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Gender Mainstreaming in the Swedish National Action Plans to Implement Agenda 1325



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Abstract

United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 has been hailed as a groundbreaking achievement. It was the first time in which the Security Council addressed women's issues and a gender mainstreaming strategy was through the agenda introduced to the security domain. National Action Plans or NAPs have been developed in conjunction with the agenda to legitimise, spread and speed up the implementation process. Gender mainstreaming is a contested strategy and "Resolution 1325" have been criticised regarding its fixed, one-dimensional conceptualization of gender and its lack of transformative power for women's agency. Through a critical discourse analysis of the two Swedish NAPs, this thesis finds substance for such critique. The gender mainstreaming strategy in the NAPs predominantly refer to Swedish aspects rather than local initiatives in peacebuilding efforts. The concept of gender is narrow and fixed, including only women and men, who are victimised on biological grounds in due to, gender assumptions of women being passive and men referred to as violent. The gender mainstreaming strategy within the NAPs emphasise mainstreaming rather than gender equality and women are added to a masculine, neoliberal structure without a political element. The thesis concludes by confirming existing literature concerning Agenda 1325, that the objectives in the NAPs needs to be broadened to cover issues of militarization, arms trade and hegemony to be able to combat gender inequalities.

Key words: Resolution 1325, National Action Plans (NAPs), Sweden, gender mainstreaming, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), Peace and Security, Critical Feminist Theory

Word Count: 9996

Abbreviation

CEDAW	Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
ECOSOC	The Economic and Social Council
EU	European Union
NAP	National Action Plan
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
OSCE	Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe
SIDA	Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency
UN	United Nations
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
UNSCR	United Nations Security Council Resolution

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1. Introduction

1.1 Background

In the year of 1989, Enloe (2000, 7), posed the simple question: “Where are the women?”, when trying to make feminist sense of international politics. Her pioneering work revealed the invisibility of women in global politics and that the security paradigm was dominated by masculine values. The end of the cold war and the increased emergence of intra-state conflicts, generated a necessity for a broader definition of security and an opportunity opened up for new actors to enter the stage of international politics (Kaldor, 2012). In the year of 2000, the UNSC unanimously adopted “Resolution 1325” on women, peace and security. This legal document has since been followed by others, henceforth referred to as Agenda 1325 and is part of a larger rights based approach and gender mainstreaming agenda within the UN to protect women’s right. The agenda rests on the understanding that women and children are “most adversely affected by conflict” and in need of protection. Furthermore, it seeks to give women “equal participation and full involvement in all efforts for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security” (UNSC, 2000). However, the extent to which UNSC create binding international law on member-states is a controversial issue between scholars and actors (Tryggestad, 2009, 544).

National Action Plans, or NAPs, have been developed in conjunction with the agenda to solve the legal issue by legitimising UN’s work and generating linkage between its objectives to the national and local. Sweden was one of the first advocates for Agenda 1325 and developed its first NAP in the year of 2006, which notes that the country will “continue to be, at the forefront of work” connected to the agenda (NAP, 2006, 1). Since that time, 40 countries have adopted NAPs and 9 of them have made a revision on their first draft (Miller, 2014, 10). Agenda 1325 is generally considered to be groundbreaking in the sense that it was the first time that the UNSC formally addressed women’s issues and concerns. However, the agenda and its gender mainstreaming strategy has, in recent years, experienced increased criticism concerning aspects such as implementation, objectives and conceptualizations of gender, peace and security. Prominent scholars concerned with power-relations such as Shepherd (2011, 506) “identify constructions of gender that assume it’s largely synonymous with biological sex and, further, reproduce logics of identity that characterized women as fragile, passive and in need of protection”.

1.2 Aim and Significance

My interest in Agenda 1325 derives from a general interest in peace and security. The choice of

Sweden and the two Swedish NAPs as my case was inspired by the new foreign ministry's stated position to be a "feminist voice" and a "humanitarian superpower" in international politics (UR - Samtiden, 2014). The Swedish NAP is, furthermore, currently up for a second revision and discussions are held between a wide array of various organizations and governmental agencies (Eldén, 2014). NAPs have a crucial role in bridging the UN's objectives into practice and countries develop their own plans to legitimize the work of the UN, provide support and inspire other member-states to implement the agenda (Hudson, 2009, 11). Gender equality and women's role in development is one of three thematic priorities made by the Swedish government in development cooperation (UD, 2010, 7). The Swedish position, the country's role in development, that the agenda is in a state of revision and that the plans might inspire others makes Sweden an interesting case of analysis. The emphasis on gender mainstreaming derive from the fact that such a strategy is embedded in Agenda 1325 and that the practice of such policy tools are very contested. I am interested in power-relations and how efficient such strategies are to empower marginalized groups. Academic scholars scrutinizing the mainstreaming strategy within Agenda 1325 have among other things pointed out the narrow and fixed conception of gender and that such strategies are drained of its radical nature when competing with traditional norms. Cohn (2008, 202), write that she fears "'women as peacemakers" place too much of war on gender". Pratt (2013) argues, that we should not read UNSCR 1325 as a positive step for achieving real progress in transforming the lives of men and women in conflict-zones. This thesis as such aims to explore how gender mainstreaming works in the context of Sweden through a case study analysis of the swedish NAPs. It should be made clear that the paper has no ambition to have any impact on the revision process. The overarching aim is to explore how the UN discourse on gender, peace and security works in the Swedish NAPs, how the NAPs frame gender, how they differ and to offer contextual evidence for lessons learned and processes of alignment between the plans. Case studies like these can later be used in comparative studies in between countries.

1.2.1 Research Questions

The research questions formulated below derive from a general interest in peace and security, gender mainstreaming as a policy tool and that such strategy is embedded in the agenda. Important to point out is that the two questions are interlinked and might be perceived as too limited to support a thesis-analysis. However, like other feminist scholars concerned with gender in international relations, this thesis also sets out to "deconstruct silences", by exposing underlying concepts and historically derived norms in the swedish NAPs. This widens the issue area and makes the analysis

suitable for a thesis paper.

- How is gender mainstreamed within the Swedish NAPs?
- How does the second differ from the first?

