"Language is power, but not everyone who uses it has the same power"

The effect of Resolution 1325 on gender discourses in peace agreements

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Abstract

Peace agreements are important tools towards gender equality, and how they are written in terms of language is of particular importance. In October 2000 the United Nations Security Council acknowledged among other things the need for gender inclusive peace agreements with their Resolution 1325. This study is a qualitative textual analysis that with the use of a content analysis and a critical discourse analysis analyzes two peace agreements, one from before the implementation of Resolution 1325 and one from after. The findings of the study suggest that references towards women and gender have increased since the implementation of Resolution 1325, and that the way women are portrayed in terms of agency and stereotypes have changed for the better. However, the latter agreement was still missing gender provisions that sufficiently addressed issues that fundamentally structure gender relations.

Key words: gender, women, Resolution 1325, peace agreements

1. Introduction

More peace agreements have been signed since the end of the Cold War than in any period after the Second World War. Almost half of all internal armed conflicts saw an agreement as a termination of the conflict in the post- Cold War years. Even though peace agreements might not be sufficient for durable peace, they are an integral part of conflict resolution and an important step towards a lasting arrangement (Wallensteen, 2019: 8, 139). Coinciding with the proliferation of peace agreements in the post- Cold War period was women's transnational mobilization aimed at mainstreaming gender equality within international institutions. Feminist researchers have long advocated for the fact that war affects women and girls differently than it does men and boys, and that women face greater threaths than men in the post-conflict setting. The suffering of women in conflicts, and the efforts of feminist researchers and advocates, were acknowledged at the highest formal legal institutional level when the Security Council unanimously passed Resolution 1325 in October 2000 and subsequently launched the Women, Peace and Security Agenda (Bell and O'Rourke, 2010).

In broad terms, Resolution 1325 calls for equal participation of women and men in various processes related to peace and security, as well as identifies a need to fully implement human rights laws to protect the rights of women and girls during and after a conflict, and to mainstream a gender perspective in all peace- and conflict processes. Peace agreements and negotiations are specifically addressed in Paragraph 8 of the Resolution, which reads ' *'calls on all actors involved, when negotiating and implementing peace agreements, to adopt a gender perspective'* (UNSC, 2000). More than 20 years after the adaptation of the Resolution, researchers and practitioners are contesting its actual effects and implications. A number of quantitative studies examining the Resolutions empirical effects already exist (Bell and O'Rourke, 2010; Reid, 2021). There is however an absence of in-depth qualitative studies regarding in what way the Resolution has affected the discourse of gender in peace agreements. When studies are coding for the notion of 'women' in agreements, not much is actually revealed about how the agreements address structural gender inequalities. Hopefully this study will be able to contribute in some way to some answers to this. While it would be impossible to study the effects of Resolution 1325 on all aspects of peace and security in one study, and especially in a C-thesis, I hope that the effect of Resolution 1325 on the content of peace agreements could serve as an indicator for its general implications. If not, it could still contribute to existing research only in a more narrow context.

Using peace agreements as the units of analysis is relevant mainly because of two reasons. First of all, the aim of peace agreements is to end armed conflicts and establish politics as an alternative to military violence, which means that they, similar to constitutions, formulate nations' political priorities and political aspirations (Bell and O'Rourke, 2010). Since they therefore will influence power dynamics in post-conflict societies they have become an important focus for geminist interventions. The second reason for using peace agreements as the units of analysis concerns the more practical part of the study. Peace agreements are more consistently available for observation and analysis than are other parts of the peace negotiation process, such as the dialogue between the people present at the negotiation table (Reid, 2021). The research question that I will strive to answer in this study is thus as follows: *How has the implementation of Resolution 1325 affected the discourse of gender in peace agreements?*

Following this introduction will be a theory section where previous research on peace agreements and Resolution 1325 is introduced, as well as the study's theoretical framework. The theoretical framework will conceptualize 'gender', and introduce theories about how international norms become institutionalized and translated into practice. These theories are what the hypotheses will be built upon. Thereafter a section about the research design, which is a qualitative textual analysis, will follow. The analysis will be composed of a content analysis and a critical discourse analysis, and these two methods will be introduced in the research design section as well. This section will moreover also include data selection and case selection strategies. Despite this being an across case comparison the logic of comparison is somewhat tricky to determine. That is because of the two cases compared, one will be from before the implementation of Resolution 1325 and the other from after since that is what constitutes the variation in the independent variable. Hence, there will be both a temporal and a spatial variation present which would indicate a dynamic comparison but there will not be two cases compared at both instances in time which makes the terminology somewhat unclear. The results of the study will be analyzed and discussed in relation to the hypotheses. Lastly, the study is summarized and its contribution discussed in the summary and conclusion section.

2. Theory

2.1 Previous research

As mentioned in the previous section, previous research has identified peace agreements as powerful tools towards gender equality. Bell and O'Rourke (2010) argue that peace agreements could be seen as an important starting point for women's future inclusion in the domestic political and legal order. When women's issues are not mentioned explicitly in peace agreements, they could become difficult to prioritize post-settlement. In addition, international donor funding often flows from the agreement's priorities. Therefore, even if incorporating a gender perspective in peace agreements might not automatically lead to gender equality, it would be more difficult to achieve it without gender being mentioned at all. Reid (2021) is following this line of reasoning by arguing that gender-inclusive agreements contribute to improvement of women's political rights since they legitimize both women as political actors and advocates' demands for greater political change. She argues that gender-inclusive agreements could spur norm shifts within societies, as well as increase actors' level of commitment to new policies. If language that references gender and women's rights is present, a 'normative compliance pull' will be generated. In other words, when gender is explicitly referenced to on paper, actors will have a harder time deviating from expected gender reforms. The content of peace agreements have a unique role in shaping the political environment for women following conflict.

