

1325(2000) - a norm breaking resolution?

*A comparative study of the United Nations Security Council portrayal
of women before and after 1325(2000)*

Amanda Backman
Desirée Sterner

Abstract

The United Nation Security Council (UNSC) resolution 1325(2000) could be portrayed as a revolutionary resolution with its focus on women and their role in conflict. No matter how important the resolution may be, it is of great importance to see if the United Nations live by their own rules - and uses 1325(2000) as a framework for their succeeding resolutions - or if it is just empty rhetoric. Therefore, in this study, we have analysed if 1325(2000) has had an impact on the UNSC resolution that has led to the establishment of UN peacekeeping operations. We have also examined if 1325(2000) has changed the UN:s approach towards women, gender and sexual violence in conflicts.

This study has been conducted by a textual and conceptual analysis of 27 UNSC resolutions between 1988 and 2014, which all have established UN peacekeeping operation. By analysing the frequency and the context of attributes relevant for the progression of 1325(2000), we have been able to conclude that 1325(2000) has made a clear difference in how women, gender and sexual violence in conflicts are portrayed in the resolutions.

Keywords: 1325(2000), resolutions, women, gender, sexual violence, United Nations Security Council, United Nations peacekeeping operations

Table of Contents

I. Introduction.....	4
II. Purpose and research question.....	4
III. Theoretical framework	5
a. Theoretical framework.....	5
b. The Norm “Life Cycle” by Finnemore and Sikkink	7
IV. Previous research	9
V. Method and research design	10
a. Research design	10
b. Selection of resolutions	12
VI. Resolutions.....	13
a. Concepts	13
a.a Actions	13
a.b. Actors.....	14
VII. Comparison.....	14
a. 1325(2000).....	14
b. Civilian	15
c. Gender.....	15
d. Men.....	16
e. Rape	16
f. Sexual violence	17
g. Vulnerable groups	18
h. Women	19
VIII. Analysis	21
IX. Conclusion	24
X. References	26
XI. Appendix.....	29
List 1 – Resolutions preceding 1325(2000).....	29
List 2 - Resolutions succeeding 1325(2000)	31
Chart 1 - Resolutions preceding 1325(2000).....	32
Chart 2 - Resolutions succeeding 1325(2000).....	33

I. Introduction

After far too many centuries of silence and neglect, the pressing issue of sexual violence in war has finally been recognized in the wake of the international recognition of the mass rapes during armed conflict in example Rwanda.¹

Resolution 1325(2000) on women, peace and security was adopted on October 31st in 2000. This resolution highlights the important role of women in regards of preventing and resolving conflicts, as well as peace-building, humanitarian response, peacekeeping and reconstruction after conflicts. 1325(2000) stresses the importance of women's equal participation and involvement in all of these aspects. It also calls on all actors to encourage women's role and consolidate gender perspectives in all United Nations (from here on UN) operations, with regards to peace and security.

1325(2000) also calls on parties that been exposed to conflict to take certain means in order to protect women and girls from gender-based violence, rape and other forms of sexual abuse in particular, in situations of armed conflict.²

Sexual violence has been a part of war for as long as humans been waging wars,³ but for a long time this part of human warfare was ignored or seen as an inevitable consequence of war. As a result, the study of sexual violence in conflict has not been as thoroughly studied as many other fields and there is many aspects of the field which needs to be examined.⁴

II. Purpose and research question

The purpose of this paper is to examine if the United Nations Security Council (from here on UNSC) resolution 1325(2000) has had an impact on how women are portrayed in resolutions

¹ Eriksson Baaz, Maria & Stern, Maria, *Sexual violence as a weapon of war?: perceptions, prescriptions*,

² UNSCR 1325(2000)

³ Heineman, Elizabeth D, *Sexual Violence in Conflict Zones- From the Ancient World to the Era of Human Rights*, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 2011, p. 8

⁴ Ibid, p. 11

with concern to UN peacekeeping operations. We believe that UNSC resolution 1325(2000) can be seen as the “tipping point”(for further explanation see p.6) when it comes to how the UNSC approach sexual violence and women's role in conflicts, and that this can be seen in their own resolutions.

The purpose of using the resolutions by the UNSC is to see how well the UN follows 1325(2000) in the composing of the resolutions leading to UN peacekeeping operations. This is relevant since it is the resolutions that creates the mandate for the operations, and therefore has made it possible to see if they let their actions be dictated by their own word, or if resolution 1325(2000) is just empty rhetoric.

By comparing UNSC resolutions that preceded and succeeded 1325(2000), this study will show that there has been a shift in language regarding resolutions and which of the attributes in 1325(2000) that has become a norm when writing UNSC resolutions. It also makes it possible to see if 1325(2000) can be seen as a norm when writing UNSC resolutions regarding UN peacekeeping missions.

For this paper we also analyse the progress of the implementation of 1325(2000) in the UNSC resolutions regarding UN peacekeeping operations, as well as benefits and problems that follows. The purpose of this is to critically see which affect 1325(2000) has had on the resolutions and on the language used by the Security Council.

This leads us to our research question, which is:

Have UNSC resolution 1325(2000) changed how women are portrayed in the resolutions leading to the establishment of UN peacekeeping missions? If so, how can that be seen?

III. Theoretical framework

a. Theoretical framework

For this paper - and to be able to answer our research question - we needed a suitable theory in our analysis. We chose to base our analysis on the norm theory by Martha Finnemore and Kathryn Sikkink formulated in their article “*International norm dynamics and political*

change” from 1998. Their paper provides an explanation for the norms in the international community and their origin.⁵

There is a general agreement regarding the definition of norms as a standard of correct behaviour for certain actors with a given identity.⁶ Norms, along with normative issues, are central concepts to the study of politics. Its students have faced difficult questions as the core-meaning of justice and the good society, as well as the influence of human behaviour in regards to justice and good.

Early scholarships within international relations (IR) concerning certain issues as human rights, decolonisation and education acknowledged that a great amount of UN activity involved the establishment of norms, however it often failed to theorise the processes.⁷

One distinction between “norm” and “institution” with regards to the sociological sense is aggregation: the definition of the norm segregates single standards of behaviour, where institutions are the actor that underlines in which way behavioural rules interrelate and are structured. Different types of categories of norms have been recognised by scholars across disciplines. The most trivial distinction that has been made is between regulative norms - which bind and order behaviour - and constitutive norms - which generates new interests, actors or categories of action.

