

# Practice what you preach

A Critical Discourse Analysis on Gender Implementation  
Issues of the UN

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# Abstract

This Bachelor thesis critically studies how women's identities are constructed in resolutions put together by the United Nations. The thesis focuses on three Resolutions on Democratic Republic of the Congo, (RES/2053(2012))(RES/2098(2013) and (RES/2147(2014) in order to highlight how women are being portrayed in new mandates given to intervention forces. By applying Critical Discourse Analysis, Poststructural Discourse Analysis and Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis gender stereotypes are found in both resolutions on Women, Peace and Security as well as in the resolutions on the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

This stereotyping of women is coherent to the view of women as victims in need of protection, not in power over their own security critically found in Feminist Security Studies and Postcolonial Feminism. This protection/protector discourse found within the UN is part of the hegemonic masculinity that is silenced and seen as the norm. It is important to highlight how stereotyping languages create and recreate social practices, in this case how the stereotyping of women in resolutions could affect how mandates are given to the Force Intervention Brigade. The consequences of this Intervention Brigade and the identity of the UN however remains to be determined.

*Key words:* United Nations, Force Intervention Brigade, Feminist Security Studies, Gender Stereotypes, Democratic Republic of the Congo  
*Words:* 9999

# List of Abbreviations

CDA- Critical Discourse Analysis

DA- Discourse Analysis

DRC- Democratic Republic of the Congo

FARDC- Military of the Democratic Republic of the Congo

FCDA- Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis

FIB- Force Intervention Brigade

FSS- Feminist Security Studies

IR- International Relations

MONUC- United Nations Organizations Mission in the democratic Republic of the Congo, 1999-2010

MONUSCO- United Nations Organizations Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, 2010-

M23- 23 March Movement

UN- United Nations

PDA- Poststructural Discourse Analysis

PSC- Peace and Security Council

SC- Security Council

WPS- Women Peace and Security Resolutions

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# 1 Introduction

On March 23<sup>rd</sup> 2013 the Security Council (SC) decided to create the Force Intervention Brigade (FIB) and allowed it to function in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC). Thus the first military lead offensive combat force in United Nations (UN) history was created. The FIB's main goals were to neutralize and disarm the notorious 23 March Movement (M23) as well as other rebel groups and armed forces in DRC, protect and work for human rights and to gain "Peace by Force" (S/RES/2098(2013)). The FIB was given a mandate to operate for a one-year period, although some members of the SC expressed their concern that the FIB could come to compromise the neutrality of the UN peace work. This as the FIB was set to work within the United Nations Organizations Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUSCO) and not as a self-standing unit (SC109649 (2013)).

Although these concerns were raised, addressing the identity of the UN as an actor in the international arena the FIB mandate was extended in 2014 for another year (S/RES/2147(2014)).

The UN has a mission to maintain international peace and security, to develop friendly relations among nations and promote social progress as well as improved living standards and human rights. The organization prides itself in peacekeeping, peace building, conflict prevention and humanitarian assistance (UN Charter). As Lene Hansen writes the language used when constructing the UN's self identity becomes important as the UN gives itself meaning and power to act by claiming its power in mandates and resolutions (2006). The UN sees itself as a moral actor that through texts constitute the social world by producing and consuming texts using a protector versus protected language. Herein lies its willingness to in some meaning become the "just warrior" that justifies its actions by the willingness to protect (Elshtain: 1987). In my case this becomes important since the security discourse is important to sort out who is allowed to act and who has the power to act for security. The UN sees itself as a moral actor not just working ex ante meaning to protect, to promote peace and democracy in the world (Erskine et al: 2005), but the UN also sees itself as a moral actor with the knowledge and "know how" to act on the global arena.

Therefore it is interesting that the UN creates an offensive intervention brigade. The DRC has suffered from of sexual and gender-based violence with many atrocities reported (MONUSCO: background). The argument is that an intervention was needed, but could this not lead to more masculine violence? Masculine bodies, functioning under masculine norms, dominate military offensive forces and FIB is no exception (Enloe: 2007). This turn by the UN is debatable, as the UN has tried to move away from its hegemonic masculinity and promote gender implementation since the beginning of the new millennia. The

creation of FIB looks like a step away from “soft power” used historically by the UN to “hard power” making the UN more militarized while at the same time trying to promote gender implementation. This movement is questionable as the former Secretary General Kofi Anan together with numerous heads of government and state and experts from more than 50 countries 2005 agreed on that military power had limited usefulness. Consensus was that “soft power” consisting of economic development and engagement was desirable (Anderson: 2010: 31- 32).

In spite of this consensus, why does the UN create an offensive intervention force when addressing the DRC conflict? Soft power is seen to be the feminine approach and “hard power” the masculine and therefore more desirable in international security (Anderson: 2010: 33ff). Issues of international security have been dominated by masculine norms and values and gender identities need to be questioned. Amongst other scholars Laura Shepherd highlights the gendered identity given to women by the UN. They are portrayed as passive helpless victims in need of protection and this has consequences for how future UN policies and interventions are constructed (2008).

The FIB mandate in the DRC is problematic. The conflict holds serious violations of human rights and high levels of sexual and gendered-based violence. Accountable for these atrocities are many different groups fighting and the amounts of weapons present. This conflict does cry for international help but the intervention methods chosen are questionable with background of the “soft power” and gender implementation usually associated with UN interventions.

## 1.1 Problem area and research question

The problem area of my thesis is security and the legitimization of intervention in the name of gender(ed) protection (Bergman Rosamond: 2013). I look at the different gender identities presented in UN resolutions to identify their impact on mandates given to intervention missions. This is an attempt to, via discourse analysis, deconstruct the language presented in the resolutions that allows me to make gender relations within the texts visible. A similar approach completed by established feminist IR researchers such as Jean Bethke Elshtain (*Women and War*: 1987) and Ann Tickner (*Gender in International Relations*: 1992). Such scholarship has inspired my analysis of the resolutions selected for this study. I look at the body of UN resolutions addressing women, peace and security, such as resolutions 1325, 1820, 1960, 2106 and 2122 in order to identify the gender identities that are present in UN discourses. Secondly I look at the resolutions on DRC, 2053, 2098 and 2147 to again explore gender identities and the extent to which the UN’s promotion of gender security and empowerment, really is underpinning the organization’s promotion of peace in DRC. Furthermore, it is significant to consider the efficiency of the gender issues of these resolutions. Is gender security and empowerment taken into practice when given permission to act under UN mandates? I ask the following research question:

- *How is women's security discursively represented in UN resolutions on the Democratic Republic of the Congo?*
- How are resolutions on Women, Peace and Security represented in the DRC resolutions and what problems and questions do that raise?

