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Experiences of (in)security

An analysis of the Women, Peace and Security agenda

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Abstract

The Women, Peace and Security agenda (WPS) argues for women's rights and recognition of women's situations in all stages of a conflict. Previous research has shown how refugee women seem to be overlooked in international legislation. Existing research considering the WPS agenda has mainly focused on issues of implementation and discourses. This study aims to explore how conceptualizations of security within the international WPS agenda and the Swedish national action plan for its implementation (NAP) can compare to women's refugee experiences of (in)security. The security concept is explored with several frames; traditional state security, human security, and feminist security studies as focusing on security as narrative. This is complemented by a theoretical discussion of conflict and war as experiences. Feminist research methodology is applied as guidelines for the research project. The material for analysis is first, the resolutions of the WPS agenda and the Swedish NAP, and second, interviews of women with refugee experiences. The documents are analysed by using a qualitative content analysis, and thematic analysis is used for the interview material. Furthermore, the two analyses are combined in a comparative discussion. The main conclusions reveal that conceptualizations of security within the regulatory documents do not cover (in)securities described in the interviews. There is a lack of recognition of the importance of women's experiences of conflict and security.

Key words: Women Peace and Security, women's experiences, refugees, security, feminist security studies, UNSCR 1325

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Table of contents

Acknowledgements	iii
List of Abbreviations and Acronyms	iv
1 Introduction.....	1
1.1 Description of Problem	1
1.2 Purpose and Research Question	2
1.3 Structure of the Study.....	3
1.4 Delimitations	4
2 Previous Research.....	5
2.1 The Women, Peace and Security Agenda	5
2.2 Refugee Women.....	7
3 Theoretical Framework.....	10
3.1 The Security Concept	10
3.1.1 Traditional State Security.....	10
3.1.2 Human Security.....	11
3.1.3 Feminist Security Studies.....	13
3.2 Experiences and Conflict	14
3.2.1 Definitions of Conflict	14
3.2.2 War as Experience.....	15
4 Methodology	18
4.1 Feminist Research Methodology.....	18
4.2 Methods for Data Collection and Material.....	20
4.2.1 The Resolutions and the NAP	20
4.2.2 Interviews	20
4.3 Methods for Analysis	22
4.3.1 Qualitative Content Analysis	22
4.3.2 Thematic Analysis.....	23
4.3.3 Analytical Strategy	24
5 Analysis.....	26
5.1 What Do the Documents Say: Content Analysis of WPS Resolutions and NAP.....	26
5.1.1 Security of Refugees	26
5.1.2 Formulations of Security in General	28
5.1.3 Summing Up: Documents and the Concept of Security	31

5.2	What Stories are Told: Thematic Analysis of Interviews	32
5.2.1	(In)securities and Leaving a Home Country	33
5.2.2	(In)securities and Living in Sweden.....	36
5.2.3	Summing Up: Narratives of Security	39
5.3	Comparative Discussion.....	40
6	Conclusions.....	43
6.1	Suggestions for Further Studies	43
	References.....	45
	Appendix 1: Interview Guide.....	52
	Appendix 2: Content Analysis	54
	Appendix 2a: Frame for Content Analysis	54
	Appendix 2b: Index for Content Analysis	55

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List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

FSS	Feminist Security Studies
IDPs	Internally Displaced People
IR	International Relations
NAP	National Action Plan
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNHCR	The United Nations Refugee Agency
UNSCR	United Nations Security Council Resolution
WPS	Women, Peace and Security

1 Introduction

The year 2000 a ground-breaking resolution was adopted by the United Nations Security Council (Pratt & Richter-Devroe 2011). The resolution concerned the rights and role of women in all stages of a conflict. This adoption of UNSCR 1325 was the first time that women's issues were being considered as a matter of security. Since then, more resolutions have been added to a combined agenda: the Women, Peace and Security (WPS) agenda, with the latest addition in 2015 (UNSCR 2244). The main theme of these resolutions, the WPS agenda, is security, which is also the main theme of this thesis. This study is a problematization of the security concept, taking the WPS agenda as a starting point and target for analysis. This is further related and compared to stories told by women about their refugee experiences of having fled from conflict.

One of the reasons for me to engage with the situations of refugee women is the recent year's situation in Sweden, and the rest of Europe, that has been described as a 'refugee crisis' (The Swedish Migration Agency 2016a). The increased rate of asylum seekers prompts discussion on the rights and situations of refugees as an important topic.

Another reason, a more personal one, is how the recent year's debates about refugees have affected me. I started to, more than before, reflect on how many people present in my everyday life that have refugee experiences and experiences of conflict. What struck me the most was that I know nothing about their stories. I never ask, and they never tell. I believe that these stories need to be told and heard, even if it is only I who listens. By listening to these stories and telling small abstracts of them to you, the reader of this thesis, I hope to contribute to some increased understanding to people's lives and experiences, and also, contribute to a questioning of dominant definitions of concepts, such as security and conflict (Wibben 2011).

1.1 Description of Problem

As stated above, the first resolution on the Women, Peace and Security agenda was adopted in 2000 and was seen as a breakthrough for putting gender on the international security agenda for the first time. This is an important acknowledgement by the highest body working for international peace and security, the UN Security Council (Coomaraswamy 2015:5). More resolutions have since

then been developed and adopted to the WPS agenda¹. Sweden, among other countries, has adopted a national action plan (NAP) for the implementation of the WPS resolutions.

Previous research on the WPS agenda has mainly looked at prevailing discourses, problems of implementation and other forms of policy analyses (see for example Shepherd 2008; Tryggestad 2009), but there is not much focus on rights and situations of refugees. The main international legislation concerning refugees is the Refugee Convention from 1951 (UN General Assembly 1951). Previous research has shown that this convention does not take women refugee's specific situations and rights into consideration (Spijkerboer 2000).

What has been left out of the debate is the inclusion of refugee women in international policy and legislation. Refugees are important to consider in a context of women and conflict. Because firstly, refugees have completely different needs and situations than those staying in the geographical area of conflict (Ogata 1999). Secondly, refugee women have different needs and situations than refugee men (Poh-Janrell 2016), as are the ones in focus on the refugee convention. There needs to be specific recognition given to the situations, needs, and variety of refugee women's experiences.

Because the WPS resolutions are directed specifically towards women in situations of conflict, this seems like a suitable focus for this study. I aim to explore how refugee women's experiences of (in)security are covered in the resolutions, as they are not covered by the refugee convention.

Furthermore, the number of asylum seekers to Sweden has been rising over several years (The Swedish Migration Agency 1), and most recently in 2015 the situation was described as a 'refugee crisis' in Sweden (The Swedish Migration Agency 2016a). This raises the relevance of exploring refugees' situations in Sweden.

1.2 Purpose and Research Question

The purpose of this study is to explore whether and how women's refugee experiences of (in)security are counted for, in the way security is framed in the WPS resolutions and the Swedish NAP. In other words, I wish to engage in a comparative discussion between firstly, international and national policy, and secondly, narratives of lived experiences.

I will argue for the importance of narratives and experiences (Wibben 2011; Sylvester 2013), for how narratives can widen the theoretical concepts (security and conflict) that, with its traditional understandings, might be hindering to the protection of refugee women's rights. Considering the above description of research

¹ The WPS agenda includes following resolutions: 1325 (2000), 1820 (2008), 1888 (2009), 1889 (2009), 1960 (2010), 2106 (2013), 2122 (2013), 2242 (2015). These resolutions will be further discussed in following chapters, especially: 2 Previous Research.

problem as well as the purpose of this study, this is the research question that will lead this study:

How do conceptualizations of security within the WPS agenda and the Swedish NAP compare to women's refugee experiences of (in)security?

In the ambition of answering this research question I have developed some steps, or sub-aims, that will take me through the research process. Firstly, I explore what conceptualizations of security, in specific security of refugees, can be found in the WPS resolutions and the Swedish NAP. This will be done with theories on state security, human security and security as narrative (see chapter: 3 Theoretical Framework). Secondly, I seek what narratives of security are told by women with refugee experiences and now living in Sweden. By using diverse theories on security and also theory on how and what defines conflict I aim to shed light on multiple narratives of security and conflict, refugees and new home countries. Thirdly, in a comparative discussion I explore how these two sets of securities and insecurities can relate to one another. All this in the aim of answering the main research question for the thesis and explore how conceptualizations of security in the regulatory documents (WPS resolutions and Swedish NAP) compare to women's refugee experiences.

1.3 Structure of the Study

This introductory chapter presents aim and purpose of this research, together with the research questions guiding this project. Chapter two is an overview of previous research on the topics of, firstly, the WPS agenda, and secondly, refugee women. The WPS resolutions and the NAP focus on women in conflict and post-conflict situations, and I am interested in if refugee women's experiences.

The third chapter presents the theoretical framework, introducing different formulations of the concept of security and the concept of conflict. The theoretical approaches of engaging with the security concept and concepts of war and conflict are in line with feminist security studies' (FSS) argument for further developing and widening concepts (Wibben 2011). Exploring these concepts, enables analysis of the core themes of the WPS resolutions and the NAP.

Chapter four presents the frame of feminist methodology of this project, and also methods and material. This includes two different approaches to two different sets of material, firstly, for the documents I conduct a qualitative content analysis, looking for framings or security. Secondly, I conduct interviews with women with refugee experiences, and, on the transcribed material, conduct a thematic analysis, abstracting key themes from narratives.

The fifth chapter is where the analysis is presented. Starting with the WPS resolutions and the Swedish NAP I look at what kind of framings of security there are in the documents. Specifically, refugee security, but also in more theoretical terms; state security, human security, and narratives of security. This is done to

enable a comparative discussion between, on the one hand, the contents of the documents, and on the other hand, the narratives told by the women participating in this study. Capturing the elements relevant for refugees in the documents I also look terms of war and conflict. The thesis is rounded off with concluding thoughts in chapter six, including ideas and thoughts for future studies.

To sum up, in a combination of theories, material, and methods, including international policy documents and interviews with women with refugee experiences, I will further the argument for inclusion of experiences and widening of traditional concepts.

1.4 Delimitations

With this thesis, I do not aim to make general conclusions or assumptions about all refugees, or all refugee women. Refugees as a social category is not a homogenous group that I can, nor want to, generalize about. This research cannot be seen as representative for all refugees or all refugee women.

What I can say is rather that all refugees come with their own, personal, and multiple experiences, perspectives, and needs. The different stories in this study are presented, and should be seen as, specific and multiple stories. However, this is not something hindering this research process, whereas generalizations are not my aim, but I rather aim to show how diverse stories can be a part of reconceptualising concepts of security.

2 Previous Research

This chapter aims to situate this study in relation to the relevant previous research. Following the research question of this thesis, this chapter will look into two topics, firstly, the WPS agenda, and secondly, refugee women. The first section of the chapter, focusing on WPS, also includes an introduction to the documents that will be used for analysis in this thesis, whereas it would be difficult to read the rest of the chapter otherwise.

2.1 The Women, Peace and Security Agenda

This study aims to engage in discussions around the Women, Peace and Security (WPS) agenda and its resolutions, and in addition, the Swedish NAP. This section presents the resolutions and other relevant policy, as well as gives an overview of what research has been done on the WPS agenda previously. The resolutions and the Swedish NAP will also be used as the material for analysis and their content and context are introduced here.

Resolution 1325 adopted in 2000 made the first resolution on the Women, Peace and Security agenda, commonly referred to the WPS agenda or just WPS. In total, there are eight resolutions on the agenda, all stemming from the UNSCR 1325. The first resolution 1325 (2000) recognizes the under-valuing and under-representation of women in all stages of conflict: before, during and after. Key topics, often referred to as ‘the three Ps’, are; protection, prevention, and participation, the three pillars of 1325 (UNSCR 1325). Resolution 1820 (2008) focuses on sexual violence used as a weapon of war (UNSCR 1820). Resolution 1888 (2009) builds on resolution 1820 and further acknowledges sexual violence in conflict (UNSCR 1888). UNSCR 1889 (2009) focuses on post-conflict situations and peacebuilding and calls for better indicators in measuring the implementation of resolution 1325. Resolution 1960 (2010) reiterates the issue of sexual violence in conflict, this time with institutional tools as well as an outline of what is needed for prevention and protection (UNSCR 1960). Resolution 2106 (2013) focuses on operationalizing existing obligations and gives more detail (UNSCR 2106). UNSCR 2122 (2013) calls for better inclusion of women and urges member states to produce regular reports on the women peace and security agenda. UNSCR 2242 (2015) puts emphasis on previous statements in an effort to clarify them. In this resolution, the Security Council commits to integrate women, peace and security across all country-specific situations. It also covers issues of countering violent extremism and terrorism. Previous research that has been done on the resolutions have mostly

focused on the first resolution, UNSCR 1325 (see for example Shepherd 2008; Pratt & Richter-Devroe 2011).

