

Gender equality in peace processes – is it all just genderwashed?

How UNSCR 1325 is implemented and understood in Sweden

Katharina Hill





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Preface

The current report presents and discusses the way the Swedish government understands and implements United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000). While the resolution is relatively recent, it has attracted considerable interest and new institutional structures have been created in Sweden. Resources have been invested in the idea of the importance of gender and of women's needs in peace processes. However, as shown by Katharina Hill, this effort has mainly focused on quantitative participatory aspects, i.e. the number of women participating at different levels and structures. Particular emphasis has been put in the participation and status of women and of gender knowledge in the Swedish Armed Forces. Such an approach, necessary as it may be as one single aspect of UN Resolution 1325, shifts the focus from peace processes to peace operations and thus seems to aim primarily at promoting the cause of civilized but still military operations, rather than ensuring the analysis and integration of gender sensitive concerns in non-military peace efforts. Such military thinking is promoted also internationally and through various forms of Nordic and NATO military cooperation, including a Nordic Center for Gender in Military Operations. The gendered needs and plights of peace efforts are militarized and work with UN Resolution 1325 could be seen as a form of "genderwashing" pulling us even further away from the idea that sustainable peace needs to be constructed primarily with peaceful and gender sensitive tools.

Sia Spiliopoulou Åkermark

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Abbreviations

CSO: Civil Society Organization
ECOSOC: Economic and Social Council (of the United Nations)
GFA: Gender Field Advisor
IKFF: Internationella Kvinnoförbundet för Fred och Frihet
KtK: Kvinna till Kvinna
NAP: National Action Plan
NORDEFKO: Nordic Defense Cooperation
OSCE: Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe
SAF: Swedish Armed Forces
SC: United Nations Security Council
Sida: Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency
UN: United Nations
UNSCR: United Nations Security Council Resolution
WILPF: Women's International League for Peace and Freedom

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1. Introduction

“Too often women are forced to play the roles of victims; a role that we do not choose but in the absence of power are finding it hard to escape. The good news is that women’s empowerment is gaining ground because many people in many countries have been unwilling to accept anything else.”¹

Madeleine Albright

In 2011, three women, Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, Leymah Gbowee and Tawakkol Karman, were honored with the Nobel peace prize for their work in strengthening women’s rights and their participation in peace processes. An award a woman, Bertha Suttner, actually inspired Alfred Nobel to initiate.² Awarding this commitment with such an honor emphasizes the importance of women’s role in conflict situations and in promoting sustainable peace.

A new and more inclusive approach to conflict management is important as the characteristics of wars have changed from the *classic* defense of state borders where fighting and killing took place mainly at the frontlines between official armed forces to a new kind of war. These *new wars* include internal state conflicts, terrorism and armed conflicts without a formal declaration of war where non-involved civilians are often targeted strategically and make up 90%³ of the casualties.⁴ As the characteristics of wars are changing, so is the concept of security. In the course of such conflicts, gender-based sexual violence is often used as a tactic of warfare and places women and girls in a particularly vulnerable position. Ensuring equal opportunities and

access for women and men to all levels of peace processes is, thus, overdue. It is more than necessary to uncover the gender aspects of armed conflict and to empower women in and after armed conflict and to increase their participation in peace-building processes.

Worryingly and perhaps surprisingly, United Nations (UN) peacekeeping missions themselves have been accused of sexual and gender-based violence such as rape, forced prostitution and sex trafficking.⁵ This accusation bears a contradiction as the so called *Blue Berets* are those who are supposed to protect civilians and bring peace. The UN peacekeeping missions pursue peace as their highest goal and sexual violence is listed as a war crime. Thus, sexual violence is unacceptable and a gender-sensitive perspective in all the missions and forces of both the UN and ideally of all other organizations and states is crucial to prevent it.

In 2000 the UN Security Council adopted Resolution 1325 on *Women, Peace and Security* (UNSCR 1325) which addresses exactly this topic; the protection of women and girls in armed conflicts and the representation of women in peacekeeping operations, armed forces in general, as well as in decision-making processes on all levels. This resolution marked a milestone in the ambition to achieve gender equality in conflict management and has been the incentive for various further UN resolutions such as UNSCR 1820 on *Sexual Violence in Armed Conflicts* and government actions worldwide.

This topic is of great societal importance. Albeit rising proportions of women in armed forces, leadership positions and civil society organizations there is still a lack of gender equality in most fields, especially in supposedly male dominions such as the armed forces. A gender sensitive approach to conflict management and security politics has the potential for a paradigm shift in international relations and for the eradication of outrageous inequa-

1 Madeleine Albright in a lecture on “Global Political Challenges: women advancing democracy.”

2 Goldstein and Pevehouse, p. 140.

3 Baylis, Smith and Owens, p. 268.

4 Woyke, pp. 290-303.

5 Goldstein and Pevehouse, p. 141.

lities and gender discriminating war crimes – assuming that it would be implemented genuinely and not only on paper, of course.

This report deals with Sweden's implementation of UNSCR 1325. Sweden's implementation policies shall be analyzed as to their basic understanding of gender equality and to which strands of feminist thought or gender theory these confirm. Feminist thought and the related concept of gender theory will serve as a tool for analyzing these policies. The overarching question is which ideas have informed these policies, what kind of gender equality these policies promote and whether they are apt to have a real effect of the gendered structures of armed conflict and conflict resolution. The analytical focus shall lie on Swedish state actors. Further, the three civil society organizations (CSO) *Kvinna till Kvinna* (KtK), *Operation 1325* and *Internationella Kvinnoförbundet för Fred och Frihet* (IKFF) have served as a main source for illustrating criticisms of the Swedish Government. These three CSOs are examples of different levels of civil society engagement for the implementation of Resolution 1325 and have all been cooperating with the Swedish Government in processes such as the drafting of the National Action Plan for the implementation of UNSCR 1325. To get a more insightful understanding of these organizations' policies and activities the author has conducted interviews with representatives of *Kvinna till Kvinna* and *Operation 1325*. Looking at the activities and reactions of civil society actors allows for a more differentiated view on government policies.

The Swedish case was chosen as it has a reputation as a very egalitarian society. Finding that even in a country with such a public image, the Armed Forces continue to be a male dominion and gender equality in the field of peace processes and conflict management is far from being comprehensively achieved is surprising. If an otherwise rather egalitarian and liberal society has not achieved gender equality in this context, there is still

a long way to go for the range of actors concerned, including armed forces, worldwide. Clearly, this topic remains most pressing, even thirteen years after the adoption of UNSCR 1325.

In writing this report, a working assumption has been that there is not only one right approach to gender equality in peace processes and that the most practical and fair way for all is to be found. Aspects of different strands of feminism and other theories could be guiding. The human security approach towards conflicts is, in the opinion of the current author, an appropriate addition to feminism and gender sensitivity as it focuses on the security of the individual, regardless of gender.

This report shall deal with the broad topic *gender equality in peace processes* while focusing on the case study of Sweden. It shall be analyzed how Swedish state actors are implementing UNSCR 1325 and whether and to what extent the implementation conforms to feminist theory and the gender equality discourse. For the most qualitative data, i.e. primary and secondary literature shall be analyzed, while some quantitative data, i.e. statistics shall be taken into account.

First an introduction to feminist and gender thinking shall be provided as a basis for a common understanding of these concepts. Further, UNSCR 1325 shall be outlined in its context within the UN. The central part of this report looks at the actions the Swedish Government has taken and since it has laid a focus on the Swedish Armed Forces, they will be the main object of analysis. Using the three aforementioned CSOs as a main source of critique of the UNSCR 1325 as such and the Government's policies complete the picture of the implementation of UNSCR 1325 in Sweden. This factual analysis is followed by a more philosophical discussion about the ideas behind the policies and whether one can speak of a genuine gender approach. The conclusion is that one cannot speak of anything more than a selective application of liberal feminism and that a great deal of genderwashing is at play.

2. How feminists make sense of the world

It is important to explore the connection between feminist thinking and UN and state policies with regard to women in conflict and peace processes because this school of thought includes an engaged approach and offers a wide range of practical approaches for improvement of women's empowerment and solutions for problems with gender equality besides abstract explanation of phenomena. In order to reach a common understanding of what feminism and gender actually mean a brief introduction to the main aspects shall be given in the following.

Feminism departs from the understanding that women should be empowered and emancipated because they are not treated with the same respect and dignity as men are. Whether equality with men is being aimed at for the purpose of e.g. "liberation" from men depends on the different strands within feminism. The famous feminist phrase "the personal is political" means that, although many issues addressed by feminists concern the private realm, they are of public and political interest as well. The emancipation of women may start in the private sphere but has political importance and should be taken to the public sphere.⁶ Feminist thinking has often led to activism which in turn tries to influence policy-making.

Valerie Bryson describes feminism as an *engaged* approach; one that does not aim solely at abstract knowledge but at change in society.⁷ The term *feminism* emerged at the end of the 19th century and describes those who have an interest in the emancipation of women and granting them the same legal and political rights as men.⁸ Bryson, however, goes further and includes all

6 Bryson, p. 3.

7 Ibid., p. 1.

8 Ibid.

those as feminists who find the relation between men and women unequal and regard it as a critical point of constructed political power.⁹ Feminism has not only a focus on women's rights but also opened a debate on *gender*.

In this report *gender equality* and *empowerment of women* shall be understood according to the following definitions by the UN Office of the Special Adviser to the Secretary-General on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women (OSAGI).

Equality between women and men (gender equality):

Gender equality refers to the equal rights, responsibilities and opportunities of women and men and girls and boys. Equality does not mean that women and men will become the same but that women's and men's rights, responsibilities and opportunities will not depend on whether they are born male or female. Gender equality implies that the interests, needs and priorities of both women and men are taken into consideration, recognizing the diversity of different groups of women and men. Gender equality is not a women's issue but should concern and fully engage men as well as women. Equality between women and men is seen both as a human rights issue and as a precondition for, and indicator of, sustainable people-centered development.¹⁰

Empowerment of women:

The empowerment of women concerns women gaining power and control over their own lives. It involves awareness-raising, building self-confidence, expansion of choices, increased access to and control over resources and actions to transform the structures and institutions which reinforce and perpetuate gender discrimination and inequality. The process of empowerment is as important as the goal. Empo-

9 Ibid.

10 <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/osagi/conceptsanddefinitions.htm>

werment comes from within; women empower themselves. Inputs to promote the empowerment of women should facilitate women's articulation of their needs and priorities and a more active role in promoting these interests and needs. Empowerment of women cannot be achieved in a vacuum; men must be brought along in the process of change. Empowerment should not be seen as a zero-sum game where gains for women automatically imply losses for men. Increasing women's power in empowerment strategies does not refer to power over, or controlling forms of power, but rather to alternative forms of power: power to; power with and power from within which focus on utilizing individual and collective strengths to work towards common goals without coercion or domination.¹¹

2.1 Contemporary feminist thought

Feminist thoughts have long existed and Mary Wollstonecraft, a liberal feminist, in 1792 openly opposed other writings of e.g. men of the Enlightenment like Rousseau in her *Vindication of the Rights of Women*. She demanded equal legal rights for women, women's economic independence and depicted femininity as a social construct.¹²

From early feminist thoughts, different strands of feminism developed. Two of them can be aligned with important ideologies of international relations, liberal feminism with liberalism and socialist feminism with socialism. Contemporary debates are coined mainly by liberal feminism and difference feminism while the trend is pointing towards post-modern and post-structural feminism. Further strands that will be briefly mentioned are black feminism and queer feminism.

While liberal feminism emphasizes the importance of rationality and quantitative equality, difference feminism highlights the difference

between the women and men and emphasizes distinctive feminine characteristics. Socialist feminism questions the possibility of achieving real equality without revealing the link between gender and class in a way similar to black as well as post-modern feminists questioning the idea of simple and singular identities.

Liberal feminists represent the idea of equality between men and women and support the concept of reason and rational thinking as well as individualism. They support capitalism and are opposed to authoritarian rule.¹³ According to liberal feminists women can participate in international relations, military and the like just as men can.¹⁴ Their argument for an equal participation of women and men in powerful positions in international politics is based on the rational and practical paradigm of not wasting talent. Gender equality would enhance competence and quality of both states and military forces.¹⁵ Liberal feminists name successful women in world politics, such as Margaret Thatcher, Angela Merkel and Ellen Johnson Sirleaf as examples of women being equally adept.¹⁶ Female politicians struggle for peace and conflict resolution while guerilla groups include more women than government armed forces, which indicates that they do not seem to question women's capability to fight or they cannot afford to waste their talent and participation.¹⁷

Liberal feminism focuses on equality and argues that women are equally adept as men and consequently aims for increasing the representation of women in higher positions. Since these aspects appear as key factors in UNSCR 1325 liberal feminism the analysis of gender equality in peace processes in this report shall focus on this strand of feminism.

