Women's Peace and Security in Afghanistan

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1. Introduction

One of the most important advancements in the United Nations (UN) journey to include a gender perspective in international law has been the Women, Peace, and Security (WPS) agenda which focused on including women in the peacebuilding and post-conflict resolution efforts. Throughout the years, the areas WPS aimed to improve in post-conflict regions were advanced since its establishment in 2000. The scope of the agenda also included clauses about sexual violence, its prohibition and measures of checks and balances in these regions. However, despite its best efforts, and feminist sentiments, the impact of WPS has been a very conflicting one. There have been large debates surrounding WPS and its effectiveness. Discussions persist among academics, and politicians alike, that question whether the agenda is fulfilling its potential in ensuring the security and safety of women in post-conflict regions. Here, three main branches can be identified: those that see WPS' impact as a success, those that are sceptical due to the way it is implemented, and those that are sceptical due to the nature of the agenda. Those that remain critical of the impact of WPS due to its nature, question the inclusivity of the feminist theories that are included in the agenda. Both feminist and post-colonial theorists have subscribed to this point of view.

One way to assess if the scepticism of critical theories is well-founded is to trace the impact of the agenda in post-conflict regions. Due to its history of conflict, war and instability, regions of the Middle East and adjacent countries have been exemplary cases of such regions. These regions have witnessed political, economic, and social conflicts, insecurities, and occupations throughout the years (United Nations, 2016, p. 1). These circumstances have negatively affected the safety, well-being and security of women and girls (United Nations, 2016, p. 1). The United Nations has been involved in this region to ensure the operations of WPS, and gender equality through the implementation of National Action Plans (NAP), bilateral efforts and regional collaborations (UN Women, 2013).

One case that reflects the involvement of the UN in the political, economic, and social turbulences in regions in and near the Middle East is the case of Afghanistan. Following the 2001 terror attacks and the consequent war, the government at the time was overthrown, and a new constitution was adopted in 2004 (Krook et al., 2010, p. 1). Throughout this conflict, the rights and safety of women and girls have been jeopardised and violated. As a result, in 2015, the government of Afghanistan created a National Action Plan, NAP 1325, to improve women's rights and prevent gender-based violence in conflict-affected regions (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2015, pp. 4-11). NAP 1325 outlined steps to implement the principles of WPS

into different sectors such as social services, justice, governance, and security. (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2015, pp. 21-34) However, the effectiveness of these efforts and the influence of WPS has been debated and collected their fair share of critics (Davies et al., 2021, p. 554).

It is important to define the impact of WPS to better understand how to improve the conditions of women in conflict-affected regions. Here, Afghanistan serves as a significant case study due to its history of conflict, and the UN's efforts to implement WPS through a NAP and collaborations with the government of Afghanistan. Therefore, the implementation of WPS in Afghanistan, and its influence on gender equality can be representative to better understand the impact of WPS and identify its shortcomings. Afghanistan's history starting from the monarchy sheds light on the foreign interventions in the country, and its more recent history starting from 2001, shed light on how such intervention influenced Afghanistan.

In this paper, the answer to the following research question will be sought: *To what extent has the gender perspective of the Women Peace and Security agenda been successful in integrating gender equality in the post-conflict regions?* A post-colonial and feminist lens will be adopted to explore the agenda's success in inclusivity, and intersectionality. This research question seeks to assess the perspectives that are presented in the current debates and assess the UN's influence in achieving gender equality in post-conflict regions. The theoretical, and structural questions that are raised in the literature review will be answered through an assessment of the efforts of integrating gender perspectives into international law. The research question will be addressed through an in-depth case study into post-conflict Afghanistan, where the UN has been actively involved in the post-conflict reconstruction efforts. This research will not only contribute to the existing literature on the influence international law has on the promotion of gender equality, but also it will have practical implications for post-conflict reconstruction policymakers.

By identifying the challenges, the implementation of the WPS agenda has faced in promoting gender equality in Afghanistan, this research aims to provide insights into making future efforts more effective when it comes to promoting gender equality in post-conflict regions. By doing so, it is within the goals of this thesis to contribute to pushing forward the UN's Sustainable Development Goal 5, which aims to achieve gender equality (United Nations, 2015).

2. Literature Review

The main debates surrounding WPS have been about the agenda's performance in creating a large-scale positive influence on gender equality. One fundamental discussion has

been about deciding if it is performing well, or if it is failing to meet its potential. The second, more theoretical debate is built on assumptions that it is not performing well. Some researchers claim that the UN's implementation has been the reason behind this failure. However, others claim that the agenda fails to incorporate feminist theories, and therefore they argue that a meaningful implementation is not possible either way.

Researchers that are sympathetic and optimistic towards WPS see the outcomes of the agenda as a success or as a positive influence on post-conflict regions' gender equality. One perspective that appreciates WPS' efforts is that the mention of women in peace-building efforts has a positive influence on raising awareness and starting a conversation. (Bell & O'Rourke, 2010, p. 947). Yadav argued that conflict situations, despite being devastating, are also an opportunity for implementing gender equality since the status quo is already changing (Yadav, 2020, p. 1). Here, Yadav does not identify war as a process that victimises women, but rather as an opportunity to create a cultural shift in women's place in society (Yadav, 2020, p. 1). Furthermore, Bell & O'Rourke found that the mention of women in peace agreements is important mainly because these agreements serve as "roadmaps" that define the steps that states need to take, and their priorities during this process (Bell & O'Rourke, 2010, p. 947). It is said that while these roadmaps do not promise equality, they make it possible for the process to include it. Since war and conflict are seen as opportunities, roadmaps such as WPS are valuable to make sure states navigate towards gender equality. Furthermore, Reilly recognized and praised WPS' influence on international norms for its active contestation and attempt to transform the male-centric lens of post-conflict processes and transitional justice (Reilly, 2007, p. 156). Consequently, WPS' influence on international law and global governance norms has created many success stories for feminism in international law (Heathcote, 2019, p. 19).

However, not all opinions on WPS are so optimistic about the success of the agenda. Some views support that the agenda has outlined valid aspects for post-conflict regions to work on, as the ones that believe in its success argue so. However, they think that the implementation of the agenda has been where the failure is rooted. The UN also agrees with this point of view, and in an attempt to hold their performance accountable, they stated that the agenda did not match its full potential because of the lack of participation from member states (United Nations, 2022). The UN's report has found that the states' not funding or committing to the agenda has damaged its possibility of success (United Nations, 2022). However, some researchers argue that the failures revolving around implementation are more related to the conceptual failure to understand what WPS is, and who is supposed to "do" it due to the UN's failure to assign clear definitions and responsibilities (Shepherd 2021, p. 104). It is argued that the UN's current

narrative around WPS displays it as a ready-to-function agenda that can succeed with commitment and funding from the states.

A more structural, theoretical criticism of WPS argues that the agenda itself is flawed through a post-colonial and feminist lens. A post-colonial point of view suggests that the universalist approach of human rights WPS provides can be seen as an orientalist idea. Allain argues that this is because of the normative tone of WPS that expresses how the desired standard can be achieved using Western ideals (Allain, 2004, p. 402). Allain further explains that international law, especially those that concern human, and women's rights are used as instruments to create an "orient" and a better-developed counterpart: Eastern states and Western states respectively (Allain, 2004, p. 402). This artificial understanding of a hierarchy between the East and the West further perpetuates the narratives of colonialism and deems Eastern states to be the "underclass of the international legal order" (Allain, 2004, p. 403). Similarly, Dianne Otto states that while the UN claims to be founded on universal principles, its implementation has been upholding the standards of the European Enlightenment (Otto, 1996, p. 339). Previous International Court of Justice president, Mohammed Bedjaoui further explains that international law has been inspired by European, Christian and mercantilist cultures (Roy, 2008, p. 330). From a postcolonial point of view, it becomes clear that the text of the law can be exclusionary, not only for the case of WPS but for all international law sources. This ties in with Smith's argument that the current understanding of militarised peacekeeping fails to understand cultural, economic, and most importantly historical nuances within post-conflict states (Smith, 2020, p. 7). Therefore, from a post-colonial lens, WPS can be seen as an agenda that fails to incorporate cultural nuances through its universalist take, and as a tool that enforces ideas such as colonialism and orientalism.