Feminist researchers have been critical to the way that the UNSC's Resolutions in general, and Resolution 1325 in specific, frames women. They have argued that the Resolutions tend to advance protective stereotypes that essentialize women in conflict situations as either victims of sexual violence, mothers, or as uncritical advocates for an end to conflict (ibid). In relation to this, Sheppard (2011) finds that the Resolution constructs gender in a way that make it equivalent to biological sex, and that it 'reproduce logics of identity' that frames women as fragile, passive and in need of protection. A common critique of Resolution 1325 in previous research is that it does not have an intersectional approach to the category of 'women', and assumes that some women speak for all women (ibid). Whether women are present and represented as 'women', or as political actors with other political identities in various peace processes is often contested (Bell and O'Rourke, 2010). Gibbings (2011)

moreover argues that there is a specific discourse on Women, Peace and Security at the UN that gives a conflicting image of what being a woman in a conflict setting entails. According to this discourse, women are working across political and ethnic divisions, and while upholding global goals they are also at the same time having a great understanding of the local context. The discourse has made women into the ultimate peacemakers with crucial knowledge. Gibbings (ibid) moreover argues that the discourse on Women, Peace and Security must be seen in relation to the 'master narrative' present at the UN. Since the UN has a historical goal of 'making the world a better place', the discursive practices are hence aimed at inspiring and empowering listeners towards action. Certain cultural norms of the UN require issues to be framed in a positive manner, and discourses that are positive, hopeful, and future-oriented are therefore the most valued and a part of the UN's Resolutions.

In their study, Bell and O'Rourke (2010) find that there has been a slight rise in references to women in peace agreements post- Resolution 1325. They however admit that it is not certain that this relationship is causal, and that it might be correlational instead. There might be a confounding variable present, like the transnational mobilization of women, that caused both the implementation of Resolution 1325 and the increase of references towards women. Similarly, while Reid (2021) found the effect of gender-inclusive peace agreements on governments' improved respect for women's rights to be "robust, positive and statistically significant effect" (ibid: 1235), even after including a broad range of control variables, she does not mention a potential confounding variable. In addition, Bell and O'Rourke (2010) found that only 16 percent of peace agreements contained specific references to women, and while they did touch upon the issues raised by Resolution 1325 they did it unsystematically.

Previous research is in agreement about the importance of specific language within peace agreements, and that gender-inclusive language positively affects women's post-conflict political rights (Reid, 2021). Although Resolution 1325 calls for the adoption of a 'gender perspective' in peace negotiations and agreements, it is rarely evident what a gender perspective for peace agreements would ideally involve. Bell and O'Rourke (2010) argue that adopting a gender perspective is not as simple as making references to women, rather it would entail focusing both on the process and the substance of the negotiations by for instance acknowledging who is given formal and informal access to the site of negotiations. A gender perspective would also influence how a peace agreement deals with issues which do not mention gender but which fundamentally structure gender relations. As I argued in the

introduction section, in-depth qualitative studies have largely been absent on this subject which means that there is a need to address this research gap. Hopefully, this study will be able to contribute to filling this gap by examining how Resolution 1325 has affected the way peace agreements address gender power imbalances.

2.2 Theoretical framework

The following section will define and discuss relevant concepts, as well as present the main theoretical arguments that will serve as motivation for the study's hypothesis.

2.2.1 Gender

To define gender, I will use the definition by Ridgeway and Correll (2004: 510) that conceptualizes gender as:

> "... *an institutionalized system of social practices for constituting people as two significantly different categories, men and women, and organizing social relations of inequality on the basis of that difference.*"

The two categories of men and women are based on the assumption that there are two biological sexes with biological differences, such as different reproductive organs. The meaning that gender then ascribes to these biological differences, such as the female body being weak and the male body being strong, are thus assumed to be given based on the biological differences (Stern and Nystrand, 2006: 34-35). Studies have shown that people almost instantly, and without necessarily being aware of it, sex categorize others as soon as they attempt to relate to them. Placing men and women in this binary classification is thus one of our society's primary cultural-category systems. People that are placed in one category are then expected to behave in a certain way based on shared cultural beliefs about gender (Ridgeway, 2009). The ascribed characteristics given to one gender is often constructed as opposite to the other. For instance, if women are inherently peaceful men are inherently aggressive. In other words, the female-male distinction is dichotomous. The shared cultural beliefs about gender are based on gender stereotypes, how most people view a typical man or woman. That women are sensitive, empathic and peaceful are some examples of such stereotypes (Stern and Nystrand, 2006: 34-35). Inherent in the gender system is a hierarchical dimension of status inequality, what is 'masculine' is of higher value than what is 'feminine'.

Contemporary stereotypes describe women as more communal and men as more agentic and instrumental, and instrumentality is deemed as more status worthy and authoritative. Gender scholars have found that gender is always intersected with other societal systems of inequality, and that gender, just like race and class, is a multilevel system of difference and inequality at work at the macro, interactional, and individual level (Ridgeway and Correll, 2004). Discourse of gender, what this study will examine, is thus how men and women are presented and differentiated between in the text, as well as in what way structural gender inequalities are addressed.

2.2.1.1 Gender and armed conflict

Some feminist scholars have argued that patriarchal gender relations are among the root causes of armed conflict. Even if not all studies agree that it is possible to establish a causal relationship about this, there is a correlation between states characterized by gender inequality and intrastate conflict supported by empirical evidence. In addition, even if there is not an absolute agreement among scholars that unequal gender power relationship is *the* driving force in the onset of armed conflict, both men and women participate in war and are affected by its impacts differently because of different expectations and positions of power in society (Kuehnast, 2020). Stern and Nystrand (2006: 61) have argued that gender discourses and war are mutually reinforcing. While gender discourses produce the logic of warring, war in turn produces gender discourses. Gender stereotypes and the power imbalance of gender relations have generated cultures of masculinity prone to violence (Kronsell and Svedberg, 2011: 5).