My interdiscursive readings have thus lead me to these reflections and I also try to showcase the stereotyping of women that excludes women from being actors of her own security.

## 2 Theoretical Framework

What is discussed in this thesis is how gender identities, the definition of women, is presented in the resolutions on DRC and how gender identities affect the construction of new mandates. I position myself methodologically within discourse analysis to highlight textual dichotomies used in the resolutions presented by the UN. More precisely a combination of Critical Discourse Analysis, Poststructuralist Discourse Analysis and Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis. I want to problematize how identities and categories, such as women, states, and institutions are discursively presented in three resolutions concerning the FIB:s role in the DRC. I ask how a continuation of the definition of women as victims and powerless actors in the UN discourse could affect how new mandates are constructed. Should not the incorporation of resolutions on women, peace and security that stress gender incorporation and participation on all levels and the devastating consequences that conflict have on especially women be allowed more emphasis? This debate is colored by my use of Feminist IR, Feminist Security Studies and Postcolonial Feminism.

### 2.1 Methodology

Discourse analysis (DA) includes how we look at language and the social reality that is constituted by that language/discourse. Moreover, DA is a tool for analyzing texts to identify power relations and injustices. From a discursive linguistic perspective texts are both consumed and produced in social contexts. The reason is that we in the process of consuming and creating texts include social identities and relations in the process. According to DA it is in that process that social and cultural progress and structures are developed while at the same time are redeveloped (Jørgensen & Phillips: 2002: 2-4). A key premise of my project is that we can only understand international relations and international institutions and states' foreign policies if we take account of such entities' identities as well as their construction. These identities are constructed and reconstructed in the formation of foreign policy and at the same time policies cannot exist without identities (Hansen: 2006). This insight is useful outside the context of national foreign policy making and applicable to institutions such as the UN because this organization functions as an international institution combining different national foreign policies. My thesis will attempt to combine Lene Hansen's Poststructural Discourse Analysis (PDA) method together with the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), as developed by Norman Fairclough. I will further explore the advantages



that such an explanation can provide and show how these two perspectives can help me build my methodological framework.

### 2.1.1 The advantages of combining

While Lene Hansen would argue that this combination of methods is not desirable I find poststructuralism and CDA share important similarities as they claim that the social world is constructed by discourses and that knowledge is created through social interaction, in which we construct common truths that compete for acceptance (Jørgensen & Phillips: 2002: 4-5). Both enable us to identify power patterns and inequalities embedded within the text. The inclusion of PDA in my study helps develop a poststructuralist ontological standpoint, which holds that identities are produced and reproduced through discourses. CDA takes the social context in which the discourse operates into account, which will be discussed. I further intend to incorporate an explicit Feminist perspective into CDA and therefore will use some Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis, FCDA. Although useful in many ways I, like other feminist researchers, find CDA to be biased toward patriarchy and gender dichotomies. These gender dichotomies give rise to gendered identities emerging and in my case these gendered identities emerge in resolutions.

### 2.1.2 Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical Discourse Analysis is a critical perspective on unequal social arrangements sustained through language use, with the goals of social transformation and emancipation (Lazar: 2005: 1). Using CDA highlights the links that occur between social practice and language and how one can investigate the connections between social processes and properties of language in this case, texts (Fairclough: 2010: 131). Texts are produced and consumed while at the same time they constitute the social world in which social and cultural processes take place. This is due to the discursive practices that take place in everyday life (Jørgensen & Phillips: 2002: 2-5). What makes CDA interesting is the dialectical relationship that discourses have with other social dimensions.

Discourses do not simply create and recreate social practices; they are also reflections of how social practices are constructed. CDA aims at making connections between properties of texts and social processes and relations visible and possible to analyze for those who both produce and interpret these texts (Fairclough: 2010: 131-132). My thesis incorporates this insight as I believe that the UN resolutions used for my analysis both produce and reproduce social norms as resolutions are produced in a context of where the UN is both affected by and part of social norms (Jørgensen & Phillips: 2002). When using CDA looking at texts, in my case resolutions, it involves separating the discourse problem into

three parts: 1) the manifested written texts that are heterogeneous and contradictory; 2) the complex relationship of the discursive practice, where texts are produced and interpreted as well as constituted; 3) the socio-cultural practice(s) which all influence and determine the heterogeneous texts and the discourse practices produced, this as the socio-cultural practice(s) integrates practice and discourse (Neumann: 2003:87-91; Fairclough: 2010: 132). In other words, I use CDA to showcase the unequal social practice, in my case intervention mandates, that exist in the UN discourse, in resolutions and I will do so by choosing to focus on nodal points in my readings to be able to see how the WPS resolutions are incorporated in my DRC resolutions.

### 2.1.3 Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis.

As for CDA, FCDA is a critical perspective on the different social arrangements extended through the use of language while including a feminist perspective. Further, FCDA highlights an important perspective on how power relations and ideology in discourse are used to sustain hierarchical gendered social order (Lazar: 2005: 1). FCDA helps us illustrate how men and women experience class struggles differently and that more components in dimensions of power must be incorporated to understand the full effect of language (Walsh: 2001: 28-33). There is a bias towards patriarchy in linguistics and FCDA wishes to question this bias by portraying how assumptions and practices implicate this oppression, where men as a social group hold advantages. Social practices are not neutral but gendered and therefore we categorize identities after asymmetric meanings of “male” and “female” to be able to make sense of and structure their specific social practices. FCDA wishes to lift the consequences of categorizing in this way as gender structures impose social dichotomies and FCDA encourages the need to incorporate intersectional treats such as class, ethnicity and gender into the discourse analysis (Lazar: 2005 2-7). FCDA will help me to identify the specific gendered identities and dichotomies that are used in the UN discourse.

