

What Gender Equality Are You Mainstreaming?  
An Assessment of two National Action Plans on Women,  
Peace, and Security

# Abstract

Women are disproportionately affected by armed conflicts. The starting point of this thesis is why the situation of women has not improved considerably even though resolutions such as the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 (UNSCR 1325) has been adopted. My objects of study are two National Action Plans, which are implementations of the UNSCR 1325; Swedens and United States of Americas. With the theoretical starting point in gender mainstreaming, discourse analysis as my methodological approach and method, the aim with this thesis is to analyze how the two National Action Plans perceive gender and gender equality. I will also, thru a ideal type analysis consisting of a typology based on gender mainstreaming approaches and feminist conceptualizations of gender equality, analyze what gender mainstreaming approach and feminist perspective that lies behind the action plans.

The result revealed that in general, gender is used as a descriptive concept and that gender equality is perceived in terms of “equal opportunities” and “equal access”. In the conclusion I discuss what social consequences these understandings may have.

*Nyckelord:* gender mainstreaming, feminism, gender equality, discourse analysis, ideal type analysis, UNSCR 1325

*Antal ord:*9993

# Table of Contents

<b>1</b>	<b>Introduction</b>	<b>1</b>
1.1	Research Purpose and Presentation of the Problem	2
1.2	Reflections	3
<b>2</b>	<b>Context</b>	<b>5</b>
2.1	Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace, and Security (UNSCR 1325) (2000)	5
2.1.1	Feminist Theorizing of UNSCR 1325	6
2.2	National Action Plans	7
<b>3</b>	<b>Theoretical Framework</b>	<b>8</b>
3.1	Definition of Gender and Gender Analysis	8
3.2	Gender Mainstreaming	8
3.2.1	The Origin and Definition of Gender Mainstreaming	8
3.2.2	Feminists and Gender Mainstreaming: Complications	9
3.3	Feminist Perspectives on Gender Equality	11
<b>4</b>	<b>Methodology</b>	<b>13</b>
4.1	Discourse Analysis	13
4.2	Operationalization and Analytical Tools	14
4.2.1	Gender Equality and Gender Mainstreaming typology	15
4.3	Material	17
<b>5</b>	<b>Analysis</b>	<b>18</b>
5.1	United States of America	18
5.1.1	Discourse Analysis	18
5.1.2	Ideal Type Analysis	19
5.2	Sweden	20
5.2.1	Discourse Analysis	20
5.2.2	Ideal Type Analysis	22
<b>6</b>	<b>Conclusion</b>	<b>23</b>
<b>7</b>	<b>References</b>	<b>25</b>

# 1 Introduction

Although women represent half of the world's population, their political participation and their representation in decision-making structures lags behind men's; women and men have different economical opportunities; women are overrepresented in the poor; women and girls represent the majority of the people being trafficked and involved in the sex trade.

Armed conflicts disproportionately affect women and subject women to domestic violence, rape and prostitution. Women are disproportionately affected by the structural violence of dislocation, poverty, and disease that armed conflict leaves in its wake (Peterson & Runyan 2010, p. 147). However attention to the impacts of armed conflict on women and girls has increased, and policies to acknowledge and highlight this have emerged (Sjöberg & Via 2010, p. 5). One example is the Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security (2000) (henceforth referred to as UNSCR 1325). The adoption of UNSCR 1325 was historic and unprecedented and marked the first time the Security Council addressed the differential impact conflict has on women and men. It is considered to be a groundbreaking achievement in putting women's rights and a gender perspective on the peace and security agenda of the UN (Tryggestad 2009, p. 539). The adoption of such a resolution represents both symbolic and actual progress in redressing gender inequities around the world. Nonetheless, armed conflict rages in the world, and women are still disproportionately affected by it (Sjöberg & Via 2010, p. 6). Furthermore, continued reports of sexual violence from conflict-affected areas, peacekeepers sexual misconduct in these areas, the lack of women in peace negotiations and post-conflict decision-making show that there are still huge gaps in achieving the aims of UNSCR 1325 (EPLO 2010, p. 9). Thus, scholars have begun to criticize the inefficiency of the resolution. The inefficiency has also been highlighted by the Security Council itself and has therefor urged member states to continue implement the resolution by adopting National Action Plans.

It is a puzzle to me why the situation of women in the world is not improving considerably even though resolutions such as UNSCR 1325 have been adopted. In this thesis I want to explore why this is the case. I will, through a discourse analysis and an ideal type analysis, analyze how National Action Plans perceive gender equality.

## 1.1 Research Purpose and Presentation of the Problem

Feminist scholars have argued that the disconnection between woman-friendly policies and results which affect women's lives is twofold. Firstly, although women are being included in different areas of global politics with greater frequency, their needs as women often remain unconsidered or ignored. In other words, women are being integrated into a world that remains defined and shaped by men's interests and needs. Secondly, attempts to better the situation of women often do not pay enough attention to the gendered nature of government and institutions that remain in place even when women are formally included (Sjöberg & Via 2010, p. 6). In this thesis I will investigate how National Action Plans include women, which will be done by investigating how gender and gender equality is perceived.

Gender mainstreaming is my theoretical point of departure. Gender mainstreaming is at the heart of UNSCR 1325 and is the major global strategy and the primary tool for promoting gender equality in (international) organizations. Furthermore, gender mainstreaming is the site around which global gender politics operate (Prügl & Lustgarten 2006, p. 54). Carol Lee Bacchi (2005a) points out the importance of interrogating the presuppositions behind the mainstreaming agenda and where these would lead. One way to do this is to examine models of implementation, and in these to interrogate meanings of gender and gender equality (Bacchi 2005a, p. 188). Therefore, I will analyze National Action Plans in order to investigate how gender equality is perceived. Gender mainstreaming, it can be argued, is part of a feminist agenda. This is due to the focus on gender equality. I am curious to explore what kind of feminist agenda may lie behind the national action plans. Thus, this thesis will address the National Action Plans on two levels; first I will analyze how the concepts of gender and gender equality are perceived in the action plans. This will be conducted through a discourse analysis. Second and in addition to the first, I will investigate what kind of feminist agenda and gender mainstreaming that may lie behind the action plans. I will conduct this investigation using ideal types of different approaches to gender mainstreaming, which are each informed by distinct feminist theories. The aim with the twofold analysis is to avoid the analysis ending up with only a descriptive scope. My assumption is that the gender equality discourse in the National Action Plans is formed by the particular gender mainstreaming approach and feminist theory.

My purpose of this thesis is to explore how gender and gender equality is perceived and analyze if these particular perceptions will have an affect on women's integration into a world defined by men's interests and needs, and if the perceptions questions the gendered nature of government and institutions. I think that this reflection, on how different perceptions of gender equality affects women lives, are important for future feminist discussions surrounding gender equality

and the strategies used to achieve it. Furthermore, the underlying aim with this thesis is an investigation of how to make the implementation of UNSCR 1325 more sufficient.

Reserch question:

*How is gender and gender equality perceived in the National Action Plans, and what social consequences might this have for womens lives?*

## 1.2 Reflections

This thesis rests on a social constructivist perspective. I don't believe that a researcher can obtain neutral, context-free knowledge which is why I instead believe that knowledge can only be obtained when using particular perspectives. The different perspectives produce different forms of context-bound, contingent knowledge rather than universal knowledge based on a neutral, context-free foundation. As will be noticed, this thesis rests on a multiperspectival research framework as I combine different theories and methods. This is due to my belief that combining different theories and methods, produce not a universal understanding but a broader, albeit contingent, understanding. Another ground for a multiperspectival research is that it suits critical research as the use of different perspectives demonstrates that the social world can be understood and constructed in various ways, thus pointing out that things could be different and opening up for the possibility for social change (Phillips & Jørgensen 2002, p. 155).