13 Hoffman and Graham, pp. 318-319.

14 Goldstein and Pevehouse, pp. 142-143.

15 Ibid., p. 142.

16 Ibid., p. 143.

17 Ibid., p. 144.

11 <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/osagi/pdf/factsheet2.pdf>

12 Bryson, p. 16.

As shown above, there are several different strands of feminism and their scholars and representatives disagree on certain aspects and criticize each other.

According to difference feminists, liberal feminism is too superficial and not very utilizable because liberal feminists work within the system. Difference feminists aim at the liberation of women and sexual revolution, not equality with men.¹⁸ Socialist feminists note that liberal feminism ignores and marginalizes working-class women. Gender has to be linked to class, in their view, and the emancipation of women has to be linked to the emancipation of the working-class.¹⁹ Moreover, black feminists criticize that liberal feminism departs from the reality of white women²⁰ and lacks a more inclusive view.

Carol Pateman argues that Wollstonecraft was trapped in a paradox or rather a dilemma that can still be found in liberal feminism. Wollstonecraft demanded equal rights and citizenship for women without gender stereotypes while at the same time explicitly emphasizing women's qualities. Wollstonecraft understood e.g. motherhood as good citizenship and argued that the quality of women's contribution to society would be enhanced if they enjoyed equal rights as men.²¹

Liberal feminists call for equality but not for a change in the highly gendered political and societal systems towards including attributes associated with women. This results in the paradox that women only have the chance to be successful and gain power, by having adopted qualities traditionally attributed to men.²² A regularly referred to example of a woman who gained power by becoming 'like a man' is former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher.²³

18 Hoffman and Graham, p. 321.

19 Ibid., pp. 321-322.

20 Ibid., p. 322.

21 Bryson, p. 18.

22 Ibid.

23 Goldstein and Pevehouse, p. 143.

Difference feminists, also called *radical feminists*, regard male domination over women as omnipresent and as the oldest form of oppression.²⁴ They consider society as misogynous and demand an objective concern of women's needs, without the bias of ideologies.²⁵ Catherine MacKinnon disagrees with a group of difference feminists, who describe the discrepancy between men and women as natural and highlights its social character.²⁶ Equally important, she writes "The public is the private, just as the personal is the political."²⁷ As has been noted, a famous phrase in feminism which highlights that also the relationship between men and women in the private home is of political character.

Difference feminists criticize the masculinity of realism.²⁸ According to Joshua S. Goldstein and Jon C. Pevehouse, a more feminine international system would focus rather on the interconnectedness of states and stress the responsibility to help rather than sovereignty and competitiveness as realism does, i.e. include values and structures traditionally attributed to women.²⁹ Human rights would be more important than the principle of non-interference in state sovereignty.³⁰ The UNESCO constitutes a practical example for the explicit recognition of the political value of qualities traditionally attributed to women. Its motto is that *war starts in the minds of men; peace is better being thought in the minds of women*.³¹ A controversial view that is heavily criticized by post-modern feminists – as shall be seen later under the section attributed to that strand of feminism.

According to John Hoffman and Paul Gra-

24 Hoffman and Graham, pp. 326-328.

25 Ibid., p. 326.

26 Ibid., p. 327.

27 Ibid., p. 328.

28 Goldstein and Pevehouse, p. 138.

29 Ibid., p.139.

30 Ibid.

31 Ibid., p. 142.

ham, “patriarchy is a structural system of male oppression, whether men are conscious of oppressing women or not.”³² Goldstein and Pevehouse name an example that underlines this argument. Swedish men were building a bridge in Sri Lanka and only realized that they should have included a sideway for pedestrians when they were asked if the local women would also use the bridge by car or rather by foot.³³

Liberal feminists regard difference feminists as authoritarian and criticize that they do not consider choice and are hence too totalitarian. Also, they see a war between the sexes as “unfruitful”.³⁴ In socialist feminists’ view the idea of sisterhood is too abstract, and difference feminists are ignoring the class system. Furthermore, socialist feminists are not completely opposed to patriarchy.³⁵ Black feminists, on the other hand, are skeptical of a supra-ethnic sisterhood and also accuse socialist feminism of ignoring racism. Post-modern feminists criticize that difference feminists think too much in binary divides (i.e. black and white, good and bad, men and women).³⁶

Black feminists criticize marginalization and the belief in monumental identities. According to them, privileging one identity over another is dangerous. Also, they argue that oppression is never simply universal, but that it has to be regarded with more differentiation and in its particular forms, although class, racial and gender stereotypes are very similar.³⁷ Additionally, black feminists call for a re-conceptualization of power and freedom.³⁸

Liberal, socialist and difference feminists respond to the criticism of black feminist thinking

by saying that fragmentation, highlighting difference and privileging color over other differences do not serve the cause of enhancing women’s rights. The solution of the problem of inequality should come first, and then difference can be taken into account.³⁹ Further, feminist empiricists argue that anything which ideologizes feminism is a mistake.⁴⁰ In feminist empiricist belief, inequality can be dealt with scientifically; it can be proven as unscientific. They claim that the more female researchers the better, yet they do not call for female science, but for sound science.⁴¹ Liberal feminists agree with feminist empiricism to a certain extent, because they support the emphasis on rationality, evidence and science, yet they oppose the exclusion of values. Ideological and pure facts alone probably do not persuade.

Aiming at deconstructing reality post-modern feminists are opposed to binary concepts and fixed categories. They criticize common gender stereotypes in war of men as the *just warrior* and women as the *beautiful soul*.⁴² They e.g. stress that women are not only victims or bystanders in war, but also play an active role. If not in combat, then as supporters, providers and in fuelling ethnic conflicts.⁴³ Further, post-modern and post-structuralist feminists challenge the realist language of e.g. using sexist language in the discourse about nuclear weapons as described in Carol Cohn’s famous article “Sex and Death in the Rational World of Defense Intellectuals” in 1985.⁴⁴ By being opposed to binary concepts, post-modern feminists find the allocation of fixed roles or characteristics to women and men, which difference feminists support, counterproductive. This opposition is, however,

32 Hoffman and Graham, p. 327.

33 Goldstein and Pevehouse, p. 141.

34 Hoffman and Graham, p. 328.

35 Ibid., p. 329.

36 Ibid., p. 330.

37 Ibid., p. 331.

38 Ibid., p. 332.

39 Ibid.

40 Ibid., p. 322.

41 Ibid., p. 333.

42 Goldstein and Pevehouse, p. 147.

43 Ibid.

44 Ibid.

seen as a contradiction in feminism and as betrayal of women's needs.⁴⁵

Queer feminists describe themselves as radically opposed to patriarchy. Similar to post-modern feminists they criticize the idea of equality between women and men advocated for by liberal feminists as too focused on binary concepts and leaving out types of gender that fall outside those two, such as homo-, bi-, trans- and intersexuals.⁴⁶ By the name *queer* feminism it is not intended to only include queer people but to go even beyond sexual minorities and criticize patriarchy as a whole, especially the aspects of racism, imperialism, genocide, and violence. The idea behind queer feminism is to redefine feminism towards a more inclusive approach.⁴⁷

The norm-critical approach is unavoidable in current Swedish discourse and it would be very interesting to research the implementation of UNSCR 1325 in Sweden from a norm-critical view. This approach challenges norms and questions why certain things are regarded as normal and everything and everyone that does not comply with this norm is regarded as a deviation from the norm. The norm-critical approach is not the same as *tolerance* because when one is tolerant one would say "You are different but I respect you." So, the essential difference between the concepts is that tolerance still stamps views and people as *different*, as not complying with the norm. However, as aforementioned, since the aspects of UNSCR 1325 that stand out are aligned with liberal feminism, the focus shall lie on this strand of feminism.

Departing from here gender theory is of course an indispensable perspective. In this section the essence of gender theory – i.e. what the term

45 Ibid.

46 <http://queerfeminism.com/what-is-queer-feminism/>

47 Ibid.

gender actually entails – shall be described in order to get an understanding of what *gender equality* is.

Since the late 1960s and early 1970s scholars have been distinguishing between *sex* and *gender*. Candace West and Don H. Zimmerman name the following definition for *sex*: *sex* is the biological characteristics of a person, the "anatomy, hormones and physiology."⁴⁸ *Gender* on the other hand is described as "an achieved status [...] constructed through psychological, cultural and social means."⁴⁹

Furthermore they introduce a third term: *sex category*. *Sex* is determined by applied sex criteria for classification as female or male, such as characteristics like genitalia or chromosome set at birth⁵⁰. The placement in one of the categories by applying sex criteria is an act of social identification, though. Sex criteria and sex category do not necessarily have to be identical; one can be placed in one category although the criteria are not coherent. *Gender*, according to West and Zimmerman, is the active living of expectations of social norms and cultural conceptions of the roles ascribed to those sex categories.⁵¹

According to West and Zimmerman in Western societies, there is a fixed conception and perception of gender differences, a perceived natural allocation. "Things are the way they are by virtue of the fact that men are men and women are women."⁵² Further, Kessler and McKenna argue that society sees it as evident that *sex* and *sex category* are identical.⁵³

In social theory the *Thomas theorem* indicates: "If men define situations as real, they are real in

48 West and Zimmerman, p. 125.

49 Ibid.

50 Ibid., p. 127.

51 Ibid.

52 Ibid., p. 128.

53 Kessler and McKenna in West and Zimmerman, p. 132.

their consequences.”⁵⁴ (*Men* in this case means *human beings*.) Applying the Thomas theorem to the concepts of *sex*, *sex categories* and *gender* it means that they are reality to society because people believe in them and hence define them as real. West and Zimmerman call for a social change and argue that it has to take place on the institutional and cultural level of sex category and gender.⁵⁵ In order to achieve such a social change and gender equality in every possible context, it means to change gender conceptions and thus challenging the social reality of gender.

West and Zimmerman also challenge the notion of *sex* being a fixed natural state and *gender* being a fixed achievement. They rather argue that *gender* is “not a set of traits, nor a variable, nor a role, but the product of social doings of some sort.”⁵⁶ “doing gender is an ongoing activity embedded in everyday interaction”⁵⁷, hence the title of their article *Doing Gender*.

To emphasize their argument of *gender* being an active process, West and Zimmerman introduce the example of Garfinkel’s 1967 case study of Agnes, a transsexual boy who underwent sex reversal surgery after having adopted a female identity at the age of 17.⁵⁸ Agnes had to actively learn how to act like a woman and to be accepted by society as fitting in both the sex and gender category *female*. One important aspect that Garfinkel observed was the *omnirelevance* of Agnes’ sex category in all situations of everyday life.⁵⁹

If *sex category* – which is a master identity⁶⁰ – is omnirelevant, West and Zimmerman argue, then “virtually any activity can be assessed as to its womanly or manly nature.”⁶¹ And thus “doing

gender is unavoidable.”⁶² This statement is of fundamental importance for dealing with gender in conflict management and peace processes. If *doing gender* is unavoidable, then, of course, it cannot be avoided in peace processes either.

Similarly, *gender mainstreaming* is an approach based on the assumption that *sex category* and *gender* are omnirelevant master identities. *Gender mainstreaming* implies that the aspect of gender differences and different needs of men and women have to be considered in every aspect of planning and decision making in order to achieve gender equality; an implication that supports the idea of the unavoidability of *doing gender*.

The UN ECOSOC defined gender mainstreaming in 1997 as following:

“Mainstreaming a gender perspective is the process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programmes, in all areas and at all levels. It is a strategy for making women’s as well as men’s concerns and experiences an integral dimension of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programmes in all political, economic and societal spheres so that women and men benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated. The ultimate goal is to achieve gender equality.”⁶³

So, essentially we can in theory speak of gender mainstreaming when feminist thought and activism have reached the public sphere and become the basis for policy-making. If doing gender is inevitable, then gender is being done also in security politics and conflict management. And if gender equality and gender mainstreaming are to be enhanced, then also these areas have to be approached with gender sensitivity.