There has also been a discussion among scholars where the topic has been a category of norms called prescriptive or evaluative norms, but these two have gotten considerably less attention and are therefore often passed over from analysis. Since norms concerns standards of behaviour that is considered to be "appropriate" or "proper", the intersubjective and evaluative dimensions both become inevitable with regards to the discussion. We only know what is considered to be appropriate by the association to⁸ the judgements of a society or community.⁹

⁵ Finnemore, Martha & Sikkink, Kathryn (1998). International norm dynamics and political change. *International organization (Print)*. 1998(52):4

⁶ Ibid, p. 891

⁷ Ibid, p. 889

⁸ Ibid, p. 891

⁹ Ibid, p. 892

Norms as shared valuation raises questions concerning how many actors must share this value, before we can establish it as a norm. Partly, this may be a question of empirical domain since norms for example, can be considered regional but not global. Even inside a community, norms are considered as "*continuous, rather than dichotomous, entities and come in various types of strengths*"¹⁰ where different norms command different levels of agreement. The authors Finnemore and Sikkink argue that, one way of comprehending the special dynamics of this unison is through examination of what they call the "life cycle" of norms. By this model, they show how an understanding among folk masses - i.e. actors - on one particular arising norm, may create a tipping point after which¹¹ this understanding or agreement becomes pervasive in many empirical cases.¹²

b. The Norm "Life Cycle" by Finnemore and Sikkink

Finnemore and Sikkink assert that it is possible to examine the "life cycle" of norms, as explained above. There are three stages of the norm cycles and these are the following:

Stage I - Norm emergence

Stage II - Norm Cascade

Stage III - Internalisation¹³

This particular pattern has been found independently on social norms in for instance, US legal theory, world polity theorists and international relations. This model and its pattern is important in order to comprehend different logics and social processes of action that may be a part of different stages in a norms "life cycle". Finnemore and Sikkink argue that change at any stage can be characterised by different motives, actors and mechanism of influence.

The characteristic of norm emergence, stage I, is persuasiveness from norm entrepreneurs, whose pursuit is convincing states - i.e. norm leaders, to embrace new norms.

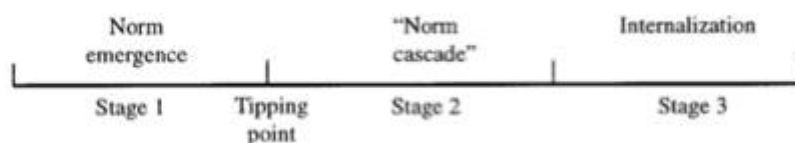
¹⁰ Finnemore, Martha & Sikkink, Kathryn (1998). International norm dynamics and political change. *International organization (Print)*. 1998(52):4, p. 891 p. 892

¹¹ Ibid, p. 892

¹² Ibid, p. 893

¹³ Ibid, p. 895

Stage II, norm cascade, is defined by more of a dynamic imitation as the norm leaders strive to socialize other states into becoming norm followers.¹⁴



15

Towards the end of the first stage there will be a so called “tipping point”. This occurs when the norm has reached partly acceptance and some actors have recognised it. The more precise motivation for the second stage where that authors argue that the norm "cascades" through the remaining population - in this particular case, of states - may alter, but Finnemore and Sikkink argue that pressure and conformity combined, have a desire for enhancing international approval, and the desire of state leaders to augment their self-esteem in return, promotes norm cascades.

By the far end of the second stage, norm internalisation arises, norms require a taken-for-granted quality and are no longer a broadly debatable matter. For example, very few people today would even discuss whether women are entitled to vote and whether slavery is useful or not.¹⁶

The norm internalisation intensifies during the third stage. At the extreme events of norm cascade, there is a chance that norms may be accepted to the extent that they become incorporated by actors and is given a “taken for granted” quality that makes accordance with the norm as almost self-regulating. As seen from this, internalised norms can be both tremendously powerful (since behaviour according to the norm do not get questioned) and difficult to distinguish (since actors do not seriously contemplate whether to discuss or confirm). Specifically because they are not controversial, these norms often do not get central attention of political debates, and for that reason they have a tendency to be ignored.¹⁷

¹⁴ Finnemore, Martha & Sikkink, Kathryn (1998). International norm dynamics and political change. *International organization (Print)*. 1998(52):4, p. 895

¹⁵ Ibid, p. 896

¹⁶ Ibid, p. 895

¹⁷ Ibid, p. 904

The analysis of this paper will be based on stage number II, where the actors are states or/and international organisations, the motives are legitimacy and the mechanism is institutionalisation. Since we emanate from resolutions by the UNSC, we thought that this particular stage would be a suitable tool for analysing the resolutions, starting with 1325(2000) as the tipping point. Stage II is suitable since this paper is neither interested in the process leading up to resolution 1325(2000) (which could be seen as a stage I) nor in the implementation of it (which could be seen as stage III), this paper focus on the institutionalisation of 1325(2000) within in the UN system by the UNSC, for this stage II is deemed preferable.

The Life Cycle of an International Norm: Finnemore and Sikkink 1998.

	Stage 1: Norm emergence	Stage 2: Norm cascade	Stage 3: Norm Internalization
Actors	Norm entrepreneurs with organizational platforms	States, international organizations, networks	Law, professions, bureaucracy
Motives	Altruism, empathy, ideational commitment	Legitimacy, reputation, esteem	Conformity
Dominant Mechanisms	Persuasion	Socialization, institutionalization, demonstration	Habit, institutionalization

18

IV. Previous research

There has been a lot of research concerning 1325(2000) and sexual violence. More than a decade after the establishment of UNSC resolution 1325(2000), it is possible to see which effects it has had on peace agreements by the analysis of the references made to gender and

¹⁸ Finnemore, Martha & Sikkink, Kathryn (1998). International norm dynamics and political change. *International organization (Print)*. 1998(52):4, p. 898

women. Christine Bell and Catherine O'Rourke have made this analysis in *UN Security Council 1325(2000) and Peace Negotiations and Agreements, Women at the Peace Table* (2011).¹⁹