Distinguishing between masculine and feminine characteristics, i.e the process of gender coding, is an organizing principle for all politics, including war. Gendered codings also reinforce other lines of distinctions, such as between war and peace, perpetrator and victim etc. Modern politics are built upon a distinction between the 'public' and 'private', as well as between 'production' and 'reproduction'. The domestic private sphere, where both social and biological reproduction takes place, is assigned to women. The public sphere on the other hand, where nation building and 'hard' politics take place, is assigned to men. Part of this distinction is that women are inherently seen as in need of protection while men are seen as protectors of both women and the nation (Stern and Nystrand, 2006: 45). This has great implications for women's role in conflict resolution, if they are not seen as active participants of conflict they might not be seen as primary stakeholders when it comes to peace negotiation

processes (Ellerby, 2016). Assumptions such as these also make it difficult to incorporate a 'gender sensitive' perspective in peace processes since it is difficult to imagine different roles for men and women than the existing ones (Stern and Nystrand, 2006: 52). Moreover, modern politics also consist of gendered notions of identity, activities and symbolism. The nation is often seen as feminine, while the citizen-soldier is seen as her masculine 'heroic protector' (ibid; 67). Frerks et al (2014) have also argued that a war needs gendered, stereotyped symbols in order to sustain power, encourage fighters and provide civilians with symbolic practices to support the fighting.

2.2.2 Institutionalized norms

In the introduction section of this study, I argued that Resolution 1325 was unanimously passed by the Security Council in October 2000 inter alia because of the transnational mobilization of women aimed at mainstreaming gender equality within international institutions (Bell and O'Rourke, 2010). This section will continue to argue that Resolution 1325 is an example of an international norm becoming institutionalized. Theories about how institutionalized norms translate into practice will then build up to the hypothesis for this study.

Institutionalization can be described as the international process in which norms emerge at the international level and become reflected in international law and organizations (Betts and Orchard, 2014: 2). This process can be seen as a three-stage process in which the first step is norm emergence, the second is broad norm acceptance, and the last is internalization (Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998). Norms are very important in world politics in that they shape and influence the behavior of states and transnational actors (Betts and Orchard, 2014: 2). I argue that Resolution 1325 is an example of the general phenomena in which international norms become institutionalized. However, Betts and Orchard (ibid) argue that international institutionalization does not automatically equal compliance and implementation. Once norms are institutionalized they might remain ill-defined and imprecise, and even if they are not they might not be adopted at any other level than the visual international. The implications this could have for my study is that even if Resolution 1325 is an example of an institutionalized norm, it might not have been properly translated into practice. People-centered norms in specific, such as norms about gender equality, are only of significance if they are translated into practice (ibid). While this might be true, I at least

believe that the frequency of references to women and gender will have increased because of the Resolution. Hence, my hypotheses for this study are as following:

H1: The implementation of Resolution 1325 will have increased the frequency of references to women and gender in peace agreements

H2: The implementation of Resolution 1325 will not have affected the way peace agreements deal with issues that fundamentally structure gender relations

3. Research design

3.1 Qualitative textual analysis

As a method for trying to answer this study's research question I will begin with using a content analysis. Content analysis is a research tool that seeks to make inferences from textual data by identifying and categorizing keywords, concepts, or themes. By analyzing the presence, meanings and relationship of these, it is possible to draw inferences about the context in which the text was set (Busch et al, 2012; Krippendorff, 2004). Content analysis is useful since it can identify both what is explicitly stated in the material, as well as what is implied or revealed through the manner in which context is expressed. In other words, content analysis is a great tool for examining what is implicitly expressed in the textual material. Consequently, content analysts recognize that all text is open to subjective interpretation, which means that in order for the analysis to be replicable the analyst must explicate the context that guides his or her inferences. All text is part of a larger discourse, and a single text unit could reflect multiple meanings depending on the specific context it was produced in. Hence, the results of a content analysis could reveal a broader discourse (Given, 2008a; Krippendorf, 2004: 24).

Conducting a content analysis involves close and extensive reading of text, coding and breaking it down into manageable categories on different levels, and then analyzing the text over and over again while attempting to uncover the contextual and implicit content (Given, 2008a). Content analysis can further be divided into three different methods to analyze the data; conceptual analysis, relational analysis, and thematic analysis. In a conceptual analysis, the existence and frequency of a certain concept is established by looking for specific words or phrases that represent that concept. In a relational analysis, the relationship between certain concepts is coded for and analyzed. A thematic analysis tries to identify, describe, organize and analyze themes within the text (Busch et al, 2012). Since the first hypothesis of this study is that the Resolution will have increased the number of references to women and gender equality, a conceptual analysis will be used to test this. Central to a conceptual analysis is to examine both the explicit and implicit occurrence of a specific concept (ibid).

In order to conduct a richer analysis of the gender discourse in peace agreements before and after the implementation of Resolution 1325, this study will also conduct a critical discourse analysis to complement the content analysis. A discourse analysis can briefly be described as a cluster of related methods for studying language use and its role in social life. The term discourse can be used to understand any instance of meaning-making, regardless of whether it was expressed through oral or written language (Given, 2008b). A critical discourse analysis then takes particular interest in the relationship between language and power. It examines veiled and transparent structural relationships of dominance and power as shown in and through language. In particular, critical discourse analysis studies the way social power abuse, dominance and inequality is (re)produced and resisted (Deocampo, 2015). Moreover, critical discourse analysis is normative in the sense that it has an explicit commitment to furthering social justice by pressing social issues, and taking the perspective of those suffering the most from structural inequality. The social issue in question often involves some form of systematic oppression or marginalization of particular groups by a dominant group, for instance gender inequality (Given, 2008b; van Dijk, 1993: 252). Many feminist researchers have previously relied on critical discourse analysis to analyse gender-based discrimination in different discourse genres, for instance by critiquing documents published by international organisations (Given, 2008b).