### 2.1.4 Poststructural Discourse Analysis

In poststructuralism and in DA language is ontologically significant, where things are given meaning through language and endowed with particular identities. In this context individuals are socialized into connecting sounds with objects in a larger political discourse. The production and reproduction of subjects and identities is a way to argue for one cause, while some subjects and identities are excluded from the discourse and this becomes interesting to examine. What characteristics are included and which are not? This process, of where one constructs an identity thus becomes a process of differentiation, as identities are relational (Hansen: 2006:18-19). In my case the UN intervention politics and resolutions can only be understood with relation to the construction and reconstruction of identities. As identities are relational to the policies constructing

them and not isolated objects, they are continuously shaped and reshaped as subjects and objects in relation to policies. When describing an identity words are given meaning, but they cannot describe how places or people *de facto* are. For example one cannot understand development without defining underdevelopment; or the UN cannot justify an intervention without describing the situation in the country or region of where the intervention should take place or without describing those taking part in the conflict. The construction of what is foreign and different is heavily used in politics to achieve agreements between debating parties. The constructed identities used are often filled with preconceptions that have a strong theoretical history and thus essentialist characteristics are reproduced when producing policies. (Hansen: 2006: xvi-xxx).

The process of differentiation that is used in policy discourse creates a construction of the national Self and the radically different and often, in the security discourse a threatening Other (Hansen: 2006: 37). Therefore the national Self is in need of protection from The Other and in this process certain issues are given heightened priority and thus bestows legitimacy on those dealing with the policies in question. Thus issues of security give institutions certain responsibilities and legitimize an execution of power (Hansen: 2006: 40). Further Iver B Neumann argues that this differentiation between The Self and The Other creates a superiority of The Self that diminishes The Other and at the same time creates an ethnocentric view around how The Other is different or abnormal (Neumann: 1996).

The UN has created a self-identity with the obligation to protect world citizens and work for world peace and security (UN Charter: chapter 1). By giving the institution this obligation it becomes necessary to portray people in need of protection or states in need of interference as The Other, as areas of insecurity and in conflict (Hansen: 2006: 42-46). Here the UN legitimizes its intervention in the DRC by showing the need of protection from the armed groups fighting in the region. By highlighting the atrocities of the conflict, for example sexual and gender-based violence this creates legitimacy for the FIB to act. There is a form of temporary identity given to the areas in the international discourse. The DRC in need of stability is seen as The Other trying to develop into becoming like the stable Self. When the UN decides to intervene in conflict areas it does so by claiming that there needs to be so called improvement in that area. This shows that there is a possible transformation for The Other, the DRC into becoming like the desirable Self a peaceful developed nation. Language is then used to differentiate between the contemporary and future of The Other. (Hansen: 2006: 48-49).

## 2.2 Theory

As I am researching the different identities or gender stereotypes created within UN documents/texts, I place my work within International Relations (IR) theory and Feminist IR theory and scholarship. I also incorporate Feminist Security Studies (FSS) as the body of UN resolutions presented WPS address issues of women's security. Further I situate this project in the background of postcolonial theory as it goes in line with poststructural theory and is inspired by each other.

### 2.2.1 Feminist IR

The study of war and peace, cooperation and conflict has been heavily debated and for a long time dominated by the three positivist perspectives of realism, liberalism and constructivism. What these approaches to war fail to address is the significance of adding a gender-sensitive analysis to the study of war and conflict and Feminist IR scholarship does precisely that (Sjoberg, 2013: 3-4). Most feministic research fall within the postpositivist methodological framework. What makes the feminist research unique is a methodological framework that fundamentally challenges the unseen masculine biases and takes account of the ways in which knowledge has been constructed in a gendered fashion. One can see it as an epistemological perspective asking significant questions about the content of knowledge, in particular since mainstream scholarship or scholarship that is not gender-sensitive is not committed to the study of gender-neutral research but rather is situated within a masculine bias. (Tickner: 2008: 19-25).

### 2.2.2 Feminist Security Studies

Feminist Security Studies (FSS) as a body of thought draws attention to and reformulates the shortcomings of the mainstream approaches dominating traditional security studies and also IR theory. Also FSS highlights the role of women and gender in conflict as well as their role within peacekeeping. Historically we have failed to give room to discussions on the different impacts that war has on men and women as well as gender-specific wartime brutalities, for example rape being used as a weapon in war. At best a strong sense of protector/protected has been attached to such analyses, with women assumed to be biologically more suitable for the protected private sphere and men for soldiering and the protection of women and children. Neither has the impact that war has on gender equality norms in society been a discussed in mainstream security studies. Sjoberg argues, like Elshtain that gender issues have been made a non-issue, due to the male willingness to fill the role of a "just warrior" whom justifies oneself as a fighter willing to protect women, women who then are discursively categorized as innocent and uninvolved in war (Elshtain: 1987). These gender-based ideal-types lead to a silencing of the suffering of women as well as perpetuating cycles of war and conflict (Sjoberg: 2008: 3-4).

Gender is conceptually necessary for defining security and an important tool when analyzing armed conflicts causes and outcomes and essential when

finding solutions to violent conflicts (Sjoberg: 2013: 7). Though one simply cannot add the topic of gender and women to the discussion to create a higher level of awareness, women need to be included at all levels of international politics, analysis and allowed a voice. In other words, participation is not sufficient if not given power to act. It is thus important to look at the power relations present on the international discourse, as an actor not given power to act becomes a non-actor, the powerless (Shepherd: 2011: 509ff).

### 2.2.3 Hegemonic masculinities and gender essentialism

Most international organizations tend to be run by men and male bodies tend to dominate the decision making process. It has been this way historically and therefore masculine traits and practices have become the norm and influenced the organizations' agenda, policies and politics (Kronsell: 2006: 108, 1121-113). Phrased differently hegemonic masculinities help to naturalize the everyday practices of gendered identities. There is no gender but the feminine as masculinity is seen as the norm and then often the white heterosexual male body. Hegemonic masculinities are repeatedly hidden and remain silenced in the institutional context as it is considered the norm and practices that are perceived as coming naturally (Kronsell: 2006: 110). Laura Shepherd critiques the gender-mainstreaming present in the security discourse of the UN and in the context of armed conflict as this was originally set to address inequalities between men and women. This gender-mainstreaming (re)produces particular configurations of social political reality where conceptions of international security and gender inform policy and practice. Here actors like the UN use constructions of gender that reproduce the thought of women as being fragile, passive and in need of protection. This can have great consequences for future policies that address gender as well as armed conflict and the very practices that these policies determine (Shepherd: 2008:9; 2011:506). Gender essentialism or stereotyping of women present in the international political discourse creates a link between biological sex and security. This essentialist language is used to make a case for one's cause and it is built on a discourse of Othering and political subjects to show that something is abnormal and different and in need of interference or change.

