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What are the Benefits and Shortcomings of Resolution 1325?

A Case Study Exploring The Implementation of UNSCR 1325 in Rwanda and the Role of Women in Peace Processes Through Feminist Theory

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Abstract

Increasing women's participation in peace processes has been a multilateral goal since the UN Security Council adopted Resolution 1325 in 2000. This bachelor thesis explores the benefits and shortcomings of the implementation of The United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 in Rwanda through a case study. The research question has therefore been phrased as following; What are the Benefits and Shortcomings of Resolution 1325? *A Case Study Exploring The Implementation of UNSCR 1325 in Rwanda and the Role of Women in Peace Processes Through Feminist Theory*. It is conducted through a literature review consisting of qualitative secondary data in the form of academic articles. Firstly, the thesis presents background on the context, previous research through academic articles which acts as data, and the theoretical framework consisting of two different feminist theoretical approaches, *liberal feminist approach* and *standpoint feminist approach*. The thesis then goes on to account for the methodology and case study, before, through literature review, analysing the the benefits and shortcomings of Resolution 1325 and the role of women in peace processes. It establishes that while Resolution 1325 has been a crucial implementation for the work regarding women's involvement in peace processes, and is working towards gender equality and justice, the feminist framework which it is developed through may need to be specified. The research therefore concludes that the knowledge generated from women's voices needs to become more central independent of case and feminist discipline.

Keywords: Peace Process, Resolution 1325, Feminist Theory, Women, Rwanda

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1.0 Introduction

1.1 The Problem Under Investigation and its Significance for Development Studies

Increasing women's participation in peace processes has been a multilateral goal since the UN Security Council adopted Resolution 1325 in 2000 (Porter 2007: 11). However, the way in which women participate in peace processes tend not to be only, nor primarily, through formal negotiations. United Nations Security Council adopted resolution 1325, calling for increased participation of women and the incorporation of gender perspectives in all UN peace and security efforts. While they have since adopted a number of resolutions on women, peace and security (such as Resolution 1820), some scholars, such as Langdon (2019: 1-2), argue that resolution 1325 is an "add women and stir" approach, where women are given a seat at negotiations in a male-oriented peremptory system. This notion confines women in the role of the "other" despite of increased participation, which according to a standpoint feminist approach can be criticised for ignoring the structural changes needed to allow women to add progressive transformative discourse and enhance women's unique characteristics (Hudson 2014: 104-106).

If one were to visit United Nations website and make one's way to their page about Global Issues, one would find 22 headlines about the most stressing issues to today's contemporary development. This can be argued as a large increase from the initial goals of safeguarding peace, protecting human rights, establishing the framework for international justice and promoting economic and social progress. The United Nations, which can be considered the foremost forum to address issues that transcend national boundaries, highlight that while conflict resolution and peacekeeping continue to be among the most visible efforts, advancement of women is high up on the agenda when addressing contemporary development issues (United Nations 2021). Moreover, in regards to the United Nations Millennium Development Goals, one can argue that proposed research strongly links to Goal 5, 10 and 26; gender equality, reduced inequality and peace, justice and strong institutions (United Nations 2021).

This bachelor thesis is a case study exploring the benefits and shortcomings of the implementation of The United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 in Rwanda. The research question has therefore been phrased as following; What are the Benefits and Shortcomings of Resolution 1325? *A Case Study Exploring The Implementation of UNSCR 1325 in Rwanda and the Role of Women in*

Peace Processes Through Feminist Theory. The research will be conducted through a literature review consisting of qualitative secondary data in the form of academic articles. The data will be collected by highlighting common themes and arguments made by scholars that have specialised on the contextual matter in the chosen setting. The data analysis will then, after the initial steps of searching the literature, go on to critiquing the literature and lastly writing the review (Watts 2020: 14-15). The theoretical framework will consist of two different feminist theoretical approaches, *liberal feminist approach* and *standpoint feminist approach*, in order to compare and analyse the feminist nature of Resolution 1325.

My chosen theoretical frameworks regarding the exploration of the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 would therefore seek to explore what aspects of women participation that are favourable in development policy, in regards to equality, human rights, and human security, all while promoting the contemporary development aspect of advancement of women. The problem under investigation is therefore tightly linked to contemporary aspects of development such as conflict resolution, peacebuilding, equality, inclusion of women, ending violence against women and girls, human rights, social and economic progress, and issues of governance in terms of development policy.

1.2 Purpose, Limitations and Delimitations

It has been 21 years since the United States Security Council Resolution 1325 was introduced, and despite implementations of frameworks, agenda settings and national action plans, little substantive progress has been made in increasing women's participation in peace and security structures and processes in creating greater security for women. In 2004, the UN Secretary General called for member states to adopt national action plans (NAPs) to ensure implementation of the resolution. Currently, only 50 countries (out of 196) have these plans, 15 (30%) of which are in Africa, and very few of these actually being realised. Women remain marginal to peace processes, with less than 4% as signatories to peace agreements and less than 10% as negotiators at peace tables (Hendricks 2015: 356). The purpose of this research is to explore the benefits and the shortcomings of the implementation of Resolution 1325 in Rwanda, as well as the role of women in peace processes, from a liberal feminist perspective and a standpoint feminist perspective.

As with any research method, the case study method has its limitations. One aspect that must be considered is the chance of the results not being implementable in all contexts, or even all contexts in the same region, and could therefore have little value in terms of generalisation (Baxter & Jack 2008: 556). Furthermore, it is rather difficult to draw definite causes and effects from a single case, and other case studies may have different outcomes and conclusions. As for the qualitative nature of the case study, one must consider the method retrospective since they rely on the word of, potentially biased, stakeholders. An example of such a conflict of interest may be the possibility of scholars seeking to favour their own theories or disciplines (Stake 2006: 460; Yin 2014: 22-23). Moreover, the case study is no better than the abilities and resources of the researcher, and I must consider my own internal bias of, for example, my own opinions and therefore expected conclusions. In accordance with Hudson (2009: 288-289), it can be argued that women highlight parts of conflicts that may otherwise be overlooked, such as experiences of sexual and political violence that may predominantly affect women. One can therefore expect that the analysis will reach a conclusion stating that the knowledge of women's and men's attitudes toward peacebuilding in post-conflict settings may provide valuable information for understanding the challenges of peacebuilding, and ultimately for improving the prospects for peace and Resolution 1325 may therefore be considered less feminist than it strives to be (Darcy and Mac Ginty 2003: 3-4, Kludzewit et al. 2020: 24-25). Due to such internal bias I must strive to keep an open mind.