Even if this study does not aim to analyze the Resolution in itself, but its effects, a critical discourse analysis would be helpful in analyzing the different agreements' use of language in the context of gender inequality. While a critical discourse analysis on its own might not have been the best method for answering a question about a causal relationship, I argue that when supplementing a content analysis it will contribute to a more layered and varied analysis of the issue. It is important to analyze discourse since power elites often have privileged access to public means of communication, or public discourse, where public opinion is shaped and discriminatory attitudes, norms and beliefs are (re)produced. In the same way, lack of power can also be measured by its lack of active or controlled access to discourse. Hegemonic oppression can have discursive manifestations in particular domains (Given, 2008b; van Dijk, 1993: 260). Therefore, a critical discourse analysis could help shed some light on the dimension of power in which the peace agreements were written.

3.2 Data and case selection

This is a causal case study in that it is oriented around a central hypothesis about how the independent variable affects the dependent variable, and it is a comparative case study in that it will focus on more than a single case (Gerring, 2017: 63). Since the main focus of this study is to get an increased understanding of the chosen phenomena I will select my cases based on a non-random sampling technique. The case selection will be strategic, or purposive, and base the selection on the research objective. With a random sampling technique its strength would lie in constructing a sample that is as representative of the target population as possible, thus increasing the generalizability. However, while this technique might be the 'gold standard' for data collection, it is rarely practiced in case study research. Since qualitative research examines a small number of cases in greater detail it is important that the selected cases best fit the research objective, and when using a random sampling technique with very small samples the resulting sample is less likely to be representative (Brancati, 2018: 121-125; Gerring, 2017: 119). Non-random sampling techniques are however more likely to increase the risk of selection bias in the study. When the researcher herself chooses her cases, she might end up with a sample where the cases are more or less likely to experience the outcome. In other words, she might knowingly or unknowingly choose cases that will support the hypothesis. The selection bias might even be a function of nature and not be caused by the researcher, but it could still have implications for the study's credibility and its ability to draw causal inferences (Brancati, 2018: 125). In order to minimize this risk I will only select cases based on their value on the independent variable, i.e select one case before the implementation and one after the implementation of Resolution 1325.

There is a specific database part of PA-X Peace Agreement Database called PA-X Gender. In this, all peace agreements between 1990 and 2021 that have provisions on women, girls, gender or sexual violence are included (PA-X Gender, 2021). My two cases will be selected from this database since the aim of the study is to find out how the discourse of gender in peace agreements has been affected by Resolution 1325. If I instead were to select a case where the notion of gender was not included at all there would not be sufficient data. To select the cases, a most-similar case design, or 'Mill's Method of Difference', will be employed. The method of difference tries to explain divergent outcomes by isolating similarities across cases. In other words, the selected cases should be as alike as possible on

all factors except one, the independent variable, in order to decide if that factor caused the outcome (Brancati, 2018: 200). For this study that means that one of the agreements will be from before the Resolution was implemented and the other from sometime after that. I will try to select two cases that otherwise are as alike as possible in terms of the type of conflict, incompatibility, and region.

When selecting my cases I decided to use the Americas as the region, intrastate conflicts as the type, and government as the incompatibility in order to make the cases as similar as possible regarding surrounding factors. Since a qualitative textual analysis is very time-consuming in that it involves close reading and manual coding of text, while at the same time this study should be conducted over a time-period that is appropriate for a C-thesis, I had to further restrict the selection of agreements to documents no longer than 50 pages. It is thus possible that an analysis of any of the more extensive agreements could have yielded different results. Based on the selection criterias I finally selected the agreement between the Mexican Government and EZLN from 1996 as the '*Before Resolution 1325*'- case, and an agreement between the Colombian Government and FARC-EP from 2016 as the '*After Resolution 1325*' case. Both of the agreements' names are incredibly lengthy and they will thus henceforth be referred to as the 'Mexican peace agreement' and the 'Colombian peace agreement' instead. The Colombian peace agreement was originally written in Spanish but because of the language barrier it is the English translation of the document that will be analyzed. This could potentially have an impact on the study's results, especially for the discourse analysis since the idea of discourse analysis is to analyze the use of language. Even if the translation correctly translates the overall content, certain implicit meanings that depend on specific words could be lost in the translation. This is important to keep in mind when conducting the analysis and drawing inferences, even if the difference in meaning is minor.

3.3 Operational definition

While the operationalization for the dependent variable is somewhat complex, the independent variable could very simply be operationalized as the point in time the Resolution was implemented, that is October 2000, and it can vary between either before that in time or after that in time. In order to answer the research question and test the first hypothesis in particular it is important to properly conduct a content analysis. The first step will be to

define important categories that the texts will be parted into. The beforehand-defined categories will be based on the theory section of this study, that is previous research and the theoretical framework. After having defined the categories I will construct the coding guidelines. It is important to develop a set of rules for coding so to know what should be included in each category and so that both texts are coded consistently. It is also important for the replicability of the study, another researcher should be able to perform the same analysis and get the same results (Mayring, 2014: 97). The coding guidelines for this analysis will be as following:

Table 1: Coding Guidelines

Category Label	Category Definition	Anchor Samples	Encoding Rules	Code
Gender Equality	- Against gender-based discrimination - Adopting a gender-based approach - Preventing status inequality between what is seen as 'male' versus 'female'	"There must be legislation to expressly guarantee the obligation of non-discrimination for reasons of racial or ethnic origin, language, sex, beliefs, or social status…"	Include provisions that address gender (in)equality both explicitly and implicitly in terms of reducing structural inequalities	1
Women's Participation	Women's political participation, regardless of the level of analysis and in what sector	"Promote the participation of women in the Territorial Councils"	Include participation - on national, regional and local levels - in both private and public sectors	2
Violence against Women	Including concepts such as: - sexual violence - gender-based violence - domestic violence - intra-family violence	"Review and update the penalties imposed by current legislation for sexual crimes, harassment against women, and intra-family violence"	Include both the explicit mention of violence, as well as measures serving as preventive	3

			protection against it	

It is important for the coder to understand the coding guidelines and apply them consistently throughout the analysis, as well as for her or him to be familiar with the concept under analysis so that the necessary interpretations could be made (Krippendorf, 2004: 128). While not claiming to know more than someone who has studied a concept for decades I believe that I have sufficient understanding of gender relations to be able to code the agreements. Moreover, the proper way to conduct a content analysis would be to have multiple coders code the same text and look for inter-coder reliability before moving on to the analysis (Mayring, 2014: 95). However, due to the nature of this study and especially due to the fact that it is a C-thesis, I will be the sole coder. Conducting the content analysis with only one coder threatens the reliability of the study. Therefore, to ensure as great reliability as possible I will conduct a form of intra-coder agreement. That is, after the coding process I will conduct the same coding again without being aware of the preview codings and then compare the results. If the results are different, the coding guidelines will be revised and the coding will start over again (ibid: 111). The reliability and validity of the study will however be further discussed in the limitations- section of this study.

Moving forward to the operationalization of the variables in the critical discourse analysis then, the purpose of the analysis is to analyze how the agreements address issues of structural gender inequality. The independent variable will be operationalized in the same way as in the content analysis, as either 'before' or 'after' Resolution 1325 in time, and to operationalize 'gender discourse' there will be three questions posed to the material. These should be able to identify how gender is addressed in the agreement and are as following:

1. How salient or agentic are women represented in the agreements? Are they represented as actors or affected?
2. Is there a difference in how men and women are presented in terms of who is seen as instrumental and who is seen as communal?
3. Does the agreement address issues that fundamentally structure power imbalance between men and women?

These questions should be able to provide a deeper analysis of how the peace agreements address the power imbalance of gender relations and how the answers vary. The third question in particular should be able to test the second hypothesis. When posing these questions to the material, both the sentence structure and wordings in quotes taken from the agreements, as well as the absence of certain provisions will be analyzed.

4. Results and analysis

4.1 Content analysis

Summarized in the tables below are the findings of the content analysis, each case is presented in one table. The tables present the frequency of each category's occurrence, as well as the page number and location for points of discovery for each category. Regarding the points of discovery, t stands for 'top of page', m stands for 'middle of page', and b stands for 'bottom of page'. There must be a definite increase of references towards gender and women in order for the first hypothesis to be supported. It will not be a strong enough support if the frequency has only increased with a couple of units. The tables will be followed by an analysis of the findings.

Table 2: Coding Results from Mexican Peace Agreement

Category	Points of discovery	Frequency
Gender equality	p. 3 m p. 3 b p. 3 b p. 3 b p. 3 b p. 3 b p. 4 t	7
Women's participation		0
Violence against women	p. 3 b	1
Total		**8**

Table 3: Coding Results from Colombian Peace Agreement

Category	Points of discovery	Frequency
Gender equality	p. 1 m p. 1 m p. 5 t p. 5 m p. 7 t p. 7 m p. 13 t	7
Women's participation	p. 3 b	6

	p. 4 b p. 6 m p. 9 m p. 9 b p. 14 m	
Violence against women	p. 2 m p. 2 b p. 3 m p. 6 t p. 6 b p. 6 b p. 7 t p. 7 b p. 8 b p. 8 b p. 9 m p. 13 t p. 13 b p. 14 m p. 14 b p. 15 m	16
Total		**29**

Similar to the findings of previous research (Bell and O'Rourke, 2010), the results of the content analysis suggest that there has been a rise in references to women and gender in peace agreements post-Resolution 1325. However, despite the fact that the cases were selected using the method of difference, it is possible that because of a human error some of the surrounding factors were different between the cases and that one of these factors caused the results rather than the Resolution. For instance, if the agreements were written with different intentions and they tried to resolve conflicts that differed on some important aspect, the provisions could be constructed differently for that reason instead. Although, since gender is a multilevel system of difference and is always intersected with other societal systems of inequality (Ridgeway and Correll, 2004) it seems unlikely that the two cases would have different needs for incorporating a gender perspective. Even if the Colombian agreement was written with a focus on security guarantees while the Mexican agreement focused on political participation of indigenous people, and they therefore included provisions of different kinds, the need for adopting a gender-perspective would still be the same. However it is also possible that the findings of the content analysis were caused by a confounding variable outside the cases themselves. Previous research has suggested that transnational mobilization

of women could be a cause for both the implementation of Resolution 1325 and the increase of gender references in agreements (Bell and O'Rourke, 2010), and that might be the case for this study as well since that variable was not possible to control for.

The results moreover indicate that the greatest difference in frequency related to references about 'women's participation' and 'violence against women'. 'Gender equality' was referenced the same amount of times in both agreements. Although, it being referenced tells only about the presence of the concept and nothing about in what way it was presented. A relational content analysis could perhaps better have reflected on the implicit meanings of the agreements. On the other hand, for a richer analysis about the power dimensions in the agreements this study also conducts a critical discourse analysis.