1.3 Previous Research on NAPs

There are many studies available on the UN's work on Agenda 1325 and gender mainstreaming strategies. The same amount of literature does not exist on the NAPs. Gumru (2009) has made a study that compares the differences and similarities in 11 NAPs with the relevant points in the UNSCR 1325. Hudson (2009) has also investigated 11 NAPs and her discourse analysis aims at illuminating the implications of the gender mainstreaming agenda in the NAPs. The first Swedish NAP is included in both Gumru (2009) and Hudson (2009). Studies that are completely concerned with the Swedish NAPs have primarily studied how the Swedish armed forces have implemented the resolutions objectives during its operation in Afghanistan (Kahlin, 2009; Olsson, 2010; Persson, 2011). Others have made inquiries concerned with scrutinizing what obstacles and possibilities there are for Swedish military and civil-society to cooperate in the implementation of the NAP (Ivarsson, 2007; Lackenbauer, 2011). Ivarsson (2010), has conducted a qualitative study with interviews that focus on how the resolution has affected the understanding of the gender perspective in the Swedish armed forces. Samuelsson (2012) has made a comparative study between Sweden and Denmark. In conclusion, there are no studies that scrutinize the concept of gender and how gender is mainstreamed within the plans. Moreover, there are no studies that investigate processes of alignment between the documents like Bergman's (2014) report on the differing aspects in the Danish NAPs.

1.4 Delimitation

The amount of material available on gender mainstreaming, peace and security is vast and are concerned with many different areas of research. Moreover, it contains a lot of different perspectives and debates. Therefore, it has been important to define a very specific topic that delimits the scope of this thesis. The two questions and the focus on the Swedish NAPs as material brings forth a narrow framework and are the main limitations. Delimitations concerning the vast literature and the many differing perspectives, aspects and debates in regard to gender, peace and security, have been made through only focusing on those that make sense in contextualising Agenda 1325. Moreover, I have almost exclusively focused on critical feminist literature that scrutinize

Agenda 1325, to delimitate the the vast amount of feminist literature on security and militarization¹.

1.5 Outline of the Study

The paper is divided into six chapters. The first chapter will provide a general introduction and contextualise the subject area and the objectives of this thesis. The second chapter will present a more in-depth analysis and different perspectives on concept such as gender mainstreaming, peace and security. Furthermore, provide previous research on mainstreaming connected to the women, peace and security agenda. Academic material introduced in the second chapter will together with the theoretical approach presented in the following form the analytical framework, within which my empirical findings are analyzed in chapter 5. Conclusions as well as a discussion on further research will be illustrated in the final chapter.

¹ Militarization refers to the mobilisation process by which a society prepares and organize itself for armed conflict and violence.

2. Perspectives on Gender Mainstreaming and Agenda 1325

The first two subheadings of this chapter intend to provide a background by presenting a historical overview, objectives and implementation process of Agenda 1325 and illustrate Sweden's role in Peace and development. The third part sheds light on conceptions and debates within gender mainstreaming and how such strategy developed as a policy tool. The last section aims to provide analytical criteria and contribute in generating a theoretical framework by presenting critical scholarly work on gender mainstreaming in Agenda 1325, which furthermore, will be triangulated in the analysis of this thesis.

2.1 Agenda 1325

2.1.1 Historical Background

The end of the cold-war and the emergence of "new war" pushed for a broadening of the security definition to include dimensions of individual and group-security. The cold-war was characterized by a dead-lock in the security council. The end of that conflict therefore, made new types of dialogue possible in between the super-powers and human rights successively became a central aspect of the security council's agenda during the 1990s (Shepherd, 2008, 392). At the 1992 summit meeting, it formally recognized that "non-military sources of instability in the economic, social, humanitarian and ecological fields have become threats to peace and security" (UNSC, 1992). During this time, intra-state and intra-regional conflicts, characterised by mass displacement of people and the using of rape as a weapon of war started to emerge around the globe. These new conflicts often referred to as "new wars" made civilians more likely to be both the targets and means of warfare (Kaldor, 2012). The traditional view on state sovereignty began to dissolve and the security discourse shifted towards a more people focused human security (Thakur, 2006, 72). In the late 1990s a variety of actors, including Sweden made use of the new situation in international politics and promoted a feminist discourse. They started an intense lobbying campaign within the UN headquarters and in the year 2000, the UNSC unanimously adopted resolution 1325 on women, peace and security (Shepherd, 2008; Tryggestad, 2009).

2.1.2 Agenda 1325: Resolutions, Content and Objectives

UNSCR 1325 is part of a wider rights based legal framework developed by the UN to protect women's rights. This legal framework include, among other tools, the UN Declaration of Human

Rights, Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against women (CEDAW) and the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and People's Rights on the Right of Women in Africa (Hudson, 2009, 3). UNSCR 1325 is generally considered a groundbreaking resolution, because it was the first time that the UNSC formally addressed matters of women's interest and concerns. It recognises the differential impact war and conflict have on women and men and women's role in peacebuilding (Hudson, 2009, 3; Tryggestad 2009, 539).

The resolution consist of 18 provisions and recognize a wide range of policy objectives that apply to both the UN and member-states. These provisions can be narrowed down into three main categories, namely representation, gender perspective and protection. The first four provisions urges member-states to increase the active participation of women in all levels of regional, national and international decision-making and seeks to expand the role and contribution of women in all field-based mechanism of conflict resolution. Provision 5- 8 calls on all involved actors to adopt a gender perspective in peace processes and request gender sensitive training concerning the protection, right and the particular needs of women in conflict situations, as well as on the importance of involving women in peacekeeping and peacebuilding measures. The last 10 provisions on protection, reporting and monitoring considers all parties in conflict and conflict resolution to empathizes an increased awareness of women's rights and women's vulnerable situation in conflict-zones. These provisions also calls on all parties to uphold International Humanitarian law and emphasizes responsibility of all states to end impunity for all types of war crimes including sexual and other forms of violence against women (UNSC, 2000).

Other resolutions connected to UNSCR 1325 has followed since its adoption. These resolutions namely, UNSCR 1820, 1960, 2106 and 2122 are very similar to the original document, however, emphasize certain aspects and contribute with some clarifications and changes that respond to criticism raised regarding the UNSC 1325. All of these documents are primarily concerned with the protective aspects of the original resolution, stressing further measures in combating sexual violence. UNSCR 1820 adopted in the year of 2008, clarifies the fact that sexual and other forms of violence are used as tactics to dominate or reallocate members of communities. It also sheds light on the fact that these malfeasances can persist after cessation of hostilities and urges participators in processes to take affected local community's views into account (UNSC, 2008, 2- 3). UNSCR 1960 and 2106 extend on this issue by stressing an increased focus to end impunity for crimes committed in connection to armed conflict, "noting with concern that only a limited number of perpetrators of sexual violence have been brought to justice" (UNSC, 2010, 1). The latter, moreover, notes that sexual violence may also occur against "men and boys" and have an indirect impact, traumatising those forced to witness sexual violence against family members (UNSC 2013a, 1). UNSCR 2122

highlights empowerment as a central aspect to achieve gender equality, peace and security. The resolution consists of specific provisions urging actors to support development, national institutions, as well as local networks to generate sustainable assistance to women affected by armed conflict (UNSC, 2013b, 5).