As for delimitations of the thesis, the choices were at large made in relation to available resources and practical access. While this thesis may have used a different approach under different circumstances, being in a non-pandemic reality, the case study was deemed as a suitable methodology due to its ability to to consciously examine contextual conditions (Yin 2014: 24; 1994 in Agee 2009: 427). Moreover, the decision was made to focus on a single case, rather than conducting a multiple case study, in order to highlight and underpin contextual aspects in the country that can be considered as the reason to why Resolution 1325 was established (Porter 2007: 11). As for the choice of the two theoretical frameworks were chosen and deemed significant, or, more importantly, why other theoretical frameworks were not, the two chosen theoretical frameworks hold different view on gender and female traits, and therefore act as feminist lenses. While they provide two different views on feminism and societal injustices, it is important to acknowledge the many disciplines that are not included, and the delimitations that were established

in regards to theoretical framework. The use of feminist theories such as intersectional feminist theory, could have questioned not only the male hegemony, but intra-gender situations and experiences in accordance with race and social class, and considered the link between gender, race, cultural identities and gender identities (Silvestre Carbera et al. 2020: 308). However, this would have moved the focus away from the research question and instead would have had to include factors such as racism, imperialism and more in-depth patriarchal practices and ideologies.

1.3 Disposition of Paper

Section 2 will present a background of the country under investigation, Rwanda, as well as the peace processes that occurred and are still occurring. Section 3 will then follow with previous research on the subject, sorted into four sub-headings handling different themes that may help answer the research question; *The Role of Women in Peace Processes*, *Women as Advocates of Peace*, *Benefits and Shortcomings of Resolution 1325*, and *the Implementation of Resolution 1325 in Rwanda*. This will be done in order to give a broad understanding of the research problem. Section 4, will present the theoretical framework, and will give an account of the two strands of feminism that in this thesis will be used as theoretical lenses, under which the problem under study will be examined. Section 5 presents method and data, and explains the choice of methodology, being a case study through literature review. Moreover the section presents the choice of data analysis, as well as discusses limitations and ethical considerations. Section 6 then presents the analysis of the thesis, and uses two subheadings in order to give a clear overview of the analysis; *Women in Peace Processes and as Advocates of Peace* and *Benefits and shortcomings of Resolution 1325*, which will lead up the last section, section 7, presenting the concluding remarks of the thesis.

2.0 Background

This section will provide perspicuous background on the country under investigation and the peace processes that occurred and still is occurring. The genocide in Rwanda 1994 left up to 1,000,000 people dead, most of the victims being members of the Tutsi minority. The genocide affected everyone and had severe consequences for psychological health (Brounéus 2014: 125-126). The aftermath has consisted of politics of reconciliation as a way of dealing with the past. The genocide in Rwanda did not only include brutal executions, were victims were hacked to pieces with machetes, but also sexual violence and mutilation, which has since become considered and

punishable as a genocidal crime. Many of the victims and the perpetrators knew each other as friends, neighbours, or even family. Due to the small size of the country together with the dense population, survivors and perpetrators cannot avoid each other, especially since the rural population are deeply dependent on the help and support of family or village structures (Schliesser 2018: 138-139).

On December 20th 1993 the UN General Assembly proclaimed Resolution 48/104, also known as *Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women*, recognising the urgent need for the universal application to women of the rights and principles with regard to equality, security, liberty, integrity and dignity of all human beings (Qureshi 2013: 188). United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner further states that conflict can result in higher levels of violence against women and girls, including arbitrary killings, torture, sexual violence and forced marriage. These levels of violence spike in post-conflict societies due to the general breakdown of the rule of law, the availability of small arms, the breakdown of social and family structures as well as the normalisation of gender-based violence as an additional element of pre-existing discrimination (United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commission 2021). Moreover, girls can face additional obstacles in accessing education, and women are also forced to look for alternative sources of livelihood as family survival comes to depend heavily on them. While women and girls to a great extent can be considered victims of conflict and instability, they historically had and continue to have a role as combatants, as human right defenders, as members of resistance movements and as active agents in both formal and informal peacebuilding and recovery processes. Here, Rwanda is a good example of women's inclusion in all aspects mentioned above. Not only did women partake in the genocide of 1994, they also held a crucial position in parts of the post-genocide peace processes. However, they were to a great extent excluded from the inclusive highest level of official peace negotiations, which could be seen as a reason why high levels of violence persist. One can argue that this exclusion of women in the political peace process led to the United Nations adopting Resolution 1325 six years after the genocide to address peace, security and women's roles in the formal peace process (Porter 2007: 11).

2.1 Political Peace Process

As for the political peace process in post-genocide Rwanda, one cannot overlook the Gacaca courts. The Gacaca courts were a state-driven truth and reconciliation process, and since the launch in 2005, over twelve thousand Gacaca courts have taken place with mandatory participation for the population. Nine lay judges were elected locally for each court, and the crimes of the genocide were categorised and punishment was conducted by the judges after hearing testimony from victims, villagers, and the perpetrators. However, while the justice system has resulted in some successful reconciliation between former antagonists, it has also been faced with major critique since equal justice has not been provided to all nor has safety of victims been secured. Witnesses have been threatened and even killed, and women, and especially widows, can be seen as especially vulnerable to such actions. When genocide-related rapes were transferred from the conventional court system to the Gacaca in 2008, this increased fear for many women due to insecurity as to the level of confidentiality (Brounéus 2014: 125-126). While women indeed were included in the Gacaca courts, they were to a great extent excluded from the inclusive highest level of official peace negotiations, which could be seen as a reason why high levels of violence persist (Madsen 2019: 179-180).

