 1969, p. 170). Direct violence could also mean threats of violence and influencing someone to do something which causes a difference between the actual and potential (Galtung, 1969, p. 170). Violence can also be indirect. According to Galtung, indirect violence occurs when there is not just one actor (subject) who acts (Galtung, 1969, p. 170). Instead, “the violence is built into the structure and shows up as unequal power and consequently as unequal life chances” (Galtung, 1969, p. 171). Another word for indirect violence is *social injustice* (Galtung, 1969, p. 170). It occurs when there is no single action by one individual causing violence, but rather injustices built into a structure (Galtung, 1969, p. 170). In the above example, deaths due to uneven distribution of vaccines globally are a form of social injustice. In a war context, it can be a bit more complicated. There are those who argue that civil wars are largely caused by uneven distribution of resources and continue because of the same. This is known as the “greed versus grievance”-argument in research on civil wars. A different aspect that complicates matters is that a society can move from a state of war (with forms of direct and indirect violence) to peace with structural violence. In other words, there can be gender discrimination before, under and after a civil war, and the expression of said injustice can vary. This is important to keep in mind, because it helps to explain the importance of Resolution 1325. One of the Resolution’s goals are to decrease gender discrimination in the post war-context.

By this point in his argument, it is therefore evident that indirect violence can be utilized when talking about gender discrimination. However, Galtung only briefly mentions it when he writes that “when one husband beats his wife there is a clear case of personal violence, but when one million husbands keep one million wives in ignorance there is structural violence” (Galtung, 1969, p. 171). There could be several reasons for why he omits this type of discrimination. One reason could be that he wants to focus on the definition of violence and peace. Another could be that the connection of gender equality and peace was not fully articulated when Galtung was writing. In 1990,

¹ Interestingly, the same is true for the Norwegian verb *å såre*. Why this duality exists could perhaps be the basis of another thesis, but it is helpful to note when discussing violence that the language already gives us the tools for this complex and expanded understanding of violence.

Galtung wrote a new article where he further develops his concept of structural violence. In this article, he introduces the term “cultural violence”. In this section I will first outline what this concept is and then I will show how Harriet Holter expanded this concept by including a gender perspective.

According to Galtung, cultural violence is “those aspect of culture, the symbolic sphere of our existence (...) that can be used to justify or legitimize direct or structural violence (Galtung, 1990, p. 291). It is the third type of violence in Galtung’s typology of violence, with direct and structural violence as the other two other (Galtung, 1990, p. 291). Together the three forms of violence form a triangle, and violence can start from any of the three corners (Galtung, 1990, p. 295). The function of cultural violence, Galtung writes, is to make those types of violence feel right (Galtung, 1990, p. 291). To explain how these are connected, he uses the example of how an earthquake happens. Direct violence is the event, such as the earthquake itself, structural violence can be thought of as the process of the movement of the tectonic plates and cultural violence as the fault line; the permeant position (Galtung, 1990, p. 294). In this article, Galtung touches on the connection between cultural violence and discrimination against women when he outlines how language can be a form of cultural violence. In for instance Norwegian, a Germanic language, women are made invisible because the word for “man” can also be used to describe people of all genders in general (Galtung, 1990, p. 299). This shows how an aspect of culture, which language is, can be used to legitimize discrimination against women. Galtung does not dwell on this topic, much like in his article from 1969. Holter’s article shows how and why this concept should be expanded to include gender discrimination.

Harriet Holter argues that one could include the construction of gender, and specifically the construction of masculinity, in Galtung’s violence triangle (Holter, 1995, p. 160). The hegemonic masculinity is one that emphasis strength and dominance over women (Holter, 1995, p. 160). Holter is referring to the concept of hegemonic masculinity, which was developed by Connell and first used in 1982 (Connell, 2017). Although Holter does not devote much space to a discussing the concept, she nevertheless

purposes that the concept should be a part of gender equality. I have outlined and discussed this previously.

Direct violence directed towards women can start in both corners of the triangle; cultural violence in the form that men take power over women and structural violence in the sense that the burden of labour is divided unequally between men and women (Holter, 1995, p. 160). The different types of violence cannot be easily be separated between three corners, because they are so interconnected (Holter, 1995, p. 160). It can be difficult, sometimes impossible, to establish from which corner of the triangle the violence begins at. She uses the example of a district in India where half of the population admits to having killed a infant girl, for reasons such as expensive dowry for the family of the bride and that women experienced threats from their husbands if they brought home a girl (Holter, 1995, p. 160). Since this a prevalent problem in Asian countries, other factors are food insecurity, lack of access to health care and education that effects women more than men (Holter, 1995, p. 160). Therefore, because structural, cultural and direct violence regarding women (and perhaps also to other groups) work in concert, it might be better to view to it as one process rather than different types of violence that harms women in differently than men. Holter's solution is not to work for equality between men and women, because there is little to gain for women to become violent in the same ways as men, but rather to redefine the hegemonic masculinity (Holter, 1995, p. 168). Her condition for gender equality is that men have as much responsibility as women for care work and that this could reduce the amount of violence caused by gender equality (Holter, 1995, p. 169). In sum, Galtung's typology of violence and Holter's theorizing of how this relates to gender equality show that women experience violence in different ways than men. It follows that they therefore need to be protected against violence in other ways than men, but the problem is to strike a balance where women are protected without being treated as "special" cases. At this point, I have already written about gender is connected to violence and the absence of violence: peace. One road that the United Nations have suggested will lead to positive peace is gender mainstreaming. The concepts combine Galtung ideas that positive peace is more than an absence of peace with Holter's ideas about how gender equality ought to be a

part of that. In the next section, I will outline what the concept of gender mainstreaming entails.

2.2 Gender Mainstreaming

A core notions in my thesis is gender mainstreaming. In this section I will outline what the concept is and some key criticisms of it. Gender mainstreaming is connected to the United Nations' expanded concept of peace. The Office of the Special Adviser to the Secretary-General on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women (OSAGI) defines it as

a globally accepted strategy for promoting gender equality. Mainstreaming is not an end in itself but a strategy, an approach, a means to achieve the goal of gender equality. Mainstreaming involves ensuring that gender perspectives and attention to the goal of gender equality are central to all activities - policy development, research, advocacy/ dialogue, legislation, resource allocation, and planning, implementation and monitoring of programmes and projects (un.org 2016).

In other words, gender mainstreaming is an umbrella term for different approaches to ensure gender equality. As OSAGI states, the goal of mainstreaming to achieve gender equality. In the *Handbook on United Nations Multidimensional Peacekeeping Operations*, which is aimed at United Nations personnel who are new to the organization or being deployed to a peacebuilding mission for the first time, a separate chapter is devoted to gender mainstreaming (Peacekeeping Best Practices Unit, 2003, p. VIII). The handbook states that in addition to defining gender mainstreaming similarly to OSAGI:

it is a strategy for making women's and men's concerns and experiences an integral dimension of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programmes in all political, economic and societal spheres so that women and men benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated (Peacekeeping Best Practices Unit, 2003, p. 113).

In other words, the Handbook goes further than OSAGI because they not only define gender mainstreaming as incorporation of a gender perspective to achieve gender equality, but to be mindful of both men's and women's concerns and experiencing in all stages of their programs and policies. Resolution 1325 is a part of this paradigm and meant as a way of advancing gender equality. Gender mainstreaming must also be understood in the context of the United Nations' expanded definition of peace, or peacebuilding. When the United Nations began to deploy peacekeeping missions in 1948, they were literally peacekeeping missions. They were tasked being a buffer between warring parties during withdrawal of forces and during peace negotiations and could only use violence in self-defense (Fomerand & Lynch, 2017). This continuing until the Cold War ended, when missions evolved into the type of peacebuilding missions we see today (Fomerand & Lynch, 2017). The second-generation mission now focus on making and building peace, through focusing on state building (Fomerand & Lynch, 2017; R. Wedgwood, 1995). This new role of peacebuilding missions is not unproblematic, and the United Nations is criticized for resembling "colonial guardianship" and infringing on nations' sovereignty. When the United Nations has deployed a mission to a state, it also faces the challenge of "mission creep", meaning that a mission's objective develops after deployment because new needs are discovered (R. Wedgwood, 1995, p. 634). Wedgwood writes that "the common law of torts says that you do not have to rescue somebody, but once you begin to rescue, you have special burdens" (R. Wedgwood, 1995). In other words, once a state is committed to do good in one area, it has to intervene in other areas as well. I would add to her argument that if a state is committed to gender equality domestically, it becomes difficult to ignore gender inequality in the state the United Nations has intervened it. This means that mission creep can be one way of explaining why gender mainstreaming became a part of peacebuilding missions, in concert with the overarching development of United Nations' missions from literal peacekeeping to state building. In sum, Resolution 1325 is a part of efforts to work for gender mainstreaming, and gender mainstreaming is a part of the second-generation peacebuilding missions which developed after the end of the Cold War.

In the previous section, I gave a definition of gender mainstreaming and showed how it is must be seen in the context of the second-generation peacebuilding missions. In my

thesis, I see gender mainstreaming as belonging to Galtung's concept of positive peace. Gender mainstreaming could be a way of limiting structural violence against women. However, gender mainstreaming is a controversial topic among academics. The main criticism that has been voiced that although it looks good on paper, it had been difficult to implement in peacebuilding missions. Barnes and Olonisakin state that there is little evidence that Resolution 1325 has been effective (Olonisakin, Barnes, & Ikpe, 2011, p. 5). The counter argument to this is that Resolution 1325 is too young to assess its impact and that the United Nations needs more time to find ways implement it in effective ways. However, Tryggestad has argued that such a critic misses the mark and that Resolution 1325 must rather be understood as a way to push the norm of gender equality in international law.

Tryggestad makes the case that Resolution 1325 should be understood as important to push gender equality on the international agenda, rather than a blueprint for how it should be done in the field. The resolution is classified a "thematic resolution", meaning that it does not address a specific conflict, but rather a broader theme (Tryggestad, 2009, p. 543). Tryggestad argues that Resolution 1325 put women's security on the UN agenda and the Resolution helps push the norm of gender equality (Tryggestad, 2009, p. 541). She argues that the Resolution's most important contribution was to build a new norm in international law by making sure that gender mainstreaming was always discussed when implementing new programs (Tryggestad, 2009, p. 541). According to Tryggestad, "since the very founding of the world organization, idea mongering has probably been one of its most important contributions" (Tryggestad, 2009, p. 541). She further adds that the Resolution has evolved from "norm-emergence" to "norm-cascade" in 2010, the 10th anniversary of the Resolution (Tryggestad, 2014, p. 59). In this light, analyzing one case before 2010 is not fruitful, because the Resolution should not be used as a tool box, but rather as a way to build awareness about gender mainstreaming. It is a way to slowly implement gender mainstreaming in the organization rather to take direct action. Anderlini argues that the article in which the Resolution falls under also matter in this regard. Resolution 1325 falls under Chapter VI and not VII, it cannot be enforced or states cannot be penalized for not implemented it (Anderlini, 2010, p. 21). She specifies that the Resolution is still considered international law, but the UN relies on member states to implement the it without

effective measures to ensure that they do (Anderlini, 2010, p. 21). This technicality supports Tryggestad's argument that the Resolution is best understood as building norms and that is a slow process. Rather than punishing states who do not comply with the Resolution, it started a process of putting gender on the agenda that could lead to change. It also puts in to focus how difficult it is for the United Nations Security Council to reach consensus, and that there sometimes is a tradeoff between consensus and action. In this section, I have outlined what gender mainstreaming is and some key criticism of the concept. In this section I have not discussed the first word in the concept, gender. In the next section, I will look at how different perspectives on what gender could help illuminate how the United Nations' gender policy in Resolutions 1325 and 1509 could be understood.

2.3 How Can Gender Be Understood?

Gender studies is, as it is practiced at most universities, a many-splendored thing. Gender is approached from different disciplines and angles, but at its core gender studies asks what gender is and why, how and when it becomes important. Outside of academia, people also grapple with questions about what gender is and how to relate to it, and sometimes even how their own gender should be defined. In Norway, we seem to be living in a specific cultural moment with television programs like *Født i feil kropp* (*Born in the Wrong Body*) asking if one is born as a woman or man and if it follows that a female essence or brain could be trapped in a male body. In politics, activists have successfully campaign for the right to legally change their gender in public records without changing their bodies. In the United States of America, the debate about transpeople using their preferred restroom has resurfaced. How we understand gender is a good first step when discussing which policies to implement. These debates, which I allude to in this paragraph, show which debates and discussions that are taking place about gender in two different countries. The focus of this thesis, however, is the United Nations.

2.3.1 Do Differences Between Men and Women Exist?

The short argument for studying what the policy of gender in the United Nations peacebuilding operations is that the United Nations itself makes it important. The United Nations sets out to formulate a policy aiming at promoting gender equality and themselves refer to Resolution 1325 as a “landmark resolution on Women, Peace and Security”. From this it is possible to infer that that the organization is putting women in focus and claim that it is connected to peace and security. It was from that angle I recognized that asking what my chosen resolution and reports reveal about what gender is helpful to understanding what the policy of gender is. Therefore, I will below outline three ways of approaching gender.

Connell writes in *Gender* that “at the centre of common-sense thinking about gender is the idea of difference between women and men” (2002, p. 28). There also seem to be a need to constantly dividing people into these two groups. This need is visible in activities such as acquiring a passport where gender must be specified to the mundane as choosing which public restroom to enter or signing up for a social media account. Gender is, to borrow from a pop song, all around. From this notion follows the idea that men and women are different at the biological level and that these differences control our behavior. We all know this notion from outside of academia, and sometimes within, namely that men and women are fundamentally different and that this difference goes beyond different reproductive systems and differences in appearances. Think only about headlines in newspapers and magazines claiming that women and men have different brains which makes their differences in behavior natural. At the core at such thinking is the idea that women and men are different and because that difference is in our brain, it is impossible to escape. This section will outline how these differences have been thought of in academia.

Connell purposes the ways in which scholars theorize about gender can be divided into three categories. The first category of theories hold that the body is a machine which

produces gender differences (Connell, 2002, p. 31). Such scholars assume that the male and female bodies produce subjects with different characteristics, such as male bodies producing subjects who are faster and stronger than women, and female bodies producing subjects who are more nurturing and act because of intuition rather than rational thinking (Connell, 2002, p. 30). This is a theory which emphasizes difference between men and women. These differences are assumed to be large and natural, and that they are associated with evolution (Connell, 2002, p. 32). These arguments do not take into account the influence from societies on people and that the way scientists view differences between men and women change over time (Connell, 2002, p. 33). In Resolution 1325, men and women are defined as being different, but it is not specified why they think this difference is present. This category of theories about gender might explain why the UN defines women and men as different.

The second category holds that there is a separation between sex and gender, the former being a biological fact (meaning how men and women's bodies differ), and the latter a social fact, meaning the difference between masculine and feminine roles (Connell, 2002, p. 33). This is an optimistic way of tackling gender differences, because if gender, and gender roles, depend on culture and society, it is also possible to change gender roles and minimize gender differences (Connell, 2002, p. 34). This way of viewing gender holds that gender differences in a given society can change over time, and be changed over time (Connell, 2002, p. 35). This was turned into political reforms aiming at changing gender roles so that they do not hold people back, for example encouraging girls to pursue careers in natural science and technology (Connell, 2002, p. 34). In Resolution 1325, the goal is to work for gender mainstreaming, but it is unclear if it is a call to change gender roles.

The last category Connell identifies, is the theories which point of departure is that bodies are treated as "a canvas on which society paints" (Connell, 2002, p. 30). These theories are concerned with how men and women's "bodies are represented and consumed" (Connell, 2002, p. 36). This is mostly utilized in cultural studies, and focuses on visual representations of bodies and what is deemed "beautiful" or "ugly" (Connell, 2002, p. 37). This is perhaps not relevant when explaining how the UN understands gender, but is included to show the many vantage points one can study

gender from. Connell argues that these vantage points one can study from and she stresses that there are none known differences between men and women which can explain differences in behavior or cognitive achievements.

2.3.2 How Differences Become Important

In the last section, I argued that using Connell's understanding of gender, it is difficult to argue that there are differences between men and women originating from brain power or differences in levels of potential. It is however possible to argue that women and men are treated differently based on their gender, and that women more often than men get the short end of the stick. In my thesis, I want to focus on the gender policy of the United Nations which acknowledges that this difference in treatment result in inequality between men and women. As I stated earlier in this section, gender continues to play a part in how we are treated by other people and how we treat others. But instead of getting lost in the argument about what is nature and what is nurture, a different path can be to look at how gender is performed. This is relevant for my thesis because in wanting to explore the United Nation's gender policy, it is useful to explore how come it is difficult for women to break out of stereotypical images of what women or men should be like. In this section, I will explore how perceived differences between the genders become important and how that is related to inequality.