My choice of method rests on the argument of multiperspectival research. I have chosen to construct a discourse method influenced by the work of Lombardo and Meier (2008, 2006) and, Debusscher (2011). They interrogate gender mainstreaming and the presumptions behind the agenda through a critical frame analysis. Due to their focus on gender mainstreaming and their purpose of mapping out the presumptions behind it I found some of the parts of their method suitable for my discourse analysis. I complement their questions with my own questions, which I have extracted from theories on gender mainstreaming. I have done this with an argument that it is not only possible but also sometimes positively valued to combine discourse analysis with elements from other methods (Phillips & Jørgensen 2002, p. 4). In Carol Lee Bacchis' (2005b) article titled "Discourse, Discourse Everywhere: Subject "Agency" in Feminist Discourse Methodology" I found another argument for being influenced by critical frame analysis. In the article, Bacchi evaluates and problematizes feminist use of discourse, discourses and discursive and, amongst others, evaluate how two feminist have used critical frame theory in analyzing gender in policies. Bacchi contend that it is "[...] certainly possible to talk about how a discourse frames an issue[...]" (Bacchi 2005b, p. 203)

Since I have created my own type of method, both in terms of the discourse analysis and that I complement it with ideal type analysis, I found it crucial to investigate if this had been done before. I found a master thesis from

Lunds University written by Karin Edwardsson titled “Confronting Gender Equality: How gender equality is perceived in UN documents: A Comparison of poverty reduction and post-conflict security” (2012). Edwardsson has also complement the discourse analysis with ideal type analysis. However, she constructs the ideal type typology based only on feminist conception of gender equality, whereas I construct it with approaches to gender mainstreaming and feminist conceptualizations of gender equality. Edwardsson likewise uses similar questions as I to guide the discourse analysis. However, we differ in the way we conceptualize discourse analysis and discourse. Additionally, Edwardsson only uses questions used in critical frame analysis whereas I complement it with questions extracted from theories on gender mainstreaming. Also, the material of analysis is not the same.

Erika Svedberg and Annica Kronsell (2003) contend that intersubjectivity<sup>1</sup> in feminist research is elusive. They argue that ones pre-understanding on a subject and the person who you are will always affect how you theorize and explain a social phenomenon (Svedberg & Kronsell 2003, s. 59). I agree with Svedberg and Kronsell; I believe that the researcher’s choice of research question, method and approach is closely associated with the person. Therefore, a research and its results will never be independent from the researcher. However, I think that intersubjectivity should be the researchers goal. Thus, I want to highlight that my ambition is that this thesis is incused with transparency and clarity. Due to the space frame of this thesis I will only be able to quote some of the examples from my analysis. However, I am going to take the clearest example to exemplify the conclusions I am making. Thru explicit reference handling and clarity I am certain that the requirement of intersubjectivity is met.

---

<sup>1</sup> Intersubjectivity: research results should as far as possible always be independent of the researcher (Esaiasson m.fl. 2007, s. 24)

## 2 Context

In order to conceptualize my material I will in this section present a brief background to UNSCR 1325 and National Action Plans, and a short discussion on how feminists have theorized their shortcomings and/or success. I will also present a short overview of National Action Plans.

### 2.1 Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace, and Security (UNSCR 1325) (2000)

The United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security was adopted on the 31<sup>st</sup> of October, 2000. The adoption of the UNSCR 1325 was historic and unprecedented and marked the first time the Security Council addressed the differential impact conflict has on women and men (Peacewomen1). The resolution was not adopted in a vacuum; rather it was adopted in a particular context in UN affairs as well as international relations more generally. The adoption can be seen as part of an ongoing promotion of women's rights internally in the UN, but the campaign leading up to its adoption was most certainly influenced by external developments in international relations; a changed international security architecture, the changing nature of conflict, and the widening of the concept of security, together with the increasingly influential role of NGOs in international relations were all factors that contributed to the adoption of the UNSCR 1325 (Tryggestad 2009, p. 542-543).

To briefly summarize, UNSCR 1325 highlights the importance of bringing attention to gender perspectives in all United Nations conflict prevention and resolution, peace-building, peacekeeping, rehabilitation, and reconstructing efforts. The resolution calls for increased representation of women, particularly at decision-making levels. It calls for increased consultation with women and attention to the special needs of women and girls. It also emphasizes the respect for the human rights of women and girls, the need to draw attention to violence against women and girls, and put an end to impunity and the prosecution of those responsible for crimes related to sexual and other violence against women and girls. UNSCR 1325 requests that the UN incorporate gender perspectives in negotiation and implementation of peace agreements, in all peacekeeping operations, in refugee camps, and in disarmament, demobilization, and rehabilitation initiatives (Mazurana et al. 2005, p. 16. Furthermore, it stresses that a gender perspective should be adopted in the planning and implementation of peace operations and peace negotiations, including gender-sensitive training of personnel (Tryggestad 2009, p. 540).



Torunn L. Tryggestad argues that with the adoption of UNSCR 1325, a formal barrier was broken in terms of acknowledging a link between the promotion of women's rights and international peace and security. In other words, the barrier was removed between traditionally soft sociopolitical issues and hard security. (Tryggestad 2009, s. 541-542). As such, the UNSCR 1325 can be considered as a tool for mainstreaming gender into security discourse.

### 2.1.1 Feminist Theorizing of UNSCR 1325

Amongst feminist scholars the view on the resolution, and its related resolutions, success and/or shortcomings is somewhat divided. While some view it as a radical instrument for implementing a gender perspective in international security discourse, others criticize it for being too vague in its definitions. This in turn affects its efficiency (Tryggestad 2009, p. 540-542). Although UNSCR 1325 and its related resolutions 1820<sup>2</sup> has been adopted, women are still a minority when it comes to participation in peacebuilding and peacekeeping missions and women in general have limited influence in security issues on both local, national as well as international level (DPKO & DFS 2010, p. 16-17, Kronsell 2012, p. 141).

Feminist scholars have begun to question the impact the resolution has had in promoting gender equality within the security discourse. One of the problems that feminist inquiry have identified with translating women's empowerment and gender equality concerns into international policy is the dilution of these concepts in practice. Aisling Swaine (2009) states that the greatest challenge is an effective translation of the resolution into transformative policy and practice. She contends that this challenge has been compounded by the increasing use of gender as a synonym for "women". She also contends that the resolution fails to engage on the issue of "men" (Swaine 2009, p. 421-422). Additionally, Kronsell (2012) highlights the dilution of gender. Kronsell has studied the influence of UNSCR 1325 on post national defense<sup>3</sup> in general and military organizations in particular. She shows how gender in these organizations is in general interpreted as a "woman" question and argues that gender mainstreaming, and UNSCR 1325, has turned into a problem-solving rather than a critical tool (Kronsell 2102, p. 140-141).

---

<sup>2</sup> UNSCR 1820 was adopted in June 2008 to address the issue of widespread sexual violence in conflict, either when used systematically to achieve military or political ends, or when opportunistic and arising from cultures of impunity. Resolution 1820 identifies sexual violence as a matter of international peace and security that necessitates a security response, by recognizing that such acts can exacerbate situations of armed conflict and can impede the restoration of peace and security (UN Women).