2.2 Social Peace Process

While the political side of the peace process, including the Gacaca courts, were crucial for the peace process in Rwanda one can argue that the importance of the social peace process is of utmost importance in having established, as well as keeping, said peace. In Rwanda these social peace processes were greatly organised through women's organisation, even through findings based on a survey by Brounéus' (2014: 143-144) asking women about their feelings on the peace process demonstrated that women had more negative attitudes toward trust, coexistence and the Gacaca process than men. This attitude was strongly linked to depression and Post Traumatic Stress Disorder. However, the women's organisations lobby for the involvement of more women working the areas of peace and security. Many of the women's organisations were formed during or just after the genocide, and once the genocide was over national women's organisations and local grassroots organisations surfaced in numbers and intensity. Examples are Avega Aghazo, formed in 1995 by 50 widowed genocide survivors that focus on victim health, advocacy and justice, and the Rwanda Women Network Hagruka, who focus on women's economic empowerment. These are only a few,

and representatives of the women's organisations state that Resolution 1325 is in line with the ongoing work in Rwanda and that women have been crucial to peace processes long before Resolution 1325 was adopted. As for all peace processes, the social processes tend not to get as much media coverage as the political negotiations, and therefore the implementation of Resolution 1325 is making their work more visible and women's participation more dynamic as a tool for legitimisation and lobbying for women's organisation (Madsen 2019: 182-183).

3.0 Previous Research

The previous research presented in this thesis will be sorted into four subheadings handling different themes that may help answer the research question; The Role of Women in Peace Processes, Women as Advocates of Peace, Benefits and Shortcomings of Resolution 1325, and the Implementation of Resolution 1325 in Rwanda. This will be done in order to give a broad understanding of the research problem. Moreover, this can be considered as the initial steps in the literature review, as its exploring beliefs and topics, initiating the search, here through contextual academic articles. This section further presents and organises information and data, which will then be used in section 6.0 *Analysis*, where the data will be analysed,

3.1 The Role of Women in Peace Processes

A peace process is a process where conflicts are resolved through peaceful methods, and includes politics, diplomacy, changing relationships, negotiation, mediation and dialogue in both official and unofficial arenas (Melander 2005: 671). Contemporary peace processes tend to entrench both participants and the conflict itself, which risks reinforcing key actors in the roles they adopted during the conflict. This implies that main actors that previously reinforced the conflict are put into the position of negotiation partners at ceasefire, regardless of qualification to represent their community. However, other voices, often those lacking war ammunition, go unheard. This can be considered a reason why peace processes in general are dominated by men (Darby and Mac Ginty 2003: 3-4).

Increasing women's participation in peace processes has been a multilateral goal since the UN Security Council adopted Resolution 1325 in 2000 (Porter 2007: 11). However, the way in which women participate in peace processes tend not to be only, nor primarily, through formal

negotiations. Instead, two broad types of processes characterise efforts to end conflict. The first being political peace processes, also referred to as Track I Diplomacy or formal peace processes, and less formal interaction among civil society actors, diplomats, academics and other actors, which is here referred to as Track II diplomacy or social peace processes. Women are largely absent from formal political peace processes, but far more involved in social peace processes (Dayal and Christien 2020: 70-71). Inclusive peace processes are slowly replacing the traditional exclusive peace deals negotiated solely between two or more armed groups, and current ones instead seek to broaden participation at the highest level of official peace negotiations. Although women often take part in these negotiations, overall mediators and policy-makers are still resistant to greater inclusion of women. Scholars, such as Paffenholz (2015: 2), argue that inclusion of women in peace processes does not weaken peace negotiations. On the contrary, the presence of women significantly improves the influence on negotiation outcomes. Paffenholz (2015: 2-3) further recognises how organised women's groups, networks and movements have never mobilised against a peace process, while the same cannot be said for men. According to Porter (2018: 137) women's approach to peace differs from men's, and includes demonstrating compassion, practicing the art of listening and hospitality as well as reconciling relationships to a greater extent, all of which are strategies proven to favour peace processes.

3.2 Women as Advocates of Peace

At the microlevel it can, in accordance with Brounéus (2015: 125-126), be argued that women hold more pacifist compromising attitudes than men. War affects women and men differently, and it is therefore important to include women in all aspects of the peace process since there may be important gender differences in attitudes related to peacebuilding when the post conflict context, especially war-related trauma, must be taken into account. In both cases, perpetrators and victims are now forced to live side by side, which is where the social peace process may be considered more crucial than the political to prevent further conflict. Melander (2005: 696) argues that the reasons why women are more positive to peace can be explained by standpoint framework or liberal framework. The standpoint framework argues that the attitudinal differences around peace and war have a biological explanation, and that women by nature are more opposed to violence, while the liberal framework argues that these differences in attitude are to be explained by the socialisation of gender roles. However, while it may be true that women generally are less likely to partake in

conflicts, which in turn affects their involvement in peace processes, the conflict in Rwanda makes interesting case since women in both scenarios were perpetrators of violence during the genocide. According to Brounéus' (2014: 143-144) findings based on a survey made in Rwanda asking women about their feelings on the peace process, women were more resistant to peace and forgiveness than men.

3.3 Resolution 1325

The United Nations Security Council 1325 was set to be a collaborative effort between NGOs, the UN and civil society to make a real change to the lives of women and girls in war-torn and post-conflict states. However, it fails to deconstruct either international, national or local institutions which are preventing gender equality in the long run (Cohn et al., 2010). Instead, the focus of Resolution 1325 is an 'add women and stir' approach, where women are given a seat at negotiations but are unable to determine their own place and contributions in a male-dominated incumbent system. They remain the 'other' despite the increased participation, and therefore UNSCR 1325 received criticism for ignoring the structural changes needed to allow women to add progressive and transformative discourse (O'Connor, 2014). Moreover, while Resolution 1325 has been heralded by feminist academics as a ground-breaking and emancipatory piece of international law putting women at the centre of the peace-building and security agenda (Cohn et al. 2004). However, its realist assumptions which continue to construct violent conflict as inevitable and which aim to provide peace and gender security within traditional, militarist structures have been critiqued as anti-feminist (Cockburn 2010).

The language used in the resolutions is important. It both can shape understandings of women's potential contribution to peace-building and the issues which are considered integral to gendered peace-building. Analysis of the language of the resolutions has highlighted its presentation of women and men within traditional gender roles and a binary/dualistic relationship (Pratt & Richter-Devroe 2011). Narrow constructions of femininity and masculinity allow women and men agency but only within certain boundaries and this in particular leads to definite interpretations of how peace and security are to be implemented and by whom. However, more recent resolutions have begun to reverse this tendency and emphasised women's agency (Martín de la Rosa & Lázaro 2017).

