



Annotated Bibliography- Research Network on Women, Peace and Security (RNWPS)

Theme: Canada's Defence Relations, Conflict prevention and the implementation of WPS

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This theme covers three topics: 1) Canadian Feminist Foreign Policy, Canadian Defence Policy, and Feminist Foreign Policy; 2) Women, Peace and Security; and 3) United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 and National Action Plans (NAPs)

TOPIC 1: CANADIAN FEMINIST FOREIGN POLICY, CANADIAN DEFENCE POLICY, AND FEMINIST FOREIGN POLICY

Aylward, E., & Brown, S. (2020). Sexual orientation and gender identity in Canada's "feminist" international assistance. *International Journal*, 75(3), 313–328.

<https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/0020702020953425>

In June 2017, Canada launched its Feminist International Assistance Policy (FIAP) and mentioned sexual orientation and gender identity (SOGI) in an overarching Canadian aid policy for the first time. The inclusion of SOGI provides an important message to domestic and international development partners to consider these sources of discrimination and marginalization. Aylward and Brown (2020) explore two research questions based on these key policy documents. First, what is the place of SOGI in Canada's "feminist" international assistance? Second, what additional steps does Canada's development program need to take to protect the rights of lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and intersex (LGBTI) people in the Global South? Based on an analysis of official documents and secondary sources, the authors argue that FIAP offers weak signals concerning SOGI-related issues and requires a more substantial commitment. The paper suggests that to address LGBTI issues adequately, the Canadian government needs to develop its definition of what SOGI entails and move beyond niche programming to recognize the cross-cutting dimension of LGBTI rights in foreign aid, especially sexual and reproductive health and rights.

Keywords: Foreign Aid, Sexual orientation, Gender Identity, LGBTI, Canada, Feminism



Tiessen, R. (2015). Gender essentialism in Canadian foreign aid commitments to women, peace, and security. *International Journal*, 70(1), 84-100.

DOI: 10.1177/0020702014564799

The UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) call for adopting a gender perspective that includes the needs of women and girls at various stages of programming in fragile states post-conflict reconstruction. Building upon UNSCR 1325 and Women, Peace and Security scholarship, Tissen (2015) argues how Canadian's foreign policy, specifically of the Harper Conservatives' promotion of the "equality between women and men" at the expense of gender equality (re) produces gender essentialism in Canadian Foreign aid commitments of women, peace and security (WPS) in fragile states programs. Methodologically the paper draws on critical discourse analysis—to deeply understand the political practices generated by specific discourses and ideologies. The study also compares Canada's policies with those of other international donors to explore international and national policies and their historical intersection with gender relations and its implications for how security plays out at the individual, household, community, and state levels. Tissen (2015) suggests that the reproduction of gender essentialism in the Canada's s development policies limits gender equality and hurts women's active role in fragile states. The rhetoric of "women as helpless victims" denies women their active agency in the development and facilitates a discourse of gender essentialism. These simplistic and essentializing solutions only bring gender inequality. Canada's National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security is one example of an essentializing discourse. The paper calls for shifting the discourse, which can, in turn, shape alternative political actions geared to understanding and promoting gender equality in fragile states.

Keywords: Gender, Security, Canadian Foreign Policy, Gender Essentialism, Harper Government



Morton, S. E., Muchiri, J., & Swiss, L. (2020). Which feminism(s)? For whom? Intersectionality in Canada's Feminist International Assistance Policy. *International Journal*, 75(3), 329–348.

<https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/0020702020953420>

Canada launched its Feminist International Assistance Policy (FIAP) in June 2017. The FIAP focuses on six principal action areas, namely gender equality and the empowerment of women and girls, human dignity, growth that works for everyone, environment, climate change action, inclusive governance, and peace and security. This policy set a promising plan to center gender equality and feminism in Canada's development assistance programming. In this paper, Morton et al. (2020) examine the FIAP and its Action Area Policy to ask what kind(s) of feminism is reflected in the policy and what groups of people it prioritizes. The findings show that even after several years of implementation of FIAP and the release of the six Action Area Policy statements, details surrounding how it is implemented and how it aligns with the other branches of Canada's foreign policy remain obscure. It also argues that FIAP lacks intersectional feminist approaches and misunderstands feminism by treating it as static. In addition, the results show that the FIAP adopts mainstream liberal feminism that excludes many peoples and groups from the core of Canada's aid efforts. The authors suggest future research on the impact of the FIAP by examining how Canadian aid recipients and partners either help deliver on the policy or find themselves marginalized by it.

Keywords: Foreign Aid, Feminism, Feminist Foreign Policy, Canada



Tiessen, R. (2021). Situating Canada's Feminist Foreign Policy Priorities in the Context of the COVID-19 Pandemic and a Rapidly Changing Global Context. In *Political Turmoil in a Tumultuous World* (pp. 233-249). Palgrave Macmillan, Cham.

https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1007/978-3-030-70686-9_11

A growing number of countries worldwide are considering Feminist foreign policy as a tool to address gender equality and women's empowerment. In 2017, Canada launched Feminist International Assistance Policy (FIAP). The feminist foreign policy mainly aims to promote democratic processes, fair international interactions; systemic change in the status quo; and ending oppressive structures. Tiessen (2021), in this paper, analysis Canada's feminist foreign policy in the context of the covid-19 crisis. The paper argues that although Canada's FIAP looks promising—such as FIAP prioritized its funding to locally based women's organizations working on gender equality and women's rights however FIAP's approach to promoting women's and girls' rights is narrow and fails to address oppressive and discriminatory unequal structures that systematically prevents women and girls' rights. One of the core feminist values is systemic change by addressing discrimination and oppression, lacking in FIAP. The paper also discusses how the global pandemic has disproportionately impacted women and girls, such as a rise in gender-based violence, care work burden, and reproductive health care crisis. Lastly, the paper suggests expanding its feminist foreign policy commitments and setting new priorities to address the exacerbated gendered needs of covid-19 in Canada and abroad.

Keywords: Feminist foreign policy, Gender Equality, Leadership, Covid-19



Bouka, Y., von Hlatky, S., Martel, S., Martin-Brûlé, S. M., de Almagro Iniesta, M. M., & Zahar, M. J. (2021). Is Canada's Foreign Policy Really Feminist? Analysis and Recommendations. *Policy*, (13).

<https://ras-nsa.ca/wp-content/uploads/2021/09/Policy-Report-13-Is-Canadas-Foreign-Policy-Really-Feminist.pdf>

Bouka et al. (2021), in this report, builds on Gender-Based Analysis+ to explore Canada's Feminist Foreign (FFP) Policy. It investigates three questions concerning FFP: What is Canada's FFP, and what are its goals? Who participates in crafting Canada's FFP? How is the FFP implemented? While addressing these questions, the paper first discusses how Canada's feminist foreign policy scope is limited, unclear and reinforces unconstructive divides between foreign policy, security and defence, human rights, and development. Second, it demonstrates how FFP fails to create meaningful collaboration and engagement of local stakeholders in the policy agenda design and implementation and unfit to meet local agenda. Last, the paper argues how FFP is symbolic and performative, and top-down in its design and implementation. The report provides 12 recommendations to make Canada's FFP more inclusive, diverse, engaging, meaningful, and bottom-up. In conclusion, it suggests building more diverse and inclusive partnerships at home and abroad, reconsidering performance-based assessments, and identifying and transforming the power hierarchy and structural inequalities that prevent gender equality and women's empowerment.

Keywords: Canada's Feminist Foreign Policy, Gender Equality, Gender-Based Analysis+



Shoemaker, M., & Hlatky, S. V. (2020). A Feminist Account of Canadian Defence Policy. In *The Palgrave Handbook of Gender, Sexuality, and Canadian Politics* (pp. 421-438). Palgrave Macmillan, Cham.

https://link.springer.com/content/pdf/10.1007/978-3-030-49240-3_21.pdf

The paper presents a thorough examination of the Canadian defense policy framework. It applies a feminist lens and offers an inclusive account of Canada's defense policy and its developmental approaches for thirty years. It debates how the key role of critical junctures and social movements (since the 1960s) helped shape diversity and inclusion in the Canadian defense sphere. Further, the paper identifies the current Canadian defense policy's limitations and suggests that Canada's defense policy's "seminal" works require the utilization of feminist perspectives and histories. Theoretically, it builds upon Ann Tickner's (1988) work *Hans Morgenthau's Principles of Political Realism: A Feminist Reformulation* and Sandra Whitworth's (2005) work on *Militarized Masculinities and the Politics of Peacekeeping: The Canadian Case*. The paper also discusses Canada's feminist international programming and calls for gender representation and gender mainstreaming and the urgent need for a nuanced understanding of why the differences between "increasing women" and "integrating diverse perspectives" are necessary. Finally, the paper offers a nuanced perspective of how current Canada's defense policy framework can be more diverse, inclusive, and intersectional by utilizing historical accounts.

Keywords: Defense policy, Critical Juctures, Social Movements, Policy Frameworks



Johnstone, R., & Momani, B. (2022). Gender mainstreaming in the Canadian Armed Forces and the Department of National Defence: lessons on the implementation of gender-based analysis plus (GBA+). *Armed Forces & Society*, 48(2), 247-273.