However, Hilary Charlesworth openly criticizes how gender mainstreaming is implemen-

54 Merton, p. 380.

55 West and Zimmerman, p. 147.

56 Ibid., p. 129.

57 Ibid., p. 130.

58 Ibid., p. 131.

59 Ibid., p. 136.

60 Hughes in West and Zimmerman, p. 128.

61 Ibid., p. 136.

62 Ibid., p. 137.

63 A/52/3 of September 18, 1997.

ted in the UN. According to her, “the technique of gender mainstreaming has stripped the feminist concept of “gender” off any radical or political potential.”⁶⁴ The vocabulary has been adopted, hence gender mainstreaming is intended in nearly every policy field but little is actually done to translate the aims into actions. Texts are usually phrased too vaguely to be tangible. Charlesworth mentions a cultural and linguistic problem with the term *gender mainstreaming*; apparently it is difficult to translate into anything but English.⁶⁵ Furthermore, the understanding of the term *gender* in UN policy documents seems to be used synonymously with *women* and most definitely differs from the aforementioned definition of *gender* by West and Zimmerman. The Holy See, for example, even defines gender as *biological sexual identity*.⁶⁶

One could possibly compare the use of the term *gender mainstreaming* with *greenwashing*.⁶⁷ Nowadays everyone wants to appear *green* or *gender sensitive* respectively because it is trendy and politically correct. So, the labels or documents feign *green* and *gender sensitive* but reality has little to do with the labels. The vocabulary for gender mainstreaming is in place, but the actual implementation is often lacking.

The liberal feminist argument that women and men are equally adept and that there should be quantitative equality between them in e.g. armed forces can be misused. It can be taken out of the context of the understanding of a genuine gender equality where not only the numbers are equal but also the distribution of power and influence. The empty shell of equality in numbers

64 Charlesworth, p. 16.

65 Ibid., p. 12.

66 Ibid., p. 17.

67 Greenpeace defines *greenwashing* as following: “Used to describe the act of misleading consumers regarding the environmental practices of a company or the environmental benefits of a product or service.” <http://stopgreenwash.org/>

without equality in respect and dignity can be used as an excuse for not implementing a genuine gender equality approach. Kvinna till Kvinna describes situations where women were installed in e.g. the parliament as marionettes of men to fulfill the quota for women as *window-dressing* in their report *Equal Power – Lasting Peace*.⁶⁸ This form of deception is clearly a form of *genderwashing*.

Gender theory points out the social construction of *gender*. Contemporary feminist thought informed by gender theory is relevant for this study as it creates an understanding of the need to deconstruct gender stereotypes, gendered norms and expectations. It is problematic to think in strict gender categories such as *man=warrior* and *woman=beautiful soul* because they set limits to the choices and actions of every human being by what is socially acceptable. The deconstruction has a positive impact on peace-building and peace processes in general as it allows women and men equally to depart from the strict gender categories and gender based expectations. Further, it enables them to contribute equally to peace processes. As liberal feminists argue, not using the knowledge and skills of women, i.e. half of the population, is in fact a waste of resources.

To sum up the contemporary strands within feminism are developing away from the classical convictions of liberal and difference feminists towards a more inclusive approach. Contemporary strands are opposed to binary concepts as can be found in the philosophy of post-modern and queer feminism as well as in the norm-critical approach. Post-structuralism and the norm-critical approach argue for the deconstruction of not only gender *stereotypes* but of gender *categories* as such.

68 Kvinna till Kvinna “Equal Power – Lasting Peace *Obstacles for women’s participation in peace processes*”, p. 10. The full report can be downloaded here: <http://www.equalpower-lastingpeace.org/the-report/>

2.2 A gendered understanding of security

The traditional understanding of armed conflicts is heavily coined by what is regularly referred to as the *protection myth*. According to this myth, men as soldiers protect women and children at the frontlines of war. In such a scenario men are depicted as those most immediately affected by war. This picture, of course, does not reflect the realities of war today. Women and children are heavily affected by armed conflicts in multiple ways. In fact, 90% of civilian casualties and most of refugees and internally displaced persons are women and children.⁶⁹ Likewise, the use of rape as a strategy of warfare and other sexual and gender based violence in conflict such as prostitution and human trafficking target and affect women specifically.⁷⁰ One might also want to mention that the work as nurses and journalists at the front and the role played by wives, mothers and girlfriends at the home front is often forgotten.⁷¹ And, needless to say, there is an increasing number of women being members of armed forces, whether as medical staff or combatants. The traditionally masculine image of war and its underlying norms and values are thus challenged by reality.

In addition, a new understanding of the concept of security has emerged. Feminists have long challenged the traditional definition of security. They rather apply a gendered perception of security – the human security approach – instead of the traditional, masculine realist point of view that focuses on the security of nation states.⁷² The concept of human security was first mentioned in the *Human Development Report* in 1994 and its central aims are *freedom from fear* and *freedom from want*.⁷³ The report defined human security to include the economic, food,

health, environmental, personal, community and political security of the individual; in other words the security of the *human being* in contrast to the security of the abstract construct of the *state*.⁷⁴ Carolyn Hannan argues that *freedom from dependency* – i.e. strengthening empowerment – could be defined as a third aspect.⁷⁵

The concept of human security constitutes a more inclusive and comprehensive approach to security than the traditional notion of state security. It does not focus solely on gender equality but advocates for empowering all human beings regardless of gender, sex, ethnicity, religion and age. “Peace politics (and human security)”, as Rita Machanda puts it, “are crucial for everyone in unequal relations.”⁷⁶ Carolyn Stephenson even argues that human security derives from feminist peace research.⁷⁷

It is a central argument of the gendered human security approach that in e.g. peace-building projects a bottom up approach is crucial⁷⁸, i.e. the civilian population has to be included because they know best what security means for them and how it could be achieved. Often, women have a thorough understanding of the actual and tangible meaning of security because it is mostly them who have to provide for the basic human security of their families.⁷⁹ Cynthia Cockburn names a practical reason for women’s understanding of security and interest in peace contrasting the argument of women as mothers are nurturing by nature: “if women have a distinctive angle on peace, it is not due to women being “nurturing”. It seems more to do with knowing oppression when we see it.”⁸⁰ Feminists are

69 Baylis, Smith and Owens, p. 268.

70 Ibid.

71 Goldstein and Pevehouse, p. 147.

72 Baylis, Smith and Owens, p. 269.

73 Ibid., p. 483.

74 Ibid., p. 480.

75 <http://operation1325.se/en/blogg/use-human-security-to-promote-gender-equality>

76 Machanda (2001), p. 1959.

77 Stephenson in Machanda (2001), p. 1956.

78 Baylis, Smith and Owens, p. 269.

79 Machanda (2001), p. 1957.

80 Cockburn in Machanda (2001), p. 1959.

opposed to both realism and the traditional notion of security as they argue that states often fail to provide security for their citizens while focusing on national security.⁸¹ Thus the human security approach is more apt to capture all aspects of conflict and identify the needs of women in peace processes.

The 1990ies and early 2000s were the peak of the concept of human security and one could argue that this wave actually made it possible to put gender equality in peace processes and *Women, Peace and Security* on the agenda of the UN Security Council.⁸² By making it a security issue it officially fell within the terms of reference of the SC and thus gained more attention. However, arguably the terror attacks of 9/11 have led to a shift in focus back to national security and regarding terrorism as a more prominent threat to security.

81 Baylis, Smith and Owens, p. 269.

82 Personal interview with Emmicki Roos from *Operation 1325*, August 8, 2013.

3. Gender equality on the UN agenda

UNSCR 1325 was not the starting point in the field of the empowerment of women and gender equality in conflict management. Already shortly after its foundation, the UN established the *United Nations Commission on the Status of Women* (CSW) as part of the ECOSOC in 1946. Its main objectives were and still are gender equality and the advancement of women. The CSW is a standing body and has continuously been meeting annually.⁸³ In 1952 the Commission succeeded in pushing for women's equal rights to vote, to run for office and to hold a public office – rights that were stipulated in the *Convention on the Political Rights of Women*.⁸⁴

One of the Commission's biggest successes, however, was the adoption of the *Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women* (CEDAW) in 1979, an international treaty now signed by 187 UN member states and therefore often referred to as an international bill of rights for women.⁸⁵

Since 1975 four *United Nations World Conferences on Women* have been held. The *Fourth World Conference on Women: Action for Equality, Development and Peace* in 1995 was the most important as it resulted in the *Beijing Declaration* and the *Platform for Action*. This declaration emphasizes the full implementation of all decisions made during former World Conferences and stresses that women's rights are human rights. Further, the importance of including women and gender sensitive policies in peace processes and development programs is highlighted. Sin-

83 E/245/Rev.1 of December 10, 1946.

84 <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/CSW60YRS/CSWbriefhistory.pdf>

85 http://treaties.un.org/Pages/ViewDetails.aspx?src=TREATY&mtdsg_no=IV-8&chapter=4&clang=en

ce the last *World Conference on Women* in 1995, three so-called *Review and Appraisal*⁸⁶ meetings have been held.⁸⁷

Certainly other UN institutions and in the context of peace and conflict especially judicial organs, play an important role in working for gender equality and for making visible the concerns of women. It was also a big step that both the *International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia* (ICTY) and the *International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda* (ICTR) declared rape as a crime against humanity.⁸⁸

Another international institution which works outside the UN framework, the *International Criminal Court*, has worked to increase awareness about the crimes committed against women in armed conflict and bring justice for the victims of sexual violence. They have gone even further by defining rape, sexual slavery, enforced prostitution, forced pregnancy, enforced sterilization, or any other form of sexual violence of comparable gravity as crimes against humanity and war crimes in the Rome Statute.⁸⁹

UNSCR 1325 is considered a milestone as it constitutes the first time the Security Council as the main decision-making organ of the UN addressed the topic of women in conflict in an official resolution on 31 October 2000.⁹⁰ The main aspects addressed are:

- To increase the proportion of women in peace operations.
- To protect women and girls, especially as

86 Five-, Ten- and Fifteen-year *Review and Appraisal* respectively

87 <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/followup/beijing+5.htm>

88 Article 5 of the Statute of the ICTY updated in 2010 and Article 3 of the Statute of the ICTR updated in 2010.

89 Articles 7 (g), 8 (xxii) of the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court, of 1998.

90 <http://www.ikff.se/fokusomraden/fn/srs-resolution-1325/>

civilians, from gender-based sexual violence in conflict situations.

- To increase women's participation in decision making on all levels of prevention, management, and resolution of conflicts both in the civilian and the military context in conflict areas.
- To respect special needs of local women in conflict areas.
- To adopt a gender perspective and gender mainstreaming into peacekeeping operations through e.g. gender and HIV/AIDS awareness training.
- To adopt a gender perspective in reporting and implementation mechanisms.⁹¹

The resolution marked the introduction of the topic *Women, Peace and Security* to the Security Council. Since the adoption in 2000 several further resolutions on the topic have followed, inter alia UNSCR 1820 on *sexual violence*.

As UNSCR 1325 is addressed to various state and non-state actors in international politics it can function as a basis for a comprehensive gender equality approach in conflict management. The responsibility of states and the role of international law are called upon, yet no legally binding obligations follow. Further, the resolution addresses UN organizations such as peacekeeping forces, UN member states, all parties involved in armed conflicts and civil society and it calls for cooperation with women's organizations. In fact, UNSCR 1325 has received considerable attention worldwide and is regularly referred to as the overarching policy for *Women, Peace and Security*.

Six UNSC resolutions have followed 1325. UNSCR 1674, 1820, 1888, 1889, 1960 and 2106 focus on sexual violence against civilians, especially women and girls in armed conflicts and the end of impunity for such crimes. This focus has

91 S/RES/1325 (2000) of October 31, 2000.

been criticized by e.g. IKFF because it does not address the other areas highlighted in UNSCR 1325. It victimizes women instead of empowering them.⁹² Separating the sexual violence from the topic of women's participation in peace processes is problematic.⁹³ UNSCR 1820 is criticized because sexual violence is not defined nor is there an official reference to the International Criminal Court, in whose statute sexual violence is defined as a war crime.