Madsen (2019: 173-175) highlights how much work on Resolution 1325 has focused on how the resolution has “trickled down” from the global to the local level in a specific context, and explores how the resolution has been translated into promotion of women’s rights and gender equality at the level of local women’s groups. Björkdahl and Mannergren Selimovic (2015: 325-326) further argue that the reconstitution of gendered assumptions and hegemonic power relations embedded in the 1325 discourse are reinforced by the national social and political context. In order to more fully understand the interactional complexities between structural inequalities and women’s agencies, one must pay attention to structural constraints such as socioeconomics, gender-based violence and patriarchal cultural values. Madsen (2019:177-178) goes on to argue that without taking these aspects into consideration, transformations towards gender-just peace will not be possible, especially in post-conflict contexts. Björkdahl and Mannergren Selimovic (2015: 330) therefore suggest that Resolution 1325 need a more holistic and integrated approach to peace and security, acknowledging the multilayered challenges that works towards gender-just peace face.

3.4 Implementation of Resolution 1325 in Rwanda

This section will present previous research on the implementation of Resolution 1325 in Rwanda in political peace processes, and social peace processes, in order to give a clearer overview.

3.4.1 Political Peace Process

As mentioned in section 2.1, the Gacaca courts were a state-driven truth and reconciliation process, and since the launch in 2005, over twelve thousand Gacaca courts have taken place with mandatory participation for the population. Nine lay judges were elected locally for each court, and the crimes of the genocide were categorised and punishment was conducted by the judges after hearing testimony from victims, villagers, and the perpetrators. However, while the justice system has resulted in some successful reconciliation between former antagonists, it has also been faced with major critique since equal justice has not been provided to all nor has safety of victims been secured. Witnesses have been threatened and even killed, and women, and especially widows, can be seen as especially vulnerable to such actions. When genocide-related rapes were transferred from the conventional court system to the Gacaca in 2008, this increased fear for many women due to insecurity as to the level of confidentiality (Brounéus 2014: 125-126). While women indeed were included in the Gacaca courts, they were to a great extent excluded from the inclusive highest level

of official peace negotiations, which could be seen as a reason why high levels of violence persist. Bronéus (2014: 127), argues that this exclusion of women in the political peace process led to the United Nations adopting Resolution 1325 six years after the genocide to address peace, security and women's roles in the formal peace process. Moreover, Bronéus (2014: 127) argues his adoption led to women being included in the formal peace process to a greater extent.

Within the Rwandan Patriot Front army there were women at a high level, who were therefore included as an indication of follow-up and some degree of commitment towards Resolution 1325. Furthermore, Madsen (2019: 179-180) argues that women made important contributions to the traditional reconciliation mechanisms of the Gacaca courts through their role as judges, after campaigning done by the umbrella organisation Pro Femmes which resulted in guaranteed seats for women with the introduced quota of 30 percent as well as their representation on committees as mediators. While this inclusion of women at all levels of political decision-making in the peace process after the genocide can be seen as a success of Resolution 1325, women are however still largely excluded from the "big" negotiations in peace and security (Madsen 2019: 180-181). The first National Action Plan (NAP) in Rwanda based on Resolution 1325 was not published until 2010. The NAP focused on prevention, protection, participation and promotion of women's and gender issues. The last aspect is exceptional for Rwanda, and involves the activities of the women's organisations already in place (Madsen 2018: 74).

3.4.2 Social Peace Process

While the political side of the peace process, including the Gacaca courts, were crucial for the peace process in Rwanda one can argue that the importance of the social peace process is of utmost importance in having established, as well as keeping, said peace. In Rwanda these social peace processes were greatly organised through women's organisation, even through findings based on a survey by Bronéus' (2014: 143-144) asking women about their feelings on the peace process demonstrated that women had more negative attitudes toward trust, coexistence and the Gacaca process than men. This attitude was strongly linked to depression and Post Traumatic Stress Disorder. However, the women's organisations lobby for the involvement of more women working the areas of peace and security. Many of the women's organisations were formed during or just after the genocide, and once the genocide was over national women's organisations and local grassroots

organisations surfaced in numbers and intensity. Examples are Avega Aghazo, formed in 1995 by 50 widowed genocide survivors that focus on victim health, advocacy and justice, and the Rwanda Women Network Hagrauka, who focus on women's economic empowerment. These are only a few, and representatives of the women's organisations state that Resolution 1325 is in line with the ongoing work in Rwanda and that women have been crucial to peace processes long before Resolution 1325 was adopted. As for all peace processes, the social processes tend not to get as much media coverage as the political negotiations, and therefore the implementation of Resolution 1325 is making their work more visible and women's participation more dynamic as a tool for legitimisation and lobbying for women's organisation (Madsen 2019: 182-183).

4.0 Theoretical Framework

The following section will give an account of the two strands of feminism that in this thesis will be used as theoretical lenses, under which the problem under study will be examined. There are several theoretical frameworks suitable for answering the research question presented in this thesis. However, the focus here lies on feminism, as presented in the research question, and therefore feminist theory. While feminist theory overall tend to focus on the analysis of gender inequality, including discrimination, objectification, oppression, patriarchy and stereotyping, there are several distinct feminist disciplines which hold their own techniques and principles to their own fields. The chosen theoretical frameworks in this thesis will be liberal feminist approach and standpoint feminism approach in order to give a broader understanding of the topic and the simplification of the term "feminism". While both being feminist theories, they have differing views on women in terms of traits and characteristics. A liberal feminist approach emphasises women's role in peacebuilding as equal representation while standpoint feminist approach enhances women's unique, but uniform characteristics, which can be seen as primarily highlighted in social peace processes (Carbera et al. 2020: 307-309, Hague 2016: 199-201).

4.1 Liberal Feminist Approach

Liberal feminism, as well as liberalism overall, has its basic rights grounded in human nature, a nature characterised by rationality and autonomy. According to this liberal thought, any individual has the capacity to exercise rational deliberation, has the right to be met with equal respect, as well as decides their own path and pursuit of life (Groenhout 2002:51-52). Liberal feminist theory claims

that gender inequality exists due to reduced access for women to civil rights and exclusion from political and legal spheres. It aims to reach gender equality through political and legal reform, and consider norms and patriarchal structures through socialisation as responsible for gender roles and specific traits that are considered masculine versus feminine (Ackerly 2001: 5499-5502). According to this discipline, women are just as qualified as men to qualify for public roles such as politician, soldiers and scholars, as long as they are provided with the same education and informal socialisation that men receive (Scott 2015: 435-439).