West and Zimmerman purposes that thinking about gender as something we do and accomplish, changes the focus from individual to relational processes (West & Zimmerman, 1987, p. 126). This allows us to change focus from the nature or nurture-debate by looking at the structures instead of individuals. West and Zimmer find it useful to distinguish between sex, sex category and gender. Sex is defined as "determination made through the application of socially agreed upon biological criteria for classifying persons as females or males" such as chromosomes or genitalia (West & Zimmerman, 1987, p. 127). Placement in a sex category "is established and sustained

by the socially required identificatory displays that proclaim one's membership in one or the other category” (West & Zimmerman, 1987, p. 127). Finally, gender “is the activity of managing situated conduct in light of normative conceptions of attitudes and activities appropriate for one's sex category” (West & Zimmerman, 1987, p. 127). In other words, having xx-chromosomes classifies a person as being female, who can proclaim membership in the sex category of female and by maintaining activities which are deemed as feminine one can claim to be a woman. Gender is accomplished through behavior where the goal is to live up to normative standards (West & Zimmerman, 1987, p. 136). Because men and women behave in certain ways, differences are created. Like Connell, they stress that these differences are not based in biological differences, meaning that they do not think that men and women are destined by biology to behave in certain ways, but that once differences are constructed, they are perceived as natural (West & Zimmerman, 1987, p. 137). One example of this is how we separate women and men in different locker rooms, perceiving that the behavior of changing and showering with people in the same sex category is natural. Recently in Norway, this issue bubbled up to the surface when a transwoman was told off because she was presumed to be in the “wrong” locker room because of her genitalia did not match the sex category of the other women in the locker room belonged to (Bie, 2017). This proves West and Zimmerman’s second point, which is that to do gender is to engage in behavior at the risk of gender assessment (West & Zimmerman, 1987, p. 136). This insight that gender is not natural, as I pointed out in the section above about Connell’s understanding of gender, is a sentiment filled with hope. If we view gender as something that is done a certain way, unconstrained by biology and nature, it should also be possible to change. It is in tradition that I place Resolution 1325. What then becomes interesting is to look at what the United Nations’ gender policy consists of. Does it have it protentional for change (which I have purposed also means hope)? Or does help to reproduce gender roles? Another helpful perspective to understand a gender policy can be to draw on observations made about intersectionality in feminism, because it reminds us that there are other characteristics that are used to created differences between people. In turn, this is important to understand how discrimination works.

In this section, I will outline what intersectionality in feminism is and how it is useful in my research. Intersectionality is a term that was introduced by law professor Kimberle Crenshaw in the early 1990s. Her research focused on violence against women of colour in USA and how women of colour were discriminated against based on their skin colour, and that this was not taken into account when working against discrimination against all women. She held that a intersectional perspective in gender research entails that the intersection of different identities, such as class, race and gender, intersect and shape experiences of discrimination (Crenshaw, 1993, p. 1245). She argues white women and women of colour did not have the same experience when seeking help after experiencing domestic violence (Crenshaw, 1993, p. 1246). She writes:

where systems of race, gender, and class domination converge, as they do in the experiences of battered women of color, intervention strategies based solely on the experiences of women who do not share the same class or race background will be of limited help to women who because of race and class face different obstacles (Crenshaw, 1993, p. 1246).

This highlights that specific characteristics creates specific types of discrimination. It also influences how for instance women of colour can fight for their rights. Because the intersectional perspective was lacking in the women's movement in 1993 (and still is, to a degree), women of colour had to split their political involvement between working against sexism and racism (Crenshaw, 1993, p. 1252). This had consequences for what kinds of policies employed to fight against discrimination. She argues that

racism experienced by people of color who are of a particular gender –male— determine the parameters of antiracist strategies, just as sexism as experienced by women who are of a particular race –white—tends to ground the women's movement (Crenshaw, 1993).

This means that not only did women of colour carry the burden of discrimination, but ways to effect change was closed off to them. Though it is possible to argue that the mainstream women's movement has absorbed the concept of intersectionality regarding class and race, it is not quite there regarding sexual orientation and gender identity. Later in my thesis I will show how I see this in my analysis of Resolutions 1325 and 1509. I will now turn to how the notion that gender is something that is done and

intersectionality can be combined, by using Connell's concept of hegemonic masculinity and emphasized femininity.

2.3.3 Hegemonic Masculinity and Emphasized Femininity

So far in my thesis, I have stressed that gender is not determined by biological factors, but that is rather something that is performed. I will in this section turn to how gender practices do not only create differences between men and women, but between men and between women. Masculinity is in this context seen as related to the suppression of women. The first step in thinking about masculinity in this regard is the concept of hegemony, meaning that that in each society, there will be one group with a leading position in leading life (Connell, 1995, p. 77). This is true for ruling classes, but also in a hierarchy of masculinities. Connell then defines hegemonic masculinity as

the configuration of gender practice which embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of the legitimacy of the patriarchy which guarantees (or is taken to guarantee) the dominant position of men and the subordination of women (Connell, 1995, p. 77).

It is useful to imagine Connell's concept as a ladder. At the top is hegemonic masculinity, which Connell stresses the word "currently". It is not necessary that the bearers of the current hegemonic masculinity have political power, because such bearers can be male movie stars or fantasy figures (Connell, 1995, p. 77). She² states: "when

² In her earlier work, Connell was known as Robert W. Connell (or R.W. Connell), but is now legally Raewyn W. Connell. Connell prefers that the pronouns used are she and her, even for earlier work, explaining to research fellow Nikki Wedgwood: "There is a basic reason for this, beyond the fact that that is my name and civil status now. Like other transsexual people, when I undertook the medically-assisted gender reassignment process it wasn't a sex change that happened but a search for recognition of a very long-standing reality. Ever since I was a girl, in fact. What has changed over the years is the way I have tried to deal with that reality" (N. Wedgwood, 2009, p. 338).

conditions for the deference of patriarchy change, the bases for the dominance of a particular masculinity are eroded” (Connell, 1995, p. 77). This entails that the hegemonic masculinity change over time, even though we may assume that the current hegemonic masculinity is natural and impossible to change. The concept is useful to explain why different groups of men are not created equal. In a society, different groups of men have power and some groups experience that they have less power and status. In order to explain how this presents itself, Connell introduces the categories of subordinate, complicit and marginalized men. It can be useful to imagine this as a ladder. This metaphor is not constructed by Connell, but I find that it is a useful image when understanding this theory.

If we take for granted that there exist a group of men who practice the current hegemonic masculinity, we can assume that this is a low number of men. This is best illustrated, for instance, with the low number of men who play soccer at the elite level and how many men who are soccer supporters (Connell, 1995, p. 79). However, this high number of men, writes Connell, benefit from a patriarchal system (Connell, 1995). They are complicit and are one step down from the men at the top. These men ensure that the bearers of hegemonic masculinity can exist, because there are such a big group of complicit men protecting them. Without the soccer supporters cheering from the stands, the soccer game loses importance and status. They compromise with women as fathers and husbands, but still dominate over women and can reap rewards (for instance, this group of men do their share of the housework, but still make more money than their wives and do not face a glass ceiling at work) (Connell, 1995). One step down from the complicit men are the subordinate men, who, if we continue the soccer metaphor, are excluded from the match altogether. Connell argues that the most important example of such dominance in current American and European societies are that of heterosexual men over homosexual men (Connell, 1995, p. 78). This goes beyond cultural stigmatization, and include violence and oppression in all forms (Connell, 1995, p. 78). But Connell also makes a bigger point when she argues that

gayness, in patriarchal ideology, is the repository of whatever is symbolically expelled from hegemonic masculinity, the items ranging from fastidious home decoration to receptive anal pleasure. Hence, from the point of view of hegemonic masculinity, gayness is easily assimilated to femininity (Connell, 1995, p. 78).

This means that this group do not profit from the the patriarchal system, and are subjected to violence and dominance (Connell, 1995, p. 80). They are not seen as fully men. However, Connell places them above the last group of men in this framework, which is marginalized masculinities.

On the lowest step of the ladder, Connell places marginalized men. She writes that for the groups mentioned above describe relations internal in the gender order, but that race can also played an important role in gender dynamics (Connell, 1995, p. 80). Connell argues that “in a white-supremacist context black masculinities play symbolic roles for white gender construction” (Connell, 1995, p. 80). Black masculinities represent a masculinity which does not conform to the hegemonic masculinity and must therefore be oppressed for the (White) hegemonic masculinity to continue to exist (Cheng, 1999, p. 297). This could explain why Afro-American men are such a systemically targeted group in Europe and North America. If we continue to use the ladder metaphor and hold that it is possible for example a man performing a complicit masculinity can climb to hold become a part of group of bearers of hegemonic masculinity, Connell argues that although an Afro-American man who excel in sports, this will have no trickle-down effect to other Afro-American men (Connell, 1995, p. 81). Said differently, it has no benefit to other men who are marginalized by the hegemon.

One question that arises after reading Connell’s work on hegemonic masculinity is where women are places in this hierarchy. Is it possible to imagine that women could have a place on this ladder? In my thesis, I explore what the gender policy of the United Nations is in a peacebuilding operation. Connell’s framework introduces a more dynamic way to look at gender, which shows inequality not just between men and women, but between men. One weakness is that she does not introduce an equally

complex framework for thinking about femininity. She and Messerschmidt address this criticism in an article published in 2005.

In the article from 2005, Connell and Messerschmidt address a series of criticism directed at the theory of hegemonic masculinity. They begin with stating that it was always their intention to talk about hegemonic masculinity together with the concept of “emphasized femininity” but agree that hegemonic masculinity have been focus (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005, p. 848). The irony that the concept of hegemonic masculinity has indeed become the main theoretical focus at the expense of the focus on femininity seems lost on them, but they do note that they named it emphasized femininity to underscore the point in order to “acknowledge the asymmetrical position of masculinities and femininities in a patriarchal gender order” (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005, p. 848). Because they argue that gender is relational, they regret that they did not focus more on femininities and suggest to make a model that integrate a focus on women may improve the model (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005, p. 848). This point is not devoted much space, but it can function as an encouragement to explore which femininities can dominate over others. In the next section I will connect this concept with the concept of positive peace.

2.4 Feminist Critique of International Relations

War, as I studied it as an undergraduate student, was a very masculine venture. Women had guest appearances as nurses at the frontline or as factory workers replacing men, but I rarely saw them take center stage. Feminist critique of International Relations is a good way of understanding why this happens when scholars look at war and how it can add perspectives when looking at the gender policy in Resolution 1325 and 1509. It also reminds us that feminist perspectives are sometimes controversial because they critique what has been established as the superior way of conducting research. Traditionally,

International Relations have lacked a gender perspective and used to understand the actions of states. The security of states has been the focus of the research, which came under scrutiny by feminists in the 1980s. In this section, I will focus mainly on the contributions from Tickner and Enloe to show what this critique consists of. I will then show why the critique is useful in understanding the resolutions I have chosen for analysis and place my thesis in a larger scholarly context.

The feminist critique of International Relations stands in the constructivist tradition, and it argues against realism. The most important focus of realism is the focus on war and the use of force by states (Nye & Welch, 2011, p. 4). The focus on war and the use of states have more to do with the history of realism than anything else. It was founded in response to the world's, and in particular The League of Nations', failure to prevent the Second World War (Blanchard, 2003, p. 1291). In their view, one of the factors leading to the war was The League of Nations' idealistic approach, and since that had failed, a new approach was needed (Blanchard, 2003, p. 4). Their new approach would focus on "what is" rather than how politics should work, thus protecting the world from a new world war (Blanchard, 2003, p. 1291). The Second World began for many reasons, but there is a case to made for the politics of appeasement was to blame for not stopping Hitler at an earlier stage. Following this logic, European states should have instead taken steps to protect themselves rather than appeasing another state. These experiences have formed the basis for the realism.

Because realists saw conflict as inevitable in anarchy (an international environment unsanctioned by any higher authority), "security" entailed the pursuit of power conducted by statesmen strictly guided by considerations of national interest and unimpeded by moral deliberations (Blanchard, 2003, p. 1291).

In other words, realism is also a political project in the sense that it stresses the importance of strong states who protect their own people as a strategy to avoid wars rather than relying on a organization like The League of Nations. One of the most prominent and founder of this tradition, Hans Morgenthau, states that "political realism believes that that politics (...) is governed by objective laws that have their roots in human nature" (Morgenthau & Thompson, 1993, p. 4). Realists, writes Morgenthau,

hold that these laws are based on rationality, and not mere opinions (Morgenthau & Thompson, 1993, p. 4). Statesmen act so they can secure power, and power is defined as the ability to control another man (Morgenthau & Thompson, 1993, p. 13). A realist, writes Morgenthau, always asks how the political action affects the power of the nation, whereas the moralist would ask if the action is ethically right (Morgenthau & Thompson, 1993, p. 15). The realist is aware that there is a tension between doing what is right ethically and what is right for the nation, but that the latter is the most important (Morgenthau & Thompson, 1993, p. 14). This political man, who only takes the interest of the nation into consideration, would be a monster, argues Morgenthau (Morgenthau & Thompson, 1993, p. 19) As a way to resolve this tension, Morgenthau suggests that in order to develop a theory, the political sphere must be separated from other spheres (Morgenthau & Thompson, 1993, p. 19). This approach is similar to the one found in economics, where actors are assumed to make purely rational choices, in order to formulate theories about economical behavior (Morgenthau & Thompson, 1993, p. 20). To summarize, realism holds that states are the provider of security for its citizens because there is no world police or government and that national interests trumps other moral considerations. Realism is a way of thinking about politics that has a distilled out a political man in order to understand how states acts. It was this line of thinking Ann Tickner and others began to question.

The critique is, as I see it, twofold. First, she offered an critique of realism, as it was formulated by as not quite capturing the complexities (Tickner, 1988, p. 431). She does not argue against his view of the international system, but rather “that this is a partial description of international politics because it is based on assumptions about human nature that are partial and privilege masculinity” (Tickner, 1988, p. 431). She points out that in Western culture, our understanding of femininity and masculinity are based on dichotomies (Tickner, 1988, p. 431). Masculinity is associated with characteristics used also employed in realism, such as objectivity and reason (Tickner, 1988, p. 431). In other words, realism is a science based around masculine ideals (Tickner, 1988, p. 431). There are several aspects of this that is problematic. Firstly, the construction of a political man who is separated from other spheres, including the private, is at odds with the feminist credo that the personal is political (Tickner, 1988, p. 432). Secondly, Tickner stresses that knowledge and science are not necessarily objective and that

portraying as such is misleading (Tickner, 1988, p. 432). Tickner suggests “that Morgenthau’s attempt to construct an objective, universal theory of international politics is rooted in assumptions about human nature and morality that, in modern Western culture, are associated with masculinity” (Tickner, 1988, p. 433). This may of course be part of the human nature, but leaves out women’s reality or said differently, approximately half of all humans. As Blanchard states

Feminists in IR argue that realism, dominated by elite, white, male practitioners, is a patriarchal discourse that renders women invisible from the high politics of IR even as it depends on women’s subjugation as a “domesticated” figure whose ‘feminine’ sensibilities are both at odds with and inconsequential to the harsh ‘realities’ of the public world of men and states” (Runyan and Peterson 1991, 68–69) (Blanchard, 2003, p. 1297)

This shows that the problem is that the masculine world view which makes women invisible in IR, and that this is made possible by the male dominance in the field. Therefore, the critique must first argue for the need for a feminist perspective in realism, and then against the male dominance in the field.

To resolve the first issue, Tickner purposes that instead of thinking about theory as a map that is universal, a feminist theory of IR stresses that multiple spheres are connected, that power is not the only force in politics and to move away from a theory that only emphasizes masculine characteristics (Tickner, 1988, p. 437). Tickner solution can be divided into six parts. The first part is that since objectivity is so heavily associated with masculinity it cannot be used as a laws to govern all genders (Tickner, 1988, p. 437). The first one is to acknowledge that a state can have multiple interests in addition to power which allows states to cooperate (Tickner, 1988, p. 438). Her third point challenges the definition of power which is central in realism. She holds that power cannot have meaning which is universally valid (Tickner, 1988, p. 438) She adds that “power as domination and control privileges masculinity and ignores the possibility of collective empowerment, another aspect often associated with femininity” (Tickner, 1988, p. 438). The fourth point she makes is that it is in fact impossible to separate moral considerations from political actions (Tickner, 1988, p. 438). This point is connected to her fifth part of her solution which calls for instead of finding shared moral principles so that states could decrease conflict and build an international

community (Tickner, 1988, p. 483). Morgenthau argued against this, claiming that it could in fact increase conflict. The two latter points put moral principles back into the equation instead of trying to leave it out. Instead of trying to separate spheres in society, Tickner purposes to merge them. Because of this she insists on the need to have a world view that has a pluralistic conception of human nature (Tickner, 1988, p. 483). She argues that “building boundaries around a narrowly defines political realm defines political in a way that excludes the concerns and contributions of women” (Tickner, 1988, p. 483). In this way, Tickner attempts to add a feminist perspective to realism, while still staying in the realism-tradition. The next dimension of her critique is that the IR-discipline is dominated by men and that this is a second obstacle feminist must overcome.