When resolution 1325 was adopted in 2000, it was the first time women's situation was considered an issue of security. The importance of the resolution is that women's situations and gender equality were seen as interlinked with security and peace, recognized by the highest international organization working for peace and security, the UN Security Council (Coomaraswamy 2015:5). The resolution was adopted with the aim of making armed conflict, peacebuilding, and post-conflict reconstruction, include sensitivity on issues of gender (Shepherd 2011). The WPS resolutions are legally binding for all member states (UN Security Council 1). Resolution 1325 have been translated into around 70 different languages (Peacewomen 1).

Previous research on resolution 1325 and the WPS agenda have focused mainly on two topics; firstly, discourses (see for example Shepherd 2008; Puechguirbal 2010; McWilliams & Kilmurray 2015). Shepherd (2008) studies resolution 1325 and argues how non-critical discursive framings of women can be an explanation to the UNs continued non-inclusion of women. She also argues for the need for a reconceptualization of gender, violence, and security (Shepherd 2008). Secondly, previous research concerns progress and issues of implementation (see for example: Coomaraswamy 2015; George & Shepherd 2016; Tryggstad 2009; Olsson & Gizelis 2013). In 2015, UN Women published a Global Study on the implementation of resolution 1325 (Coomaraswamy 2015). The study highlights some obstacles and challenges to implementation. Challenges identified in the study concerns, for example, prosecution for sexual violence, continuously low numbers of women participating in peace processes, and funding (Coomaraswamy 2015:14-15). The Global study also gives recommendations for further work. This includes focus on prevention, participation of women, and that approaches need to be localized (Coomaraswamy 2015:15-16). The main conclusion of the global study is a call for action to further acknowledge and understand specific needs and concerns of women in situations of conflict (Coomaraswamy 2015:17). The global study recognizes the situations of refugee women with most focus on in the direct conflict area or in refugee camps.

In the effort to implement UNSCR 1325, states have developed national and regional action plans (NAPs) to translate global commitments to more applicable national and regional courses of action. Today, there are 60 countries that have developed and adopted NAPs (Peacewomen 2), as the approach of action plans is a common strategy. In 2006, Sweden was one of the first countries to adopt a NAP (2006). The NAP has since then been revised a couple of times, once in 2009 (NAP 2009), and again in 2016 (NAP 2016). In the process of developing this new 2016 revision of the NAP, different actors have been included, also from the civil society (NAP 2016:8). It is this most recent NAP that will be included as material for analysis in this thesis.

Sweden is ranked as one of the top scoring countries in the world when it comes to gender equality (Inglehart & Norris 2003). This is a part of the image Sweden has of itself. For example, the government's front page states that Sweden has a feminist government. Further explained that Sweden works both internationally

and nationally for gender equality, arguing that “women and men must have equal power to shape society and their own lives” (Government Offices of Sweden 1). The Swedish NAP (2016) is argued to go along the lines of Sweden’s feminist foreign policy (NAP 2016:3). The Swedish feminist foreign policy includes putting gender equality as a fundamental aim. Moreover, the policy aims to ensure human rights of women and girls as essential for peace and sustainable development (Government Offices of Sweden 2). The feminist foreign policy has been analysed by Swedish civil society organisations, presented in a report called ‘How feminist is the Swedish foreign policy?’² (Poh-Janrell 2016). Behind the report are 12 organizations from CONCORD Sweden’s working group on equality (CONCORD). Some of the most central recommendations given in the report are the need to widen the policy to also include migration- and refugee- politics, and also to include climate- and environmental politics.

To sum up, the adoption of UNSCR 1325 in 2000, and the start of the WPS agenda, was seen as a breakthrough for women’s rights and recognition of women’s situation in conflict. Previous research has mainly focused on discourses and issues of implementation, while this study rather focuses on exploring the contents of the resolutions. To implement the WPS resolutions, national and regional action plans are developed. Sweden was one of the first to adopt a NAP and the current one is from 2016. The documents that will be used in the analysis are all of the WPS resolutions and the Swedish NAP (2016).

2.2 Refugee Women

With the focus of this study concerning women’s refugee experiences, this section aims to grasp what research, concerning refugees and refugee women has been done previously. To relate to the situations of today, some statistics are presented, both international and concerning Sweden.

In the world today, there are 65.3 million forcibly displaced people. 21.3 million of them are refugees (UNHCR). The global study on the implementation of 1325 states that the wars of today have resulted in the largest number of internally displaced people (IDPs) and refugees since world war II (Coomaraswamy 2015:21). Some research, for example within the field of globalization, has looked at how refugees are a globalized issue and concern. Local and regional conflicts have global effects in refugees (Scholte 2005). A historical input from IR is that whenever there has been a war, or the like, there has been refugees leaving their homes. Responding to the needs of refugees is challenging the traditional world order of separate states and moving towards international cooperation (Betts & Loescher 2011). The numbers of refugees are rising, and possibly international legislation finds difficulties in adjusting to these changes.

² Original title: *Hur feministisk är Sveriges utrikespolitik?* (Poh-Janrell 2016)

As a refugee, your rights should be protected in terms of the human rights, but the human rights do not stand without critique. Peters and Wolper (1995) argues that the purpose of the human rights might have missed its mark with women. While the aim has been to protect the human rights of all people, an assumed gender neutrality has rather normalised men and their needs, than recognized different needs equally. Resulting in neglecting women's human rights (Peters & Wolper 1995). Freedman (2008) has studied asylum seeking in France and concludes that stricter asylum politics have a bigger impact on women than on men. The reasons for asylum that women usually need is not applied in practice (Freedman 2008).

Besides human rights, the base of international refugee rights is The Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees (1951). The convention contains a definition of the term refugee and states the rules for treatment of people defined as refugees. The definition of the term refugee includes aspects such as fear of prosecution because of race, religion, nationality, membership in a social group, or political opinion (UN General Assembly 1951). Prosecution because of gender is not a part of the definition of refugee. The international refugee convention from 1951 has been criticized for the same issue as mentioned on the critique of human rights, as normalization of men's situations. Experiences and situations of refugee women are in general different from men's and are not appropriately recognized in the convention. For example, one specific criticism is that women's private spheres are not considered by the refugee law (Spijkerboer 2000). UNHCR and the work for refugees have been criticized by women's groups for approaching men and women refugees the same, arguing for more awareness around whether men's and women's experience of flight, displacement, and being a refugee could differ. One thing that has been considered somewhat is women's situations in refugee camps, for example the UNHCR started to design refugee camps to lessen the risk that women face of sexual assault when moving around (Enloe 2010:59). As seen here, the refugee convention has been analysed and criticized for not including a women-specific or feminist perspective on the rights and situation of refugees.

Paying attention to women and girls' situations in war has been increasingly argued for within research (Enloe 2010:83). Enloe argues that the discriminatory inequalities existing in a society are enhanced in a time of war, which means that women's and girls' situations are worsened when in conflict. Girls are more vulnerable in wartime, for example, refugee girls are more likely to be sexually abused (Enloe 2010:84). The life of a refugee is dangerous, but women and girls are especially vulnerable (Poh-Janrell 2016:22). The global study on the implementation of 1325 describes some challenges that refugee women and girls face. For example, lack of proper documentation, sexual violence not characterized as political but rather private, social stigma connected to sexual violence, risk of further persecution (Coomaraswamy 2015:82), and the right to documentation in their own names (Coomaraswamy 2015:83). The global study argues that crisis increases already existing discrimination against women, including less access to basic human rights such as healthcare, education, food, shelter, and nationality. Women and girls are facing health issues and sanitary issues of inadequacy, including in refugee camps, for example, access to reproductive and maternal health care (Coomaraswamy 2015:69).

In 2015 there were over 160 000 asylum seekers in Sweden. The number of asylum seekers in 2015 was double the numbers from the year before where it in 2014 was around 80 000 seeking asylum in Sweden, and 2013 there were around 50 000 (The Swedish Migration Agency 1). One of the specific arguments from the analysis of the Swedish feminist foreign policy, regarding migration and refugee politics, concerns the recent changes in the laws for asylum seeking (The Swedish Migration Agency 2016b). The constraints of possibilities to apply for a residence permit based on family ties affect women more than it affects men, which means that women and girls risk to either stay in the conflict area or leave and reunite with family on their own (Poh-Janrell 2016:5). This possibility to apply for a residence permit based on family ties made women and girls a safer way to leave their country (Poh-Janrell 2016:23). Family ties is the most important reason for seeking asylum in Sweden (The Swedish Migration Agency 2). Because of conflicts in other parts of the world, more and more people are seeking asylum in Sweden. In a study by Aguirre and Hökfelt (2009) the Swedish Migration Agency and asylum guidelines are being studied. They argue that there is a lack of documentation concerning women's health issues, especially for those women who have suffered from sexual violence. Also, a lack of knowledge on gender-related persecution. Aguirre and Hökfelt argue that women are not being heard as much as men, concerning families where the women's stories are rather used to confirm the men's stories, not as a story of its own. They also highlight that women with no or low education, non-literate women, and women subjected to sexual violence are in particularly vulnerable positions (Aguirre & Hökfelt 2009).

As shown above, previous research lacks a perspective arguing for the importance and relevance of women's refugee experiences. Existing laws and regulations that are supposed to protect the rights of refugees often lack a perspective on women's situations. The WPS resolutions have the possibility to include these aspects as they argue for women's specific situations and rights, in a context of conflict and post-conflict.

3 Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework is built of different definitions and formulations of important concepts for the purpose of the thesis. In the aim of answering the research question, the theory focuses on theoretical pieces on security and conflict.

The security concept is discussed within different frames: traditional state security, human security and feminist security studies. The purpose of using the concept of security is to be able to identify its different formulations in the material for analysis, especially in the WPS resolutions and the Swedish NAP. In addition, this will contribute to enabling a comparative discussion between the documents and interviews. The concept of conflict is included along the lines of FSS' aim of widening and further exploring important concepts. Arguably this can add an interesting dimension to the analysis in terms of expanding the understanding of what is seen as conflict and post-conflict situations.

3.1 The Security Concept

The security concepts presented here starts from a traditional definition, moving on to human security, ending in feminist security studies and narratives of security. All the different theoretical approaches to security have the possibility to highlight different aspects of security in the analysis. The main purpose is to identify different ways of defining security in the documents for analysis, to enable a comparative discussion with the lived experiences.

3.1.1 Traditional State Security

Within IR and Security studies, traditional security is a mainstream approach (Shepherd & Weldes 2008). The traditional concept of security focuses on the state and the security of the nation (Baylis 2011; Shepherd & Weldes 2008). This is the traditional framing of security and is therefore also where the review of the security concept takes its start in this study. Although this traditional framing of security may not be the main theory for analysis in this study, but when all other security theories relate to this, it is important to get an overview and introduction to its meaning. The traditional state security will be used in the analysis to see if this perspective has any presence in the material.

Traditionally, the concept of security refers to the security of the state or the nation. The international system is, within this conceptualization, anarchic and argues that states need national security in the form of military capabilities in order

to defend themselves, to maintain independence and sovereignty (Baylis 2011:235). This is seen as the only alternative, also described as a self-help world (Baylis 2011:234). The ambition to uphold and protect the territorial integrity can, in other words, be described as the ability to withstand a military attack. This idea of national or state security is clearly described in military ideals and focus lies on military capabilities (Baylis 2011:233). In short, the state is the main object of security, war is the main threat and military capacity the main solution (Peoples & Vaughan-Williams 2015:4).

From this traditional conceptualization of security, a lot of critical theories have emerged and developed other ways to define security. Ogata (1999) argues for less militarized approaches than what is used from the traditional security perspective. Further, she argues for how approaches of comprehensive governance could possibly provide more security than military measures can. Ogata argues for how military, or 'hard' measures, are not solving wars or providing more security (Ogata 1999). Another general critique of this traditional conceptualization of security is that it is narrow and needs to be broadened and deepened. That security is something more than military sector and the state (Peoples & Vaughan-Williams 2015:5). For example, the traditional concept of security has been criticized for creating the security narrative of two superpowers fighting for domination, dividing the world into 'us' and them, ignoring alternative narratives and understandings of war and security (Wibben 2011:67). Another, feminist, critique of the traditional state security concept is that it reflects men's interests rather than women's because women have traditionally been unarmed, in contrast to men, which supposes that they have different definitions of security (Jacoby 2006:154).