In UNSCR 1888 the UN Security Council requests the Secretary General to appoint a Special Representative on Sexual Violence in Conflict.⁹⁴ The Swedish politician and former EU Commissioner Margot Wallström⁹⁵ has filled this position.⁹⁶ Further, the resolution calls for the establishment of a team of experts on the topic of sexual violence in conflict that can work in the field with the consent of the respective governments. Further women's protection advisers (WPAs) among gender advisors are called for. It is also mentioned that women in UN peacekeeping forces function as role models for national forces.⁹⁷

UNSCR 1889 includes the socioeconomic situation of women and reproductive health rights. Further it calls for reports on the impact of armed conflicts on women.⁹⁸

92 <http://www.ikff.se/fokusomraden/fn/srs-resolution-1820/>

93 Personal interview with Emmicki Roos from *Operation 1325*, August 8, 2013.

94 S/RES/1888 (2009) of September 30, 2009.

95 former Swedish minister for Civil Affairs (Consumer Affairs, Women and Youth), Culture and Social Affairs and former EU Commissioner for Environment and Inter-institutional Relations and Communications Strategy and Vice-President of the EU Commission: <http://www.eurostep.org/wcm/biographies/35-margot-wallstroem-biography.html>

96 <http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2010/sga1220.doc.htm>

97 S/RES/1888 (2009) of September 30, 2009.

98 S/RES/1889 (2009) of October 5, 2009.

UNSCR 1960 recognizes sexual violence as a structural problem, calls for monitoring, analysis and reporting systems on sexual violence in armed conflicts and reemphasizes the importance of cooperating with the civil society and women's organizations.⁹⁹

In UNSCR 1674 of 2006 the UNSC condemns sexual exploitation, abuse, trafficking of women and children by military, police and civil UN personnel and stresses the zero-tolerance policy.¹⁰⁰ In this way the UNSC is reacting to the fact that UN peacekeeping forces have been accused of sexual violence and sets a clear sign against such behavior.

The latest UNSCR 2106 of June 2013 focuses on sexual violence in armed conflicts and stresses the fight against impunity and the role of the ICC in the prosecution of sexual violence offences as war crimes.¹⁰¹

In the 2005 UN World Summit Outcome gender equality is recognized as a fundamental value and principle for international peace and security. The elimination of discrimination and violence against women and girls, especially as civilians in conflicts and the impunity thereof are constituted in the document. Further the important role of women in peace processes is recognized and a full implementation of UNSCR 1325 is demanded.¹⁰²

99 S/RES/1960 (2010) of December 16, 2010.

100 S/RES/1674 (2006) of April 28, 2006.

101 S/RES/2106 (2013) of June 24, 2013.

102 A/RES/60/1 of October 24, 2005.

4. The implementation of UNSCR 1325 in Sweden

Sweden itself states that it has one of the highest levels of gender equality in the world.¹⁰³ Sweden was placed on rank 4 of 135 – 1 being the best – in the *Gender Gap Index 2011* by the World Economic Forum after Iceland, Norway and Finland but before Denmark, which was placed on rank 7.¹⁰⁴ However, Sweden was ranked no. 1 in 2006 and 2007.¹⁰⁵ Bearing this positive ranking in mind one would logically conclude that Sweden is very proactive in the field of gender equality in general and thus also in peace processes and in the implementation of UNSCR 1325. Whether this is the case will be analyzed in the following.

UNSCR 1325 addresses a diverse array of actors. It addresses the UN and its organs, Member States, parties to armed conflicts and all actors involved, while explicitly mentioning that measures are needed to support local women's peace initiatives. Turning to the case study of Sweden, a number of relevant actors can thus be identified. In the following the engagement of the Swedish Government and the military in implementing UNSCR 1325 shall be analyzed. A selected number of civil society organizations working to promote and implement the goals of the resolution were consulted in order to gain a better understanding of how they perceive of and criticize the Government's actions. The consulted civil society organizations are *Internationella Kvinnoförbundet för Fred och Frihet* (IKFF) – the national section in Sweden of the international NGO *Women's International League for Peace and Freedom* (WILPF), *Kvinna till Kvinna* – a Swedish CSO and *Operation 1325* –

an umbrella organization for Swedish CSOs and non-profit organizations.

These three organizations were chosen because they played a role in developing the first National Action Plan on the implementation of UNSCR 1325 and their main objective or at least a very important one is to implement UNSCR 1325 on the civil society level. Operation 1325 in particular was chosen because their *raison d'être* is the implementation of UNSCR 1325 and because their *2011 Civil Society Monitoring Report* on the implementation of UNSCR 1325 in Sweden serves as a rich source of information for this report.

There is reason to believe that Sweden is rather active and advanced in the field of gender equality in conflict management. For example, the Swedish Armed Forces have begun to integrate gender equality into their objectives already in 1980 when women were first allowed into the Swedish Armed Forces. Since then, Sweden has made advancements and in 2003 the initiative *Genderforce* was implemented. This was a big step forward in integrating the topical area of *Women, Peace and Security* into the daily work of the Armed Forces and resulted in the installation of inter alia Gender Advisors in the Armed Forces.¹⁰⁶

Sweden was among the first countries to implement a National Action Plan in 2006 and according to the CSO *Kvinna till Kvinna* Sweden is the third best among the Nordic countries to implement the National Action Plan. As criteria for a successful implementation the following aspects were set:

1. fixed-term and specified goals,
2. assignment of accountability between authorities,
3. an allocated budget,

103 <http://www.sweden.se/eng/Home/Society/Equality/Facts/Gender-equality-in-Sweden/>

104 The Global Gender Gap Report 2011.

105 Ibid.

106 http://www.forsvarsmakten.se/sv/Om-Forsvarsmakten/Verksamhet/Internationellt_arbete/Genderforce/

4. transparent monitoring mechanism and
5. the extent to which civil society organizations have been actively engaged in the process of the development, implementation, monitoring and review of the NAP.¹⁰⁷

Moreover, Sweden has been proactive in enhancing gender equality within the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE)¹⁰⁸ and the office of the UN Special Representative of the Secretary General (SRSG) on Sexual Violence in Conflict is held by the Swedish Margot Wallström.¹⁰⁹ Also, Sweden having a Minister for Gender Equality¹¹⁰ and an Equality Ombudsman¹¹¹ supports the assumption of Sweden being proactive in the field of equality.

Sweden was among the first countries to adopt a National Action Plan (NAP) for the implementation of UNSCR 1325 on Women, Peace and Security in 2006 and claims to have been an inspiration for others.¹¹² In the Swedish Government the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Defense, the Ministry of Justice, the Ministry for Integration and the Ministry for Gender Equality are involved in the implementation of UNSCR 1325. Sweden's aspiration is to be a leading country in the implementation of UNSCR 1325.¹¹³

According to Operation 1325 minister of

Defense Karin Enström¹¹⁴ can be considered to have a positive approach towards UNSCR 1325.¹¹⁵ The Ministry of Defense states on its homepage:

”Gender equality and diversity help to raise standards in organizations. An employer must attract the most competent staff without excluding women, persons with a foreign background or persons with a particular sexual preference.”¹¹⁶

In this choice of words, the liberal feminist argument that gender equality is necessary in order not to waste talent can be found. A closer analysis of how and to what extent liberal feminism informs the Government's approach will follow later.

An important piece of legislation is the Swedish law *SFS 1998:408*, the so called *Sexköpslagen*, under which it is prohibited to purchase sexual services. This, of course, also applies to Swedish military personnel and includes missions abroad.¹¹⁷ This law is an important aspect for the implementation of UNSCR 1325 as it criminalizes the person purchasing sexual services, not the one offering the services and it is also applicable to soldiers abroad, for instance. The Swedish Armed Forces officially apply a zero-tolerance policy on this matter.¹¹⁸

107 Ranking the Nordic National Action Plans by *Kvinna till Kvinna*.

108 <http://www.osce.org/secretariat/44243>

109 <http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2010/sga1220.doc.htm>

110 <http://www.sweden.gov.se/sb/d/7575>

111 <http://www.do.se/>

112 The Swedish Government's action plan for 2009-2012 to implement Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) on women, peace and security of February 10, 2009 (hereinafter: Swedish NAP for UNSCR 1325), p.6.

113 2011 Operation 1325 Civil Society Monitoring Report, p.3.

114 After Sten Tolgfors resigned from office 29 March 2012, Enström was inaugurated on 18 April 2012. http://www.svd.se/nyheter/inrikes/sten-tolgfors-avgar_6961475.svd and <http://www.regeringen.se/sb/d/16093/a/190886>

115 Personal interview with Emma Johansson from *Operation 1325*, April 19, 2012.

116 <http://www.sweden.gov.se/sb/d/2060/a/21983>

117 <http://www.regeringen.se/sb/d/2593/a/116601>

118 Gustafsson, Daniel: *Gender Integration and the Swedish Armed Forces: The Case of Sexual Harassment and Prostitution*, p. 26.

Sweden responds to the demand laid down in UNSCR 1325 for more funding from member states to e.g. UNICEF and UN Women and in its National Action Plan claims to contribute a major amount of financial support.¹¹⁹ On the national level the Swedish Government has set a budget of 7 mio. SEK in 2011¹²⁰, the so called *fredsmiljonen* (literally *peace million*), for the implementation of UNSCR 1325 which is administered by the Folke Bernadotte Academy, a public body working with questions related to peace, security and development. The distribution of this amount is not specified, there is only a funding category for CSOs.¹²¹ The fact that a separate budget exists for CSOs is a good sign, but because the distribution is not specified its effectiveness can be questioned.

UNSCR 1325 urges for and UNSCR 1820 explicitly calls for Special Representatives of the Secretary General (SRSG) on sexual violence in conflicts.¹²² Member states are further requested to promote women candidates. Sweden did so when nominating Margot Wallström and hence fulfilling an important criteria and setting an example for others.

In the current NAP, which covered the time period 2009-2012 and was simply prolonged instead of revised¹²³, the Swedish Government describes the measures to be taken to implement the resolution into actions. This is to take place on three levels: nationally, regionally, and globally. Besides gender mainstreaming, the NAP has three objectives based on the resolution's main aims:

1. Increased proportion of women in peace operations
2. Protection of women and girls in conflict situations
3. Full equality on all levels of decision making in peace operations for local women (prevention, peace-building and post-conflict phase)

As a precondition for engagement on the regional and international level the Government regards the full implementation of UNSCR 1325 on the national level as crucial.

On the national level the four aforementioned ministries, several agencies¹²⁴ and the Swedish missions abroad¹²⁵ are involved in the implementation. Further, both civil society and international organizations are mentioned as partners for cooperation in the NAP and *IKFF*, *Operation 1325* and *Kvinna till Kvinna* participated in the drafting of the first NAP, less so, however, in drafting the currently applicable revised version.¹²⁶

The NAP stipulates that the proportion of women employed in peace operations is to be increased in civilian, military and police staff. More female candidates should be nominated for senior positions in international operations and at least one female candidate has to be found.¹²⁷ A positive example is the UN SRSG on Sexual Violence in Conflict Margot Wallström.

119 Swedish NAP for UNSCR 1325, p. 22.

120 <http://folkebernadotteacademy.se/sv/Fredsmiljonen/Utlysning-Fredsmiljonen/>

121 2011 Operation 1325 Civil Society Monitoring Report, pp. 19-20.

122 S/2009/362 of August 20, 2009.

123 Personal interview with Emmicki Roos from *Operation 1325*, August 8, 2013.

124 Swedish Armed Forces, National Police Board, Folke Bernadotte Academy, Sida (Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency), Swedish Civil Contingencies Agency, Swedish National Defense College and Swedish Prison and Probation Service.