The security discourse and the process of othering subjects in the international arena have been intensified after the terrorist attacks in 9/11 where the use of us versus them, and good versus evil became more prominent (Sjoberg: 2008: 1-4). Cynthia Enloe addresses the ways in which security discourses often prioritize qualities that historically have been associated with the masculine body. Rational behavior, fast thinking and the ability to take charge leaves no room for sentimentality, which is something, associated with women and the feminine. These are the present norms in national and international security and it even determinates who physically is allowed to sit by the table and make decisions regarding security (Enloe: 2007:39-41). It is important to question these norms and FSS have played an important role when questioning whose security is

allowed to be discussed or brought to light. One needs to demasculinize international organizations like the UN and this is done by questioning the international security discourse.

#### 2.2.4 Postcolonial Feminism.

Postcolonial Feminism stems from postcolonialism, a theory that critiques IR theory for having a Eurocentric white dominance in the IR discourse. Postcolonialism like feminism challenges hegemonic and oppressive systems and explore the possibility of change by creating awareness of power relations. By doing so intersectionality becomes important and the biases that colonialism has had toward colonialists' political, economical and cultural development. Like Nana Wilson –Tagoe writes, feminism has come to complete postcolonialism by adding notions of resistance, identity, subjectivity and difference. (Wilson-Tagoe: 2010). Power relations that postcolonialism has looked upon are the ones between the colonized and the colonizer, like in feminism power relations between female and male (Marshall: 2010). The combination of feminism and postcolonialism has worked to decenter the normative male subject as Wilson-Tagoe explains for key debates in postcolonialism such as race, sexuality, culture, age and other gender issues (Wilson-Tagoe: 2010). Edward Said argues that power also operates in knowledge, where The West is assumed to “know” and thereby holds the right to hold power over The Other, often a brown other woman. This power is not only physical power but also the controlling of the mind where “white” culture and tradition is seen as the superior or that western academia is of better quality or where some countries have more international power then others. Again identity becomes important as the west has created a construction of The Other and The Orient and claimed the European dominance over it (Said: 2003). This in my case could be used to question the UN identity, as the protector of the world with “know how” in peace building methods. Arturo Escobar sees development as a historically produced discourse that shows how countries in the early post-world-war II era looked upon themselves as either developed or underdeveloped and where Western experts or politicians created an identity of the so-called first and third world. Against this background the UN is trying to create peace and stability in the world (Escobar: 1995: 1-7).

I am situated within this theory and I find this to be an important perspective to have against intervention politics of the UN. Here interesting future research could be to interrogate whether the kind of mission created for the Force Intervention Brigade (FIB) could take place in a “western conflict” or if it is easier to try this new way of *peace by force* in the land of the Other? Could the UN discourse enable this type of intervention in a white western country?

## 3 Material

I am conducting a single case study focusing on the discourse of the UN intervention in DRC, more specifically on the FIB given mandate to act on March 28<sup>th</sup> 2013 and how the UN implements resolutions on Women Peace and Security in new mandates. The material presented in this thesis will be resolutions put forward by the Security Council as these texts are official, precise and form the very core of the UN organization. The resolutions that I focus on to study the implementation of women's security and inclusion are those resolutions grouped together under the label "Women, Peace and Security", a categorization that the UN has coined and therefore I will use this categorization as well. The six resolutions that I selected to look into are 1325, 1820, 1960, 2106 and 2122 as they are resolutions focusing on the role of women in conflict and the impact that armed conflict has on them. I will provide a short presentation of the Women, Peace and Security (WPS) resolutions below. When choosing resolutions that are important in the case of the DRC I limit the selection to three as these are the resolutions addressing the FIB mandate in DRC, the first is 2053 which focuses on the mandate of MONUSCO, the second is 2098 which is the first resolution giving mandate to FIB and the third is the extension mandate given the FIB in March 2014 under resolution 2147.

Resolutions presented by the UN are texts that have been read and constructed by people's interpretations of situations and words as well as other readings. As Hansen states, texts are situated within other texts and are thus intertextually linked and this is central in the case of the UN resolutions on DRC chosen in my case. They build their authority on the citing of other texts and resolutions and I want to study this process (Hansen: 2006: 55). This is something that Fairclough also stresses and develops in his work. Furthermore he argues that such intertextuality mediates the connection between language and the social context of the text (Fairclough: 1995: 189).

### 3.1 Women Peace and Security

Resolution 1325 was passed in 2000 and announced to be the first resolution to stress the importance of incorporating women at all levels of decision-making and in peace-building. It is a resolution focusing on the impact that conflict has on women as well as women's role in peace-building and on the path towards a sustainable peace (S/RES/1325(2000)).

Resolution 1820 was adopted in 2008 and was the first resolution to argue that rape and sexual-violence could be used as a tactic of war. Further it states that

rape and sexual violence are matters of international peace and can constitute war crimes, crimes against humanity or genocide. The resolution also builds on 1325 and stresses the need to condemn violence especially against women and girls during armed conflict and the need to end impunity as well as equal participation on all levels of peace-building (S/RES/1820(2008)).

Resolution 1960 was implemented in 2010 and further denounces the widespread use of sexual-violence in armed conflict and emphasizes the need to prevent such practices in both ongoing conflicts as well as in post-conflict areas. This resolution stresses the need to end impunity as it shows that the effects of sexual-violence and rape are not taken seriously and that the act of rape is tolerated. Resolution 1960 also stresses the need of justice for victims, as it is important when rebuilding states and working for stability (S/RES/1960(2010)).