Moreover, one of the most prominent security theories, emerging from the critique of the traditional security concept is human security. Arguing for more focus on people and individuals rather than states.

3.1.2 Human Security

Human security is a concept challenging the traditional notion of national security, with more focus on a people-centred, multidisciplinary understanding of security (Acharya 2011; Kaldor 2007). To rethink the idea of security includes to reflect over issues such as: who the threatened are; who threatens; and who the providers of security should be. The concept of human security will be used to identify different aspects of security in the material for analysis.

Human security as a concept was established in the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) report from 1994 with the aim to widen the concept of security to include the actualities of people's lives rather than focus on nation-states (UNDP 1994:22; Acharya 2011:480). The concept can be placed within the field of critical security studies, which is a varied field gathering theories all critical towards the traditional definition and understanding of the concept security. Compared to traditional state security, the concept of human security moves the focus from the security of states and governments to people and individuals (Acharya 2011:480). The concept of human security includes aspects and claims of

human rights, but also from the tradition of development, in particular, human development (Kaldor 2007:182).

Human security arguably has four essential characteristics, this includes; it is a universal concern, the aspects of human security are all interdependent, it would rather be reached through prevention than late intervention, and that it is a people-centred idea (UNDP 1994:22-23). The report presents seven different aspects of human security, namely: economic security; food security; health security; environmental security; personal security; community security; and political security (UNDP 1994; Acharaya 2011). *Economic security* concerns freedom from poverty and includes an assured basic income. This includes aspects such as; employment, unemployment, working conditions, the informal sector and income insecurities (UNDP 1994:25-26; Acharaya 2011). *Food security* means that everyone should have access to food at all times, this includes both physical conditions as well as economic ones, and for example, entitlement to food and distribution of food (UNDP194:27; Acharaya 2011). *Health security* means access to healthcare and concerns issues of infections, poor nutrition, access to clean water, family planning, and prenatal care (UNDP 1994:27-8; Acharaya 2011). *Environmental security* concerns healthy physical surroundings, and freedom from environmental threats such as degradation, water scarcity, deforestation and air pollution (UNDP 1994:28-29; Acharaya 2011). *Personal security* is security from physical violence. This is defined at different levels such as threats from the state, for example, physical torture; threats from other states, as in war; and threats directed to women, such as rape, domestic violence (UNDP 1994:30-31; Acharaya 2011). *Community security* means protection of group belonging, and includes for example aspects of identity, traditions, values and indigenous people (UNDP 1994:31-32; Acharaya 2011). *Political security* concerns the access to basic human rights, including freedom of political expression (UNDP 1994:32; Acharaya 2011). All of these seven different aspects of human security will be included in the analysis.

Arguing for the importance of the concept of human security, Ogata (1999) relates to the situation of refugees as doubly insecure, as in that they fled because of insecurity and in fleeing they have an insecure existence (Ogata 1999). This furthers the argument for the importance of research on refugees' security.

Moving from the traditional concept of security to this more people-centred approach will be helpful in the analysis later on. When looking for different conceptualizations of security in international Security Council resolutions and personal narratives, the distance can become too big. By using the definition and framing of human security, the resolutions can easier be brought to a dimension and language that is possible to compare and discuss in relation to the narratives. The move from the traditional state-centric security to a more people focused approached has sparked debate and opened up for critique, and still does today. One argument has been that the concept is too broad and vague to actually be usable (Paris 2001). Another critique has been articulated by Buzan (2001), and many others, who argues that the concept overlooks the importance of the state as the main provider of security. As for a feminist critique of the concept of human security Wibben (2011) argues that this 'broadening' concept may not differ that

much from the traditional state security, arguing that human rights would not have more value than states security if there had to be made a choice between the two (Wibben 2011:81-85). Wibben rather argues for a further broadening and reconceptualization of the security concept with the perspective of feminist security studies.

3.1.3 Feminist Security Studies

Security, and the field of International Relations (IR) in general has traditionally been dominated by male perspectives and male interpretations. It has been seen as a 'hard' area of politics, that has never been for or by women. By adding a feminist perspective to the debate on security it is possible to further widen the security; making it inclusive and relevant to more people. Feminism is argued to be a part of the previously mentioned field of critical security studies (Peoples & Vaughan-Williams 2015) as a critical approach to security. Feminist security studies will in this study have the purpose of widening the security concept to include lived experiences and narratives of (in)security.

Feminism, and the field of feminist security studies, consists of a huge range of different approaches and perspectives. To start off with a disclaimer, feminist security studies are *not* just 'adding women' to an already existing field. Rather it concerns a reconfiguration of established concepts and frames, such as security or IR, as argued by Shepherd (2009:216). Feminist Security Studies (FSS) argues for alternative framings and formulations of the security concept and often differs from the mainstream of political science and IR. It is about broadening and further developing firstly, what security means and contains, but also secondly, who security is formulated for, who is the aim of security (Tickner & Sjoberg 2010:204).

Both within FSS in particular, and in feminist IR research in general, the claims of feminist standpoint theory are gaining grounds. Feminist standpoint argues for how everyday experiences should be the starting point of knowledge. This is taken up within the feminist security studies where Tickner and Sjoberg argue for security analyses that start at the bottom rather than the top, in line with the standpoint theory argument of studying up (Harding 2004a). The focus is rather put on the community or individual than international systems, and or states (Tickner & Sjoberg 2010:204). Taking experiences as a starting point or as focus for the research is becoming more and more common within the feminist IR field (Ackerly et.al. 2006; Wibben 2011; Sylvester 2013).

This combination of feminism, critical security, and standpoint theory has the ability to highlight how international politics and personal experiences of security relate to and can affect each other (Tickner & Sjoberg 2010). With a focus of feminist standpoint theory, on how lived experiences can be used to study up (Harding 2004a), there is a possibility to look at different narratives of security. By highlighting different narratives of security the definition and conceptualization of security has the possibility to change, or rather makes it possible to question the traditional and established frames and definitions (Wibben 2011:42).

In relation to the previous definitions of the concept security, the traditional and human security, framing security in narrative differs from them a lot. Narratives are important and influential for understanding the surrounding world (Wibben 2011:65-66). Security as narratives demands a move of the focus from the state, and this move might provide an opening of possible security formulations where multiple narratives can exist (Wibben 2011:71-71). One important aspect to note is that a multiplicity of narratives is the aim. Differences between, and within, stories and narratives should rather be acknowledged than seen as inconsistencies. Perspectives and experiences are personal and multiple, therefore narratives of security will also always be contextual and multiple (Wibben 2011:86). Stern (2006) studied narratives of (in)security of Mayan women, focusing on the lived experiences of marginalized people and their struggles for security. She argues that by looking at the constructions of identity and security in this group, who are not usually heard in the security debates, enables reflection over opening and rethinking (in)security and identity (Stern 2006). Wibben (2011) also argues for how feminist security narratives, from personal lived experiences, can challenge the dominant conceptualizations of security because the narrative approach can capture a variety of stories and definitions, that is varied meanings of security (Wibben 2011:100).

Besides the possibility to widen and further understandings of security, the purpose of this study also includes exploring how conflict can be defined in traditional terms and as experiences.

3.2 Experiences and Conflict

To be curious about a particular woman's experiences and ideas, to respect her individuality, is not to say that she is unable to shed light on larger canvases of warfare and wartime. (Enloe 2010:2)

The focus on 1325 and women refugees gives, after security, a theoretical focus on definitions of conflict. Arguing along the lines of FSS arguments for how multiple narratives can widen understandings of central concepts, and this section reviews the concepts of conflict and war.

This section argues for how conflict or war is more than what is recognized within traditional definitions. War is also experiences, both emotional and physical. The assumption of war as experiences can further contribute to the analysis in terms of widening the understanding of the stages of conflict. This can highlight aspects of participants' refugee experiences additional to the conceptualizations of security.

3.2.1 Definitions of Conflict

The word *conflict* is in this report used as a general and abstract term describing a situation of for example political unrest or war, not complying to any of the narrow

definitions presented below. For the exploration of the concept and contribution to the analysis, an overview of different framings and definitions of conflict and war is needed. With the focus of the thesis concerning the concept of security, the specific security in focus is refugees' experiences of security and insecurity when having fled from conflict. This section is a walkthrough of common definitions of conflict and post-conflict within traditional political science and peace & conflict studies to get a starting point within the field and to have something to relate to.

Barash and Webel (2009) start off with a dictionary definition of war in their book *Peace and Conflict studies*, the definition including two situations, firstly, armed conflict including states or other equal political units, and secondly, a more general state of opposition or conflict (Barash & Webel 2009:14). Wright (1968) also argues for the actors of war being states and that war is carried out by the armed forces. Barash and Webel continue to argue for the multiple meanings and definitions of the concept of war by discussing different perspectives such as what war means psychologically and economically (Barash & Webel 2009:15). To make clear the political aspect of war, Sheehan (2011) presents a statement of Clausewitz as to be more useful it describes war as a forceful act and a continuation of politics (Sheehan 2011:217). Bull (1977) also defines war as organized violence performed by political units.

Sheehan further argues that 'war is a fluid concept' (Sheehan 2011:217), with a huge number of different definitions and specifications. Moreover, Barash and Webel further discuss the concept of conflict and defines this as to be between social groups than states (Barash & Webel 2009:40). They also acknowledge that the wars of today rarely follow the traditional 'rules' with for example a declaration of war, and even though not always named 'wars' they still are taking place (Barash & Webel 2009:41). Further, there are not many theoretical definitions of the post-war concept within the presented literature, as it simply entails, according to the Oxford English Dictionary, 'the period following a war' (Oxford English Dictionary Online).

As argued by Sylvester (2013), seeing states as the key actors and participants in war doesn't really capture the full image and effects of war. People are always involved in war, and experience war in different ways and contexts. Therefore, Sylvester argues, to be able to understand war, there is a need to acknowledge and understand people's experiences of it (Sylvester 2013; Enloe 2010).

3.2.2 War as Experience

Besides the traditional definitions of conflict and war as presented above there are other more ways of framing this concept. Enloe argues that to make sense of any war, there is a need to acknowledge and take women seriously, and making a more feminist sense of war (Enloe 2010:217). Focusing on experiences, there is a possibility to look at how IR affects people's everyday lives, and how people's actions can affect IR (Sylvester 2013:48). Opening up the understanding of war to include experiences can add an additional dimension to the analysis in this study to relate to regulatory documents.

In the book called *Nimo's war, Emma's war – making feminist sense of the Iraq war* Enloe (2010) is following eight women and their stories, four Americans and four Iraqi women, in an effort to widen the understanding and knowledge about the war. Enloe begins the book by explaining how she thought that telling stories, using narratives, seemed to make it easier for people to listen to experiences of war they did not expect to hear (Enloe 2010:xii). She continues to argue how listening to stories can develop understandings of wars and militarism, and especially to pay attention to women's lives (Enloe 2010:xiii). Listening to diverse stories from different sides, as Enloe argues for thinking of women on both sides of a war (Enloe 2010:3), offers more diversity in narratives of security and war, which in turn helps to develop these concepts.

Sylvester (2013) argues for the approach to study war as a social institution. This is definitely a widening of the concept, especially in relation to the previously presented traditional definitions and formulations. To study war as a social institution would include acknowledgement to different people, also as participants and agents, and their experiences, and how that also is a part that constitutes war (Sylvester 2013:4). Sylvester argues that to be able to understand war, there is a need to recognize and understand people's experiences of war. In contrast to high-level politics, she argues for the importance of people's experiences, both physical and emotional (Sylvester 2013:2).

But how to study war as experience? The very word 'experience' is commonplace – we all have experiences – and yet it is simultaneously abstract and difficult to characterize. In this study, it is taken as axiomatic that *war is experienced through the body, a unit that has agency to target and injure others in war and is also a target of war's capabilities.*

(Sylvester 2013:5, emphasis in original)

Sylvester goes on to argue that bodies experience war in different ways, but the body is still central in this definition, people are living war, people have emotional and physical (not always separate) connections to and memories of war (Sylvester 2013:5). To describe war as a *physical experience*, the body is put in focus in terms of bodily actions and reactions. The body, and rather bodies, is a physical fact in war. The body is the target for injury; the body is also the performer of war (Sylvester 2013:66). The body has agency, but the body is also the target of violence in wars (Sylvester 2013:65). War can also be described as *emotional experience*, which then requires a move from the bodily physical senses, to the bodily emotional senses, what the body experiences has emotional responses (Sylvester 2013:87). Crawford argues for the importance of the use of emotions within IR research and practice (2000). Crawford defines emotions as what someone describes as feelings and does not lock it into any meaning of whether emotions are biological or behavioral or anything else (Crawford 2000:125). This gives a quite flexible and open definition of emotions, which is also what Sylvester (2013) argues for. Crawford further argues that acknowledging emotions can possibly open up areas of study within IR and in longer terms reconceptualise aspects of international politics (Crawford 2000:156). Sylvester further points out that even though she explains war as physical and emotional experiences as separated, that does not mean

that they never intersect and create experiences mutually (Sylvester 2013:6). To be able to identify war and conflict as physical and emotional experiences brings further depth to the analysis of the participants' stories.