125 UN, EU, OSCE, NATO and Council of Europe.

126 UNSCR 1325 IN EUROPE 21 case studies of implementation by European Peacebuilding Liaison Office.

127 Swedish NAP for UNSCR 1325, p. 12.

Gender mainstreaming and especially the higher quota of women in peace operations have to be an aspect in every strategy in relations with other countries and also in the cooperation between agencies.¹²⁸

The aforementioned ministries and state agencies are requested to cooperate with each other and with research institutions. These agencies have to develop their own guidelines for gender perspective and concrete methods and tools are to be found and enhanced.¹²⁹

With regard to the protection of women and girls in armed conflicts, the Swedish Government expresses its intention to set its main focus on raising awareness. Special attention has to be paid when Sweden is directly involved in peace processes. This can, e.g., take place via training for Swedish personnel. The Swedish staff involved in international peace operations needs to know UNSCR 1325 and 1820 plus the relevant legislation, ethical issues that might arise and so forth. Another intention the Government mentions is to strengthen and secure the judicial system in post-conflict countries to ensure the protection of women and girls and to end impunity.¹³⁰

The equal participation of local women and men from conflict areas in the prevention of conflict, crisis management, peace-building, humanitarian operations and the post-conflict phase has to be recognized when Swedish delegations are visiting conflict areas abroad; for example by seeking opportunities to address women's participation and for discussions with local women, men, and relevant representatives.¹³¹

Also, practical instruments (checklists, guidelines, instructions, background material) are to be integrated into the daily work and the Swedish Government plans to co-operate with

women's organizations (CSOs) both in the field and in Sweden.¹³²

Further, both the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and *Sida* (Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency) grant financial support for activities to increase women's participation in conflict prevention, conflict management and peace-building.¹³³

On the regional level Sweden is active in the EU, OSCE, Council of Europe, NATO/Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council (EAPC)/Partnership for Peace (PfP), and the Nordic Defense Cooperation (NORDEF).¹³⁴

In the OSCE Sweden's main focus lies on raising awareness and strengthening the implementation of UNSCR 1325, goals which are explicitly included in the OSCE 2004 action plan. Further, training is facilitated and an extensive *Gender Security Sector Reform Toolkit* designed, inter alia, for national governments, security sector institutions, regional organizations and civil society organizations has been drafted.¹³⁵

On the EU level, Sweden wants to increase the proportion of women in civilian and military positions within European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP) operations, just like on the national level. Member states have to nominate more women for senior positions and Sweden wants to set a good example. Further, Sweden intends to provide resources, power and support for gender advisers within the ESDP, similar to corresponding instruments on the national level. Also, they want to ensure a UNSCR 1325 perspective in Civilian Planning and Conduct Capability (CPCC) and EU Military Staff (EUMS).¹³⁶

The implementation of a code of conduct

128 Ibid., p. 13.

129 Ibid., pp. 12-13.

130 Ibid.

131 Ibid., p. 14.

132 Ibid.

133 Ibid.

134 Ibid., p. 16-20.

135 The full toolkit can be found online under <http://www.osce.org/odihr/30652>

136 Swedish NAP for UNSCR 1325, pp. 16-17.

is intended as well as the strengthening of reporting obligations. Sweden intends to quicken the implementation of the code of conduct and strengthening observance of it for personnel in ESDP operations, for example through training activities.¹³⁷

Sweden supports the existing ban on the purchase of sexual services by personnel involved in ESDP operations and advocates for a code of conduct, better training and clear sanctions¹³⁸; a position that coincides with the Swedish law on prostitution *Sexköpslagen*.

On the global level Sweden is engaged in the UN, where they want to nominate more women for senior positions and be active in relevant fora. The nomination of more women overlaps with the aim at the national level to, as aforementioned, find at least one female candidate for senior positions in international organizations. Further, Sweden intends to be a major donor to relevant UN funds and organizations, such as UNIFEM¹³⁹, which is now incorporated into UN Women.

Sweden was co-chair of the UN-backed initiative *Partners for Gender Justice* from 2005-2006 and is a member of the World Bank's *Advisory Council for the Gender Action Plan* and a contributor to the *World Bank Adolescent Girls Initiative* for education in poor, fragile and post-conflict countries.¹⁴⁰

This part of the NAP, however, is especially short and vague and lacks clearly formulated goals or strategies.

As depicted above positive steps have been taken. Yet, at the same time considerable criticism has been formulated. The European Peacebuilding Liaison Office as well as *Kvinna till Kvinna* and *Operation 1325* have pointed towards certain problems.¹⁴¹

137 Ibid., p. 17.

138 Ibid, p. 17.

139 Ibid., pp. 21-22.

140 Ibid., p. 6.

141 UNSCR 1325 IN EUROPE 21 case studies

The most prominent point of criticism is that the Swedish NAP is formulated too broadly and no concrete actions are explained; only the goals are mentioned but not how exactly they will be achieved. Especially in the section *National level* objectives are listed but barely any concrete methods for implementation. Based on this, specific statements about timelines, funding and budget plans, monitoring mechanisms and evaluation guidelines are lacking. Those aspects are crucial for the implementation, evaluation and for the success of any such plan. Further, accountability is not specifically distributed as it is not specified who (e.g. ministry or agency) is responsible for what. The plan as to how to include civil society is insufficient and civil society organizations and individuals from conflict areas were not consulted at all during the drafting process although national CSOs could have established such contacts.¹⁴² The critics call for more transparency by including civil society to a greater extent in the process of drafting policies (e.g. NAPs) and not only letting CSOs rubber-stamp the end result. Further, the Government should consult the civil society in the conflict areas; otherwise policies like the NAP cannot be implemented sustainably. Policies like the NAP require clear concrete instruments, indicators and measurements.

Gender awareness in the involved state institutions is rather high, but it is still seen as a side issue that is not included in the main discourse. A point of criticism voiced by Operation 1325 is that the NAP focuses on those representing Sweden abroad and neglects most ministries while UNSCR 1325 addressed all areas of government.¹⁴³ Moreover in the NAP, the

of implementation by European Peacebuilding Liaison Office and 2011 Operation 1325 Civil Society Monitoring Report.

142 UNSCR 1325 IN EUROPE 21 case studies of implementation by European Peacebuilding Liaison Office.

143 2011 Operation 1325 Civil Society Moni-

focus lies on the integration of UNSCR 1325 and 1820 into military structures, but initiatives for the inclusion and consultation of the civil society in conflict areas, which the resolutions urge for, is rather low. *Kvinna till Kvinna* openly criticized Foreign Minister Carl Bildt in 2008 for not consulting local women's organizations and almost only meeting men on his visits abroad.¹⁴⁴

In the category of lack of concrete methods falls the fact that the Swedish Government expects the involved agencies to formulate their own guidelines for the implementation of UNSCR 1325. It is questionable how so many agencies can work together efficiently if each of them follows its own guidelines. Certainly, according to the principle of subsidiarity, each agency would know best how to implement a resolution within its own structures. Yet, in order to be able to guarantee the effective implementation of a resolution on all levels universally valid standards would have to be adopted. Another highly problematic aspect is that the agencies also evaluate themselves. Needless to say that self-evaluation in policy implementation is rather useless and apparently the Ministry of Foreign Affairs – although it is the most important agency – does not even have to report at all.¹⁴⁵

Despite the lack of detailed description of e.g. training of Swedish personnel in international peace operations in the NAP, such trainings have been implemented and are being provided by the Swedish Armed Forces. Yet, probably due to this particular lack of details, the effectiveness of trainings is being criticized, as will be further discussed below.

The NAP is the main source for governmen-

toring Report, p. 22.

144 UNSCR 1325 IN EUROPE 21 case studies of implementation by European Peacebuilding Liaison Office.

145 Personal interview with Emmicki Roos from Operation 1325, August 8, 2013.

tal policies which focus on the Swedish Armed Forces. This is not a very inclusive approach as it ignores the importance of including and empowering the local population in conflict areas. In this regard it is difficult to speak of *gender equality in peace processes*; more accurate would be *gender equality in armed forces*. The fact that the Swedish government focuses on the Armed Forces is thus an indication for their narrow understanding of *peace*.

4.1 Gender equality in the Swedish Armed Forces

As has been seen above several government agencies are mandated with the implementation of UNSCR 1325. The Swedish Armed Forces (SAF), however, are de facto the most directly concerned and most involved agency, which is why more attention shall be devoted to them.

Since 1980 when the *Equality Law (jämställdhetslagen)*¹⁴⁶ was passed in Sweden, women have been allowed into certain armed services of the Armed Forces, in addition to the civil tasks like secretary, kitchen personnel, and medical units which women have traditionally performed within the military. However, it took nine more years until women gained full access to all positions within the Armed Forces.¹⁴⁷

The figure below on gender distribution in personnel from May 2011 shows that nowadays women are employed in all levels of the military but it also shows that the distribution between women and men is far from equal. This is although in the Equality Plan, which will be explained in more detail below, the target share of women among e.g. squad leaders, soldiers, and

146 Lag (1979:1118) om jämställdhet mellan kvinnor och män i arbetslivet. Accessible online: <http://www.notisum.se/rnp/sls/lag/19791118.HTM>

147 <http://www.forsvarsmakten.se/sv/Om-Forsvarsmakten/Arbetsplatsen/Jamstalldhetsarbete/Historik-och-statistik/>

Figure 4.1 Gender distribution in the Swedish Armed Forces in May 2011

Category	Total	Women	Women%	Male chiefs%	Female chiefs%
Regular Officers	8864	433	4.9	23.3	14.8
Special Officers	756	65	8.6		
Civilians	6766	2559	37.8	7.1	6.2
Soldiers	3894	358	9.2		
Reserve Officers (no. active in May 2011)	8008 (148)	168 (2)	2.1 (1.4)		
Total	28436	3583	12.6		

Source: 2011 Operation 1325 Civil Society Monitoring Report, p. 8.

seamen was set at 30%.¹⁴⁸ Especially, the number of 37.8% of women employed to exercise civil tasks compared to the low numbers of employment as regular, special and reserve officers or soldiers (4.9%, 8.6%, 2.1% and 9.2% respectively) shows that the pattern of employment of women in the Armed Forces has not changed much after 1989. Also, the unequal distribution of women and men in the ranks of chiefs is noticeable. While women are allowed into the SAF and are represented on all levels the overall distribution throughout all military ranks is far from being equal. UNSCR 1325 urges Member States to increase the proportion of women on all decision making levels, a desire which Sweden does not live up to. Clearly, the Armed Forces also lag behind their own expectations.

Despite the statistics, the Armed Forces present themselves as making a serious effort to implement UNSCR 1325 and have started several initiatives. One important step towards the full implementation of the resolution was the project *Genderforce* which was the starting point for a still ongoing cooperation between public agencies and CSOs. It initiated trainings and im-

148 2011 Operation 1325 Civil Society Monitoring Report, p. 8.

portant new positions such as *Gender Advisors*.

In 2004 the project *Genderforce* was launched by the Swedish Armed Forces as part of the EU-funded EQUAL initiative for equal access to jobs. In the *Genderforce* Development Partnership six organizations involved with peacekeeping operations were brought together: the Swedish Armed Forces, the Swedish Police, the Swedish Rescue Services Agency, the Association of Military Officers in Sweden (a trade union), Kvinna till Kvinna Foundation (CSO), and Lottorna, the Swedish Women's Voluntary Defense Organization.¹⁴⁹ Officially, the project lasted from 2004 to 2008, but it still runs as cooperation between the Armed Forces and their partner organizations.¹⁵⁰

The project had different sub-projects:

1. The training and installation of *Gender Field Advisors* (GFA) was a major project of

149 http://ec.europa.eu/employment_social/equal/practical-examples/opport-06-se-genderforce_en.cfm

150 http://www.forsvarsmakten.se/sv/Om-Forsvarsmakten/Verksamhet/Internationellt_arbete/Genderforce/

Genderforce. In 2011, there was a pool of 16 GFAs from different areas within the Armed Forces.¹⁵¹ Not only women function as GFAs.

2. The *Gender Coach Program* in which personal one-year-long coaching on gender issues was offered.
3. Further, the recruitment process was to be reformed in order to make it less discriminatory. Such efforts are supported also by §7-9 of the Discrimination law (2008:567)¹⁵² which was passed in 2009, when the project *Genderforce* was already completed
4. To qualify internal trainers as multipliers for their own environments is a crucial sub-project to enhance the understanding of the topic on all levels.
5. The integration of a gender perspective into mandates, policies, etc. is to be carried out to fulfill gender mainstreaming.
6. A research project about the problem areas, challenges and hindrances to gender equality was to be conducted.¹⁵³

The tasks of a Gender (Field) Advisor include inter alia providing the aforementioned trainings on UNSCRs 1325 and 1820. Further, they assist military commanders that did not receive training on the implementation yet. They assure that a gender perspective is applied and arrange meetings with local women to find out about their needs.¹⁵⁴

UNSCR 1325 explicitly calls for special training for peace operation personnel which is officially provided by the Swedish Armed Forces.

151 2011 Operation 1325 Civil Society Monitoring Report, p. 18.