4.2 Critical discourse analysis

4.2.2 Mexican Peace Agreement

Three questions were asked in the critical discourse analysis to measure the variation of gender discourse. The first one of these questions was "*How salient or agentic are women represented in the agreements? Are they represented as actors or affected*?". In order to answer this question I will make references to certain articles of the agreement and discuss the effects and implications of the content. The only provision in the agreement that refers to violence against women reads: "Review and update the penalties imposed by current legislation for sexual crimes, harassment against women, and intra-family violence" (Actions and Measures for Chiapas Joint Commitments, 1996: 3). Since this is the only instance in the agreement that treats gender-based violence it is also the sole representation for how violence against women is conceptualized. As argued in the theory section of this paper, women in conflict situations are often essentialized as victims of sexual violence and framed as fragile, passive and in need of protection (Bell and O'Rourke, 2010; Sheppard, 2011). This quote treats violence as something that happens to women, not something they are a part of or could help combat, which means that women are stripped of all their agency. While it is important to address how to combat post-conflict sexual violence, the absence of provisions that treats women as agents in this issue means that women are essentialized as victims.

Moreover, none of the provisions in the agreement phrase women as political actors or address their ability of political participation. While paragraph 2 on page 3 addresses the political rights of indigenous women by reading: "Incorporate political rights into legislation, as well as respect for indigenous practices and customs, respecting the dignity and human rights of indigenous women" (Actions and Measures for Chiapas Joint Commitments, 1996: 3), nothing else is added about the role of indiginous women as political actors. While including the need for respect of human rights is important, it is not enough in itself to give women an active role. The mentioning of their rights must in that case be complemented with additional provisions that show their active role.

The second set of questions asked to the agreement were *"Is there a difference in how men and women are presented in terms of who is seen as instrumental and who is seen as communal?"* Under the section called "Situation, Rights, and Culture of Indigenous Women" there is a provision that reads: "Guarantee the labor rights of indigenous workers, particularly those in vulnerable conditions such as domestic work or temporary jobs" (ibid). It is thus implicit that domestic work or temporary jobs are related to women. While this might be true empirically, phrasing it in such a way reinforces the idea of women as communal and men as instrumental. Moreover, when conducting a critical discourse analysis it is important to read between the lines and look for implicit messages, this includes analysing what is not there. If language that constructs women as instrumental is absent, sentences such as this one will be given more influence. If women are only specifically mentioned when it comes to providing protection for them, they will not be presented as anything but passive and in need of protection. Moreover even if men are not explicitly referred to in the agreement, every time women are referred to as non-instrumental and not agentic the binary classification of gender renders men as the opposite. That is, every time women are seen as in need of protection men are seen as the potential protectors. Since women are neither presented as actors nor encouraged to participate politically they are not given an instrumental role.

The answer to the last question, *"Does the agreement address issues that fundamentally structure power imbalance between men and women*?, is arguably evidently negative. The concept of gender is neither explicit nor implicitly referred to in the agreement, and women are only referenced when they are in need of protection from sexual violence and discriminaiton, or when their human rights are asked to be respected in legislation. There are many articles in which something similar to "...recognize the specific rights of the indigenous

woman…" (ibid) is mentioned, but none of the articles treated issues that actually structure power inequality between men and women. Women are only treated as victims which in turn reinforces gender stereotypes.

4.2.3 Colombian Peace Agreement

The same set of questions were asked to this agreement as to the previous one, starting with: "*How salient or agentic are women represented in the agreements? Are they represented as actors or affected?*" When reading through the agreement I found that the articles provided conflicting answers to this question. Some articles, such as number 3.4.4, seemed to present women as actors by reading: "the Unit will decide what is necessary for its functioning and for creating its work and research groups, whilst promoting in these spaces the effective participation of women who will have the autonomy to choose their lines of research, to implement them, and to undertake proceedings before any jurisdiction" (Agreement on Security Guarantees, 2016: 6). Calling for effective participation of women and giving them the task of implementing their research, suggests that women are presented as actors and not as affected. This suggestion is supported by other articles in the agreement as well, for instance with language such as "the effective participation of women will be encouraged when forming the Commission" (ibid: 4), and "this programme will benefit from the active and effective participation of social organisations, including women's and community organisations" (ibid: 14).

Although, in contrast to these articles, others framed women more as passive victims. Article 3.4.1, for instance, reads: "Special emphasis will be placed on the protection of women, children, and adolescents who have been affected by criminal organisations targeted by Agreement. This approach will take into account the specific risks faced by women against their life, freedom, integrity, and security, and will be appropriate to such risks" (ibid: 2). When placing women in the same category as children and arguing for their common protection, the implicit message then becomes that women and children are equally fragile. If 'women and children' were changed into 'civilians' for instance, it would connote a very different meaning. Women are also presented as passive and in need of protection in other parts of the agreement as well, for instance in: "...the system will include training programs in subjects related to the protection of women and of the specific risks that they face" (ibid: 13). In the agreement altogether however, I believe that women are presented as actors to a greater

extent than they are as affected, even though there are still instances like the previous ones where they are presented as fragile victims. The agreement makes numerous explicit references to men and women both being actors, for instance with quotes like "...provide security guarantees for the new political movement arising from the transition of the FARC-EP to legal political activity, for its members - men and women…" (ibid: 8), or "The Director will have functional command of CTI officials of the attached to his/her Unit…" (ibid: 6).

The second question, "*Is there a difference in how men and women are presented in terms of who is seen as instrumental and who is seen as communal?*", is essentially about analysing whether or not any gender stereotypes about male and female behavior are present. If there are, for instance, a difference in who is ascribed a productive versus a reproductive role. When analysing the agreement I could find no articles in which men and women were distinguished between, neither explicit nor implicit, in this particular way. The only potential reference to such a distinction being made would be in the article where women and children are put in the same category, assuming that they are connected. Otherwise, none of the articles implied a difference between men and women in who is seen as instrumental versus communal.