The long war and post-war practices

Enloe discusses the postwar phase and the traditional roles of women that are expected within this context, as for example as grievors. Women are supposed to be grieving after war, postwar, and grievors are not assumed to have opinions and ideas concerning the war, women in postwar are supposed to be quiet (Enloe 2010:223). Enloe argues that war and postwar are not easily defined periods, and even after a war or postwar era is defined as over, does not mean that it cannot last longer than that (Enloe 2010:224).

For those who are fortunate enough not to lose everything when displaced by war's violence, there are photos on mantelpieces, letters read and reread, bedrooms turned into households shrines, stories handed down to children and grandchildren, awkward silences left unbroken, rank and service dates chiselled into gravestones, flags and flowers replenished at cemeteries, names carved into plaques erected on town squares – these are wartime and postwar practices that continue after news of the war has slipped off the front page and elected official turn their attention to banking and oil. (Enloe 2010:223-4)

Enloe continues to argue that the phase of 'postwar' can in itself contain several different phases (Enloe 2010:224). The meanings and descriptions of war that are taken seriously are not the stories of the grievors or the like, which means the narratives of war will not be inclusive narratives; they will be the narratives of those in power. These narratives shape the meaning and understandings of a war and after a war (Enloe 2010:225). Women with experiences of war and/or conflict or the like continue to live their lives, as the women in Enloe's study. The experiences that (some of) these women bear will continue to affect their lives, in decisions, job aspirations, politics, probably forever. These women continue their post-war practices (Enloe 2010:225), which is something that will be explored in the stories of women's refugee experiences.

4 Methodology

This chapter presents methodological considerations and choices made in this research project; description of methods used; but also guidelines that have been followed in this qualitative research project (Ramazanoğlu & Holland 2002).

With the aim of exploring both international and national policy, on the one hand, and narratives on the other, there was a need for a dual approach of methods. As methods for gathering and analyzing the material are first: interviews and thematic analysis; and second: official documents and an approach of qualitative content analysis. The chapter consists of three main parts. The first part is on the topic of feminist research methodology as guidelines for this research project. The second part is more of a technical description of the methods for data collection, interviews and the use of documents. The third part describes the methods for analysis and draws up the analytical strategy for the combined approach.

4.1 Feminist Research Methodology

This section means to emphasize the feminist aspects of research methodology, introducing to the field of feminist methods, and also specifically relating to the field of feminist IR research methodologies. Two central claims of feminist methodologies are; that science is a social product, and a need to ‘study up’, as argued by Ramazanoğlu & Holland (2002). Firstly, the research process, and science in general, is seen as a social product or process, therefore also containing power relations (Ramazanoğlu & Holland 2002:42). The researcher is socially situated, with a partial vision, and therefore, no scientific method can give access to some independently existing ‘truth’ (Ramazanoğlu & Holland 2002:44). Along the lines of feminist research methodology, this can rather be seen as a strength, if an approach of reflexivity is applied, as Tickner (2006) and Harding (2004b) argues. Reflexivity is expanded on further down. Secondly, an aim of feminist standpoint theory is to *study up* (Harding 2004a). This means to research dominant disciplines or institutions rather than researching and explaining the lives of oppressed and marginalized groups of society (Harding 2004a:31). This aspect of studying up is seen as a guideline in this research project, where the aim is to start from the experiences told by participants to discuss international and national policies. Taking experiences as a starting point or as the focus for the research is becoming more and more common within the feminist IR field, also in terms of feminist standpoint theory (Ackerly et.al. 2006; Wibben 2011; Sylvester 2013).

Moving more specifically into the field of feminist IR methodology, where this research also is positioned, most scholars of the field are post-positivists. This

includes a shared idea and commitment of understanding IR and the world from other perspectives than the dominant and naturalized (Tickner & Sjoberg 2011:6). The field of feminist IR methodologies is not that extensive so that it has its own plethora of methodological literature, but feminist perspectives have worked its way into IR to become a well-established and acknowledged perspective, which also means that feminist methodologies are now widely used (Ackerly et.al. 2006). Methodologies of feminist IR scholars are constantly developing and have been pushing the boundaries of the traditional IR discipline (Ackerly et.al. 2006:4). As argued by Ackerly, Stern, and True (2006) it is not the method per se that makes this way of doing scholarship and research feminist. Rather it depends on how the research is framed and the theoretical methodology applied (Ackerly et.al. 2006:5). This is also why I thought it to be of great importance to take time and pages to explain the methodological choices, ideas, and debates.

Reflexivity

Following the traditions of feminist research methodology, I aimed to have an approach and awareness of reflexivity (Ackerly et.al. 2006:4). As argued within feminist research (Ramazanoğlu & Holland 2002), I do not believe in objective research in the traditional sense, it is not possible nor desirable for the researcher to be placed outside of the research process (Weldon 2006). This means that the research will be affected by the researcher's prior knowledge, personal views and opinions, even unconsciously (Weldon 2006; Harding 2004b). This is something I have tried to stay aware of and reflect upon during the whole research process. Something that can also have an impact on the research process and most of all the interviews is my personal identity. I have interviewed women with refugee experiences. I do not have any of these experiences myself and neither does my family. To the topic, in terms of experience, I am an outsider. Another point of reflection is other identity markers of mine. I am a woman, Swedish, mid-20s, university student. I have tried to stay aware of how this can affect the research process, and one of the things I have thought about is my outsider position. This has made me put extra effort in trying to keep the emphasized points made by the participants and using their own language and arguments as much as possible in the presentation of analysis. The stories and narratives are of course already processed (Brinkmann & Kvale 2015), firstly through the participants storytelling, second through my listening, transcribing and writing, and thirdly through choosing parts to present in the thesis. In terms of trying to not misinterpret someone, I have tried to use the participants' own emphasis and words as far as possible.

I believe it is necessary to make these reflections, contrary to a traditional sense of objectivity, that emphasises neutrality and detachment (Bryman 2008:43), to show of strong objectivity as Harding argues (2004b). Strong objectivity means that the research is being strengthened by the transparent reflections of how one's own personal positions can affect the research (Harding 2004b; Tickner 2006:28). These reflections of feminist methodological considerations of objectivity rather increase the level of objectivity in the research (Tickner 2006:27).

4.2 Methods for Data Collection and Material

To gather the material for the study two different methods were used. Firstly, to gather stories, interviews were conducted, and secondly, to look for secondary data in the form of official documents from the UNSC and the Swedish government.

4.2.1 The Resolutions and the NAP

The first set of material is official documents in the form of the UN Security Council resolutions on the WPS agenda, in combination with the Swedish National Action Plan (NAP) for the implementation of them. The research question for this study puts the WPS resolutions in focus. That is why the complete set of resolutions, eight in total, was used for the analysis in terms of exploring international policy. Furthermore, linking back to the context of Sweden, the NAP (2016) is included.

The resolutions of the WPS agenda vary in length between four to seven pages, with a total sum of 45 pages. The resolutions have been presented in the chapter for previous research, but as a reminder; WPS includes these resolutions: UNSCR 1325 (2000), UNSCR 1820 (2008), UNSCR 1888 (2009), UNSCR 1889 (2009), UNSCR 1960 (2010), UNSCR 2106 (2013), UNSCR 2122 (2013), and UNSCR 2242 (2015). All the resolutions can be found at the official web page for UN Security Council documents (UN Security Council 2). As for sampling of the resolutions, a full sample of the WPS resolutions was applied (Bryman 2008).

In addition to the resolutions, the Swedish NAP is analysed (NAP 2016). Sweden was one of the first countries to adopt a National Action Plan in 2006 (NAP 2006). Since then it has been revised two times, giving a total of three. For the analysis, only the latest revision of the NAP (2016) has been used. It is available in Swedish and English and covers 28 pages.

To sum up, the total pages of material for analysis is over 70 pages of documents. The resolutions are analyzed together as a group, and the NAP is analyzed on the same basis but separately, as it is another form of document.

4.2.2 Interviews

To access and explore women's refugee experiences, interviews have been conducted. Jacoby (2006) argues that using interviews as a method for data collection can imply acknowledging experiences as a way of knowledge about war and peace. Jacoby argues that the interview method and focus on experiences can enable inclusion of feelings of the participants (Jacoby 2006:161). This works well with the theoretical claim of war and conflict as emotional experiences (Sylvester 2013).

A semi-structured approach to interviewing has been applied, with a list of themes, topics, and possible questions, gathered in an interview guide (Gillham 2005). The semi-structured interview is flexible in its nature and allows for changes

according to the participant's answers (Bryman 2008:215). Taking inspiration from Brinkmann and Kvale's description of semi-structured life-world interviews (2015); with the aim of understanding the stories told by the participants from their own perspectives by listening to their descriptions (Brinkmann & Kvale 2015:31). I have through the process of interviewing tried to be mindful of the aspect of flexibility, both in relation to the literature on how to best conduct interviews (Brinkmann & Kvale 2015), also relating back to the feminist methodological point of view (Ramazanoğlu & Holland 2002). What is more, the view of the interview as a research method also implies the understanding that knowledge is created in the conversation between researcher and participant (Brinkmann & Kvale 2015:71).

Sampling

Out of the criteria for the interview participants, the sampling started with me reaching out to my own network of friends and family, colleagues and activists. With the strategy of *snowball sampling*, the first participants were asked to help me get in contact with more possible participants (Bryman 2008:196). The result of this was interviews with 6 participants, each interview sessions varying from one hour up to over two hours. When I felt that I had enough material to go through with the analysis, I stopped looking for more participants (Bryman 2008:437). Moreover, the aim of this study is not to make generalizations, but rather enhance contextual understanding (Bryman 2008:369-372). This means that the sample of the group of participants does not have to be defined in numbers nor in categories.

I chose to search for participants that have all lived in Sweden for a while and decided to look for participants that came to Sweden before 2000, with an effort to lessen aspects of vulnerability and possible exploitation of (possibly) painful experiences. So this was the reason to look for women that have been here for several years, but to have the decision fall specifically on the year 2000 are somewhat less motivated. Firstly, that timeframe made it possible to interview women of a variety of ages. Secondly, there is no aim in this study to discuss experiences, comparing 'before' and 'after' the adoption of resolution 1325, which is why I decided to search for only women who came here before 2000. Indeed, the women's stories will still be able to shed light on this topic and analysis by sharing their experiences. All these considerations are made in effort to treat the participant women in this study rather as subjects with an active part in the research, than objects of research (Ryan-Flood & Gill 2010; Ramazanoğlu & Holland 2002).

Conducting the interviews

Semi-structured interviews were conducted using an interview guide (Gillham 2005). An English translation of the interview guide can be found as appendix (Appendix 1: Interview Guide). More or less, the same topics and questions were covered in all interviews. I have been open to the possibilities that all the proposed topics and questions might not be relevant, that participants do not want to answer some of the questions, and that other topics could be more interesting and relevant and then follow that trail. Therefore, I have not been bound to the interview guide, but it worked more as suggestions making it possible to follow whatever comes up in the interview that is important to the participant (Widerberg 2002). The aim is to

follow the stories of the participants, and in that way see what the participants themselves view as most important, and ask other questions to cover necessary topics (Widerberg 2002:99). The interviews were later transcribed.

The interviews were conducted face to face, and informed consent was applied (Owens 2010). Before each interview, the participant was provided with information including ethical guidelines of the Swedish Research Council (The Swedish Research Council), information about this research project, the purpose of their participation, possibility to anonymity, the unconditional nature of participating, and my contact information. The interviews were in Swedish, so the quotes from the interviews used in the analysis are translated by me.

The participants

Note that as a statement of feminist methodology the term *participant*, rather than for example informant, is used in this study, acknowledging the agency of the participating women in a fairer way (Reinharz 1992).

The women I have interviewed have all identified themselves to belong to the group of interest for this research. The criteria set up when searching for participants was the wish to interview women, that have been refugees, and having fled because of conflict, before 2000, and most importantly, that wanted to share their experiences with me and this research project. In total, I have interviewed six women, living in different parts of Sweden, between the ages of 30 and 60. The participants have combined three different previous home countries. Too much detailed information about the women is not presented, for example, their previous home countries and other details in their stories, in order to protect their anonymity according to their wishes. In preparation for the writing, I asked all of the participants to choose their own alias for using in the thesis. That way they could choose something that would feel right and representative of them.