Resolution 2106 was implemented in 2013 and has been said to be a further operationalization of the obligations already set in place from earlier resolutions on women, peace and security. The resolution does stress the importance of including both men and boys in the gender just work of the UN and its member states, when trying to combat all forms of violence against women. Their inclusion is central when looking at the long-term prevention of sexual-violence. The resolution also stresses the need to stop addressing rape and sexual-violence as a cultural phenomenon or as an inevitable consequence of war. The resolution does further note the importance of addressing women and children being forcefully conscripted into battle who have been exposed to sexual-violence and rape (S/RES/2106(2013)).

Resolution 2122 was implemented 2013 and it emphasizes the need to fully implement resolution 1325 and that can only be done through dedicated commitment. Although earlier resolutions have addressed the obstacles of women's security and peace this resolution focuses on a more holistic approach to WPS (S/RES/2122(2013)).



## 4 Analytical strategy

As noted above I will use a combination of CDA, FCDA and PDA as my methods to analyze my materials after several close readings of the resolutions, I proceed with my analysis in two stages. Stage one will consist of a close reading of the resolutions on DRC, 2053 (2012), 2098 (2013) and 2147 (2014). This will be done with background of the WPS resolutions 1325, 1820, 1960, 2106 and 2122. I aim to discuss how the UN highlights gender issues in new mandates given to peace-operations. In other words, I seek to critically explore whether the resolutions in the WPS area actually are illustrated in the mandates of DRC. This will be completed in order to discuss the UN's own identity as a significant and meaningful actor in the international arena plus showcase the importance of identity construction as made by Lene Hansen. The second stage of my analysis will focus on the stereotyping of women and the construction of her discursive identity as well as a discussion on how security is being represented. Here I have used a combination of CDA, FCDA and PDA as a lens to find gender stereotypes and other socially constructed power relations present in the UN. I find that the way women are being lifted in resolutions of utmost importance as my methods show, discourses create and even constitute the social world and its surroundings. As argued by Annica Kronsell the UN is a masculine hegemonic organization where a male norm is present and thus the way in which the UN constructs women becomes determinant on how the UN constructs men. Further this in its own is a process and a construction shaped in relation to socially constructed power relations. FSS will be used to discuss the representation of security and I will try to identify the intertextual impacts and structural norms present in the resolutions as well as different preconceptions that are embedded in the categorization of identities.

I have chosen to go about the analysis after close readings of the resolutions in the following way:

Stage one: I will investigate how the WPS resolutions are incorporated in my DRC resolutions by focusing on a set of key nodal points including:

- a. Incorporation and participation
- b. Sexual violence
- c. Impunity and demobilization

Stage two: I will focus on how women's security is presented in the three selected resolutions on DRC. This will allow me to look into how security is emphasized and here I have chosen three actors, which the analysis will focus on. In short, I will focus my analysis on the women and how they are being juxtapositioned in relation to men in the key texts. In other words, how women are constructed in the text, also relating to women's position in relation to the state and the international organization. I will focus on the following categories:

1. Women: as I want to focus on the gender identities present in the UN discourse. Unfortunately and interestingly enough, women are the only gender presented on the three DRC mandates. This is something that other scholars like Laura Sjoberg (2008) have criticized The UN for.

2. The state: is what I have called the DRC government and state institutions responsible for citizen's security. Here the DRC military, FARDC is included.

3. The UN: the last actor is the UN, several actors that all go under the UN flag, MONUSCO, Security Council (SC) and the UN as a whole.

## 5 Analysis

### 5.1 How are women discursively constructed?

In this section I will look at the three resolutions on DRC chosen as my sources, from a gender perspective for the purpose of investigating how gender resolutions are taken into account when writing new mandates. To this effect I have read the resolutions and tried to identify where the WPS resolutions are incorporated in the DRC resolutions, in particular by focusing on the three nodal points (see analytical framework) described above. These nodal points were constructed after close readings of the resolutions to be able to describe my interdiscursive readings. The topics that I find pervade the WPS resolutions: incorporation and participation, sexual violence, impunity and demobilization. The first nodal point, *incorporation and participation* I find important as this transfuses throughout all five WPS resolutions especially in 1325. *Sexual and gender-based violence* have become one of the biggest threats to women's security in the region. *Impunity and demobilization* together make up a third nodal point since justice plays an important part of the peace process in a post-conflict situation along side how to treat and tackle the issues found when demobilizing and integrating ex convicts back into society.

I find, like FSS that it important to raise the issue of how the gender resolutions are taken into account when creating new mandates as the role of women and gender in conflict and in peacekeeping needs to be discussed when debating security issues. Like Sjoberg and Elshtain argue, gender issues have been made a non issue and I want to investigate if this still is the case in the UN discourse although resolutions on WPS have been released throughout the new millennia. Also I find it important to highlight how women are discursively constructed as language use is crucial when defining identities, identities that become reconstructed in social practices, not just in new resolutions but in the mandates given to intervention brigades like the FIB. Determining and highlighting the power relations present in real life.

#### 5.1.1 Incorporation and participation

Addressing the first nodal point *incorporation and participation*, one can see that there are some general trends found in the resolutions on DRC, focusing on the incorporation of women in the peace process. The 2053 resolution focuses the least on the implementation of women and more on the importance of a continued intervention from the UN and the importance of the MOUSCO project. Although it does urge "*the Congolese authorities to ensure the full and effective participation of women in the electoral process*" (S/RES/2053(2012)). The 2098

resolution does not either lift women's incorporation or participation in the peace process as much as the UN does in resolution 2147. Resolution 2098 welcomes the establishment of "*Women's Platform for the PSC Framework in an effort to ensure the full participation of women in the PSC Framework peace process*" as well as the importance of involving women and their representation on all levels to ensure that gender considerations are seen as a cross cutting issue throughout the mandate of MONUSCO (S/RES/2098(2013)). Although not an excuse this could possibly be explained by the fact that 2098 is the first resolution addressing the FIB that was created specifically to act in DRC and therefore gender implementation is not given as much attention as it unfortunately should. Resolution 2147 is the resolution that most addresses the need to incorporate women on all levels. I thus find that the present trend of incorporating women's participation in the peace process is seen almost as a secondary issue, not seen as a main concern in peace building where the FIB first is given a mandate to act in DRC and then secondly focus on gender implementation and participation (S/RES/2147(2014)). This trend is something I base on the development between my three DRC resolutions where little room is given to gender issues in Resolution 2053 (2012), a bit more in Resolution 2098 (2013) and mostly in 2147 (2014). This trend might be interesting to established scholars to further elaborate on.