The third and last question asked to the agreement was "*Does the agreement address issues that fundamentally structure power imbalances between men and women*?". Throughout the agreement references are made about the need to adopt a 'gender-based approach', although it is never explicitly stated what a gender-based approach entails. The following quote should sufficiently illustrate the context that a gender-based approach is used in; "Will ensure a territorial, differential, and gender-based approach towards the design, implementation and monitoring of the policies and strategies subject of this Commission" (ibid: 5). As argued in the theory section of this study, incorporating a gender perspective in peace agreements is important even if it does not automatically lead to gender equality (Bell and O'Rourke, 2010). When gender is explicitly referenced in important documents, such as peace agreements, it could generate a compliance pull where it would be difficult for actors to deviate from what is written (Reid, 2011). Another important quote from the agreement is: "... justice in cases of gender violence, free of gender-based stereotypes or sexual orientation" (ibid: 2). The acknowledgement of 'gender-based stereotypes' in a document of such high legal level could be an example of a norm becoming institutionalized. Acknowledging that

stereotypes are a major factor when constructing shared cultural beliefs about gender is a very important first step. As discussed in the theory section, stereotypes describe women as passive and communal, and men as agentic and instrumental. The 'male' characteristics are given higher value in society, and stereotypes are thus contributing to ascribing men higher value than women (Ridgeway and Corell, 2004). Addressing the need to be free of gender-based stereotypes is hence an important first step towards addressing the structural power imbalance between men and women. However, even if the agreement made consistent references to the importance of a gender-based approach as well as addressed the specific needs of women, I could find no evidence in the document of measures to move beyond that. In other words, there were no measures aimed at addressing issues that fundamentally structure gender relations included in the agreement. Thus, even if the agreement put emphasis on the importance of adopting a gender perspective on all aspects in the peace process, none of its provisions actually addressed root causes for gender inequality. Although there is, as previous research has argued, a correlation between the onset of armed conflict and gender inequality (Kuehnast, 2020). Therefore, even if none of the articles in the agreement explicitly addressed root causes for gender inequality, the situation for some women might improve because of the agreement's focus on the root causes for conflict.

4.4 Discussion

The content analysis found support for the first hypothesis, that the implementation of Resolution 1325 has increased the frequency of references to women and gender in peace agreements. The 'after'-case exhibited an increase of references especially regarding women's political participation and violence against women. Although it is possible, as I previously argued, that the distribution among the categories was a result of the context in which the agreements were written. The Colombian agreement focused on security issues, in which referencing violence against women might be following more naturally than in other contexts. On the other hand, this alternative explanation for the results might not be very likely since the increase of references could be seen in multiple categories. There is thus an overall pattern visible that is not dependent on a particular category.

The second hypothesis, that the implementation of Resolution 1325 has not affected the way peace agreements deal with issues that fundamentally structure gender relations, was tested in the critical discourse analysis. It was particularly tested with the third question of the analysis

which explicitly asked about that. The other two questions asked, in order, firstly what agency was given to women, and secondly if there were any gender stereotypes about productive versus reproductive roles present. While these two questions did not explicitly ask about issues that structure gender relations, I believe based on the arguments about gender relations from previous research that constitutes the theoretical framework of this study, that both the agency given to women as well as gender stereotypes are important in structuring the power imbalance inherent in gender relations. In the Mexican peace agreement, or the 'before'-case, women were essentialized as victims of conflict. In addition, the language in the agreement did not construct women as agents but rather as passive and in need of protection. Gender inequality was moreover never addressed. In the Colombian agreement, or the 'after'-case, on the other hand women were given a much more salient role. While there were a number of instances where women were still portrayed as fragile victims, they were at the same time equally often given an active role. When someone with an important agency was addressed in the agreement for instance, it was sometimes done by explicitly stating "him or her", indicating that men and women were formally given the same opportunity for this agency. The contradictory portraying of women in the agreement possibly implies that while most women were recognized as actors, they might not have been seen as fully agential subjects.

Moreover the Colombian agreement consistently made explicit references towards the importance of adopting a 'gender perspective'. However, as the answer to the third question suggested, when reading the articles more in-depth I found no provisions that proposed actual measures towards reducing gender inequality. It is thus a bit tricky to know if the second hypothesis was supported or not. I previously argued that the way women are portrayed in terms of agency and instrumentality is one indicator for how power imbalance in gender relations are treated. Taking this into consideration and comparing the answers to the first two questions between the cases, the gender discourse was clearly different. The latter agreement included more gender sensitive language and less gender stereotypes, and if this -as according to theory- is something that weakens the power imbalance of gender relations there might not be enough support for the second hypothesis. Even though there were no explicit references towards actual measures against gender inequality. However, I do not believe that the hypothesis should be completely disregarded, but rather that future research should continue to explore this and add on to the analysis and discussion.

Furthermore, it is possible that the results could have been different if two other cases were selected. Redi (2021) has for instance found that comprehensive agreements are more likely than partial agreements to include gender provisions. Following the method of difference both of my cases were the same kind of agreement, and they were both partial. Thus, it is possible that gender provisions would have been more prominent in two comprehensive agreements. Performing a qualitative textual analysis of two comprehensive agreements would however have required a lot more time than was possible for a C-thesis. Comprehensive peace agreements could span several hundred pages which would have required a lot more time to read and analyse sufficiently. I would therefore recommend future research to conduct this study but with comprehensive agreements instead of partial to see if the results are the same.

4.5 Limitations

The two cases of the study were selected through the method of difference, a method in which there are some inherent weaknesses important to discuss. First of all, the method believes that the relationship between the independent and dependent variable is deterministic. It also believes that a two case comparison is enough to determine whether or not an explanatory variable produces an outcome. The logic of the method is that if an outcome is only produced in the one case where the explanatory variable is present, that means that the explanatory variable is sufficient to produce the outcome. The weakness of the method thus lies in the two case comparison. If only two cases are compared, it is impossible to know if the outcome could be produced in a case where the explanatory variable is absent. Because of the two case comparison it is moreover impossible to determine if the explanatory factor only makes the outcome more likely to occur, or if the outcome is always produced when the explanatory factor is present (Brancati, 2018: 201). For my results, this could possibly mean that the difference in frequency of references, as well as the difference in how the agreements used a gender discourse might not have been a result of the implementation of Resolution 1325. Another potential weakness of the method is its sensitivity to the case selection, it is possible that selecting other cases could lead to different results (ibid: 202). If I had selected two cases from another region than the Americas, for instance two African peace agreements, the results could potentially have been different. To minimize this risk, and increase the ability of the study to generalize, the study should ideally have examined some more cases. Due to the scope of this study this was however not feasible.