In her essay, “You Just Don’t Understand: Troubled Engagements between Feminists and IR Theorists”, Tickner asks why it has been so difficult for the feminist critique of IR to break into the mainstream IR. She writes that IR-theorists insist that IR is a “gender-neutral” discipline and that talking about gender is irrelevant to understand how we can resolve conflict (Tickner, 1997, p. 612). She holds that the uneasy relationship is based on a series of misunderstandings and urges more IR-theorists to join the conversation (Tickner, 1997, p. 613). However, Cynthia Enloe, who stands in the in the same tradition of Tickner, has a less generous explanation. She suggests that that the reasons why the feminist critique is not taken seriously are firstly that it would mean that the male academics would have to “consider thoughtfully when and how their own relationships to masculinity are affecting what they choose to deem a 'serious' topic of investigation” (Enloe, 2004, p. 96). Secondly, she suggests that the unwillingness to work with feminist perspective is motivated by the “fear of appearing somehow feminized in the eyes of those colleagues” (Enloe, 2004, p. 96). Perhaps this is what Koehane was referring to? Leaving that aside, Enloe may be right when she suggests that feminist scholarship may not be taken seriously because it is considered to be “softer” than the more masculine traditions in International Relations. It also proves the distance between the feminist scholarship and mainstream realism. The question is then where this leaves the feminist critique. Should it leave the mainstream altogether?

2.5 Summary

The aim of this chapter was to show what the core notions and theoretical framework of my thesis. I began by outlining Galtung's concepts of positive peace and violence. Because Galtung did not write about gender equality, I included Holter's perspectives on what violence towards women can be placed into Galtung's concepts of violence. She purposes that working to redefine the hegemonic masculinity could ensure gender equality. Then I argued that gender mainstreaming could be a way of reducing violence against women and ensure equality between men and women. I also included a few criticisms of gender mainstreaming. At that point, I saw it as relevant to outline how gender can be understood and consequences of those understandings. I then argued that an intersectional approach is necessary when studying gender. To further show how important it to look at how gender is performed and how other variables are important to take into consideration when looking at strategies to achieve gender equality, I included a section on Connell's concept of hegemonic masculinity. It is after all suggested by Holter that altering the hegemonic masculinity is a way to achieve gender equality. Lastly, I wanted to show how my research can fit in a larger scholarly context and suggests reasons as to why it is so difficult to make room for women in international politics. Having provided the core notions and theoretical framework for my thesis, I will now turn to Chapter 3 and reflections about my choice of method and methodology.

3 Reflections on Methodology and Method

In the novel *Alice in Wonderland*, Alice asks the Cheshire Cat where she should go. The Cat answers wisely that it depends on where she wants to end up. The chapter is perhaps not the answer to where I wish to end up, but rather how I intend to get there. It is a description of the road I took when getting my results. In this chapter, I will explain the data I intended to analyze and then how I analyzed them using document analysis.

For the sake of clarity, I will first start by stating the difference between *methodology* and *method*. Methodology means “rules that specifies how social investigation should be approached” (Ramazanoğlu, 2002, p. 11). Ramazanoğlu further writes that “each methodology links to a particular *ontology* (for example, a belief that gender is social rather than natural)” (Ramazanoğlu, 2002, p. 11). The method is the ways in which reality is explored and evidence produced (Ramazanoğlu, 2002, p. 11). Or, as Grønmo puts it, methodology asks what the fundamental principles of knowledge production are (Grønmo, 2007, p. 29). One example he uses is the question of whether social phenomena can be best understood using numbers, for example statistics, or text, for example document analysis (Grønmo, 2007, p. 29). Only after the researcher has decided on these matters can she choose her method or methods (Grønmo, 2007, p. 29). In the next section, I will discuss what the principles are for knowledge production in my thesis.

3.1 Analyzing Policy: Six Questions

For my thesis, I chose Carol Bacchi’s “What is the problem represented to be?”-approach. In Chapter 1, I stated the six questions she argues can be used to analyze

policies. In this section I will outline the approach and why it was well suited for use in my thesis. I will begin by outlining the assumptions this approach makes about how policies can be analyzed and what she means by asking about representations of the problem. I will then restate the questions one at a time and outline how each question is useful when looking at representations of the problem. Lastly, I will outline what some of the drawbacks of using this method are.

It is not entirely obvious what is meant by asking what the problem is represented to be. The point of departure for Bacchi's research strategy is that "every policy proposal contains within it an explicit or implicit diagnosis of the 'problem', which I call its problem representation" (Bacchi, 1999, p. 1). The policy that is suggested will tell us how the policy makers understands the problem at hand (Bacchi, 2009, p. 1). She writes that her approach "makes the case that policy is not a reaction to 'problems' that sit outside the process waiting to be 'addressed' or 'solved'" (Bacchi, 2015, p. 131). She expands on this point and writes:

Rather policies produce or constitute "problems" as particular types of problems. The task therefore becomes interrogating how specific policy initiatives or proposals produce "problems," with particular meanings and effects" (Bacchi, 2015, p. 131).

In other words, this approach is interested in what the policies can tell us what the government or organizations such the United Nations have decided what the problem is. She further adds that "policies, therefore, constitute (or give shape to) 'problems'". Hence, rather than reacting to 'problems', governments are active in the creation (or production) of policy 'problems' (Bacchi, 2009, p. 1). This does not mean that Bacchi believes that it is possible to know what the people who wrote the policies thought or meant about the problem. In fact, she pays keen interest to this question and writes:

This is because the level of analysis encouraged by a WPR³ approach goes beyond what is in people's heads to consider the shape of arguments, the forms of 'knowledge' that arguments rely upon, the forms of 'knowledge' that are necessary for statements to be accorded intelligibility. The question becomes not why something happens but how it is

³ What is the Problem Represented to Be

possible for something to happen – what meanings need to be in place for something to happen (Bacchi, 2009, p. 5).

Thus, the questions used by Bacchi aims at interrogating not only the policy, but the assumptions and knowledge used to produce a policy that will solve a problem. It also sheds light on the silences in the policy and can be used as a tool to imagine how the problem might be thought of differently and is there are different ways of approaching the problem. In sum, this method could be used to produce a critical analysis of the gender policy in the United Nations' peacebuilding missions, and to think critically about how the policy could present the problem differently. I will now outline what they are.

The first question she ask is “what is the problem represented to be in a specific policy?” (Bacchi, 2009, p. 2). Bacchi states that this question is “a clarification exercise” (Bacchi, 2009, p. 2). The next question is “what presuppositions or assumptions underlie this representation of the problem?”. This question, according to Bacchi, is asked to find out what knowledge is taken for granted in the policy, not the beliefs held by those who make the policy (Bacchi, 2009, p. 5).

The third question asks how this representation of the ‘problem’ has come about (Bacchi, 2009, p. 2). There are two arguments for asking this question. The first argument, according to Bacchi, is to discuss how certain problem representations developed to become policy problems (Bacchi, 2009, p. 10). To explain what she means by this, she uses the example of abortion, which was consider to be a normal part of birth control in the Western world in the 1800s until it became illegal and then legal again (Bacchi, 2009, p. 11). The second argument is that such a process that can show that there are competing ways of representing a problem, and that it is not a given which will be the dominating discourse (Bacchi, 2009, p. 10).

The fourth question asks what is left unproblematic in problem representation (Bacchi, 2009, p. 2). The aim of this question to think about what kinds of constraints the problem representation produces (Bacchi, 2009, p. 13). These constraints will decide what kind of policies are produced to solve the problem (Bacchi, 2009, p. 13).

The fifth question asks what effects are produced by this representation of the problem (Bacchi, 2009, p. 2). In this questions she presents three different effects that the representation of the problem may produce. The first is one the category of discursive effects. By this she means the consequences of “options for social interventions are closed off by the way in which a ‘problem’ is represented, this can have devastating effects for certain people” (Bacchi, 2009, p. 16). This means that the effect of the silences in the representation of the problem could mean that other options are not taken into consideration. The next effects discussed by Bacchi are subjectification effects. These are tied closely together with the discursive effects. As Bacchi puts it: “discourses make certain subject positions available” (Bacchi, 2009, p. 16). The last effect that Bacchi argue could be produced by representation a problem in policies, are lived effects. These effects refer to “the material impact of problem representations” (Bacchi, 2009, p. 17). This refers to effects that impacts people’s lives.

The final question asks “How/where has this representation of the ‘problem’ been produced, disseminated and defended? How could it be questioned, disrupted and replaced?” (Bacchi, 2009, p. 2) About this question, Bacchi writes that it builds on the third question, and urges the researcher “to think about the means through which particular problem presentations reach their target audience and achieve legitimacy” (Bacchi, 2009, p. 19). This question encourages me as a researcher to think about policies I would like to implement if I had the chance and explore how policies can thought of in different ways.

Although Bacchi’s method is a good choice for illuminating a policy from different perspectives, it is not perfect. The approach makes the case that policies give shape to

problems and that they are not just reactions to problems. It provides us the the opportunity to think critically about how we are governed, but only if we accept Bacchi's assumptions about how policy is made. The limitation is that this approach, if one uses it like I do with a limited number of policy documents and no interviews with the people who execute the policies, is that it does not tell us how a policy works when it is put into action by the government. It is difficult to tell how people on the ground will act, meaning that it is difficult to know if they follow the policies to the letter. It is difficult to know if it is adjusted quietly by people in governmental offices or if they interpret it when faced with scenarios the writers of the policy did not imagine. I will now outline how I conducted my research.

3.2 Document Analysis

In this section, I will outline what document analysis is and how one can begin and think about document analysis. The method for my thesis is qualitative document analysis of two United Nations' Security Council Resolutions, which are Resolutions 1325 and 1509. According to Grønmo, there are three major aspects of this method; the preparation phase, the actual gathering of data and the specific challenges associated with this method.

The first aspect is the preparation. In this type of data collection it is common to go back and forth between analysis and data collection, so it becomes important to first decide the focus of the data collection and which documents that is going to be analyzed (Grønmo, 2007, p. 189). There is also the question of how to find the documents. Some types of documents are open to the public whereas other require special access (Grønmo, 2007, p. 189). In my case, the documents are open to the public through the UN's web pages. Therefore, there are few ethical considerations. Had the documents

been restricted or containing sensitive information, I would have faced a series of choices as to how to get access and how to protect privacy and security of other actors.

The second aspect considered by Grønmo, is the actual collection of data. After having selected the documents, the researcher must consider critically what data it is possible to get from the documents and the quality of the documents (Grønmo, 2007, p. 190). It is important, writes Grønmo, to consider the context, relevance, credibility and authenticity of the documents (2007, p. 190).

The final aspect of this method, is that since the data collection is done in this way rather than counting the occurrence of certain words or phrases, it makes it all the more important that the researcher is vigilant to how her background effects the interpretation of the data . Grønmo points to the fact that if the researcher is not critical enough towards the sources and if she does not pay enough attention to the context, the results may be distorted (2007, p. 188). By this he means that the researcher is in more danger of influencing the results with her perspectives and background (Grønmo, 2007, p. 193). These considering must be taken seriously and below are possible ways to avoid these problems.

3.3 Why a Case Study?

In this section, I will explain why I chose a case study. The question that remains, is why a case study. After I decided that I wanted to study the policy of gender in peacebuilding missions, I also wanted to look at the implementation of that policy in a peacebuilding mission. For the sake of clarity, I will first explain what a case study is and then what is feasible to achieve by choosing this approach. Firstly, I will define what I mean by the term “case study”. It is sometimes referred to as “small N”-studies. I use George and Bennet’s definition which is “an instance of a class of events” (George & Bennett, 2005, p. 17). By “class of events” they mean “phenomenon of scientific interest, such as revolutions, types of government regimes, kinds of economic

systems (...)” (George & Bennett, 2005, pp. 17-18). They state that “a case study is thus a well-defined aspect of a historical episode that the investigator selects for analysis, rather than a historical event itself” (George & Bennett, 2005, p. 18). This means that in my thesis, the historical episode is the peacebuilding operation in Liberia and the “well-defined aspect” is the policy of gender. Having defined what case studies are, I now turn to why I decided to follow this path.

There are several reasons to why I chose to do a case study. The first reason is that I wanted to find out what the United Nations’ policy of gender was in Resolution 1325 and how it was implemented in the peacebuilding mission in Liberia. I thought the best way to do this would be to pay close attention both the documents and their contexts. George and Bennett refers to this as “conceptual validity”, meaning that a case study allows for “a detailed consideration of contextual factors” (George & Bennett, 2005, p. 19). Choosing to do a in depth case study, also allows for a greater flexibility. This is especially important for research like mine, where there is not a lot of previous knowledge and research. Using a qualitative approach like I use allows for flexibility throughout the process. Grønmo stresses that new experiences and knowledge produced as the data is collected can be incorporated and change how process (Grønmo, 2007, p. 130).

The question of what can be done with the findings from a study. This could be divided into two categories: the issue of generalization and what kind of questions a case study can answer. A case study like mine can say much about the gender policy in Resolution 1325 and the implementation of said policy in Resolution 1509, but not for the implementation of the gender policy in other resolutions produced by the United Nations’ Security Council. The knowledge I produce can be used to plan further research in this field and confirm or differ from document analysis in other missions. In other words; what it lacks in scope it makes up for in depth.

The second category is what kind of questions a case study can answer. George and Bennett writes that “case studies remain much stronger at assessing *whether* and *how* a variable matter to the outcome than assessing *how much* it mattered” (George & Bennett, 2005, p. 25). The implications of this for my thesis is that I can investigate the policy of gender in Resolution 1325 and 1509, and say how the policy of gender mattered. I can however, not say anything about how much it mattered, because I simply cannot measure this using this method. However, despite of these limitations, a case study is still preferable. I will now move on to explain why I chose the documents I did.

3.4 Selection of the Empirical Material

In this section I will outline the reasoning for choosing my two documents, Resolutions 1325 and 1509, and outline what kinds of documents I could have chosen. Continuing the theme of what could have been, I will end this chapter by sketching the methods I could have used. To understand how the United Nations implemented Resolution 1325, I have chosen to study their documents. Ideally, I would have done interviews with the staff both on the ground in Liberia and those who planned the mission. However, I have chosen to look at the documents they produced, and how they themselves report on the mission. This will give insight to how the United Nations frames gender issues in their own reports. The reports are also easy to find. They are available from the United Nations UNMIL-website. There are five types of documents available from the website and I will describe them below.

The first category of documents is “Facts and figures”, which are facts and figures about the mission. It is a website that shows many people are a part of the different parts of the mission and where they are from and what, in addition to providing links to other relevant documents (United Nations, 2016). This is a useful resource for background

information, but does not contain enough relevant information about the United Nations' gender policy. The second category is the resolutions passed to implement and maintain the mission. The point of departure in this thesis is of course Resolution 1325, but there are an additional three passed by the Security Council concerning UNMIL. The first resolution, Resolution 1509, was passed in 2003 to implement the mission (Un.org 2003). The second, Resolution 2066, was passed in 2012 in order to decrease the military staff in Liberia (Un.org 2015). The third, Resolution 2215, was passed in April 2015 to further decrease UN personnel in the country (Un.org 2015). For the purpose of my thesis, Resolution 1509 is most interesting to study because it would be reasonable to think that the gender policy presented in Resolution 1325 would have implemented here.

The third category is "Statements by the President of the Security Council". These are statements given by the President of the Security Council and there are three of them. They are small summaries of the mission thus far, and were issued in 2002, 2003 and 2006 (un.org 2015). The biggest problem with using these reports are that they are very short and so few. It is therefore difficult to use them to study change over time and it does not contain much information about gender. Therefore, they are not very useful for my purposes.