While there may be other moral frameworks for conceptualising the moral wrong done to women through denial of rights, it is, according to Groenhout (2002: 56-57), few that explain the wrong so clearly and manages to conceptualise such wrongness of gender oppression. Moreover, liberal feminism analyses power and how it affects human interactions, which has been a stable of feminist analysis from the origin of the discipline. Thinkers such as Foucault, Harriet Taylor Mill and John Stuart Mill were analysing the power structure and its effects on relationships between men and women through liberal discipline already in the 19th century (Groenhout 2002: 57-58).

In regards to the liberal feminist thought on gender based traits, human are considered as more than stimulus machines and are fully capable of making decisions made on critical reflection. Actions based on such reflection is therefore not fully determined by biological and social preconditions. While this liberal picture of human nature being more than a biological and social phenomena is a central aspects of the liberal feminist analysis regarding the wrongness of sexist oppression. The oppression and wrongness that mirror the societal sexism women face, are what causes harm and inequality. Even if if such sexism did not translate directly to impoverishment or sexualised violence against women, it would be considered wrong due to its unequal treatment of human life overall, and through its limiting of freedom in regards to opportunity to take responsibility for ones own life (Groenhout 2002: 58).

4.2 Standpoint Feminist Approach

Standpoint feminism can be considered to have emerged through attempting to explain the relationship between the production of knowledge and practices of power in line with critical feminist theory. The feminist discipline surfaced in the late 1970s to early 1980s, with foremothers

such as Dorothy Smith and Nancy Hartsock, and presented the notion that all knowledge is located and situated, stressing that the experiences of women and their standpoint is to be valued in completing the truth of social reality. According to this belief, all women hold a common standpoint, and therefore have a set of common traits that are established in the biological feminine (Naidu 2010: 24-35; Silvestre Carbera et al. 2020: 308). In 1983 Nancy Hartsock (1983) published “the Feminist Standpoint Theory” (FST), which sought to provide a method to validate the feminist viewpoint for connecting the daily life with the institutions which conditioned it. Feminist standpoint theory assumes that the world is traditionally constrained by social rules that prevents knowledge free from constraints and prejudice. The theoretical framework therefore advocates the importance of crucial awareness, and suggests that they way to escape this imbalance of knowledge and power is primarily through the life of women, and the implementation of their lived experiences (Silvestre Carbera et al. 2020: 309-310).

Feminist standpoint theory origins in the notion of that the less powerful members of society experience reality differently due to oppression (Swigonski 1994: 389), the theory further assumes certain traits for men and women, dominance and violence as a male trait respectively peacefulness and motherhood as a female trait (Hudson 2014: 291-292).

4.3 Significance, data analysis application and limitations

The two theoretical frameworks were chosen and deemed significant due to their different views on gender and female traits. While UNSCR 1325 aims to include a gender perspective, it does not consider the many strands of feminism, nor clarify their definition (Cockburn 2007: 139). The two chosen theoretical frameworks therefore act as feminist lenses. While they provide two different views on feminism and societal injustices, it is important to acknowledge the many disciplines that are not presented here, the delimitations that were established in regards to theoretical framework, as well as the disadvantages of the two that are. Using feminist theories such as intersectional feminist theory, could have questioned not only the male hegemony, but intra-gender situations and experiences in accordance with race and social class, and considered the link between gender, race, cultural identities and gender identities (Silvestre Carbera et al. 2020: 308). However, this would have moved the focus away from the research question and instead would have had to include factors such as racism, imperialism and more in-depth patriarchal practices and ideologies.

As for limitations regarding the theoretical framework used in this thesis, some critics argue that the rationality and objectivity in liberal feminist is inherently connected to the objectification of women. According to this view, women must therefore either deny their nature as women and mirror the one of men, as seen through a standpoint feminist perspective, and objectify other women for the sake of rationality, or accept their position as objectified rather than objectifiers, hence be incapable of rationality (Hudson 2014: 291-292). Moreover, even though standpoint feminist approach highlight the importance of acknowledging a more diverse understanding of social reality, it can be considered epistemological privilege since it does not acknowledge the many differences among women and that there exists multiple standpoints based on marginalisation and oppression. Being the victim of various kinds of systemic violence would then translate to privileged access and insight by virtue (Naidu: 30).

5.0 Method and Data

The following section will present how the study was designed as well as the methodology and data collection process that has been used in this thesis. Moreover, it will give an account of the data analysis procedure, as well as discuss limitations and ethical considerations. The chosen methodology in this thesis is a case study exploring the benefits and shortcomings of the implementation of The United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 in Rwanda. The research question has therefore been phrased as following; What are the Benefits and Shortcomings of Resolution 1325? *A Case Study Exploring The Implementation of UNSCR 1325 in Rwanda Through Feminist Theory*. It will be conducted through a literature review consisting of qualitative secondary data in the form of academic articles. The theoretical framework will consist of two different feminist theoretical approaches, *liberal feminist approach* and *standpoint feminist approach*, in order to compare and analyse the feminist nature of Resolution 1325.

5.1 Case Study

The research will be conducted as a case study, in order to consciously examine the contextual conditions and develop a deeper understanding of the issue (Yin 2014: 25; Creswell et al. 2007: 245-246). According to Rashid et al. (2019: 1-2) a case study is a suitable research method when aiming to establish an in-depth, contextual understanding of a specific case or topic of interest. It

can build on several types of data sources, and one can therefore experience greater freedom in the research process than with other type of methodology. However, due to this greater flexibility, some, such as Stake (1995: 8), therefore do not consider the case study research to not be a methodology, but rather a choice of what is to be studied. The definition of case study that is used in this thesis is in accordance with Yin (2014:16), who frames the Case Study research method as “an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon (the “case”) in depth and within its real-world context”. Moreover, I have, in accordance with Yin (2014: 24; 1994 in Agee 2009: 427), deemed my choice of methodology suitable as it seeks to consciously examine contextual conditions. Yin (1994 in Agee 2009: 427) further states that the chosen theoretical framework of the research is directly linked to the research question in case study research, since it helps define the selection and parameters of cases, which is in accordance with how my research question is formulated.