### 5.1.2 Sexual and gender-based violence

The second nodal point, *sexual and gender-based violence* one can see that all three resolutions have had a clear focus on addressing the violations on human rights and cycles of violence that exist in the conflict. All resolutions also address the "*widespread sexual and gender-based violence*" by parties in the conflict and take note of the importance of training local security institutions as such. When dealing with these issues the WPS resolutions state that it is of great importance to address and document the sexual and gender-based violence in order to tackle its devastating consequence for not only women, but also for economic development and sustainable peace.

In Resolution 2053 the UN expresses great concern for the use of "*widespread sexual and gender-based violence*" and welcomes the training and protection from sexual and gender-based violence made by MONUSCO to Congolese security forces. Also the resolution emphasizes the significance of the DRC government cooperating with the Secretary-General on Sexual violence in Conflict (S/RES/2053(2012)).

Resolution 2098 again expresses deep concern with the levels of sexual violence in the conflict and further expresses the positive acts of MONUSCO's in training local security institutions. This resolution additionally takes note of the parties responsible for patterns of rape and other forms of sexual violence in armed conflict referring to (S/2013/149). Another development in the resolution is the dedication that the FIB should have in protecting civilians and to work along side the DRC government to identify the threats posed to civilians, including all

forms of sexual and gender-based violence. The FIB should follow resolution 1960 in order to “*report arrangements conflict-related sexual violence ... and employ Women Protection Advisers to engage with parties to conflict in order to seek commitments on the prevention and response to conflict-related sexual violence*” (S/RES/2098(2013)).

In a similar fashion to 2053, Resolution 2098 highlights the importance of the DRC government cooperating with the Secretary-General on Sexual violence in Conflict using an action plan to prevent FARDC to conduct in sexual violence. This request by MONUSCO is to comply with the UN zero-tolerance policy on sexual exploitation and abuses. Resolution 2098 also calls on member states for funding to protect survivors of sexual violence and notes that there should be reports every third month on the situation on the ground, with focus on sexual violence and the impact of conflict on women and children specifically (S/RES/2098(2013)).

Resolution 2147 like the resolutions noted above also expresses deep concern with the levels of sexual violence in the conflict and the positive acts of MONUSCOs in training local security institutions. The resolution stresses the need to “*combat sexual violence in conflict and strongly encourages the Government of DRC to increase its efforts on this regard*”. The resolution acknowledges the adoption of a framework concerning the prevention and response to conflict-related sexual violence in Africa. As the FIB mandate is presented in more detail the resolution notes that the FIB should reduce threats such as sexual and gender-based violence and further that gender concerns should be integrated into all strategic aspects of MONUSCO’s work. This should take place alongside the Women Protection Advisers that are called for in resolutions 1960 and 2106. (S/RES/20147(2014)).

### 5.1.3 Impunity and demobilization

As stated in WPS resolution 1325 combating impunity plays an important role when tackling crimes of war, especially against women. Demobilization has also come to play an important role in the process for peace, as ex-combatants shall reintegrate into society (S/RES/1325(2000)).

Resolution 2053 encourages the Congolese authorities to combat impunity and thoroughly investigate crimes against women and children. It moves on by stating the need of DDR, disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of armed groups but no notion is given to the special attention needed for women or children (S/RES/2053(2012)).

Resolution 2098 is the first to stress the need to give women and children special attention when demobilizing the different combatant groups in the conflict. Additionally the resolution welcomes the DRC government’s cooperation with the International Criminal Court as well as the “zero tolerance policy” implementation to fight impunity (S/RES/2098(2013)).

The 2147 resolution also stresses the need for special attention to be given to women and children when demobilizing armed groups. The resolution also

stresses the need to end impunity while noting the delays in trials against the FARDC and urging the DRC government to hold the perpetrators accountable in order to gain justice (S/RES/2147(2014)).

An overall notion is that the DRC needs to gain stability to be able to create stable and accountable institutions enabling to fight impunity and to work for the security of all. The consensus further is that the DRC cannot reach this goal alone but needs international help, FIB and MONUSCO, to reach stability.

## 5.2 Women's security in DRC resolutions.

This is the second part of my analysis, where I focus on three different actors in order to examine how women's security is presented in the DRC resolutions 2053, 2098 and 2147. Here the combination of CDA, PDA and FCDA will function as a lens to help identify the different power relations and injustices present. Also how the mandates produce and reproduce constructed identities as well as give these power relations and gendered identities meaning. As noted earlier these three are: women, the state and the UN. Although there are many actors in this conflict and in the mandates I have chosen to focus on the three that I find most relevant to my case and as they are a part of the conflict together. Women are citizens of the state that is accountable for the safety of all its citizens. The state is part of the international organization and is responsible under international law to ensure safety for all its citizens. The state on the other hand is under the intervention and protection of the UN that should work to hold actors accountable for their actions as well as protect the citizens of the world. In my case the UN challenges the states protecting sovereignty by leading a FIB.

### 5.2.1 Women

Women's security is a broad expression that can include a variety of terms. Women's security has become an important issue in the DRC due to the amount of violations and atrocities that have been reported against women in the region and in the conflict alone. As presented in all resolutions put forward in the work for peace in DRC, the security of women goes hand in hand with the security for men and more importantly women's security shows the over all security of the nation (Hudson et al. 2011). It is not just the physical security of women that is important but also the women's status in society. What does women's political and socio-economic security look like? This section will focus on how women are being portrayed in the mandates on DRC.

The first time women are emphasized as actors in the DRC resolutions they are as Laura Sjoberg stresses looked upon as actors without power to change their situation. In the international arena women are presented together with children,

as a vulnerable actor. This is present as the first time women are being introduced in Resolution 2053 they are done so in the “*crimes against women and children*” context (S/RES/2053(2012)). As Sjoberg emphasizes this creates an identity that showcases women as actors with little power to act (Sjoberg: 2008: 3-4). Hansen would further argue, this identity created by the UN, a male hegemonic organization then reproduces the women identity as actors, merely the victim in need of protection. Although women are proven by the UN’s very own resolutions on WPS as capable, strong and necessary for peace. (Hansen: 2006: xvi-xxx).