Bell and O'Rourke writes that they are aware of the fact that references to gender and women, do not necessarily result in the adaption of a gender perspective, but they stress that it is hard to imagine this particular perspective without using words like women and gender.²⁰ They also see a danger in focusing on inclusion in legal standards since it can become an end in itself. It is therefore important that the inclusion is transformed from paper to practice and this is something they stress.²¹

When it comes to securing the involvement of gender perspective and women in peace agreements the UNSC resolution 1325(2000) may seem thin and rather narrow. Nevertheless Bell and O'Rourke argue that the reach of 1325(2000) is actually quite broad. The Secretary General of the UN is obliged to report on this particular aspect with regards to UN operations even when women and gender are not mentioned in the peace agreements. Resolution 1325(2000) may also empower women to speak up for equality in situations where the gender perspective was excluded from the agreement. It also mandated greater gender expertise within UN operations. Furthermore, Bell and O'Rourke argue that 1325(2000) may provide the necessary mechanism of inclusion at the implementation stage, even when women and gender are excluded from the peace agreement negotiations.²²

V. Method and research design

a. Research design

This research have been conducted with a comparative research design and it has studied the changes in UNSC resolution over time from the first resolution in 1988, to the last resolution in 2014 with resolution 1325(2000) as a breaking point in 2000.

¹⁹ Bell, Christine, O'Rourke, Catherine. UN Security Council 1325 and Peace Negotiations and Agreements. Women at the Peace Table: Asia Pacific Opinion Series - N°4, 2011, p. 2

²⁰ Bell, Christine, O'Rourke, Catherine. UN Security Council 1325 and Peace Negotiations and Agreements. Women at the Peace Table: Asia Pacific Opinion Series - N°4, 2011, p. 3

²¹ Ibid, p. 16

²² Ibid, p. 16

Our comparative research has been done through three different stages. At first we counted and compared the use of words - certain attributes that we selected - from the resolutions before and after 1325(2000). When going through the resolutions, we searched for the attributes 1325(2000), women, vulnerable groups, sexual violence, rape, gender, men and civilian, to see if they occurred at all and how frequent the attributes were.

Secondly, we looked at the context of the attributes and their context, what we sought to find was if the attributes correlated with each other – and if so, in what way. For example, many of the resolutions only mentioned women in the context of rape, sexual violence etc. In this context the women are given a role of victims, victims of sexual violence. If we compare this to a resolution where women are mentioned as an important part of the peace process and/or elections, a different context will occur. In the second example women are portrayed as a part of the peace process rather than victims, as seen in example number one. One of the reasons why it is important to see the frequency of the attribute women, is that it illustrates the exclusion of men as victims. This may implicate men as the sole perpetrators and this can be problematic.

In order to do this context analysis we will have two concepts. We have based this on different attributes from 1325(2000) to see if they are included in the resolutions after its establishment. The concepts are, *Actors* and *Actions* of conflict. The first includes attributes such as 1325(2000), sexual violence, rape and gender, whilst the latter includes women, men, vulnerable groups and civilian. (For more explanation regarding the concepts and attributes see section V, subsection “Concepts”.)

We will not discuss every example of the attributes in the resolutions, since many of them occur in the same context. Instead of repeating the examples that are similar to each other, we have made a selection out of the ones who are of importance to this study.

Thirdly, by the use of the norm theory we see which effect resolution 1325(2000) has had on the UN decision making and how the usage of different attributes have changed the way women are perceived. Since we consider that 1325(2000) has been a tipping point with regards to our study, it was used as a point reference in regards of the analysis of the preceding resolutions as well as the succeeding.

b. Selection of resolutions

The selected cases for this study are 27 UNSC resolutions which have established UN peacekeeping forces. We have made our selection from an official list of UN Peacekeeping operations found on the UN official website.²³ Sixteen of these resolutions are preceding UNSC resolution 1325(2000), i.e. before October 2000 when it was established, respectively eleven resolutions succeeding 1325(2000), which will give us two cases to compare. The time period for the resolutions are 1988 to 2014 and all peacekeeping missions in Sub-Saharan Africa during this period of time have been taken into account in this study.

In this thesis we had to make some limitations to the subject we were to study. There is without a doubt more resolutions to study and other fields to analyse, but due to the nature of this study and the time frame, we had to set up some limiting parameters. We decided to limit our study to the Sub-Saharan region in Africa, spanning over 26 years, in order to get a more exact and comprehensive study of the chosen topic. Future research could expand to other regions, but for our study we had to make some limitations.

All of these resolutions only concern the establishment of UN peacekeeping operations, therefore other UN missions as intervention is not included, Libya for example. We made this distinction for several reason. First, we had to limit down the amount of resolutions we studied due to limitation in time and to the scope of this paper. Secondly, the UN intervention differ in many aspect to the UN peacekeeping operations. We decided that by only using peacekeeping operations and not interventions, our study would be more comprehensive and valid. In despite of the similarities of UN interventions and UN peacekeeping, they differ in many important factors. Considering how few military interventions that have been sanctioned by UNSC and how they violate the sovereignty of the nations, the differences to the peacekeeping operations would make it too problematic to include resolutions leading to military interventions in this study. The reason for our selection of the Sub-Saharan region in the African continent is based on the fact, that of all the 69 peacekeeping operations the UN has deployed since 1948 - as of 31st of October 2014 - ²⁴ 27 of those were in Sub-Saharan

²³ United Nations, List of peacekeeping operations 1948-2013

<<http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/documents/operationslist.pdf>> (Received 19/12-2014)

²⁴ United Nations, Peacekeeping Fact Sheet

<<http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/resources/statistics/factsheet.shtml>> (Received 19/12-2014)

Africa.²⁵ This makes it the region with most peacekeeping operations. We also believe that by only focusing on one region, we will get a more valid and consistent result. Not all conflicts are the same, but some conflicts have certain elements in common. Many of the conflicts in Sub-Saharan Africa are connected to each other and it could therefore be argued that the response from the international community may be similar to conflicts within Sub-Saharan Africa.

