

**Relations among state and non-state actors and the prospects for security governance:
The case of the implementation of UN Security Council resolution 1325**

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Security studies have only recently begun to analyze the complexities of managing the so-called new wars. This paper focuses upon the challenge of establishing inter-institutional interaction among different types of actors; civilian and military, state and non-state, involved in security governance aimed at managing new wars. The United Nations Security Council resolution 1325 is chosen as an empirical focal point for the analysis. The relationships among the actors engaged in implementing the resolution are often highly asymmetric in character. How do they view inter-institutional interaction? Are there differences in the prospects for interaction with regard to the two dimensions of the resolution; protection and participation of women and girls? Drawing on new institutionalist theory a framework for analyzing how different types of actors view interaction with each other are presented.

Introduction

Most international operations in the broad field of security are increasingly characterized by interactions between various types of actors and previously separate policy areas (Wheeler & Harmer, 2006, Rietjens & Bollen (eds), 2008). At the political level the need for what has been called a comprehensive or integrated approach is emphasised, but there appear to exist an underlying awareness of the difficulties associated with achieving and managing the inter-institutional interaction among actors that such an approach requires. So far, the literature has not to any large focused upon analysing the conditions for inter-institutional interactions between various types of actors and what they mean for the prospects of establishing security governance. What the literature has focused upon, however, is the problem of civil-military coordination, which is certainly one central aspect of the problem of establishing security governance (Rietjens & Bollen (eds) 2008). Civil-military cooperation may not be the only problem present, however. There are other aspects and asymmetries between actors that may be of importance, for instance relations between state and non-state actors and relations between local and international actors. Security governance is here understood in a broad fashion as the more or less coordinated efforts undertaken by various actors in order to manage security in a certain situation (compare the literature on security governance Keohane, 2001, Krahmman, 2003, Webber et al, 2004, Kirchner & Sperling (eds) 2007, Wagnsson et al 2009). An international operation can obviously be seen as a case of security governance.

In this paper I first review previous literature concerning the prospects for inter-institutional cooperation and the literature on the implementation of the United Nations Security Council resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security (UNSCR 1325). I then outline an analytical framework which addresses actors' perspectives with respect to both representations and solutions as keys to inter-institutional interaction. The framework builds upon an approach suggested by Wagnsson, Hellman and Holmberg (2010). In applying the framework, the actors' attitudes and approaches to an issue, for instance women and security, are traced. In a first step, a picture of representations is identified. Second, how these are managed is analyzed. The mapping of approaches towards representations and solutions held by various actors are then compared to their views on coordination and inter-institutional interaction. The idea is to theoretically analyze whether different representations lead to different

solutions and whether different constellations of representations and/or solutions constitute hindrances to inter-institutional interaction. In this process, we can gain insights from new institutionalist theory (insert reference), which, transferred to the problem of inter-institutional interaction would proscribe that either interests or social expectations are driving forces behind the establishment of inter-institutional interaction.

The analytical framework is then discussed in relation to an empirical example; the implementation of UNSCR 1325 on women, peace and security. UNSCR 1325 (United Nations Security Council, 2000) contains two central dimensions; it recognizes the need for protection of women and girls and the need for involving women in conflict management. I argue that UNSC resolution 1325 is a particularly well suited case in order to study the prospects for security governance among various types of actors. Firstly, it is one of few security related issues which have received broad attention from various types of actors, civilian and military, state and non-state, international and local. The resolution covers all stages of conflict, several policy areas and different actors at various levels are engaged in its implementation. Non-governmental organisations usually do not want to address security related issues, but these are integrated in the resolution and thus most actors involved should have to form an opinion on the issue. Few issues are normally managed from so many angles, even in a national context, much less at a global scale. This situation should create challenges for coordination – and also opportunities to assess critically whether coordination is really needed. While the resolution opens up for engaging many different actors in its implementation, the issue of women, peace and security are likely to be an issue where actors have very different views. Perhaps it is both possible and workable to have different types of actors working on the same issue from different perspectives and at different levels?