2.1.3 Implementation of Agenda 1325

Results from the last 15 years, since the UNSCR 1325 was adopted show that the agendas objectives to a large part has failed to materialize in practice and Women's issues raised in the resolutions are not touched upon systematically (Bell, 2010, 964). Binder (2008, 23) argues that “it seems like many states are unaware of it or do not take it seriously enough”. Agenda 1325 has been accused of being only rhetorical and futile, both in regards to furthering women’s agency, but also concerning its ability to challenge impunity. Bell (2010, 980), describes the possibility to take punitive action in conflict as a paradox concerning how much justice that could be sacrificed in a peace process. If the fighting does not stop, then small achievements could be made concerning security or justice. If all issues of justice are sacrificed to reach stability, then only marginalized opportunities remain to transform women's lives. However, liberals highlight the fact that it's a new norm in the making and argues that ideas and concepts nourished by the UN has a tendency to spread rapidly (Tryggestad, 2009, 541).

There is a general agreement among scholars, that NGOs advocating for women’s and human rights have gained new leverage through the documents and that they have used them quite extensively (Otto, 2004, 1; Tryggestad, 2009; Shepherd; 2011, 507). Most scholars therefore, see potential in the agenda and does not totally disregard its objectives and purpose. Even critical researchers such as Shepherd (2011, 505) consider Agenda 1325 as a legal document and must be taken seriously by states. However, the extent to which UNSC makes international law that is binding on member-states is highly contested (Tryggestad, 2009, 544). Another debate concerns monitoring and evaluation tools to generate indicators for progress in regard to the agendas implementation. National action plans (NAPs) are seen as the way forward in regards to solving the issue with the legal status and monitoring gap (Hudson, 2009, 4).

2.2 NAPs and Sweden’s role in Peace and Development

2.2.1 NAPs

In 2002 the president of the UNSC urged member states to develop NAPs:

“with goals and timetables, on the integration of gender perspectives in humanitarian operations, rehabilitation and reconstruction programmes, including monitoring mechanisms, and also to develop targeted activities, focused on the specific constraints facing women and girls in post-conflict situations, such as their lack of land and property rights and access to and control over economic resources” (NGO WG, 2005, 48).

Member-states are involved in many aspects of peacebuilding and many countries have troops in foreign locations and NAPs therefore, play a crucial role ensuring that the objectives in Agenda 1325 are implemented. Systematic monitoring by states also generates gender disaggregated data that can be used to move the agenda forward in terms of initiatives, ideas, goals, funds and action. Nations must, in regard to the broad objectives in the agenda, use gender as an analytical tool that explores how gender reconfigures peacebuilding and peacekeeping rather than simply assume that the inclusion of women is a panacea (ibid). The plans also set out to support member-states to implement the agenda, strengthen the accountability of the UN and enhance cooperation between agencies (Hudson, 2009, 11).

2.2.2 Sweden’s role in Peace and Development

The Swedish government is working directly with various countries and support multilateral organizations in their work for poverty reduction, peace and gender equality in the world. The main commitment is to poverty reduction and involves a range of interlinked agendas and priorities (UD, 2010). Sweden, currently has twelve development cooperations with countries that are in a stage of conflict or postconflict (UD, 2009). “Peace and Security” are one of six priority areas for Swedish aid. This focus is explained by the negative reciprocity between war and armed-conflict and socio-economic development and human rights. War and conflict halt developments in these areas and lack of socio-economic progress and violations of human rights makes societies more prone to conflict (UD, 2011). Swedish assistance aims to be tailored to various regions' situation and condition in order to avoid actions to exacerbate conflicts (SIDA, 2014). Some situations even require military commitments and peace operations. Sweden has a long tradition of supporting all aspects of UN’s peace work and currently has military-observers in the Congo and troops deployed under UN-mandate in countries such as Kosovo, Afghanistan and Mali (FN-Fakta, undated).

Sweden view the Agenda 1325 as a profile-issue and was one of the first countries to develop a NAP. The new foreign ministry furthermore, strives to be perceived as a strong “feminist voice” and “partner for equality” to support the empowerment of women (UR - Samtiden, 2014). The foreign

office in Sweden describes gender equality as a goal in itself, but also as a prerequisite for justice and sustainable development globally and an essential part of democratic development. Gender equality is achieved when men and women, boys and girls have the equal rights, terms, possibilities and the power to shape their own fortune and contribute to society (UD, 2010, 7). According to the Swedish NAPs, it is based on a “holistic view of security, development and human rights” (2006, 2; 2009, 8). The drafting has legitimized the work of the UN, by attracting interest and inspiring other countries and organizations to its course (NAP, 2008, 1). The overall goal of the documents and its measures are “to make visible and strengthen women’s participation, power, influence, importance, security and enjoyments of their human rights before, during and after conflicts” (NAP, 2006, 6).

2.3 Perspectives on Gender Mainstreaming

2.3.1 Definition

There are different definitions of gender mainstreaming in the academic debate. The most relevant for this thesis is the definition provided by the UN, since this thesis sets out to analyze national policy documents that has its origin in a UN context. Gender mainstreaming as defined by the UN, is the:

“process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programs, in all areas and at all levels. It is a strategy for making women’s as well as men’s concerns and experiences an integral dimension of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programs in all political, economic, societal spheres so women and men benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated. The ultimate goal is to achieve gender equality” (ECOSOC, 1997).

As such, gender mainstreaming is a set of context-specific, strategic approaches as well as an institutional and technical process established to achieve the overarching and long-term goal of gender equality (UN - Women, 2014, 7).

2.3.2 Gender Mainstreaming: Historical Background

In the year of 1989, Enloe (2000, 7), posed the simple question: "Where are the women?", when trying to make feminist sense of International politics. Enloe's groundbreaking work revealed the invisibility of women in international politics and that security was dominated by masculine values. The UN had since the first years of its foundation worked with women’s issues, gender

equality and the empowerment of women (UN - Global Issues). However, it was not until the 1990s that gender mainstreaming became a strategy and a norm within the organization to make women more involved and visible in agenda-setting processes.