VI. Resolutions

The resolutions preceding 1325(2000) span over the years 1988 and 1999, and are 16 resolutions in total.²⁶ The resolutions succeeding 1325(2000) span over the years 2000 until 2014, and are 11 resolutions in total.²⁷

a. Concepts

The concepts are *Actions*, which includes 1325(2000), sexual violence, sexual violence against women, rape, gender, and *Actors*, which includes women, men, vulnerable groups, civilians. In the section “Comparison” we have made a summary of charts out of these particular attributes that we searched for, and how often they occurred in the context of all the resolutions. For the charts see appendix.

a.a Actions

Under the concept *Actions* we have chosen the attributes 1325(2000), sexual violence, rape and gender. Whilst rape and sexual violence clearly falls under this category, 1325(2000) and gender is not equally obvious. The reason why we choose gender and 1325(2000) is because we consider them both to be heavy attributes that correlates when analysing resolutions. Therefore we thought them of great importance to include. Since we made the distinction of having two concepts, *Actions* and *Actors*, we consider that 1325(2000) and gender were more suitable under actions than actors. This due to the nature of the attributes and that they correlates with other ones. They are also used as a way to call for action in the resolutions.

²⁵ United Nations, List of peacekeeping operations 1948-2013

²⁶ See appendix, list 1

²⁷ See appendix, list 2

a.b. Actors

Under the concept *Actors* we have chosen the attributes women, men, vulnerable, groups and civilian. By actors we do not necessarily imply participant of the conflict but merely parties who is subjected to it and who are affected by it.

VII. Comparison

When comparing the preceding and succeeding resolutions of 1325(2000), certain aspects are easy to establish. The length of the resolutions have increased and they have become more detailed in the purpose and operationalising of the peacekeeping operations. It is also noticeable how all of the resolutions succeeding 1325(2000) refer to it, and how none of the resolutions mentions men. We did a comparison of how frequent the attributes were, if they occurred at all and in what context.

In the preceding resolution of 1325(2000) we found that four out of the eight attributes were a no result in all of the resolutions, i.e. they were excluded. These attributes were rape, sexual violence, vulnerable groups and men. Naturally, 1325(2000) is excluded as well since these resolutions were before its time.²⁸

In the succeeding resolutions we noticed how men were never mentioned. It was the only attribute to be totally excluded. Three out of the eight attributes were mentioned in all of the succeeding resolutions, 1325(2000), women and civilian.²⁹

a. 1325(2000)

Resolution 1325(2000) is recalled in all of the 11 resolutions succeeding its establishment once, with the exception of UNSC resolution 1590(2005)³⁰ and 1996(2011) where it occurs twice.³¹ In all of the resolutions, 1325(2000) is mentioned in the context of reaffirming the importance of its content and value in UN peacekeeping operations as well as resolutions.

²⁸ See appendix, chart 1

²⁹ See appendix, chart 2

³⁰ UNSCR 1590(2005), p. 2, 6 article 15

³¹ UNSCR 1996(2011), p. 2, 7, article 24

b. Civilian

Civilian was another concept which was mentioned in all of the resolutions succeeding 1325(2000) and also in seven of the resolutions preceding it. It is foremost mentioned in the context of the work of the UN operations,³² but also in the condemnation of violence towards the civilian population³³ and a call for protection of them.³⁴ In the resolutions succeeding 1325(2000) the context remains the same as before 1325(2000)³⁵, however, it occurs more frequently.³⁶

c. Gender

The attribute gender was mentioned once in one of the resolutions preceding 1325(2000) - in 1270(1999). The resolution states that there should be gender-provision under the training of the UN operation which was established by the resolution.³⁷

Gender occurred in the majority of the resolutions succeeding 1325(2000), nine out of eleven. Gender was mentioned once in the resolutions 1509(2003), 1528(2004), 1545(2004), 1590(2005), 1778(2007), twice in 1925(2010) and 1996(2011), and three times in 2100(2013) and 2149(2014).

In 1778(2007), 1925(2010), 2100(2013) and 2149(2014) gender was used in the concept of gender-based violence.³⁸ In the two latter, the UNSC request the UN operations to take gender consideration as a cross cutting issue throughout their mandates.³⁹

In 1925(2010) the attribute gender includes rape and other forms of sexual abuse. In 2149(2014), 2100(2013) and 1925(2010) the UNSC calls upon the governments and armed

³² UNSCR814(1993), p. 3, 866(1993), p. 4, article 12, 1181(1997), p. 2, article 6, 1270(1999), p.3, article 8§h, 1312(1999), p.1, article 1

³³ UNSCR 1181(1997), p. 1§1, 1279(1999), p.2

³⁴ UNSCR 1270(1999), p. 1

³⁵ UNSCR 2149(2014), p. 9, article 28§A,C, 1769(2007), p. 1,2, 3, article 2,

³⁶ See appendix, chart 2

³⁷ UNSCR 1279(1999), p.3, article 15

³⁸ UNSCR 1996(2011), p.2, 4, article 3§a, subparagraph ii, p.5, article 3§c, subparagraph ii, p. 6, article 11, 12, p.7, article 24

³⁹ UNSCR 2149(2014), p.12, article 35, 2100(2013), p.10, article 25

parties to condemn, cease and protect the civilian population from gender-based violence.⁴⁰ It states that the mandate of 1778(2007) is to “*contribute [...] the promotion and protection of human rights, with particular attention to sexual and gender-based violence [...]*”.⁴¹ It is also within the mandate of 2100(2013) to address the needs of victims of sexual and gender-based violence in armed conflicts.⁴²

Resolution 1590 (2005) and 1509(2003) reaffirms 1325(2000) the importance of a gender perspective and the need to address violence against women and girls as a tool of warfare.⁴³ In 1528(2008) the UNSC request that the Secretary General gives “*special attention to the gender and child-protection components within the staff of UNOCI*”⁴⁴

Resolution 1525(2004) requests the UN to give special attention to issues related to gender equality.⁴⁵ Resolution 1996(2011) demands that all parties cease from all forms of violence, gender-based violence in particular. Furthermore 1996(2011) “*reaffirms the importance of appropriate gender expertise and training in missions mandated by the Security Council*”⁴⁶

d. Men

As previously stated, the attribute men was completely excluded from all resolutions, both preceding and succeeding 1325(2000).

e. Rape

Rape did not occur the preceding resolutions. It was however mentioned in four of the 11 resolutions succeeding 1325(2000). In 1925(2010) it occurred once and twice in 1545(2004), 1996(2011) and 2149(2014)

⁴⁰ UNSCR 2149(2014), p.7, article 15, 1925(2010), p.5, article 12§C, 1925(2010), p.7, article 18, 1778(2007), p.3, article 2§E, 2100(2013), p.2