Previous research on the prospects for inter-institutional cooperation

Scholars argue that the effectiveness of international operations can be improved through increased coordination (van der Gaag-Halbertsma, de Vries & Hogeveen, 2008: 30). Traditionally, the system-oriented theories of international relations have focused upon states as actors. Different judgements with respect to the prospects for cooperation have been made, from the sceptical realist to the more positive liberalist. Lately, the interest has increased for the part of international cooperation that deals with governance in war torn countries. Little focus have, however, been directed towards the actors involved in these processes and to their

interrelationships (Avant, Finnemore & Sell (eds) 2010). The prospects for cooperation between actors and organizations have been seen as dependent upon common goals, mutual interdependencies, trust and shared views of tasks and roles (Bollen 2008: 55-56). The same kind of reasoning is present in the security governance literature (Webber et al, 2004). Malte Brosig argues, at least partly inspired by new institutionalist theory, that international organizations such as the UN, EU and AU select the *kind of* cooperation they want to participate in based on its capabilities (to maintain the required forces), on “institutional preferences based on security doctrine and inter-institutional cooperation agreements” and on the “need to legitimize operations”. He also adds the specific political context as a factor, which, however, can hardly be fully controlled by the actors. (Brosig, 2010: 329-330). However, Brosig found that the most factors he had identified failed to identify the type of cooperation chosen, in fact, international organizations cannot really make this choice, it is shaped by the specific situation on the ground. He argues that the factors are rather conditioning action (Brosig, 2010:339).

An alternative view of expressing the main parts of the arguments in the literature is that actor’s problem definitions rule how they view solutions (Kingdon 1995) and that the prospects for inter-institutional cooperation or security governance depends upon how well these converge. The question of trust can be connected to actors’ views of the appropriateness of other actors and their actions (their views of other actor’s legitimacy). This theoretical reasoning fit rather well with the difficulties identified in the literature with respect to attempts to achieve cooperation and coordination, both in general and with respect to civil-military cooperation specifically. The research on international coordination between different actors identifies several aspects that are problematic and that may hinder coordination. Although the literature on civil-military cooperation is usually quite narrow and empirical in its focus, the main advantage of this scholarship is that it is actor centred. Actors differ in many ways that causes coordination problems; with respect to their priorities, in how they work in the field, in how they plan operations, with respect to time perspectives and their views of civil-military cooperation in general (van der Gaag-Halbertsma, de Vries & Hogeveen 2008: 34-38, Bollen 2008: 58-60). The rhetoric at the policy level does not always reach the field level, in particular if explicit directives are missing. In a politicised context, like an ongoing conflict, these difficulties are worse. According to Burke, the situation is often characterized by competition, where different actors strive to optimise their work (Burke 2008: 62-63). This picture is confirmed by Rietjens, who argue that that the incompatibility of

development goals is particularly hindering. Furthermore, Rietjens argue that at the local level the problem is that the military lacks a comprehensive and explicit strategy and doctrine for how work with civilian actors shall be undertaken, the military has no knowledge of coordination and of the civilian actors and does not establish relations or transfer information to them – sometimes due to a lack of interest. Rietjens also found, in his study of a PRT in Afghanistan, that coordination was based on military and civilian capacity, rather than the needs of the recipients (Rietjens, 2008: 204).

What can be done to overcome these problems? Van der Gaag-Halbertsma, Hugo de Vries and Bart Hogeveen list a number of points to consider in order to bring different actors together. More focus should be directed towards conflict prevention, common strategies, on integrating the planning of state actors, on coordinating the work of the parallel processes taking place in different international fora and see to it that these are complementary, that the division of tasks between civilian and military actors are refined, involve more civilian actors, exchange personnel more, establish a more coherent external communication and exchange experiences regularly (Van der Gaag-Halbertsma, de Vries & Hogeveen, 2008: 39-44). These suggestions appear, however, poorly adjusted to the different points of departure that the actors involved are likely to have. Within security studies there is a growing critical literature, which points to the limitations of the international society with respect to peace- and security building (Goetschel & Hagmann, 2009, Egnell, 2010, Michael & Ben-Ari, 2010). The critique concerns, amongst other things, the insufficient conformity between rhetoric and practice and the distorted distribution between military and civilian means and resources. The problem with the actor's different worldviews is also discussed.