Feminist theorists also have a critical outlook on WPS as post-colonial researchers do. A few problems that arise concerning the way women are framed in the agenda are related to its gender essentialist approach and its conceptualization of women as victims. Skidmore noted that consistently mentioning women alongside *children* and *girls* has contributed to the gender essentialist outlook on women that portrays them as domestic, peaceful caregivers, nurturers and victims (Skidmore, 2019, p. 10). This essentialist outlook directly contradicts the goal of involving women in peace processes as their portrayal as the vulnerable feminine, often points towards women's exclusion as equals to the masculine during peacebuilding efforts. (Smith, 2020, p. 8). This finding also overshadows the arguments of Bell & O'Rourke as their narrative of success has been supported by the idea that WPS gives women the agency to not be victims, which allows them to change the status quo of gender roles in their region. However, the idea

of WPS doing the opposite, and framing women as victims discredit the success narrative. It is also argued that WPS' gendered nature results in it reinforcing the pre-conceived understandings of gender and gendered social life as it operates in the liberal peace paradigm (Smith, 2020, p. 1).

The literature shows three main perspectives when it comes to the debate surrounding WPS. The first point of view sees WPS as a successful agenda in promoting women's rights in post-conflict regions. The remaining two are more critical of its performance. The second perspective claims that WPS is an agenda that is capable of functioning well, however, the researchers that subscribe to this perspective argue that the agenda is not living up to its potential due to the inadequate implementation methods that the UN has provided. The third, and last perspective employs critical theories, through a post-colonial and feminist point of view. Feminist perspectives argue that WPS, in itself, operates in the liberal peace paradigm and therefore it fails to utilise a nuanced perspective. Furthermore, post-colonial researchers criticise the universalist language of the agenda as they find it to be reinforcing orientalism and colonial ideology.

Despite the vast amount of research and discourse on WPS and its effectiveness, there remains a knowledge gap on the intersectionality of the agenda, and its influence on its effectiveness in the Eastern states. The existing research that identifies WPS' structural shortcomings has mainly focused on either feminist theories or post-colonial theories on the topic of inclusivity, leaving limited attention to use them both as an extensive lens to intersectionality. Therefore, this gap creates room to both analyse the inclusivity of the agenda and WPS' legacy of success or failure in post-conflict regions. This can be done by analysing its focus on intersectionality through a feminist and post-colonial lens and tracking its success in a representative case such as Afghanistan.

3. Theoretical framework

In this section, terms that are significant to this research will be conceptualised and theories that are necessary for the analysis of the questions raised by this research will be introduced.

3.1 Conceptual Framework

3.1.1 Gender Perspectives

With the rise of liberal feminism, a debate questioning the inclusivity of mainstream gender perspectives started to rise among feminist scholars. A pioneer in this discussion, Jess Butler criticised liberal feminism for its racially exclusive, consumerist, individualistic politics

(Butler, 2013, p. 41). She unveiled how the feminist waves have historically upheld the rights of white, middle-class, heterosexual women, leaving all other intersectionalities behind (p. 40). As this research focuses on diverse identities a liberal, individual, and exclusionary gender perspective will be avoided, and an intersectional feminist approach will be used. An intersectional definition of gender perspectives is seen as an analytical tool that has consideration for the intersection of all power relations including race and ethnicity along with gender relations (Ackerly & True, 2008, p. 157). This thesis will operate on this inclusive outlook of feminism.

3.1.2 Gender Equality

WPS's agenda attempts to protect the equality of women by defining four pillars: prevention, protection, participation, relief, and recovery (UNSC, 2000). In this thesis, the focus will be put on the pillar of participation to conceptualise gender equality, which is "the equal participation and influence of women and men in peace and security decision-making processes" (UNSC, 2000).

3.1.3 Post-conflict Regions

United Nations define conflict-affected regions as areas that experience the presence of an international or non-international armed conflict, the transition from an armed conflict to peace, widespread or serious human rights violations, political and social instability or repression, or institutional weakness or collapse of state infrastructure (OHCHR, 2013). In this thesis, Afghanistan will be taken as an example of a post-conflict region as the conflict is an international military intervention led by the United States of America (USA). Between the years 2001 and 2021, there has been a transition from an armed conflict to peace. During this period, there have been social, political and infrastructure-related instabilities that led to a need for humanitarian response plans (UCHA, 2022). Due to Afghanistan's history, and the consequences of the conflict within its borders, it fits in the UN's definition of post-conflict regions. As this research aims to operate in such regions, Afghanistan will be used as a case.

3.2 Theoretical Framework

As it has been pointed out in the literature review, liberal gender perspectives have been criticised for being exclusionary, and unapplicable for non-Western states due to their colonial nature. To answer the research question, theories that are critical to colonial language and implementation are necessary to include. Currently, there is no overarching theory that covers

the relationship between the gender perspectives of the WPS agenda and its influence on post-conflict regions.

In this research, a critical approach to gender precautions will be adopted to better assess the perspective adopted by the UN during the drafting of this agenda. Jess Butler's critical materialist feminist theory will be included to identify the possible exclusionary and colonial tendencies in the agenda. Furthermore, Otto and Allain's postcolonial approaches will be utilised to adopt a critical approach to WPS, and the UN's implementation of the agenda. These critical feminist and postcolonial approaches are significant to assess the success of the gender perspective of both the agenda and its implementation.

4. Methodology

In this section, the methods to address the research question will be outlined, including the chosen approach, research design, sampling technique, data collection methods, data analysis techniques, ethical considerations, and potential limitations.

4.1 Research Design

To measure the success of WPS in terms of implementing the pillar of political participation for women, it is important to choose a case study that has been developing over a long period as the agenda aims to create sustainable change through time rather than short-term impact. Therefore, recent cases that show immediate results would not be a great match for the subject matter at hand. As the case of Afghanistan started to develop almost at the same time as the establishment of WPS, Afghanistan can be seen as the first testing ground for the agenda. Furthermore, the government of Afghanistan has also realised the decline of women's rights and is committed to creating a National Action Plan (NAP) in collaboration with the UN. This effort on Afghanistan's part makes for an interesting case as the UN has claimed that the agenda is not living up to its potential due to a lack of commitment from the member states. However, Afghanistan's commitment to creating a NAP makes this case immune to the UN's reasoning for WPS' lack of performance. Therefore, the amount of time it took for this case to develop, and its immunity to the UN's narrative of failure makes this case study a great foundation to assess the performance of WPS.

In this paper, a contextual analysis of the historical process of women's rights, specifically women's political participation, in Afghanistan will be examined to shed light on how the political landscape was shaped by the influence of foreign forces on Afghanistan's internal politics. This analysis will give context to the conflicts in Afghanistan, and how an

international agenda such as WPS is viewed by the Afghan communities. The utilisation of statistics of political participation in the country after the conflict erupted in 2001 up until 2022 when all official US troops left Afghanistan will be assessed to explore the success of WPS' implementation in the region. Later, a qualitative content analysis of the WPS agenda (Security Council resolution 1325) and three of the seven additional resolutions that have been published as additions to the WPS agenda will be offered. Security Council resolutions 1820, 1888 and 1889 will be included as they provide additional clauses for women's political participation which makes them relevant to the scope of this research. The content analysis will be done through a close coding frame with paragraphs as coding units to include the perspectives offered by the aforementioned post-colonial and feminist theories. Through this research design, it is hoped to explore the impact of the agenda in this region.