152 Försvaretsmaktens Jämställdhetsplan 2009-2011.

153 http://ec.europa.eu/employment_social/equal/practical-examples/opport-06-se-genderforce_en.cfm

154 <http://www.opendemocracy.net/5050/charlotte-isaksson/genderforce-why-didnt-we-do-this-before>

Yet, in reality, those trainings are often canceled¹⁵⁵ and the number of only 16 GFA already speaks for itself and reveals that the training cannot be too efficient if there are only so few of them. So, officially the SAF fulfills the demand for training of personnel but the content can be questioned and whether it is effective when the time allocated to training on gender for all personnel is only 3-4 hours. In reality it is often only 2-2.5 hours or even shorter.¹⁵⁶ This obviously does not suffice. Yet, the recent opening of the Nordic Center for Gender raises the hope for an improvement in the quality of training. More on this center will follow later.

Also the fact that Gender Advisors have to be installed because commanders do not receive training on gender awareness should not be the final solution but only an interim step until full gender mainstreaming on all levels is reached. Gender Advisors should still be active, but rather in a monitoring position and not doing the tasks that should be included in the commanders' job. Outsourcing gender awareness from the field of responsibility of the commanders simply due to them not being trained, places *gender* awareness in a special and excluded position, where it should not be. Gender awareness should not be something special but something self-evident and mainstream.

The Equality Plan of the SAF 2009-2011 (*Försvaretsmaktens Jämställdhetsplan*) is based on the Discrimination Law (2008:567) which secures equal human dignity as a basic human right. The main aims of the Equality Plan are a focus on the structural and organizational barriers that hinder full equality within the SAF. Applying the Discrimination Law implies following goals:

155 Personal interview with Emma Johansson from Operation 1325, April 19, 2012.

156 2011 Operation 1325 Civil Society Monitoring Report, pp. 18-19.

1. make personally suitable equipment accessible for both women and men and apply a gender perspective when ordering new equipment,
2. prevent all kinds of harassment.
3. by the end of 2011 30% of squad leaders, soldiers, and seamen shall be women.¹⁵⁷

This goal was, however, rather utopist to achieve within half a year as the number of women in this area was only 15% by the time Operation 1325 wrote their monitoring report in summer 2011.¹⁵⁸

The Cooperation Council (*Samverkansrådet*), which was established in 2005, is a counseling organ for the Armed Forces, the National Defense College and the Swedish Defense Recruitment Agency. Its members are the Conscription Council, the Association for homo-, bi- and transsexuals in the Armed Forces (HoF), the National Defense College student corps, the Swedish Civil Contingencies Agency and the Ombudsman against Discrimination has the option to participate.

The Council works for equality within the Armed Forces, not only gender equality, but also equal treatment when it comes to religion, sexual preference, ethnicity and age. The four main fields of activity are:

1. to provide easily accessible information,
2. to recruit more women and members of minority groups,
3. to develop competences and educate and
4. to uphold undiscriminating language.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁷ Försvarsmaktens jämställdhetsplan 2009-2011, p. 11.

¹⁵⁸ 2011 Operation 1325 Civil Society Monitoring Report, pp. 11-12.

¹⁵⁹ http://www.forsvarsmakten.se/upload/dokumentfiler/folder_samverkan.pdf

The fact that a cooperation council exists is a positive sign, because it supports the demand of cooperation between agencies which is expressed in the NAP. As mentioned earlier, universally valid standards would have to be assessed; this could certainly take place in such a cooperation council.

Sweden supports other countries to build up a similar system to ensure gender equality in their military forces. As a member of the *Nordic Defense Cooperation* (NORDEF-FCO) together with Denmark, Finland, Iceland and Norway¹⁶⁰, the *Swedish Armed Forces International Center* (SWEDINT) recently opened the *NORDEF-FCO Center for Gender in Military Operations*.¹⁶¹ In this competence center for training of staff in Peace Support Operations (PSO) the most important tasks are training, education, training of trainers and capacity building.¹⁶² The *Gender Field Advisor Course*¹⁶³ and the *Gender Advisor Train the Trainer Course*¹⁶⁴ are offered twice a year and include knowledge about the UNSCR 1325 and 1820, lessons learned and case studies. Also, the code of conduct, best practices and the integration of gender into policies and the operational planning process are addressed.¹⁶⁵ Given these points, the opening of the Nordic Center for Gender on the one hand raises the hope for

¹⁶⁰ <http://www.nordefco.org/home/>

¹⁶¹ <http://nordefco.imaker.no/latest-updates/ta-gender/>

¹⁶² <http://www.forsvarsmakten.se/en/Swedish-Armed-Forces-International-Centre/Centre-for-Gender/>

¹⁶³ <http://www.forsvarsmakten.se/sv/Swedish-Armed-Forces-International-Centre/Courses-at-SWEDINT/Gender-Field-Advisor-Course-/>

¹⁶⁴ <http://www.forsvarsmakten.se/sv/Swedish-Armed-Forces-International-Centre/Courses-at-SWEDINT/GFA-TTC/>

¹⁶⁵ <http://www.forsvarsmakten.se/sv/Swedish-Armed-Forces-International-Centre/Courses-at-SWEDINT/Gender-Field-Advisor-Course-/>

an improvement in the quality of training but on the other hand the inauguration itself was already heavily criticized for the exclusion of civil society, the underrepresentation of women and for depicting women mainly as victims of armed conflict and not as actors in peace processes.¹⁶⁶

4.2 Criticism voiced by civil society organizations

UNSCR 1325 calls for cooperation with local and international women's groups which the Government and Swedish Armed Forces do to a certain extent as they cooperate with e.g. *Kvinna till Kvinna* in trainings and involve CSOs in discussions about policy making, as has been done with regard to the first National Action Plan. Yet, the cooperation with both civil society organizations in Sweden and especially women's organizations in the field is very limited¹⁶⁷ – one could even speak of systematic exclusion of civil society¹⁶⁸.

The three CSOs which were consulted are all interconnected since *IKFF* is both a founding member of *Kvinna till Kvinna* and a member of *Operation 1325* and all three of them cooperate with the Swedish Government and the SAF in e.g. the NAP and in providing trainings.

What all three CSOs have in common is that they are very active in raising awareness, advocacy and facilitating information in social media, as for example on *Facebook*. Raising awareness may not seem very useful at times and it may seem that resources could be spent more efficiently on actual, tangible field work or lobbying governments but in fact raising awareness is important for a paradigm shift. Further, a high level of knowledge and awareness of this topic

166 <http://operation1325.se/en/nyheter/an-excluding-gender-family>

167 Personal interview with Lovisa Strand from *Kvinna till Kvinna*, April 20, 2012.

168 Personal interview with Emmicki Roos from *Operation 1325*, August 8, 2013.

among the related actors and society at large forms a good precondition for official support and fundraising.

The benefit of being active on *Facebook* is informing people without them actively searching for information. Once a person has “liked” the profile of the CSO, she gets regular and constant updates on the CSO's activities and information on e.g. news articles and blog entries. It is an easy way for the followers to stay updated. Within one year the number of likes of the three CSOs has increased.¹⁶⁹

Facebook is a huge platform with 618 million daily active users worldwide in December 2012¹⁷⁰ which, as the user number already shows, has become a very important way of communication and CSOs that want to raise awareness cannot afford not to use this platform but should actively use it as a tool for campaigning.¹⁷¹

The civil society organization *Kvinna till Kvinna Foundation* (KtK) was established in 1993 by IKFF in the context of the war in Yugoslavia to support women in this conflict. Its main focus lies on the cooperation with and fundraising for financial support for over 100 partner organizations in the Western Balkans, Middle East, South Caucasus and West and Central Africa.¹⁷²

169 Operation 1325 number of “likes” on September 8, 2013: 668 (compared to 316 on May 10, 2012): <https://www.facebook.com/operation1325?fref=ts>

IKFF number of “likes” on September 8, 2013: 1,719 (compared to 1,007 on May 10, 2012): <https://www.facebook.com/IKFFSweden?fref=ts>

Kvinna till Kvinna number of “likes” on September 8, 2013: 10,898 (compared to 7,405 on May 10, 2012): <https://www.facebook.com/kvinnatillkvinna?fref=ts>

170 <http://newsroom.fb.com/content/default.aspx?NewsAreaId=22>

171 <http://www.kampagne20.de/2009/08/27/facebook-seiten-fur-ngos-tipps-und-tricks/>

172 The *Kvinna till Kvinna Foundation Annual Report 2010*.

KtK divides its work into two areas: field and advocacy work. They do not only work with UNSCR 1325, but with the scope of the activities pursued by each partner organization, e.g. education, health etc. The main aim, however, is to support women's empowerment, participation in power and in fields that affect women. KtK has chosen to support the partner organizations in their own work based on the belief that it is more respectful and leads to a more sustainable and integrated peace and security, than interfering in local initiatives by foreign devised projects which often are controlled and directed by the donors directly.

By advocacy they understand raising awareness, educating, facilitating seminars and publications. Further they offer lectures, gender analysis and trainings for peace-operation staff and have already cooperated with the Swedish Armed Forces.

What is important to KtK is the deconstruction of language. Gender equality necessitates a discussion about terminology of e.g. *armed conflict*. The *Department of Peace and Conflict Research* at the Uppsala University defines an armed conflict as "resulting in at least 25 battle-related deaths in one calendar year."¹⁷³ This definition, however, only focuses on the dead, while ignoring victims of inter alia landmines and rape. Landmines are not necessarily built to kill, but to mutilate. They affect society in a different way because the mutilated become a "burden" for society. Caring for them requires time and resources that might be missing elsewhere. It is a similar case with rape. Those victims are also traumatized, stigmatized at a high cost for society at large.

Another difficulty with the mainstream definitions of armed conflict is that conflicts may not be counted as *armed conflicts* because the victims of landmines or rape do not qualify as evi-

¹⁷³ http://www.pcr.uu.se/research/ucdp/definitions/#Warring_party_2

dence of an armed conflict. However, the absence of an *armed conflict* as defined above does not necessarily mean *peace* (negative vs. positive peace). Here, the focus should lie on *human security* and the absence thereof should be highlighted, which is an active goal of KtK.

The second CSO *Operation 1325* was founded in 2006 as an umbrella organization consisting of seven Swedish civil society and non-profit organizations (*IKFF, Kvinnor för fred, Sveriges Ekumeniska Kvinnoråd, RIFFI, Sveriges Kvinno-lobby, UN Women Sverige and Svenska Kvinnors Vänsterförbund (SKV)*) and was the first to lobby for a NAP in Sweden.¹⁷⁴ From raising awareness among women in the Swedish civil society, Operation 1325 has changed its approach and now rather focuses on professionals.

Nationally, Operation 1325 is mainly active in facilitating trainings for police and military staff, raising awareness and providing information. However, in recent years Operation 1325 has changed its focus towards a more international profile. As an expert organization Operation 1325 works with education, information and technical support on UNSCR 1325 in close partnership with women's organizations in conflict and post-conflict areas. They advocate for inclusive security nationally, regionally and internationally. As a resource organization Operation 1325 provides expertise on UNSCR 1325 and its implementation. Their main priorities are: Civil society monitoring, National Action Plans on UNSCR 1325 and facilitating both dialogue and networking in the Middle East and Northern Africa on UNSCR 1325.¹⁷⁵

The information they provide includes inter alia general information on UNSCR 1325 and

¹⁷⁴ UNSCR 1325 IN EUROPE 21 case studies of implementation by European Peacebuilding Liaison Office.

¹⁷⁵ Personal interview with Karin Axelsson Zaar from Operation 1325, September 12, 2013.

civil society monitoring reports on the implementation thereof in Sweden.¹⁷⁶ The first report is a rich and important source of information for this report as it provides relevant data and statistics as well as insights into Swedish policies and legislation.¹⁷⁷ A new and more extensive report is to be published later in 2013.

Within its advocacy work Operation 1325 is part of *Samverkan*, a consultative group which consists of inter alia the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Folke Bernadotte Academy, and a number of CSOs. The group meets to discuss the development of the NAP. However, as mentioned above, CSOs are only partly included in the drafting process of the NAP, as they only get to rubber-stamp the final version and are not included in the actual decision making process.¹⁷⁸

An interesting aspect is the funding of Operation 1325 as it does not receive donations or the like but obtains its financial support solely from the Government which has set a budget of seven million SEK, the so called *fredsmiljonen* (literally *peace million*), for projects dealing with peace, security politics and conflict management. This dependency leads to a dilemma as one of the main rationales of a CSO in this field is to hold government(s) accountable and demand consistent improvements while the government is providing the financial support. The Government is thus in a position to apply certain degree of selection of what they want to fund. This dependency in financial issues implies an obstacle to the organization's independence with regards to contents and priorities.