<https://doi.org/10.1177/0095327X20956722>

In recent decades women's lack of meaningful participation in the Canadian National military has received quite an attention. The government of Canada calls to apply gender-based analysis+ in all its departments to address gender-based inequality. This paper studies the Canadian military's gender-mainstreaming strategy/gender-based analysis plus (GBA+) to examine the implementation of gender mainstreaming in militaries. It employs a mixed-method approach such as group interviews and surveys and Jahan's model of gender mainstreaming to analyze how GBA+ is implemented in the Canadian National military. Jahan (1995) categorizes gender mainstreaming into *integrationist* and *agenda-setting*. *Integrationist* approaches rely on the adoption of gender-conscious practices. The *agenda-setting* approach demands for significant transformation of norms, power dynamics, institutions, and policies. First, the paper's findings demonstrate that unclear GBA+ policy objectives, including confusion in goals and values underlying GBA+ and methodological challenges in implementing GBA+ both in the Department of National Defence (DND) and the Canadian Armed Forces (CAF). Second, hierarchical structures, men-dominated environment, and a lack of support from the top officials pose difficulties in implementing GBA+ on the real ground. The article concludes that GBA+ execution in the Canadian military is superficial and not transformative.

Keywords: Gender mainstreaming GBA+ Military Culture, UNSCR 1325, Women



Rao, S., & Tiessen, R. (2020). Whose feminism(s)? Overseas partner organizations' perceptions of Canada's Feminist International Assistance Policy. *International Journal*, 75(3), 349–366.

https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/0020702020960120?utm_source=mp-fotoscapes

Canada's Feminist International Assistance Policy (FIAP), introduced in 2017, is a forward-looking policy—focused on gender equality and women's empowerment. In this article, Rao and Tiessen (2020) examine the interpretations of feminism (s) and a feminist foreign policy from the perspectives of NGO staff members in East and Southern Africa. The paper introduces the FIAP and outlines its key strengths and critiques. It then integrates a transnational feminist standpoint to analyze the limitations of the policies and their implications for implementation in the Global South. Through analysis of data collected in 2018 from Malawi, Kenya, and Uganda, the paper draws upon varying levels of acceptance and contestations around feminism that further reveal the ambiguity of the policy and the potential for achieving transformative change through the inclusion of a more transnational feminist lens. The paper concludes by showing how staff based in the Global South are hopeful about a feminist approach to development but also call for urgent action for further dialogue and input from partners. It also calls for the Canadian government to adopt a robust approach to define feminism that is socially, culturally, and politically inclusive—integrates regional differences too.

Keywords: Feminist Foreign Assistance Policy, Partnerships, Gender Equality, Canadian Aid

Smith, J., Herten-Crabb, A., & Wenham, C. (2021). COVID-19 & feminist foreign policy: Canada's comparative advantage. *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal*, 1-7.

<https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/11926422.2021.1969971>

The COVID-19 pandemic has brought exceptional attention to the nexus between gender inequality and global health security. Canada commits to advance gender equality and women's empowerment agenda in its development programming through—Feminist Foreign Assistance



Policy. In this essay, Smith et al. (2021) propose three ways Canada could exercise and be a global leader in the COVID-19 response and take forward the feminist foreign policy agenda. The first is, to *prioritize the care economy within international assistance* by explicitly stating a commitment to the care economy and taking action to strengthen both paid and unpaid care sectors, including challenging gender norms regarding unpaid care work and strengthening the foundations necessary for women's economic and political participation. The second is to *champion a feminist global health agenda* by supporting the development of intersectional gender analysis frameworks for WHO's emergency and pandemic response processes. It must also take a lead role in advocating for integrating gender-transformative processes. Finally, it suggests *building on the women peace and security agenda to improve security sector responses to health crises* by supporting public health responses during this health crisis.

Keywords: COVID-19, Feminist Foreign Assistance Policy, Women, Peace and Security, Gender Inequality, Women Rights

Aggestam, K., & True, J. (2020). Gendering foreign policy: A comparative framework for analysis. *Foreign Policy Analysis*, 16(2), 143-162.

<https://researchmgt.monash.edu/ws/portalfiles/portal/301830297/301830111.pdf>

In recent decades feminist foreign policy has been used as a critical tool for advancing gender equality and women's empowerment. In this paper, Aggestam and True (2020) discuss the rise of "pro-gender equality" in foreign policy and how governments and international actors challenged and resisted this. The paper draws on international feminist theory (IFT) and foreign policy analysis (FPA). The paper identifies and explains four types of commitments in foreign policy: First, the "gender mainstreaming" approach to enhance gender equality and women's rights across foreign security policy, including economic development, defense, business, and humanitarian aid policies. Second, international development assistance emphasizes promoting gender equality. Third, adopting women, peace and security, and human rights as indicators by implementing WPS National Action Plans. Lastly, commitments to increase women in leadership



roles by creating global ambassadors for women and girls' empowerment. Further, the paper provides a comparative framework to study gender and foreign policy and identify 'pro gender norms'. It offers six indicators: 'power,' 'gender,' 'leadership,' 'practice,' 'norm diffusion,' and 'foreign policy outcome.' Finally, it suggests three approaches to gender foreign policy. First, making 1325's five pillars intersectional and increasing diverse representation. Second, revisiting gender mainstreaming approaches to foreign policy. Third, applying feminist transformative principles to assess gender mainstreaming.

Keywords: pro-gender norms, international feminist theory, foreign policy analysis, gender equality and women's empowerment

Husband-Ceperkovic, T., & Tiessen, R. (2020). Beyond the binary: Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity in Canadian foreign policy. In *The Palgrave handbook of gender, sexuality, and Canadian politics* (pp. 401-419). Palgrave Macmillan.

https://link.springer.com/content/pdf/10.1007%2F978-3-030-49240-3_20.pdf

The government of Canada has been championing LGBTQ2+ rights and have made advancement in legally recognizing the third gender category with X, beyond 'male' (M) and female (F). Since June 2019, Canada's Federal and Provincial governments have started issuing official documents such as citizenship certificates, passports, permanent resident cards, birth certificates, and driver's licenses with the X designation. In this book chapter, Husband-Ceperkovic and Tiessen (2020) discuss Canada's current foreign policy and practice concerning LGBTQ2+ people's rights. This article argues how Canada's foreign policy lacks a clear and complete definition of sexual orientation and gender identity expression (SOGIE) and calls to integrate SOGIE—to make foreign policy inclusive and diverse. Further, it identifies the following challenges LGBTQ2+ community might face due to the absence of SOGIE in Canadian foreign policy. First, ambiguity in addressing gender and the intersectionality issue in foreign policy marginalizes and excludes the LGBTQ2+ community, particularly transgender and gender-variant people. Second, vagueness in language creates confusion for organizations applying for funding and technical support on



LGBTQ2+ issues and puts these populations at high risk; for example, migrants and refugees may face multiple vulnerabilities to accessing their identification documents throughout the migration process. Third, although Gender-Based Analysis+ (GBA) training is mandatory for all governments departments and policy implementers in Canada, this is online training. It is hard to distinguish whether it is transforming the GBA+ agenda on the ground. Finally, the paper suggests that openings exist to expand the definition of gender equality in Canada's foreign-policy priorities and policies; however, more work is required to ensure a thorough understanding of SOGIE in Canadian foreign policy and practice and secure LGBTQ2+people's rights in Canada and aboard. This article contributes to gender, sexuality and women's studies, Feminist foreign policy and global policy studies.

Keywords: LGBTQ2+people, Canadian foreign policy, SOGIE

Zhukova, E., Sundström, M. R., & Elgström, O. (2022). Feminist foreign policies (FFPs) as strategic narratives: Norm translation in Sweden, Canada, France, and Mexico. *Review of International Studies*, 48(1), 195-216.

Doi:10.1017/S0260210521000413

Zkukova et al. (2022) this article explores how states translate international norms to their benefit by constructing strategic narratives and to advance their soft power ambitions abroad. The article builds upon the International Relations (IR) theories of norm translation and strategic narratives. It conducts a comparative analysis of feminist foreign policy (FFP) of Sweden, Mexico, Canada, and France. The paper utilizes three strategic narrative types: issue, national, and international system, including liberal and intersectional feminism. It shows how the narratives of Sweden and Mexico emphasize social policies, whereas Canada and France focus on the market's role in tackling gender inequality. It also demonstrates that the national narratives of Sweden and Mexico see other FFP countries to 'back up' their feminist initiatives. In contrast, Canada and France do not convey their FFP to other states. Further, it also highlights how the international system narratives of Sweden and Mexico perceive that gender inequality is a driver of global challenges,



while Canada and France refer to gender inequality as a cause of global problems. Concerning liberal and intersectional feminism, the paper discusses how liberal feminism dominates all four FFPs such as market, legal, security, rights-based, or combines intersectional feminism's components. To conclude, the paper suggests that norm translation is not only about the internationalization of local norms but also about national identities, Self-image, and Others, and how different states accept or reject addressing growing unequal global issues.

Keywords: Feminist Foreign Policy, Strategic Narratives, Norm Translation, Liberal Feminism, Intersectional Feminism, International Norms

Scheyer, V., & Kumskova, M. (2019). Feminist Foreign Policy: A Fine Line Between "Adding Women" and Pursuing a Feminist Agenda. *Journal of International Affairs*, 72(2), 57-76.