4.2 Data and Sources

The population in this study consists of women over the age of legal limits to participate in politics in Afghanistan. Given the large size of the chosen population, the database that will be utilised reached its conclusions through random sampling (V-Dem, 2022). The dataset created by Our World in Data using the Varieties of Democracy project (v13) and Lührmann et al's Regimes of the World classification will be employed to ensure that the sample leads to representative, valid, replicable, and reliable results.

Political participation is measured through 3 variables. The first variable denotes the best estimate of the extent to which women are represented in the legislature and have an equal share of political power where 0 indicates inequality, and 1 indicates equality (Our World in Data, 2022). The second variable is the upper-bound estimate of the extent to which women are represented in the legislature and have an equal share of political power, where 0 indicates inequality and 1 indicates equality (Our World in Data, 2022. The third variable denotes the lower-bound estimate of the extent to which women are represented in the legislature and have an equal share of political power where 0 indicates inequality and 1 indicates equality (Our World in Data, 2022).

Furthermore, as mentioned before, Security Council Resolutions 1325, 1820, 1888 and 1889 will be used as sources to provide a qualitative content analysis of the WPS to assess the UN's gender perspectives presented in the agenda.

4.3 Coding Frame

As Table 1 shows, the coding frame that is used to provide a close reading of the agenda will be separated into two main categories: *feminist perspectives on the WPS agenda* and *post-colonial perspectives on the WPS agenda.* These categories are created to provide an analysis of the agenda through a focus on feminist and post-colonial theories introduced in the literature review. The subcategories of the coding frame aim to capture how the main categories can be negatively or positively conveyed through the sources.

The subcategories for *feminist perspectives on the WPS agenda* are *marginalised women's inclusion in political participation* and *upholding the agency of women in political representation.* The first subcategory is included to assess the intersectionality of the WPS agenda. Through its indicators, it explores the agenda's recognition of marginalised women, their voices and their interests. This subcategory assesses the mention of intersectional identities and not lack thereof as the oversight of intersectional identities is the norm. The second subcategory aims to explore how the agenda approaches women's agency and how it describes women's political participation. It assesses if the agenda portrays women as agents deserving of representation, or if it perpetuates gender essentialism through victimising and infantilizing women. This subcategory is especially significant because it is more likely for women to not be taken seriously in decision-making positions if they are seen as weaker than their male counterparts (Smith, 2020, p. 8). Such perception of women would undermine and trivialise the participation of women as they would become placeholders to meet quotas without meaningful representation.

The subcategories for *post-colonial perspectives on the WPS agenda* are *Western-centric perspectives on WPS implementation* and *ethnic and regional communities' participation.* The first subcategory is included to assess if the agenda creates a Western-centric approach to the implementation of WPS in post-conflict regions by overlooking the cultural nuances of said regions. Generalisation of the needs of all women, without consideration for cultural, political, and historical differences makes the agenda less prepared for implementation as each region has different backgrounds and needs. Furthermore, this subcategory aims to assess if the agenda lays out specific strategies for enforcement to protect the interest of non-Western states. The second subcategory aims to explore how the wording of the agenda represents non-Western states. Not recognizing the necessity to prioritise the expertise of local and regional communities diminishes the agency of regional knowledge production and decision-making, implying the necessity of Western intervention. Such portrayal of non-Western states can create an oriental outlook on these regions and perpetuate a colonial

mindset. This subcategory assesses the mention of cultural differences and not lack thereof as the oversight on cultural nuance is the norm.

Table 1: Coding Frame

Category	Sub-category	Indicators	Description	Code
Feminist perspectives on WPS agenda	Marginalised women's inclusion in political participation	Attention to intersectionality	Recognizing the importance of ensuring the political participation of women with multiple marginalised identities shows the value of the marginalised women and their experience. Furthermore, it makes sure that the agenda is capable of catering to their needs, which makes the agenda more intersectional.	FP+
		Mention of specific intersectionalites	Mention of specific marginalised identities such as women with LGBTQIA+ identity, and indigenous women gives women recognition which is important for their interest to be represented.	FP+
	Upholding the agency of women in political representation	Mention of representation in decision-making	Mention of the importance of women's participation in decision-making processes, the importance of their agenda and the necessity to uphold it.	FP+
		Mention of strategies	Mention of specific strategies to ensure women's participation in decision-making processes bypasses the issue of the unclarity of how to ensure implementation of the agenda.	FP+
		Diminishing women's political participation to an issue of filling quotas.	Mention of quotas without mentioning strategies of meaningful representation trivialises women's participation. It also diminishes the women with decision-making powers as placeholders for a quota.	FP-
		Perpetuating gender essentialism	Using "women" and "girls" interchangeably, portraying women as vulnerable and in need of protection takes away from their agency and makes it harder for them to be represented in a meaningful way. This way of portraying women makes it harder for them to be taken seriously as they come across as helpless victims.	FP-
Post-colonial perspectives on WPS agenda	Western-centric perspectives on WPS implementation	Recognition of cultural diversity	Recognizing and catering to the possible cultural nuances during the implementation of WPS gives value to the experience of non-Western people. This makes the agenda prepared to be implemented in regions with non-Western cultures.	PC+
		Specificity and enforceability	Specifying how to include strategies to uphold the agency of non-Western states to ensure the protection	PC+

			of their interests.	
	Ethnic and regional communities' participation	Upholding the agency of ethnic and regional communities	Prioritising the insight provided by ethnic and regional communities during post-conflict efforts recognises cultural nuances. Furthermore, it shows that the agenda is a collaborative effort to ensure women's safety and not intervention from Western states.	PC+
		Creating an "oriental"	Not recognizing the necessity to prioritise the expertise of local and regional communities diminishes the agency of regional knowledge production and decision-making, implying the necessity of Western intervention.	PC-

4.4 Ethical Considerations and Limitations

It should be noted that the goal of this research is not to diminish the efforts or success of the WPS agenda or to discourage international efforts for gender mainstreaming, promotion of gender equality, and women's political participation. The inherent goal is to identify the current gaps in the representation of the interest and needs of non-Western states and marginalised women. Through this research, it is hoped to identify these gaps and improve the approach of the international community and international law to be inclusive towards intersectionalities.

Moreover, the account of the historical, political, and cultural account of women's rights within Afghanistan this research presents is limited to the relevant occurrences to the research question, and it is not a full telling of all efforts or happenings within the history of the country. Furthermore, the analysis of the WPS agenda is limited to the resolutions that are published, and it does not discuss the work done in the field by UN organisations.

5. **Contextual Analysis**

In this section, the historical, political, social, and cultural analysis of Afghanistan will be offered to better conceptualise how these factors may influence the implementation of WPS.

Afghanistan is populated by various ethnic, religious, and tribal groups. While this diversity creates a unique cultural texture, it also resulted in tensions among different groups and hindered the formation of a uniform national identity (Ahmed-Ghosh, 2003, p. 2). Despite the efforts to bring these groups together, rivalry to capture Kabul made creating a united legal system impossible, hence tribal laws that reinforced gender inequality became the law. Moghadam points out that gender inequality in Afghanistan is marked by two main

determinants: the patriarchal culture embedded in tribal practices, and the lack of a central government to enforce policy focused on equality due to tribal feudalism (Moghadam, 1997, p. 79). Moreover, the history of Afghanistan also carries the weight of interference from the British, Soviet Union and the US which disturbed the unity of the population further.

5.1 Pre-WPS Period

5.1.1 Modern Monarchy and its Opposition

Afghanistan's journey to modernization started between 1880 and 1901, during the rule of Pashtun Amir, Abdur Rahman Khan. While viewing women as lesser than men, he maintained that women deserve "fair treatment". He altered costumery laws to give women more power in marriage by lifting women's obligation to marry the next of kin of their deceased husband and raised the age of marriage for girls. He also gave women the right to divorce under certain circumstances, and rights to their husband's and father's property per Islamic law (Ahmed-Ghosh, 2003, p. 3).