The UN World Conference on Women in Beijing in the year of 1995, is seen as the breaking point in this respect, where member-states adopted the Beijing Platform for Action. This Platform focused on 12 `strategic objectives` and contained two interlinked strategies for achieving gender equality, namely, gender-balanced decision-making, calling for equal participation and gender mainstreaming, concerned with mainstreaming a gender perspective in all aspects and phases of policy-making (Krook, 2010, 118-119). The interlinking between the strategies is the acknowledgement that successful mainstreaming in part is determined by the achievement of gender balance through which cultural sensitivity, local knowledge and gender awareness are supposed to be received (Mazurana, 2005, 13). The Beijing meeting has since been followed by a number of declarations and meetings on gender mainstreaming and the strategy are currently deployed in a number of developmental settings, including peace and security through Agenda 1325 (UN-Women, 2014, 7-11). The origin of gender mainstreaming can be found in an international context, but has since then taken up by members-states and multilateral institutions such as the EU (Walby, 2003, 2).

2.3.3 Perspectives on gender mainstreaming

This subheading will initially introduce major feminist schools of thought before moving on to shed light on important debates, views and discussions concerning gender mainstreaming.

The common feature between different feminist perspectives is the quest for equality. This is as mentioned earlier, also the main objective of gender mainstreaming. Liberal feminists are mainly concerned with legal constraints that hinder women's entrance and ability to flourish in political, economical and social realms. A broad rights based framework is, therefore, a necessity in the liberal school of thought that protects women's rights to achieve equality (Tickner, 2001, 12-13). Female participation and to make women, visible in institutions are seen as one way to incorporate women's experiences in policy-making and removing legal obstacles to their subordination (True, 2014, 230). Marxist feminist believe that inequality and the subordination of women are embedded in the patriarchal and capitalist structure. This structure contains a social order which relegates women in the private rather than the social sphere. Gender mainstreaming can in accordance with this approach only be viewed as a success if it transforms the system or make women's contribution in the private visible and valued in the public domain (Tickner, 2001, 16). Poststructuralism and postcolonial feminism are branches of feminism that incorporate poststructuralist thought,

intersectional perspectives and have connections to postmodernism and postmodern critical theory. Poststructuralists main concern is language and how language constructions often are dichotomies that are gendered. Discourse analytical tools in regard to peace and security studies have for example noted how these concepts are historically constructed and gendered, in which women are weak and stereotypically associated with with idealized versions of peace while men are strong and masculine values are associated with security and war (Tickner, 2001, 37; Florence, 1987, 56). Binary distinctions and essentialist assumptions of the sexes are functioning as organizing principles for how global politics and security is understood and acted upon (Willett, 2010, 145). Mainstreaming policies are, therefore, only successful if it empowers those invisible in mainstream discourses and practices.

Gender mainstreaming is a contested concept and practice, which encapsulates many of the tensions and dilemmas in feminist theory and generate new debates on how to move them forward (Walby, 2003, 2). Walby (ibid), identifies five major issues in the analysis of gender mainstreaming. However, only three of these will be presented here in due to the level of relevance for the objectives stated in this thesis. These three issues are: the tension between “gender equality” and “mainstreaming”, models of “gender equality” invoked in the mainstreaming process and the relationship between gender mainstreaming and intersectionality.

The tension of “gender equality” and “mainstreaming” is rooted in the fact that gender mainstreaming as a strategy are holding both these objectives simultaneously. Mainstreaming is in the academic debate separated into two types of approaches, namely, “agenda-setting” or “integrationist”. Agenda-setting refers to the type of approach that transforms and reconfigure processes and paradigms, rethinks policy and priorities gender equality. In contrast, integrationist implies a mainstreaming approach that incorporate a gender perspective into institutions and organizations without challenging existing norms (ibid, 4). Many critical scholars claim that mainstreaming in many scenarios is applied without a political element and that it is merely, rhetorical (Nilsson, 2013, 127). New norms entering institutions often have to compete with traditional ones. This hostile institutional environment generates a negotiation process that often modifies the radical nature of the mainstreaming agenda (Parpant, 2014, 385-386). Nilsson (2013, 128), points out that some feminist argue that the assimilation of mainstreaming removes feminism and leaves little opportunity for gender equality.

Models of gender equality invoked on mainstreaming is a debate that also relates to the various conceptualizations of the two concepts and what is to be considered equality. Walby (2003, 6), pinpoint three different types of visions for gender equality, namely, sameness, difference or transformative. Sameness is in line with a liberal conception of gender and strives for generating

equality based on equal rights and opportunities. Difference is the move towards equal valuation of men's and women's contributions to society. Transformation is in line with critical perspectives and marxist feminism, aiming for new standards that transforms gender relations. Most scholars rest their beliefs in one of these visions and view them as mutually exclusive. Walby (ibid, 7), highlight that the main question is if gender mainstreaming can be reduced to only retain gender standards of status quo or if it has to have transformation as its main objective.

Nilsson (2013, 126) underline that the term "sisterhood" is used frequently in feminist discourse implying that all women are united in a common course. This idea that women seem to have similar interest, even if they live in different contexts have generated a debate about gender mainstreaming relation to intersectionality. The goal of gender equality cannot be achieved if mainstreaming is implemented in isolation from other forms of inequality (Walby, 2003, 11). Women benefit different from gender mainstreaming processes, social policies and the political structure in accordance with their class, race and cultural affiliation. Some might even benefit from discriminatory structures against other women living in another context and system (Nilsson, 2013, 126). An intersectional understanding of inequality is, therefore, paramount for a developing successful mainstreaming strategy to achieve equality (Parpart, 2014, 389). Walby (2003, 14), writes that the debate is important, but unresolved, mainly because the agenda runs the risk of losing visibility and focus if integrating a wider concept of gender inequality.

2.4 Mainstreaming and Security

The final part of this chapter extend on the issues raised about mainstreaming in the last section by presenting critical literature and scholars using postcolonial and poststructuralist tools and lenses on gender mainstreaming in the case of Agenda 1325. This section will contribute in establishing a critical theoretical framework, provide analytical criteria and the literature will be triangulated and used to assess the language in my analysis.