The fourth category is the "Progress reports of the Secretary-General". These reports outline the progress thus far in the mission, and between two and six are produced yearly (un.org 2015). In sum, forty reports have been submitted (un.org 2015). The reports contain information about progress about various aspects of the mission. Their point of departure is the resolutions passed and provide the most information about the mission from all the documents I have access to. They contain specific information about gender issues in the mission and because there are many of them written over time, they also provide insight to whether or not how and what the UN reports on gender issues change over time. If I had had more time and resources, I would have included them in my research.

Of course, these are the documents that I have access to and can describe. It is possible that there are other more interesting sources that I do not have access to, like internal memos between United Nations-staff working on the project. There could also be other sources that I am unaware of. Choosing only to study documents written by the United Nations' staff is a deliberate one because I aim at studying how the United Nations report on Resolution 1325. However, because of limited time and resources I have chosen to only focus on Resolutions 1325 and 1509. I will now turn to discussing how I approached analyzing Resolutions 1325 and 1509.

3.5 My Approach

So far in this chapter, I have outlined Bacchi's method, what document analysis is and why I chose to conduct a case study. I then outlined how I selected the documents for my analysis and which documents I decided to study. The question that remains after doing so is how I went about approaching the documents to find the four themes of the United Nation's gender policy. When I had found my themes using grounded theory, I could use Bacchi's "What is the problem represented to be"-approach to interrogate the United Nations' policy of gender critically to answer what the policy of gender was. Then I could look at what version of that policy of gender was implemented. I also chose to as specific as possible on how I did this, so ensure that my process was transparent. This could also make it possible to replicate the process.

The coding process was inspired by grounded theory. Open coding in Grounded theory means that the researcher entails "tries to break up the data in a line-by-line analysis and develop those units into theoretical concepts that in light of the research question appear to be relevant" (Strübing, 2011, p. 3). This is called "open coding" and coding is defined as being "occurrences of a certain phenomenon in the data are compared with

other occurrences of the same or a similar phenomenon” (Strübing, 2011, p. 3). I began by studying Resolution 1325 in depth without trying to impose preconized notions of what I would find. I then highlighted occurrences of phrases and words I could link to a policy of gender. I then began using the same colour for words and phrases which resembled each other. After I was done highlighting, I saw that I had used four different colours. That was how I could separate tease out the themes from the text. Then I looked at Resolution 1509 and began studying it in depth. In contrast with what I did with Resolution 1325, I had preconceived notions of what I was looking for because I looked for words and phrases pertaining to my four themes from Resolution 1325. I used highlighters the same way, and in that way, I could see how the policy of gender was implemented in Resolution 1509. In this part of the thesis, I have outlined how I conducted my research. Now that I have showed which road I took, I will turn to the roads I did not go down.

3.6 Roads not Taken

Robert Frost famously wrote in the poem I borrow this section’s title from: “Two roads diverged in a yellow wood,/And sorry I could not travel both/And be one traveler, long I stood” (Frost, 2015). As the traveler, there were multiple ways I could have researched this phenomenon. In this thesis, I have chosen to use a qualitative method for reasons outlined above. However, there are other methods I could have used instead, which I will now outline. The methods I could have used are larger N-studies, interviews and statistical methods. There are three main considerations I have taken when deciding which road to take. My point of departure has been my methodology and theoretical perspectives. Then I have focused on how best to increase validity and reliability. The last consideration has been the fact that I am limited by both time and resources. Lastly, I would like to add that the social sciences there are also many other methods than those mentioned I could have utilized. However, space and time does not allow me to outline them all.

I could have chosen to do include more cases in my study. That would have meant including more peacebuilding operations post-1325 and comparing them. The benefit of this approach is that it is possible to trace a development of how the implementation of the gender policy evolved, if it evolved at all. mainstreaming is implemented and compare them. Such an approach could also have allowed me to compare different regions, which could have given clues as to whether world region matters in implementation of their gender policy.

Validity is the first thing I will consider. Validity is a measure of how relevant the research design and data is for the research question(s) (Grønmo, 2007, p. 426). Including more cases would have produced more data relevant for the research questions, so I would have increased this measure. Reliability refers to how reliable the data is (Grønmo, 2007, p. 423). Logically, increasing the N in the study would have not done much difference. However, this approach requires more time. Although I still use document analysis which would be in harmony with my feminist methodology, it would have taken longer time and it would not have been possible to go into depth in each case. In sum, my limited time and resources makes this approach non-practical.

A second approach could have been to use interviews. Here I could have interviewed the peacebuilding mission in Liberia and the people working with Resolution 1325 in the United Nations. Choosing this method would have meant doing field work in Liberia or DPKO's office. This was a possibility, but time consuming and expensive, so I decided to forgo this option. Another problem with this approach would have been that it would have been difficult to ensure that the data was reliable. One of the drawbacks with qualitative interviews is that it would rely heavily on the individuals I would have spoken to. Put differently: my findings would have been dependent on the experiences of my informants. Grønmo writes that the informants can give wrong information because they do not remember correctly, want to present themselves a certain way or that they have repressed certain aspects of the events (Grønmo, 2007, p. 165). In addition to this, at the time I would have done interviews in Liberia, the country was still not declared Ebola-free. I deemed the risk of getting infected, issues

with getting enough insurance coverage and being quarantined upon arrival back in Oslo. Another factor against interviewing UN personnel outside of Liberia who planned and executed the peacebuilding mission may have a stake in framing it in certain ways, in addition to the aspects Grønmo mentions. Overall, I decided against it.

The cat in *Alice in Wonderland* reminds us of the importance of first knowing where to go before deciding the direction. Overall, the method I have chosen will allow me to reach my destination. In all research projects, there are multiple ways forward, making it important to clearly justify a method which matches the methodology and theoretical perspectives. As the traveler in Frost's poem I had to carefully consider which road to take. In this section I have reasoned why I chose my method and why document analysis will secure both a degree of validity and reliability.

4 Resolution 1325 and The United Nations' Policy of Gender

This chapter is devoted to analysis of Resolution 1325 using Bacchi's "What is the problem represented to be"-approach which I outlined in the previous chapter. In this chapter, I will answer my first research question which is: "What is the policy of gender in the United Nations' peacebuilding operations as shown in Resolution 1325?". Using grounded theory, four themes grew out of my reading Resolution 1325. The first theme concerns instances in Resolution 1325 when "gender" is made explicit so that it made clear that it not just policy directed at women. The second theme contains phrases related to protection of women and girls from violence. The third theme is the references to women's special needs. The fourth and last theme of the gender policy is to ensure that women participate in processes such as conflict resolution, promotion of peace and in political institutions. Other readers may find different themes. These differences can also be a result of many things, like applying a different perspective. As showed in the section about feminist critique of International Relations, a different perspective may make a big difference on how what researchers find.

The first exercise Bacchi recommends us to do, is to reflect on the choice of policy. She writes that the reasons for choosing a particular policy can be a personal interest or that the policy is the focus of political debate (Bacchi, 2009, p. 54). The goal of such reflection is to provide context for the researcher's interpretive starting point (Bacchi, 2009, p. 54). Feminist scholars Laura Sjoberg and J. Ann Tickner writes that on way of starting a feminist research project is to ask "where are the women?" (2013, p. 6). I wanted to ask where the women are in United Nation's peacebuilding missions, and studying Resolutions 1325 and 1509 was one way of doing so. As a reminder, I will repeat what my research questions are before I begin answering Bacchi's six questions. The first one is: what is the policy of gender in the United Nations' peacebuilding operations as shown in Resolution 1325? The second one is: what was the policy of

gender in Resolution 1509? In this chapter, I will attempt to answer the first research question.

4.1 The Representation of the Problem in the United Nations' Gender Policy: Four Themes

I will now turn to answer Bacchi's first question. The first question I asked, based on Bacchi's questions, which I outlined in Chapter 3, was "what is the problem(s) represented to be in the United Nations' policy of gender in peacebuilding missions as shown in Resolution 1325?". In other words, which problems is the gender policy attempting to solve? What is the diagnosis or diagnoses the Security Council have made and how it that apparent through their proposals for a cure? I was open for the possibility that this policy might look more like a *polyphony*, meaning that there would be different representations of the problem in Resolution 1325. When I was investigating what the problem, or rather problems, of gender was represented to be in Resolution, four themes stood out as fundamental. The first included the words and phrases which contained the phrases gender perspective, gender-sensitive, gender considerations, gender dimensions and gender mainstreaming. I did this because I wanted to group together the instances which seemed to stress gender in explicitly as the deciding factor. I wanted to know if specific references to those concepts could tell me how and why they formed the gender policy. Who was to take gender considerations? In which context? Which goals would this serve?

The first instance of this representation of the problem is in the preamble of Resolution 1325. It reads:

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

It does not state that there is a need to for a focus on women, but on gender. As I have stated earlier, gender mainstreaming means working for gender equality. Therefore, the problem is that there is not currently gender equality in peacekeeping operations. In Article 5, “gender perspective” is defined as a policy with a gender component. In Article 7, the Security Council urges member states to increase their support to “gender-sensitive training efforts, including those undertaken by relevant funds and programmes” (Security Council 2000, p. 2). Those funds and programmes are specified to mean The United Nations Fund for Women, The United Nations Children’s Fund and The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (United Nations Security Council, 2000, p. 2). Again, the problem is that those who are involved in peacebuilding missions need more support to implement gender equality, which is not present at that point. Training must be gender-sensitive, which could mean that training of personnel must be thoughtful or mindful of gender. There are two examples of how this can be done. One is to investigate which understandings of gender are present in a culture and respect them without questions or challenge them (this could entail maintaining separation of men and women in public spaces). The other is to investigate how gender is understood and try to change practices the United Nations have defined as standing in the way of gender mainstreaming. Both understandings of what is at stake when talking about gender will influence what the implementation of “gender-sensitive” will entail. I will revisit this point when I outline what assumptions of the problem representation is in 4.2.

In Article 15, it is stated that gender considerations and the rights of women are two separate entities. The article reads: “[the Security Council] *Expresses* its willingness to ensure that Security Council missions take into account gender considerations and the rights of women (United Nations Security Council, 2000, p. 3). This could be understood as stressing the importance of women as a group that have rights, but also being open for the possibility that other genders’ rights also need to be considered. Given the events that led up the point where Resolution 1325 was past, a point I will return to, this may be an overly optimistic reading of the text.

One critique of Resolution 1325 is that it essentializes women and that gender is a category which only holds women and men as argued by for instance Valenius. However, stating that a gender perspective is needed, and not for example a female perspective, could show an awareness of the importance of women's rights (which would constitute a female perspective) and awareness in Resolution 1325 that other genders, such as men and those belonging to a third gender, also have needs that are specific to them and needs to be taken into consideration. Intentional or not, this could open Resolution 1325 to be interpreted differently as the United Nations' definition of gender evolves. However, the representation the problem as peacebuilding missions missing a gender perspective, makes gender, as Shepherd argues, a variable. As Shepherd argues, this misses an opportunity to recognize that gender is also a "power relation or a discursive performance" as I pointed out in Chapter 1 (Shepherd, 2008, p. 120). I wrote in Chapter 1 that Valenius also made the case that gender mainstreaming could have given the United Nations tools to conduct such an analysis (2007, p. 531). This however, assumes that the United Nations understand gender a power relation and as performative. One possible conclusion to draw from this is that using "gender" in phrases such as gender perspective, gender-sensitive, gender considerations, gender dimensions and gender mainstreaming is a way of ensuring that both male and female experiences and points of view are a part of peacebuilding missions. However, it does not give tools for any analysis about gender hierarchies and runs the risk of limiting gender to category of only men and women. In order to investigate what a gender policy could entail, it is important to look at the other representations of the problem of gender policy. I will continue doing so by outlining the second theme I found.

I will now turn to the second theme contains measures to protect women and girls from violence. I chose this as a theme because it stood out as a part of the representation of the problem. If, I argue, measures are taken to protect women and girls I must assume that this is a solution to a problem, namely that women and girls need protection and that it is important that they are protected. This means that women and girls were not being protected from violence before Resolution 1325 was passed. I also paid attention

to the fact that it is specified that women and girls ought to be protected, and not men and boys. This is stated for the first time in the preamble on the first page. The paragraph reads:

Expressing concern that civilians, particularly women and children, account for the vast majority of those adversely affected by armed conflict, including as refugees and internally displaced persons, and increasingly are targeted by combatants and armed elements, and recognizing the consequent impact this has on durable peace and reconciliation (United Nations Security Council, 2000, p. 1).

This means that women and children are in a vulnerable position and need protection. It does not discuss danger for men and boys, which Shepherd reminds us have been the target of genocide because of their gender in for example during the civil war in Kosovo (Shepherd, 2008, p. 115). This is repeated when Resolution 1325 states that there is a need “to implement fully international humanitarian and human rights law that protects the rights of women and girls during and after conflicts” (United Nations Security Council, 2000, p. 1). The Resolution also states in Article 10 that this violence is directed at women and girls because of their gender, referring to it as gender-based, and that this type of violence often has a sexual component such as rape and sexual abuse (United Nations Security Council, 2000, p. 3). The Resolution also recognizes that this violence has an impact on durable peace and it is written in Article 11 that amnesty for such crimes in peace agreements ought not to be granted (United Nations Security Council, 2000, p. 3). This shows that a gender policy ought to include measures to protect women and children, because one of the problems this policy will solve is that women and children do not currently have this protection.

The third theme that stood out to me was one containing references to women’s special needs. This theme is related to second, but I understand the phrase “special needs” to be more than just a need for protection against violence. This theme contains articles which stress that taking the special needs of women and girls ought to be a part of the policy of gender of the United Nations. The problem is that their special needs are not included in the current policy on gender and needs to be taken into consideration. It is first mentioned on the second page and put in the context of protecting women and girls from mines. Resolution 1325 states that there is a need “for all parties to ensure that

mine clearance and mine awareness programmes take into account the special needs of women and girls” (United Nations Security Council, 2000, p. 2). This does not give many clues to what these special needs are, other than that are related to clearance of mines. The article that is the most specific in terms of these special needs, is number 6:

Requests the Secretary-General to provide to Member States training guidelines and materials on the protection, rights and the particular needs of women, as well as on the importance of involving women in all peacekeeping and peace-building measures, invites Member States to incorporate these elements as well as HIV/AIDS awareness training into their national training programmes for military and civilian police personnel in preparation for deployment, and further requests the Secretary-General to ensure that civilian personnel of peacekeeping operations receive similar training (United Nations Security Council, 2000, p. 2).

This means that special needs are related to protection and rights and a need to include an awareness of these needs in peacebuilding efforts, in addition to being related to HIV/AIDS. The Security Council believes that women’s special needs are of such importance that it needs to be an important part of training of personnel involved in peacebuilding. The Resolution also states that special needs must be taken into consideration during repatriation and resettlement and for rehabilitation, reintegration and post-conflict reconstruction (Article 8 a.), settlement in refugee camps (Article 12), planning and execution of disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (Article 13), when assessing impact on the civilian population from armed intervention (Article 14) and urges the Secretary-General to carry out studies on the impact of armed conflict on women and girls (United Nations Security Council, 2000, p. 3). This does not give much information on what exactly women’s and girls’ special needs are, but this can also be a way of giving space to adjust the definition of special needs in the field. In sum, this means that consideration of women’s special needs must be a part of the United Nation’s gender policy.

The fourth and last theme contains policies which aim to ensure that women participate in processes such as conflict resolution, promotion of peace and in political institutions. The problem in this category of articles is that women are not involved in this and measures must be taken to ensure their participation. This is first stated in the preamble and reads:

Reaffirming the important role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts and in peace-building, and stressing the importance of their equal participation and full involvement in all efforts for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security, and the need to increase their role in decision-making with regard to conflict prevention and resolution (United Nations Security Council, 2000, p. 1).

Here the policy of gender is that women play an important role in peacebuilding already, but that their full equal political participation is important. This is repeated on the next page in the preamble and stressed again in articles 1-4. Those articles stress the need for participation of women “at all decision-making levels in national, regional and international institutions”, a strategic plan to involve them in peace processes, urges the Secretary-General to appoint more women as special representatives and increase the number of female staff in peacebuilding missions (United Nations Security Council, 2000, p. 2). The Resolution also calls for measures to support “local women’s peace initiatives and indigenous processes for conflict resolution, and that involve women in all of the implementation mechanisms of the peace agreements” (United Nations Security Council, 2000, p. 3). The problem is that women are not fully included in peace and political processes and measure needs to be taken to involve them. Women’s political involvement in peacebuilding is therefore the fourth aspect of the United Nations’ gender policy in peacebuilding operations.