<sup>3</sup> Postnational defense is one that pays less attention to the defense of the territory and more to the security situation outside its borders, often in cooperation with other states (Kronsell 2012, p. 3)

## 2.2 National Action Plans

Member states, multilateral security institutions, and the Security Council are the primary stakeholders responsible for implementing UNSCR 1325. Following up the implementation of the UNSCR 1325 the Security Council calls upon member states, in presidential statements SR/PRST/2004/40 and SR/PRST/2005/25, to continue to implement the resolution. This includes development of national action plans or other national level strategies (IANWGE). National action plans, indicators and monitoring mechanisms are proclaimed to be possible solutions to the current deficit in the implementation of the resolution (Swaine 2009, p. 404). National action plans are a way of ensuring implementation of the resolution and are regarded as practical means through which states can demonstrate the steps they have taken through their obligation under UNSCR 1325 (Swaine 2009, p. 404, 411).

# 3 Theoretical Framework

## 3.1 Definition of Gender and Gender Analysis

Gender refers to the dichotomous and hierarchical relationship between the social constructions of masculinity and femininity. As a concept, gender problematizes the essential and biological understanding of sex. The perceptions of gender create a hierarchical relationship between femininity and masculinity because characteristics associated with masculinity are, on a structural level, superior to characteristics associated with femininity (Sjöberg & Via 2010, 3).

Peterson and Runyan (2011) argue that it is important to recognize that gender is not only an empirical category or variable, rather it is an analytical category and a governing code. To rethink gender requires an acknowledgement of the constitutive power of language. Using gender as an analytical tool will redirect the attention from adding women and deploying sex as a variable, to analyzing gender as a category of mental ordering that produces masculinity and femininity in hierarchical power relations (Peterson & Runyan 2011, p. 82). Thus, gender analysis includes challenging both the biologically determinist assumption that gender identities and roles arise from natural sex difference, but also the notion that sex difference itself is natural and dualistic. Furthermore, gender analysis questions the assumptions of a world made up only of "females" and "males", "girls" and "boys", "men" and "women". Hence, the concept of gender refers to both the socially constructed categories of "men" and masculinity, and the socially constructed categories of "women" and femininity. When analyzing the National Action Plans I will therefore seek out if the plans use gender as an empirical category or as an analytical tool.

## 3.2 Gender Mainstreaming

### 3.2.1 The Origin and Definition of Gender Mainstreaming

Gender mainstreaming was established as the major global strategy for the promotion of gender equality in a document called Beijing Platform for Action, which was adopted at the Fourth United Nations World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995 (United Nations, 2002). Peterson and Runyan (2006) define gender mainstreaming as referring to "integrating the principle of gender equality into any (inter)governmental policy (not just those associated with so-called women's issues, such as family and violence against women) to ensure that in

practice it does not, wittingly or unwittingly, increase or sustain inequalities between women and men” (Peterson & Runyan 2010, p. 16). Furthermore, gender mainstreaming is considered to be the primary tool used for advancing gender equality in international organizations (Prügl & Lustgarten 2006, p. 53). It takes a wide view of the causes of inequality, and hence the possible solutions. While previous strategies on preventing inequality were generally confined to particular areas of activity (such as economy), mainstreaming demands that gender issues be considered in all policy-making (Beveridge & Nott 2002, p. 305). ECOSOC (UN Economic and Social Council) has stated that, “the ultimate goal of gender mainstreaming is to achieve gender equality” (Prügl & Lustgarten 2006, p. 55). The pursuit of gender mainstreaming strategies can be understood as an exercise of policy framing, which in the case of gender mainstreaming means that the frame is enlarged in order to take in a wider view of causes of inequality instead of what equal opportunity and positive discrimination might suggest (Beveridge & Nott 2002, p. 305). By focusing on gender equality, mainstreaming strategies can be viewed as a strategy of bringing feminist theory into law and policy (Beveridge & Nott 2002, p. 306). Because gender mainstreaming is considered to be the primary tool for advancing gender equality in international organizations, I find it crucial to explore how gender equality is perceived in such a policy, hence National Action Plans.

### 3.2.2 Feminists and Gender Mainstreaming: Complications

Sari Kuovo (2005) argues that mainstreaming strategies pose difficulties because they consist of moving an issue into a framework from which it has previously been excluded, thus allowing it to be integrated into or transform that same framework. As a result, gender mainstreaming strategies have at their best a two-fold aim: moving issues from the margins to the mainstream, and allowing these issues to have a transformative impact on the mainstream. In this case, the mainstream includes, for example, high level decision-making bodies within an institution (Kuovo 2005, p. 249). However, these two aims are not always recognized as being connected in an elaborate way. Thus, within the literature on gender mainstreaming there is a distinction made between *integrative*, *agenda-setting* or *transformative* mainstreaming approaches.

The integrative approach includes moving a certain issue, such as gender or human rights, into a pre-existing framework. Agenda setting or transformative mainstreaming includes reorientation and transformation of a whole agenda (Kuovo 2005, p. 250). Further on Kuovo indicates the tendency within the UN of an integrative approach to mainstreaming, which implies moving issues from the margins. Additionally, an integrative mainstream strategy may give the appearance of successful mainstreaming – and of a system that takes gender issues seriously – but this is achieved without insisting on transformation or on thorough changes within the system (Kuovo 2005, p. 251). Furthermore, Beveridge and Nott (2002) highlight the importance of a transformative approach in gender mainstreaming strategies, and argue that only a transformative agenda can

adequately address the pathology of inequality because it requires a change on many fronts: “in decision-making structures and processes, in articulation of objectives, in prioritization of strategies, in positioning of gender issues admits competing, emerging concerns, and in building a mass base of support among both men and women” (Jahan, quoted by Beveridge & Nott 2002, p. 300).

Emanuela Lombaro and Petra Meier (2006) have studied gender mainstreaming in the EU and likewise highlight the agenda-setting and transformative approach to gender mainstreaming as having the potential to challenge gender roles, structures and policies (Lombaro & Maier 2002, p. 151-152). These three approaches presented above will serve as a tool when constructing the typology for the ideal type analysis. Although, these will not be prominent instead they will organize the ideal types, thus making it clearer what each of the types contain.

As stated before, gender should be used as an analytical tool rather than a describing concept. Carol Lee Bacchi (2005) has done studies on gender mainstreaming and points to the importance of not using gender as a descriptive concept in such policies. Bacchi argues that a descriptive use of gender does not address the “relational aspects of gender, of power and ideology, and how patterns of subordination are reproduced” (Baden and Goetz quoted by Bacchi 2005, p. 188). The use of gender as a descriptive concept entails a focus on existing differences, which in turn does not tell us anything about how these differences come to be. As a result, the goal becomes evening out the impact of a range of policies rather than interrogating their premises. Bacchi argues that this use of gender in analyzing inequality encourages us to think that women will be liberated when they face the same conditions as men, which in turn indicates men’s experiences as continuously being considered the norm (Bacchi 2005, p. 189). Additionally, Aisling Swaine (2009) argues that a common assumption is that women’s inequality is removed when they participate equally in decision-making. However, this is only part of the problem since this interpretation of equality ignores underlying structures and power relations that contribute to the oppression of women and fails to take into account the inherent structural biases that remains undisturbed when only “adding” women into the process (Swaine 2009, p. 421). When I analyze the National Action Plans I will investigate if gender is used as a descriptive concept or, and if, there is a tendency of “adding” women. This in turn will help analyze if women are included into a world defined and shaped by men’s interests and needs.