Naomi Weinberger argues that Afghanistan in the beginning of the 2000s is a particularly difficult case with respect to civil-military coordination, notwithstanding the usual difficulties of combining the top-down perspective of the military with the bottom-up perspective of the development work. She highlights the security situation, the decentralized organization of the Afghan society and the complexity of the mission, with two parallel operations, as complicating factors in achieving cooperation and coordination among actors (Weinberger, 2002: 264-266). Similarly, Mark Duffield argues that the problems of coordinating UN efforts with respect to aid and politics in Afghanistan that were already present in the late 1990s, have accelerated (Duffield, 2007: 158).

With respect to UNSCR resolution 1325, research is increasingly focused upon assessing the implementation of the resolution in the field. The expectations upon the international community to achieve results have been great. Olonisakin, Barnes and Ikpe (2011) found, however, in their analysis of several cases of conflict where UNSCR 1325 have been addressed that thorough change was hard for international actors to achieve. They argue that the main contribution lies in the support given to local actors. The general presence of the UN, not necessarily peace operations, was also central. However, the UN's ability to implement the issue has flaws, something which diminishes the importance of the organization (Olonisakin & Ikpe, 2011: 226). Similarly, Willett calls the implementation of the resolution "unwieldy, fragmented and bureaucratic" (Willett, 2010: 143). She argues that insufficient resources are another complicating factor and, perhaps most importantly, that the efforts within the UN so far have not challenged the underlying power structures of societies (Willett, 2010: 143).

However, the explicit mentioning of UNSCR 1325 in the mandate of peace operations has been positive for the implementation, as have an engaged leadership. The general approach of the mission was also of importance. Different actors look at security problems in different ways, which gives diverse results. Local conditions are also of importance. The work of Women's organizations in strengthening the role of women in society have proven to be of large importance, but too often it takes place informally and it is not often that peace operations have the ability to connect to this work (Olonisakin & Ikpe, 2011: 227-231). Olonisakin and Ikpe also link these two aspects:

[...] a real challenge is presented in the translation of the principles and values of UNSCR 1325 from UN actors to the local and national context, where real change for women and for gender equality is much needed. The evidence here suggests that the existence of peace operations in these areas has not led to a bridging of gaps between internal and external UNSCR 1325-related initiatives. There have been no tangible gains in terms of translating and transferring women's achievements in peacebuilding in the informal realm, to the formal. This is compounded by the masculinist culture of the peace operations environment, which places the focus of most missions on state-centric security provision and a token response from the gender dimensions of security and the particular concerns of women. (Olonisakin & Ikpe, 2011: 234)

Olonisakin and Ikpe argue that the implementation of 1325 need to be reviewed, more resources is needed as well as more information in relation to the different parts of the operations.

Turning to another level of implementation; in a study of national action plans, Ivarsson found that the implementation of UNSCR 1325 had started in several countries and that the military was involved in this work. The work was focused upon increasing the number of women working with the resolution in the field, upon training, the establishment of regulations, upon integrating the issues in strategies, doctrines and operational planning, upon civil-military cooperation and upon so called gender advisors (Ivarsson, 2010). To determine the importance of these measures is difficult, argues Ivarsson. The implementation of UNSCR 1325 has been related to the broader discussion concerning effectiveness that has developed within the field of peace building. A study from the Swedish Defence Research Establishment, which focused upon operational effectiveness, analyzed how the work on UNSCR 1325 had been integrated in a number of Provincial Reconstruction Teams (PRTs) in Afghanistan. The results show that there are large differences between different PRTs, but that there was an awareness that the work on the resolution can contribute to operational effectiveness in different ways. The authors of the report argue that in order to be able to implement and integrate 1325 a comprehensive strategy is needed, as is leadership and expertise (Olsson & Tejpar (red), 2009). Olsson & Tejpar notes that there is only little interaction with local Women's organizations and local public administration (at both state, regional and communal level) and that this work should be strengthened in order to increase women's participation (Olsson & Tejpar 2009: 119-121). Relating UNSCR 1325 to effectiveness can be a means to increase the acceptance for its implementation internally within an organization such as the military. It does not, however, contribute to the questioning of underlying structures, as sought after by Willett. The same goes for much of the reasoning regarding the role of women peacekeepers, argues Johanna Valenius. According to her analysis, the view of women as peaceful and kind (and therefore useful in peace keeping operations) reinforces the stereotypes that should be questioned (Valenius, 2007: 519).