After the passing of Abdur Rahman, his son Amir Habibullah Khan succeeded the throne for the following 10 years and followed Abdur Rahman's footsteps in modernization efforts (Barfield, 2010, p. 169). Habibullah's modernization efforts were mostly influenced by Mahmud Beg Tarzi, an exile that was allowed back into the country. Upon his return, Tarzi established the first newspaper in Afghanistan and drew attention to the school for girls and an English curriculum opened by Habibullah (Moghadam, 1997, p. 81). Even though the modernization efforts of Habibullah resulted in his assassination, this did not deter his successor Amanullah to fight for women's rights.

Amanullah established the first constitution of Afghanistan in 1923 to fulfil his agenda to liberate women from all limiting tribal customs (Ahmed-Ghosh, 2003, p. 4). Amanullah also campaigned against the veil, polygamy, and restrictions on girls' education. Amanullah's main sources of inspiration during his progressive reforms were European countries and Turkey's successful modernization journey. (Moghadam, 1997, p. 82). Conservative tribal leaders decided that the reforms performed by Amanullah were part of a Western agenda to deteriorate Islamic values due to the source of Amanullah's inspiration (Ahmed-Ghosh, 2003, p. 5). As a result of the unrest created by the tribes, Amanullah and his wife were exiled from the country in 1929. The progressive changes Amanullah wanted to perform in Afghanistan were deemed ahead of their time, as Afghanistan lacked unity and a sense of nationhood. Therefore, the changes and reforms were seen as a traumatic assault on tribes' values and culture. Following Amanullah, Nadir Shah took a less radical take on women's rights,

however, his approach did not save him from his assassination in 1933 (Ahmed-Ghosh, 2003, p. 6).

5.1.2 Post-Monarchy

By the late 1950s, the Soviet Union (SU) started to provide technical assistance for Afghanistan's modernization. Through the reforms of SU-backed prime minister Mohammad Daoud, Amanullah's attempted reforms were reinstated: the veil was made "voluntary", and women were encouraged to participate in the workforce as teachers, doctors, and nurses (Ahmed-Ghosh, 2003, p. 6).

In the 1970s, another wave of modernization took over. With SU's support, the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) rose to power, and women's rights were placed as a priority on the main agenda. However, during this "democratic" rule, civil unrest also started to rise, and a period of anarchy and destruction took over. Cases of violence against women and PDPA reformers, harassment of schoolgirls and general unrest in the rural areas of Afghanistan were recorded (Moghadam, 1997, p. 85). After the 1979 SU occupation of Afghanistan, a 42-year-long destruction embarked due to the interference of foreign forces of Iran, the USA, China, Saudi Arabia, and Pakistan. This situation also resulted in the establishment of the Mujahideen as they were battling the SU (Ahmed-Ghosh, 2003, p. 6). The Mujahideen managed to gather support for their apartheid against women as they saw reforms concerning gender equality as a weapon of interference and cultural erasure. As a result, universities, libraries, and schools were burnt down, women's rights were taken away, and violence against women was perpetuated (2003, p. 7). As a result, the foreign countries that were interfering in Afghanistan supported the takeover by the Taliban as they considered the Mujahideen to be too brutal. However, the Taliban did not take a different stance against gender inequality, and they carried the torch lit by the Mujahideen by banning women to go outside without a male companion, creating strong guidelines for their attire, and banning their access to medical attention provided by men and education. They also carried out the same sexual and physical violence initiated by the Mujahideen (2003, p. 7).

5.1.3 WPS Implementation

Afghanistan has been seen as the first testing ground for WPS since the agenda was published around the same time the military intervention in Afghanistan started. Even though Afghanistan was a tough case to start with due to the Taliban rule and the aforementioned cultural determinants, there was also a very limited push from the international community

to implement the agenda. It should be recognized that at the beginning of the military intervention, WPS had no mechanisms that were set for implementation. However, throughout the years, none of the Security Council resolutions regarding Afghanistan mentioned WPS (Duncanson & Farr, 2018, p. 553). Furthermore, during international summits and conferences, women were often left out as participants, and women's security issues were often left out of discussions (Cameron & Kamminga, 2014, p. 16).

Table 2: Women's Political Participation between 2000 and 2022

Year	Women's Political Participation
2000	0.07
2001	0.10
2002	0.33
2003	0.37
2004	0.37
2005	0.42
2006	0.89
2007	0.90
2008	0.92
2009	0.89
2010	0.90
2011	0.90
2012	0.92
2013	0.92
2014	0.89
2015	0.89
2016	0.89
2017	0.89
2018	0.90
2019	0.90

2020	0.94
2021	0.43
2022	0.05

(Our World in Data, 2022)

While the international community excluded women from the peace discussions, women's participation in Afghanistan was looking more promising until 2016. As Table 2 indicates, a sustainable increase in women's participation in internal politics has been seen until the year 2021 (1 being equal participation between sexes, 0 being no participation from women). A record for women's participation was recorded with 27% of the seats in Parliament, four ministers' seats and three ambassador seats held by women (UN Women, 2017). However, the women that were in positions of power steered away from defending women's rights to protect themselves from physical danger (Heath & Zahedi, 2011, p. 124). Moreover, after 2016, girls' rate of enrolment in school and women's ability to move freely declined dramatically (Duncanson & Farr, 2018, p. 556). This decline is also telling of the success of WPS' implementation as the NAP for Afghanistan was signed in 2015, just a year before the decline began. Therefore, the progress in women's participation was both short-lived and superficial.

5.1.4   Where Does This Leave Gender Equality?

Western interference in Afghanistan was seen as an attempt to corrupt Islamic values dear to the public. It was also seen as a challenge to their traditions, and sovereignty and it resulted in monarchs being forced out of office, civil wars, violence against women and girls, and overall political instability. A lot of the international interference by the USA and SU was justified by claims of liberating women, however, none of the foreign interventions created sustainable change for women's rights. On the contrary, the vacuum created by the political instability created a downward slope in women's liberation. After assessing the religious, cultural and political context of Afghan history, it is possible to see that the efforts for gender inequality were made with a Western lens that lacks the nuances to consider how to get the public to willingly adapt to the changes. This lens created a mass pushback and resulted in states leaving Afghan women in a worse state in terms of their rights.

The finding of this contextual analysis is significant as it assesses how the efforts of gender equality in Afghanistan were stigmatised as a tool of instability used by foreign

powers. This stigma around gender inequality poses a threat to efforts, such as the WPS agenda, to be accepted as it can be framed as another tool for foreign interference in the culture and internal affairs of Afghanistan. According to the World Bank, the roles women are expected to perform in terms of social and political participation are significantly more traditional in the region Afghanistan is located in than the global average (World Bank, 2013, p. 13). These findings show a pre-existing cultural reluctance towards gender equality. Therefore, the rhetoric around gender equality efforts that are prominent in Afghanistan only adds to the cultural barrier, making the adoption of WPS more challenging. In the next section, a close reading of WPS will be offered to assess how these cultural nuances are compensated to ensure an intersectional gender perspective.

6. Data Analysis

In this section, the findings obtained after the qualitative analysis done on all four of the UNSC resolution related to the political participation pillar of the WPS agenda (given in Appendix A) will be presented.