Aisling Swaine has in her article titled “Assessing The Potential of National Action Plans to Advance Implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325” (2009) interrogated National Action Plans potential of advancing implementation of UNSCR 1325. She also relates the action plans to gender mainstreaming and points to some difficulties, which will sustain the insufficiency of the implementation of UNSCR 1325. One is that some states, particularly Western states, only view their obligation under UNSCR 1325 as relevant in ‘other’ geographical locations (eternal activities). However, as leading scholars have observed, Resolution 1325 is applicable everywhere and is not just about “saving or protecting third world women”. (Swaine 2009, p. 426). In the

analysis I will therefore find it crucial to investigate if the National Action Plans only view their obligation under UNSCR 1325 as relevant in other territories because if the efficiency in implementation is to increase, countries must view their obligation under UNSCR as relevant to their internal activities as well.

### 3.3 Feminist Perspectives on Gender Equality

Feminism is not a unified theory rather it is a multifaceted and diverse collection of ideas and orientations. However, all feminists share a common commitment to investigating gendered inequalities and to improving the conditions of women's lives (Peterson & Runyan 2011, p. 80). Common to all feminist theories is the belief that women are subordinate to men because of a patriarchal gender power-order. They do however differ in opinion about the causes of subordination and also how to defeat it. Different feminist perspectives therefore provide diverse meanings of gender equality, hence also the purpose of gender mainstreaming (Tickner 2011, p 266-267). I am aware that most feminists are not easily put under one label, the lines of difference and alliances shift over time and place. However, the differences between them are important for thinking about gender, and about strategies necessary to overcome gender inequality or oppression (Pettman 2005, p. 673).

To be able to reflect on the possible feminist ideas that underlie the National Action Plans, I will in this section present a short overview of the theoretical standpoints on gender equality and gender mainstreaming of the major feminist theoretical perspectives in international relations. This section will later be used as a framework for the upcoming construction of a typology on gender equality ideals and different gender mainstreaming strategies, which will serve as an analytical tool in the analysis. Considering the many different feminist perspectives that exist, I find it crucial to explain that the different positions I present here are the ones I have been able to extract from the literature on gender mainstreaming. However, due to the limited space frame of the thesis I had to limit the feminist perspectives to four, leaving out for example feminist constructivism and marxist/socialist feminism.

Defined very broadly, liberal feminists are equality feminists, seeking an end to women's marginalization from or under-representation in office, power, and employment (Pettman 2005, p. 673). Moreover, liberal feminists argue that gender equality can be achieved by removing legal and other obstacles that have denied women the same rights and opportunities as men. Thus, a liberal feminist would argue that the purpose of gender mainstreaming is to make sure that women have equal access and can participate on the same conditions as men. Liberal feminists usually use the concept of gender as an empirical category – in affect, as a reference to embodied sex difference (Peterson & Runyan 2011, p. 81). Other feminists are critical of liberal feminists because of their way of seeking equality in masculine institutions on men's terms (Pettman 2005, p. 673), but also because

there is evidence that gender inequalities continue to exist in societies that have for long achieved formal legal equality (Tickner 2011, p. 266).

Cultural feminists argue that women and men are different because they possess different interests and characteristics. A cultural feminist would argue that gender equality in world politics is important because “female values” such as passivity, caring and negotiation are exactly what world politics needs. (Pettman 2005, p. 273). Cultural feminists would argue that the purpose of gender mainstreaming should be to focus on the participation of women through different programs specifically concerning women’s interest and perspectives (Peterson & Runyan 2011, p. 234).

Feminist poststructuralism in general reject essentialized categories, unitary meanings, sovereign claims and universalizing solutions. Moreover feminist poststructuralists criticize the residual essentialism that haunts references to “women” and other “identity based” groups, rendering them homogeneous, undifferentiated wholes, and erasing hierarchies within as well as across all groups (Peterson & Runyan 2010, p. 82). Feminist poststructuralists point out that men have generally been seen as the knowers and that what has been counted as knowledge has generally been based on man’s lives in the public (Tickner, 2011, p. 267). As such, poststructural feminist criticize binary use of gender because it sustains status quo in inequality and would argue that gender inequality is best fought when gender is used as an analytical tool (Peterson & Runyan 2010, p. 73, 82).

Postcolonial feminism uses the interactions of gender with other identity markers and power relations of race, class, nationality and sexuality to analyze inequalities (intersectional analysis). Furthermore these interactions provide a more complicated picture of social orders. They enables to see how the concept of gender equality is manipulated to privilege some women over other women and some men over other men with the result being a general continuation of unjust social orders and political and economic relations. (Peterson & Runyan 2010, p. 23-24) Postcolonial feminism draws attention to the economic, political and social cultural forces that are dominated by men and deployed to discipline women (Peterson & Runyan 2010, p. 82-83). As such, gender equality cannot be reached by only focusing on “men” and “women”, means to achieve gender equality must take into account other forms of identity markers that works to discriminate.

## 4 Methodology

Feminist International Relations scholars see discourse analysis as especially productive when studying up, which means dealing with elite or privilege actors. This is because how these actors limit access to researchers engage in critical scholarship and how they mystify their power through bureaucratic language. Thus, discourse analysis is an important tool because it enables reading between the lines and catching how the powerful consistently represent reality in certain ways to justify their policies and actions (Peterson & Runyan 2010, p. 84). Therefore, my main method is discourse analysis.

### 4.1 Discourse Analysis

Discourse is a contested concept, which makes it hard to define; as many discourse theorists would concur with (Phillips & Jørgensen 2002, p. 1, Neumann 2003, p. 15-17). Phillips and Jørgensen state that common to most discourse analysis approaches is the definition: “the fixation of meaning within a particular domain” (Phillips & Jørgensen 2002, p. 141). However, this definition of discourse to me seems apolitical. As Bacchi (2005b) states “ [...]discourse is not only ways of talking about an issue[...].” Before defining discourse, I will start by discussing discourse analysis. Following my definition of discourse analysis, I will define how discourse will be used through out this thesis.

One definition of discourse analysis focuses on analyzing the processes that tie characters to a certain significance (Bergström & Boréus 2005, s. 316). Thus, the purpose of discourse analysis is to analyze how a certain discourse gives meaning to concepts. Regardless of the orientation of discourse analysis, it always has a distinct way of looking at language and language use – language does not reproduce reality in a direct or easy way, rather it contributes to shape the reality (Bergström & Boréus 2005, p. 305).

Furthermore, discourse analysis does not view language and language use as instruments for neutral communication. Language is a social activity and so discourse analysis denounces that language can represent a given reality (Bergström & Boréus 2005, p. 326). Discourse analysis is a study of social phenomena, where the language is the primary focus. Discourse analysis is also related to power and different types of power structures; because of the way language sets the boundaries of our way of thinking and acting (Bergström & Boréus 2005, p. 206). Different interpretations of reality form the basis of our knowledge. The main focus of power is to be able to get certain knowledge acknowledged as the right (Bergström & Boréus 2005, p. 327). Furthermore, the



aim of discourse analysis is to investigate how the world (or aspects of it) is ascribed meaning discursively and what social consequences this has. The starting point is that by representing reality in one particular way instead of other possible ways, the discourses constitute subjects and objects in particular ways, create boundaries between the true and the false, and make certain types of actions relevant and others unthinkable. It is in this sense that discourse is constitutive of social practices and reality. Although not all discourse analysts agree on the extent to which discourses alone constitute reality, all approaches agree that discursive accounts of reality are important and have social consequences (Phillips & Jørgensen 2002, p. 145).

How gender and gender equality is interpreted in the national action plans can, with a discourse analysis approach, be understood from a broader perspective. For example, if gender is described and used as a synonym for biological sex it is possible to conclude that the transformative potential of the concept is lost in practice. Additionally, the specific interpretation of gender equality will also have consequences for how gender equality is perceived and acted upon in practice.