With respect to the more specific theme of this paper, security governance – or international cooperation and coordination in the field of security – there is less research concerning UNSCR 1325. Ivarsson and Edmark conducted a study in 2007 with a focus upon

opportunities and challenges for coordination. They concluded that different actors should benefit from exchanges with respect to information and implementation of the resolution, in particular concerning the protection aspect. Many actors argued, however, that the possibilities for cooperation were limited, that it was not needed and could imply negative consequences. In particular the interaction between military and civilian actors was problematized. The experiences of cooperation at this time indicated that the lack of structures were a problem. The cooperation that took place was perceived as depending upon individuals. Different approaches were considered a problem although the sources of these differences were unclear. In order to improve civil-military cooperation, the spreading of knowledge and values, training, a common doctrine and a broad integration of gender issues at all levels were suggested (Ivarsson & Enmark, 2007: 62-67). Thus, many of the problems encountered in civil-military relations in general are present also in relation to UNSCR 1325.

To summarize previous research on the prospects for international cooperation and the work so far concerning UNSCR 1325, it can be concluded that scholars increasingly adopt an actor-centered perspective. The empirical results indicate that actors do pursue very different approaches and that this appears to inhibit cooperation and coordination. The classical civil-military cooperation problems seem to be present also in the work concerning UNSCR 1325. The different rationalizations and contextual aspects should be taken into account theoretically in order to increase the understanding of the prospects for security governance. Below I suggest a framework for doing this.

Analytical Framework

The analytical framework suggested here aims at increasing the understanding of how different representations result in different solutions. This information should be useful in assessing the dynamics in security governance, including the prospects for cooperation and coordination between actors of various kinds. The analytical framework builds upon the work of Wagnsson, Hellman and Holmberg (2010) who have suggested a focus upon actor's/agents discursive representations of non-traditional actors such as children in order to increase the understanding of security dynamics in the context of new wars. For instance, children may be represented as referent objects (victims), as problem solvers (positive agents), as threats (negative agents) and be used as resources for public communication in order to collect funds or legitimize operations. Wagnsson, Hellman and Holmberg argue that through an analysis of

different actors' representations of other actors, such as children, we may understand the dynamics at work in the new wars better. In applying the framework of Wagnsson, Hellman and Holmberg to a sample of UN security discourses on women, peace and security, Golmann identified an additional representation; service provider (Golmann, 2009). By asking critical questions to the empirical material, the different roles may be identified. Golmann combined Wagnsson et al's framework with a critical gender perspective and asked the following questions to her empirical material: "Within what main areas of security are women represented [as referent objects etc.]? What explains women's representation [as referent objects etc.]? [and] What stereotypical gender based attributes is present in the discourse?" (Golmann, 2009:31 *author's translation*).

In a next step, which was not developed by Wagnsson, Hellman and Holmberg, but has been sought after by other scholars (Golmann, 2009), the mapping of representations is followed by an analysis of the solutions attached; that is, policies and strategies. What strategies follow from an actor viewing, for instance women, as victims? What solutions are considered appropriate in this situation? The table below lists a number of possible solutions; protection of women, efforts to strengthen the participation of women, efforts to strengthen women's organizations, disarmament initiatives, intelligence collection (through women), information campaigns and measures aimed at women's economic situation. Like in the representation list, one category is open to other findings. The approach is thus largely deductive with some openness for other empirical findings. This second step can also enrich the analysis of the goals involved in an actor's policy – it allows for reasoning concerning Goldmanns question above; what explains women's representations (and the solutions attached)? In whose interest is the work conducted in the field of UNSCR 1325?

	Solution							
Representation of women	Protection	Strengthen Participation/ Involvement	Strengthen Womens organisation	Disarm society	Collect Information/ Intelligence	Inform/ Educate	Support economically	Other
Referent objects of security								
Women as actors								
Women as problem-solvers								
Threats								
Resources for public communication								
Service provider								
Other								

Table 1. Suggested representations and solutions in the area of women, peace and security (Modified from Wagnsson, Hellman & Holmberg (2010) and Golmann (2009) both with respect to representations and in order to incorporate solutions)