The narratives and stories presented in the analysis chapter are not meant to be read as directly told by the participants. The presentation of the stories in this thesis is me telling someone else's stories, which includes my processing of the material. The conclusions drawn from the material involves my choices and interpretations.

4.3 Methods for Analysis

In this chapter, the chosen methods for the analysis are explained. The analysis is structured in two parts employing two qualitative methods. The first, based on thematic analysis of the interview material. The second, constituted by a content analysis of documents.

4.3.1 Qualitative Content Analysis

For analysis of the documents, an analytical method that could identify theoretical aspects in the material was needed, that led to qualitative content analysis.

As argued by Schreier (2014), qualitative content analysis can be characterized by three features: reduction of data, systematicness, and flexibility. This method helped to narrow down data and material to find those parts of the material to be of relevance for the purpose and research question, focusing on refugees and formulations of security (Schreier 2014:170). The method is described as highly systematic, as it requires examination of every single part of the material relevant to the research question (Schreier 2014:171). As for flexibility, this method allows for both concept-driven and data-driven categories to be combined, although only the concept-driven categories have been applied. (Schreier 2014 :171). A frame for content analysis has been developed accordingly to theory on security and can be found as an appendix (Appendix 2a: Frame for Content Analysis). This included creating categories with some more specific indicators (Given 2008; Schreier 2014). The frames or codes are applied to the material systematically, that is gathered in a matrix for further analysis (Schwandt 2007). The matrix is presented in an appendix (Appendix 2b: Index for Content Analysis).

4.3.2 Thematic Analysis

The focus of this study lies on stories, therefore, a narrative form of analysis was suitable. Thematic analysis is a specific type of narrative analysis (Bryman 2008:527), and it is the method that is used in this study for the interview material. I have conducted a thematic analysis of the interviews, narrowing down the stories to more concentrated key aspects. With thematic analysis, the focus lies on *what* is being said (Bryman 2008:527). This type of analysis enables extraction of key themes in the research material (Bryman 2008:528). Thematic analysis is a method and approach used in a variety of disciplines and ways to conduct (Lapadat 2010:1). Therefore, I see it relevant to explain how I used the approach. There is one more or less general strategy when conducting thematic analysis, called *framework* (Ritchie & Spencer 1994). Framework will help in the procedure to extract central themes and subthemes (Ritchie et al. 2003:220). The process of identifying themes or concepts includes getting an overview of the data and familiarization of the data. This will, in turn, construct the thematic framework of the themes and/or concepts. In the material, I have looked for reoccurring themes and topics, explained more in detail below. The themes are organized in an index, sorted under different main themes and sub-themes (Ritchie et al. 2003:221). Moreover, I have identified connections and links between the topics for further sorting and organizing (Ritchie et al. 2003:222).

In searching for themes I have looked for four aspects: repetitions, metaphors and analogies, differences and similarities, and theory related material (Ryan & Bernard 2003). *Repetitions* mean reoccurring themes and topics (Ryan & Bernard 2003:89). For example, from the interviews conducted for this study I identify themes of repetition as threats of violence and language difficulties, whereas these were topics that were discussed multiple times, in all the interviews, by all the participants. This is not a requirement of the topics of repetition, but rather just an exemplification. *Metaphors and analogies* refer to how the participants use parables

to express themselves. The use of metaphors is likely to represent participants' thoughts and experiences and is used because of assuming shared reference points (Ryan & Bernard 2003:90). For example, one of the participants described her identity by using the metaphor chameleon, trying to explain duality and shifting of feelings. *Differences and similarities* mean to look for how themes are discussed in different ways, to see if and how stories differ, or do not differ, from each other (Ryan & Bernard 2003:91). This can highlight how the different stories from different times and different conflicts can be related to each other, and to find common points of reference, but also the opposite. *Theory related material* includes relating to the theoretical chapter in this thesis, thus focusing on security (Ryan & Bernard 2003: 93). The thematic analysis ends with a presentation of a summary of the key themes to compare to the results of the other analytical part.

4.3.3 Analytical Strategy

To illustrate the above presented diverse approaches of methods, I here present a road map for the analysis, or in others words, how I have conducted the research with the different aspects combined (see figure 4.1). The methods and material have been presented above, and this section is just to clarify how it all goes together. In the aim of answering the research question, I have looked at two different sets of material, using two different methods for analysis. Hence, I have the ability to discuss both international and national policies, and narratives of lived experiences, and also combining the two.

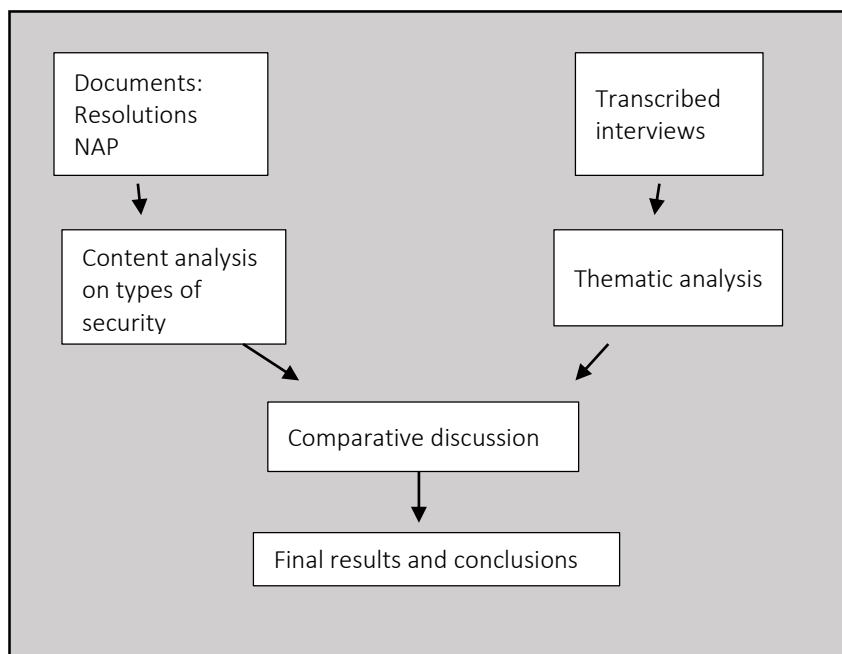


Figure 4.1 Analytical strategy

Starting with the documents, I conducted a content analysis with coding frames developed from the research question and the theoretical chapter (Appendix 2a: Frame for Content Analysis). This analysis answers what types of securities that

can be found in the documents, this is summarized in an index (Appendix 2b: Index for Content Analysis). This is later related to the interviews. Moving on, after conducting and transcribing the interviews, I have performed a thematic analysis of the material. This resulted in an analysis concluding what themes are present and important in the interview material. The material and analyses are combined in a comparative discussion. This means that I discuss and compare the results of the two analyses in relation to each other. By doing this I have the possibility to highlight what aspects are mentioned in the interviews but not in the documents and vice versa. Through this combined and comparative discussion where theory meets practice, I draw conclusions relevant to the research question and purpose.

5 Analysis

The chapter of analysis aims to answer the research question, exploring how conceptualizations of security with the WPS agenda and the Swedish NAP compare to women's refugee experiences of (in)security. The analysis is structured in three sections. The first section presents the analysis of the documents in terms of identifying different formulations of security using content analysis. The second section is the thematic analysis of the interview material, the women's narratives of refugee experiences. The third section is where the results from the two previous analyses are discussed and compared.

5.1 What Do the Documents Say: Content Analysis of WPS Resolutions and NAP

The documents analyzed are the resolutions of the WPS agenda and the latest revision of the Swedish NAP (2016), as introduced in the chapter: 2 Previous studies, and further explained in: 4.2.1 The Resolutions and the NAP. This section is based on a qualitative content analysis, as presented in the chapter for methodology (4.3.1 Qualitative Content Analysis). The theoretical framework has been contributing to a frame for content analysis (Appendix 2a: Frame for Content Analysis) with a specific focus on refugees. There are three different main topics, following theory: state security, human security, and security as narrative. In order to manage the analysis, the resolution texts are analyzed together as they are all in the same format and context. For some parts, the Swedish NAP can be included, and for others, it is commented on separately. The first section focuses on the specific security formulations concerning refugees. The second section discusses security conceptualizations in general, identified in the documents. The third section summarizes the analysis of the documents.

5.1.1 Security of Refugees

This first section on the framings of security of refugees in the documents is a more descriptive section of the analysis. The idea I had going into the analysis, was to focus on the parts of the resolution texts that were explicitly mentioning refugees. I soon came to realize the absence of such statements. Therefore, I start by looking at these few mentions of refugees in specific, but, because they are so few, this required me to reconstruct the analysis to focus on how security is conceptualized in general in the documents.

Very few specific concerns of refugees are present in the resolutions. Taking all the resolutions together, refugees are mentioned in total nine times. This is done in three different ways, firstly, refugees are mentioned as referring to international conventions and regulating bodies three times (UNSCR 1325:2, 3; 2106:2), secondly, mentioned three times in referring to refugee camps (UNSCR 1325:3; 1820:4; 1889:4), and third, refugees are mentioned as people three times (UNSCR 1325:1; 1889:2; 2242:2). Resolution 1325 states that:

Expressing concern that civilians, particularly women and children, account for the vast majority of those adversely affected by armed conflict, including as refugees and internally displaced persons, and increasingly targeted by combatants and armed elements, and recognizing the consequent impact this has on durable peace and reconciliation (UNSCR 1325:1).

This quote can be connected to the human security aspect, personal security, as in security from war (Acharaya 2011). Stating the “impact on durable peace” confirms an awareness of the importance of refugees’ situations within the WPS agenda. By mentioning refugees, the importance of their situation and rights is acknowledged.

Further, refugees are mentioned in resolution 1889 along the same argument as employed in UNSCR 1325, for inclusion and protection of women, including refugees, and how that can contribute to international peace (UNSCR 1889:2). The third specific mention of refugees notes that there is an increased number of refugees in the world argued to require increased attention being paid to “women, peace and security as a cross-cutting subject in all relevant thematic areas of work on its agenda” (UNSCR 2242:2). Although these three mentions of refugees in specific are very few, they still acclaim to recognize that refugees’ situations are of importance.

The Swedish NAP contains no specific references to refugees at all. The reason might be that the Swedish NAP claims foreign commitments. That is, it is clearly outlined in the NAP what countries Sweden focuses on of working with 1325, and Sweden itself is not one of these countries (NAP 2016:22-23). This means that the Swedish NAP gives no recognition neither to refugees nor to implementation of 1325 in Sweden. This seems rather uninformed, especially in terms of the rise in numbers of asylum seekers to Sweden in 2015 (The Swedish Migration Agency 1), the fact that the revised NAP was published in May 2016 (Government Offices of Sweden 3), and how the Swedish government argues to be feminist (Government Offices of Sweden 1).

Moreover, I have looked at paragraphs in the resolutions that indirectly include refugees even though not explicitly written into the texts. For example, in the resolution 2122 (2013) it is argued for the importance of women’s and girls’ empowerment and gender equality in an effort of creating and international peace and security (UNSCR 2122:1). I would argue that this is a general formulation of the rights of all women and girls, therefore it also includes refugee women. Or as stated in resolution 1888:

Recognizing that States bear the primary responsibility to respect and ensure the human rights of their citizens, as well as individuals within their territory as provided for by relevant international law (UNSCR 1888:3)

This also specifies the state as responsible for providing human rights, also for “individuals within their territory”, including refugees.

In order to be able to further discuss this topic, I have used the theoretical frame of conceptualizations of security to be able to analyse the documents. Using the different security framings in a content analysis helped to transform the technical contents of the documents into something that can be discussed in relation to the participants’ stories further on in the analysis. It helped to identify what kind of securities are present in the documents and to what extent they are relevant in the context of refugee women. Accordingly, I have looked into what kind of security(ies) can be found in the resolutions and the Swedish NAP.

5.1.2 Formulations of Security in General

To identify the presence of different framings of security I developed a coding frame for content analysis based on parts of the theoretical chapter of this thesis (Appendix 2a: Frame for Content Analysis). The analysis is presented through three main topics: state security, human security, and feminist security studies. The index for the content analysis can be found as an appendix (Appendix 2b: Index for Content Analysis).