The definition of discourse that was quoted in the introductory: “the fixation of meaning within a particular domain” is now more political. The very fixations are, as I interpret it, politics and power in it self.

## 4.2 Operationalization and Analytical Tools

Carol Lee Bacchi (2005b) highlight two central analytical traditions in discourse theory; discourse analysis and analysis of discourses. The first tradition, discourse analysis, focuses on “the linguistic and rhetorical devices” used in the constructions of a text. Additionally, this tradition focuses on patterns of speech. Thus, in this tradition the term discourse means something very close to language. In the second tradition, analysis of discourses, the goal is to identify, within a text, institutionally supported and culturally influenced interpretive and conceptual schemas (discourses) that produce particular understandings of issues and events, thus influences the understanding of an issue (Bacchi 2005b, p. 199). Moreover, the second tradition has its goal of interrogating those premises, and showing how they operate to delimit an issue in specific ways (Bacchi 2005b, p. 202). The discourse analysis used in this thesis is situated within the second tradition. The aim with my discourse analysis is thus to investigate how the National Action Plans are producing particular understanding of gender equality, and how they operate to delimit gender equality in specific ways. Thus, the use of discourse as “the fixation of meaning within a particular domain” is useful.

In their articles Lombardo & Meier (2006, 2008) and Debusscher (2011) interrogate gender mainstreaming and the presumptions behind the agenda through a critical frame analysis. Due to their focus on gender mainstreaming and their purpose of mapping out the presumptions behind it I found some of the parts of their method suitable for my discourse analysis. In the analysis they look for certain indicators to extract the perception of gender equality. I will use their

indicators combined with the theoretical framework on gender mainstreaming to analyze the national action plans. The indicators I will look for are:

- How women and men are defined in the text;
- Which words, characteristics and attributes they are described with;
- What kind of gender issues that are identified as problems;
- What kind of solutions are suggested,
- and are women and men included in both the problem and solution;
- Is gender used as a descriptive concept or an analytical tool (is there a focus on existing differences);
- Are the gender issues identified as problems situated within or outside the national borders

I am using the questions with the intention of trying to understand how equality is perceived within the action plans. The first two indicators are important to see if there are any differences in how men and women are portrayed, and if so how. I will be able to find out if there is a binary thought surrounding gender. Looking at which gender issues are considered a problem whilst at the same time examining the solution to these problems and how men and women are portrayed within them, will help me in understanding if the plans allow for a more expansive reconfiguration of the system and structures or if the solution is that women have to participate more (see Bacchi in theoretical framework). The last indicator aids me in seeing if the action plans mainly see their obligations under UNSCR 1325 as related to their external activities, which in turn tells something about if gender equality is viewed as problems only in “other countries” or in internal activities as well (see Swaine in theoretical framework).

#### 4.2.1 Gender Equality and Gender Mainstreaming typology

In order to achieve an adequate line of argument I have chosen to construct a typology based on different conceptions of gender mainstreaming. The idea of the typology is to categorize different approaches to gender mainstreaming that are each informed by distinct feminist theoretical frameworks. These in turn have diverse perceptions of gender equality and how to achieve it (as presented in the theoretical framework). Because gender equality and gender mainstreaming are contested concepts, I find it useful to complement my discourse analysis with the typology. The typology should be interpreted as an analytical tool, which is used with an argument that the reality (conceptions of gender equality and gender mainstreaming) is too complex to which the typology is used to simplify this reality. Furthermore, the ideal type analysis, works as a filter and an interpretative frame to categorize the material (Bergström & Boréus 2005, p. 159).

An ideal type is a conceptual construction that aims to capture essential features of a certain perspective. Constructing an ideal type of a perspective implies refining the ideas that distinguish it which in turn clarifies and sums up its meaning (Beckman 2005, p. 28). An ideal type sums up and concretizes a perspective. However, the ideal type is just what it is implying; an ideal. Thus, it

is important to highlight that the exact equivalent cannot be found in the reality (Bergström & Boréus 2005, p. 159).

The different strategies of gender mainstreaming have been compressed into three categories, which have been borrowed from both Judith Squires article titled “Is Gender Mainstreaming Transformative? Theorizing Mainstreaming in the Context of Diversity and Deliberation” (2005), Sylvia Walby’s article titled “Gender mainstreaming: Productive Tensions in Theory and Practice” (2005), and Mike Veerlos (2005) article titled “Displacement and Empowerment: Reflections on the Concept and Practice of the Council of Europe Approach to Gender Mainstreaming and Gender Equality”. The authors distinguish three analytical ways of conceptualizing gender mainstreaming which are each informed by three distinct feminist theoretical frameworks; *Inclusion*, *reversal*, and *displacement*. Inclusion includes those gender-mainstreaming agendas that adopt equality politics. Hence, this ideal type is informed by liberal feminism. The ideal type of Inclusion therefore view equality as a matter of equality between two sexes (men and women). The strategy to achieve gender equality is by equal opportunities and equal treatment. This ideal type is connected to the integrationist approach (see theoretical framework) to gender mainstreaming (Squires 2005, p. 368, Walby 2005, p. 325-326).

The second ideal type is informed by cultural feminism and starts from the assumption of gender differences. As such, Reversal includes those mainstreaming agendas that adopt “difference politics” (special programs directed to a disadvantage group, usually women), and to seek recognition of a specific female gendered identity. Moreover, the strategy to achieve gender equality is a reconfiguration of current politics so it become more open to gender female specificities. This ideal type is connected to the agenda-setting approach (see theoretical framework) to gender mainstreaming (Squires 2005, p. 368, Walby 2005, p. 326, Veerlo 2005, p. 346).

The third ideal type, Displacement, is rooted in postmodern feminism and postcolonial feminism. As such, this ideal type is characterized by the will of transforming a whole agenda, instead of just adding women into already existing gendered systems. Furthermore, Displacement seeks to displace patriarchal gender hierarchies and to deconstruct discursive regimes that engender the subject. What is problematized is not (only) the exclusion of women, or men as a norm, but the gendered world in itself. This ideal type is closely connected to the transformative approach (see theoretical framework) to gender mainstreaming (Verloo 2005, p. 346, Squires 2005, p. 368).

Each of these categories contains both a vision and a strategy (Walby 2005, p. 326). Thus, by using these categories, I will be able to not only say something about which feminism perspective, hence view of equality, that can be extracted from the national action plans, but also what kind of gender mainstreaming strategy that is in practice. I have used the ideal analysis with an aim of broadening my results and to avoid the analysis ending up with only a descriptive scope.

When conducting the ideal type analysis I will look for the specific indicators from each ideal type in the material. The material will then be analyzed in relation

to the ideal types in order to say something about what gender mainstreaming approach and feminist perspective on gender equality that can be extracted from the national action plans (Beckman 2005, p. 28). My assumption is that all three ideal types can be found in the material. However, I think it will be possible to extract a dominant ideal type in the action plans.

### 4.3 Material

I will analyze both Sweden's and the United States of Americas (USA) National Action Plans. My first intention was to analyze three action plans but due to the limited space frame of the thesis I had to delimit the material to two. This is also the case because I wanted the analysis to be as deep going and thorough as possible. I chose Sweden and USA mainly because they were the action plans recently updated. The Swedish National Action Plan was adopted in 2009 and USA:s in 2011.