As their biggest success Operation 1325 sees that they were able to develop from a theoretical

176 <http://operation1325.se/en/studies>

177 The full report can be accessed online: <http://operation1325.se/en/projekt/security-council-resolution-1325-civil-society-monitoring-report>

178 2011 Operation 1325 Civil Society Monitoring Report, p. 12.

towards a more practical approach as they now focus on *how* the actual work can be done. This approach has spilled over to the whole range of its activities which has led to the re-conceptualization of UNSCR 1325. Operation 1325 now regards it rather as a tool for practical implementation rather than an abstract policy or course of action.

The third CSO *Internationella Kvinnoförbundet för Fred och Frihet* (IKFF) is the national section of the international non-governmental organization *Women's International League for Peace and Freedom* (WILPF) in Sweden which was already founded as early as in 1919¹⁷⁹, only four years after the foundation of its parent organization.¹⁸⁰

The organization's main fields of actions are disarmament and challenging militarism¹⁸¹ in order to being able to invest more in peace and strengthening the civil society to find alternative strategies that lead to security¹⁸². The WILPF was one of the first NGOs to obtain consultative status with the UN ECOSOC and maintains several such relations to other UN bodies such as the *Food and Agriculture Organization* (FAO), *International Labor Organization* (ILO) and UNICEF.¹⁸³ The IKFF describes one of its tasks in the context of the UN as watching the implementation of UNSCR 1325 and applying pressure on the government to focus on the role of women as actors in peace and security questions.¹⁸⁴ An important aspect is that IKFF cooperates internationally with its sister sections; esp. in Colombia, Costa Rica, DR Congo and

179 <http://www.ikff.se/om-ikff/>

180 <http://www.wilpfinternational.org/AboutUs/index.htm#briefhistory>

181 <http://www.ikff.se/fokusomraden/utmaningar-militarismen/>

182 <http://www.ikff.se/fokusomraden/investerar-i-fred/>

183 <http://www.ikff.se/fokusomraden/fn/>

184 <http://www.ikff.se/om-ikff/>

Nigeria.¹⁸⁵ As it is the case with *Kvinna till Kvinna* and *Operation 1325*, IKFF's practical work consists of advocacy, raising awareness and providing information.

The three organizations combined cover a wide array of civil society engagement. They carry out advocacy on the national and international level, they execute the work of international NGOs on the national level, coordinate the work of state and non-state actors on the national level and they carry out and coordinate field work. They thus cover the core areas addressed by UNSCR 1325. For instance are they working in the field to solve the problem of the negative influence of armed conflict on local women at its roots and they advocate on the national level in their home country to ensure that their national governments fulfill their responsibility to implement gender equality in the personnel of peace operations. Furthermore, they advocate and lobby in international organizations such as the UN to push for decisions, new policies and agreements. Their influence may be indirect in this case but such advocacy work and the constant exertion of pressure can influence decision-makers.

CSOs can critically observe the government's actions and could be compared to watchdogs of their field of expertise. Further, an advantage of CSOs is that with their expertise they can fill the gaps that states leave when failing to carry out certain tasks.

While states seem to be caught in the masculinity of realism, the CSOs studied in the present report work outside the masculine state system and can apply a more human security approach which can be associated with feminist values.

Further, the three consulted CSOs do not equalize *gender* with *women* and do not use the terminology of gender incorrectly which supports the argument that CSOs have a more pro-

¹⁸⁵ Ibid.

found understanding of their field of expertise and are thus certainly of utmost importance for the implementation of UNSCR 1325 both in Sweden and in conflict areas.

After having shown the facts about how UNSCR 1325 is implemented it is important to critically review the process and the policies and the resolution itself.

UNSCR 1325's sole focus on women and speaking of women as victims brings us back to Charlesworth's basic criticism pointing to the misinterpretation of the concepts of *gender* and *gender mainstreaming*. *Gender* is not the same as *women* and *gender mainstreaming* should thus not automatically suggest a focus on the situation of women. *Gender mainstreaming* is an inclusive approach which aims at revealing and repealing the gendered structures that limit both women and men. Consequently it does not suffice to only focus on women but it is important to also include how men can benefit from equality in order to encourage them to enhance it.¹⁸⁶ As it was mentioned earlier when defining *empowerment of women* "Empowerment should not be seen as a zero-sum game where gains for women automatically imply losses for men."¹⁸⁷, neither should *gender equality*. When speaking about gender equality, a range of questions need to be discussed including what role men play in armed conflict and to what extent the basic structures of armed conflict and peace processes are gendered.

In the light of the case study, in Sweden it is mainly civil society organizations which have voiced their criticism. *IKFF* criticizes UNSCR 1325 because it neither contains a reporting system, nor deadlines for reports. Also, an official agenda in the UNSC that is called *Women, Pea-*

¹⁸⁶ <http://www.bpb.de/internationales/weltweit/innerstaatliche-konflikte/54761/gender-und-konfliktbearbeitung>

¹⁸⁷ <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/osagi/pdf/factsheet2.pdf>

Figure 4.2 Percentage of women in military forces of UN peacekeeping missions 2008

Central African Republic Chad East Timor	0%
Darfur	< 1%
Sudan Côte d'Ivoire	1%
Democratic Republic of Congo Ethiopia & Eritrea Haiti Liberia	2%
Lebanon Western Sahara	4%
Iraq	5%
Cyprus	6%
Nepal	8%

Source: Seager, Joni. *The Penguin Atlas of Women in the World*. p. 103.

ce and Security is lacking. The biggest demerit, however, is, according to IKFF, that the resolution is not legally binding.¹⁸⁸ *KtK* agrees that the resolution is formulated very broadly, but in contrast to IKFF they find a positive aspect arguing that if it had too many detailed demands it would be too provoking to be implemented at all in many countries.¹⁸⁹ The third consulted CSO, *Operation 1325*, on the other hand uses the resolution rather as a tool – due to its non-binding character – and not as a policy.¹⁹⁰

A harsh criticism voiced by IKFF is that the UNSC itself does not follow its own resolutions as it does not implement a gender perspective in its decisions to the extent it should.¹⁹¹ By the same token the figures above and below both show that the UN itself has not been able to ac-

hieve quantitative equality in the employment of women and men in neither UN peacekeeping missions nor in senior management positions in UN organizations. The numbers of women in senior management positions, however, do not look as devastating as those of women in peacekeeping missions because at least the UNEP with its 35% of women as senior managers seems to be on a good way towards an equal distribution, if one accepts a 40/60 ratio to be equal. The percentage of women in UN peacekeeping missions with a remarkable 0% in three of the missions clearly shows that the UN is far from reaching its self set goals.

UNSCR 1325 demands the incorporation of a gender perspective into peacekeeping operations which the SAF officially fulfill by implementing the aforementioned initiatives such as *Gender-force* with its most important outcome the Gender (Field) Advisors, by setting up the Nordic Center for Gender in Military Operations, facilitating trainings, formulating an Equality Plan, initiating a cooperation council and implementing a code of conduct. These facts show that









188 <http://www.ikff.se/fokusomraden/fn/srs-resolution-1325/>

189 Personal interview with Lovisa Strand from Kvinna till Kvinna, April 20, 2012.

190 Personal interview with Emma Johansson from Operation 1325, April 19, 2012.

191 <http://www.ikff.se/fokusomraden/fn/srs-resolution-1325/>

Figure 4.3 Women as senior managers in the UN 2003

	UN Secretary General	0%
	Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO)	12%
	UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)	20%
	UN Population Fund (UNFPA)	22%
	UN High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR)	25%
	UN Secretariat	26%
	UN Children's Fund (UNICEF)	32%
	UN Environment Programme (UNEP)	35%

Source: Seager, Joni. *The Penguin Atlas of Women in the World.*, p. 93.

important steps are taken towards a full implementation of UNSCR 1325. However, the practical application is often criticized.

First and foremost, the state actors, especially the SAF, should assure the adherence of their self set goals such as an equal gender distribution within the personnel. Additionally, what can be regarded as a structural problem or a problem that can hardly be solved by quotas is the generally negative attitude of men towards women in the military.¹⁹² According to the Operation 1325 2011 Civil Society Monitoring Report, one third of Swedish women in international missions abroad have experienced sexual harassment in 2005 and about the same number in national duty. A study by Ivarsson, Estrada and Berggren shows that male officer's attitude towards

¹⁹² 2011 Operation 1325 Civil Society Monitoring Report, p. 10.

women in the Swedish Armed Forces does not coincide with basic characteristics of liberalism and egalitarianism that are usually linked to the Swedish society.¹⁹³ Although the Swedish society as a whole is regarded as having high levels of equality, the Armed Forces make an exception which underlines the difference feminist argument of the masculinity of realism, war and organizations directly linked to it.

Operation 1325 describes the military as a *masculine culture* in their 2011 Civil Society Monitoring Report on the implementation of UNSCR 1325 in Sweden.¹⁹⁴ The dilemma for women within the Swedish Armed Forces (SAF) depicted in an internal report from the

¹⁹³ Ivarsson, Estrada and Berggren in 2011 Operation 1325 Civil Society Monitoring Report, p. 10.

¹⁹⁴ 2011 Operation 1325 Civil Society Monitoring Report, p.10.

Swedish National Defense College represents such a challenge to the routinization.¹⁹⁵ Women in the SAF are perceived of as positive by their colleagues when they are able to adapt to the military culture without losing their femininity whereas they are perceived of as negative when they behave too masculinely.¹⁹⁶ A certain degree of adaptation to the work culture is necessary for being able to function in the military and to be respected; adapting to a too high degree – which might actually be necessary to make a career – on the other hand is not accepted. These boundaries of accepted adaptation represent limits to the range of opportunities for development and career chances for women in the masculine military culture. This negative attitude towards women in the Armed Forces and a certain degree of masculine nepotism¹⁹⁷ in the recruiting process, which makes it difficult for women to have a fair application process, build barriers for women to join the Swedish Armed Forces and make it an unattractive workplace for them.

Thus, the Swedish Armed Forces would not only have to undergo a structural change in order to achieve quantitative gender equality but also a qualitative one and apply a genuine gender approach instead of equalizing *gender* with *women*. Quotas and quantitative equality do not lead to change with regard to contents. It is also important to change men's attitude and behavior to create a work atmosphere of gender equality. The establishment of the *Network Female Conscripts* in 2000¹⁹⁸ as a platform for women within the SAF for an improvement of their situation can arguably be regarded as a feminist approach for the reassessment of the work environment within the masculine culture of the Armed Forces.

195 Ibid., p. 11.

196 Ivarsson in 2011 Operation 1325 Civil Society Monitoring Report, p.11.

197 Ibid., p. 11.

198 Ibid., p. 7.

Another practical take on inequality could be to strengthen a bottom-up approach of solving the problems at their roots and not just fighting off the symptoms in a top-down approach. Clearly, certain policies such as the NAP or the Equality Plan of the SAF represent a framework for appropriate modes of behavior. Yet, if the initiative for change came from the grassroots level or at least was supported broadly on this level, a more successful implementation would be likely. Sweden as a society bears good preconditions since liberalism and egalitarianism are essential societal values even if there can be found flaws in their consequent application.

In order to be able to measure achievements in quantitative and qualitative equality in e.g. the SAF evaluation systems on what is done and how exactly it is done have to be installed. Concrete objectives, indicators, methods for training and a structured funding system are needed in order to assure the successful implementation of UNSCR 1325, NAP and further plans like the Equality Plan of the SAF.¹⁹⁹

Both KtK and Operation 1325 agree that Sweden – i.e. both the Government and civil society – should reflect on their self-perception because Sweden thinks of itself as a very equal society and is often referred to as such but reality looks different, as men and women e.g. do not even receive equal pay. Swedes still seem to live the reputation of Olof Palme as they think of themselves as an equal and fair society, but they seem to not fight for it constantly anymore and, thus, run the risk to lag behind their good reputation.²⁰⁰

Further, Sweden should act more confidently on the international level and speak up. It should

199 2011 Operation 1325 Civil Society Monitoring Report, p. 22.