<https://www.jstor.org/stable/26760832?seq=1>

Scheyer and Kumskova (2019) show how commitment to women's rights is important and how current practices of feminist foreign policy (FFP) do not reflect an authentically feminist approach. The authors build on theoretical background on feminist analysis in international relations and feminist foreign policy and apply these concepts to examine gaps in an existing FFP. The paper argues that the FFP still relies on traditional notions of security and peace, sovereignty, sexuality, governance, and nation-building and fails to integrate the FFP agenda into actions. The paper asks for an alternative explanation of the international system and guidance on how the FFP can be restructured to prevent a constant state of securitization and crisis. The authors provide some key indicators to serve as a baseline for an FFP: gender analysis, safety and wellbeing, peaceful models of conduct through political dialogue, community building based on empathy and common goals, and policymaking by integrating international approaches. Overall, this study helps unpack the definition of feminist foreign policy and highlights areas that can be addressed by those willing to commit to redefining security and peace in the current world order.

Keywords: Women's rights, Feminist Foreign Policy, Feminist Analysis, Feminist Security



Thomson, J. (2020). What's Feminist about Feminist Foreign Policy? Sweden's and Canada's Foreign Policy Agendas. *International Studies Perspectives*, 21(4), 424-437.

<https://academic.oup.com/isp/article/21/4/424/5715655?login=true>

Thomson (2020) examines Sweden and Canada's emerging feminist foreign policies in this article. It applies discourse analysis of the policy of both nations and asks what the term “feminist” meant in preliminary attempts at constructing a feminist foreign policy. It shows how countries utilize the word “feminist” and their feminist foreign policy. It discusses that Sweden’s feminist foreign policy is focused on domestic and international obligations. Canadian feminist foreign policy centers on economic debates associated with women’s empowerment. The term feminist used by Canada is more committed to a neoliberal understanding and integration of the private sector into development policy. The author highlights that feminist terms and feminist foreign policy are not fixed understanding; instead, they are country-specific and linked to domestic policy and international commitments. It also shows that even though both countries' feminist foreign policies refer to gender and identity markers intersections, it does not illustrate their methodological approaches. Finally, the paper calls for further work to explore intersectional feminism to increase diversity and inclusion within the policies.

Keywords: feminism, feminist theory, foreign policy, feminist foreign policy, Sweden, Canada

Smith, H., & Ajadi, T. (2020). Canada’s feminist foreign policy and human security compared. *International Journal*, 75(3), 367–382.

<https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/0020702020954547>

In this article, Smith and Ajadi (2020) examine Canada’s human security agenda concerning feminist foreign policy discourses and identify five common critiques. It draws upon the government’s ministers’ speeches and policy documents, such as the Feminist International



Assistance Policy (FIAP), media, and scholarship. The five common critiques: The first is being hypocritical and selectively applied—Government’s contradictory actions—claims of being feminist and adopting a FIAP and sale of light armored vehicles to Saudi Arabia, including bombarding in Kosovo and failure to address climate change—a rhetorical nature of human security. Second, policy coherence and lack of clear definitions critique both feminist foreign policy and human security. For example, whether non-aid policies will comply with broadly stated development policy goals of gender equality as articulated within the FIAP. Third, lack of funding and resources and short of commitments for both the Human security agenda and FIAP. Fourth, the moral imperative is a source of human security and feminist foreign policy; both discourses are notable for and maintained by strategic forgetfulness that facilitates images of sanitized pasts. Finally, the values discourse is deeply colonial and imperial. In both human security and FIAP, there are embedded assumptions about exporting Canadian values abroad to others who would presumably benefit from Canadian values. The troubles the Liberal’s articulation of values-based discourses and policies of human security and feminist foreign policy maintains status quo norms and unmet fundamental transformations on the ground. The paper asks to broaden the feminist foreign policy’s lens beyond international assistance to consider the more explicit policy implications for a robust feminist approach to policymaking.

Keywords: Human Security, Feminist, Canadian Foreign Policy, Feminist Foreign Policy, Gender

Tiessen, R., & Swan, E. (2018). Canada’s feminist foreign policy promises: an ambitious agenda for gender equality, human rights, peace, and security. In *Justin Trudeau and Canadian foreign policy* (pp. 187-205). Palgrave Macmillan, Cham.

https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1007/978-3-319-73860-4_10

Federal government of Canada launched its first Feminist International Assistance Policy in 2017 which aims to enhance gender equality and women’s empowerment. The country is also committed to human rights advancement, including putting gender equality agenda high to all its



national and international obligations. This paper explores several actions to promote feminist foreign policy and human rights agenda between 2015 and 2017. It also looks at how this strategy differs from past Canadian governments' work. The article draws on feminist literature and discusses feminist scholarship's contribution concerning the discursive, rhetorical, and feminist policy obligations. The paper discusses aspects such as 'Feminist Foreign Policy in the Spotlight', Early Evaluations of the Feminist Foreign Policy Rhetoric, International Policies on Women, Peace and Security and Scholarly Insights, Feminist International Relations Scholarship, and Feminist Contributions to Canadian Foreign Policy Scholarship in relation to Canada's feminist foreign policy agenda. Finally, it suggests that a real commitment to gender equality and a feminist foreign policy depends on the translation of policy into practice, including how feminist foreign policy influences other foreign policy strategies.

Keywords: feminist foreign policy, gender equality and women's empowerment, WPS, 1325

Tiessen, R., Smith, H., & Swiss, L. (2020). Canada's evolving feminist foreign policy: Lessons learned from 2017 to 2020. *International Journal*, 75(3), 294–297.

<https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/0020702020954853>

This collection piece aims to show lessons learned from Canada's Feminist International Assistance Policy (FIAP) and inform the design of Canada's next steps in forging a formalized, comprehensive, and coherent feminist foreign policy. In this article, Tiessen et al. (2020) offer challenges to be addressed, gaps to be filled, and the critical analyses necessary for expanding and enhancing Canada's feminist foreign policy. This paper summarizes the five articles in this special section. Cadesky (2020) article examines FIAP and challenges a series of problematic assumptions in constructing that discourse, such as the conflation of gender and women. Aylward and Brown focus on sexual orientation and gender identity, draw on feminist theory, and include an assessment of the pre-FIAP period and the FIAP. Morton, Muchiri, and Swiss (2020) —this article's findings show that feminism in the FIAP and its implementation policies is far from the intersectionality required by a feminist foreign policy. Rao and Tiessen (2020) reinforce the



significance of the language of feminism and the diverse ways that feminism is used and understood worldwide. The essay moves beyond exploring whether a feminist foreign policy matters, how it matters, and to whom it matters. The article by Smith and Ajadi (2020) widens the lens of feminist foreign policy beyond international assistance to consider the broader policy implications and realities of a feminist approach to policymaking. The essays in this collection foster essential conversations between scholars in different subfields with critical analyses that bring in queer theory, masculinities, international development, gender, and feminist approaches.

Keywords: Feminist foreign policy, Canada, Feminist International Assistance Policy, foreign aid, Canadian Foreign Policy

Parisi, L. (2020). Canada's New Feminist International Assistance Policy: Business as Usual? *Foreign Policy Analysis*, 16(2), 163-180.

<https://academic.oup.com/fpa/article-abstract/16/2/163/5782383>

Canada's Liberal governments launched the Feminist International Assistance Policy (FIAP) in 2017. FIAP's funding goals allocate at least 95 percent of Canada's bilateral international assistance expenditure to advancing gender equality by 2021–22, a substantial increase from 2010. Parisi (2020), in this paper, examines how and to what extent Canadian Feminist International Assistance Policy (FIAP) is transformative and intersectional to gender equality and neoliberal international development. It conducts thorough assessments of economic development discourses in the FIAP on poverty, trade, and market citizenship, including in the private sector. Theoretically, the paper builds on Feminist critical literature such as Prügl's work "feminism and neoliberalism" and Bacchi's (2012) work "What's the Problem Represented to Be." The paper argues that FIAP does not just embody neoliberal feminism but also feminist neoliberalism. Feminist neoliberalism promotes gender equality as necessary and good for economic growth, and neoliberal feminism promotes market citizenship as the primary path to achieving gender equality. The paper also discusses how FIAP also creates room for opportunity by looking into three components: Canada's global image and reputation; Its relationship with the United States; The development of feminist



foreign policy elsewhere in the world. To conclude, the paper suggests that FIAP represents both neoliberal feminism and feminist neoliberalism, limiting the potential transformation of the FIAP on gender and international development strategies.

Keywords: FIAP, Gender Equality, Feminist neoliberalism, Canada

Swan, E. (2021). “The personal is political!”: exploring the limits of Canada’s feminist international assistance policy under occupation and blockade. *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal*, 27(1), 117-135.

<https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/11926422.2020.1805340>

Swan (2021), in this paper, explores the opportunities and limitations of Canada’s Feminist International Assistance Policy (FIAP). The paper draws on the slogan “the personal is political” and presents Ferguson’s “anti-politics machine.” It first briefly introduces the FIAP and demonstrates Canada’s relationship with Israel and Palestine/Gaza. Then, employing Ferguson’s “anti-politics machine,” it discusses how Canada’s FIAP falls short of its feminist aspirations and feminist values. Taking the case of Gaza, the paper shows how the Canadian development and humanitarian initiatives are isolated from the reality of the occupation and blockade and the subsequent, and how this impacts women’s and girls’ everyday lives in Gaza. It also shows how the narrow and tokenistic application of feminist principles consequently wipes away and ignores unequal power systems and politics that create and perpetuate inequality, oppression, and insecurity in women’s and girls’ lives in Gaza. This article concludes that Canada’s relationship, unwavering support for Israel, and the corresponding silence around its violations of human rights and international law in Gaza, inhibit Canada from upholding a truly “feminist” international assistance policy. This paper calls for holistic and transformative feminism to improve the lives of “women and girls” in conflict-affected countries.