6.1 Intersectional feminism

The exploration of the agenda's intersectional feminism found that the agenda emphasises the importance of women's participation in both national and international politics. It is reiterated again and again that women are important assets for peace negotiations and that their input is valuable in decision-making positions. Furthermore, the agenda also calls states, UN bodies and UN Secretary-General to action to increase women's participation in the aforementioned areas of politics. They do so by naming strategies, programs, and training to increase the awareness and education of UN officials. However, one issue that arises is that some of the causes are focused on the number of women involved in these efforts which makes the focus on the increased political participation more about filling quotas than meaningful input and representation. Moreover, upon the analysis of the resolutions it has also been found that gender essentialism is strongly reinforced by positioning women alongside girls. As Skidmore also recognizes, forming a strong association between women and children positions women as domestic, peaceful caregivers, nurturers, and victims (2019, p. 10).

Women's association with vulnerable groups such as children takes away from their agency, making it more challenging for them to be taken seriously in decision-making positions. As Smith also expresses women are not taken seriously in such positions if they are seen as weaker than their male counterparts (2020, p. 8). Such opinions on women's agencies

can once again trivialise their participation as an issue of quota, which is similar to women's participation in Afghanistan, as it has been reported that women are merely placeholders who refrain from expressing their true opinions. This creates a cyclical relation of women's participation being minimised and trivialised through misrepresentation. It has also been found that UNSC recognises inconsequential participation as a problem worth addressing: "Noting that women in situations of armed conflict and post-conflict situations continue to be often considered as victims and not as actors in addressing and resolving situations of armed conflict and stressing the need to focus not only on the protection of women but also on their empowerment in peacebuilding" (UNSC res. 1889, para. 11).

Even though the resolutions express urgency regarding women's participation, they fall short of adopting an intersectional approach. Specific attention to women going through "violence and intimidation, lack of security and lack of rule of law, cultural discrimination and stigmatization, including the rise of extremist or fanatical views on women, and socio-economic factors including the lack of access to education" was mentioned once (UNSC res. 1889, para. 8). Furthermore, a specific intersectional identity is mentioned once through a focus of women with AIDS (UNSC res. 1325, art. 6).

6.2 Post-colonialism

The exploration of the agenda's post-colonialism found that the agenda emphasises the importance of local and ethnic communities' participation in peace negotiations and in processes for ensuring women's political participation. The resolutions pay attention to "local women's peace initiatives and indigenous processes for conflict resolution" with the goal of "involve(ing) women in all of the implementation mechanisms of the peace agreements" (UNSC res. 1325, art. 8(b). Even though clauses about Western organisations leading post-conflict regions into gender inequality are present, the need to consult regional and local communities is recognized often. However, cultural diversity and the possible challenges it might create for the implementation of the agenda have been mentioned three times through all four resolutions. The UN puts the main responsibility for implementation on the states. Therefore, the failure to realise that the political and cultural climate in certain regions might not be suitable for the implementation of all clauses at once creates a universalist language that might demonise or destabilise the aforementioned regions. As the case of Afghanistan shows, a state that is pushed to accept change before addressing issues related to its infrastructure can do more harm than good. On the other hand, UNSC Resolution 1889 recognises the need for NAPs, which does promote states moving at their own pace. However, the lack of recognition

that some states are disadvantaged in their journey to adopting progressive laws and practices echoes a colonial tone. - 6290

7. Discussion

To understand to what extent the gender perspectives of the WPS agenda influenced the implementation of gender equality in post-conflict regions an exploration of the case of Afghanistan and a qualitative content analysis of the WPS agenda has been offered. As a result, similarities between possible issues identified with the wording of the agenda, and the current inequality in Afghanistan have been found. In this section, the findings of the contextual analysis of the case of Afghan political and cultural history and the qualitative context analysis of the UNSC resolutions will be discussed.

After years of conflict and political instability, Afghanistan has struggled with securing gender equality and women's representation in national and international politics. The numbers indicating a rise in women's political participation improving year after year (until 2016), did not necessarily point towards any substantive representation. While more women were holding seats in the parliament, they were silent about their opinions to keep themselves safe, or they were silenced. This phenomenon can be seen as an example where women are placeholders to fill a quota for the state to seem progressive. The analysis of the UNSC resolutions also indicated that the focus of some clauses was merely on increasing the number of women participating in politics and not on ensuring women's substantive political representation. A parallel can be drawn between what the UNSC promotes in some resolutions clauses, and how Afghanistan went about implementing women's political participation.

However, it should be recognized that the reiteration of the importance of women's political participation and the value of their knowledge production is quite intentional and frequent throughout the resolutions. However, the wording of the agenda is also quite adamant about associating women and girls, especially while talking about their vulnerability during and after conflicts. This association has been reported to have negative connotations for women's agency as they can be seen as weaker than, or less worthy of representation by their male counterparts (Skidmore, 2019, p. 10). As women are already underrepresented and disadvantaged in terms of representation, such negative connotations can trivialise the qualifications of women's presence in politics as an issue of quota.

The agenda does not only state the importance of women's political participation but also suggests tangible strategies to help states and the international community to increase women's political participation. However, as mentioned in the contextual analysis of

Afghanistan, none of the Security Council resolutions regarding Afghanistan mentioned WPS (Duncanson & Farr, 2018, p. 553). Even though WPS offered strategies to protect and promote the interest of women, such strategies were not included in a crisis in which women's interests needed promotion and protection. Furthermore, aside from the resolutions, the execution of post-conflict efforts also did not pay attention to women's rights or gender equality as women were often left out as participants during international summits and conferences, and women's security issues were often left out of discussions (Cameron & Kamminga, 2014, p. 16). The exclusion of women from these spaces can be linked to the lack of attention to strategies mentioned in the resolutions. The participation of marginalised women and marginalised identities are mentioned once in each out of all three resolutions. The erasure of women throughout the resolutions, conferences and meetings linked to Afghanistan, draws a parallel to the lack of representation and erasure perpetuated by the WPS. This research recognises the challenge of implementation of the agenda in Afghanistan as an indicator that the agenda was published without the necessary consideration for the challenges in non-Western states, and the needs of marginalised women. The discarding of the aforementioned regions and identities makes it more challenging to implement the agenda in non-Western regions as their political or cultural norms might show resistance to change. The case of Afghanistan shows how foreign intervention without the necessary information about the background and political climate of non-Western states can cause political instability which politicises and pushes back gender equality efforts. The history of Afghanistan indicates possible resentment and suspicion towards foreign powers' intervention, especially regarding the issue of gender rights as the country found itself destabilised after the interventions of SU and the USA. Therefore, this case exemplifies how such feelings surrounding the international communities' efforts can create reluctance and backsliding in the acceptance of gender equality. Through this case, it can be seen that the lack of attention and the universalist tone to cultural nuances results in resolutions not having strategies for implementation or for addressing the political instabilities that might arise, hence making implementation of the agenda more challenging.

It should be mentioned that the UN does identify NAPs as helpful tools to help states adopt the agenda in their own time. This strategy is helpful to avoid political instability or uprisings within post-conflict states as it can prevent them from committing to more than their political climate can handle. Therefore, the UN's adoption and promotion of NAPs are valuable to avoid crises like the civil unrest experienced in Afghanistan. However, the UN's public reasoning for WPS not reaching its potential has been identified as individual states' inaction to implement the resolutions. This creates a disconnect between the NAPs' inherent promotion

for states to progress on their own time and the UN's promotion of swifter implementation. Furthermore, the UN's reasoning for WPS' success level demonises states who are unable to adopt the agenda all at once and echoes orientalism and colonialism.

8. Conclusions

This research aimed to understand to what extent the gender perspectives of the WPS agenda influenced the implementation of gender equality in post-conflict regions. Through the exploration of the case of Afghanistan and a qualitative content analysis of the WPS agenda, a parallel between possible issues identified with the the gender perspectives of the agenda, and the current inequality in Afghanistan has been found.

WPS has been a historical agenda for the promotion of the inclusion of gender perspectives in international law and the discourse of the international community. WPS' monumental effort to focus on including women in the peacebuilding and post-conflict resolution efforts has opened the conversation about women's rights, safety, and the representation of their interests. UN efforts should be applauded and encouraged for further integration of gender perspectives and inclusion intersectionality in their future operations. In this section, the conclusions that were reached through this research will be presented to identify the aspects of the UN's approach that can be improved to represent the interests of marginalised identities.