⁴¹ UNSCR 1778(2007), p.3, article 2§E

⁴² UNSCR 2100(2013), p.2, article 16§C, subparagraph ii

⁴³ UNSCR 1590(2005), p.6, article 15, 1509(2003), p.5, article 11

⁴⁴ UNSCR 1528(2004), p.4, article 7

⁴⁵ UNSCR 1545(2004), p.5, article 8

⁴⁶ UNSCR 1996(2011), p.5, article 9, 1996(2011), p.7, article 24

In resolution 2149(2014), rape occurs for the first time when UNSC expresses concern over the situation.⁴⁷ Secondly, when they call upon all parties to prohibit it.⁴⁸ In 1925(2010) it is mentioned in the context of the demand for ceasing all forms of violence and human rights abuse.⁴⁹ In 1545(2004) the UNSC states that they are “*particularly concerned by the increasing incidents of rapes, including mass rapes.*”⁵⁰ In 1996(2011) rape occurs twice and both times it is included in gender-based violence.⁵¹

f. Sexual violence

Sexual violence was never mentioned in the preceding resolutions, but in seven out of the eleven succeeding 1325(2000). In 1509(2003), 1590(2005), 1769(2007) and 1778(2007) it occurs once, twice in 1996(2011) and 1925(2010), three times in 2100(2013) and eight times in 2149(2014). A reoccurring theme in the resolutions is that the UN “*deplores*”,⁵² “*condemn*”,⁵³ and/or are “*concerned*”⁵⁴ with the usage of sexual violence in conflict.

Resolution 1778(2007) states that the UN operation should have mandate “*to contribute [...] the promotion and protection of human rights, with particular attention to sexual and gender-based violence [...]*”.⁵⁵ In 1925(2010) it is stated that the UN operations should have mandate to support the efforts of the government to protect civilians from sexual violence.⁵⁶ Furthermore, it also calls upon the government to cooperate with the Special Representative of the Secretary General on sexual violence in conflict.⁵⁷ This segment can also be found in 2149(2014), with the addition that it calls upon all parties to engage.⁵⁸

Resolution 1996(2011) demands all parties in the conflict to immediately cease with sexual violence and to have time-bound commitments to combat sexual violence.⁵⁹ Resolution 2100(2013) states that the UN operation should address the needs of victims of sexual

⁴⁷ UNSCR 2149(2011), p.2

⁴⁸ UNSCR 1545(2004), p.2

⁴⁹ UNSCR 1925(2010), p.7, article 18

⁵⁰ UNSCR 1545(2004), p.2

⁵¹ UNSCR 1996(2011), p.8, article 24, p.5 article 9

⁵² UNSCR 1509(2003), p.1

⁵³ UNSCR 1590(2005), p.2, 2100(2013), p.2

⁵⁴ UNSCR 1769(2007), p.2, 1925(2010), p.2, 2149(2014), p.2

⁵⁵ UNSCR 1778(2007), p.3, article 2§E

⁵⁶ UNSCR 1925(2010), p.5, article 12§C

⁵⁷ UNSCR 1925(2010), p.7, article 14

⁵⁸ UNSCR 2149(2014), p.3

⁵⁹ UNSCR 1996(2011), p.5, article 9

violence in armed conflict, and that it should monitor, help investigate and report to the Council violations.⁶⁰

Resolution 2149(2014) calls upon all parties of the conflict to issue clear orders prohibiting sexual violence.⁶¹ Furthermore it also *“calls upon the Transitional Authorities to make and implement specific commitments on timely investigation of alleged abuses in order to hold perpetrators accountable [...] and to facilitate immediate access for victims of sexual violence to available services.”*⁶² Resolution 2149(2014) also states that it is within the mandate of the UN operation *“to monitor, help investigate and report specifically on violations and abuses committed against [...] women, including [...] sexual violence [...]”*⁶³

Sexual abuse and exploitation, another form of the attribute sexual violence, occurred in 1590(2005),⁶⁴ 1769(2007),⁶⁵ 1925(2010),⁶⁶ 1990(2011),⁶⁷ 1996(2011),⁶⁸ 2100(2013)⁶⁹ and 2149(2014)⁷⁰. These resolutions requests the Secretary General to take necessary measures to ensure full compliance of the UN operations with the United Nations zero tolerance policy on sexual exploitation and abuses, as well as to keep the Council informed if cases of such conduct occur.⁷¹

g. Vulnerable groups

The attribute vulnerable groups was a no result in the preceding resolutions and it was scarcely mentioned in the following resolutions. It occurred in two resolutions - 1509(2003) and 1590(2005). In both, it was only mentioned once and they state that a part of the UN operations mandate is to protect and promote human rights, with particular attention to vulnerable groups including refugees, women and children.⁷²

⁶⁰ UNSCR 2100(2013), p.8, article 16§C, subparagraph ii

⁶¹ UNSCR 2149(2014), p.6, article 13, p.7, article 15

⁶² UNSCR 2149(2014), p.7 article 15

⁶³ UNSCR 2149(2014), p.10, article 30§E, subparagraph ii

⁶⁴ UNSCR 1590(2005), p.6, article 14

⁶⁵ UNSCR 1769(2007), p.5, article 16

⁶⁶ UNSCR 1925(2010), p.7, article 15

⁶⁷ UNSCR 1990(2011), p.4, article 13

⁶⁸ UNSCR 1996(2011), p.7, article 23

⁶⁹ UNSCR 2100(2013), p.10, article 30

⁷⁰ UNSCR 2149(2014), p.12, article 38

⁷¹ UNSCR 1990(2011), p. 4, article 13

⁷² UNSCR 1509(2003), p.4, article 3§L, UNSC resolution 1590(2005), p.4, article 4§d

h. Women

Resolution 814(1993) was the only one out of the sixteen preceding resolutions to 1325(2000) to mention women. In resolution 814(1993), women were mentioned once, and it was as one of the groups the Secretary General had worked to ensure the participation of women in peace conferences in Somalia.⁷³

The attribute women was mentioned in all of the succeeding resolutions to 1325(2000). It occurs once in resolution 1769(2007), 1778(2007), 1990(2011) and 1925(2010), twice in 1509(2003), 1528(2004) and 1545(2004), four times in 1590(2005), six times in 2100(2013), eight times in 2149(2014) and fifteen times in 1996(2011). In all of these resolutions women is mentioned together with 1325(2000) as its theme is “*women, peace and security*.”⁷⁴