Critical feminist scholars using discourse analysis criticize Agenda 1325 as being toothless in furthering women's agency. The criticisms concern: that women and children are being victimized on biological grounds, not considering intersectional variations and perpetuate masculine and neoliberal hegemonic structures and values. Feminist work has for decades contested top down approaches, highlighting its harmfulness on marginalized groups (Shepherd, 2008, 398). Agenda 1325 recognise women's importance in peacebuilding by stressing equal participation. However, Shepherd (2011, 506) writes that the agenda is built up by constructions of gender and security "that assume it's largely synonymous with biological sex and, further, reproduce logics of identity that

characterized women as fragile, passive, and in need of protection” and “locates the responsibility for protection in the hands of elite political actors”. Charlesworth (2009, 560) who scrutinize gender binaries embedded in the document such as women being peaceful and men violent, concludes that these are not accurate and therefore, stresses that the argument of equality for women’s participation should be highlighted. UNSCR 2106 address this critique and represents a paradigm shift and acknowledge that “men and boys” also can be targets of sexual violence. However, this is not done systematically and, according to Dolan (2014, 80), this recognition can be seen as “rather tentative and, can be interpreted as trying to minimize the significance of political violence against them”.

Another stream of criticism concern that Agenda 1325 lacks an in-depth analysis of intersectional variations and thus, therefore, not consider class, religion, gender and cultural diversities (Cohn, 2008, 202). Pratt (2013, 775-777) argues that the content of Agenda 1325 is based on essentialist assumption about (brown) women experiencing conflict and the (white) man’s realm of security, which reproduce stereotypes and structures of power through gendered, racialized and sexualized hierarchies. In her analysis, women are included and turned from being victims to peacekeepers, in due to that they are connected to the local-level and embody protective and peaceful skills as mothers, while simultaneously being supposed to share the universal principles of peace. In addition, the agenda does not recognize sexual violence towards men and women in the same way generating a multilayered hierarchy of victims. Cohn (2008, 200-202) and Parpant (2008, 12) calls for a more complex and fluid understanding of gender assumptions and highlight that Agenda 1325 erase difference among and between women and that it does not acknowledge the continual transformation of identities. Cohn (2012, 28) highlight the fact that the vulnerability of neither men or women in specific armed conflicts could be understood without taking complex historical, political, social and cultural processes into account that constitute that context.

These critical scholars generally argue that certain types of feminism are not represented in the 1325 framework and that it lack transformative power for women in conflict and peace processes. Instead, the agenda harnesses the women’s agency and does not contest the hegemonic framework of neoliberal institutionalism and masculine security values. Shepherd’s (2008), study regarding the initial lobbying process for UNSCR 1325, point out that NGOs within the UN share similar values as the organization and that the gender conceptions in Agenda 1325 is incompatible with human security discourse. Gibbling (2011), make visible in her study a UN culture that excludes people and ideas that contest its work and agendas. Hudson (2009, 2), writes that “women are added to the peacebuilding discourse and power relations are left unexamined”. The agenda is fixated on protection and incorporate women within an untransformable system (Hudson, 2011, 44). Parpant (2014, 387), highlight that the focus on women and girls gives the impression that those alone can

achieve gender equality. Others criticise, that the agenda lacks accountability and that tools available to respond to war-crimes are limited to masculine strategies of sanctions and punishment (Aroussi, 2011). Mainstreaming has generated that issue stressed by critical scholars such as militarization, arms trade and neoliberal hegemony, now are deemed “too political” and that “women as peacemakers” puts too much war on gender, instead of the other way around (Cohn, 2008, 202-203). Zalewski (2010, 24), argues that the main objective of mainstreaming shall be to eradicate gender and gender structures, not to create new nicer gender stereotypes and in this sense loss its transformative capability.

3. Theoretical Framework

3.1 Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical Discourse analysis (CDA), is a branch within discourse analysis that “provides theories and methods for the empirical study of the relations between discourse and social and cultural developments in different social domains” (Jørgensen, 2011, 60). In this thesis, CDA serves the purpose of both constituting the theoretical framework as well as assigning the methodological tools for the analysis. This means that it has both been functioning as an interpretative lens on the material and served as guidance in the information retrieval. There are a number of approaches within CDA. I have decided to focus on Fairclough’s understanding, because he provides a simple and flexible approach, emphasising change and intertextuality which suits this thesis.

Discourse analysis are one of several approaches within social constructivism. Social constructivism is a perspective based on philosophical assumptions that it exists no objective truths, but rather is our knowledge of reality products of categorizations of reality or discourse, which in turn reproduces certain discourses. These discourses are products of cultural and historical processes that are created, reproduced and maintained by interactions between people. Knowledge is, therefore, linked with social processes and interactions which bring forth a social construction that legitimize certain forms of social action (Jørgensen, 2011, 1-10). Discourse could be understood as “a form of social action that plays a part in producing the social world, including knowledge, identities and social relations” (ibids, 5). The social world is not fixed but in constant fluctuation. Other common features of discourse analysis is that they all emphasize structural linguistic philosophy, meaning that we can only access reality through language and that physical objects only gain meaning through discourse. Moreover, all discourse analysis has a theoretical origin in western Marxism, Gramsci’s view on hegemony and Althusser’s view on ideology and are critical in the sense that they scrutinize power relations in society (Fairclough, 2003, 232). Discourse reproduce, create and maintain unequal power relations between social classes, men and women and generates patterns of dominance in which some are empowered and others subordinated (Jørgensen, 2011, 18).

CDA shares many common features with discourse analysis, but the approaches are separated due to differing views on discourse, power, ideology and social practices which leads to differing methods and research aims. All of these distinctions will not be elaborated on in detail, however, one aspect crucial for the structure and analysis in this thesis are CDA’s understanding that society is not solely constructed by discourse. According to CDA, society consists of both discursive and

non-discursive practices, the former being text, talk and other semiological systems and the latter being other social practices such as economical, biological and institutionalized forms of social actions. Discourse both constitutes the social world and is constituted by other social processes. It shapes social structures, but also reflect them. The discourse analysis in CDA therefore, needs to be connected with other theories if one is to say something about the broader social context (Jørgensen, 7, 18-19, 61-71). In this thesis, the literature in the second chapter serves the purpose of bridging my analysis with the broader context. Another differing aspect is that Fairclough views people as both “masters and slaves” of language and unlike other scholars therefore, recognise that people have the ability to create discourse and transform power relations (ibid, 17).

CDA's main focus is how discourse figures as an element in social processes and how these relate to each other. It's critical in due to its understanding that language and social interaction and processes figures within social relations of power, ideology and dominance, which it seeks to discern. Moreover, because it strives to formulate normative perspectives with emancipatory knowledge interest, committed to social change (Fairclough, 2003, 229-230). According to Fairclough, discourse can be understood on three different levels and he offers a three dimensional model for CDA concerning: text, discursive practices and social practice. The analysis of the text cover linguistic features that create and give meaning to social processes. The discursive practices are concerned with the production and the consumption of the text. The last dimension, namely, the social practice examines the wider social context to which the text belongs. The reason behind this three dimensional approach and theoretical framework is that since a text is not isolated from events, practises and structures, it has to be understood and analyzed in relation to its surrounding context (Jørgensen, 2011, 67-70).