Analyzing various actors’ different representations and the solutions associated with these may help us understand the underlying assumptions of their work and the dynamics set forth in interaction with other actors. In a third step, new institutionalist theory is introduced in order to assess prospects for cooperation/coordination and security governance. Different representations and solutions should imply different views of an organization’s interests and of what is considered appropriate when it comes to interaction with other actors. Therefore, in the third step of the analysis an assessment of actor’s views of other actor’s is pursued. The literature assumes that common goals are necessary for security governance to become established, but the suggested framework makes it an empirical question whether it is the representations/problem definitions or the solutions that need to conform in order for actors to cooperate. Either representations and/or solutions should affect the prospects for security governance. For instance, we could assume that there are differences in the prospects for

interaction with regard to the two dimensions of the resolution; protection and participation of women and girls.

Asymmetric Actors Involved in Work on UNSCR 1325

Below I illustrate how the analytical framework can be applied to actors involved in work on UNSCR 1325. My own current research concerns coordination of UNSCR 1325 in Afghanistan, but I have not yet finalized the collection of empirical material and therefore the illustration here highlights instead the views in general of different types of actors, and not in relation to a specific security governance context, such as Afghanistan. The empirical information used here is collected mainly through secondary sources. Not all of the material analyzed mention UNSCR 1325 explicitly, but address the essence of the resolution and outlines how the actor views the issue of women, peace and security. In order to illustrate the result of an analysis of various types of actors, I have chosen to analyze elements of NATO's ISAF mission, the UN, the EU and an NGO. A limitation in the analysis below is that it can in principle only cover the first and second step of the analytical framework. As the actors are not involved in the same case of security governance and information concerning their willingness to coordinate their actions with other actors is largely lacking, it is difficult to apply the framework completely. Statements concerning the need for coordination cannot be assessed in practice. However, I discuss the possible implications of the analysis of representations and solutions for the prospects for security governance.

Since the mid 2000s, *NATO* has increased its attention toward UNSCR 1325. Much of the work has concerned measures that are aimed at the internal organization and its structures, for instance increasing the number of women in the Armed Forces of NATO member states. However, in 2009 a report concerning the lessons from implementation of the resolution in Afghanistan was published, conducted by researchers from both member and non-member states (Olsson & Tejpar (Eds) 2009). From this report we can see that there are several representations of women in the PRTs. In the Swedish PRT female NATO soldiers and officers are seen as actors – or rather as capacities, which are used as resources for public communication. A positive function of their sex is that it makes them useful in communicating with women in the local population (Olsson & Tejpar, 2009: 103). Local women were seen as potential actors and various efforts were undertaken to inform, engage and increase their participation in society. Local women's organizations were also

approached. Local women were also seen as referent objects, and a gender analysis appear to have been conducted in several cases at the HQ level. Still, it appears that it was difficult to implement specific measures as a response to these analyses. However, with respect to protection as a solution, women soldiers again came in as a capacity as they are able to address local women in order to hear their views on security issues (Olsson & Tejpar, 2009: 110-112).

There are, however, differences in approaches among the ISAF contingencies. According to the report, the Norwegian PRT does not focus upon the issue of UNSCR 1325 or gender. It is even difficult to distinguish a representation of women at all, as they are seen as invisible. An exception is that of referent object in relation to girl's schools, something which had been countered with the building of walls. The Psyops team is said to have tried to highlight women's situation, but received no feedback (Andreassen, Holan & Skotnes, 2009). As a consequence, no substantial solutions can be discerned (this could, however, be subject to change as the Norwegian PRT has since the study was conducted started to work on these issues). The Italian PRT in Herat had no explicit gender or 1325 policy. Still, some work has been conducted aimed at women, such as education initiatives and the building of a burn unit at the hospital (in the Italian PRT the military and development sectors are highly integrated). However, it is difficult to identify how women are represented. They are said to be largely invisible to the (male) military, which try not to approach women in order not to offend the local population. Judging on the work that has been done, the solutions aim at information/education and protection. Women military officers are also seen as resources of communication with the local population (Olsson & Valenius, 2009).