# 5 Analysis

## 5.1 United States of America

### 5.1.1 Discourse Analysis

In the introduction the USA:s National Action Plan defines what is meant by gender integration (gender mainstreaming): "Gender integration involves identifying and addressing, in all our policies and programs, gender differences and inequalities, as well as the role of women and men. The goal of gender integration or "mainstreaming" is to promote gender equality and improve programming and policy outcomes" (USA 2011, p. 1). The goal of gender mainstreaming is, according to the action plan, to promote gender equality by identifying and addressing gender differences and inequalities, and the roles of women and men. In this way the plan focuses on existing differences, because it does not mention that the causes of these gender inequalities will be analyzed after being identified and addressed. When leaving out the analysis of why these inequalities exist in the first place, a crucial part of gender mainstreaming is left out. The structures that exclude and discriminate women are left unnoticed and therefor probably intact even though women are to be formally included.

A gender issue identified as a problem in the action plan was that women are not included as equal participants in conflict resolution (USA 2011, p. 3, 5). To illustrate, the action plan states "women [...] are routinely overlooked at the negotiating table" (USA 2011, p. 5). Furthermore, the solutions to this problem mainly include women. For example, "inclusion" and "participation" of women are the most frequently used phrases when the plan is arguing for the solution to the problem of women being excluded from peace processes. In the eleven actions meant to improve gender equity in peace processes men are only mentioned once: "mobilize men as allies in support of women's leadership and participation in security-related processes and decision-making". Again, the structures that have excluded women from peace processes in the first place are not questioned. Here the action plans clearly use gender as a describing concept due to the focus on existing differences. Since there is no analysis of how these differences have come to be, the solutions entail a focus on women's inclusion and participation. This in turn means that women are included and asked to participate in structures that are defined by a masculine norm. However, what is interesting to note is that in the solution women are not treated as a homogenous group. The plan clearly states that minorities and historically marginalized women also are to be included in the solution (see USA 2011, p. 14-15).

The general line in USA's National Action Plan was that basically all gender issues identified as problems was situated within external affairs. The action plan states that "deadly conflicts can be best forged and sustained, when women become equal partners in all aspects of peace-building and conflict prevention, when their lives are protected, their experiences considered, and their voices heard". There is an opening here to include internal affairs, that women in USA's peacekeeping operations will be heard, their experiences considered and so fourth. However, in the rest of the action plan women and gender equality within internal affairs is never mentioned (see "National Objectives and Actions Framework", USA 2011, p. 12). The most illustrative example is when the plan frames the action of "Strengthening Women's Participation in Security Forces and Peacekeeping Operations" (USA 2011, p. 17). When framing this action the plan only talks about strengthening women's participation in other countries. For example "[...]increase women's participation in security forces in order to prevent conflict and build peace in areas affected by war, violence, and insecurity" (USA 2011, p.17). In the example above there is also an opening of including internal affairs however, the examples given of the actions taken to improve women's participation only include programs that have been operated in other countries (USA 2011 p. 17). The action plan does not identify any gender issues within its own peacekeeping operations.

When the plan frames the gender issue of sexual and gender-based violence men are included in the solution - "[...] programs that engage men and boys in challenging norms and practices that contribute to rape and domestic violence in their communities" (USA 2011, p. 7, 19). What is questioned here is not only the behavior of men but societal norms as well. Furthermore, in the solution the action is not only made of protecting women but also to question and transform societal norms. Here, gender has been used as an analytical tool, informing that norms contribute to the violence against women, which in turn framed the action to target not only women but men and the gendered nature of reality as well. However, what is missing in the framing of the problem and solution is the questioning of the internal activities. In the solutions of gender based violence the own peacekeeping forces are not included.

### 5.1.2 Ideal Type Analysis

The three ideal types could all be identified within the plan. However, the most common ideal type was Reversal in how most parts of the action plan was talking of women and also defining special programs directed to improve women's lives (see USA 2011, p. 3, 10, 17). Under the Chapter "The Case for Women in Peace and Security" the action plan devotes two pages to explain how women are crucial to conflict resolution. This is a clear example of Reversal since these pages clearly seek recognition of a female gendered identity. To illustrate my argument: "When included as meaningful participants, women enlarge the scope of agreement to include the broader set of critical societal priorities and needs required for lasting and long just peace" (USA 2011, p. 3). The "women" perspective is thus

important to the action plan, which clearly shows a Reversal approach to gender mainstreaming which is informed by a cultural feminist perspective. However, what is interesting to note is the connection between a strategy of Reversal together with the most often undefined use of “gender”, “gender analysis”, and “gender perspective” (see USA 2011, p. 4, 8, 12, 13). In this way “gender”, “gender analysis”, and “gender perspective” gets equated with women.

However, the Inclusion ideal type was also occurring in several places :“[...] tools are helping ensure programs reduce gender disparities and promote equal access for women and men to, political economic, and social resources and opportunities” (USA 2011, p. 4). Furthermore phrases as “equal access” “equal partners” “equal opportunities” (see USA 2011, p 1, 3, 9) was frequently used, which is a clear example of the Inclusion ideal type which is informed by liberal feminism.

As shown in the discourse analysis there was an example where the plan questioned societal norms. This shows that the Displacement ideal type can be found in the action plan as well. Furthermore, the plan does not treat women as a homogenous group. To illustrate: ”support the participation and leadership roles of women from all backgrounds, including minorities and women with disabilities, in peace negotiations” (USA 2011, p. 14). Here, the action plan is informed by postcolonial and poststructuralist feminism as it suggests that the category “women” sometimes works to exclude “other” women and that women cannot be grouped into one category.

## 5.2 Sweden

### 5.2.1 Discourse Analysis

One gender issue identified as a problem in the Swedish National Action Plan is that there are too few women in peace-support and security-building operations (Sweden 2009, p. 9). As such the plan states that one goal with the plan is to achieve ”a considerably larger proportion of women to participate in international peace-support operations” (ibid.). The actions that the action plan then frames to achieve this goal is mainly in terms of recruiting women into these operations (see Sweden 2009, p. 11-13). An analysis of why women have been a great minority in these operations earlier is not conducted. When analyzing the framing of the problem and comparing it with the solutions, I conclude that the Swedish action plan is using gender as a descriptive concept. In eight of the fourteen suggested solutions phrases as these occur: “[...] agencies concerned are to ensure that the aim of having a considerable larger proportion of women at all levels [...] is prioritized [...]”, and “[...] there is to be equal participation of women and men” (Sweden 2009, p. 11), and “[...] aim to achieve a gender balance in the recruitment and nomination of personnel” (Sweden 2009, p. 11-12). In the articulation of the solutions to the problem men and women are treated as binary categories. Women’s participation is compared to that of men, with the solution

ending up in terms of equal access, opportunities and treatment. Thus, the structure that has excluded women in the first place is not questioned which indicates that men's experiences are to be continuously considered as the norm.

Another gender issue framed as a problem was the vulnerability of women and girls in conflict situations. One solution suggested to this problem is that "the increased participation of women and respect for women's enjoyment of their human rights can help prevent gender-related violence, such as men's violence against women and girls, in a broader perspective" (Sweden 2009, p. 13). Men's violence is questioned here, however the structural biases leading to the violence is not. Thus, men are not fully part of the solution to the problem, instead the solution is that women are to participate more and that the respect of women's rights is to increase. This has consequences for thinking about who gender equality concerns. In the framing of this problem and solution it seems to be first and foremost a concern of women. This can further be traced in the identified gender issue of that "women in conflict areas to participate fully and on equal terms with men [...]" (Sweden 2009, p. 14) and in the solutions that are to achieve it. There is no analysis of why women have not been able to participate earlier and in one solution the plan states that to improve the participation of women "support for women's participation in peace processes and reconstruction, education for women and ensuring that women are also able to benefit from loans and credit" (Sweden 2009, p. 18).