4. Method

4.1 Research Design and Strategy

This thesis is a qualitative case study (Bryman, 2012, 35) concerned with how gender is mainstreamed in the Swedish NAPs. The analysis use methodological tools received by Fairclough and the findings are examined through CDA. Previous literature on mainstreaming in Agenda 1325 have contributed to the theoretical framework, provided analytical criteria and will also been triangulated in the analysis. The case is as such an exemplifying case (ibids, 70), in due to that, findings are placed and discussed within a broader context and previous research.

4.2 Material

The analysis of this thesis concerns the two Swedish NAPs adopted in the year of 2006 and 2009. As I mentioned in the introduction chapter, these two documents make an interesting case because they function as a bridge between UN's objectives for women and peace in theory and practice. Sweden has a special position in peace and development, working both bilateral and through multilateral organisations and contributing to various efforts by troops, advisers, and funding. The plans are also currently up for review, which makes critical research pivotal for positive steps forward. CDA is concerned with change and since the reports have been drafted a certain year, it reflects the surrounding context of that time. Therefore, it generates the possibility of analyzing how the content and text might have been transformed through the inclusion of certain issues and criticism. The gathering of material did not have to go through any sampling process in due to the limited number of plans in the Swedish context. Secondary sources in this thesis contain of academic literature, documents from Swedish governmental agencies and media such as radio programs, discussing Sweden's foreign policy.

4.3 Research Method

The starting point of the CDA is a social issue or problem (Fairclough, 2003, 229), and the issue addressed in this thesis is how gender is mainstreamed in the Swedish NAPs. CDA was chosen because it focuses on text, emphasise power relations and change furthermore, in due to, that finding can be connected with a broader social analysis (Jørgensen, 2011, 62-66). Analytical tools for studying change through CDA is by applying an interdiscursive and intertextual analysis. Interdiscursivity is when different discourses and genres (diverse ways of acting) are articulated together, which changes the order of discourse (meaning-making aspects in a social order) (ibid,

2011, 73). In the order of discourse, some discourses are dominant and other marginal, but various discourses can to a greater or lesser extent constitute the social order. The political concept of “hegemony” is for example referred to in the analysis concerning neoliberal gender solutions and that masculine values prevail in gender mainstreaming processes within the security discourse (Fairclough, 2003, 235). Intertextuality refers to the condition whereby text builds their argument, content and authority through referring to other events and texts. Jørgensen (2011, 74), writes that a “text can be seen as a link in an intertextual chain”. According to Fairclough, the two concepts are marks of both stability and instability. Change is marginalized by power-relations, but can occur by recontextualising existing discourses in new ways (ibid).

As I wrote earlier, the subsection on “Mainstreaming in Security” provided me with analytical criteria. The criteria that could draw out from that literature where:

- How broad is the concept of gender, is it fixed, what is included/excluded?
- How are women and men portrayed?
- What is the idea behind gender mainstreaming?
- What discourses are dominant

There is no specific outline how to conduct a CDA and tools applied could be “tailored to match the special characteristic of the project” (Jørgensen, 2011, 76). These criteria as well as applying Fairclough’s own techniques for CDA illustrated in Jørgensen and Phillips (2011) and Wetherell (2003), has worked as a frame when I have been searching for specific gender features to map out ideas, patterns and discourses. Fairclough’s tools that I have used in my textual analysis are:

- *Interactional controlling* (relationship between speakers and who set the agenda),
- *Ethos* (how identities are constructed through language), this include, detailed textual features such as choice of words and grammar that point to normalization of processes (Jørgensen, 2011, 81-89). The textual coding concerning *ethos*, have been inspired by Shepherd (2008; 2011) usage of gender nouns such as women being passive and men referred to as aggressive and violent.
- *Whole text analysis*, is applied to get a general impression of the document and concerns aspects such as overall narrative, structure and coherence (Fairclough, 2003, 241).

Another analytical tool used in this thesis is provided by Kronsell (2006) and concern “gender silences”. The goal of applying such a tool is to problematize masculinity and masculine hegemony by focusing on normalities reproduced in organisations and institutions (ibid, 110). As I mentioned

in chapter two, gendered concepts in connection to peace and security are historically constructed and associate women with peace and men with security and war (Tickner, 2011, 37; Florence, 1987, 56). This historical process has affected organisations that deal with security issues to such an extent that men and masculine values are normalised and silenced. By using Kronsell's (2006) understanding of gender silences one can access these normalisations by investigating issues that are unspoken and not addressed in the NAPs.

As a concluding remark for this chapter, I will forewarn readers of partiality by elaborating on my position as a researcher conducting a CDA. It should be made clear that I am a pacifist with left-wing political opinions and that I decided on this methodological approach to shed light on power imbalances and silenced issues that must be addressed in the security domain. This thesis do not claim objectivity and are influenced by the values of other researchers and my own political affiliation. However, as mentioned earlier, this thesis have no ambition to have any effect on the revision process of the Swedish NAPs.

4.4 Methodological Strengths and Limitations

The main strength of CDA is that the approach generates the possibility to connect a social practice with the surrounding and broader social context (Fairclough, 2000, 167). Moreover, that the approach provide flexibility to use the analytical tools in a way that suits the thesis (Jørgensen, 2011, 76). The main weaknesses are that case studies can't be generalized (Bryman, 2012, 70). In addition, the analysis does not cover aspect such as how the NAPs have been consumed by other countries or organizations that draw inspiration from it or use it to pursue their interest. However, to generalize the findings or to study how the NAPs are used in practice were not the objective of this thesis. The aim is to offer contextual evidence on how gender is mainstreamed in the Swedish plans. How the plans are consumed and used in practice remain a suggestion for further research.

5. Analysis

The aim of this chapter is to analyse the two Swedish NAPs. My reading on these documents has been focused on gender mainstreaming: how it functions as a policy tool and how gender is constructed. The analysis has been guided by CDA and the literature presented in chapter two, both has provided methodological instruments and the theoretical framework. The findings will also be connected to previous literature in order to affiliate and place the analysis within a broader social context. The chapter will end with a section addressing gender silences within the NAPs.