Resolution 1925(2010) states that special women’s protection advisers, should be used by the UN operation.⁷⁵ In resolution 1509(2003), the UNSC deplores on all violations on human rights, including sexual violence against women with particular attention to vulnerable groups, women included.⁷⁶ Resolution 1528(2004) calls on particular attention to the special needs for women, the implementation of a voluntary resettlement programme with special attention for women and the promotion and protection for human rights with special attention to violence against women.⁷⁷

Resolution 1545(2004) calls on “*promotion and protection of human rights, with particular attention to women, specific needs of women, specific needs for women with regards to reintegration, disarmament and demobilisation*.”⁷⁸

In resolution 1590(2005), UNSC condemns all violations of human rights, sexual violence against women in particular. It also states the necessity of special needs for women, to protect

⁷³ UNSCR 814(1993), p.3, article 2

⁷⁴ UNSCR 1769(2007), p.1, 1778(2007), p.2, 1990(2011), p.1, 1925(2010), p.2, 1509(2003), p.5, 1528(2004), p.1, 1545(2004), p.2, 1590(2005), p.6, article 5, 2100(2013), p.10, article 24, 2149(2011), p.3, 1996(2011), p.2

⁷⁵ UNSCR 1990(2011), p.5, article 12§f

⁷⁶ UNSCR 1509(2003), p.1, 4

⁷⁷ UNSCR 1528(2004), p.3, article 6§e§f, p.4, article 6§n

⁷⁸ UNSCR 1545(2004), p.5, article 6, 7, p.6, article 16

and promote human rights - including women's rights – and women's role towards reconciliation and peacebuilding.⁷⁹

Resolution 2100(2013) specifies certain protection for women, to report violations committed against women and urges member states to provide expertise and training, especially concerning the protection of women.⁸⁰ Furthermore, it also calls upon the UN operation to support the promotion of women's organisations in the civil society and their involvement in the reconciliation processes and national dialogue.⁸¹ It also states that the UN operation should *“assist the transitional authorities [...] ensuring the participation, involvement and representation of women at all levels and at an early stage of the stabilization phase, including the security sector reform and disarmament, demobilization and reintegration processes, as well as in the national political dialogue and electoral processes.”*⁸²

Resolution 2149(2011) states that women should be a part of the transitional authorities and the transitional justice.⁸³ It states that the UN operation should: *“assist the government [...] in ensuring the full and effective participation, involvement and representation of women in all spheres and at all levels [...] as well as in the national political dialogue and electoral processes.”*⁸⁴ Additionally, it also calls upon the UN operation: *“to provide specific protection for women and children affected by armed conflict, including through the deployment of Child Protection Advisers and Women Protection Advisers”*⁸⁵ Conclusively it urges the UN operation: *“to monitor, help investigate and report specifically on violations [...] committed against women, including all forms of sexual violence in armed conflict [...]”*⁸⁶

Women are on several occasions portrayed as a group in need of protection. This can be seen in resolution 2100(2013), which: *“requests that MINUSMA take fully into account the need to protect civilians and mitigate risk to civilians, including, in particular, women [...]”*⁸⁷ It also states that the operation should provide women and children with special protection, and that

⁷⁹ UNSCR 1590(2005), p.2, 4, article 4§a, subparagraph iv, vi, §a, subparagraph iv, §d

⁸⁰ UNSCR 2100(2013), p.8, article 16§c, subparagraph ii, §d, subparagraph iii, p.9, article 23, p.10, article 26

⁸¹ UNSCR 2100(2013), p.7, article 16, sub article b§iii

⁸² UNSCR 2100(2013), p.10, article 25

⁸³ UNSCR 2149(2011), p., 9, article 30, sub article b §iv, §v

⁸⁴ UNSCR 2149(2011), p.12, article 35

⁸⁵ UNSCR 2149(2011), p.9, article 30, sub article a§ii

⁸⁶ UNSCR 2149(2011), p.9, article 30, sub article e§ii

⁸⁷ UNSCR 2100(2013), p.10, article 25. See list 2 in Appenidx

it is under the UN: s mandate to monitor, help investigate and report violations committed against women to the Security Council.⁸⁸

In some of the resolutions the attribute women occurred together with rape, or sexual violence. In resolutions 2149(2011), 1590(2005) and 1509(2003) it explicitly says “*sexual violence against women*”⁸⁹

In some of the segments of 1996(2011) women were mentioned in a different context than that of victims: “*recognizing the need to broaden and deepen the pool of available civilian experts, especially women [...] to help develop national capacity.*”⁹⁰ It also urges the government on “*ensuring the participation of women in decision-making forums*”⁹¹; and “*improve women’s participation in the outstanding issues of the CPA and post-independence arrangements and to enhance the engagement of South Sudanese women in public decision-making at all levels including by promoting women’s leadership, supporting women’s organizations, and countering negative societal attitudes about women’s capacity to participate equally.*”⁹²

VIII. Analysis

We decided to use the Norm theory by Finnemore and Sikkink in our analysis. Our starting point was to see if resolution 1325(2000) has changed the way UNSC resolutions are not only composed, but if there has been a shift in language as well, with regards to how the UNSC portrays women and sexual violence in conflicts. Based on our findings we can see that the frequency of certain attributes that correlates with 1325(2000) have increased.

Which of the attributes has made 1325(2000) a norm? As stated above in the comparison, the most frequent attributes were 1325(2000), women and civilian which occurred in all of the succeeding resolutions. The frequent usage of women and 1325(2000) was predicted since they correlate with each other and in many cases are mentioned together in the resolutions.

⁸⁸ UNSCR 2100(2013), p.7, article 16, sub article c§iii, sub article d§iii

⁸⁹ UNSCR 2149(2011), p.2, 1590(2005), p. 6, article 15, 1509(2003), p.1

⁹⁰ UNSCR 1996(2011), p.2

⁹¹ UNSCR 1996(2001), p. 4, article 3§a, subparagraph ii

⁹² UNSCR 1996(2011), p.6, article 12

Gender and sexual violence also occurred somewhat frequently, gender in nine out of the eleven succeeding resolutions and sexual violence in seven out of eleven. This is a distinct increase compared to the resolutions preceding 1325(2000). Both gender and sexual violence are frequent attributes in 1325(2000) and the usage of them can be seen as a consequence of 1325(2000).