When I looked at how women and men were defined in the texts a general line was to treat women as a homogenous category. One example of this is: "[...] women's skills are not utilized to maintain peace and security" (Sweden 2009, p. 4). Furthermore the action plan states that "Women in conflict areas to participate fully and on equal terms with men at all levels in mechanisms and institutions for conflict prevention, crisis management, peace-building, humanitarian operations [...]" (Sweden 2009, p. 14). And in the solutions suggested to improve the participation of women in conflict areas women are treated as a homogenous group (see Sweden 2009, p. 14-15). There is no mention of other identity markers, such as class, race, nationality, sexuality that may influence why women are not able to participate.

The action plan does not only view the obligation under UNSCR as only related to activities in "other" territories. The plan clearly states that, "One precondition for Sweden to be able to work for the implementation of Resolution 1325 in regional and global organizations is that the resolution is fully implemented at national level" (Sweden 2009, p. 10).

The general line in the Swedish National Action Plan was that women were treated as a homogenous group but also that gender was used as a descriptive concept. The Swedish National Action Plan seems to perceive gender equality as a measurable outcome, which is when women participate on equal terms as men. However, the structures that have excluded women in the first place are not questioned.



## 5.2.2 Ideal Type Analysis

Even in the Swedish National Action Plan all three of the ideal types could be found. However, the most prominent ideal type was Inclusion. This is due to the frequently used of phrases of “The full and equal participation of women” (Sweden 2009, p. 1, 11) and “Women in conflict areas to participate fully and on equal terms with men”(Sweden 2009, p. 9, 12, 14). Furthermore, in almost all solutions to the identified gender issues the participation of women is highlighted (see discourse analysis). This is a clear example that the Swedish National Action Plan is informed by a liberal feminist perspective. In the “Objectives and Focus Swedish Action” the plan states that it has three general aims. Two of these aims are clearly informed by a liberal feminist perspective, hence also an example of Inclusion. For example, the first aim includes that a larger proportion of women are to participate in international peace-support and security-building operations and the third “women in conflict areas to participate fully and on equal terms with men [...] (Sweden 2009, p. 9), and when analyzing the actions that are to achieve this they mainly focus on “equal opportunities” and “equal access” and to recruit and nominate women into higher levels of decision making (see Sweden 2009, p. 19-22), which leads me to conclude that the action plan is informed by a liberal feminist perspective.

However, I found one clear example of the Displacement approach to gender mainstreaming. To illustrate, one problem identified within the action plan was that “the proportion of women in civilian and military crisis management operations must increase, not least in the ESDP, and there must be more women at higher levels” (Sweden 2009, p. 7). Although there were several solutions that were examples of an Inclusion ideal type (see Sweden 2009, p. 16-17) one was clearly an example of Displacement: “efforts to increase the number of women should be based on [...] analysis of the causes of the current distribution of women and men in the ESDP operations” (Sweden 2009, p. 16). As such, the action plan informs that there are structural biases that operate to exclude women, leading the solution to include an analysis based on a reconfiguration of the system. Thus, this solution is an example of the Displacement ideal type as it does not seek to include women in a gendered institution, what is required is instead to deconstruct and analyze the system that in the first place excluded women. Also, in this way gender is used as an analytical tool.

## 6 Conclusion

The aim with this thesis was to investigate how National Action Plans include women, by analyzing how they perceive gender equality. Furthermore, the intention was to see if the National Action Plans are including women into a world that remains defined by men's interests and needs or if the gendered structure of institutions, reality and organizations that earlier have excluded them, is questioned. By using discourse analysis as my main method I was not only able to read between the lines to see how gender and gender equality was interpreted in the action plans, but also to draw conclusions of what social consequences these interpretations might have.

What was evident in the Swedish National Action Plan was that the use of gender as a describing concept, the focus on existing differences, and treating women as homogenous group were closely connected to the Inclusion ideal type. And these factors point to that it was informed by liberal feminism. What can be expected from the Swedish National Action Plan is maybe to see more women in higher levels on decision-making, more women in militaries, and legislation and policies that is creating equal access and opportunities for men and women. But, women will be recruited into institutions where institutional norms and structures are not questioned. Thus, the structural biases that earlier has excluded women will probably remain. Therefor, I want to highlight the "maybe" of higher levels of women in decision-making and militaries. The Swedish action plan may give the appearance of successful gender mainstreaming, but this is done mainly in terms of including women into institutions that earlier has excluded them. This was also the case with the USA:s National Action Plan. Furthermore, since the Swedish action plan talks of women as a homogenous group, thus leaving out an intersectional analysis of gender equality, I argue that the programs and solutions to improve gender equality only will affect some women. I think it is important to acknowledge that women are not a homogenous group in National Action Plans, to make the implementation of UNSCR 1325 more sufficient. The USA:s National Action Plan did acknowledge that women are not a homogenous group and highlighted that women from minorities or historically marginalized groups also need to be acknowledged. The social consequences of this is there will be an awareness of different types of power structures, which in turn might lead to that all women will benefit from the work of UNSCR 1325.

There was also an example of using gender as an analytical tool which in turn leading the action plan to questioning societal norms, and therefor framing an action where men and the gendered nature of reality were targeted. What the USA:s National Action Plan proves is that using gender as analytical tool will redirect the attention from only "adding" women and deploying gender as variable to question the very gendered nature that in the first place discriminate women,

and therefor frame transformative actions in the solutions. Thus, I think it is important that an action plan frames transformative actions if the sufficiency of UNSCR 1325 is to improve. The most prominent general line in the USA:s action plan was that it did only identify gender issues in “other” territories, there was a clear focus on “the other women”. The social consequence of this is that gender inequality only is viewed as a problem in other countries, leaving the inequalities that exist in internal affairs intact. If the sufficiency of UNSCR 1325 is to improve I think that National Action Plans must identify and solve gender issues within internal affairs as well.

In summation, to perceive gender equality as “equal access” or “equal opportunities” will include women into a world that will remain defined and shaped by men’s interests and needs. This understanding of equality is also informed by a use of gender as a describing concept and not an analytical tool. What then prevails is that a liberal feminism perspective cannot, in a sufficient and exhaustive way, achieve gender equality. The Inclusion approach to gender mainstreaming should therefor be avoided. When gender is used as an analytical tool different aspects of gender equality is highlighted which question not only women and men, but rather the gendered reality as such, thus creating an opening of a transformation of the norms that discriminate and exclude women.

I was intrigued by the fact that the USA:s National Action Plan did not frame any gender issues in internal affairs at all. For future research I think an assessment of what that entails would be interesting. As Swaine stated, this is most common among Western states and therefor I think that a more thorough postcolonial feminist analysis of what it mean would be interesting and important.