Obviously, numerous *UN* agencies are concerned with the implementation of the UNSCR 1325. For the purpose of this analysis I choose to depart from the final report to the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations, entitled "Ten-year Impact Study on Implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) on Women, Peace and Security in Peacekeeping" (United Nations, 2010). With respect to the representations of women present in this document, that of women as actors and peace builders is the most obvious. There is also a view of women as referent objects and victims of (sexual) violence. This is reflected in the thematic areas covered in the report; "Women's participation in peace negotiations and peace agreements; Women's participation in political processes and governance structures in conflict affected countries; Gender sensitivity and women's participation in the Security

Sector Reform (SSR); Legal and judicial sector reforms; Sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV); Protection of women IDPs [internally displaced persons] and refugees” (United Nations, 2010: 13). In addition to these two central representations, there is a minor part of the text which consists of a discussion of women’s role internally within the UN organization. In this context, women are described as capabilities or resources for positive communication with the local population (United Nations, 2010: 33, 37).

The solutions adopted in relation to women as actors and peace builders are amongst others; information and capacity building aimed at both women in the general population and women’s organizations, lobbying for women to engage in politics, affecting laws and regulations concerning for instance the representation of women, including women in DDR projects, involving women in the security sector, efforts to affect legislation and the number of women involved in this sector. A somewhat surprising finding is that although women is clearly seen as referent objects, there are relatively few solutions that focus on protection in a traditional sense. Examples include, however, special cells for women, research on women’s needs, gender training of security sector personnel, assistance in legislation work and the set up of joint protection teams and security measures in camps. In several cases, protection is seen as an indirect outcome of other solutions; such as disarmament and demobilization (United Nations, 2010: 23, 24). Overall, the report points to the enormous challenges remaining in the field of women, peace and security. Although some positive results have been achieved, much remains to be done. It is interesting that the report in several cases points out that also the UN representatives themselves show deficiencies in their willingness to involve women and take women’s perspectives into account (United Nations, 2010: 17, 24). The main general recommendation of the report is that the UN should collaborate with various partners in its work on the resolution (United Nations, 2010: 41).

Turning to the *EU*, the document “Comprehensive approach to the EU implementation of the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 and 1820 on women, peace and security” (Council of the European Union, 2008)¹ claim to adopt a holistic approach to the issue. The main representations of women in the text are as victims and participants. In a traditional EU

¹ This document has been followed by a number of documents that could also have been analysed, not least the 3rd REV which is dated 2 December 2008 and the “Lessons and best practices of mainstreaming human rights and gender into CSDP military operations and civilian missions”. However, I found that the document dated 1 December was more substantial for my purposes of identifying representations and corresponding solutions. The

fashion, work on women, peace and security is conducted through dialogue and the establishment of cooperation frameworks. The solutions aimed for is mainly to strengthen women's participation, to strengthen women's organizations and sometimes to inform and educate women. Interestingly, the external solutions (aimed at the receiving country in question, not internal measures such as pre-training etc) presented focus mainly on the participation dimension, with a number of "good practices" presented from the Development Cooperation Instrument (projects focused on structural change with respect to gender equality in the states concerned); the Instrument for Stability (for instance financing of workshops with a gender focus, as part of the peace process in a country, security sector reform and strengthening women's organizations) and the European Neighborhood and Partnership Instrument (offering cooperation frameworks aimed at strengthening women), amongst others. If protection is present as a solution, it is largely an indirect effect of the efforts aimed at strengthened actorness. The experiences from the CSDP operations, which could be seen as traditional instruments of protection, are not mentioned, except for the statement that the EU operations have gender advisors.

The EU document emphasizes the need for broad coordination and cooperation with other actors, such as the UN, Regional Organizations, NGOs and local actors (Council of the European Union, 2008: 12, 13, 15, 19). As concluded by Batt & Valenius, however, NGOs are in some cases not impressed by the EU's efforts, which have not matched expectations. Their research show that the EU has been criticized for not taking into account women as actors, which lead to a lack of solutions focusing on participation "The failure to consult reflects a patronizing tendency to take account of local women only as *victims*, as passive recipients of both abuse and the remedies we prescribe to held them." (Batt & Valenius, 2006: 12). This is something which could cause problems in the future, if the EU is not seen as an appropriate partner.

The *non-governmental organization* "Kvinna till kvinna foundation" addresses the issues of women, peace and security in the report *Security on whose terms? If men and women were equal* (Söderberg Jacobson, 2009). The views expressed here is fundamentally different from for instance NATO practices, referred to above. The report focuses upon threats to women's security; "The presence of the international community; Repression in the name of culture;

latter documents focus more on listing recommendations which are largely focused on the roles of the EU structures.