Keywords: Canadian International Assistance, Gaza, Feminist International Assistance Policy, Women and Girls



TOPIC 2: WOMEN, PEACE AND SECURITY (WPS)

Aroussi, S. (2017). National Action Plans on Women, Peace and Security as tools of foreign policy: Reconsidering gender security in the west. In Rethinking National Action Plans on Women, Peace and Security (pp. 29-40). IOS Press.

Doi:10.3233/978-1-61499-763-4-29

In this paper, Aroussi (2017) uses a postcolonial feminist lens to re-examine the implications of the United Nations Women Peace and Security (WPS) and National action plans (NAPs). The paper builds upon WPS and NAPs literature, including government and non-government reports. The author critically looks at the Western States' national action plans and its methodology to implement the women, peace, and security framework and how this brings fundamental changes to address Global South women's needs on the ground. The paper discusses that Global North's commitment to fulfilling Global South women's needs through WPS and NAPs is problematic—due to the narrow conceptualization of women's security, and the deep schism created between women's security and women's rights has allowed the WPS framework to be co-opted, distorted, and reduced to a foreign policy tool and to pursue Global North's interest. For example, Global North's NAPs do not consider refugee crises, immigration, citizenship, and indigenous issues seriously. The paper suggests member States from Global North to re-interpret their WPS framework and expand its scope beyond foreign policy to pay proper attention to the situation of women as part of their WPS responsibilities.

Keywords: UNSCR 1325, National Action Plans, Liberal Peace, Imperialism, Gender Security



Haastrup, T., & Hagen, J. J. (2020). Global Racial Hierarchies and the Limits of Localization via National Action Plans. *New Directions in Women, Peace and Security*, 133-51.

https://books.google.ca/books/about/New_Directions_in_Women_Peace_and_Securi.html?id=6LJjxwEACAAJ&redir_esc=y

Haastrup and Hagen (2020), in this book chapter present how WPS practices are situated in a dynamic relationship between the global North and global South narrated as global. The authors convincingly argue how whiteness and white privilege are refracted in the narratives and procedures of the WPS agenda through a focus on National Action Plans (NAPs). The paper asks 1) How do NAPs represent WPS? 2) Whose needs are being foregrounded in the NAPs of the global North? And 3) In what ways do NAPs reinforce or challenge racialized global North/global South binaries? It builds on the insights of black feminists such as bell hooks (1989) and Kimberlé Crenshaw (1989) and the decolonial feminist scholarship of Chandra Mohanty (2003), Inderpal Grewal (2017), Sara Ahmed (2012), and Jasbir Puar (2007). The article analyses NAPs of Global North such as Canada, Sweden, Denmark, Portugal, Germany, UK, Ireland, Norway, Belgium, the United States, and the Netherlands. The paper suggests that the global North's NAPs reinforce the status quo-- perpetuate an image wherein the peaceful North (which nevertheless employs and relies on militarism for its practices of peace and security) is obliged to 'rescue' the insecure global South. The next concern is that the global North positioned as donors and the global South as recipients—directly impact the WPS agenda of the global South. The paper concludes that in the context of existing donor-recipient relationships based on colonial and racialized power hierarchies in NAPs of the Global North—it further manifests whiteness that renders the countries and peoples of the global South without agency. Finally, the paper demonstrates how the global North's NAPs can reproduce 'racialized colonial histories upon the global South.

Keywords: WPS, NAPs, Global North, Global South, Whiteness, Race, Colonialism



Moreyra, M. J. (2020). The Importance of Resilience in the Women, Peace and Security Agenda, Particularly during the Covid-19 Pandemic. *Connections: The Quarterly Journal*, 19(4), 87-96.

http://connections-qj.org/system/files/19.4.06_moreyra_peace_women.pdf

Resilience has become a key concept while dealing with conflict, disaster, and crisis. In this pandemic, women are performing multiple roles to keep their families and communities safe such as frontline workers, health care workers, caregivers, and primary caretakers at home. This paper focuses significance of resilience in the Women, Peace and Security Agenda. Moreyra (2020) emphasizes that resilience is key to understand women's responses to COVID-19 impacts and overall effect on WPS agenda in this pandemic crisis. The paper demonstrates how resilience is gendered and how women and men face pandemics differently given their gender roles, experiences, needs, and interests. It also raises concern that during crises, particularly women face sexual abuse and domestic violence, stigma, and gender stereotypes. It discusses covid-19 impacts are disproportionate and how women's resilience supports their families and community during the pandemic. The article draws upon WPS and resilience scholarship, such as Ungar's definition of resilience: "both the capacity of individuals to navigate their way to the psychological, social, cultural and physical resources that build and sustain their wellbeing and their individual and collective capacity to negotiate for these resources to be provided in culturally meaningful ways." To comprehend women's resilience to the covid-19 pandemic, it provides examples of how women actively participated with local radio broadcasts to spread messages on covid-19 measures and to stay safe from the virus, including educating women and girls concerning covid-19 safety. To advance resilience debate paper also presented women's resilience about 'refugee and displaced women' and 'women suffering great trauma.' The article suggests WPS agenda consider women's resilience and strength in women's capacity to secure women in a future crisis.

Keywords: Resilience, WPS; COVID-19, Gender, Communities



True, J. (2016). Explaining the global diffusion of the Women, Peace and Security agenda. *International Political Science Review*, 37(3), 307-323.

DOI: 10.1177/0192512116632372

The United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) and its associated resolutions focus on Women, Peace, and Security (WPS) agenda. WPS agenda is a crucial framework that emphasizes addressing the impacts of war on women and girls, including combating violence against women and girls and enhancing women's meaningful participation in the peacebuilding and postwar reconstruction process. Through National Action Plans (NAPs) governments plan and implements the WPS agenda. NAPs signify national policy commitments and provide tangible targets and actions to achieve these commitments. True (2015), in this article, evaluate the adoption of NAPs and the WPS policy diffusion in global patterns. The paper shows which country adopts WPS NAPs and why? It draws upon gender equality, WPS agenda, NAPs, and human rights scholarship and argues how diverse transnational and domestic norms diffuse and create WPS NAPs nationally and internationally. Further, it looks at multiple factors that encourage nations to launch WPS NAPs and implement their international peace and security agenda? The paper offers four mechanisms concerning the impact of international context and norms diffusion. 1) The encouragement of the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) agreement pushes governments to commit to domestic law and practices to promote women's rights and gender equality. 2) The conduct of peer countries and operationalized membership of states in intergovernmental organizations support the WPS agenda. 3) International donors' existence and WPS financing. 4) Transnational civil society networks present and emphasize on WPS agenda within nations. Regarding domestic norms diffusion, the paper highlights how *the power of democracy* and *women in power* plays a role in the policy change and norms diffusion. To conclude, the paper suggests that gender mainstreaming in international peace and security is slow and calls to adapt WPS NAPs across states to achieve full gender equality and future WPS policy diffusion.

Keywords: Women, Peace and Security, UNSCR 1325, National Actions Plans



Basu, S., & Shepherd, L. J. (2017). Prevention in pieces: representing conflict in the Women, Peace and Security agenda. *Global Affairs*, 3(4-5), 441-453.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/23340460.2017.1415723>

The paper explores ‘prevention in pieces’ in the WPS conversation of SGBV/CRSV and armed conflict, the paper analyses how various political actors understand conflict and violence, particularly “pieces of prevention” in the WPS agenda. To do so, the paper builds upon the cases of Australia (which has WPS NAP), the UK (which has WPS NAP), and India (No WPS NAP) to analyze how civil society discourse together with state practice of prevention. Further, it draws upon Basu & Confortini’s (2017) work *Weakest “P” in the 1325 Pod? Realizing conflict prevention through security council resolution 1325* to analyze gendered silences. The paper demonstrates how the inclusion of non-state actors is key in the analysis of prevention, such as Gender Action for Peace and Security (GAPS-UK) in the UK, the Australian Civil Society Coalition on Women, Peace, and Security in Australia, and in India few civil society organizations who have extensively contribute in the WPS agenda. The article contends that gendered silences in conflict and violence are threefold. First, silence is evident around conflict that has happened or is happening within state borders – outside/overseas. Second, there is a silenced tension around violence prevention and conflict prevention, and both are shaped and reshaped in a gendered way. Third, prevention is the most silent and low-focused element of the WPS agenda. It also discusses how British and Indian states are silent regarding ongoing violence and how Australia is silent about its violent colonial history and violence against Indigenous people and communities. Finally, the paper suggests that the engagement of civil society in all three cases is crucial to promoting WPS principles and practices and transforming the people’s lives affected by conflict and violence.

Keywords: Women, Peace and Security, UNSCR 1325, National Action Plans



Hamilton, C., Mundkur, A., & Shepherd, L. J. (2021). *Civil society, care labour, and the women, peace and security agenda: Making 1325 work*. Taylor and Francis.