Aspects of state security

As the resolutions are directed to member states of the UN, the heavy focus on states does not come as a surprise. The resolutions have a strong focus on states in the formulations of security and threats thereof. Although, this does not necessarily equal traditional ideas of state security (Baylis 2011). There is a presence of traditional state security in the resolutions in mentioning member states’ military forces and juridical systems (UNSCR 1325; 1888; 1960; 2106; 2242). The main focus is on member states as the provider of security (Baylis 2011; UNSCR 1325; 1820; 1888; 1889; 1960; 2106; 2122; 2242).

A main component of the traditional perspective of security is the military capacity (Baylis 2011; Peoples & Vaughan-Williams 2015), thus, arguing for military forces in different ways, could indicate a presence of traditional state security. It is argued that military forces are functions that the member states should have (UNSCR 1325; 1888; 1960; 2106; 2242). There is further an emphasis on Peacekeeping Operations (UNSCR 1325; 1820; 188; 1960; 2122; 2242), that is also included in the aspect of military capacity (Baylis 2011). At the same time, the resolutions are arguing for international cooperation.

I would not argue that state security is a foundation here because the focus of the subject of security is rather the individual than the state, that is more along the lines of the theory of human security (Peoples & Vaughan-Williams 2015:154).

The documents are rather arguing for an international security that can and should be shared by all. Although, the traditional security perspective is still present.

At the same time as arguing for military capacity, several of the documents also argue for disarmament (UNSCR 1325; 1820; 1888; 1889; 2106; 2122; NAP 2016). This stands in contrast to arguments for military forces and operations. It is rather a question of what forms of military and armed forces, than an argument for disarmament in a bigger sense.

The Swedish NAP contains specific directions on what agencies and organizations are supposed to work with the plan and for implementing 1325. Four of these are: the Swedish Armed Forces, the Swedish Defence University, the Swedish Coast Guard, and the Swedish Defence Research Agency (NAP 2016:5). This can seem like a strong argument for the importance of the military capacity, connecting back to the traditional state security (Baylis 2011). Though the question can be raised whether military agencies are the best to work for peace, as argued by Ogata (1999), considered that the traditional and 'hard' measures do not always solve conflicts. Nevertheless, there is rather a focus on international and regional organizations and cooperation, combined with local civil society organizations, than a focus on states (NAP 2016:17-21).

In short, both the resolutions and the NAP seem to highly value the importance of military forces and/or institutions in the aim to achieve peace and security. In terms of traditional state security, these are the closest connections. The focus is not on security for states, but rather for the individual. States are seen as important actors, but mainly together with international, regional and local organizations.

Aspects of human security

The aspect of human security with the most presence in the documents, is personal security. With most presence I mean that it is mentioned and argued for in all the resolutions, more than once. Personal security includes security from physical violence in different ways (Acharaya 2011). The two most common descriptions of personal security in the documents, are, security from war, and security from violence, including sexual violence. Security from war is presented mostly in the resolutions as it is stated how women and girls are specifically affected by conflict (Acharaya 2011; UNSCR 1325; 1820; 1888; 1889; 1960; 2106; 2122; 2242; NAP 2016). This is for example presented in terms of women's and girls' special needs and protection:

Expressing deep concern at the full range of threats and human rights violations and abuses experienced by women in armed conflict and post-conflict situations, recognizing that those women and girls who are particularly vulnerable or disadvantaged may be specifically targeted or at increased risk of violence (UNSCR 2122:2)

Security from violence is argued for multiple times in all of the resolutions. Security from violence is in the documents particular focusing on the security from sexual violence (UNSCR 1325; 1820; 1888; 1889; 1960; 2106; 2122; 2242; NAP 2016). Some of the resolutions (in particular: UNSCR 1820; 1888; 1960) are specifically aimed at issues of sexual violence. It is also noted that sexual violence in conflict

and post-conflict is something that women and girls are the most exposed to (see for example: UNSCR 2106:1). The aspect of personal security is one of the securities with most weight in the resolutions and is present in all eight, plus the Swedish NAP. As for the NAP this quote captures both aspects of personal and political security:

Sweden will contribute to the inclusion of women, men, girls and boys in the conflict prevention work. Promotion of women's and girls' full enjoyment of human rights and reinforced gender equality work are basic components in preventing violence against women and girls in peacetime as well as during and in the aftermath of conflicts to prevent a resurgence of conflict. (NAP 2016:11)

Another part of human security that is very heavily argued for within the WPS resolutions is political security, as it is presented in all of the resolutions, and also the NAP. The political security includes freedom of political expression and access to human rights (Acharaya 2011). All of the resolutions are arguing specifically for women's access to human rights (Kaldor 2007), this is also mentioned as women's rights (UNSCR 1325; 1820; 1888; 1889; 1960; 2106; 2122; 2242; NAP 2016:11). For example, as stated in the 1325 resolution as "reaffirming the need to implement fully international humanitarian and human rights law" (UNSCR 1325:1). The issue of women's participation and equal representation is very important in all of the resolutions and the NAP, not surprising since it is one of the cornerstones of the WPS agenda (UNSCR 1325).

Personal and political security are two topics that are argued for extensively and therefore also given much space and importance within this context. Other forms of human security that are also mentioned – but not as strongly argued for – are health security and economic security. Health security includes access to health services and is argued for in terms of the particular needs of women, for example sexual and reproductive health (Acharaya 2011). This is both argued for in terms of securing access to health services for women (UNSCR 2122:2), and as particular health services needs for women (UNSCR 1889:4). The topic of health security is also present in the Swedish NAP (NAP 2016:13). Economic security includes, for example, livelihood and employment (Acharaya 2011), and is in the documents discussed in terms of particular needs of women (UNSCR 1889; 1960; 2106; 2122; NAP 2016). This quote shows both acknowledgement of economic and health security:

Recognizing the particular needs of women and girls in post-conflict situations, including, inter alia, physical security, health services including reproductive and mental health, ways to ensure livelihoods, land and property rights, employment, as well as their participation in decision-making and post-conflict planning, particularly in the early stages of post-conflict peacebuilding. (UNSCR 1889:2)

Food security, environmental security and community security (UNDP 1994) are aspects of human security not considered in the resolutions.

Narratives and experiences of security

Further on, I wanted to see if there were any acknowledgement of the importance of lived experiences or narratives of security as argued in feminist security studies (Wibben 2011). Most commonly in the resolutions, is recognition of women's participation. This could be argued to enhance the possibility of the recognition of the importance of narratives. For example:

Reiterating the need for the full, equal and effective participation of women at all stages of peace processes (UNSCR 1889:1)

The most explicit acknowledgement of the importance of women's experiences can be found in the Swedish NAP as a part of the strategic focus and one of the prioritized themes. Sweden will:

Contribute to ensure that women are included and that their experiences are taken into account in designing mechanisms and systems for early warning of conflicts and in conflict analyses (NAP 2016:12)

In this quote, taking women's experiences into consideration is recognized. This is a sign of awareness of something that could possibly be referred to as feminist security. This is the only way that women's experiences are acknowledged or even mentioned, and this calls for critique. The quote shows that there is an understanding of the importance of listening to women's experiences in issues of security, but it is only recognized in the effort for early warning systems, and not in other aspects of the NAP. As argued by Wibben (2011) security is everyday experiences on a personal level, and to be able to widen the concept of security, these experiences need to be taken into account. I consider it to be a lack of understanding the importance of this aspect, as this is not considered any further by the Swedish NAP.

5.1.3 Summing Up: Documents and the Concept of Security

To sum up, there are very few references and paragraphs that are directly addressing refugees, even though their specific situations are recognized as important (UNSCR 1325; 1889; 2242). This is a considerable deficiency in this context. The focus and importance of military forces can be a sign of a presence of the traditional state security perspective (Baylis 2011), but rather than states as the main focus for security the documents focus more on people. The focus on military organizations and forces are more present in the resolutions than in the NAP. This can be problematic whereas militarized solutions are not always the best (Ogata 1999). Some parts and aspects of human security (UNDP 1994) are very present, the two most recognized types of human security are personal security and political security. Personal security is recognized mostly as security from war and security from violence, in particular, sexual violence. Political security is present mostly as in arguing for human rights and women's participation. A big emphasis is put on

women's participation in all decision-making on the topic of conflict. Other types of human security that were mentioned, but did not get as much space and importance, were health and economic security. Three types of human security were not mentioned in the resolutions at all: food, environmental and community security (Acharaya 2011). No attention is given to the importance of lived experiences in the resolutions (Wibben 2011), although it is strongly argued for women's participation. The importance of women's experiences is acknowledged in the Swedish NAP in one sentence (NAP 2016:12).

Further, I want to highlight the international orientation of the Swedish NAP. The focus lies on international work for implementing the WPS agenda. This implies international cooperation with organizations (NAP 2016:17-21), but also a section where 'geographical focus' is presented. This includes a list of countries where Sweden is supposed to focus its efforts of implementation (NAP 2016:22-23). There is no domestic ambition for Sweden to work for aspects of WPS agenda. It is very clear that working with the implementation of WPS is something that Sweden aims to do 'over there' and not within its own borders. Also, the NAP is argued to be a part of the feminist foreign policy (NAP 2016:25; Government Offices of Sweden 2) issued by Sweden's feminist government (Government Offices of Sweden 1). Connecting back to the fact that there has been a huge rise in the number of asylum seekers to Sweden (The Swedish Migration Agency 1), the idea that WPS and working for women's rights and protection in conflict is something only necessary to do in other prioritized geographical areas seems uninformed. The NAP should recognize the international nature of conflicts, especially concerning refugees that seek protection in Sweden, providing a domestic dimension.

This analysis of the resolutions and the NAP fills the purpose of theorizing and sort out relevant aspects of security, to enable a discussion in relation to the stories told by the participants. As FSS scholars (among others: Tickner & Sjoberg 2010; Wibben 2011; Enloe 2010) argues, in the effort of widening the security concept, the next section of the analysis focuses on the narratives told of women's refugee experiences.

5.2 What Stories are Told: Thematic Analysis of Interviews

With the rules of framework (as presented in section 4.3.2 Thematic Analysis) a thematic analysis has been conducted. The analysis of the interview material is presented in three different sections, based on three main topics derived from the stories. The chosen divisions of these sections are based on the stories' chronological order. The first section discusses stories from the home country and leaving. The second section focuses on stories about arriving to Sweden and thoughts from today. The third section has a more general approach.

I have had the opportunity to listen to six women telling their different stories, all of them concerning the same core theme; a woman that left her home country because of conflict and came to Sweden. The six stories vary a lot in the women's individual experiences. Eight different themes have been identified and are presented throughout the analysis. The themes are: 1) insecurities because of conflict in the home country, 2) worries and anxieties, 3) conditions for leaving, 4) language, 5) identity, 6) feelings of being a mother, 7) family, and 8) feeling safe.

5.2.1 (In)securities and Leaving a Home Country

As mentioned in the introduction to this section, these are six different stories and the connections drawn are of my own making. They are not drawn in order to make generalizations across the women's experiences, but rather to highlight certain aspects of the stories told. As seen in the chapter on previous studies, most research on women's experiences and the WPS resolutions has been done with a focus on a situation of conflict. That is why I choose to give this part of the stories less space and importance and rather have the stories of the conflict in the home country as a starting point. This is where their stories begin.

As one of the first topics in the interviews, I asked about the participants' home country(ies) and if and how they remember the conflict. This is also one of the two first themes of the interviews, situations of conflict, the second theme concerns feelings of anxiety and worries. This first theme of conflict can be connected to personal security. The second theme of anxiety and worries can be connected to health security (Acharaya 2011).

One of the participants, Mia, a woman in her 50s, told me that she was a young girl around the age of 10 when she left her home country. She explained how strange it feels that she does not remember that much. Mia told me about her father being kidnapped, and how she was standing on the balcony, looking for him and waiting for him to come back:

One of the things I remember the most is our balcony... and not feeling well... waiting, worrying. I don't really remember anything else. It is like those memories are repressed in a way. (Mia)

Mia's story is clearly explained with feelings and emotions, as Crawford (2000) argues, and as Sylvester (2013) argues for war as emotional experiences. After a month Mia's father came back and suddenly they were in a hurry to pack their stuff and leave. The airport was packed with people and in chaos, there were men who started shooting, and no planes were arriving or departing. Suddenly Mia and her family were told that a Swedish plane was landing to refuel. They had run out to the plane. This is how Mia's story from a situation of conflict, relating to the human security of personal security and security from violence (Acharaya 2011).

Another story was told by Sarah, a woman in her 30s, and it starts with her childhood. When she was really young, she was a scared child. Sarah told me that schools were bombed close to the area where she lived. This relates to personal security and security from violence (Acharaya 2011). She also told me about how

she could not sleep at night during the bombings, the bombs were so loud and so close, and they were always starting at night. As in security from violence, or personal security (Acharaya 2011).