Militarised societies, and Health and psycho-social support” (Söderberg Jacobson, 2009: 6) and therefore indirectly on women as referent objects of security. At the same time women are seen as actors throughout the report, actors that if their full potential is realized, can contribute to peace building. The author states “It is important that in recognizing all the security threats to women their power to act for themselves is not taken away.” (Söderberg Jacobson, 2009: 49). The solutions presented can be seen as connected to this representation of women as actors; women should be informed so that they can decide how to protect themselves; women should be asked to participate in various decision-making processes; women’s activists should be allowed to work and (in relation to women as referent objects) the society should be disarmed (Söderberg Jacobson, 2009: 47-49).

The analysis of the various actors above has shown that it is possible to identify representations of women in most of the empirical material. The dominating representations are those of women as actors and peace builders and that of women as referent objects. Women as actors is emphasised by all the actors studied. It is also possible to detect a representation of women as resources of communication or capabilities. It is here the women that function as peacekeepers that are referred to, that is, it is the internal organization of the work that is considered. Corresponding to these representations of women we have found several different solutions, covering most of the categories set out in the analytical framework (except economic support and intelligence collection, which is not prominent in the material). The most common solution is to aim at strengthening the participation of women in different ways. Here we may conclude that several of the solutions pursued by the EU and the UN aim at structural change; that is, at changing regulations and legislation in various fields which have implications on women’s situation. NATO’s approach appears shallower, which could be seen as a consequence of its more limited mandate or disinterest in making more of the opportunities to action that could exist through the UNSCR 1325. The EU’s method of working, however, is more independent and consists in setting the agenda for cooperation with certain actors and thereby in a way establishing its own mandate. The UN’s approach is naturally very broad – as seems that of the NGO studied. From the analysis, we could consider adding at least two categories of solutions; lobbying and changing political systems/legislation.

With respect for the prospects for coordination and cooperation it is, as stated above, a limitation of this paper that the empirical material is not of the kind that makes it possible for me to fully assess the third step of the analytical framework, that of analysing how different actors view coordination and cooperation with other actors. The EU and the UN clearly emphasises the need for coordination with other actors. The NGO, Kvinna till kvinna, does not formulate a specific opinion. The representations largely converge, except when it comes to women as resources of communication. This representation is not something which is present in the discourse of the NGO. This discourse and the discussion of effectiveness – which is present in the empirical material of all the international organizations, could lead actors such as NGOs to consider cooperation with these IOs as inappropriate. On the interest side, however, is the amount of funding that the IOs offer to NGOs. At the same time, the empirical material indicates that NGOs and local actors are not satisfied with the efforts undertaken in the field of women, peace and security.

Conclusion

The application of the analytical framework suggested here can help us systematically analyze actors involved in security governance, irrespective of their asymmetries. Similarities and differences in the representations of women and the solutions pursued in response to these among different actors can help us understand the dynamics behind the prospects for security governance. The empirical material used here is, however, too limited to make a thorough assessment of the analytical framework. For an ideal application of the analytical framework to be conducted, the requirements for empirical material are quite substantial. However, the empirical application gives us an indication of what the landscape of representations and solutions looks like among a number of IOs and one NGO. In the introduction I suggested that there might be differences with respect to cooperation in relation to whether work was focused upon the solutions protection or strengthening of women's participation. It is not possible to determine whether this is the case, although actors view protection slightly differently, as a direct or indirect effect. Indeed, the centrality of protection as a solution was surprisingly meager, although women as referent objects of security were one of the most common representations. The dominating representation among the actors studied was that of women as actors and/or peace builders. In relation to these representations, a number of

different solutions were present among all the actors. It is difficult to say whether the common representations make cooperation around different solutions more likely or not.

The need to take into account practices has been sought after in security studies for some time. One way to do this is to collect the views of the actors with which the entities involved in security governance interact; actors view of other actor's practices. The discourse on the effectiveness of solutions and the representations of women peacekeepers as resources of communication could be seen as inappropriate practices by NGOs and local actors. A critical analysis of the representation of women in different contexts, internally and externally, could also be undertaken.

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