In section 1.1 of this thesis, I outlined Shepherd’s study where she looked at different ways Resolution 1325 constructs women. I read her after finding my themes, but we do share some of the same idea. One difference is that I see different kinds of political participation as one theme, and she divides it to two kinds of political participation; political organizers and political actors. One important difference is that Shepherd does not take into consideration that gender can hold more than the categories men and women, but also other gender categories. Although she does argue, as I outlined earlier, that the gender category in Resolution 1325 does not provide tools for a power analysis, I do not find that she explicitly argues that Resolution 1325 does not show awareness of trans issues. She also frames her findings in terms of constructions of women, whereas I look for themes to find what kind of problems the gender policy in Resolution 1325 attempts to solve. To recap, I argue that I have seen four themes or problems: the need for a gender perspective, measures to protect women and children from violence, protecting women’s special needs and ensuring women’s participation in processes such

as conflict resolution, promotion of peace and in political institutions. Now I will turn to unpacking what the assumptions of these representations are.

4.2 The Themes' Assumptions: Visible Women and Invisible Power

In this section, I will answer Bacchi's second question. As I stated in Chapter 3, the question asks what presuppositions or assumptions underlie this representation of the problem (Bacchi, 2009, p. 5). Recall from Chapter 3 that Bacchi does not make a case for knowing what the individuals who wrote a policy thought or knew, but that the task at hand is to tease out an understanding of which "meanings need to be in place for something to happen" (Bacchi, 2009, p. 5). Therefore, this space in my thesis is devoted to what assumptions underlie the themes I outlined in section 4.1. I will go through the themes individually and the assumptions I have found.

The first representation of the problem was the theme of referring specifically to gender in Resolution 1325. Here gender is made visible in the form that there is a need for training of personnel to integrate a gender perspective in their work. When I asked the first question, I noted that this suggested as a policy because there is currently not a gender perspective or considerations. The assumption seems to be that since there was not a gender perspective, the missions were without considerations concerning gender. In other words, the mission and the preparation for the missions were gender-less. Including a gender perspective may also reflect the need to add something to the peacebuilding mission, something that it is lacking. In Chapter 2, I outlined a feminist critique of International Relations. There I wrote that a part of the critique is to bring, according to Tickner, other perspective than just power into the equation. Recall that Tickner argued that power that is based in purely objective and masculine cannot be used to govern all genders (Tickner, 1988, p. 438). Tickner also makes the case that the discipline of realism is trying to be gender-less, but that gender is actually important to

take into consideration when discussing war (Tickner, 1997, p. 612). By stressing the need for a gender perspective in Resolution 1325, the assumption is that gender perspective is valuable when discussing conflict resolution. By not only insisting that a female perspective is needed, that could mean that Resolution 1325 assumes that male and female perspectives are of equal value and is needed. If this is the case, then Resolution 1325 could be an example of Tickner and Enloe's visions, which I outlined in Chapter 2, realized.

There are, however, problems with this assumption. Firstly, although it is possible, as I did above, to argue that gender means bringing in male and female perspectives, it is also possible to claim that gender here equals women. This is because Resolution 1325 does not include tools to look at the power dynamics as argued by Shepherd. In Chapter 1, I quoted Shepherd writing that Resolution 1325 "articulates gender as a variable, as opposed to a power relation or a discursive performance" (Shepherd, 2008, p. 120). In the way I have outlined how gender perspective is employed in section 4.1, it does not frame gender as something which is fluid or where power is an important part of the concept, but rather, as Shepherd, argues as a variable. In Chapter 2, I also devoted space to the concept of intersectionality. When Resolution 1325 reference a gender perspective, it is taken for granted that gender is the one factor which is relevant for a new perspective, instead of also referencing other perspectives, such as ethnicity or sexual orientation, and how they can be taken into account. I will revisit this point in the section about silences in the gender policy as shown in Resolution 1325. The next thing I will do in this section, is to look at the assumptions underlying the second theme of the representation of the problem in the gender policy.

The second theme I found was the theme that contained measures to protect women and children from violence. The assumption here is that women and children are targets of violence and need protection which they currently lack. The types of violence specified in Resolution 1325 are rape, sexual abuse, genocide and crimes against humanity and Resolution calls for respect for human rights. Although the Security Council is correct in arguing that women are affected by war in different ways than men and are the victims of sexualized violence, this problem representation assumes that only women and girls are targeted because of their gender. As I wrote in Chapter 1, Shepherd argued

that men are also the targets of genocide because of their gender and serve in armed forces at a higher rate than women and therefore are also killed in combat at a higher rate (Shepherd, 2008, p. 116). This an assumption about who is targeted by violence, and next I will outline the assumptions about the violence itself.

However, the type of violence that is discussed in the Resolution, and which the policy of gender is trying to stop, is the physical type and not structural. The assumption is that violence is physical and not structural. But as I have argued previously, violence can have different forms. Recall that Galtung uses the concept indirect violence which means social injustice. To recap, he writes that social injustice occurs when injustices built into a structure (Galtung, 1969, p. 170). Social injustice is not raised as a form of violence which women need protection from. The counter-argument to this is that the Resolution overall intends to ensure social justice and gender equality. However, when the word violence is used, it is always categorized as what Galtung would consider direct. For Galtung, peace is the absence of both indirect and direct violence. In Resolution 1325, it is only made explicit that women need protection from direct violence. In other words, the term violence is assumed to be very narrow. In the next section, I will discuss the third aspect of the United Nations' gender policy which the idea that women have special needs.

The third theme which stood out to me, contained references to women's special needs. This theme is closely connected to measures to protect women and girls. This category is the one I have struggled with for most of my work with this thesis. When working with Resolution 1325, I have accepted the argument that women have a special need for protection because women face discrimination and violence. It is a huge step in the right direction and a great victory of the women's movement internationally to have a resolution. Yet, I struggle with the assumption that women have "special needs" that goes undefined throughout the Resolution. Therefore, I unpacked which assumptions which could allow for such an understanding.

In Chapter 2, I outlined different ways gender can be understood. By introducing the idea that women have special needs that must be taken into consideration, it is possible tease out assumptions about the understanding of gender which comes into play.

Connell stated that the one way to understand gender, is to argue that male and female bodies produce different subjects, where male bodies are stronger and faster than female and female bodies produces subjects who are more nurturing and less rational than male (Connell, 2002, p. 32). The other understand she purposes is to separate between sex and gender roles, where these roles are understood as possible to change (Connell, 2002, p. 33). West and Zimmerman argue that gender is something we *do* and accomplish, rather than something we *are* (West & Zimmerman, 1987, p. 126). When Resolution states that women have special needs, and does so in the context of protection and awareness of HIV/AIDS. This may mean that the assumption that because women and girls are in general discriminated against, they must have special protection because of the gender roles in societies. This assumption lies on an understanding of gender as something we are, and not as something we do. Therefore it can be difficult to change. This portrays women as victims who have to be protected by someone else, maybe men. Shepherd also observes this and is also concerned by the fact that women and children are grouped together. She writes: “In addition to fixing “womenandchildren” as the eternally protected, this representation also functions to define men as responsible for protecting “their” women and children and the nation as a whole” (Shepherd, 2008, p. 119). However, it is possible to think that there are less problematic ideas which explains this part of the representation of the problem.

A generous reading of this article is that the “special needs” will vary in different context and leaving it open provides the people who plan the mission with flexibility. This could leave it open to have a different political meaning in each mission, meaning that a separate political process must take place for every context. Another reading would be that because it is such a vague formulation, it is difficult to understand what these “special needs”. The result could be an “othering” of women, where the needs of men are thought of as normal and women’s needs are “special”. It could refer to special protection, meaning that women are especially at risk in post-conflict context for violence. But this is tackled by other articles in the Resolution. It could also be interpreted to mean that women have special medical needs, meaning that the understanding of the category “women” is a purely biological one, excluding transwomen or people with a non-binary gender identity. This is left unproblematic in the Resolution, which could have benefited from more precise language on this topic.

The fourth theme which stood out to me was the measures to ensure that women participate in processes such as conflict resolution, promotion of peace and in political institutions. I will begin with the overarching assumption which is that the United Nations should build peace through building political institutions. As I outlined in Chapter 1, the United Nations' missions have evolved from peacekeeping to peacebuilding, the latter being an ambitious state building enterprise. By adopting it as a solution to a problem, Resolution 1325 assumes that women being a part of this process add something of value. However, according to Shepherd, there is little research to suggest that the presence of women would lead to gender equality (2008, p. 117). The assumption is also that the added value of women in conflict resolution and promotion of peace is that they are especially peaceful. In Chapter 1 this notion was criticised by both Puechguirbal and Shepherd, who both find it problematic that women are agents of peace and always have something to gain. Puechguirbal argues that such an assumption is based on the notion that women are a homogenous groups are want the same outcome of a peace process (2010, p. 181). Shepherd also writes that this also assumes that women are pacifist, which is not always true (Shepherd, 2008).

The overarching assumption for Resolution 1325 is that gender mainstreaming is a process that is effective. The next assumption is that gender mainstreaming is possible to achieve through involving women's groups in implementation of the peace agreements and in political processes. This is the fourth part of the United Nations' gender policy. Though it is a good thing that women's groups are included, it assumes that men are already involved in the implementation by default and that women must be invited in. By doing so, the Resolution assumes that gender mainstreaming is really a process of including women, meaning that men are already included and excluding the idea of other genders being included. Before I end this part, I will reflect on the assumptions of gender mainstreaming which is appearing in this policy of gender.

In Holter's envision, emphasis is put on the idea of transforming the idea of what is currently accepted at the hegemonic masculinity. She holds that if this type of masculinity is transformed, then gender equality is within reach (Holter, 1995, p. 168) . Involving women women in political processes and peacebuilding in this way, may be

one way of realizing Holter's vision and make is possible to argue that the United Nations' policy of gender is one that seek to transform our ideas of femininity. Hegemonic masculinity is the also the idea of a violence and dominant form of masculinity which relies on oppression to survive and thrive. It also holds that in a gender hierarchy, femininities can never become hegemonic, but rather emphasized. If women are granted more political influence and hegemonic masculinity downplayed, there will be more equality between men and women. This shows that the United Nations' policy of gender is transformative and attempts change gender roles where it is assumed that women can rise to power. However, it would have been helpful if these possibilities were discussed explicitly in the Resolution.

4.3 Pushing Women to the Forefront: Tracing the Historical Background of the Policy of Gender

In this section, I will answer the third of Bacchi's questions, namely how this representation of the policy of gender in peacebuilding missions have come about. Regarding Resolution 1325, I will focus on three events that pushed women's issues to the forefront of UN's agenda. In this section, I will show how active the international women's movement was to ensure the implementation of Resolution 1325 and that this may have meant that other groups representing the rights of other groups might not be in focus of the gender policy. The first event was the signing of "Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women" (CEDAW), the third

The first event was the signing and implementation of the "Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women" (CEDAW) in 1980. Barnes notes that the Convention "provided a framework for thinking about women's rights" (2011, p. 16). According to CEDAW, discrimination against women is:

any distinction, exclusion or restriction made on the basis of sex which has the effect or purpose of impairing or nullifying the recognition, enjoyment or exercise by women, irrespective of their

marital status, on a basis of equality of men and women, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural, civil or any other field (UN Women, 2009).

CEDAW aims to end this kind of discrimination, which is very ambitious to say the least. Byrnes notes that some of the states which later signed the convention, was uncomfortable with a focus on women and would have preferred that it also covered discrimination against men on the basis of sex as well (2012, p. 52). Regardless of the ambitions and emphasis on discrimination of women and not on men, Barnes notes that “policies and initiatives to address women’s needs and interests remained at the margins of peace and security” (2011, p. 16). However, this would change in the 1990s.

I will now turn to the second event. In the 1990s there was growing attention paid to gender issues and armed conflict (Barnes, 2011, p. 16). This growing awareness was manifest at the UN Fourth Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995. The product of the conference was the “Beijing Declaration and Platform of Action”, which consisted of 12 Platforms of Actions (Barnes, 2011, p. 16). Platform E was dedicated to women and armed conflict (Barnes, 2011, p. 16). Barnes writes that “the preamble to the strategic objectives of this platform explicitly linked peace to gender equality and recommended that a gender perspective be mainstreamed into all policies and programs” (Barnes, 2011, p. 16). It is interesting to see that the language shifted from *discrimination* to a language of *gender mainstreaming*.

The third event was women’s organizations lobbying for a resolution on women, peace and security from the Security Council. A statement from the President of the Security Council, Anwarul Chowdhury, to the Security Council on the International Women’s Day in 2000 inspired NGOs to move ahead to work for a resolution on women, peace and security (Barnes, 2011, p. 17). Chowdhury said “members of the Council note that although women have begun to play an important role in conflict resolution, peacekeeping, and peace-building, they are still under-represented in decision-making in regard to conflict” (Barnes, 2011, p. 17). In this quote, it is clear that the problem of under-representation of women is framed as a new one: by stating that “women have begun to play an important role” Chowdhury implies that women have not played an important role before. It shows, as Bacchi argues, how a problem representation becomes a policy problem. The problem, Chowdhury claims, is that women are just

beginning to play an important role and that their under-representation is a problem that needs to be resolved.

However, NGOs involved in the work for such a resolution used the statement to move ahead in securing a resolution on women, peace and security. Members of one such NGO, called The Women and Armed Conflict Caucus, formed the NGO Working Group on Women, Peace and Security (NGOWG) in 2000 who worked for this resolution to become a reality (Barnes, 2011, p. 18). However, states also worked for the resolution. In 2000, the members of the Security Council were the permanent members: China, France, Russia, United Kingdom and the United States, and the non-permanent members were Argentina, Bangladesh, Canada, Jamaica, Malaysia, Mali, Namibia, the Netherlands, Tunisia and Ukraine (United Nations, 2000). Four of these countries, Bangladesh, Canada, Jamaica, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom, were especially important in setting women and security on the agenda, ultimately leading to Resolution 1325 being passed by the Security Council in 2000 (Barnes, 2011, p. 18). It is worth noting that it was only NGOs representing women's rights that were involved, and not NGOs working for LGBTGA*-rights. That can, in part, explain that the focus on that particular area lacks completely.

However, the narrative the Resolution was accomplished by the work of NGOs and likeminded states is not one that is universally agreed upon. Carol Harrington is among those who challenge this narrative. Harrington argues that after the collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War was made it possible for the NGOs to lobby successfully because women's rights entered the global agenda as a way for intervene in conflicts and begin wars (Harrington, 2011, p. 558). In other words, world events made it possible for the NGOs to work for Resolution 1325. During the Cold War, women's rights was a contested area in the UN (Harrington, 2011, p. 563). The Soviet Union argued that discriminations against women was caused by faults the capitalist system, and the US and Western democracies were hesitant to address the economic aspects of inequality, and would rather focus on areas such as education (Harrington, 2011, p. 563). The USSR was successful in arguing for their view, in part by aligning themselves with developing countries and starting programs for women and economic development in these countries (Harrington, 2011, p. 263). Harrington writes that "this approach

embedded questions of women's status in an analysis of economic relationships and broader political economy" (Harrington, 2011, p. 563). With the fall of the Berlin Wall and imploding of the Soviet Union, ideas of gender equality also shifted. The US rose the global hegemon in the absence of the Soviet Union, and this had real consequences for the UN's policy on women's rights. NATO and the US changed their doctrine to a "new wars"-doctrine, where their goal for military intervention was to build democracies, believing that democracies in a region would not go to war against each other (Harrington, 2011, p. 566). Women's rights entered the agenda, as a result of both lobbying from American women's NGOs and especially the Clinton presidency (Harrington, 2011, p. 567). This signaled a move away from focus on economic rights to security for women. Harrington argues that:

In new wars discourse, the notion of 'women's human rights' typically refers to women's right to bodily integrity, rather than broader notions of social or economic rights. Thus, in post-Cold War security discourse the term 'human rights violations' typically means bodily violation and signifies a lack of democracy (Harrington, 2011, p. 566).

It was in this context that Resolution 1325, a Resolution that focuses on security rather than economic development, was established. This must be seen in context with the evolution of United Nations' peacebuilding missions in general, which as I showed in Chapter 2.2 had mandate that went beyond just peacekeeping and aimed at building states. In her analysis, Harrington suggests that the step which is missing from the story of NGOs and likeminded states securing the Resolution is the larger global context. It shows that ideas depend on context to be heard and realized, and not just the quality of the idea.