Case studies are often considered as prime examples based on qualitative data, however Yin (2014: 4-5) highlights the versatile course of action one may take when conducting a case study. Yin (2014:4-5) instead stresses the importance of considering the right approaches of data collection to the specific case it seeks to explore, independent of it being qualitative, quantitative or mixed-method (Creswell et al. 2007: 247-248). Furthermore, Yin (in Creswell et al 2007: 247) suggests six types of information sources for data collection: documents, archival records, direct observation, participant observation, interviews, and physical artefacts. This case study will use qualitative data collection through the practice of literature review, as expanded on below in section 5.2.

5.2 Literature Review

The research will be conducted through a literature review consisting of qualitative secondary data in the form of academic articles. The data will be collected by highlighting common themes and arguments made by scholars that have specialised on the contextual matter in the chosen setting. The choice of literature review was deemed suitable since it surveys scholarly sources on a specific topic. The data will be collected thorough review of current knowledge, allowing identification of relevant theories, methods, and gaps in existing research (Walker 2015: 1-3). The methodology used when writing this thesis has therefore consisted of searching for relevant literature, evaluating sources, identifying themes, debates and gaps, outlining the structure of the overall thesis and lastly

writing the literature review by summarising, analysing and critically evaluating the state of knowledge on the subject (Watts 2020: 14-15). The research conducted in this thesis is therefore aimed to be developed in relation to earlier articles and highlight findings in a relational context through connections, common patterns and relational interaction between the texts. Choices of articles were based on the following subheadings; women's role in peace processes, women as advocates of peace, pro and con Resolution 1325, as well as the implementation of the resolution in the specific case, here Rwanda.

5.3 Data Analysis

In the case of a literature review, the pertinent information collected through reviewing chosen literature, in this case articles regarding the subheadings above, is considered data. The analysis therefore includes defining key terms as well identifying key patterns, acknowledging emphases, strengths and weaknesses, evaluating the methodologies used, checking for gaps in the literature and lastly, and maybe most importantly, identifying relationships between studies in order to draw conclusions and establish results (Watts 2020: 14-16).

5.4 Limitations and Ethical Considerations

As for limitations of the chosen method one can, in accordance with Yin (2014:192) and Baxter and Jack (2008: 556), argue that while the case study method is somewhat all-encompassing, it may also be one considered one of the most challenging choices of methods to undertake. Yin (2014: 3) stresses how the quality of outcome is directly linked to the ability of the researcher, which can be considered both a strength and a limitation. While it allows for flexibility and adaptation in choices of data collection, and therefore enables the possibility to fully capture the complexity of a case and its contextual conditions, it also allows for the possibility of resulting in inadequate research due to lack of ability or proper understanding and implementation of the method. As previously mentioned, it may also result in conclusions that are very case specific to the particular context, and therefore invalidating the transcription to cases independent on how similar they may be (Baxter and Jack 2008: 556). As with any research method, the case study method has its limitations. One aspect that must be considered is the chance of the results not being implementable in all contexts, or even all contexts in the same region, and could therefore have little value in terms of generalisation (Baxter & Jack 2008: 556). Furthermore, it is rather difficult to draw definite causes

and effects from a single case, and other case studies may have different outcomes and conclusions. As for the qualitative nature of the case study, one must consider the method retrospective since they rely on the word of, potentially biased, stakeholders. An example of such a conflict of interest may be the possibility of scholars seeking to favour their own theories or disciplines (Stake 2006: 460; Yin 2014: 22-23). Moreover, the case study is no better than the abilities and resources of the researcher, and I must consider my own internal bias of, for example, expected conclusions.

When conducting a case study there are several ethical aspects to consider, even when using secondary data. While one does not have to consider the potential harm associated with the invasion of privacy and confidentiality to the same extent as when conducting research based on primary data through methods such as interview, it is still of importance to have a moral perspective on data collection and let it revolve around transparency (Yin 2014: 20-21). Furthermore, one must consider the ethical considerations of conducting research in multilingual settings. Although this thesis is based on secondary data, one must consider the possibility that the data collection when being conducted may have been exercised in the native language of the context, while the main operative language (which may also be the language in which the research will be presented) may not have been the same. Conducted material may therefore be lost in translation, or altered in such a way that the original data is invalid (Çakmak & Akgün 2018: 98).

Lastly, one must recognise the possibility of reaching more valid results if one were to conduct a mixed-method case study, rather than one based solely on qualitative data as is the case in this thesis. The same reasoning could be applied to the choice of using secondary data through literature review. While there indeed could be an opportunity to conduct a case study through primary data, the decision was made to use literature review to ease the process due to the ongoing global pandemic. The thesis has instead strived to act as a platform to analyse the existing paradigm based on the works of scholars through feminist perspective in a context that has not experienced coverage to the same extent as other cases.

6.0 Analysis

The analysis section of the thesis will interpret, comment and clarify on the collected data in accordance with, and guided by, the theoretical framework that was previously presented. As the

methodology used in this case study is through a literature review, the upcoming findings will to a large extent be related to previous research.

6.1 Women in Peace Processes and as Advocates of Peace

At the microlevel it can, in accordance with Brounéus (2015: 125-126), be argued that women hold more pacifist compromising attitudes than men. War affects women and men differently, and it is therefore important to include women in all aspects of the peace process since there may be important gender differences in attitudes related to peacebuilding when the post conflict context, especially war-related trauma, must be taken into account. In both cases, perpetrators and victims are now forced to live side by side, which is where the social peace process may be considered more crucial than the political to prevent further conflict. In accordance with Melander (2005: 696) the reasons why women are more positive to peace can be explained by essentialist framework or constructivist framework. The essentialists argue that the attitudinal differences around peace and war have a biological explanation, and that women by nature are more opposed to violence, while the constructivist argue that these differences in attitude are to be explained by the socialisation of gender roles. One can further argue, that while this may be of importance for future implications in terms of potential alteration in the socialisation process independent on gender, it does not matter whether the peaceful ways of women are biological or socially constructed, and instead focus on the benefits of including women in peace processes.