5.1 Production and Consumption of the Swedish NAPs

As pointed out in the theoretical framework, Faircloughs three dimensional model of analysis is based on the understanding that a text is not isolated from other texts, events and structures. The Swedish NAPs therefore, both reflects and are shaped by other texts, events, actors and surrounding social structures, which in this case include:

- Swedish governmental agencies
- The UN and Agenda 1325
- Development cooperations with other states, the EU, NATO etc.
- International, national and local civil society organisations
- Research institutions

All these actors have influenced the design and content of the Swedish NAPs, which both reflects the broad objective and the many challenges to implement the agenda such as funding, cooperation and coordination. The NAPs are also directed towards these actors and one purpose of the documents are to attract interest and inspire deeper cooperation and new partners (NAP, 2006, 5-6; NAP, 2009, 6-8). However, despite the fact that the NAPs are involving various actors, it is still in its essence a state-centered approach.

Shepherd (2008, 397), writes that “the involvement of “global civil society” is seen as fundamentally benign” between parties on the international, national and local level and that such cooperation function in a discourse of globalisation that is underpinned by neoliberalism and reproduce a “liberal “westphalian” narrative of sovereignty”. In the first NAP, 7 out of 75 provisions concerns cooperations with NGOs and women’s organisation and in the second NAP, 6 out of 63. All these provisions illustrate this benign relationship, in due to that they in a neutral fashion aim at increasing the involvement and support of international, national and local NGOs and women’s organisations. One provision featured in both NAPs, states that Swedish delegations in conflict areas should include “talks with relevant representatives” (2006, 9; 2009, 14), which

makes it very clear that it is the delegation that decides the agenda and whom to involve in the peace process. Another aspect pointed out by Shepherd (2008, 397), is that the powerful actors such as international agencies, NGOs and states compete on the “gender-market” and fund their own staff and projects which put strains on limited local capabilities and drown local voices. None of the provisions in the NAPs give any detailed analysis of power relations between actors and how marginalized can affect the implementation and objectives. Moreover, the NAPs treat all actors like they share a universal understanding of peace and security. The documents can therefore, only be viewed as a top-down approach that reproduce the international order and a global discourse of neoliberalism. This will be further elaborated in the last section of the analysis.

5.2 Gender Mainstreaming

5.2.1 Mainstreaming as a Tool

The NAPs commit Sweden to promote mainstreaming in the UN, NATO, OSCE, EU institutions and other development cooperations, furthermore, work to increase the proportion of women in peace negotiations. However, the use of mainstreaming as a strategy in the NAPs are limited and refers primarily to Sweden rather than development cooperations and local initiatives. The first NAP focuses on increasing the participation of women in the swedish armed forces and police (2006, 3). The second NAP has broader and more detailed objectives in regards to strategy and measures. The quotation strategy in this document is more specific, introducing technical innovations to make use of the limited recruitment base of women and includes increasing the proportion of women in both uniformed and non-uniformed civilian operations. Gender balance is for the first time mentioned as an aim. It also emphasizes that more female candidates are to be nominated for senior positions in international operations. (NAP, 2009, 11-12). However, none of the documents included a detailed analysis of power relations and underlying causes for the mismatch in representation between women and men. The only reason that can be traced in the document for using mainstreaming as a strategy within a Swedish context is that the country want to set a “good example” on the international arena and that women more easily can make contact with the female part of the civilian population (NAP, 2006, 12; NAP, 2009, 16, 22). Another interesting aspect is that both documents see the promotion of civilian observers as a possibility to increase the participation of women in missions (NAP, 2006, 16; NAP, 2009, 22), which gives the impression that these tasks are more suitable for women than uniformed operations. In conclusion, the provisions on gender mainstreaming in the NAPs are vague concerning questions such as how, when and why. The plans want to strengthen women's influence and protection in peace processes,

but the main focus is on mainstreaming within a Swedish context. Moreover, the plans seem to be built on the conception that increased participation equals gender equality. The using of the strategy must therefore, be viewed as integrationist and emphasizing mainstreaming rather than equality, in due to that it incorporates a gender perspective without challenging existing norms.

5.2.2 The Concept of Gender

Both NAPs contain a narrow and fixed concept of gender, consisting of only men and women and there is nothing mentioned on cultural diversity or intersectional variations. The documents recognize the challenge that overall goals must be supplemented by concrete action in specific situations, but the only way they address this is by encouraging dialogue with local partners. Gender is in the NAPs as Shepherd (2011, 506) highlighted in Agenda 1325 “largely synonymous with biological sex”. Women in conflict are treated as either in need of help entering institutions and processes or as victims of conflict situations requiring protection, human rights and influence. Provisions in the plans that target to strengthen the participations for women are in most cases placed in the same sentence as protective aspects such as, “issues concerning women’s active participation, security and needs” (NAP, 2006, 14). This gives the impression that participation rest on women being incapable or as Shepherd (ibid), puts it “passive and in need of protections”. The first document recognize at least at one point that women might be actors in warfare (2006, 1). However, nouns as protection, security and vulnerability are only connected to women and girls and the plans set out to ensure their “special protection needs” (NAP, 2009, 5). This undermines that gender equality is the central aspect for the inclusion of women in peace processes, which goes in line with Hudson’s (2011, 44) and Charlesworth’s (2009) critique that Agenda 1325 is too fixated on protection. Moreover, the lack of an intersectional understanding of inequality and cultural diversity generates a strategy that is blind to complex structures of marginalization and that only have a small chance to have a significant effect on gender equality (Cohn, 2012, 28). An interesting observation is that gender assumption such as women being vulnerable and in need of influence only refers to women in conflict situations. The sexes are treated in a neutral fashion in those provisions where the plans refer to Swedish women and men or mainstreaming process in an international context.