4.4 Silences in the Policy of Gender: A Lack of Diversity

The fourth question I asked about the representation of the gender policy in peacebuilding missions was what was left unproblematic. Bacchi's question also asks "what the silences of a problem representation are and how the problem can be thought

of differently” (Bacchi, 2009, p. 2). By reading the text carefully, I have noticed some issues that are left out of Resolution and thus are silences. I have alluded to a few in the previous chapter, but I will now discuss them in greater detail. In this section I will point out three silences; a lack of an intersectional perspective, the lack of a toolbox for addressing power dynamics between genders and the lack of openness for other expressions of gender identity.

The first thing which is left unproblematic is that Resolution does not include an intersectional perspective. The first thing that is left out of the Resolution is an intersectional perspective. As I have written previously, a intersectional perspective in gender research entails that the intersection of different identities, such as class, race and gender, intersect and shape experiences of discrimination (Crenshaw, 1993, p. 1245). It follows that since not all women are equal, they will face different types of discrimination. The Resolution does not problematize the intersection between different identities and how it affects women’s situation in a post conflict-context. Crenshaw also holds that when one group of people design programs to aid a different group, the first group may not have enough knowledge to truly know where the shoe pinches. Recall that Crenshaw argues that race, gender and class create specific patterns of discrimination that are not always known to groups with other genders, race or class (Crenshaw, 1993, p. 1246). This could have been a part of the Resolution’s discussion about “special needs” but remains silent. Levels of education, work experience, class and ethnicity are all factors that will influence what women’s “needs” or “special needs” might be. This is not taken into consideration in the Resolution.

The second silence is that a toolbox for changing gender roles. I have shown earlier that this has been pointed out by Shepherd and Puechguirbal who holds that the Resolution gives no tools for this and I see this as relating to the first silence. Because there is no discussion about different gender identities and no mention of how gender, class and race intersect, there can be no suggestions for change. Because gender is assumed to be something we are, and not as something we do, there is no potential for change. This could have been brought into the Resolution if it had any discussion of hegemonic

masculinity. Resolution focuses on what can be done about and by women to work for gender mainstreaming, but there is a silence souring men. Holter is very clear when she argues that men must work to change the hegemonic masculinity and that this is an effective path to gender equality (Holter, 1995, p. 168).

The last silence concerns LGBTQA*-issues in Resolution 1325. However, there is also a silence in the research on Resolution 1325. As Jamie J. Hagen puts it:

After 15 years of advocacy and policy action related to the Women, Peace and Security (WPS) architecture, the continued silence about homophobic and transphobic violence targeting lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and queer (LGBTQ) individuals in conflict-related environments is alarming. Those vulnerable to insecurity and violence because of their sexual orientation or gender identity remain largely neglected by the international peace and security community. This neglect is in part the result of heteronormative assumptions in the framing of the WPS agenda (Hagen, 2016, p. 313).

It is worth noting that this article was published this year. In other words, there is not only a silence in policy and advocacy, but also in academic research. Hagen, in this article, tries to shed light on those silences. In this quote, Hagen argues that in Resolution 1325 women are assumed to be cis-women and heterosexual. This, as she writes, excludes women who do not conform to heteronormative standards. Because women and children, in the Resolution, are put into one category, Hagen argues that even though women who are caretakers they are at risk, the silences surrounding gender and sexual identities “prioritizes motherhood as a vulnerable category” (Hagen, 2016, p. 319). This means that only one category of women receive support.

4.5 The Four Themes’ Consequences

The fifth question I asked when looking at this representation of the question, was what kinds of effects this representation of the gender policy can have. I will now outline the three effects and see if the representation of the problem Since the Resolution represents

the lack of gender perspective as a problem that can be solved through better design of the programs, it closes of the option of working for long term structural changes in the state in which the UN operates.

The first effect is the discursive effect. Bacchi holds that these effects are “created by the limits imposed on what can be thought or said within particular problem representations” (Bacchi, 2009, p. 69) Here I identified the lack of tools to transform gender roles which is caused by the lack of thinking about the differences and hierarchies that can exist within a gender. It limits the ways we think about strategies to transform gender roles when we only understand this process as something that can happen only when women are added to a man dominated field.

The second effect that in this approach, it subjectification effect. For Resolution 1325, this means that the way the problem is presented creates possible positions women can have. They are as former combatants, caretakers and agents working for peace and in political processes, but I also see that women in the policy of gender also is positioned as victims and as vulnerable subjects in need of protection. She can also have “special” needs, but never “ordinary needs” of “the same needs as men”. This closes of subject positions such as agents who have nothing to gain from peace and who wish to continue conflicts. Lastly, it does not give much space for women who are not caretakers, nor wish to become one. This is related to the last category of effects discussed by Bacchi, which are lived effects. Because there is silence surrounding LGBTQ-individuals this may lead to them being the targets of violence of both indirect and direct violence. The lived effects for the women who does not fit into the subject positions made available in Resolution 1325, they can risk being neglected and potentially be harmed. In the next section, I will look at how a different approach to the policy of gender may lessen the lived effects.

4.6 Disrupting the Heteronormative Narrative: A Future for Queer Politics?

The final question I asked was how this representation of the problem has, to use Bacchi's language of gender been produced, disseminated and defended and how could it be questioned and replaced?

Resolution 1325 has been produced by the UN Security Council, but the work to get the Council to pass the resolution was done by predominantly women's NGOs and states who are invested in gender equality. It was passed by the Security Council, and institution that has authority to take direct action, but because of the type of the Resolution it has no provisions for sanctions. The Resolution also puts the question of gender equality in the context of security and armed conflict, making gender mainstreaming an important component of the UN's respond to primarily civil wars. In keeping with Harrington's argument that Resolution 1325 is a part of a global context of the US using women's rights as a strategy to intervene in other states, this means that women's rights are highlighted in times of conflict. Other areas where women face oppression do therefore not receive the same attention from the Security Council. This could be disrupted by including a system where lack of implementation of the policy of gender could be reported and a set of deadlines put in place to ensure that changes was implemented.

In this analysis of Resolution 1325, I have argued that an intersectional approach is needed. Resolution 1325 lacks an intersectional understanding of gender and women, leaving out issues of ethnicity and does not have a LGBTQ-perspective. The question is how best this could be replaced or disrupted. This could be done by passing a new resolution, which included more transformative tools and a section on LGBTQ-rights. However, as I showed in 4.3, passing Resolution this a long and complicated process. The best strategy could therefore be to look in the existing Resolution and see how the it can be bent and developed to include a intersectional perspective. This thesis may be a step in this process. In the next chapter, I will look at how this policy of gender was implemented, to see how it can be adjusted to a local context.

5 Implementation of Resolution 1325 in The United Nations Mission in Liberia

The next document is the Security Council's Resolution 1509. This is the Resolution which implements the peacebuilding mission in Liberia. As in the previous section, I will analyze the document accordingly to Bacchi's six questions. I will use this document to see how Resolution 1325 was implemented in The United Nations Mission in Liberia. In the previous chapter, I have devoted much space to argue that a generous reading of Resolution 1325 is that the parts that are vague can be a strength. The strength, I have argued previously, is that this gives the people who plan and execute the mission opportunities to adapt the policy of gender to the local context. By studying the implementation, I can also see if this generous reading has any bearing. As I have shown earlier in the section outlining the history of women's organizations in Liberia and women's role in the peace talks, Liberia seemed like an ideal place to implement Resolution 1325. Resolution 1509 calls for active participation of women and a gender perspective on all activities relating to peacebuilding and Liberia already had women who stood ready to make these visions a reality. In other words, Liberia is a could function as a test if my generous reading was too naïve or not, Before I begin to look at this document, I will first outline my interpretive starting point, as Bacchi recommends us to.

As before, I agree with Bacchi that it is important to first outline my interpretive starting point. My interpretive starting point is both a personal interest and that the policy is the focus of political debate for choosing Resolution 1509. This thesis is in many ways a continuation of a term paper I wrote as a political science student. I longed for a space where I could write about war from a feminist perspective and think critically about gender in my field. I wrote the paper in 2011 after the Nobel Peace Prize has been awarded to Tawakkol Karman, Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, Leymah Gbowee, the latter two Liberian women (Sirleaf, 2011). In the paper, I asked if in a country where it

was possible for two women to ascertain political power, female former combatants also enjoyed protection. Then in 2014, when I began my current program, Liberia was again ushered into the world's stage, but this time the news was much graver. Liberia was one of the West African states where Ebola-epidemic spread. The media coverage also focused on gender, and on several occasions, it was pointed out that the spread of the potential deadly disease was gendered. Women made out 75 % of the people infected by the virus, in large because of their roles as care takers (Saul, 2014). Doctors Without Borders (MSF) attempted to focus on larger problems that became evident during the crisis, such as the failure of the international community to respond to the epidemic and that the media began covering the epidemic only after an American doctor and a Spanish nurse became infected (NTB, 2015). Later MSF advocated for affordable medications and vaccine against Ebola (Leger uten grenser, 2014). This shows how the relationship between the global North and South came into play. That the Ebola virus had to infect persons from the global North before the media and international community became engaged in the crisis in a meaningful way, not only shows that the public debate about the crisis had a gender dimension but a North/South-dimension as well.

This form the context I am entering by writing this thesis. The space Liberia has in public discourse is one as victims of an epidemic and an unfair distribution of medication, othering from the global North, but also champions of gender equality. It shows that my field of intersect with other fields. My "interpretive starting point" is therefore one where I see how my thesis is related to other fields and how I may include those perspectives in my thesis. It is also important to keep in mind how my thesis could be read by others. The discourse also establishes Liberia as a case I must also be aware that my thesis could be read by people who only know Liberia through this media representation. This gives me an extra layer of responsibility to show all the nuances.

I will begin with a short description of the Resolution itself. It contains a preamble, list of 20 articles and is six pages long. The preamble in Resolution 1509 is two pages long, and outlines the situation in Liberia such as it was in 2003. It outlines what the United

Nations' role will be and then decides that a peacekeeping mission will be establish, namely United Nations Mission in Liberia. Then follows four pages outlining what the Security Council decides that mission's mandate will be. It is different from Resolution 1325 because it does not attempt to be the answer to a larger theme, in Resolution 1325's case women, peace and security, but to be the answer to a specific situation, which is peacebuilding after the Comprehensive Peace Agreement was signed in Ghana in August 2003. As I outlined in Chapter 1, women were heavily involved in this process by putting pressure on the parties participating in the peace talks. Resolution 1509 was implemented three years after Resolution 1325, and it is therefore reasonable to expect to see implementation of Resolution 1325. Now that I have outlined what the resolution is and some ideas of what to expect from it, I will answer Bacchi' six questions.

5.1 The Policy of Gender Resolution 1509: Four Themes

As I stated in the previous chapter, this is a clarification exercise. I began by using the same themes as with Resolution 1325 to see how the problem of gender policy is represented. I attempted to explore Resolution 1509 with the question "how could this article contain one of the themes" rather than discarding the article as having nothing to do with the four themes. In other words, I tried to be as inclusive as possible when exploring Resolution 1509 using the four themes I used in the previous chapter.

The first theme included the articles which contained the phrases gender perspective, gender-sensitive, gender considerations, gender dimensions and gender mainstreaming. I found only one example of this in Resolution 1509 and this occurred in Article 11. It reads:

[the UN Security Council] Reaffirms the importance of a gender perspective in peacekeeping operations and post-conflict peace-building in accordance with resolution 1325 (2000), recalls the need to address violence against women and girls as a tool of warfare, and encourages UNMIL as well as the Liberian parties to actively address these issues (United Nations Security Council, 2003b, p. 5).

It occurs with a call to address violence against women and girls. The fact that this phrase only occurs once, when it was a larger part of the text in Resolution 1325 could mean that it was not regarded as very important in the gender policy shown in Resolution 1509. Alternately, it could show that Resolution 1509 takes for granted that there will be incorporated in all parts of the mission, since it is deemed to be of importance. I will revisit this point later.

The second theme contains actions and measures to protect women and girls from violence. Most of the articles belonged under this theme. The second article in the preamble reads that Security Council expresses:

its utmost concern at the dire consequences of the prolonged conflict for the civilian population throughout Liberia, in particular the increase in the number of refugees and internally displaced persons (United Nations Security Council, 2003b, p. 1)

As I stated in Chapter 3, around 40 000 women were raped, 250 000 people were killed and 1 million people were displaced. This shows that in the policy of gender lies an understanding of what grave consequences this conflict had for the civilian population, therefore also including women. The provision of measures to protect civilians, which included women, is repeated in Article 3, where 19 measures are suggested to implement the Ceasefire Agreement, support a security reform and implement the peace process. Those measures relating to gender policy can be seen in Article 31 which states:

to contribute towards international efforts to protect and promote human rights in Liberia, with particular attention to vulnerable groups including refugees, returning refugees and internally displaced persons, women, children, and demobilized child soldiers, within UNMIL's capabilities and under acceptable security conditions, in close cooperation with other United Nations agencies,

related organizations, governmental organizations, and non-governmental organizations (United Nations Security Council, 2003b, p. 4)

In this article, it is specified that women and children are a vulnerable group which needs particular attention and protection. This is repeated in Article 11, which “recalls the need to address violence against women and girls as a tool of warfare” as I quoted above. This shows that a part of the gender policy is to take action against violence against women and girls. Here the gender policy is represented to be protection of women and girls.

A third theme that stood out to me was one containing references to women’s special needs. I found only one example of this in Resolution 1509. It appears in Article 3f, and concerns implementation of UNMIL’s disarmament, demobilization, reintegration, and repatriation (DDRR) program. It reads

[*Decides* that UNMIL shall have the following mandate] to develop, as soon as possible, preferably within 30 days of the adoption of this resolution, in cooperation with the JMC, relevant international financial institutions, international development organizations, and donor nations, an action plan for the overall implementation of a disarmament, demobilization, reintegration, and repatriation (DDRR) programme for all armed parties; with particular attention to the special needs of child combatants and women; and addressing the inclusion of non-Liberian combatants (United Nations Security Council, 2003b, p. 3)

The only place where women’s special needs are mentioned explicitly is mentioned is in reference to the DDRR-program. This shows that the idea of women’s special needs is not very large part of the gender policy, which it was in Resolution 1325.

The fourth and last theme contained policies which aims to ensure that women participate in processes such as conflict resolution, promotion of peace and in political

institutions. Again, I explored the Resolution thinking about how a gender policy could fit. The first example of this was from the preamble, which reads:

Mindful of the need for accountability for violations of international humanitarian law and urging the transitional government once established to ensure that the protection of human rights and the establishment of a state based on the rule of law and of an independent judiciary are among its highest priorities (United Nations Security Council, 2003b, p. 1)

This is a call for ensuring that human rights are protected and rule of law. Human rights and the rule of law mean protection for women. Omitting reference to women in this paragraph may ensure that all genders are ensured human rights. That a more inclusive exploration of Resolution 1509 can be useful is again seen in Article 3s, which states that UNMIL ought to assist the transitional government to prepare elections no later than 2005 (United Nations Security Council, 2003b, p. 4). Although neither “women” or “gender” is mentioned here, it took on a gender dimension in Liberia. In 2005, Ellen Johnson Sirleaf was elected president. She was, as I mentioned, not only Liberia’s first female president, but the first female president in Africa. This shows that leaving such formulations open can allow the actors on the ground to fill it with gender considerations. Another place where this occurs, is in Article 1 where Resolution 1509 outlines how many military units and staff will make up the mission. In the paragraph, there is no mention of women or gender. However, in 2007 the first all-female police force from India was sent to Liberia (UN News Centre, 2016). This shows that there are ways to ensure that women participate in processes such as conflict resolution, promotion of peace and in political institutions without making it explicit. It can mean that the implementation of Resolution 1325 can be done in ways Resolution 1325 did not imagine, but the implementation on the ground could include the promotion of women.

In sum, this shows that the problems that represented in this policy of gender is that a gender perspective is needed, women must be protected from violence and that they have special needs that must be taken into consideration. The fourth theme that was

present in Resolution 1325, the call for more representation of women is not explicitly mentioned, is not present in Resolution 1509. This can show that the norm of gender equality has been successful that it no longer needs to be pushed by the United Nations, but this may be an overzealous interpretation. It could mean that since Liberia has such a strong tradition for women organizing politically and that women were so active in the peace process it would have happened without Resolution 1325. I will now look at the assumption that could underlie such a representation of the problem.