Through the analysis of the data and the discussion of findings, it is visible that Afghanistan is a country that is cautious of the intervention of foreign powers due to its history of political destabilization after such interventions. Furthermore, the issues revolving around women's rights, and women's political participation have been used as reasonings by SU and USA to intervene in Afghanistan's internal affairs. This historical context implements agendas such as WPS more challenging as women's rights have become a sensitive issue. Even though the UN is not responsible for Afghanistan's challenges, lack of attention to marginalised identities, and the possible challenges cast by such cultural differences inherently exclude non-Western states from the process of meaningful implementation that creates substantive representation. Moreover, the constant mention of women alongside girls, and focus on increasing numbers of women's participation in politics rather than ensuring meaningful representation trivialises women's political participation to an issue of quota and diminishes women's agency. This is a similar trend to what happened in Afghanistan in terms of increasing numbers of women in politics, without giving them equal agency to their male counterparts.

Through the utilization of intersectional feminist and postcolonial lenses, a lack of recognition, and representation of marginalised identities in the UNSC resolutions have been found. The aforementioned insecurity and resentment towards Western powers in the East can be perpetuated by the lack of involvement of local and marginalised groups in the creation of such agendas and their representation of peace processes. An example of a lack of representation and its consequences is Afghan women's exclusion from peace conferences and the limited political agency they currently have in Afghanistan. These parallels between the shortcomings of the agenda, and the current state of women's rights in Afghanistan shows the WPS agenda's impact in the region.

It can be concluded that, while being a monumental agenda, WPS can be improved by remedying the lack of consideration for both intersectional feminist and post-colonial theories. It should be recognised that the failure/limited success of the implementation of the WPS agenda in Afghanistan does not entirely stem from WPS' inherent limitations or the UN's governance of the issue. Furthermore, the UN is not responsible for all the challenges that Afghanistan is facing in terms of its gender equality processes. However, it should also be reiterated that the shortcomings in the Afghan government's implementation of the agenda are similar to the shortcomings regarding the agenda's wording as noted in this research. It should also be remembered that WPS being a monumental agenda insists on more responsibility and meaning for itself. Due to its monumental nature, the agenda is a representation of international law, and as this research concludes, a representation of how international law can create a second class by ignoring the needs, nuances and background of non-Western states and marginalised women.

This research does not conclude that the international community should seize efforts to ensure women's rights and their women's political participation in non-Western states. However, prioritising the expertise of marginalised women and local and ethnic communities can make the implementation of the agenda in non-Western states less challenging due to the insight of the groups that are most affected by the conflicts. To achieve this further research on the efforts of the UN in the field and the aspects that can be improved should be done. Moreover, the influence of civil society organisations within the post-conflict regions can be done to include their expertise in future efforts.

All in all, the issues concerning women's rights are issues concerning human rights, and they should be addressed as such. The international community should address such issues with utmost urgency, concern, and inclusivity. The conclusions of this research can be used to

address the current shortcomings of the efforts of the UN and to improve the intersectionality of the WPS agenda.

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Appendix A:

Category	Sub-category	Article	Source	Code
Feminist perspectives on WPS agenda	Marginalised women's inclusion in political participation	Attention to intersectionality Remaining deeply concerned about the persistent obstacles to women's full involvement in the prevention and resolution of conflicts and participation in post-conflict public life, as a result of violence and intimidation, lack of security and lack of rule of law, cultural discrimination and stigmatisation, including the rise of extremist or fanatical views on women, and socio-economic factors including the lack of access to education, and in this respect, recognizing that the marginalisation of women can delay or undermine the achievement of durable peace, security and reconciliation,	UNSC res. 1889, para. 8	FP+
		Mention of specific intersectionalities Provide to Member States training guidelines and materials on the protection, rights and particular needs of women, as well as on the importance of involving women in all peacekeeping and peace-building measures, invites Member States to incorporate these elements as well as HIV/AIDS awareness training into their national training programmes	UNSC res. 1325, art. 6	FP+
	Upholding the agency of women in political representation	Mention of representation in decision-making Reaffirming the important role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts and in peace-building, and stressing the importance of their equal participation and full involvement in all efforts for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security,	UNSC res. 1325, para. 5	FP+
		Effective institutional arrangements to guarantee their (women's) protection and full participation in the peace process can significantly contribute to the maintenance	UNSC res. 1325, para. 10	

		and promotion of international peace and security,		
		Urges Member States to ensure increased representation of women at all decision-making levels in national, regional and international institutions and mechanisms for the prevention, management, and resolution of conflict;	UNSC res. 1325, art. 1	
		calling for an increase in the participation of women at decision-making levels in conflict resolution and peace processes	UNSC res. 1325, art. 2	
		Measures that ensure the protection of and respect for the human rights of women and girls, particularly as they relate to the constitution, the electoral system, the police and the judiciary	UNSC res. 1325, art. 8(c)	
		Reaffirming the important role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts and in peacebuilding, and stressing the importance of their equal participation and full involvement in all efforts for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security, and the need to increase their role in decision-making with regard to conflict prevention and resolution,	UNSC res. 1820, para. 9	
		Deeply concerned also about the persistent obstacles and challenges to women's participation and full involvement in the prevention and resolution of conflicts as a result of violence, intimidation and discrimination, which erode women's capacity and legitimacy to participate in post-conflict public life, and acknowledging the negative impact this has on durable peace, security and reconciliation, including post-conflict peacebuilding,	UNSC res. 1820, para. 10	
		Requests the Secretary-General and relevant United Nations agencies, inter alia, through consultation with women and women-led organizations as appropriate, to develop effective mechanisms for	UNSC res. 1820, para. 10	

		providing protection from violence,	
		Recognizing that the promotion and empowerment of women and that support for women's organizations and networks are essential in the consolidation of peace to promote the equal and full participation of women	UNSC res. 1888, art. 14
		Urges the Secretary-General, Member States and the heads of regional organizations to take measures to increase the representation of women in mediation processes and decision-making processes with regard to conflict resolution and peacebuilding	UNSC res. 1888, para. 16
		Reiterating the need for the full, equal and effective participation of women at all stages of peace processes given their vital role in the prevention and resolution of conflict and peacebuilding, reaffirming the key role women can play in re-establishing the fabric of recovering society and stressing the need for their involvement in the development and implementation of post-conflict strategies in order to take into account their perspectives and needs,	UNSC res. 1889, para. 6
		Remaining deeply concerned about the persistent obstacles to women's full involvement in the prevention and resolution of conflicts and participation in post- conflict public life, as a result of violence and intimidation, lack of security and lack of rule of law, cultural discrimination and stigmatization, including the rise of extremist or fanatical views on women, and socio-economic factors including the lack of access to education, and in this respect, recognizing that the marginalization of women can delay or undermine the achievement of durable peace, security and reconciliation,	UNSC res. 1889, para. 8
		Noting that despite progress, obstacles to strengthening women's participation in conflict prevention, conflict resolution and peacebuilding remain, expressing concern that women's capacity to engage in public	UNSC res. 1889, para. 10

		decision making and economic recovery often does not receive adequate recognition or financing		
		Noting that women in situations of armed conflict and post-conflict situations continue to be often considered as victims and not as actors in addressing and resolving situations of armed conflict and stressing the need to focus not only on protection of women but also on their empowerment in peacebuilding,	UNSC res. 1889, para. 11	
		Expresses its intention, when establishing and renewing the mandates of United Nations missions, to include provisions on the promotion of gender equality and the empowerment of women in post-conflict situations, and requests the Secretary-General to continue, as appropriate, to appoint gender advisors and/or women-protection advisors to United Nations missions and asks them, in cooperation with United Nations Country Teams, to render technical assistance and improved coordination efforts to address recovery needs of women and girls in post- conflict situations;	UNSC res. 1889, art. 7	
		Encourages the Peacebuilding Commission and Peacebuilding Support Office to continue to ensure systematic attention to and mobilisation of resources for advancing gender equality and women's empowerment as an integral part of post- conflict peacebuilding, and to encourage the full participation of women in this process;	UNSC res. 1889, art. 14	
		Request the Secretary-General, in his agenda for action to improve the United Nations' peacebuilding efforts, to take account of the need to improve the participation of women in political and economic decision-making from the earliest stages of the peacebuilding process;	UNSC res. 1889, art. 15	