200 Personal interview with Lovisa Strand from Kvinna till Kvinna, April 20, 2012 and personal interview with Emma Johansson from Operation 1325, April 19, 2012.

demand a solution of the problem that the UN uses the vocabulary of gender equality and gender mainstreaming, but does not fulfill its own demands.²⁰¹ Sweden should work on its credibility and clearly state its values and act up to them as it would be more successful, in KtK's opinion.²⁰² The 2012 affair of the weapon deal with Saudi Arabia is an example for the blurredness of political values. The affair constitutes a severe problem in this regard because the Swedish Government attempted to hide it although it should have been discussed publicly. Sweden should act more transparently, avow for their political values and have a clear mandate without contradictions. If Sweden wants to be an international role model in the field of human and women's rights and be taken seriously it should be more careful who it cooperates with and how it expresses itself internationally. It should advocate for its values also in the cooperation in military organizations such as NATO/Partnership for Peace and in the field of human security. Human rights should not be negotiable. This, of course, is very difficult in the complicated world of the international political arena.²⁰³ Also, in order to be able to act as a role model in human and women's rights and to criticize the UN's genderwashing, Sweden would have to solve its own problems with genderwashing first.

What Sweden should certainly do, according to *Operation 1325* and *Kvinna till Kvinna*, is to keep UNSCR 1325 and its implementation on the agenda, because the attention paid to it is constantly decreasing which is worrying. It is important to stay active in advocating because once the civil society is saturated it runs the risk of stagnating.²⁰⁴

201 Personal interview with Lovisa Strand from *Kvinna till Kvinna*, April 20, 2012.

202 Ibid.

203 Ibid.

204 Personal interview with Emma Johansson from *Operation 1325*, April 19, 2012.

5. Is it all just genderwashed and what do we make of it?

The underlying purpose of this report was to explore the relation between gender equality and peace processes. In order to narrow down the subject and to make it more tangible, the case study gave us the possibility to explore how UNSCR 1325 is implemented by the Swedish Government. After having presented facts and criticism it shall now be analyzed whether there can be found aspects of feminism in the Government's approach to the implementation of UNSCR 1325 and if so, which aspects of what strand of feminism.

Certainly, the liberal feminist idea of equal capability of women and men and stemming from that the goal of quantitative gender equality can be found in the vocabulary of UNSCR 1325. The resolution urges the UN Member States to increase the representation of women at all levels of decision-making in national, regional and international institutions and mechanisms for the prevention, management, and resolution of conflict. The Secretary General is urged to appoint more women as special representatives and envoys and 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. The desired increase in the representation of women in these fields can be described as quantitative equality. At the same time the resolution includes aspects of qualitative equality calling on all actors involved, when negotiating and implementing peace agreements, to adopt a gender perspective and, inter alia, to 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.

The aim to promote women to an equal posi-

tion and equal quantitative representation with men in military structures in both peacekeeping operations and in local armed forces as well as in decision making processes in conflict management on all levels certainly conforms to the liberal feminist idea of equality between women and men in terms of equal access and opportunities. It embraces the liberal feminist argument that women and men are equally adept and that a rational reason for equality is the exploitation of the resources and talent presented by men and women alike. Moreover, the equal participation of women in the exercise of power corresponds to a central liberal value – democracy.²⁰⁵ As Madeleine Albright put it: “For women to live without democracy is difficult but for democracy to thrive without women is impossible.”²⁰⁶

These basic arguments and rationales can be found in the vocabulary, in the aims, and the goals of UNSCR 1325, the Swedish NAP, the Equality Plan of the SAF etc. However, when it comes to the actual implementation the picture looks quite different as inter alia the statistics of women in chief positions in the SAF and in senior management positions in UN organizations show. While the objectives as outlined in UNSCR 1325 have been transformed into national policies in Sweden, the actual implementation of these policies lags behind. There remains a substantial gap between the intentions and goals as outlined in UNSCR 1325 and their practical implementation. This phenomenon has earlier been described as *genderwashing*.

While UNSCR 1325 and Sweden's corresponding policies expose an affinity to liberal feminism, they do not live up to the standards which would be expected as when bending more towards more radical and contemporary feminist approaches. Difference feminists accuse li-

205 Hoffman and Graham, p. 176.

206 Madeleine Albright in a lecture on “Global Political Challenges: women advancing democracy.”.

beral feminists of accepting inherently masculine structures in international politics. This has been outlined above as the basic paradox in liberal feminism. According to difference feminists, integrating women into the existing structures and increasing the proportion of women does not result in change in itself. The risk that difference feminists see in focusing mainly on the increase of the proportion of women in e.g. armed forces is that feminist criticism about war as such would not be taken serious any longer. Because then military structures would be officially “gendered” by numbers and a further demand for change would be difficult to advocate for.

This brings us back to the problem with gender mainstreaming: while adequate vocabulary is adopted in the analyzed policies such as the UNSCR, the NAP and the Equality Plan of the SAF, these documents expose a limited understanding of the actual idea behind it, which is often lost sight of in the implementation.

So, the question is, will the increase of the proportion of women in armed forces change the very concept of armed forces or will this further maintain and possibly strengthen the existing framework? This, of course, is difficult to predict with full certainty as no studies have been conducted analyzing the interplay between quantitative equality and the development of overall systems towards gender equality. Simply because there are no armed forces in the world with an equal amount of men and women. Although, as mentioned earlier, in guerilla groups women tend to be more involved than in official armed forces.²⁰⁷ Still, it is highly unlikely that a simple increase in the number of women will “naturally” change the underlying patriarchic culture of armed forces. A conscious attempt to change it is needed.

The analyzed documents lack a genuine gender approach. It seems that most actors equalize

²⁰⁷ Goldstein and Pevehouse, p. 144.

gender with women. The problem with the terminology is a general misunderstanding and the lack of the distinction between the social *gender* and the biological *sex* as well as between *gender* and *women*. This is not a linguistic issue but a socio-cultural one. This misunderstanding in fact undermines the whole concept of *gender theory* and consequently *gender mainstreaming*. A reassessment of the role of men parallel to a new image of women is missing.

Focusing on women only creates an obstacle for an actual change in security politics because it implies that only the situation of women has to be changed, not the one of men; let alone that of groups of people with sexual preferences differing from the norm such as trans-, bi-, inter- and homosexuals. What is not considered enough are violence and gender-based discrimination against men in military structures and as civilians and against people with other sexual preferences than heterosexual and gender identities other than *men* and *women*.

In addition, it creates a structural bias in which the situation of men in armed conflict is often ignored, the expectation to be warriors and to win, whereas women are often being idealized as symbols of peace or on the other hand victimized.²⁰⁸ By automatically denominating men as soldiers and perpetrators and women as victims, the interconnectedness of offender and victim roles is not considered.²⁰⁹ It would be naïve to only think in fixed categories of women as victims of conflicts and men as offenders since in reality the roles are much more complex. It is social structures which uphold these categories and lead individuals to act according to these prevailing stereotypes.

As aforementioned, so-called *genderwashing* is at play. The Swedish Government focuses on

²⁰⁸ <http://www.bpb.de/internationales/weltweit/innerstaatliche-konflikte/54761/gender-und-konfliktbearbeitung>

²⁰⁹ Ibid.

gender equality, esp. quantitative equality, within the existing system. So, a liberal feminist understanding of gender equality, i.e. women and men are equally adept and that is the reason why there should be e.g. an equal amount of women in the Swedish Armed Forces. However, because of the aforementioned paradox that women can only be successful when they act like men liberal feminism can be misused as an excuse for only implementing superficial changes – i.e. quantitative but not qualitative gender equality. Kvinna till Kvinna calls it *window-dressing* in their report “Equal Power – Lasting Peace”.²¹⁰ Probably, liberal feminism is the easiest strand of feminism to use as a government because it has become mainstream and is thus least radical and creates least obstacles when implementing into policies. So, liberal feminism could be misused as an easy way out for the Swedish Government to satisfy their voters instead of making radical changes. Yet, liberal feminism is rather simplistic and in parts even problematic with regard to the potential for misuse and the inherent paradox. In a country like Sweden it is outdated.

The different strands of feminism can be seen as a development or a pyramid. Liberal feminism can be used as a basic – a starting point. It alone, however, will not bring genuine gender equality. To achieve this, the system as such has to be changed; for instance the Armed Forces which are clearly a patriarchic culture. A paradigm shift is needed. Feminism is an engaged theory and aims at change and not only at abstract understanding. Liberal feminism of course already includes the fundamental understanding of equal opportunities and equal rights which are not to be disregarded.

The divide between women and men in terms of characteristics and competences contradicts the viewpoint of post-modern feminists who are

²¹⁰ Kvinna till Kvinna “Equal Power – Lasting Peace Obstacles for women’s participation in peace processes”, p. 10.

opposed to such binary concepts. The solution of armed conflict and the way to sustainable peace cannot be found by thinking in binary patterns as they do not reflect the complexity of warfare and the evenly complex gender roles therein. Notwithstanding, a qualitative equality of women and men should still be regarded as an urging priority as a starting point for more complex gender equality.

If one aims at genuine gender equality, then on top of the fundamental claims of liberal feminism – such as equal participation – ideas of more contemporary strands of feminism like post-modern feminism need to be added. Contemporary strands question the liberal feminist understanding of equality and add a more thorough and qualitative understanding of the term. In the Swedish context the norm-critical approach is of course very interesting as well and highly relevant for the current discourse in civil society. Questions that arise in this context are why do we regard the equation *men = soldiers* and *women = peaceful* as normal and why is it so difficult to think in other terms? And why is it normal for the Swedish Government to only consider its armed forces when they are supposed to implement policies in peace processes? What does the Government even understand by *peace*? Deconstructing these stereotypes, norms and connotations of terms gives us the possibility to find alternatives to policies that have apparently failed in the past. By applying a post-modern and norm-critical approach to 1325 and implementing a post-modern understanding of gender equality to security politics, conflicts and peace processes one could come to the conclusion that simply setting quotas for an equal employment of men and women in the Armed Forces is nonsense without an actual reflection and reconsideration of the system and the culture of the Armed Forces in its broader context.

Laws, regulations and policies have to be installed but the actual change has to come from

within the armed forces as such. A top-down approach rarely changes perceptions. And perceptions and norms are exactly what need to be reconsidered in order to achieve a paradigm shift. For the re-conceptualization of armed forces an updated understanding of what security and gender equality actually mean is needed. This implies a change of thought.

The norm-critical approach that seems to be the new zeitgeist in Sweden is an appropriate and useful concept in this context as it questions what is being regarded as normal and aims at a reflection about the norms that are in place. One could say that this approach encourages a whole culture to reflect on its own norms and self-understanding, its whole foundation even. Values and norms are a substantial part of what makes a culture distinct from others – if not even the most essential part. Peace begins in the minds of people. Armed forces could be described as a subculture in which other norms apply than in the rest of the society. Still, the armed forces are not an isolated institution by itself, they consist of people. People that are also part of the society and informed by the culture. And this is exactly why the work of civil society organization is of crucial importance. Their effort to raise awareness and offer criticism is decisive for pushing decision makers towards new developments.

Questions that need to be asked and discussed are: In what kind of world are we living? Are traditional armed forces trained to fight in traditional wars still appropriate? Can a government that praises itself to have implemented gender mainstreaming really justify maintaining an institution so inherently masculine dominated as the armed forces just like it is?

A very essential problem when discussing gender equality in peace processes lies in communication and language, as so often. What is it actually that we mean when we talk about *gender equality* or *peace processes* or even *peace* and *security*

for that matter? As shown above there are many different understandings of these terms. Scholars, civil society and the government seem to perceive of them differently. Thus an important question arises. How can we work for a goal – i.e. gender equality in peace processes – when we do not even talk about the same thing, when we do not have a common understanding of what the goal actually is? Here, a deconstruction of the language and a critical discussion about the discourse is needed more than ever. A practical reason why UNSCR 1325 and its follow-up resolutions remain largely unimplemented could be this exact problem of different perceptions of what the essence actually is. This problem is not insoluble though; it is a challenge.

Appendix

United Nations

S/RES/1325 (2000)

**Security Council**Distr.: General
31 October 2000**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,

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S/RES/1325 (2000)

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*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

**S/RES/1325 (2000)**

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

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

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

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