5.2 Assumptions of Gender

When I answered this question in the previous chapter, I suggested that the assumption of the need for a gender perspective could mean that the United Nations acknowledge that female and male perspectives are of equal value. In Resolution 1509, this call for a gender perspective occurs at the same place as the reminder to address violence against women. I understand this as an assumption that a gender perspective means protecting women and girls for violence when it is used as a tool of warfare. This assumes that violence against women is *only* a tool of warfare and therefore I assumed that that Resolution 1509 thinks about violence against women as a physical violence and not structural. As I have argued previously, violence can also be indirect, to use the language of Galtung, and in other words be structural. Recall that Galtung defines peace as the absence of violence, and defines violence as “*the cause of the difference between the potential and the actual, between what could have been and what is*” (Galtung, 1969, p. 168). He argue that peace should be possible to achieve (Galtung, 1969, p. 167). Bearing in mind that very few, if any society, has managed to achieve full equality between the genders, it may not plausible for the United Nations to take on structural violence as well as stopping the physical as well. There is also the question I touched on in 2.2 if the United Nations should impose their ideas of the the perfect state on a sovereign state.

What remains is the question of the assumption that violence against women is only a tool of warfare. This is repeated in Article 11, the violence against women and children are framed as a problem of war. This representation means that there is an assumption that violence will cease once there is peace. With violence against women being such a prevalent in many societies over time, this struck me as an odd assumption using only common sense perspective. In Liberia, research show that violence, and specifically sexual violence, against women continued to be a part of women's life and some women reported that occurrences of rape had escalated (Basini, 2013, p. 552) . One informant told Basini that “before the war it wasn't common for men to beat on women. Men respected women before, but now violence is everywhere to women (...)” (Basini, 2013, p. 522). This observation illustrates a larger point: violence against women, though it is true that it used as a weapon of war, is also used as a weapon against women after peace treaties are signed.

The policy of gender that is presented here, also makes assumptions about gender. The problems are represented to be that women need protection from violence and have special needs. The term “special needs” is only used once, in the context of UNMIL's DDRR-program. The goal of a DDRR-program is to disarm and demobilize former combatants, and then reintegrate them back into society (United Nations Peacekeeping, 2017). This can mean that the assumption is that women have the same needs, since it does not state otherwise in the text. It does assume that there are any differences in the group of women. The implementation of the United Nations' policy of gender is as [Valenius](#) argues seen as differences between women and men and not in a way that would allow to look at it as “[a system of femininities and masculinities and power hierarchies between them](#)” (Valenius, 2007, p. 513). This shows that the UN lacks an intersectional approach to the implementation of the Resolution. The result could therefore be that it is easy to group all women together, also together with children. Without an intersectional approach, it makes sense to do this, because it may then seem like all women should be grouped together.

In my analysis of Resolution 1325, I argued that the implementation of Resolution 1509 would be a test of what is meant by the term “special needs”. I suggested that a using vague language would give the people in charge of implementation in every mission opportunities to take the local context into account. Here, I have found that “special needs” is a term associated with the DDRR-program targeting former combatants. This could mean that the assumption behind the term “special needs” is that women only have special needs pertaining to when they are in the DDRR-program and have the status as former combatant. It is also problematic that they are placed in the same category, invoking, as Shepherd phrased it, the idea that women and children must be protected by men (Shepherd, 2008, p. 119). Even, I would add, when women have showed that they are capable of fighting in a civil war and protect themselves.

5.3 No Time for a Gender Policy?

In 2003, The Security council consisted of the five permanent countries China, France, Russia, The United Kingdom and The United States of America. In addition to this, it consisted of the ten elected members Angola, Bulgaria, Cameroon, Chile, Germany, Guinea, Mexico, Pakistan, Spain and Syria (United Nations Security Council, 2017). The observant reader may notice that of the countries I mentioned was especially involved in the process of passing Resolution 1325, only The United Kingdom was on the Security Council in 2003. This can be one explanation as to why the policy of gender in Resolution 1509 is so narrow. It is clear that little work on gender has survived into Resolution 1509, if any. For instance, in Resolution 1478, passed by the Security Council May 6, 2003, it is stated that the Security Council “encourages civil society initiatives in the region, including those of the Mano River Union Women’s Peace Network, to continue their contribution towards regional peace” (United Nations Security Council, 2003a, p. 2). References to this network or women’s work for peace in general which I outlined in Chapter 1, are not found in Resolution 1509. I have searched through reports from the Security Council in the time leading up to the passing

of Resolution 1509 and without finding traces of work done to get more aspects from Resolution 1325's policy of gender into Resolution 1509.

In her article, [Puechguirbal](#) argues that work to implement Resolution 1325 is often postponed or not done at all (Puechguirbal, 2010, p. 179). She quotes Angela Raven-Roberts who argue that

[i]n emergency contexts there is “no time” to do gender work, as what is needed is rapid action, lifesaving food, and material distribution. Performing nuanced analysis and targeting change is too cumbersome, complex, and time consuming, indeed downright harmful to the “real work” of saving lives’ (Puechguirbal, 2010, p. 179)

[Puechguirbal](#) further writes that “gender-related work can therefore be postponed for ‘later’, after the ‘real’ issues, as defined by male managers, have been taken care of (Puechguirbal, 2010, p. 179). This means that working on implementing the policy of gender just was not a priority of the Security Council and therefore aspects I found in Resolution 1325 was left out. When tasked with having to implement a peacebuilding mission at a point where there was no time to lose, a policy of gender was not a priority or seen as critical to the success of the mission. In Chapter 2, I also argued that the Feminist Critique of International Relations holds that the assumptions of realism are based on a partial understanding of the world; one which Tickner argues “privilege masculinity” (1988, p. 431). Because the Security Council may not have had Tickner observations in mind when writing Resolution 1509, the result is that only parts of Resolution 1325's policy of gender survived. It was not seen as important enough. Even though the Security Council knew about the work that was done by the Mano River Union Women's Peace Network, this did not inspire them to include mention of women's peacework or need for their participation in Resolution 1509. It is also telling how little information I could find on the work with implementation of Resolution 1325 in Resolution 1509. Most of it was focused on the civil war and other aspects of peacebuilding. In the next section I will explore the silences and other aspects which are not questioned in Resolution 1509.

5.4 Silences and Possible Solutions

In the previous chapter, I pointed out that there are three aspects that are left unproblematic and silences regarding the policy of gender. I wrote that I was open for the possibility that this worked better in the missions themselves, because it would be easier to tailor the policy of gender to the context at hand. In this section, I will outline that I found that is lacked an intersectional perspective, lacked a toolbox for transforming gender roles and did not explicitly include references to women and the work for peace or link them to political representation.

The first issue that was left unproblematic in the policy of gender in Resolution 1325 was the lack of an intersectional perspective. I found this is Resolution 1509, which is alarming. As I wrote in Chapter 1, Liberia consists of sixteen ethnic groups, each with their own characteristics and histories. However, there is no mention of strategies for power sharing or how the different cultures may affect the implementation of gender policy. The second silence I located in my work with Resolution 1325, was the lack of a toolbox for changing of gender roles. In Resolution 1509, the understanding of gender is clearly that Connell describes as the approach where female and male bodies are seen as machines which produces two different kinds of subjects (Connell, 2002, p. 31). In Resolution 1509, women are subjects who are in need of protection, have special needs which makes them different from men and who are vulnerable. My finding is consistent with what Shepherd found in her study about Resolution 1325, where she writes in her analysis that “women are linked through their vulnerability to violence in this representation and therefore fixed as vulnerable” (Shepherd, 2008, p. 119). Because they are, as Shepherd argues, fixed in this representation, there is no reason for Resolution 1509 to suggest a toolbox where these gender roles can be challenged or transformed.

The last silence concerns LGBTQ-issues in the Resolution. In Article 31, women are linked to children and this can suggest a heteronormative understanding of female sexuality, where a woman is always seen as a caretaker for her children. Nowhere in

Resolution 1509 is violence against members of the LGBTQ-community addressed. Hagen writes that the silence, writing about gender mainstreaming in general, can be dangerous because the “heteronormative UN policies and national action plans that neglect the consideration of how homophobic and transphobic violence erupts in conflict related environments fail LGBTQ individuals” (2016, p. 316). She also maintains that a narrow understanding of what a woman is and that women do not always conform to heteronormative standards by having children and a male partner, the needs of all women are not properly understood (2016, p. 320). This can lead women who does not conform to this standard, or individuals who do not identify as either a woman or man, at risk. Since Resolution 1509 lacks an intersectional perspective on gender, women who do not conform to the norm are at risk from this silence.

Given that Resolution 1509 understands gender in a narrow sense, it is remarkable that there is no explicit mention of women as important to ensure peace. I have chosen to interpret Resolution 1509 in an inclusive way, meaning that I have looked after instances where a policy of gender could be incorporated. In Liberia, women have been heavily involved in the peace process, as I showed in Chapter 1, but there is no explicit link in the text between women and work for peace. One way of looking at this is to argue that since women were so active in peace work and in political processes, the policy did not have to solve the problem of underrepresentation. It could also mean that the norm of gender equality is so strong that women’s participation did not need to be addressed. However, I did allude to a grimmer interpretation in section 5.3. Here I argued that there is research which shows that gender work is not a priority for the Security Council because they have more important things to worry about when they are implementing a peacebuilding mission. Recall that [Puechguirbal](#) maintains that gender work always have to wait until the “real” issues are resolved (Puechguirbal, 2010, p. 179). However, as I will show in the next section, I will show that such silences can be a a real threat to life and safety for women.

5.5 Consequences of the Implementation of the Policy of Gender

In Chapter 3, I showed that Bacchi argues that there are three effects that are useful to look at which arises from the representation of the problem: discursive, subjectification, and lived effects. The first, discursive, is connected to the silences that one finds in the representation of the problem. Bacchi writes: “If some options for social intervention are closed off by the way in which a ‘problem’ is represented, this can have devastating effects for certain people” (Bacchi, 2009, p. 16). In my analysis, I found that that the women who are at risk are those in the LGBTQ-community and who does not conform to heteronormative standards. It also closes of options to women who are not former combatants and therefore cannot participate in the DDRR-program. Women can have special needs because of trauma they survived during the civil war. I have stated in my historical background that 40 000 women were raped during the war. However, Resolution 1509 makes no mention that their special needs, such as trauma counseling or medical help, were addressed. It is unclear how many women participated in the DDRR-program because the program had unclear criteria for inclusion (Wamai, 2011, p. 55). This meant that 424 women, 3% of all combatants, went through the first phase and in the final phase 38 425 women, or 29% of all combatants, participated (Wamai, 2011, p. 55). This could mean, if we bear in mind that the numbers of female combatants is not entirely reliable, that only one group of women, had provisos in Resolution 1509 to receive help, but not another large group of women.

The second effect, Bacchi writes, is the subjectification effects (Bacchi, 2009, p. 16). Here we ask what kinds of subjects the policy gives people the opportunity to inhabit (Bacchi, 2009). She further writes that the effect “relate to the subject positions available in relevant discourses” (Bacchi, 2009, p. 69). I have found that the positions that are available in Resolution 1509 is that of former combatants and caretakers, and not subjects who can be active in political work or work for peace, or had other roles during the civil war. This is a contrast to Resolution 1325.

The last effect is lived effects. Although more research to this effect needs to be done, what I have found that one lived effect is that women who are former combatants may not receive the help they need. Another lived effect is that Resolution 1509 has no provisions for the the safety of LGBTQ-individuals. This is a fault stemming from Resolution 1325 because Resolution 1325 does not consider the safety and lived lives of people who break heteronormative norms. However, I found little attention given to such issues in the literature. This could be one area where more analysis and research is needed. The last question which remains is how this representation of the problem has been produced and how it can be replaced.

5.6 A Future for Gender Policies?

One level that the representation of gender policy is produced, disseminated and defended is in the United Nations system. Resolution 1509 will lay the groundwork for the work the United Nations do in Liberia, and has the potential to have consequences for future missions. It is also possible that personnel involved in mission also transferred the policy of gender from UNMIL to other peacebuilding missions. The themes of the gender policy are used when planning for missions and framing discussions taking place in the institution.

In the previous chapter, I discussed the possibilities for changes to Resolution 1325 to incorporate a more dynamic understanding of gender, but was sceptical towards advocating to passing a new Resolution. After studying the implementation of the policy of gender I maintain that this would be an impractical solution, and I am unsure if the challenge to work for gender mainstreaming in United Nations peacebuilding missions is best done through the resolutions which implement the peacebuilding missions. Perhaps a better way forward could be to though Resolution 1325. It might be a better solution to focus on making a separate resolution for how gender

mainstreaming should be accomplished in addition to the resolution implementing the peacebuilding mission, making them both equally binding. In any case, some degree of changing how the work for gender mainstreaming is done if a policy of gender is to survive in future resolutions.

The policy of gender could have benefitted from an intersectional perspective and a more dynamic approach to transforming gender roles. It could also have benefitted from a clearer formulation of the need to include women in political processes and the work for peace. A focus on the rights of LGBTQ-people would also have added more security for gender and sexual minorities. Resolution 1509 could also have focused more on other ways of expressing femininity than only being a caretaker for children.

The representation of gender police is partly being disseminated through my thesis. I could have chosen to look at the gender policy through policy documents drafted by the government in Liberia or local NGOs. Even though I attempt to be critical, I am still doing research within the United Nations framework. I could have also focused more on doing fieldwork among the women that the policy of gender affected instead of looking at the documents produced by the United Nations. I will revisit this in the conclusion.

6 Conclusions

6.1 Main Findings

My goals with this thesis were to explore what the policy of gender was in the United Nations' peacebuilding missions. My first research question was: "What is the policy of gender in the United Nations' peacebuilding operations as shown in United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 on women, peace, and security?". My second research question was: "What was the policy of gender in the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1509?". I wanted to look at what the United Nations' policy of gender was Resolution 1325 and then look at what happened with the policy of gender in a peacebuilding mission, I chose to look at Liberia. Because of their strong history with politically organized women and women's strong presence in the peace process. I wanted to investigate if what kind of problem representations I could find in Resolution 1325 and if, and in what forms, this was transferred to the peacebuilding mission in Liberia. I also wanted to see if the policy of gender in Resolution 1509 was different that in Resolution 1325.

The point of departure for my theoretical framework was Johan Galtung's concepts of positive peace and violence. This allowed me not only understand violence as physical, but also to provide a language for structural violence and discrimination of women. I then outlined what gender mainstreaming is and some of the criticism of this concept. These two concepts concerned peace and gender equality, but as I have repeated, I wanted to look at how different ways of understanding of gender can influence what options are available when working for gender equality. Lastly, I placed my research in the tradition of Feminist Critique of International Relations and have used perspectives from that branch of scholarships in my analysis.

I then proceeded to outline my method for investigating the policy of gender. I decided to use Carol Bacchi's "What is the problem represented to be"-approach. The approach consists of looking at how what the problem is represented in policies. I used the approach when I analyzed Resolutions 1325 and 1509. This allowed me to interrogate the policy of gender. In Resolution 1325 this allowed to identify four themes of the policy of gender. The first theme was phrases that included the word gender. I did this because I wanted to see which instances where a focus on gender and not women was important. I then look at looked at phrases and words referring to measures to protect women and girls from violence. The third theme was words and phrases which referenced to women's special needs. The fourth theme which stood out to me was the measures to ensure that women participate in processes such as conflict resolution, promotion of peace and in political institutions. These four themes show what I believe are the most important problems the policy aims at fix. They illustrate what I believe Resolution 1325 believe must be addressed to have an effective policy of gender which will help reach the goal of gender equality. I then began to critically interrogate them and looked at how such representations could come to be, the assumptions and silences within them, the effects they can have and how these representations of the problem are disseminated. The last task I performed was to imagine how the policy of gender could be different. I make several observations, but the most important one is that the policy of gender is not a policy which gives tools for a radical transformation of power dynamics between the genders, but rather focuses on how to add women to processes and address their special needs they have as women. The policy does not open for the idea that women are not a homogenous group and has a heteronormative perspective. I suggest, as Holter imagines, to transform the hegemonic masculinity and include an intersectional perspective to ensure gender equality.

The next part of my analysis, is my study of the implementation of the policy of gender I found in Resolution 1325 on the United Nations peacebuilding mission in Liberia. I was optimistic given the women's history in Liberia for being a force for change. I found that the policy of gender instead was diluted down. I found three of the themes, but the theme which had the focus on women participation in political processes and work for peace was surprisingly difficult to locate. I speculated that maybe Resolution

1509 took for granted that women were already involved, as shown by a woman being elected to be the first president in the country. However, it is more likely that this was caused by an unwillingness observed by other scholars that work on gender and gender mainstreaming is not prioritized. I then answered the remainder of Bacchi's questions, and found that Resolution 1509 also lacks tools for changing power dynamics between the genders in any meaningful way. I also expressed concern that there was not an intersectional perspective. I did this because Liberia is such a diverse country with sixteen ethnic groups and an complicated legacy of problems between the Liberians who can trace back their heritage to the United States of American and those who can trace their heritage back to the time before the Americans arrived. I also argued that because women in Resolution 1509 are assumed to adhere to heteronormative standards, it may put those who do not at risk for violence, both structural and direct. The documents narrow approach to gender is the biggest obstacle for change. My findings from both Resolution 1325 and 1509 are supported by previous research and findings.