<https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003123750>

For two decades, the adaptation of UNSCR 1325 and the WPS agenda has supported the promotion of women, and girls' rights and peace and security issues, especially in conflict-affected nations. The UNSCR 1325 and its associated resolution are based on four pillars: 'participation,' 'prevention,' 'protection,' and 'relief and recovery. Government, non-government organizations, and political actors apply some of these pillars to move their gender equality and women's empowerment agenda. Hamilton et al. (2021) discuss how the WPS agenda relies on civil society organizations' care labor in this book. For long civil society organizations have laid the foundations upon which the WPS agenda depend and is making progress. The book convincingly demonstrates how the labor of civil society is a key element 'of what makes the WPS agenda possible – it is what resolves 1325 work'. The authors interviewed representatives of 15 civil society organizations in Oceania, Africa, Europe, North America, and Asia whose work focuses on WPS. The book highlights the aims, challenges, and difficulties faced by the WPS civil society actors while working on the WPS agenda. The book has seven chapters. Chapter one discusses 'Care labor and social reproduction in the WPS agenda.' Chapter two talks about 'Civil Society and the WPS agenda.' Chapter three presents Care labor as a condition of the agenda's successes. Chapter four is on 'Funding,' chapter five is on 'Despair,' chapter 6 'commitment', and chapter seven is 'Making 1325 work'. Finally, the book proposes a novel argument for care labor of civil society in the WPS, which has gotten less priority in the WPS and feminist peace literature. This book might be of interest to academics, policymakers, and practitioners working on WPS and, more broadly, those working on Political Science, International Relations, Development Studies, and Global Governance Studies.

Keywords: UNSCR 1325, WPS, Civil Society Organization



True, J., & Wiener, A. (2019). Everyone wants (a) peace: The dynamics of rhetoric and practice on ‘Women, Peace and Security.’ *International Affairs*, 95(3), 553–574.

<https://doi.org/10.1093/ia/iiz027>

Women, Peace and Security (WPS) is not just any normative agenda, everyone wants a piece of it. WPS is characterized by unprecedented recognition by states in the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) and the presence of multiple stakeholders, including its own transnational NGO network, focused on the first Resolution, 1325. The high degree of participation from civil society in framing the norm from the outset—driving their own access to contestation—makes WPS relatively unique among global normative agendas. It is, therefore, a good case in which to examine the ‘dynamics of dissent’ and test the effects of discursive and behavioral contestation on normative change. The article seeks to advance the thriving literature on the UN WPS agenda and to develop further the exploratory approach to contestation, which evaluates normative progress based on increased access of all those affected by the norm to practices of norm validation. It maps norm contestation at distinct sites, reflecting a sequence of WPS events referenced at the 2015 UNSC open debate on WPS. It evaluates practices of contestation with regard to affected WPS stakeholders' access to political agency and assesses ‘whose practices’ affect norm change and transformative change in the WPS agenda. The authors conclude that the relative access of the wide range of stakeholders to the different repertoires and constellations of contestation affects the outcomes of WPS. They suggest that scholars should evaluate diverse practices of contestation and identify expanding spaces and choices for a variety of local, national and regional perceptions of gender-equal peace and security.

Keywords: Women, Peace and Security, UNSCR 1325, Norm



Hamilton, C., McSwiney, J., Naam, N. G., & Shepherd, L. J. (2022). The Social Life of the Women, Peace and Security Agenda: A Digital Social Network Analysis. *Global Society, 36(1), 1-24.*

<https://doi.org/10.1080/13600826.2021.1875996>

In this study, Hamilton et al. (2022) examines the online interactions among civil society organizations working on the Women, Peace, and Security (WPS) agenda related to policy and practice. Building upon postcolonial theoretical frameworks such as Valentine Moghadam's (2015) work "transnational feminist networks" and Mohanty's (2003) work "Two-Thirds World," Basu's work "write 1325 too", Carpenter and Jose's (2012) the "fundamental hierarchies" the paper discusses how the WPS agenda's history is a complex history of movement-building, feminist political action, and negotiation. The paper is based on quantitative analysis and utilizes the Twitter and Facebook accounts of 21 organizations whose work focuses on the WPS agenda and WPS social networks. The paper's findings show that online representations of organizations working on the WPS agenda and digital interactions are primarily dominated by a small group of organizations based in the Global North. It also demonstrates that global north organizations are at the core and Global South organizations are at the periphery. The high online presence of organizations working on the WPS agenda lacks proper online transitional networking.

Keywords: UNSCR 1325, WPS agenda, social network analysis, civil society organizations

Duncanson, C. (2019). Beyond liberal vs liberating: Women's economic empowerment in the United Nations' women, peace and security agenda. *International Feminist Journal of Politics, 21(1), 111-130.*

<https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/14616742.2018.1518725>

In 1984, Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era (DAWN) lobbied to bring system change through grassroots women's collective actions. Since then, women's empowerment has received quite an attention in women, peace and security agenda as well as in governments policy.



In this article, Duncanson (2019) examines a women's economic empowerment concerning United Nations (UN) Women, Peace, and Security (WPS) agenda. Further, it explores two different women's economic empowerment versions exist in WPS agenda. 1) "liberal" (including women in the formal economy); 2) "liberating" (women collectively mobilizing to challenge the status quo), exist in the WPS agenda and demonstrate tension between them in the context of the WPS agenda and women's economic empowerment. This paper draws on the WPS scholarship, which focuses on economic processes such as Bergeron, Cohn, and Duncanson's (2017) work "Rebuilding Bridges: Toward a Feminist Research Agenda for Postwar Reconstruction; Duncanson's (2016) work "Gender and Peacebuilding"; and Cohn's (2017) work "Beyond the 'Women, Peace and Security Agenda: Why We Need a Feminist Roadmap for Sustainable Peace.'" The paper argues how the UN's aspirations for women's economic security post-war are dominated by the liberal version over liberating, especially regarding actual activities and achievements. Finally, the paper suggests WPS implementers and scholars create an innovative and sustainable model for women's economic empowerment that creates opportunities and joint actions and transform the economic system and bolsters the WPS agenda.

Keywords: *Women, peace and security, economic empowerment, United Nations*

Greener, B. K. (2020). Championing the WPS Agenda?. *International Peacekeeping*, 27(3), 445-466.

<https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/13533312.2020.1726742>

Greener (2020), in this paper, examines how New Zealand committed its Women, Peace, and Security Agenda through the development and implementation of its first National Action Plan (NAP) in 2015. It uses secondary official sources such as the Official Information Act (1982) and the department's internal memos. It builds upon women, peace and security, and United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 literature. New Zealand's NAP focuses mainly on two issues: diplomatic support for WPS initiatives and increasing women's numbers in police and military deployed abroad. The paper discusses how government agencies, such as the New Zealand Police



(NZ Police) and New Zealand Defence Force (NZDF), have made little progress in advancing the WPS agenda. It suggests for inclusion of civil society for democratizing government policy, increasing connections, and broadening the input into the development of future NAPs. Finally, the article calls to maintain accountability and emphasizes more profound structural change transformation through ‘re-gendering’ and ‘de-othering’ to achieve the real WPS agenda.

Keywords: Women, Peace and Security; New Zealand; National Action Plan; Gender

Harman, S., Herten-Crabb, A., Morgan, R., Smith, J., & Wenham, C. (2021). COVID-19 vaccines and women's security. *The Lancet*, 397(10272), 357-358.

<https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC7757348/#bib2>

The pandemic is a gendered phenomenon—who gets contaminated, who is providing care, who is dying, who experience violence, and who makes the decision. In this article, Harman et al. (2021) argue how vaccines are gendered and how it affects women’s security during pandemics. The paper discusses three points about covid-19 vaccines and women’s security. First, it shows how ‘the delivery and facilitation of COVID-19 vaccines’ disproportionately impact women’s security. It argues that women as primary caregivers’ burden of immunizing (2 doses) family members are on women’s shoulders. Women take multiple trips and offer free labor to immunize family members. The second is violence against healthcare workers. A globally large number of healthcare workers are women who perform immunization roles during a pandemic. Women healthcare workers and immunization teams face violence while doing their duties, which is a serious concern in global health. Third, feminized sexual violence faced by women to access vaccines. For example, during the Ebola immunization program, women were asked for sexual favors in exchange for vaccines by some male health workers. The paper suggests that vaccine is a gendered issue and therefore calls for understanding access to vaccines through the gendered lens for global health security and, in particular, security of women.

Keywords: Women, Vaccine, Covid-19, Gender, Health



Davies, S. E., & True, J. (2019). Women, Peace, and Security: A Transformative Agenda? *The oxford handbook on women, peace and security*, 3-15.

<https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780190638276.013.1>

Davies and True (2019) discuss the pragmatic understating of the women, peace and security (WPS) in this book chapter. This paper draws on feminist constructivist theory as outlined by Tickner and True (2018), which aims to strengthen women's voices from conflict-affected contexts-- wherein women activists, advocates, and scholars work together to share their practical knowledge to advance principles of equal and lasting peace. The chapter calls to acknowledge women's diverse practical experiences in promoting peace and inclusion, developing a gender-sensitive and gender-inclusive theoretical perspective on peace and security, and defending a gender-sensitive and inclusive perspective on peace and security. It argues that temporary fixing of gender equality agenda by increasing the quantitative number of women at the peace table is superficial empowerment—must not become an end, detracting from the substantive post-conflict gender-justice outcomes. Finally, the paper suggests being sensitive to how the WPS agenda will be encountered by peace and security actors on the ground, including scholars, activists, practitioners, and politicians, many of whom may not have been introduced to gender analysis before. This paper adds to the literature on WPS, gender and peacebuilding, and feminist international relations.