In accordance with Hudson (2014: 141-142) one can argue that while it is important to shift the focus more towards women's needs in peace processes, it is crucial to avoid representing women as a group of the same security needs since this reinforces the hiding of differences and power dynamics among women. In the international arena, and mainly in political peace processes, a liberal feminist approach emphasises women's role in peacebuilding as equal representation while standpoint feminist approach enhances women's unique, but uniform characteristics, which can be seen as primarily highlighted in social peace processes. According to such liberal approaches, women are included in peace processes on the basis that they will act in accordance with men, which contradicts the reality of the lived experiences of many women in Rwanda. On the other hand, standpoint feminist approaches assumes certain traits for men and women, dominance and violence as a male trait respectively peacefulness and motherhood as a female trait (Hudson 2014: 291-292).

One can argue, that while this may be of importance for future implications in terms of potential alteration in the socialisation process independent on gender, it does not matter whether the peaceful ways of women are biological or socially constructed, and instead focus on the benefits of including women in peace processes.

As previously mentioned Brounéus' (2014: 143-144) conducted a survey made in Rwanda asking women about their feelings on the peace process, and found women were more resistant to peace and forgiveness than men. One can therefore argue that it may not be solely about gender, but about whether or not women partook in the conflict to any greater extent, which would then support the social constructivist argument rather than the essentialist. One must therefore highlight the likely possibility that the conclusions that will be reached in this thesis may be narrow and case specific, and that one if using the same research question in another context may present a different analysis and reach differing results and conclusions. The ways in which women are portrayed in Resolution 1325 may therefore not be applicable to the women of Rwanda in a post-conflict society where they were armed actors in the conflict. This presents a liberal feminist argument for that the resolution may not be as feminist as it strives to be, being unable to acknowledge that specific female traits of a context may differ from another based on the socialisation that has occurred in a specific case.

6.2 Benefits and shortcomings of Resolution 1325

6.2.1 Benefits of Resolution 1325

Contemporary peace processes tend to entrench both participants and the conflict itself, which risks reinforcing key actors in the roles they adopted during the conflict. However, other voices, often those lacking war ammunition, go unheard. This can be considered a reason why peace processes in general are dominated by men (Darcy and Mac Ginty 2003: 3-4), which from a gender perspective can be of great interest to society. Moreover, increasing women's participation in peace processes has been a multilateral goal since the UN Security Council adopted Resolution 1325 in 2000 (Porter 2007: 11) which argues for the research question's potential contribution to an already ongoing academic debate. However, the way in which women participate in peace processes tend not to be only, nor primarily, through formal negotiations. Instead, two broad types of processes characterise efforts to end conflict; the political peace processes, also referred to as Track I Diplomacy or formal peace processes; and less formal interaction among civil society actors, diplomats, academics and

other actors, also referred to as Track II diplomacy or social peace processes (Dayal and Christien 2020: 70-71). Moreover, United Nations peacekeeping missions amount to major economic interventions that risk failing to sustainably contribute to host countries' economic success. While peacekeeping missions are associated with economic growth, the withdrawals are one many cases more economically disruptive than projected (Beber et al. 2019: 376). However, in accordance with Duncanson (2019: 113-114), one could argue that the inclusion of women in such missions may show advantage due to a different prioritisation regarding course of action such as aid and task forces which would promote not only social progress, but economic. Moreover, one can in accordance with Orhan (2019: 269), argue that while gender dynamics do not operate alone, they in many ways intersect said dynamics to influence political violence in terms of gender agency. Gender agency is a relative approach to unequal power relations between men and women, and it highlights how such power relationships are unequally distributed, and embedded in all spheres, such as social, cultural, and political institutions, including kinship, media, education and the state (Orhan 2019: 270). Therefore, one can, in accordance with Madsen (2019: 173-175), argue that one of the clear positives of Resolution 1325 is its place as the foundation for gender mainstreaming and ether acknowledgement of gender agency in the UN.

6.2.2 Shortcomings of Resolution 1325

A liberal feminist approach emphasises women's role in peacebuilding as equal representation while standpoint feminist approach enhances women's unique, but uniform characteristics, which can be seen as primarily highlighted in social peace processes. According to such liberal approaches, women are included in peace processes on the basis that they will act in accordance with men, which contradicts the reality of the lived experiences of many women in Rwanda.

Contrary to mentioned liberal feminist view on Resolution 1325, one can in accordance with scholars such as Cockburn (2010: 103; 2013: 106) and Pierson (2018: 57), argue that the liberal and realist assumptions of Resolution 1325 continue to construct violent conflict as inevitable and which aim to provide peace and gender security within traditional, militarist structures is on the opposite considered to be anti-feminist. The basis on which women are included through Resolution 1325, is according to a standpoint feminist approach contradictory the reality of the lived

experiences of many women in many conflicts (Gilmartin 2019: 91-93) and one can further, in accordance with Hudson (2009: 291-292), argue for the importance of avoiding representing women as a homogen group of the same security needs, since that such generalisation reinforces the concealing of differences in power dynamics among women.

Moreover, the attributed key roles of women through Resolution 1325, are those of peace-builder, peacekeeper or victim (Otto 2006: 145-147), which reinforces the view of women as a homogen group, as well as exclude some women who participated as actors in conflict or who have moved away from traditional gender roles which is not uncommon during times of social and political turbulence. This can be considered to be in line with liberal feminist view, as mentioned in section 4.1, where some critiques mean that the rationality and objectivity in liberal feminist is inherently connected to the objectification of women. According to this view, women must therefore either deny their nature as women and mirror the one of men, as seen through a standpoint feminist perspective, and objectify other women for the sake of rationality, or accept their position as objectified rather than objectifiers, hence be incapable of rationality. From this point of view, which one can argue is the narrative of Resolution 1325, women can therefore not exercise rationality as women, and are expected to adapt traditionally and culturally highly valued male characteristics and therefore repress emotion. One can therefore, according to standpoint feminist view, question why patriarchal and liberal views in terms of rationality, associated with men, in today's paradigm regarding policy making, and in extension Resolution 1325, are deemed superior to those of emotion and nurture, associated with women. Traits that, as has been argued, have shown great value to peace processes (England 2001: 5910-5915).