		Mention of strategies		FP+
		Urges the Secretary-General to appoint more women as special representatives and envoys to pursue good offices on his behalf	UNSC res. 1325, art. 3	
		Recognizing also the importance of the recommendation contained in the statement of its President to the press of 8 March 2000 for specialized training for all peacekeeping personnel on the protection, special needs and human rights of women and children in conflict situations,	UNSC res. 1325, para. 9	
		Invites the Secretary-General to carry out a study on the impact of armed conflict on women and girls, the role of women in peace-building and the gender dimensions of peace processes and conflict resolution,	UNSC res. 1325, art. 16	
		Urges the Secretary-General and his Special Envoys to invite women to participate in discussions pertinent to the prevention and resolution of conflict, the maintenance of peace and security, and post-conflict peacebuilding, and encourages all parties to such talks to facilitate the equal and full participation of women at decision-making levels;	UNSC res. 1820, art. 12	
		Welcoming the efforts of the Department of Peacekeeping Operations to develop gender guidelines for military personnel in peacekeeping operations to facilitate the implementation of resolutions 1325 (2000) and 1820 (2008),	UNSC res. 1888, para. 16	
		Expresses its intention to make better usage of periodical field visits to conflict areas, through the organization of interactive meetings with the local women and women's organizations in the field about the concerns and needs of women in areas of armed conflict	UNSC res. 1888, art. 14	
		Urges Member States, international and regional organisations to take further measures to improve women's participation during all stages of peace	UNSC res. 1889, art. 1	

		processes, particularly in conflict resolution, post-conflict planning and peacebuilding, including by enhancing their engagement in political and economic decision-making at early stages of recovery processes, through inter alia promoting women's leadership and capacity to engage in aid management and planning, supporting women's organizations, and countering negative societal attitudes about women's capacity to participate equally		
		Calls upon the Secretary-General to develop a strategy, including through appropriate training, to increase the number of women appointed to pursue good offices on his behalf, particularly as Special Representatives and Special Envoys, and to take measures to increase women's participation in United Nations political, peacebuilding and peacekeeping missions;	UNSC res. 1889, art. 4	
		Requests the Secretary-General to ensure that relevant United Nations bodies, in cooperation with Member States and civil society, collect data on, analyze and systematically assess particular needs of women and girls in post-conflict situations, including, inter alia, information on their needs for physical security and participation in decision-making and post-conflict planning, in order to improve system-wide response to those needs;	UNSC res. 1889, art. 6	
		Expresses its intention, when establishing and renewing the mandates of United Nations missions, to include provisions on the promotion of gender equality and the empowerment of women in post-conflict situations, and requests the Secretary-General to continue, as appropriate, to appoint gender advisors and/or women-protection advisors to United Nations missions and asks them, in cooperation with United Nations Country Teams, to render technical assistance and improved coordination efforts to address recovery	UNSC res. 1889, art. 7	

		needs of women and girls in post- conflict situations;		
		Encourages Member States in post-conflict situations, in consultation with civil society, including women's organizations, to specify in detail women and girls' needs and priorities and design concrete strategies, in accordance with their legal systems, to address those needs and priorities, which cover inter alia support for greater physical security and better socio-economic conditions, through education, income generating activities, access to basic services, in particular health services, including sexual and reproductive health and reproductive rights and mental health, gender-responsive law enforcement and access to justice, as well as enhancing capacity to engage in public decision-making at all levels;	UNSC res. 1889, art. 10	
		Urges Member States, United Nations bodies and civil society, including non-governmental organizations, to take all feasible measures to ensure women and girls' equal access to education in post-conflict situations, given the vital role of education in the promotion of women's participation in post-conflict decision-making;	UNSC res. 1889, art. 11	
		Request the Secretary-General, in his agenda for action to improve the United Nations' peacebuilding efforts, to take account of the need to improve the participation of women in political and economic decision-making from the earliest stages of the peacebuilding process;	UNSC res. 1889, art. 15	
		Quota		FP-
		Urges the Secretary-General to appoint more women as special representatives and envoys to pursue good offices on his behalf	UNSC res. 1325, art. 3	

		Noting with concern the underrepresentation of women in formal peace processes, the lack of mediators and ceasefire monitors with proper training in dealing with sexual violence, and the lack of women as Chief or Lead peace mediators in United Nations-sponsored peace talks,	UNSC res. 1888, para. 13	
		Expressing deep concern about the under-representation of women at all stages of peace processes, particularly the very low numbers of women in formal roles in mediation processes and stressing the need to ensure that women are appropriately appointed at decision-making levels, as high-level mediators, and within the composition of the mediators' teams,	UNSC res. 1889, para. 7	
		Welcoming the efforts of the Secretary-General to appoint more women to senior United Nations positions, particularly in field missions	UNSC res. 1889, para. 14	
		Gender essentialism		FP-
		Expressing concern that civilians, particularly women and children, account for the vast majority of those adversely affected by armed conflict, including as refugees and internally displaced persons	UNSC res. 1324, para. 4	
		Reaffirming also the need to implement fully international humanitarian and human rights law that protects the rights of women and girls during and after conflicts,	UNSC res. 1325, para. 6	
		Emphasizing the need for all parties to ensure that mine clearance and mine awareness programmes take into account the special needs of women and girls,	UNSC res. 1325, para. 7	
		Recognizing that an understanding of the impact of armed conflict on women and girls,	UNSC res. 1325, para. 10	
		Noting the need to consolidate data on the	UNSC res. 1325, para. 11	

		impact of armed conflict on women and girls,		
			UNSC res. 1325, art. 8(a)	
		The special needs of women and girls during repatriation and resettlement and for rehabilitation, reintegration and post-conflict reconstruction;		
			UNSC res. 1325, art. 10	
		Calls on all parties to armed conflict to take special measures to protect women and girls from gender-based violence, particularly rape and other forms of sexual abuse, and all other forms of violence in situations of armed conflict;		
			UNSC res. 1820, para. 5	
		Noting that civilians account for the vast the majority of those adversely affected by armed conflict; that women and girls are particularly targeted by the use of sexual violence,		
			UNSC res. 1820, para. 6	
		violence committed against civilians in armed conflict, in particular women and children;		
			UNSC res. 1820, art. 3	
		Demands that all parties to armed conflict immediately take appropriate measures to protect civilians, including women and girls,		
			UNSC res. 1820, art. 8	
		prevent sexual violence against women and girls in conflict and post-conflict situations,		
			UNSC res. 1820, art. 9	
		protect civilians, including women and girls, from all forms of sexual violence and to systematically include in his written reports to the Council on conflict situations his observations concerning the protection of women and girls and recommendations in this regard		
			UNSC res. 1888, para. 15	
		Recognizing that women and children affected by armed conflict may feel more secure working with and reporting abuse to women in peacekeeping missions,		
			UNSC res. 1888, art. 3	
		Demands that all parties to armed conflict immediately take appropriate measures to		