Keywords: WPS Agenda, Women Peace Security, Pragmatism, UN Security Council, Inclusive Peace, Feminism



Holvikivi, A., & Reeves, A. (2020). Women, Peace and Security after Europe's 'refugee crisis'. *European Journal of International Security*, 5(2), 135-154.

Doi: <https://doi.org/10.1017/eis.2020.1>

Since the launch of the UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security agenda in conflict-affected nations has received significant attention. In this article, Holvikivi and Reeves (2020) examine how the remit of WPS has broadened from women in conflict zones to refugees in Europe's borderlands. As the WPS agenda expanded, the authors called for a better understanding of the needs of the conflict-affected woman. In particular, it argues that conflict-affected women's experiences cannot be homogenized and documents new efforts to include war-displaced women in WPS discourse. Methodologically this paper's inquiry proceeds through a content and discourse analysis of National Action Plans (NAPs) and regional action plans of WPS policy. Further, it examines the issue of forced displacement in WPS policy and identifies actors that are most likely to include forced displacement as a concern. Authors focus on three datasets: (1) a global dataset of 55 national action plans (assembled in 2016); (2) up to date European dataset of 22 national action plans (assembled in 2018); and (3) a global dataset of 5 regional action plans (assembled in 2018). The article findings show that WPS policy acknowledges the presence of conflict-affected women on the move at and within the borders of Europe. The paper suggests that the emergence of the conflict-affected woman on the move to Europe in WPS policy and activism creates much-needed entry points to protect women—forcibly displaced by conflict and include them in decision-making processes. The paper also discusses the emerging visibility of refugee women in WPS productively troubles the tendency of European states to self-present as always already reliably performing peaceful and gender-responsive protection and inclusion. Finally, although the article raises concern to include war-displaced women in WPS policy within the borders of Europe, and yet treats refugee women's experiences under one category.

Keywords: Refugees, Conflict-Affected Women, Peace and Security, Conflict, Europe, Borders



Reynolds, A. N. (2021). Women at work and war: integrating gender and conflict into impact assessment. *Impact Assessment and Project Appraisal*, 39(3), 196–205.

<https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/14615517.2021.1904375>

Conflict impacts women and girls differently as they are exposed to increased risk of domestic and sexual violence, insecurity, loss of livelihood, health crisis, and other precarity. Reynolds (2021), in this article, looks at how impact assessment practitioners take into account the conflict-induced human rights implications in business activities (such as employment, movement of people--as contractors, workers, and work-related travels, local economies). The author argues that these business activities might strongly impact women's economic opportunities during times of conflict and their lives and livelihoods aftermath of war. The paper's conceptual framework builds upon three key issues: Forms of violence experienced by women in conflict; Poverty and economic implications of the conflict; and Shifts in gender dynamics. The paper suggests that women and girls in conflict-affected societies face several complex issues, including those related to violence, economic insecurity, and shifts in gender dynamics. It calls for the active participation of women during impact assessments to get a full picture of women's business in conflict-affected societies.

Keywords: Conflict, Women and Girls, Gender

Justino, P., Mitchell, R., & Müller Catherine. (2018). Women and peace building: local perspectives on opportunities and barriers. *Development and Change*, 49(4), 911–929.

<https://doi.org/10.1111/dech.12391>

This study is about women's participation in peace-building processes—in an NGO present community and an NGO absent community. It is based on a qualitative comparative analysis of case studies conducted in Afghanistan, Liberia, Nepal, and Sierra Leone—all war impacted countries where gender equality agendas were high aftermath of the wars, such as the gender quota system. The paper shows that the peace building was weak and slow, particularly in non-NGO presence communities, where women lack funding to carry their peace work, including not getting



the chance to participate in gender equality training and awareness campaigns, unlike women in NGO supported communities. Especially, economic, cultural, social barriers, including traditional gender values, low education, and lack of awareness, are some of the critical factors that prevented women's inclusion in political decision-making processes. The research also shows that family relations played a crucial role in how women engage in peacebuilding and other community members understand women's roles in a local context. This article fits well with the women, peace and security issue. It presents how grassroots women in conflict-affected countries experience the peace-building process in their everyday lives and what needs to be done to make peacetime inclusive and accessible for all women aftermath of war.

Keywords: Women and Peacebuilding, Women's participation, Gender Equality, Social Barriers

K.C., L., Van Der Haar, G., & Hilhorst, D. (2017). Changing gender role: Women's livelihoods, conflict and post-conflict security in Nepal. *Journal of Asian Security and International Affairs*, 4(2), 175-195.

<https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/2347797017710743>

In this paper, K.C. et al. (2017) examine how women ex-combatants and non-combatants experience shifts in gender roles during and after the Maoist conflict in Nepal. To do so, it looked at women's everyday practices of gender roles and relations concerning their livelihood and post-conflict security. The paper builds upon the comprehensive literature on gender, war, and postwar settings. The article is based on in-depth fieldwork in Nepal's Chitwan and Kathmandu districts. It draws on interviews with women ex-combatants/non-combatants and key informant interviews. The paper argues that gender roles are not fixed and open for contestation and largely depend upon the everyday practice of gender division of labor and power as it evolved during and after the conflict. It argues that the conflict had diverse and contradictory effects concerning gender roles: Women from both categories experienced a change in gender roles during and aftermath of war, with women taking on tasks earlier reserved for men. However, this effect was most substantial amongst ex-combatants during the conflict. After the war, these changes were only partial, and



especially ex-combatant women faced acute livelihood challenges and were forced to return to their previous (domestic roles). The paper also demonstrates how both women face state and non-states policy responses to livelihoods and security in the post-conflict setting.

Keywords: Gender, women ex-combatants, non-combatants, conflict, post-conflict

MacKenzie, M. (2015). *Beyond the band of brothers: The US military and the myth that women can't fight*. Cambridge University Press.

<https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781107279155>

MacKenzie (2015) in this book investigates women's role in the US military and offers critical analyses of the US combat policy. It shows how gender myths and stereotypes construct opinions on combat exclusion in the military. The book argues that gender-discriminatory combat policy in the military shapes women in combat roles restates male supremacy, and maintains a critical military myth. To demonstrate the argument, the book investigates policies and regulations connected to women in combat from World War II, including the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. Further, it also maps different iterations of policies on combat exclusion as well as political history and court cases related to combat exclusion. Applying examples of women in combat roles in the Afghanistan and Iraq Wars, the book brilliantly demonstrates how 'band of brothers' mythology provides privilege to men in the military. It discusses that such myths are not based on evidence or experiences but rather cooked-up stories that support the creation of illustrations that men are better fighters than women in the military. In conclusion, the book warns that the 'band of brothers' myths has a massive impact on shaping military policy, military operations, and social perspectives, all of which only harm women in combat roles and their careers.

Keywords: Beyond the band of brothers, Women in Combat, Combat policy, The US military



Chilmeran, Y. (2022). Women, Peace and Security across scales: exclusions and opportunities in Iraq's WPS engagements. *International Affairs*, 98(2), 747-765.

<https://doi.org/10.1093/ia/iiab211>

In 2000 launch of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security (WPS) bolster women's participation in peacebuilding and conflict resolution. It has also raised concerns among scholars, policymakers, and activists in, which the WPS agenda shapes women's actual issues. Iraq is the first country in North Africa and the Middle East to adopt a NAP. In 2014, the country was honored with the front-runner title for the WPS implementation. Chilmeran (2022), in this article, studies Iraqi women's organizations' engagements in advancing the WPS agenda. The article explores space and its political nature central, and employs 'politics of scale' concerning the context of Iraq, and unpacks these dynamics. It builds on the 'politics of scale' scholarship such as the work of Hameiri, Hughes, and Scarpello (2017) and space, location, and positionality. The paper uses qualitative methodology. It relies on critical informants' in-person and online interviews with Iraqi actors, speeches, and WPS documents. It discusses how Iraqi women participate in different scalar contexts connected to the WPS agenda and identifies exclusions and opportunities within and across them. Further, the paper highlights women's organizations in Iraq respond to openings and attempt to challenge the spatial arrangements within and across different scales. It argues that hierarchies associated with scaling, resources, identity, and positionality in local and national settings are reproduced, so understanding these concerns is critical for forming the WPS agenda in post-war contexts. This paper contributes to WPS literature concerning space, scale, location, and positionality.

Keywords: WPS, Iraqi women, Politics of Scale, Women's Organizations



MacKenzie, M., & Wegner, N. (2021). *Feminist Solutions for Ending War*. Pluto Press.

<https://www.plutobooks.com/9780745342863/feminist-solutions-for-ending-war/>

In this edited volume, MacKenzie and Wegner (2021) seek to understand barriers to preventing war and violence and offer feminist solutions to end the war. Each chapter's contributors present solutions to end war by drawing from various studies such as Indigenous, feminist, queer, peace education, and postcolonial theories, including arms abolition and restructuring of the global economic system. It convincingly discusses how war is a 'complex failure situated within, and a product of, a patriarchal, white supremacist, capitalist, and militarist system' and calls for war solutions to focus on this complexity. The book suggests that ending war demands challenging complex patriarchal structures and abolishing multiple power relations that wars reproduce. Further, it also highlights that postwar is not an absence of peace; rather, this period is shaped by gender, class, and other social markers and disproportionately affects certain marginalized and disadvantaged peoples and calls for carefully understating and addressing these complicated agendas. Finally, the book urges to acknowledge women, marginalized people, and communities' unique experiences and knowledge of war and violence to design and implement post-war policy and framework.