As previously mentioned, one can in accordance with Madsen (2019: 173-175), argue that one of the clear positives of Resolution 1325 is its place as the foundation for gender mainstreaming in the UN. However, this becomes contradictory, if the term is misrepresented as synonymous with 'women's issues'. Some feminist thinkers believe that this oversight contributes to the failure to address structural causes of inequality, as the focus is on adding women to conflict negotiations rather than amending the incumbent institutions that have been exacerbating the gender imbalance since their inception. Ignoring power relations and attaching women to existing power structures also perpetuates dismissive attitudes towards women unless their presence is appreciated and

accepted. A common criticism is that agents within decision-making structures did not push for action due to misunderstanding the importance of gender mainstreaming aims, despite educational literature being available (Deiana & McDonagh 2018: 416-418). Some go so far as to claim that the UN uses the resolution to justify their inaction in tackling structural issues (Bosetti & Cooper 2015: 3-5), as despite poor results they believe the issue to be dealt with. Therefore, one can argue that an increased numbers of women do not create progress, if they are contributing within structures that work against them.

The attributed key roles of women through Resolution 1325, are those of peace-builder, peacekeeper or victim (Otto 2006: 145-147), which reinforces the view of women as a homogen group, as well as exclude some women who participated as actors in conflict or who have moved away from traditional gender roles which is not uncommon during times of social and political turbulence. This language relies on the feminisation of peace and the assumption that women are naturally weak and vulnerable during conflict. The focus on sexual violence in conflict in the Resolutions following 1325, although vitally important, contributes to the protectionist narrative towards women coming out of conflict. Although subsequent Resolutions try to move away from this stereotypical language, women are still conceptualised as a vulnerable group. This may in fact exclude some women who have participated as actors in conflict or who have subverted or moved away from traditional gender roles in the fluid social boundaries that often occur during times of social and political upheaval (Otto 2006: 148).

The United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 asks of its member-states to ensure the consideration of gender in the peacebuilding process. However, one can in accordance with Hudson (2009: 288-289) argue that it requires more than acknowledging gender inequality and foregrounding women's needs in peace processes, and that one must also see the differential impact on men and women and unique knowledge and experiences that both genders bring to the peace table. Furthermore, one can in accordance with Madsen (2019: 175) go on to argue that that there is a link between gender inequality and violence, and that discrimination against women increases the likelihood of internal conflict, linking my proposed research to not only women's inclusion, equality and peacekeeping, but to human security overall. The conflictual and post-conflictual experiences of Rwandan women can be deemed crucial to the founding of UN Security Council

Resolution 1325, however to this day Rwandan society can be considered struggling with coming to terms with the gender effects of the conflict and gender mainstreaming governance is still a challenge. Even though Rwanda are facing said struggles, the post-genocide peace process and the implementation of Resolution 1325 can be considered a success story - a "success story" where women are to a great extent still excluded, and gender issues marginalised, in the so-called "big" negotiations concerning peace and security, and high levels of violence against women remain (Madsen 2019: 174). One can therefore argue that while Resolution 1325 has been a crucial implementation for the work regarding women's involvement in peace processes, and is working towards gender equality and justice, the feminist framework which it is developed through may need to be overlooked.

7.0 Conclusion

This thesis has been conducted through case study exploring the benefits and shortcomings of the implementation of The United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 in Rwanda. It has been conducted through a literature review consisting of qualitative secondary data in the form of academic articles. The theoretical framework has consisted of two different feminist theoretical approaches, *liberal feminist approach* and *standpoint feminist approach*, in order to compare and analyse the feminist nature of Resolution 1325. Section 2 presented a background of the country under investigation, Rwanda, as well as the peace processes that occurred and still is occurring. Section 3 then followed a presentation of previous research on the subject, sorted into four sub-headings handling different themes that sought to answer the research question; *The Role of Women in Peace Processes*, *Women as Advocates of Peace*, *Benefits and Shortcomings of Resolution 1325*, and *the Implementation of Resolution 1325 in Rwanda*. This was done in order to give a broad understanding of the research problem. Section 4, theoretical framework, gave an account of the two strands of feminism that in this thesis were used as theoretical lenses, under which the problem under study was examined. Section 5 presented method and data, and explained the choice of methodology, being a case study through literature review. Moreover the section presented the choice of data analysis, as well as discussed limitations and ethical considerations. Section 6 then presented the analysis of the thesis, and used two subheadings in order to give a clear overview of the analysis; *Women in Peace Processes and as Advocates of Peace* and *Benefits and shortcomings*

of Resolution 1325, which led to the the current and last section, 7, which will present the concluding remarks of the thesis.

Different strands of feminist may present it as advantageous versus disadvantageous, and the theoretical frameworks used in this thesis, liberal feminist approach and standpoint feminist approach, only present the views of two perspectives. One must therefore highlight the likelihood that the conclusions reached in this thesis may be narrow and case specific, and that one, if using the same research question in another context, may present a different analysis and reach differing results and conclusions. However, one can instead decide to focus on how women highlight parts of conflicts that may otherwise be overlooked such as experiences of sexual and political violence that may predominantly affect women. One can therefore argue that knowledge of women's and men's attitudes toward peacebuilding in post-conflict settings may provide valuable information for understanding the challenges of peacebuilding and ultimately for improving the prospects for peace. In accordance with many before me, one can state that while United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 indeed is an important step towards more female inclusion in peace processes, and that it, according to some feminist disciplines indeed can be considered feminist. However, one can argue the resolution needs a more holistic and integrated approach to peace and security, acknowledging the multilayered challenges that the workings towards gender-just peace face as well as enhancing women's unique characteristics. One can therefore argue that while Resolution 1325 has been a crucial implementation for the work regarding women's involvement in peace processes, and is working towards gender equality and justice, the feminist framework which it is developed through may need to be specified, and the knowledge generated from women's voices needs to become more central independent of case and feminist discipline.

Needless to say, many contemporary aspects of development go hand in hand, and if my proposed research were to help highlight aspects which may contribute to improved and more inclusive peace processes, not only would it favour conflict resolution, peacebuilding, equality, inclusion of women, and in extension help end violence against women and girls. It would further help protecting human rights and issues of governance in terms of development policy, all of which interlinks with contemporary development aspects such as education, infrastructure, and environmental concerns that cannot be of focus prior to the resolution of the former. Lastly, the

possibility of my research adverting on the same findings as previous scholars is not unlikely, and one may consider that as disadvantageous. However, I do not agree. On the contrary, if my research were to contribute to changing, or strengthening the contemporary development paradigm in such a way that it may favour the different issues that the world is facing, as mentioned throughout the text, I will consider my work a success.

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