17 years have now passed since Resolution 1325 was passed. There have been several peacebuilding missions since the peacebuilding mission in Liberia was deployed and I am not sure if the United Nations' first resolution to implement a policy of gender was successful. Parallel with women's struggle for equal rights and gender mainstreaming is the struggle of the LGBTQ-community to be recognized and equality. There is also more awareness of different ways to do gender and more awareness about how everyone themselves must find gender expressions that best align with who they know in their heart and souls are best for them. I am not sure if the United Nations is ready to adjust to their gender policy to the way gender is done in the real word. Therefore, I have suggested some ways forward.

6.2 Possible Ways Forward

This is the last section I write in my thesis, so it is tempting to conclude with a statement that can serve as a full stop. However, if it is one thing I have learnt after many years as a student it is that academia does not work that way. Every thesis, every article, every book is a comma and an opportunity to suggest a path forward. At the end of every thesis, article and book I am sure that most people in academia see what they could have done differently and what is still to be done. I leave my work on this thesis with a few suggestions for both categories.

I have already touched on what I would have done differently if I had more time and resources, such as doing fieldwork and interviewing staff involved at both working for Resolution 1325 and 1509. I would also have included more resolutions from other United Nations peacebuilding missions implementing the policy of gender in Resolution 1325. I would also have liked to devote more time to study LGBTQ-issues and peacebuilding missions and look at how members of the LGBTQ-community are affected by the policy of gender. In my thesis, I have focused on gender mainstreaming and peacebuilding missions. It would also have been interesting to look at gender mainstreaming in other departments of the United Nations and how it affects their work on other fronts. These are also suggestions to what future research could focus on. I look forward to continuing follow research on Resolution 1325, gender and peacebuilding.

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8 Appendix

8.1 List of Abbreviations

CEDAW: Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women

DDR: Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration

DDRR: Disarmament, Demobilization, Rehabilitation and Reintegration

JMC: Joint Monitoring Committee

LGBTQ: Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender and Queer.

LURD: Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy

NGO: Non-governmental organization

OSAGI: The Office of the Special Adviser to the Secretary-General on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women

SRSG: Special Representative of the Secretary-General

UNMIL: United Nations Mission in Liberia

UNSC: United Nations Security Council

UNSCR: United Nations Security Council Resolution

8.2 Map of Africa



A map of Africa (Gaba, 2011) . This is a map is licensed under Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 2.5 Generic, 2.0 Generic and 1.0 Generic license, meaning that it can be shared. Please see full reference in my Bibliography for details.



8.3 Resolution 1325 (2000)

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

The Security Council,

Recalling its resolutions 1261 (1999) of 25 August 1999, 1265 (1999) of 17 September 1999, 1296 (2000) of 19 April 2000 and

1314 (2000) of 11 August 2000, as well as relevant statements of its President, and *recalling also* the statement of its President to the press on the occasion of the United Nations Day for Women's Rights and International Peace (International Women's Day) of 8 March 2000 (SC/6816),

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

8. *Calls on* all actors involved, when negotiating and implementing peace agreements, to adopt a gender perspective, including, inter alia:

(a) The special needs of women and girls during repatriation and resettlement and for rehabilitation, reintegration and post-conflict reconstruction;

(b) Measures that support local women's peace initiatives and indigenous processes for conflict resolution, and that involve women in all of the implementation mechanisms of the peace agreements;

(c) Measures that ensure the protection of and respect for human rights of women and girls, particularly as they relate to the constitution, the electoral system, the police and the judiciary;

9. *Calls upon* all parties to armed conflict to respect fully international law applicable to the rights and protection of women and girls, especially as civilians, in particular the obligations

applicable to them under the Geneva Conventions of 1949 and the Additional Protocols thereto of 1977, the Refugee Convention of 1951 and the Protocol thereto of 1967, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women of 1979 and the Optional Protocol thereto of 1999 and the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child of 1989 and the two Optional Protocols thereto of 25 May 2000, and to bear in mind the relevant provisions of the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court;

10. *Calls on* all parties to armed conflict to take special measures to protect women and girls from gender-based violence, particularly rape and other forms of sexual abuse, and all other forms of violence in situations of armed conflict;

11. *Emphasizes* the responsibility of all States to put an end to impunity and to prosecute those responsible for genocide, crimes against humanity, and war crimes including those relating to sexual and other violence against women and girls, and in this regard *stresses* the need to exclude these crimes, where feasible from amnesty provisions;

12. *Calls upon* all parties to armed conflict to respect the civilian and humanitarian character of refugee camps and settlements, and to take into account the particular needs of women and girls, including in their design, and recalls its resolutions 1208 (1998) of 19 November 1998 and 1296 (2000) of 19 April 2000;

13. *Encourages* all those involved in the planning for disarmament, demobilization and reintegration to consider the different needs of female and male ex-combatants and to take into account the needs of their dependants;

14. *Reaffirms* its readiness, whenever measures are adopted under Article 41 of the Charter of the United Nations, to give consideration to their potential impact on the civilian population, bearing in mind the special needs of women and girls, in order to consider appropriate humanitarian exemptions;

15. *Expresses* its willingness to ensure that Security Council missions take into account gender considerations and the rights of women, including through consultation with local and international women's groups;

16. *Invites* the Secretary-General to carry out a study on the impact of armed conflict on women and girls, the role of women in peace-building and the gender dimensions of peace processes and conflict resolution, and *further invites* him to submit a report to the Security Council on the results of this study and to make this available to all Member States of the United Nations;

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

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

8.4 Resolution 1509 (2003)

Adopted by the Security Council at its 4830th meeting, on 19 September 2003

The Security Council,

Recalling its previous resolutions and statements by its President on Liberia, including its resolution 1497 (2003) of 1 August 2003, and the 27 August 2003 Statement by its President (S/PRST/2003/14), and other relevant resolutions and statements,

Expressing its utmost concern at the dire consequences of the prolonged conflict for the civilian population throughout Liberia, in particular the increase in the number of refugees and internally displaced persons,

Stressing the urgent need for substantial humanitarian assistance to the Liberian population,

Deploing all violations of human rights, particularly atrocities against civilian populations, including widespread sexual violence against women and children,

Expressing also its deep concern at the limited access of humanitarian workers to populations in need, including refugees and internally displaced persons, and stressing the need for the continued operation of United Nations and other agencies' relief operations, as well as promotion and monitoring of human rights,

Emphasizing the need for all parties to safeguard the welfare and security of humanitarian workers and United Nations personnel in accordance with applicable rules and principles of international law, and recalling in this regard its resolution 1502 (2003),

Mindful of the need for accountability for violations of international humanitarian law and urging the transitional government once established to ensure that the protection of human rights and the establishment of a state based on the rule of law and of an independent judiciary are among its highest priorities,

Reiterating its support for the efforts of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), particularly organization Chairman and President of Ghana John Kufuor, Executive Secretary Mohammed Ibn Chambas, and mediator General Abdulsalami Abubakar, as well as those of Nigerian President Olusegun Obasanjo, to bring peace to Liberia, and *recognizing* the

critically important role they continue to play in the Liberia peace process,

Welcoming the continued support of the African Union (AU) for the leadership role of ECOWAS in the peace process in Liberia, in particular the appointment of an AU Special Envoy for Liberia, and further encouraging the AU to continue to support the peace process through close collaboration and coordination with ECOWAS and the United Nations,

Commending the rapid and professional deployment of the ECOWAS Mission in Liberia (ECOMIL) forces to Liberia, pursuant to its resolution 1497 (2003), as well as Member States which have assisted ECOWAS in its efforts, and stressing the responsibilities of all parties to cooperate with ECOMIL forces in Liberia,

Noting that lasting stability in Liberia will depend on peace in the subregion, and emphasizing the importance of cooperation among the countries of the subregion to this end, as well as the need for coordination of United Nations efforts to contribute to the consolidation of peace and security in the subregion,

Gravely concerned by the use of child soldiers by armed rebel militias, government forces, and other militias,

Reaffirming its support, as stated in its Statement by its President on 27 August 2003 (S/PRST/2003/14), for the Comprehensive Peace Agreement reached by Liberia's Government, rebel groups, political parties, and civil society leaders in Accra, Ghana on 18 August 2003, and the Liberian ceasefire agreement, signed in Accra, 17 June 2003,

Reaffirming that the primary responsibility for implementing the Comprehensive Peace Agreement and the ceasefire agreement rests with the parties, and urging the parties to move forward with implementation of these agreements immediately in order to ensure the peaceful formation of a transitional government by 14 October 2003,

Welcoming the 11 August 2003 resignation and departure of former Liberian President Charles Taylor from Liberia, and the peaceful transfer of power from Mr. Taylor,

Stressing the importance of the Joint Monitoring Committee (JMC), as provided for by the 17 June ceasefire agreement, to ensuring peace in Liberia, and urging all parties to establish this body as quickly as possible,

Recalling the framework for establishment of a longer-term United Nations stabilization force to relieve the ECOMIL forces, as set out in resolution 1497 (2003),

Welcoming the Secretary-General's report of 11 September 2003 (S/2003/875) and its recommendations,

Taking note also of the intention of the Secretary-General to terminate the mandate of the United Nations Office in Liberia (UNOL), as indicated in his letter dated 16 September 2003 addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/2003/899),

Taking note also of the intention of the Secretary-General to transfer the major functions performed by UNOL to the United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL), together with staff of UNOL, as appropriate,

Determining that the situation in Liberia continues to constitute a threat to international peace and security in the region, to stability in the West Africa subregion, and to the peace process for Liberia,

Acting under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations,

1. *Decides* to establish the United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL), the stabilization force called for in resolution 1497 (2003), for a period of 12 months, and requests the Secretary-General to transfer authority from the ECOWAS-led ECOMIL forces to UNMIL on 1 October 2003, and further decides that UNMIL will consist of up to 15,000 United Nations military personnel, including up to 250 military observers and 160 staff officers, and up to 1,115 civilian police officers, including formed units to assist in the maintenance of law and order throughout Liberia, and the appropriate civilian component;

2. *Welcomes* the appointment by the Secretary-General of his Special Representative for Liberia to direct the operations of UNMIL and coordinate all United Nations activities in Liberia;

3. *Decides* that UNMIL shall have the following mandate:

Support for Implementation of the Ceasefire Agreement:

(a) to observe and monitor the implementation of the ceasefire agreement and investigate violations of the ceasefire;

(b) to establish and maintain continuous liaison with the field headquarters of all the parties' military forces;

(c) to assist in the development of cantonment sites and to provide security at these sites;

(d) to observe and monitor disengagement and cantonment of military forces of all the parties;

(e) to support the work of the JMC;

(f) to develop, as soon as possible, preferably within 30 days of the adoption of this resolution, in cooperation with the JMC, relevant international financial institutions, international development organizations, and donor nations, an action plan for the overall implementation of a disarmament, demobilization, reintegration, and repatriation (DDRR) programme for all armed parties; with particular attention to the special needs of child combatants and women; and addressing the inclusion of non-Liberian combatants;

(g) to carry out voluntary disarmament and to collect and destroy weapons and ammunition as part of an organized DDRR programme;

(h) to liaise with the JMC and to advise on the implementation of its functions under the Comprehensive Peace Agreement and the ceasefire agreement;

(i) to provide security at key government installations, in particular ports, airports, and other vital infrastructure;

Protection of United Nations Staff, Facilities and Civilians:

(j) to protect United Nations personnel, facilities, installations and equipment, ensure the security and freedom of movement of its personnel and, without prejudice to the efforts of

the government, to protect civilians under imminent threat of physical violence, within its capabilities;

Support for Humanitarian and Human Rights Assistance:

(k) to facilitate the provision of humanitarian assistance, including by helping to establish the necessary security conditions;

(l) to contribute towards international efforts to protect and promote human rights in Liberia, with particular attention to vulnerable groups including refugees, returning refugees and internally displaced persons, women, children, and demobilized child soldiers, within UNMIL's capabilities and under acceptable security conditions, in close cooperation with other United Nations agencies, related organizations, governmental organizations, and non-governmental organizations;

(m) to ensure an adequate human rights presence, capacity and expertise within UNMIL to carry out human rights promotion, protection, and monitoring activities;

Support for Security Reform:

(n) to assist the transitional government of Liberia in monitoring and restructuring the police force of Liberia, consistent with democratic policing, to develop a civilian police training programme, and to otherwise assist in the training of civilian police, in cooperation with ECOWAS, international organizations, and interested States;

(o) to assist the transitional government in the formation of a new and restructured Liberian military in cooperation with ECOWAS, international organizations and interested States;

Support for Implementation of the Peace Process:

(p) to assist the transitional Government, in conjunction with ECOWAS and other international partners, in reestablishment of national authority throughout the country, including the establishment of a functioning administrative structure at both the national and local levels;

(q) to assist the transitional government in conjunction with ECOWAS and other international partners in developing a strategy to consolidate governmental institutions, including a national legal framework and judicial and correctional institutions;

(r) to assist the transitional government in restoring proper administration of natural resources;

(s) to assist the transitional government, in conjunction with ECOWAS and other international partners, in preparing for national elections scheduled for no later than the end of 2005;

4. *Demands* that the Liberian parties cease hostilities throughout Liberia and fulfil their obligations under the Comprehensive Peace Agreement and the ceasefire agreement, including cooperation in the formation of the JMC as established under the ceasefire agreement;

5. *Calls upon* all parties to cooperate fully in the deployment and operations of UNMIL, including through ensuring the safety, security and freedom of movement of United Nations personnel, together with associated personnel, throughout Liberia;

6. *Encourages* UNMIL, within its capabilities and areas of deployment, to support the voluntary return of refugees and internally displaced persons;

7. *Requests* the Liberian Government to conclude a status-of-force agreement with the Secretary-General within 30 days of adoption of this resolution, and notes that pending the conclusion of such an agreement the model status-of-force agreement dated 9 October 1990 (A/45/594) shall apply provisionally;

8. *Calls upon* all parties to ensure, in accordance with relevant provisions of international law, the full, safe and unhindered access of relief personnel to all those in need and delivery of humanitarian assistance, in particular to internally displaced persons and refugees;

9. *Recognizes* the importance of the protection of children in armed conflict, in accordance with its resolution 1379 (2001) and related resolutions;

10. *Demands* that all parties cease all use of child soldiers, that all parties cease all human rights violations and atrocities against the Liberia population, and stresses the need to bring to justice those responsible;

11. *Reaffirms* the importance of a gender perspective in peacekeeping operations and post-conflict peace-building in accordance with resolution 1325 (2000), recalls the need to address violence against women and girls as a tool of warfare, and encourages UNMIL as well as the Liberian parties to actively address these issues;

12. *Decides* that the measures imposed by paragraphs 5 (a) and 5 (b) of resolution 1343 (2001) shall not apply to supplies of arms and related materiel and technical training and assistance intended solely for support of or use by UNMIL;

13. *Reiterates* its demand that all States in the region cease military support for armed groups in neighbouring countries, take action to prevent armed individuals and groups from using their territory to prepare and commit attacks on neighbouring countries and refrain from any actions that might contribute to further destabilization of the situation in the region, and declares its readiness to consider, if necessary, ways of promoting compliance with this demand;

14. *Calls upon* the transitional government to restore fully Liberia's relations with its neighbours and to normalize Liberia's relations with the international community;

15. *Calls on* the international community to consider how it might help future economic development in Liberia aimed at achieving long-term stability in Liberia and improving the welfare of its people;

16. *Stresses* the need for an effective public information capacity, including the establishment as necessary of United Nations radio stations to promote understanding of the peace process and the role of UNMIL among local communities and the parties;

17. *Calls on* the Liberian parties to engage for the purpose of addressing the question of DDRR on an urgent basis and urges the parties, in particular the transitional government of Liberia, and rebel

groups Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy (LURD) and the Movement for Democracy in Liberia (MODEL), to work closely with UNMIL, the JMC, relevant assistance organizations, and donor nations, in the implementation of a DDRR programme;

18. *Calls on* the international donor community to provide assistance for the implementation of a DDRR programme, and sustained international assistance to the peace process, and to contribute to consolidated humanitarian appeals;

19. *Requests* the Secretary-General to provide regular updates, including a formal report every 90 days to the Council on the progress in the implementation of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement and this resolution, including the implementation of UNMIL's mandate;

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

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