Keywords: Feminist Solutions, War, Patriarchal Structures, Feminisms, Postwar

El-Bushra, J. (2017). Why does armed conflict recur, and what has gender got to do with it? Working Paper. LSE-Center for Women Peace and Security

http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/85991/1/WP8_2017.pdf

This paper examines critical factors that support gendered peace-building process and discusses the relationship between gender and conflict and its reoccurrence. The paper argues that conflict and peace are complex, dynamic, and multi-layered—a nuanced understanding of gender relations is required to enrich complex realities in a conflict situation. It offers two arguments 1) *Gender in the Context of Armed Conflict* shows differences in 'gender and peacebuilding' between those who prioritize a woman-centered approach and those who encourage a broader gender analytical



approach. And, argues that the women-centered approach is tied up with the ‘Women, Peace and Security (WPS) agenda, which originated on the 2000 UN Security Council’s Resolution 1325. WPS as an international policy discourse lack to bring transformative changes in women’s lives on the ground. 2) Cycles of *Conflict-The Orthodox View*—this model often fails to incorporate gender dimension in the policy and statebuilding discourse. Based on these two assumptions, the paper concludes that vulnerability is not universal among women or limited to women. Conflict brings disproportionate impacts on marginalized people who are already vulnerable, whether male or female. Therefore, an understanding of gender relations by utilizing intersectionality and examining gender through a multi-dimensional and relational lens and not exclusively focused on women while doing conflict, gender, and peacebuilding analysis.

Keywords: *Gender analysis, gender relations, conflict, intersectionality, peacebuilding*

TOPIC 3: UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 1325 AND NATIONAL ACTION PLANS (NAPs)

Drumond, P., & Rebelo, T. (2020). Global pathways or local spins? National action plans in South America. *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 22(4), 462-484.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/14616742.2020.1783339>

With the adoption of National Action Plans (NAPs) to implement United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325 (2000) and the WPS agenda worldwide, in this article, Drumond and Rebelo (2020) aim to understand South America’s WPS agenda and NAPs. The paper examines patterns of policy diffusion – emulation and innovation in South American NAPs such as Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Paraguay. The paper indicates that NAPs of all four nations focused externally on armed conflict zones or improving their military forces regarding women’s participation. The paper found that Argentina, Paraguay, and Brazil’s NAPs concentrate on the local agenda. Argentina’s NAP highlights women and violence, including human trafficking issues. Paraguay’s NAP promotes the connection between gender-based violence and peace in its



education curricula. While the Chilean NAP focus is external and calls for mental health services for peacekeeping and military forces and their families. Brazil's NAP outlines a gendered response to refugees into the country, mainly emphasizing Venezuelans. The paper argues that due to each country's complex and multilayered reality, NAPs should be more comprehensive and context-specific and not copy-paste. To conclude, the article suggests that for a broader understanding of the WPS agenda in contexts of violent conflict, NAPs center around security and preventing gender violence.

Keywords: UNSCR 1325, South America, National Action Plans, Policy Diffusion, WPS

Jenne, N., & Ulloa Bisshopp, F. (2021). Female Peacekeepers: UNSC Resolution 1325 and the Persistence of Gender Stereotypes in the Chilean Armed Forces. *International Peacekeeping*, 28(1), 134-159.

<https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/13533312.2020.1827951>

In 2000, the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace, and Security identified an urgent need to mainstream a gender perspective into peacekeeping operations to achieve gender equality. UN member states have been asked to implement the UNSCR 1325 through National Action Plans. After twenty years of its adoption, studies show slow progress in achieving UNSCR 1325 objectives. In this article, Jenne and Ulloa Bisshopp (2021) present the Chilean military's case to assess whether and to what extent a gender perspective has been incorporated into the country's peacekeeping practice. It draws upon the literature on gender, military and peacekeeping, UNSCR 1325, and women, peace, and security. This study is based on semi-structured interviews conducted with female armed forces, the Army, the Navy, the defense sector, the military, and civilians in Chile. The study finding shows that despite greater awareness of gender hierarchies'—gender inequality remains a significant problem within Chilean in the military. It also argues that the women taking up new roles in peacekeeping have been legitimized by a discourse that reproduces gender stereotypes, such as women serves as the 'peaceful and friendly face' in peacekeeping.



Keywords: Peacekeeping, Gender Perspective, Gender Stereotypes, UNSCR 1325, Military Masculinity

Jonjić-Beitter, A., Stadler, H., & Tietgen, F. (2020). Civil society and its role within UNSCR 1325 National Action Plans. In *Gender Roles in Peace and Security* (pp. 177-199). Springer, Cham.

https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1007/978-3-030-21890-4_10

Jonjić-Beitter et al. (2020), in this book, analyze the state assigned civil society's role in Genesis, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation of United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325's National Action Plans (NAPs). It does so by exploring 96 NAPs from 64 countries and shedding light on the multiple ways civil society engagements in 1325 and NAPs. The study conducts a systematic examination of civil society inclusion in NAPs by exploring nine indicators and applying MAXQDA, a qualitative tool for data analysis. It draws upon existing literature on civil society inclusion in NAPs. In particular, it uses Barbara Miller et al.'s (2014) work on 'NAPs and civil society inclusion' as a foundation for this study. The paper employed indicators such as "stressing the importance of civil society inclusion," "(Institutionalising) cooperation with civil society," "fostering civil society," "financing civil society," "civil society included in the monitoring process," "civil society included in the evaluation process," and provisions for civil society reports to analyze Genesis, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of UNSCR 1325 National Action Plans (NAPs). The paper's significant findings show that two-thirds of the NAPs mention the involvement of civil society in the development of the document. It also shows concern that detailed plans about the participation of civil society were only found in one-third of NAPs. Further, the paper highlights that most NAPs state the importance of civil society in implementing the respective action, but a little more than a quarter of the NAPs name specific actors or detail what particular tasks shall be assumed by civil society. The paper calls attention to including civil society in UNSCR 1325 NAPs implementation, monitoring, and



evaluation to fully achieve the WPS agenda and make policy transformation to actions on the ground.

Keywords: UNSCR 1325, WPS, NAPs, Civil Society Inclusion

Björkdahl, A., & Selimovic, J. (2015). Translating UNSCR 1325 from the global to the national: protection, representation and participation in the National Action Plans of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Rwanda. *Conflict, Security & Development*, 15(4), 311-335.

<https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/14678802.2015.1071973>

United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325 is an effective tool to enhance women's rights in conflict-affected countries. Björkdahl and Selimovic (2015), in this article, explore how UNSCR 1325 and its accompanying resolutions on women, peace, and security (WPS) constitute women and gender agenda and how they as particular discursive configurations impact post-conflict societies. To do so, Björkdahl and Selimovic (2015) conducted a critical assessment of the National Action Plans (NAPs) role to implement 1325 in the context of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Rwanda. It uses a discursive analysis of Bosnia-Herzegovina's and Rwanda's NAPs and investigates how the protection, representation, and participation agenda of 1325 is translated in both countries' NAPs. The article theorizes and questions how discourses are transnational and affect the national context. The authors build on their ethnographic work in Rwanda and BiH to contextualize the NAPs. The paper argues how the dialectical relationship between social context, discourses, and practices are formed, reproduced, and translated into NAPs text. It analyses how the concept of "protection", "representation", and "participation" are 'unresolved tensions' in UNSCR 1325 agenda and NAPs. Further. The paper demonstrates that NAPs maintain the status quo and reproduce gender inequality. Authors discuss NAPs commitments are high, but actions are low. UNSCR 1325 treats women as a homogeneous group. Women's participation is rhetoric, and they are represented as passive victims and 'sex based on 'biological precepts' which prevent them from raising their voices. To conclude, authors suggest



addressing structural barriers to translate 1325's three pillars—protection, representation, and participation in NAPs.

Keywords: UNSCR 1325, NAPs, WPS, Discursive Analysis, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Rwanda

K.C., L., & Whetstone, C. (2022). Rethinking women, peace, and security through the localization of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 & National Action Plans: A study of Nepal and Sri Lanka. In *Women's Studies International Forum* (Vol. 92, p. 102575).

<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.wsif.2022.102575>

This article analyzes the localization of United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325 on women, peace and security (WPS) and its successor resolutions, which call for equal participation of women at all levels of conflict resolution, peace negotiations, and postconflict development. The article asks: How, and to what extent, does 1325 and any accompanying National Action Plan (NAP) address grassroots women's issues to transform the women, peace and security (WPS) agenda in Nepal and Sri Lanka's postwar development? Nepal's NAP (2011-2016) is applauded for its localization efforts. Because Sri Lanka does not yet have a NAP, we explore its informal adoption of 1325. This article demonstrates that grassroots women's lived experiences support the principles of the 1325 agenda, even as they are often left out of 1325 processes, both state-led and NGO-led. The paper argues that deepening 1325 within countries is critical to achieving the WPS agenda. Specifically, the paper suggests deepening 1325 to reach the 'most local' level, that of grassroots women. Women do not experience conflict uniformly. Taking an intersectional approach, this article offers a better way to understand grassroots women's diverse experiences in war and postwar settings. This article troubles the disconnect that most grassroots women experience regarding 1325 implementation and it expands empirical studies on 1325 in South Asia and contributes to 1325 scholarship in the context of development.