Further in Resolution 2053, the safety of the civil society is debated. Here the text separates women from civil society by stating “*including women*” making women into a separate actor from the civil society, not part of it (S/RES/2053(2012)). Again one can see that the only gender mentioned in the resolutions is the female, the women. This shows the masculine norm that exists within the UN context, as men, man or male goes without mentioning. Here scholars like Laura Sjoberg and Annica Kronsell have stressed this phenomenon and argued for its masculine normative consequences (Sjoberg: 2008; Kronsell: 2006). A consequence that leads the mind to think that whenever the word gender is brought up, one associates this with the feminine. Here for instance “*sexual and gendered-based violence*” is used within all three DRC resolutions and then one fails to address the fact that men also have fallen victim for the sexual violence in the conflict but also even more problematic is the fact that the perpetrators of these atrocities could become overshadowed. (Eriksson Baaz, Stern: 2013). An unfortunate consequence of this language use is that it could lead to gender-based violence becoming a female issue. This is somewhat being addressed in Resolution 2106 as it demands men and boys to include themselves in the “*efforts to combat all forms of violence against women*” but also as the resolution notes that men and boys are affected by sexual violence in conflict (S/RES/2106(2013)). Unfortunately this does not come across in Resolution 2147, although it was created in 2014, one year after the WPS resolution 2106 demands more participating of men in tackling gender issues.

In Resolution 2098 an inquiry is made to give special attention to women and children in the process of demobilization, again here there are no men present only combatants, Women and children, defining the norm of combatant to be a male (S/RES/2098 (2013)).

Another way that Women are portrayed in the conflict and in the resolution is that of “*women groups*”. This is unfortunate as the UN chooses to use the term for “*armed groups*” to describe the enemy (S/RES/2053 (2012)). The UN identifies the enemy as an armed group and not a force or a troop like the UN’s own military is described, and portrays that actor, the armed group as an unserious and harming one. Therefore when choosing the word “*groups*” when portraying political activists, that are women, the reader could associate women groups as unserious and unstructured which will have consequences for the ability of women to participate politically. This as women then are seen as non-actors, not in power to act.

In Resolution 2098 there is a request to employ “*...Women Protection Advisers to engage with parties to conflict in order to seek commitments on the*

*prevention and response to conflict-related sexual violence*” (S/RES/2098 (2013)). I find “Women Protection Advisers” to be a problematic name. Here again one can see how the women of the conflict are in no position of power, where she is looked upon as in need of protection advisers. As an example: why could these advisers not be called “Sexual Violence Preventers”? More focus would be on the prevention of sexual violence, something that not only women have become victims to but also men and people that maybe not even want to classify as a women or a man. There needs to be more focus on the perpetrators not just the victims in order to prevent sexual violence from reoccurring. I find that coining the term Women Protection Advisers is a very homogenous way of looking at the people that have fallen victim of mass rape or sexual violence.

As previously argued, Resolution 2147 is the text that best promotes issues of gender as it demands for “*full participation of women in the PSC Frame work peace and progress*” (S/RES/2147 (2014)). Still this text has the problems highlighted above although this resolution was adopted in 2014 and two new resolutions on WPS have been released prior to it.

### 5.2.2 The State

This section will look deeper into how the state is being portrayed from a gender perspective, as well as how women are portrayed as actors in relation to the state.

The first Resolution, 2053 is mainly focusing on portraying the importance of an international actor in the region and the weakness of the DRC state. This state is in need of UN intervention as the resolution “*stresses that serious challenges remain*” in the DRC although there have been “*positive development*” during the intervention from MONUC and MONUSCO (S/RES/2053 (2012)). Alongside this “*serious abuses and violations of human rights and acts of violence against civilians, limited progress in building professional and accountable national security and rule of law institutions, and illegal exploitation of natural resources*” is taking place and thus the mandate further legitimizes the presence and interference made from MONUSCO and the UN (S/RES/2053 (2012)). The state is being portrayed as weak while at the same time retaining a strong sense of responsibility for the well being and security of its own citizens. This is a good example of what Hansen discusses as creating an identity of the Other, an actor in need of change becoming similar to the western Self and how language functions to legitimize the actions of the UN (Hansen: 2006: 36 ff). This dual construction is further present in Resolution 2098 (2013) as it is in the first resolution focusing on the necessity of an “Intervention Brigade”. This intervention brigade is looking to protect civilians and also the MONUSCO troops from attacks from armed groups. Again the resolution stresses, “... *that the government of the DRC bears the primary responsibility for security*” but at the same time “*National security is limited and not accountable*”. So the state is seen as a powerful actor but not being able to act due to the current conflict (S/RES/2098 (2013)).



The third Resolution, 2147 is more focused on expressing the exact tasks for the “Intervention Brigade”. Again the DRC government is being looked upon as weak regime and in need of intervention, but also as an actor that should hold the responsibility for safety and justice (S/RES/2147 (2014)).

The UN creates an identity of the DRC as an actor with responsibility but not in a situation where it can act without international help. In comparison to the women, the state is seen as a powerful actor that with the international support can act in order to regain the power that is being threatened. Whereas women are not being seen in a powerful situation, they are constantly victimized and separated from civil society by writing out civil society “*including women*”. According to CDA, this could be an example of how language links social practices (Fairclough: 2010: 131-132). In other words as the mandates should function to describe what is happening they also reproduce and constitute the actions taking place not giving women power to act.

### 5.2.3 The UN – An international organization

The UN in its capacity as an international organization is portrayed in the DRC resolutions as an actor that is accountable and in a powerful position on the international arena. As stated before, the UN is both an actor in the resolutions and at the same the creator of these resolutions. While creating these resolutions the UN itself has a self-given identity as a protector and peacekeeper in the world and therefor one can argue for the lack of objectivity in the resolutions.