		protect civilians, including women and children,		
		Decides to include specific provisions, as appropriate, for the protection of women and children from rape and other sexual violence in the mandates of United Nations peacekeeping operations, including, on a case-by-case basis,	UNSC res. 1888, art. 12	
		Recognizing the particular needs of women and girls in post-conflict situations, including, inter alia, physical security, health services including reproductive and mental health, ways to ensure their livelihoods,	UNSC res. 1889, para. 9	
		Recognizing that an understanding of the impact of situations of armed conflict on women and girls, including as refugees and internally displaced persons, adequate and rapid response to their particular needs,	UNSC res. 1889, para. 12	
		Reiterates its call for all parties in armed conflicts to respect fully international law applicable to the rights and protection of women and girls;	UNSC res. 1889, art. 2	
		Strongly condemns all violations of applicable international law committed against women and girls	UNSC res. 1889, art. 3	
		Requests the Secretary-General to ensure that all country reports to the Security Council provide information on the impact of situations of armed conflict on women and girls, their particular needs in post-conflict situations and obstacles to attaining those needs	UNSC res. 1889, art. 5	
		Requests the Secretary-General to ensure that relevant United Nations bodies, in cooperation with Member States and civil society, collect data on, analyze and systematically assess particular needs of women and girls in post-conflict situations, including, inter alia, information on their needs for physical	UNSC res. 1889, art. 6	

		security and participation in decision-making and post-conflict planning, in order to improve system-wide response to those needs;	UNSC res. 1889, art. 7	
		Expresses its intention, when establishing and renewing the mandates of United Nations missions, to include provisions on the promotion of gender equality and the empowerment of women in post-conflict situations, and requests the Secretary-General to continue, as appropriate, to appoint gender advisors and/or women-protection advisors to United Nations missions and asks them, in cooperation with United Nations Country Teams, to render technical assistance and improved coordination efforts to address recovery needs of women and girls in post- conflict situations;	UNSC res. 1889, art. 10	
		Encourages Member States in post-conflict situations, in consultation with civil society, including women's organizations, to specify in detail women and girls' needs and priorities and design concrete strategies, in accordance with their legal systems, to address those needs and priorities, which cover inter alia support for greater physical security and better socio-economic conditions, through education, income generating activities, access to basic services, in particular health services, including sexual and reproductive health and reproductive rights and mental health, gender-responsive law enforcement and access to justice, as well as enhancing capacity to engage in public decision-making at all levels;		
		Urges Member States, United Nations bodies and civil society, including non-governmental organizations, to take all feasible measures to ensure women and girls' equal access to education in post-conflict situations, given the vital role of education in the promotion of women's participation in post-conflict decision-	UNSC res. 1889, art. 11	

		making;		
		Calls upon all parties to armed conflicts to respect the civilian and humanitarian character of refugee camps and settlements, and ensure the protection of all civilians inhabiting such camps, in particular women and girls, from all forms of violence, including rape and other sexual violence, and to ensure full, unimpeded and secure humanitarian access to them;	UNSC res. 1889, art. 12	
		Calls upon all those involved in the planning for disarmament, demobilization and reintegration to take into account particular needs of women and girls associated with armed forces and armed groups and their children, and provide for their full access to these programmes;	UNSC res. 1889, art. 13	
		Challenges to women's participation in conflict resolution and peacebuilding and gender mainstreaming in all early post-conflict planning, financing and recovery processes,	UNSC res. 1889, art. 19(b)	
Post-colonial perspectives on WPS agenda	Western-centric perspectives on WPS implementation	Recognition of cultural diversity		PC+
		Remaining deeply concerned about the persistent obstacles to women's full involvement in the prevention and resolution of conflicts and participation in post-conflict public life, as a result of violence and intimidation, lack of security and lack of rule of law, cultural discrimination and stigmatization, including the rise of extremist or fanatical views on women, and socio-economic factors including the lack of access to education, and in this respect, recognizing that the marginalization of women can delay or undermine the achievement of durable peace, security and reconciliation,	UNSC res. 1889, para. 8	
		Encourages Member States in post-conflict situations, in consultation with civil society, including women's	UNSC res. 1889, art. 10	

		organizations, to specify in detail women and girls' needs and priorities and design concrete strategies, in accordance with their legal systems, to address those needs and priorities, which cover inter alia support for greater physical security and better socio-economic conditions, through education, income generating activities, access to basic services, in particular health services, including sexual and reproductive health and reproductive rights and mental health, gender-responsive law enforcement and access to justice, as well as enhancing capacity to engage in public decision-making at all levels;		
		Specificity and enforceability Urges appropriate regional and sub-regional bodies in particular to consider developing and implementing policies, activities, and advocacy for the benefit of women and girls affected by sexual violence in armed conflict;	UNSC res. 1820, art. 14	PC+
		Encourages States, relevant United Nations entities and civil society, as appropriate, to provide assistance in close cooperation with national authorities to build national capacity in the judicial and law enforcement systems	UNSC res. 1888, art. 9	
		Welcoming the efforts of Member States in implementing its resolution 1325 (2000) at the national level, including the development of national action plans, and encouraging Member States to continue to pursue such implementation,	UNSC res. 1889, para. 5	
	Ethnic and regional communities' participation	**Upholding the agency of ethnic and regional communities** Measures that support local women's peace initiatives and indigenous processes for conflict resolution, and that involve women in all of the implementation mechanisms of the peace agreements;	UNSC res. 1325, art. 8(b)	PC+

		rights of women, including through consultation with local and international women's groups;	UNSC res. 1325, art. 15	
		strengthen existing United Nations coordination mechanisms, and to engage in advocacy efforts, inter alia with governments, including military and judicial representatives, as well as with all parties to armed conflict and civil society, in order to address, at both headquarters and country level	UNSC res. 1888, art. 4	
		Encourages States, relevant United Nations entities and civil society, as appropriate, to provide assistance in close cooperation with national authorities to build national capacity in the judicial and law enforcement systems	UNSC res. 1888, art. 9	
		Expresses its intention to make better usage of periodical field visits to conflict areas, through the organization of interactive meetings with the local women and women's organizations in the field about the concerns and needs of women in areas of armed conflict	UNSC res. 1888, art. 14	
		Urges appropriate regional and sub-regional bodies in particular to consider developing and implementing policies, activities, and advocacy for the benefit of women and girls affected by sexual violence in armed conflict;	UNSC res. 1820, art. 14	
		Encourages States, relevant United Nations entities and civil society, as appropriate, to provide assistance in close cooperation with national authorities to build national capacity in the judicial and law enforcement systems	UNSC res. 1888, art. 9	
		Welcoming the efforts of Member States in implementing its resolution 1325 (2000) at the national level, including the development of national action plans, and encouraging Member States to continue to pursue such implementation,	UNSC res. 1889, para. 5	

			Urges Member States, and international and regional organisations to take further measures to improve women's participation during all stages of peace processes, particularly in conflict resolution, post-conflict planning and peacebuilding, including by enhancing their engagement in political and economic decision-making at early stages of recovery processes, through inter alia promoting women's leadership and capacity to engage in aid management and planning, supporting women's organizations, and countering negative societal attitudes about women's capacity to participate equally	UNSC res. 1889, art. 1	
			Creating an "oriental"		PC-
			Request for the Secretary-General, in consultation with the Security Council, the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations and its Working Group and relevant States, as appropriate, to develop and implement appropriate training programs for all peacekeeping and humanitarian personnel deployed by the United Nations in the context of missions as mandated by the Council to help them better prevent, recognize and respond to sexual violence and other forms of violence against civilians;	UNSC res. 1820, art. 6	
			Encourages troop and police contributing countries, in consultation with the Secretary-General, to consider steps they could take to heighten awareness and the responsiveness of their personnel participating in UN peacekeeping operations	UNSC res. 1820, art. 8	
			To assist national authorities to strengthen the rule of law, and recommends making use of existing human resources within the United Nations system	UNSC res. 1888, art. 8	