I was scared. We could feel the whole house shaking. We taped the windows with X's so there wouldn't be shattered glass everywhere if they broke. If they broke the children could get hurt, and it was not easy to get health care at that time. (Sarah)

Sarah told me that they were not allowed to go outside, and the city shut down for over a month, they could not buy food or go to school. Similar to Mia's story, Sarah spoke of the conflict in terms of feelings and emotions (Sylvester 2013).

Fatima is a woman around the age of 40. Fatima was a young teenager when she and her family started to feel the effect of the war in their previous home country. Fatima told me about how she and her family sought shelter in a neighbor's basement when the war started until one night military came and took them to a concentration camp. This can be related to security from violence as in personal security (Acharaya 2011). Fatima told me how women and girls were all sleeping everywhere on the floor, and how they, during the night, could be taken away. Some of them disappeared and never came back, and some of them never spoke again. She described:

We didn't have our usual clothes on, we tried to look older, they rather took younger girls. Some women cut the hairs of their daughters, to make them look more like boys. And we had boy-ish clothes on. (Fatima)

Kemila, a woman in her 60s told me about her home country. Kemila was around the age of 30 when she experienced the conflict. Kemila told me about how she and her family lived close to a border and how that was a reason that they were affected by the war much sooner than the rest of the country. Kemila explained how she and her family were being threatened to death, which can be connected to personal security (Acharaya 2011). They were being threatened because living on the borders and having things to do on both sides of it seemed suspicious. Kemila and her family left their country, but when applying for asylum they were not accepted because 'there was no war' (yet) in their home country. Mostly she told me about what she thinks about women in war:

Women, we worry for our children. We worry about our children being taken away. Every day, every minute, every second, us women worry about our children's safety. Women, we don't worry about ourselves and our own lives during war. We worry about our families and our children. (Kemila)

These things that Kemila told of, can, as previous, be connected to personal security, but also to health security (Acharaya 2011) concerning the issues of worrying as she described. I would also argue that this contains something more than can be captured by the human security concept (UNDP 1994). It suits more to

describe in terms of emotions, or war as emotional experiences (Crawford 2000; Sylvester 2013).

Aros, a woman in her 50s, brings the third theme with her story; concerning how there can be different conditions for leaving. This relates to personal security (Acharaya 2011). Aros told me that she studied, and later worked, at the university, and was engaged in oppositional political activities. Because of her unusual academic, and private, pursuits as a woman, standing up to her family, and being politically active, she was being threatened, and she was scared. Aros described how it would have been difficult for her to leave the country on her own, so decided to get married. Maybe this was not the only reason, but it certainly had an impact, as Aros explained it to also be a way for her to leave the country. This is something that I would argue that cannot be described in terms of human security, this is something that Aros experienced because she was a woman, and needs to be taken into consideration of feminist narratives of security (Wibben 2011).

Salam, a woman around 60 years old told me about how she had to leave her previous home country very abruptly when her life was threatened. This can be related to security from violence and personal security. She left very fast to another town, seeking shelter with friends of hers and the family for a while. Similar to Aros' story, concerning conditions for leaving and political security (Acharaya 2011), Salam explained how it would be difficult for a woman to leave the country alone. So Salam found a man to marry and they also wrote a contract that they had the right to divorce each other when they were safe. Salam told me that she worried about getting married to be able to leave, but it was the only solution at that time, and it was also the safest. Even her family thought she needed to get married before leaving the country. As in Aros' story, this tells of something else than the human security concept (UNDP 1994) and needs to be considered within feminist security narratives (Wibben 2011).

One similarity, that all of the participants mentioned as an aspect of insecurity, were the worrying and being anxious, as well as the conflicts that are very present in the stories. In terms of human security, this can be related to personal security and health security (Acharaya 2011). Further on, all of the participants described in ways the difficulties with being (un)able to leave the country. They were all facing different conditions to be able to leave, which has already been presented as the third theme of the stories. For Aros and Salam, this meant to get married. Other specific conditions for leaving were to have the right documents. Mia was a small child, but remembers the importance of passports, and Aros explained that her valid passport was the save for the whole family.

As for Sarah, she and her family planned for leaving the country for a couple of months. The biggest reason for Sarah and her family to leave was that they belonged to a religious minority whose situation got worse, relating to the aspect of political security (Acharaya 2011). When they left, they went to live in a refugee camp as a transit. Sarah's dad left to go to Sweden and the rest of the family stayed in the camp, waiting to hear from him and possibly joining him. They lived there for a couple of years, just waiting to go somewhere else. Finally, they learned that her father had gotten a residence permit in Sweden, meaning that they all could apply for residence due to family ties. This possibility of seeking asylum based on family

ties has been limited in Sweden from July 2016 (The Swedish Migration Agency 2016b). Thinking of Sarah's story, that would have limited her and her family's possibility of coming to Sweden, or at least to have a safer way to Sweden. This is also further relevant, as seeking asylum in Sweden because of family ties is the most common reason (The Swedish Migration Agency 2).

For Kemila and her family, the plan was to go back to their home country. They stayed in a country as refugees for the duration of the war, many years, and then got ordered to move back. The country they stayed in mostly took temporary refugees for the duration of the war. By the time they were ordered to move back, they had jobs, a place to live, and the kids were in school. Kemila explained that after a couple of years back in their previous home country, they moved to Sweden where they had family members. Their home country did not feel like home anymore, Kemila said. These expressions go well in hand with the claim of war as emotional experiences (Sylvester 2013).

The first section of the stories, the home country and leaving, ends here. This section has brought up the first three themes of the thematic analysis, conflict, worries, and conditions for leaving. The next section presents stories about coming to, and staying in, Sweden.

5.2.2 (In)securities and Living in Sweden

The second part of the stories concerns the coming to, and staying in, Sweden. One thing that was repeated by all of the participants as a big insecurity was the lack of knowledge of the Swedish language, which is the fourth theme of the analysis. The stories of not knowing the language and the insecurity included in this cannot be related to any aspect of human security (UNDP 1994), rather falls within the frame feminist narratives of securities (Wibben 2011). These stories of this similar insecurity are very different, how easy or difficult it was to get access to learning Swedish differed.

Mia and Sarah were both young girls when they came to Sweden, but they came at very different times, around 30 years apart. Mia told me how it took her four years to learn Swedish and expressed this in a way that she "lost so many years". She described learning the language as "the key to the basics" and that there was no help for refugee children to learn the language. She told me that it was lonely, not knowing Swedish and having no friends, expressed with emotions (Crawford 2000; Sylvester 2013).

Sarah told me about how she started school when she came to Sweden. She learned Swedish parallel with other subjects in a preparatory class to get in to the Swedish high school. Sarah told me how the Swedish language was really difficult to learn in the beginning, mostly because she and her family felt so isolated in the segregated area where they lived. She explained how it felt difficult to find links and connections to the Swedish society, and that knowing the language was hindering this. These stories of language and isolation are not really possible to identify in terms of human security (UNDP 1994). For Salam, one of the bigger

obstacles was to get access to language courses. Without all the necessary papers, it took two or three years before she could start.

Aros was pregnant during the journey when leaving her home country. When she finally came to Sweden, she came with a newborn baby. She spoke of the issue of language like this:

The thing about learning the language... I wanted to learn and I was curious about the society. I was curious about swedes; I was curious about Swedish. But I got a bit delayed with the language. I had a small child, and then I got pregnant again, not planned. So I was at home with two small children. The language is a key to be brave enough to be curious. But after two years I felt that I really had to learn Swedish now. (Aros)

This tells about security of health (Acharaya 2011) as from human security, but there is also something else that needs to be considered as a feminist widening of security when it comes to language and the role of the woman (Wibben 2011). Aros further told me how she felt like she needed to stay home with the children, and therefore could not take any courses. She started reading children's books and watching children's TV programs in Swedish.

Fatima and Kemila did not have residence permit when they came to Sweden but got access to a Swedish course for asylum seekers. Kemila told me about how well taken care of she felt by the teachers at the Swedish learning centers. Even though she did not get to spend that many hours there, after a few months she spoke Swedish well enough to get an internship.

Salam told me about that the plan was never to stay in Sweden. She got a permanent residence permit, but she did not want it. She wanted to go back to her home country as soon as everything calmed down. She explained the difficulties of this and being anxious for a long time. She told me that for two years, she did not want to hang out with people or do anything, it felt wrong. This can be connected to the health security of human security (Acharaya 2011), but also to emotional experiences of war (Sylvester 2013), even after having left the conflict. Salam told me that the situation did not develop into the better, which eventually made her realize that she had to stay in Sweden.

Almost all of the participants express some kind of ambivalence towards the idea of identity, which is the fifth theme from the interviews. The issue of identity and insecurities related to this can be connected to the aspect of community security (Acharaya 2011). This is not something specifically brought up by the questions asked, but it is a very central theme in the material brought up by the participants. The participants explained in different ways how they now identify in relation to a previous home country and Sweden. Some of the participants expressed this as an insecurity in the past, while others explained it as present today. I relate this to what Enloe describes as post-war practices (2010), but also that this can be something more related emotions rather than practices.

Aros told me how she once had a plan about going back to her home country, but today she does not feel like that. She said that she never really felt at home in her previous country. She explained to me that today she feels that she belongs to Sweden, that Sweden is her country. She described herself as "70-30", as 70%

representing her Swedish identity. Aros explained that she feels more Swedish because it is in Sweden she has had the possibility to formulate her free thoughts and her personality. These reflections of identity and community security are also very much characterized by emotions and feelings (Sylvester 2013; Crawford 2000). Along the same lines, Mia described herself and her identity with the metaphor of a chameleon:

I'm a chameleon. That is really comfortable. Together with swedes, I'm a swede. With immigrants, I'm an immigrant. Then maybe there is something in between. (Mia)

Mia further expressed some frustration of never being fully accepted as Swedish. She has lived in Sweden for almost all her life, but she said she will never be seen as completely Swedish.

Moreover, Fatima explained how she does not feel like she belongs to her home country anymore and described Sweden as home, or rather that she thinks that Sweden feels like it is home. Also, Fatima used feelings to describe the issue of identity, and changes in those feelings (Sylvester 2013). Salam explained:

I don't feel like I belong to anything. We don't belong to Sweden 100% Even if I try to be Swedish, we cannot laugh at the same jokes for example. It takes time. Sometimes I feel at home here. Sometimes I don't. (Salam)

Another part of Salam that has a big impact on her identity is her former profession. When she came to Sweden, there was no possibility for her to transfer her education and continue that career and profession. Her only option seemed to be to redo the whole corresponding university program, she explained. She said that this was never an option, because "I was old, in my 40s" and did not want to redo a whole university degree, that takes several years. The situation of her career and profession can be related to the economic security (Acharaya 2011), but the feelings of identity in this are not covered by the human security aspect, it rather needs for a widening of these notions.

The sixth theme from the interviews comes mainly from Salam's and Kemila's stories, the feelings explained of being a mother. This is not captured by the human securities and needs to be followed up by a feminist security discussion (Wibben 2011). Salam and Kemila both described that one of their biggest worries today is about their children. Salam expressed it like this:

First of all, I want to see my kids happy. And I can't see that yet. I don't see my kids living as free as the Swedish kids. The insecurity about the safety of children is something every woman feels. Independently of how free or not free they are. (Salam)

Kemila explained that what security means to her is to know that her children are safe, arguing that women do not think of themselves during war. What matters is the security of their children.

This section has presented three further themes from the stories: language, identity, and feelings of mothers. This leads up to a summarizing section starting with how the participants define and describe the concept of security.

5.2.3 Summing Up: Narratives of Security

During the interviews, I asked the participants a more theory-related question in how they define security, or what security means to them. It was soon clear that this was not an easy task. The participants' definitions differ from each other, with two more common aspects; family and the use of the word safe. Half of the participants defined security as to include the security of their families, and more than half of the participants used the word safe to describe the concept of security. Hereby introducing the two last themes from the interviews, the value of family, this can be connected to community security (Acharaya 2011) and feeling safe, which is a much more emotional definition relating to how Sylvester (2013) argues for emotions, both physical and emotional.

This is how Mia defined security:

Security... Security means to be able to sleep at night, knowing that nothing can hurt you. Security can also mean that you feel safe and know that nothing will hurt your family. (Mia)

Some definitions were more concrete and related to more material conditions of life, as for example a part of Fatima's definition that included security of having a job and assets. This is a clear connection to the economic security (Acharaya 2011) but compared to Salam who could not continue her previous career, a career and profession she identified with a lot. Accordingly, economic security does not always mean to have any job, but rather to have the job one wants.