As seen above the DRC state is looked upon as a state in need of help from the international arena legitimized by creating an identity of the DRC government as unreliable and weak. To then justify the intervention further and the work of MONUSCO with one of the reasons for being due to the high amounts of sexual and gender-based violence (S/RES/2098 (2013)). In other words women are being constructed as victims of gendered and sexual violence in need of help from a bigger international actor, a form of masculine savior that will give the women of DRC security. The FIB’ is put forward to act in DRC and set to give a special focus on reducing the sexual and gender-based violence threat posted by Congolese and foreign groups (S/RES/2098 (2013)). Here one can observe that the security of women has had an impact on the decisions taken by the SC, although women are still constructed as victims. Further the FIB should protect civilians and work alongside the DRC government to identify threats posed to civilians including all forms of sexual violence (S/RES/2098 (2013)). The 2098 resolution does note that the FIB should follow the 1960 resolution in order to report “*arrangements conflict related sexual violence*” (S/RES/2098 (2013)). But in this process women are not seen as strong actors and one can question MONUSCOs training of Congolese security institutions in how to protect women from sexual and gender-based violence when these institutions themselves are responsible for some of the atrocities (Eriksson Baaz, Stern: 2013). Another aspect is that these institutions are male dominated and thus again the female incorporation and empowerment becomes a structural problem.

### 5.3 Reflections on analysis

As a last step of my analysis I will reflect on what was presented in the stages above. With my theoretical background including feminism and postcolonial theory and other theories that favor intersectionality I am aware that my interpretations of the texts will be different from other readers. My interdiscursive readings have led me to these reflections that are also influenced by my interest in trying to showcase that there is a stereotyping of women that excludes women from being actors of their own security.

In stage one my discussion has pointed to the difficulties in implementing the various resolutions on WPS. There have been many resolutions released on the issues of WPS that all push for the importance of participation and representation of women on all levels of policy and decision-making in order to achieve a sustainable and long lasting peace in conflict areas. As the WPS resolutions clearly state, gender implementation is of the utmost importance when striving for social, political and economical development, which is a position held by scholars such as Valerie Hudson (2010) and Laura Sjoberg (2013). Although changes have taken place through the three DRC resolutions, to where more participation and incorporation is emphasized I find that this is not enough. Due to the offensive measures taken by the UN with the FIB one can argue for the almost backward steps that the UN have taken for gender implementation. This as military measures often consist of an overrepresentation of male bodies. Masculine social norms are particularly evident in militarized institutions and they become structured around hierarchical gendered relationships (Tickner: 1992: Via: 2010).

Moving on to the other nodal points, *sexual and gender-based violence* and *impunity and demobilization* both these issues are being addressed and like the WPS resolutions ask for, being recognized as critical issues for the consequences on women's security as well as issues essential for a lasting peace. What then can be discussed is how constructions of identity is important to the way issues are being described and for who could hold the power to change. What I ask for is that more needs to be debated on the unfortunate fact that sexual and gender-based violence and impunity are issues not specific to conflicts, women or civilians. These issues are present in peacetimes, in militaries and men are also victims of these atrocities. I believe like resolution 1325 (2000) and 2106 (2013) that these issues demand equal participation as this holds a fundamental key to solving the issues of nodal points two and three. Therefor the stereotyping of women as merely the victim in need of protection becomes problematic for what is expected of women.

Like other more established scholars before me have argued (see theory section) stage two of my analysis shows that there still is a masculine norm within the UN that is transferred into the mandates given and resolutions constructed. An

example of this is the tendency to only address one sex, the feminine, the women or girls making the women the abnormality. This is a delicate problem of where one wants to and feels the need to lift women separately but when doing so there needs to be an awareness of what this separation can do. Here I hope that more can be done to address the homogenous language that is used in the UN resolutions as well as a better incorporation of intersectionality when constructing identities.

There is a paradox in the way that the WPS resolutions clearly emphasize the importance and power women hold in conflicts and even more so in the processes following a stable and sustainable peace. What also becomes clear in the resolutions on the DRC considering the notion of security women are not in control of their own security. This is for instance shown by the way women are grouped together with children and given an identity where they are mainly vulnerable and in need of protection. The WPS resolutions try to highlight the importance of incorporating of women on all levels and by doing so show how women can influence the power of security. Not just by holding major seats in institutions but also by increased direct inclusion in militaries and in peace processes. This does not come across clear enough in the three resolutions on DRC. The responsibility and power to control security is primarily seen to be the UN but also the state. However the state is assigned a dual identity, both in power and responsibility for the safety of its citizens but also as weak and unable to secure or control armed groups from attacking. Thus the UN is assigned by itself and by the international arena a role as the highest moral actor to which it needs to protect and secure peace. Here we see the power that language has in texts, how identities are constructed and how they help to construct and reconstruct the social practices taking place, the mandates and resolutions produced.

## 6 Concluding remarks

The purpose of this bachelor thesis has been to try and illustrate how women are being constructed in the three UN resolutions on DRC that I have chosen for my case study. Further the thesis has aimed to discuss the implementation of gender issues presented in WPS resolutions put forward by the UN itself. I have tried to answer my research questions by using three different discourse analyses, CDA, PDA and FCDA together with my theories FSS, Feminist IR and Postcolonial Feminism and I have come to these conclusions:

Women are continuously, although argued for in WPS resolutions as powerful actors, being constructed as victims and situated in the protected/protector discourse. Women are not seen as actors responsible for their own safety.

In relation to both the state and the UN women are seen as vulnerable and with little or no power to participate for their own security. When stereotyping women as merely victims in conflict this gives the UN a legitimization to execute power and keep its self-identity as a global protector.

What becomes prominent is that the UN acts under a masculine hegemony where masculinity still is the norm and this transfers into the resolutions on DRC. Although change has taken place between the three resolutions, where the third resolution, 2147 is the one lifting gender issues more seriously than 2053 and 2098, the step towards a offensive intervention method I argue is a step backwards when trying to tackle the masculine norm of the UN.

This problem is a complex one as we need to address the victims of conflict and women's situation in the world but at the same time need to incorporate women and make them powerful actors. To be able to help victims and people in need of protection, unfortunately women hold the majority here, women need to be seen and addressed in a more nuanced way. Women need to be addressed as important and powerful actors, as empowered actors participating on equal levels of both development, peace building and in conflict resolution.

The UN's role as a global protector needs to be further discussed, especially now that the UN has decided to take steps against a more offensive intervention method when creating the FIB and letting it act under the UN flag. One needs to criticize these measures but at the same time understand that the women and men in need of protection, also have a right to protection. I ask for a close analysis of the FIB and its effects on the conflict when this intervention has come to a closure within the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

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