Moving forward, this section will also discuss the reliability and validity of the study. Reliability can be defined as the replicability of a research procedure, the degree to which it yields the same results every time it is applied to the same cases regardless of the circumstances of its implementation. Validity on the other hand is the degree to which a measure accurately represents the concept it is supposed to measure. It can be divided into internal validity, which is the extent to which the study is able to identify a causal relationship between two variables, and external validity, which is the extent to which a study produces results that can be generalised to the larger population (Kellstedt and Whitten, 2018: 101, 123). As with all qualitative research methods that examine a very limited number of cases, the external validity of this study is not as great as it could have been in a quantitative study. However, the tradeoff with a qualitative method is greater internal validity. Because of the in-depth reading, the study is able to provide rich descriptions and a deeper understanding of the research context. In addition, the in-depth reading and analysis of the cases provides a more nuanced answer to the research question than would not have been possible with a quantitative method. Moreover, the questions answered in the critical discourse analysis as well as the coding guidelines for the content analysis, are well-fitted within the theoretical context and accurately measure what they are supposed to measure. I therefore believe the validity of the study to be high even though the external validity is somewhat limited.

Regarding the reliability of the study, there are a few areas that could be criticized. First of all, how I personally interpreted the material. The critical discourse analysis in particular required a lot of interpretations of the text and its context, which means that it is possible that another researcher might have found somewhat different results. As previously argued, a critical discourse analysis is moreover normative in the sense that it critically examines power relations as seen through the use of language (van Dijk, 1993). While normativity first and foremost could challenge the objectivity of the research process in political science, critically analysing something also means that the analyst's own interpretation and her prior knowledge of the phenomena plays a great part. That is why the reliability of the critical discourse analysis in particular could be criticized. Although, since I based all of my interpretations of the material on the theoretical framework and previous research I believe that other researchers would to a great extent reach the same conclusions that I have. Thus, the reliability of the critical discourse analysis is higher than first expected.

Regarding content analysis, Krippendorff (2004: 215) argues that there are three types of reliability; *stability, reproducibility*, and *accuracy*. Stability is the degree to which a process is unchanging over time, that is if the coding process yields the same results on repeated trials. Since the coding of the agreement was performed manually it is possible that an unsystematic measurement error, or a random error, occurred. In other words, it is possible that something was coded wrongly or left out, something that a computer would not have missed. Although, the risk for this kind of error was minimized since I performed the coding multiple times. Stability was thus checked through intra-coder agreement. Reproducibility is, according to Krippendorff, the degree to which a process would yield the same results when duplicated by another coder, and it can be tested through inter-coder agreement (ibid). As previously noted, because of the nature of this study I had to be the sole coder and could therefore not ensure inter-coder agreement which possibly could have affected the results. I have tried to minimize this risk as well through clear and structured coding guidelines that should be easy to follow. The last type of reliability, accuracy, refers to the extent to which the analysis conforms to a particular functional standard, that is, yields what it is designed to yield (ibid). While the reliability could be criticized in this study I hope that by being transparent about the choices I have made as well as by providing reasons for why they have been made, other researchers could follow my interpretations and duplicate the research. Thus hopefully the reliability has been improved.

5. Summary and conclusion

The research question of this study was '*How has the implementation of Resolution 1325 affected the discourse of gender in peace agreements?*' The results of the study suggest that references towards women and gender have increased in peace agreements post-Resolution 1325, which supports the study's first hypothesis. Unfortunately since the findings were made by only examining two cases, even though they were selected strategically with the research objective in mind, the generalizability is limited. Although, my findings are supported by statistically significant results from quantitative studies by previous research in the field which should increase the credibility. Moreover, the main focus of this study was not to test if there is a positive relationship between the Resolution 1325 and references to women and gender in peace agreements. Rather, the focus was to examine through in-depth reading in what way gender discourses in peace agreements have changed with the implementation of Resolution 1325. Analyzing whether or not the frequency of certain categories had increased was only a part of the focus. The critical discourse analysis found a substantial change in how gender was used and viewed between the two agreements. From a gender-perspective being almost entirely absent in the first case, to being advocating for in the other. It was however ambiguous whether or not the results of the analysis suggested that the latter agreement sufficiently addressed issues that structure gender relations. While gender as a concept had a greater presence, and women were given more agency in the 'after'-case, that might not be enough to say that the hypothesis was disproved. Although, at the same time there was not enough evidence to say it was supported either which means that future research needs to continue analyzing what this study has been trying to. For future studies I moreover believe that it would be particularly important to analyze comprehensive peace agreements, something that this study was too limited in scope to be able to do. Peace agreements are immensely important formal documents when it comes to shaping the post-conflict political environment, and the more comprehensive the agreement the more important the implications.

The research gap identified by previous research was an absence of in-depth systematic studies on the effect of Resolution 1325 on gender discourses in all aspects of peace and security. Hopefully this study has been able to contribute towards filling that gap, and even though the scope of a C-thesis is too limited to reach conclusions about the effects in a broader sense, the result could hopefully serve as an indicator for the general implications.

There is still a lot to be done and uncover by future research about the United Nations Security Council Resolutions' effects on gender discourses in the peace and security arena, but I believe that this study could serve as inspiration, and as a starting point of where to start and where to look.

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