Keywords: Grassroots women, WPS, UNSCR 1325, NAP, Localization, Nepal, Sri Lanka



Beoku-Betts, J. (2016). Holding African states to task on gender and violence: Domesticating UNSCR 1325 in the Sierra Leone National Action Plan. *Current Sociology*, 64(4), 654-670.

DOI: 10.1177/0011392116640459

Sierra Leone launched its National Action Plan of UNSCR 1325 in 2010 and the lead agency to implement NAP is the Ministry of Social Welfare, Gender, and Children's Affairs. This paper examines how Sierra Leone addresses sexual violence through NAP implementation. In particular, it examines two pillars of UNSCR 1325 protection and prevention and looks at how Sierra Leone NAP (SILNAP) protects women and girls from sexual and gender-based violence, how it prevents violence against women and supports women's legal rights agenda. It builds on feminist political economy literature to understand gender-based violence and its effectiveness. This study data relies on interviews conducted in 2011-2012 by the author in Sierra Leone with women's organizations, including secondary reports of governments and non-governmental organizations and articles. The paper discusses the mechanisms instituted to execute two pillars of NAPs and the measure created to monitor, evaluate, and enforce the NAPs implementation. The paper mentions that Sierra Leone's launched three important laws against gender-based violence; Gender Acts (2007), the Sexual Offences Act (2012), the appointment of a Gender Advisor in the President's Office, and pillar eight of the government's 'Agenda for Prosperity' launched in 2012. However, promoting gender equality and preventing and protecting women and girls have been discouraging, and in particular, the institutionalization of violence is only growing. In conclusion, the paper argues peace is not the absence of war disconnections of violence between war and peacetime further perpetuate violence. The article suggests linking violence of both periods and incorporating it in the formulation, implementation, and enforcement of national action plans to protect better and prevent violence against women and girls.

Keywords: National Action Plans, Sierra Leone, UNSCR 1325, Protection and Prevention



Shepherd, L. J. (2016). Making war safe for women? National Action Plans and the militarisation of the Women, Peace and Security agenda. *International Political Science Review*, 37(3), 324-335.

<https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/0192512116629820>

Shepherd (2016), in this paper, explores the translation of the UN Security Council Resolution 1325 into National Action Plans in several countries actively involved in the contemporary conflict to investigate how these National Action Plans to produce particularly gendered logic of peace and security. The paper analyses the following NAPs: Australia (2012-2018), Georgia (2011), Germany (2013-2016), Italy (2014-2016, the second iteration of the Italian NAP), the UK (2014-2017, the third iteration of the UK NAP) and the USA (2011). It applies discourse analysis to analyze the NAPs. To interpret the orientation of the National Action Plans, the paper uses several representational indicators: *overall framing, imagery, linking security and development, military training and inclusion of women in police and armed forces, and national priorities and strategies to eliminate violence against women*. This article advances two core arguments. The first is it argues that several NAPs, including those produced by the USA, the UK, and Australia—mainly focus on making 'war safe for women and not on demilitarization strategies. Second, such strategies limit the interpretation of WPS principles are reinforced by the representation of war and insecurity 'overseas' rather than within the national context, leading to a particular construction of these countries as 'experts' in WPS. Shephard (2020) also demonstrates that such discursive methods construct the WPS agenda as applicable only to internationally recognized wars and do nothing to challenge the logic of militarism that dominates discussions of peace and security at the international and national levels. This article contributes to WPS, NAPs, militarization, and feminist international relations scholarships.

Keywords: National Action Plan, UNSCR 1 325, Militarisation, Peace, Security



Egnell, R. (2016). Gender perspectives and military effectiveness: Implementing UNSCR 1325 and the national action plan on women, peace, and security. *Prism*, 6 (1), 72-89.

<https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/26470433.pdf>

The significance of gender in conflict and peace affairs has become a critical agenda for feminist scholars, activities, and civil societies. After the launch of UN Security Council Resolutions (UNSCR) 1325 (in 2000) on Women, Peace, and Security, governments are obliged to enhance further the gender equality agenda in their policy and program. This paper by Egnell (2016) examines two key questions: why should gender perspectives be introduced and implemented in military organizations? And how should this process be managed to do so successfully? In doing so, the paper provides two arguments. First, ‘Military Effectiveness and Fighting Power in a Changing World’—argues that implementing gender perspective in the military can advance our understanding of equality and inequality nexus concerning resource allocation and a decision-making process. It also highlights that gender perspectives in the military can shape and reshape people’s behavior and better understand local gender context. Second, ‘Military Support of the Women, Peace, and Security Agenda’—argues integrating gender perspectives in military operations can promote four main pillars of the 1325 resolutions on women, peace, and security and help incorporate gender perspectives in the military in a more sustainable way. Finally, it suggests partnership and increased awareness of the importance of integrating gender perspectives in the military can help reduce unconscious bias and promote women in a combat role in military organizations. Although this article points out a critical aspect of why gender perspective is key to military operations while doing so, it treats women as a homogenous category, and gender is used as synonymous with women.

Keywords: Women, Peace and Security, UNSCR 1325, military, gender perspectives



Ortoleva, S., & Knight, A. (2011). Who's Missing-Women with Disabilities in UN Security Council Resolution 1325 National Action Plans. *ILSA J. Int'l & Comp. L.*, 18, 395.

<https://nsuworks.nova.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1811&context=ilsajournal/>

Since the United Nations Security Council Resolutions (UNSCR) 2000, women's peacebuilding and conflict resolution engagements have increased. However, women with disabilities are excluded both in policy and practices of UNSCR 1325 and national action plans. This article shows how UNSCR 1325's indicators lack the inclusion of women and girls with disabilities' pressing issues. In doing so, Ortoleva and Knight (2011) identify issues that need attention while developing UNSCR 1325 Indicators of National Action Plans (NAPs): 1) issues concerning women with disabilities during and after the conflict are often missing in UNSCR 1325 NAPs. 2) Lack of participation of organizations of women with disabilities and experts on women with disabilities in NAPs formulating processes. 3) Lack of women with disabilities in leadership roles and peacebuilding processes. 4) Absence of baseline data on women with disabilities and challenges measuring progress. 5) Not recognizing women with disabilities special needs—accessibility and sensitivity during and after the war 6) NAPs emphasize disability issues as a public health issue and not through the lens of human rights. To conclude, the paper calls for attention to incorporate women with disabilities issues in UNSCR 1325 and NAPs and ensure equal and meaningful participation of women with disabilities during and after the war.

Keywords: Women and girls with disabilities, UNSCR 1325, NAPs, War

Longhurst, K. (2021). The women, peace and security agenda: Reflections on the effectiveness and relevance of UN security council resolution 1325. *Alternatives*, 46(2), 52-57.

<https://doi.org/10.1177/03043754211036634>

United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325 commits to promoting gender equality and meaningful women's engagement in all peace and postwar development process. Building upon women, peace and security literature Longhurst (2021) in this paper explores the



effectiveness and relevance of UN Security Council Resolution 1325. It also briefly analysis how the COVID-19 pandemic erodes the WPS agenda. The paper's first argument is that UNSCR 1325 commitment to enhancing more durable gender equality in the postwar context is making limited progress on the ground. Second, lack of improvement in the justice system for crimes of sexual violence. Further, the paper discusses how patriarchal norms, and the militarism process plays a role in reproducing gender inequality and injustice, which perpetuate violence as well as prevents women's meaningful participation in peacebuilding. The author also points out that victims of sexual violence face multiple challenges while seeking justice due to a weak track record while tracking offenders. Concerning COVID-19 and WPS agenda, the paper warns that the pandemic's impact is multifaceted in the conflict-affected region, such as poverty, militarism, inequality, food crisis, health crisis, displacement, and violence. In conclusion, the paper calls to address the root causes of violence and inequalities to achieve UNSCR 1325 and the WPS agenda in the post-war situation.

Keywords: WPS, UNSCR 1325, gender, conflict, security, Covid-19, violence

Madsen, D. H., & Hudson, H. (2020). Temporality and the discursive dynamics of the Rwandan National Action Plans on Women, Peace and Security from 2009 and 2018. *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 22(4), 550-571.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/14616742.2020.1779600>

In this article, Madsen and Hudson (2020) examine the discursive repetitions and ruptures across the Rwandan National Action Plans (NAPs) of 2009 and 2018, considering the dynamics of discursive relations between the two NAPs. It further explores whether the language suggests openings for alternative interpretations of dominant Rwandan WPS discourses. This article builds upon the NAP discourses, which consider NAPs learning as non-linear, multiple/fluid, and context-specific, linked to processes rather than products of repetition and rupture, and representative of an interlocking of pasts and futures. Three categories of change – namely, “dominant,” “residual,” and “emergent” – are used for analysis. The paper discusses that the



categories are not mutually exclusive: the new 2018 NAP reflects more of the same dominant discourses but with some minor qualitative and critical shifts and opportunities to create a new perspective on WPS. The paper also critically analyzes both issues of Rwanda's government's successful advancement of women's leadership, and authoritarianism regime rhetoric actions to inequality. This article contributes to the literature on women, peace, security, NAPs, and feminist international relations.

Keywords: Rwanda, Women, Peace and Security, Africa, Discourse, Temporality, National Action Plans