## 7 References

- Anderson, Stephanie, 2010. "From Soft to Hard Power" in Laura Sjöberg & Sandra Via (eds.) *Gender, War and Militarism: Feminist Perspectives*. California: Praeger, p. 30-42.
- Bacchi, Carol Lee, 2005a. "Policy" in Philomena Essed, David Theo Goldberg & Audrey Kobayashi (eds.) *A Companion to Gender Studies*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing p. 181-192
- Bacchi, Carol Lee, 2005b. "Discourse, Discourse Everywhere: Subject "Agency" in Feminist Discourse Methodology", *Nordic Journal of Women's Studies* 13(3), p. 198-209.
- Beckman, Ludvig, 2005. *Grundbok i idéanalys: Det kritiska studiet av politiska texter och idéer*. Stockholm: Santérus Förlag
- Bergström, Göran & Kristina Boréus, 2005. *Textens mening och makt: Metodbok I samhällsvetenskaplig text- och diskursanalys*. Lund: Studentlitteratur.
- Beveridge, Fiona & Sue Nott, 2002. "Mainstreaming: A Case for Optimism and Cynism", *Feminist Legal Studies* 10(3), p. 299-311.
- Debusscher, Petra, 2011. "Mainstreaming gender in European Commission development policy: Conservative Europeanness?" *Women's Studies International Forum* 34, p. 39-49.
- DPKO: Department of Peacekeeping Operations & DFS: Department of Field Support, 2010. *Ten-year Impact Study on Implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1325*. [Electronic] Available: [http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/documents/10year\\_impact\\_study\\_1325.pdf](http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/documents/10year_impact_study_1325.pdf). Received: 12-12-12.
- EPLO: European Peacebuilding Liaison Office, June 2010. "UNSCR 1325 in Europe: 21 case studies of implementation". [Electronic] Available: [http://www.peacewomen.org/assets/file/Resources/NGO/nat\\_1325implementation21cases\\_eplo\\_jun2010.pdf](http://www.peacewomen.org/assets/file/Resources/NGO/nat_1325implementation21cases_eplo_jun2010.pdf). Received 06-12-12.
- IANWGE: Inter-Agency Network on Women and Gender Equality. "National implementation of Security Council resolution 1325 (2000)" [Electronic] Available: [http://www.un.org/womenwatch/ianwge/taskforces/wps/national\\_level\\_impl.html](http://www.un.org/womenwatch/ianwge/taskforces/wps/national_level_impl.html). Received: 12-12-12.
- Kouvo, Sari, 2005. "The United Nations and Gender Mainstreaming: Limits and Possibilities" in Doris Buss & Ambreena Manji (eds.) *International Law: Modern Feminist Approaches*. Portland, Oregon: Hart Publishing, p. 237-253.
- Kronsell, Annica, 2012. *Gender, Sex and the Postnational Defense: Militarism and Peacekeeping*. New York: Oxford University Press, Inc.

- Lombardo, Emanuela & Petra Maier, 2006. "Gender mainstreaming in the EU: Incorporating a Feminist Reading" *European Journal of Women's Studies* 13(2), p. 151-166.
- Lombardo, Emanuela & Petra Maier, 2008. "Framing Gender Equality in the European Union Political Discourse" *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State, and Society* 15(1), p. 101-129.
- Mazurana, Dyan., Angela Raven-Roberts., Jane Parpart & Sue Lautze, 2005. "Gender, Conflict, and Peacekeeping" in Dyan Mazurana., Angela Raven-Roberts & Jane Parpart (eds.) *Gender, Conflict, and Peacekeeping*. United States of America: The Rowman & Littlefield Publishing Group, Inc, p. 27-65
- Neumann, B. Iver, 2003. *Mening, Materialitet och Makt: En introduktion till diskursanalys*. Lund: Studentlitteratur
- Prügl, Elisabeth & Audrey Lustgarten, 2006. "Mainstreaming Gender in International Organizations" in Jane S. Jaquette & Gale Summerfield (eds.) *Women and gender Equity in Development Theory and Practice: Institutions, Resources, and Mobilization*. Durham & London: Duke University Press, p. 53-71.
- Peterson, Spike & Anne Sisson Runyan, 2009. *Global Gender Issues in the New Millenium*. London: Westview
- Peacewomen1. "About Women, Peace, and Security Agenda". [Electronic] Available: [http://peacewomen.org/security\\_council\\_monitor/about-women-peace-and-security-agenda](http://peacewomen.org/security_council_monitor/about-women-peace-and-security-agenda). Received: 12-12-12.
- Pettman, Jan Jindy, 2006. "Gender issues" in John Baylis & Steve Smith (eds.) *The Globalization of World Politics – An introduction to international relations* (3<sup>rd</sup> ed.). New York: Oxford University Press Inc, p. 669-689.
- Phillips, Louise & Marianne W. Jørgensen, 2002. *Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd
- Security Council, 2000. *United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace, and Security*. [Electronic] Available: [http://www.un.org/events/res\\_1325e.pdf](http://www.un.org/events/res_1325e.pdf). Received 12-11-28
- Sjöberg, Laura & Sandra Via, 2010. "Introduction" in Sjöberg, Laura & Sandra Via (eds.) *Gender, War and Militarism: Feminist Perspective*. California: Praeger p. 1-17.
- Squires, Judith, 2005. "Is Gender Mainstreaming Transformative? Theorizing Mainstreaming in the Context of Diversity and Deliberation" *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State, and Society* 12(3), p. 366-388.
- Svedberg, Erika & Annica Kronsell, 2003. "Feministisk metod, teori och forskning om identiteter" I Bo Petersson & Alexa Robertson (red). *Identitetsstudier I praktiken*. Malmö: Liber AB
- Swaine, Aisling, 2010. "Assessing the Potential of National Action Plans to Advance the Implementation of United Nations Security Council 1325", *Yearbook of International Humanitarian Law* 12, p. 403-433.
- Sweden, 2009. "The Swedish Government's action plan for 2009–2012 to implement Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) on women, peace and security" [Electronic] Available:

- [http://www.un.org/womenwatch/ianwge/taskforces/wps/nap/HP1325\\_202009-2012\\_fina\\_engelsk\\_version.pdf](http://www.un.org/womenwatch/ianwge/taskforces/wps/nap/HP1325_202009-2012_fina_engelsk_version.pdf). Received: 20-11-12
- Taylor, Stephanie, 2001. "Locating and Conducting Discourse Analytic Research" in Margaret Wetherell, Stephanie Taylor & Simeon J. Yates (eds.) *Discourse as Data: A Guide for Analysis*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd.
- Tickner, J. Ann, 2011. "Gender in world politics" in John Baylis, Steve Smith and Patricia Owens (eds.). *The globalization of world politics - An introduction to international relations* (5th ed.). New York: Oxford University Press
- Tryggestad, Torunn L, 2009. "Trick or Treat? The UN and Implementation of Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace, and Security". *Global Governance* 15, p. 539-557.
- United Nations, 2002a. *Gender Mainstreaming: An Overview*. New York: Office of the Special Adviser on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women. [Electronic] Available: <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/osagi/pdf/e65237.pdf>. Received 11-12-12.
- UN Women. "The Security Council Resolution 1820" [electronic] Available: [http://www.unifem.org/gender\\_issues/women\\_war\\_peace/unscr\\_1820.html](http://www.unifem.org/gender_issues/women_war_peace/unscr_1820.html). Received: 14-12-12.
- USA, 2011. "United States National Action Plan on Women, Peace, and Security" [Electronic] Available: [http://www.peacewomen.org/assets/file/NationalActionPlans/us\\_nationalactionplan\\_2011.pdf](http://www.peacewomen.org/assets/file/NationalActionPlans/us_nationalactionplan_2011.pdf). Received: 20-11-12
- Verloo, Mike, 2005. "Displacement and Empowerment: Reflections on the Concept and Practice of the Council of Europe Approach to Gender Mainstreaming and Gender Equality". *Social Politics: International Studies on Gender, State and Society* 12(3), p. 344-365.
- Walby, Sylvia, 2005. "Gender Mainstreaming: Productive Tensions in Theory and Practice". *Social Politics: International Studies on Gender, State and Society* 12(3), p. 321-343