The usage of the attribute sexual violence also surprised us. Since it is so strongly related to 1325(2000) as well as women, we thought it would occur more often than it did. Both gender and sexual violence were not used as frequently as we had predicted, it is uncertain to say if they could be considered as attributes that has made 1325(2000) a norm. However, since the attribute women does not always occur in correlation with the attributes sexual violence and gender, but also as an important part of the peace process, we would like to argue that the attributes sexual violence and gender have contributed to the normalisation of 1325(2000).

In many of the resolutions women are portrayed as the victims of rape or sexual violence and considered as the sole victim of these crimes. Sexual violence is a crime with both men and women as its victims, due to this fact it is problematic when only women are portrayed as its victims.

The attribute civilian was used to great extent throughout the resolutions, even though it is not directly related to 1325(2000) - as opposed to the attribute women, gender and sexual violence. It is therefore unsure to assume its status as an attribute that has made 1325(2000) a norm. The usage of the attribute civilian in the context of UN operations is particularly interesting since it includes all genders and all ages, i.e. everyone who is not a participant of the conflict. After 1325(2000) the usage of the attribute civilian has increased significantly, which could be interpreted as an effect of 1325(2000).

The increasing usage of the attributes we selected is one indicator that there has been a shift in language. When comparing the preceding resolutions to the succeeding ones, we can clearly see that there has been a change of patterns. The fact that the usage of attributes as women, 1325(2000), gender etc., along with the context of the words indicates that 1325(2000) is more than just empty rhetoric. 1325(2000) has mandated greater gender expertise within UN missions, particularly together with the increased gender perspective in the resolutions succeeding 1325(2000). Another clear indicator that the perception of women have changed is

that the UN Secretary General is obliged to report on resolution 1325(2000) with regards to UN operations.

When analysing the “life cycle” of 1325(2000) as a norm, we start at stage II in the Norm cycle. It is called Norm Cascade and its main points is broad norm acceptance. The three key parts of the Norm Cascade are the *Actors*, which are states, international organisations, networks and the *Motives*, which are legitimacy, reputation, esteem, and the *Dominant Mechanism*, which are socialization, institutionalisation, and demonstration.

When discussing whether or not 1325(2000) is a norm within the UN system, we can see that the UNSC is the actor. We can also argue that the motives behind promoting 1325(2000) as a norm is to show that the UNSC has had an increased interest, as well as awareness, with regard to women in conflicts. By doing this, they increase their legitimacy, reputation and esteem. Finally, the Dominant Mechanism in stage II is the demonstration to the world that the use of sexual violence in conflict is a crime and that the UNSC deems it unacceptable. By creating 1325(2000) and by using it in their resolutions leading to the establishment of UN operations the UNSC have institutionalised the norm within their own systems.

All of the 27 resolutions mentions 1325(2000) as a reference. This can be interpreted as an important part of UNSC resolutions following the establishment of 1325(2000). The problem, naturally, is that it is not certain how much of 1325(2000) that is implemented in the UN operations, but the fact that 1325(2000) is mentioned in the resolutions, sets a framework for how the UN operations are to be conducted.

Based on our findings we would argue that we are headed from stage II to stage III in the Norm Cycle. This part focuses on the Norm Internalisation. The *Actors* are law, professions and bureaucracy, the *Motives* are conformity and the Dominant Mechanism is habit and institutionalisation. Whilst 1325(2000) is no law, nor carried out as one, we assert that it could be a part of UN bureaucracy, since UN are 1: very bureaucratic indeed, 2: a large organisation with their own set of rules and guidelines. Concluded from our result, 1325(2000) occurs in all the resolutions that followed the establishment of 1325(2000). It is not only mentioned but also heavily referenced to when it comes to the work carried out by the UN operations. Therefore we consider that 1325(2000) have moved from stage I, till II and are now headed

towards stage III, norm internalisation, and becoming more of a habit when it comes to the composing of UNSC resolutions.

IX. Conclusion

The purpose of this paper has been to analyse the approach of the UN towards women and sexual violence in conflicts, with regards to the development in the UNSC resolutions, following the establishing of UN peacekeeping operations preceding and succeeding resolution 1325(2000). We have done this by conducting a textual and conceptual analysis of 27 resolutions from 1988 till 2014 and by using the Norm Theory by Finnemore and Sikkink to analyse the impact of resolution 1325(2000). The question we wanted to answer was if UNSC resolution 1325(2000) have changed how women are portrayed in the resolutions leading to the establishment of UN peacekeeping operations and if so, how that can be seen.

We can conclude that 1325(2000) have had an impact on how women are portrayed in the resolutions leading to the establishment of UN peacekeeping operations. Most and foremost by the fact that women are mentioned in the resolutions preceding 1325(2000), not in the succeeding resolutions. Secondly, we can see that women are often portrayed as victims of sexual violence in conflict and that this can be problematic. Thirdly, we can also see that women gradually have become increasingly included in different elements of the peace process.

Some of the attributes we selected were even included in the preceding resolutions of 1325(2000) but they have increased significantly after its establishment in 2000. A certain pattern can be traced when comparing the preceding and succeeding resolutions of 1325(2000), the usage of the attributes we chose for our comparison clearly peaks over time, most considerably after the establishment of 1325(2000).

We have been able to see this shift in attitude with our analysis and it can be explained with the norm theory by Finnemore and Sikkink. As stated above in the analysis, we consider that 1325(2000) have moved from stage I in the Norm Cycle, till stage II, and is now headed towards stage III. A stage where norm internalisation occurs and a direction where the

internalisation stage could indicate that 1325(2000) is becoming more of a habit - a norm – with regards to the establishment of UNSC resolutions and its peacekeeping operations.

It is clear that resolution 1325(2000) serves as a framework in the composing of resolutions after its establishment in October 2000. Even so, we are fully aware of the fact that this does not necessarily mean that words on paper translates easily into actions taken under UN peacekeeping operations. Never the less, it is a huge stepping stone how 1325(2000) changed the portrayal of women in UNSC resolutions. Left to see is how well this framework will be converted from paper to practice.