Men are only mentioned a few times in the documents, 11 times in the first NAP and 15 times in the second and there is little mentioned on men’s dominant position and nothing about men’s vulnerability in armed conflict. As pointed out earlier, men are treated in a neutral way in the NAPs when referring to Swedish men, men in an international context or men in general. This occurs in

provisions and statements regarding for example: that Swedish delegation should “consist of both women and men”(2006, 9; 2009, 13-14) and that work around Agenda 1325 have to be a “common concern” and “discussed with both women and men” (2006, 7, 14; 2009, 11, 18). The times when the NAPs refer to men in countries experiencing conflict then they are almost exclusively connected to gender-related violence, portrayed as aggressive or in need of dialogue with delegations concerning women’s participation, human rights and security (2006, 1, 9-10, 13; 2009; 13-14). Only two times are men in conflict areas not connected with one of those three aspects and that is when the first NAP states its overall goal, that women should participate on an equal footing with men in conflict situations (2006, 1, 6). Fixed gender assumptions like women being passive and men violent perpetuate gender structures and power relations by generating organizing principles for how global politics is understood and acted upon (Willett, 2010, 145). Moreover, if applying a postcolonial lens, these findings support Pratt’s (2013) claim that Agenda 1325 is based on assumptions about (brown) women experiencing conflict and the (white) man’s realm of security. Violence is a noun connected only with men in conflict areas and this occurs three times in the first document and two times in the second. Gender related violence furthermore, only refer to “men’s violence against women and girls” (2006, 1, 9-10, 13; 2009; 13-14), and does not recognize that sexual or other forms of violence can occur against men and boys. The overemphasis on women and girls in the documents goes in line with Parpant’s (2014, 387) critique, that this gives the impression that those alone can achieve gender equality. Lastly, the first document completely lacks an analysis of power relations between women and men. The second doesn’t address power relations in the provisions, however, raise awareness of men’s role and dominant position in conflict management mechanisms in its final chapter regarding implementation. Here it states that change also has to come from within institutions and therefore, point out that men in senior positions have a particular responsibility to set a good example and facilitate female participation (2009, 24).

5.3 Gender Silences

The adoption of Agenda 1325 in the UNSC is viewed as one element in a process within the organization and in international politics, that represent a shift in the security discourse, from state-centred realism towards a more individual focused, human security discourse. Aspects of human security are raised in the documents such as education for women to strengthen their independence and generate a livelihood. Moreover, the documents stresses human rights and a strengthening of the juridical systems in countries experiencing conflict or post-conflict situations (NAP, 2006, 10; NAP, 2009, 14, 18). The second NAP goes further than the first and emphasize that women also must have access to loans and credits (2009, 18). However, human security is not mentioned once in

the NAPs. The emphasis on human rights and justice completely refers to a state-led approach, urging states that experience conflict to combat impunity and human rights violations. Human security is therefore, only marginal in the security discourse of the NAPs. The conceptualisation of security, is embedded in a neoliberal understanding of development, in which equality and security is achieved through legislative action, human rights and increased participation. The gender mainstreaming in the NAPs does not mention, address or challenge the hegemonic neoliberal development paradigm. As Hudson (2009,2) points out “women are added to peacebuilding discourse and power relations are left unexamined”.

Issues stressed by critical feminist scholars concerning militarization and arms trade are also excluded from the NAPs. Militarization processes have historically been underpinned by gender binaries that have put restrictions on women’s opportunities in society (Florence, 1987, 56) and arms are usually put in the hands of men and endangers peace on all levels, at all times (Cohn, 2008). One can only with sadness confirm that a nation like Sweden which portrays itself as a “feminist voice” and “humanitarian superpower”, does not include aspects such as militarization and arms trade in an agenda for women, peace and security. Realist military security and arms trade are not addressed and not challenged. The transformational power of gender mainstreaming in the NAPs and of its security discourse are therefore, rather insignificant and “place too much of war on gender” (Cohn, 2008, 202). Moreover, the second NAP place greater emphasis on Sweden’s relations with NATO. Sweden has in recent years moved closer to NATO and the cooperation between the two has increased. This is a sign that masculine power politics still dominate international security and that the second NAP to a greater extent emphasize such a relationship makes it impossible to view the plans as a policy strategy representing a change in the security discourse.

6. Conclusion and Discussion

The aim of this thesis have been to investigate how gender mainstreaming functions within the swedish NAPs, how gender is framed and how the plans differ to offer contextual evidence of lessons learned and process of alignments between the plans. The analysis has also triangulated previous literature concerning Agenda 1325 to place the NAPs in a broader context. The inquiry confirm academic evidence regarding the conceptualization of gender, the use of mainstreaming as a strategy and that masculine values and neoliberalism are dominant in the order of discourse in the security domain.

The main finding is that the NAPs does not significantly differ, but instead share many common features concerning how they frame gender and use mainstreaming as a policy tool. Gender mainstreaming as a policy strategy refers to Sweden rather than local initiatives. The NAPs lack an analysis of power relations and the mainstreaming strategy is based on sameness, emphasize mainstreaming over gender equality and are integrationist by nature, in due to that it only focus on the inclusion of women without a political element. The concept of gender in the plans is narrow and fixed, including only women and men and does not emphasize cultural diversity or intersectionality. It is furthermore, built up by essentialist assumptions of men being violent and women passive in need of protection. Men as a gender category is not used often and men in conflict situations are almost exclusively referred to as violent and in need of enlightenment. Women's participation in peace processes are in most cases placed in the same sentence or directly followed by protective and security aspects, which portrays them as passive and in need of protection. The lack of political objectives addressing militarization, arms trade and neoliberal state-centered development moreover, highlight how normalized such elements are in international development, peace and security. Cohn's argument that Gender mainstreaming in security "place too much war on gender" is therefore, also highly relevant in the Swedish case. However, the second NAP distinguish itself from the first in being more detailed concerning objectives and measures, furthermore, it touches upon more issues such as financial support for women and at least at one point mention power relations regarding men's dominant role and responsibility in conflict preventive mechanism. These differentiations do not represent a significant change in discourse and ultimately, the empirical findings in both NAPs confirms academic inquiries conducted on Agenda 1325.

Cohn argues (2009, 203) "that letting (some) women into decision-making positions seems like a small price to pay for leaving the war system essentially undisturbed". The NAPs need to live up to the holistic view on security, development and human rights, which it claims by deploying a

comprehensive approach that include aspects such as militarization, arms trade and hegemonic structures. Gender mainstreaming policies must address these aspects to better combat gender inequalities and to be able to have an impact on international security and the everyday life of marginalized people around the globe. Charlesworth (2009, 560), stresses the gender equality argument for mainstreaming and this aspect must be put in the forefront of the security agenda with a stated goal for actual change for marginalized. Hudson (2009, 11), writes that NAPs could work as bridge between formal and informal peace-process. However, then NAPs must recognize cultural diversity, power relations and give marginalized groups a voice in processes and in agenda-setting on all levels, without assuming that everyone share global conceptions of peace, equality and development. An interesting aspect is that women's organisations and NGOs around the globe have used Agenda 1325 quite extensively. I therefore, stress further research on the consumption aspect of the NAPs to scrutinize how they have been used and inspired countries and organisations in practise.

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