Sylvester's (2013) arguments of war as physical and emotional experiences is very present in how the participants defined security. As in Mia's quote above, the physical, and personal security (Acharaya 2011), is very clear in the expressions of that nothing can hurt you and your family. This was also expressed by Salam:

I don't know about security... What it means. I can explain that I feel safe, and with that I mean that I can sleep knowing that no one will kill me in my sleep. No one will attack me. (Salam)

The physical experiences are strong in these definitions, and all of the participants in some way defined security in emotions, based on emotional experiences (Sylvester 2013). Such as, being able to sleep or feeling safe.

Coming back to the previous theme of the feelings of being a mother, Kemila explained that security it is mostly the feeling of knowing that your children are safe. This was also expressed by Sarah, who defined security to include to not have to worry:

Security is that you don't have to worry about your loved ones. That's what security means to me. And that you don't have to worry about yourself. In many ways. To feel safe. (Sarah)

When asked about security and the future, Kemila explained this as a difference between living and breathing:

I want everyone to live, not just breathe. That's what we did during the war, we were not living, just breathing. (Kemila)

This quote shows how post-war practices (Enloe 2010) affect thoughts and feelings today. Also as Sylvester (2013) argues that war is emotional experiences.

To sum up, I have gone through different themes drawn from the interviews. The themes that I have derived from the interviews are all aspects and stories that the participants in some way explained as insecurities. As a summary; conflict in the home country, worries and anxieties, conditions for leaving, language, identity, feelings of being a mother, family, and feelings of being safe. The biggest concerns of insecurity, and therefore also threats of security, presented by the participants are first of all conflict in the home country, as shown in how the participants' stories began. Another common aspect was worries or being anxious, mostly about the health and wellbeing of family members, both in the conflict situation but also today. Although the conditions for leaving were different, all of the women's leaving the country were conditioned in one way or another, some specifically because they were women. The language was an insecurity in Sweden, that all of the women expressed. Ambiguity and insecurity about one's own identity were also a common theme.

One thing that stood out in all of the themes and how the participants described the concept of security were the presence of emotions and feelings, as war can also be described as emotional experiences. The participants also expressed war as physical experiences (Sylvester 2013). These dimensions of security, that falls within the feminist narratives of security (Wibben 2011), cannot be covered by the concept of human security (UNDP 1994), even though some of the aspects can be recognized in the presented stories. And the definition of security as state security (Baylis 2011), is not applicable at all in relation to these stories, which gives it no relevance in this context. What was also present in the stories was this tendency of post-war practices, as argued by Enloe (2010).

5.3 Comparative Discussion

I have conducted two different analyses on two sets of material. The link between them is mainly the theoretical conceptualizations of security. In this section, the results from above analyses will be combined in a comparative and analytical discussion.

To start with, the framing of traditional state security (Baylis 2011) had some presence in the documents, but none in the stories of the participants. I would argue that this traditional security definition does not cover the insecurities told in the interviews, and therefore has no relevance in this context.

Concerning human security, it seems like a better framing with the focus on people rather than states (Kaldor 2007; Ogata 1999). This concept covers the participant's narratives of insecurities better than the traditional state security. What I have looked for is whether the aspects of human security present in the documents will match and cover the insecurities told by the participants. Therefore, starting with the aspects of human security that were present in the documents; personal security, political security, health security, and economic security (Acharaya 2011).

One thing that all of the participants talked about was the conflict, how they were affected and how they remember their feelings from that time. All of the stories were characterized by the presence of anxiety and expressions of worry. The issue of women's and girls' special needs in a situation of conflict (and post-conflict) is a well-recognized topic in the resolutions, in terms of personal security as in security from war and violence. Also, the worries and anxieties can be covered by the aspect of health security. Another theme from the interviews that is reflected in the resolutions is the conditions for leaving, in the terms of political security, and human rights. Also how some of the participants described employment and livelihood as insecurities can be reflected as economic security (Acharaya 2011).

So, the concept of human security (UNDP 1994), and in extension the resolutions and the NAP, do cover some of the insecurities described by the participants. Despite this, I would argue that even these experiences that do match with the human securities in the documents are not fully covered. For example, how the anxiety and worries described by refugee women as still present today, can bring other aspects of health security than the ones mentioned in the documents, whose focus rather lies on the direct conflict area. Also, noting that refugees are barely mentioned in these documents requires some critique of whether women's refugee experiences can be considered as covered for.

Further, there were insecurities described in the interviews that can be related to aspects of human security that were not recognized in the documents. The insecurities concerning the themes of identity and family can be related to community security and seems to be of great importance to the participants because it is something they all brought up. Aspects of human security that were neither mentioned by the participants nor present in the resolutions were food security and environmental security (Acharaya 2011).

Moreover, all of the participants mentioned explicitly that the fact that they did not know Swedish was an insecurity. For some of the participants this was solved rather easy by getting into some form of Swedish learning course and learning the language, but for others, issues were hindering the process of learning the language. Some of these issues had to do specifically with women's issues, such as being a mother to a young child. This is not considered in the resolutions or something that can be covered by the human security concept (UNDP 1994). This strengthens the argument of the need to widen and broaden the concept of security in the way of security as narratives (Wibben 2011). What is more, the specific conditions for

leaving were different, but it still was an issue for all of the participants. This is not considered in the resolutions, further adding up to the importance of multiple security narratives (Wibben 2011). Perspectives and experiences are always multiple and personal, which means that security narratives also need to be multiple and contextual (Wibben 2011).

Furthermore, the traditional definitions of conflict (Wright 1968; Bull 1977) have no resonance in the stories of the participants. In lines of Enloe's (2010) arguments, I agree, that how listening to different stories and narratives offers a diversity in how to understand both security, but also war and conflict. What is more, how Sylvester (2013) argues for war as physical and emotional experiences has also been present in the narratives of the participants. I believe that the narratives of security and conflict presented in this study show how war as experiences (Sylvester 2013), and especially emotional experiences, are something that has stayed with participants. This can possibly be described in terms of what Enloe (2010) calls 'the long war' or post-war practices, but I would rather describe it as post-war emotions. Post-war and post-conflict cannot be defined in such technical terms (Barash & Webel 2009; Sheehan 2011) seeing how post-war experiences are present in the stories told today by the participants (Enloe 2010). These experiences will probably continue to affect these women for the rest of their lives. I want to join Enloe in her argument of how post-war as a period, that does not end just because the traditional definition says so.

Agreeing with the concluding call for action from the Global study (Coomaraswamy 2015) for further recognition needs and concerns of women in conflict situations, I argue for the need of recognition of women's refugee experiences in regulating documents such as the ones in this study. This study shows that the WPS agenda and the Swedish NAP lacks acknowledgement of women's personal stories of (in)security.

To conclude, by using theoretical concepts of security I was able to discuss the documents and the interview narratives together, but even if I can make these connections as described above, there is still a huge lack of specific mentions on how war, leaving your country, and starting a life somewhere else are aspects that affect refugee women. The need for this has been shown in the above comparative discussion, as the insecurities that were not covered in the documents in terms of human security were mostly about the life outside of the geographical area of conflict. Nonetheless, as told by the participating women, the conflict that they left is something that still affects them in their lives today.

6 Conclusions

The aim of this study was to explore an answer to how conceptualizations of security within the WPS agenda and the Swedish NAP compare to women's refugee experiences of (in)security.

The study has shown that conceptualizations of security are different between the women's refugee experiences, compared to, the WPS agenda and the NAP. Whereas the international and national documents focus on the human security aspects of personal and political security, the stories of (in)security told by the participating women highlight the need for recognition of security as narrative.

Further, the security of refugees is barely mentioned in the WPS agenda. Considering this, and Sweden's international focus in the NAP, I can conclude that working for the implementation of the WPS agenda is a task that Sweden sees to do outside its own borders. This is not something to implement 'at home' in Sweden, but rather for Sweden to implement in other countries. This is a considerable lack, especially considering the narratives of (in)security as told by the participants.

Women's experiences of having fled from conflict are not considered by the resolutions or the NAP. Building on Sylvester's arguments for war as experiences, this study argues for the importance of a feminist security perspective that includes security as narratives. By listening to, and telling of, women's experiences of conflict and of being refugees I can contribute to an aim of widening and reframing of the dominant security narratives and definitions.

Finally, post-war experiences are an important aspect, including both emotions and physical memories and experiences, that continues to affect the lives of the women participating in this study. This calls for a recognition of how war can be present as post-war emotions and practices, even when people have left the geographical area of conflict. Post-conflict is not only limited to a geographical area; it is also carried with the people as experiences. Security is, therefore, an issue to be recognized as much broader than only related to the direct area of conflict.

6.1 Suggestions for Further Studies

I suggest this research project as a starting point for further research and I would like to give three suggestions to three different agencies that are relevant for these issues.

To the United Nations Security Council, I suggest to explore the possibilities of a more inclusive approach of conceptualizations, and specifically of security of refugee women. For example, by adding a ninth resolution to the Women, Peace

and Security agenda that specifically considers the rights and situations of refugee women.

To the assigned actors for implementation, including the working group, for the Swedish National Action Plan, I suggest to incorporate a perspective of domestic and immigration politics into the NAP. There needs to be an awareness of how the WPS resolutions can be implemented also in Sweden. Considering women's situations and experiences of conflict are not something that should be done only in other places, as people who come here bring their experiences of conflict with them.

To the field of feminist research in these topics, I suggest to further explore how theories of post-conflict can be extended to include people, especially women, who geographically have left the conflict area.

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Appendix 1: Interview Guide

1. Personal information

Age, work, family...

Introduction the theme for the thesis: security

- How would you define security?
- How would you define insecurity?

2. History

Tell me about your history or background

Can you tell me about your home country? What place(s) have you lived before?

What do you remember from living there?

Security and insecurity in your home country?

Working, going to school, family, spare time, moving in public spaces...

How do you remember the conflict?

3. To flee

Tell me about leaving your home country

When and why did you leave?

How old were you?

Who were with you? Who stayed?

How did you decide to leave?

Did something specific happen?

Who took the decision?

How did it feel?

Can you explain your way to Sweden?

Security and insecurity during this time?

4. Sweden

Tell me about coming to Sweden

Why did you come to Sweden?
What happened during the first time in Sweden?
Did you feel security? Insecurity?
How long did you plan to stay in Sweden?
How was it to learn Swedish?
What did you know about Sweden?
Did you have family or friends here?
Getting a job / accessing education?
Are you happy that you came to Sweden?
Have you been back to your previous home country?

5. Today

Tell me about how your life is today

How do you feel about your history and experiences of having fled?
What could have been different?
What would have made you feel more security?
Where do your family live today?
How is the situation in your home country today?
What do you think of the future?

6. Conclusion

Is there anything you want to add?
Choose an alias

Appendix 2: Content Analysis

Appendix 2a: Frame for Content Analysis

Main category	Sub-categories	Indicators
Security	Security of refugees	Refugees
		Refugee camps
		Refugee laws
		Displaced persons
	State security	Security of the nation
		Borders & territory
		Military capacities
	Human security	Economic security
		Food security
		Health security
		Environmental security
		Personal security
		Community security
		Political security
	Narratives of security	Narratives
		Experiences
Participation		

Appendix 2b: Index for Content Analysis

Security of refugees:	
Refugees	1325, 1889, 2242
Refugee camps	1325, 1820, 1889
Refugee laws	1325, 2106
Displaced persons	1325, 1889, 2122, 2242
Security: state security	
Nation / state focus	1325, 1820, 1888, 1889, 1960, 2106, 2122, 2242, NAP
Borders and territory	1820, 1888, 1960, 2106, 2122
Military capacity	1325, 1820, 1888, 1889, 1960, 2106, 2122, 2242, NAP <u>Peacekeeping operations:</u> 1325, 1820, 1888, 1960, 2122, 2242, NAP <u>Disarmament:</u> 1325, 1820, 1888, 1889, 2106, 2122, NAP
Security: human security	
Economic security	1889, 1960, 2106, 2122, NAP
Food security	
Health security	1889, 1960, 2106, 2122, 2242, NAP
Environmental security	
Personal security	<u>Women and girls are specifically affected:</u> 1325, 1820, 1888, 1889, 1960, 2106, 2122, 2242, NAP <u>Violence, including sexual violence:</u> 1325, 1820, 1888, 1889, 1960, 2106, 2122, 2242, NAP
Community security	
Political security	<u>Human rights, including women's rights:</u> 1325, 1820, 1888, 1889, 1960, 2106, 2122, 2242, NAP <u>Women's participation and representation:</u> 1325, 1820, 1888, 1889, 1960, 2106, 2122, 2242, NAP