X. References

Bell, Christine, O'Rourke, Catherine. UN Security Council 1325 and Peace Negotiations and Agreements. Women at the Peace Table: Asia Pacific Opinion Series, N°4, 2011

Eriksson Baaz, Maria & Stern, Maria, Sexual violence as a weapon of war?: perceptions, prescriptions, problems in the Congo and beyond, Zed Books, London, 2013

Finnemore, Martha & Sikkink, Kathryn (1998). International norm dynamics and political change. International organization (Print). 1998(52):4, s. 887-917

Heineman, Elizabeth D, Sexual Violence in Conflict Zones- From the Ancient World to the Era of Human Rights, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 2011, Chapter I

UNSC resolution 626, December 20th 1988

UNSC resolution 696, May 30th 1991

UNSC resolution 751, April 24th 1992

UNSC resolution 797, December 16th 1992

UNSC resolution 814, March 26th 1993

UNSC resolution 846, June 22nd 1993

UNSC resolution 866, September 22nd 1993

UNSC resolution 872, October 5th 1993

UNSC resolution 976, February 8th 1995

UNSC resolution 1118, June 30th 1997

UNSC resolution 1159, March 27th 1998

UNSC resolution 1181, July 13th 1998

UNSC resolution 1270, October 22nd 1999

UNSC resolution 1279, November 30th 1999

UNSC resolution 1312, July 31st 2000

UNSC resolution 1325, October 31st 2000

UNSC resolution 1509, September 19th 2003

UNSC resolution 1528, February 27th 2004

UNSC resolution 1545, March 21st 2005

UNSC resolution 1590, March 24th 2005

UNSC resolution 1769, July 31st 2007

UNSC resolution 1778, September 25th 2007

UNSC resolution 1925, May 28th 2010

UNSC resolution 1996, July 8th 2011

UNSC resolution 2100, April 25th 2013

UNSC resolution 2149, April 10th 2014

United Nations, List of peacekeeping operations 1948-2013

<<http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/documents/operationslist.pdf>> (Received 19/12-2014)

United Nations, Peacekeeping Fact Sheet

<<http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/resources/statistics/factsheet.shtml>> (Received 19/12-2014)

XI. Appendix

List 1 – Resolutions preceding 1325(2000)

UNSC resolution 626, UNAVEM I, United Nations Angola Verification Mission in Angola I, December 1988-1991

UNSC resolution 696, UNAVEM II, United Nations Angola Verification Mission in Angola II, May 1991-February 1995

UNSC resolution 751, UNOSOM I, United Nations Operation in Somalia I, April 1992-March 1993

UNSC resolution 797, UNOMOZ, United Nations Operation in Mozambique, December 1992-October 1993

UNSC resolution 814, UNOSOM II, United Nations Operation in Somalia II, March 1993-March 1995

UNSC resolution 846, UNOMOR, United Nations Observer Mission Rwanda-Uganda, June 1993-September 1994

UNSC resolution 866, UNOMIL, United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia, September 1993-September 1997

UNSC resolution 872, UNAMIR, United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda, October 1993 - March 1996

UNSC resolution 915, UNASOG, United Nations Aouzou Strip Observer Group, May 1994 - June 1994

UNSC resolution 976, UNAVEM III, United Nations Angola Verification Mission in Angola III, February 1995-August 1995

UNSC resolution 1118, MONUA, United Nations Observer Mission in Angola, June 1997-February 1999

UNSC resolution 1159, MINURCA, United Nations Mission in the Central African Republic, April 1998 - February 2000

UNSC resolution 1181, UNOMSIL, United Nations Observer Mission in Sierra Leone, July 1998- October 1999

UNSC resolution 1270, UNAMSIL, United Nations Observer Mission in Sierra Leone, October 1999- December 2005

UNSC resolution 1279, MONUC, United Nations Mission in the Democratic republic of Congo, November 1999-March 2000.

UNSC resolution 1312, UNMEE - United Nations Mission in Ethiopia and Eritrea, July 2000
- July 2008

List 2 - Resolutions succeeding 1325(2000)

UNSC resolution 1509 - UNMIL - United Nations Mission in Liberia September 2003- today

UNSC resolution 1528, UNOCI, United Nations Operation in Côte d'Ivoire, February 2004 - ongoing

UNSC resolution 1545 – ONUB, The United Nations Operation in Burundi, 21 March 2005 – today

UNSC resolution 1590, UNMIS, United Nations Mission in Sudan, March 2005 - July 2011

UNSC resolution 1769 - UNAMID African Union-United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur, July 2007-today

UNSC resolution 1778 - MINURCAT, United Nations Mission in the Central African Republic and Chad, September 2007-December 2010.

UNSC resolution 1925, MONUSCO, United Nations in the Democratic Republic of Congo, May 2010-June 2011

UNSC resolution 1990, UNISFA, United Nations Organization Interim Security Force for Abyei, June 2011-Ongoing

UNSC resolution 1996, UNMISS, United Nations in the Republic of South Sudan, July 2011-Ongoing

UNSC resolution 2100, MINUSMA, United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali, April 2013-Ongoing

UNSC resolution 2149 - MINUSCA United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in the Central African Republic, April 2014-today

Chart 1 - Resolutions preceding 1325(2000)

Resolution	Rape	Women	Sexual Violence	Gender	Men	Vulnerable groups	Civilian
626(1988)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
696(1991)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
751(1992)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
797(1992)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
814(1993)	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
846(1993)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
866(1993)	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
872(1993)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
976(1995)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1118(1997)	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
1159(1998)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1181(1998)	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
1270(1999)	0	0	0	1	0	0	3
1279(1999)	0	0	0	0	0	0	1

Chart 2 - Resolutions succeeding 1325(2000)

Resolution	Rape	Women	Sexual Violence	1325(2000)	Gender	Men	Vulnerable groups	Civilian
1509(2003)	0	4	1	1	1	0	1	8
1528(2004)	0	4	0	1	1	0	0	7
1545(2004)	2	4	0	1	1	0	0	6
1590(2005)	0	0	0		0	0	0	0
1769(2007)	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	7
1778(2007)	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	5
1925(2010)	1	2	4	1	2	0	0	14
1990(2011)	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	6
1996(2011)	2	15	2	2	2	0	0	15
2100(2013)	0	8	3	1	3	0	0	15
2149(2014)	2	8	8	1	3	0	0	5