



Norwegian University of Life Sciences
Faculty of Social Sciences
Department of Noragric

Master Thesis 2014
30 Credits

**Women's Participation in Conflict Management and
Peace Processes in Afghanistan.**

A focus on UN SCR 1325.

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Declaration

I, Charlotte Bratsberg Enger, declare that this thesis is a result of my research investigations and findings. Sources of information other than my own have been acknowledged and a reference list has been appended. This work has not been previously submitted to any other university for award of any type of academic degree.

Signature

Charlotte Bratsberg Enger

Date

15.12.2014

To all the strong women in my life.

Thank you.

Acknowledgement

This has been my most challenging experience so far, and I could not have gone through this without the support and help from the people around me.

Thank you Gry Synnevåg and Karim Merchant for your input, and contribution as supervisors.

My dearest family, thank you for all your love and support, especially my mom - whom I have called on numerous occasions for a little pep talk.

My lovely friends, sorry for being the most anti-social I have ever been. I adore you all, and I appreciate your support and patience.

Annelise - thank you for making sure I ate my dinner and did my work.

Abstract

This study is a literature based study on women's participation in conflict management and peace processes, with a focus on the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325. It is a qualitative study, looking at the implementation of UN SCR 1325 in Afghanistan. A series of international events led to the adoption of the UN SCR 1325. Looking at national plans in Afghanistan, the UN SCR 1325 is integrated to the National Action Plan on Women of Afghanistan and the Gender Equality Project. Women's groups in Afghanistan, such as Afghan Women's Network, Women for Afghan Women and Shuhada Organisation all contributes to women, peace and security, through education, women's programmes and the protection of women's rights. There are several strong women in Afghanistan, working for women's empowerment and participation in society. Among these women we find dr. Sima Samar who works with women's rights in Afghanistan, Malalai Joya who was a member of the Parliament and spoke out against warlords, Manizha Naderi who is the executive director of Women for Afghan Women and Rula Ghani, the wife of the newly elected President Ashraf Ghani. Looking at these different levels of dealing with the SCR 1325, it seems difficult to see the connection between them, and the implementation seems to start separately at the different levels, rather than going down from the government to the women's groups and women, connection the processes together.

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1. Introduction

1.1 The topic

The choice to write a thesis on women's participation in conflict management and conflict resolution was a result of a class I took at NMBU on Afghanistan. This triggered my interest on women in Afghanistan, and the work done by women and women's organisations in the country.

The topic of this thesis was chosen on the basis of my genuine interest of women's lives in Afghanistan, a country with a history filled with conflict. I had limited knowledge both on Afghanistan, and on SCR 1325, and through the research process I learned a great deal about the situation of women in Afghanistan.

1.2 Goals and research questions

The main goal of this thesis is to analyse and understand women's role in conflict management and peace processes in Afghanistan, and look at measures to increase women's participation. Underlying goals are; a) to look at women's groups in Afghanistan, and how they have dealt with the SCR 1325 and; b) to understand how the SCR 1325 fit in with the already existing work on women's participation.

My research questions are as follows:

- What are women's role in conflict management and peace processes in Afghanistan?
- What is already in place when it comes to women's role in conflict management and peace processes in Afghanistan?
- What is the SCR 1325 framework and how has it been implemented?
- How can the gap between the women's role in Afghanistan and the SCR 1325 be bridged?

I see these questions as vital to understanding the role of women when it comes to conflict management and peace processes, and I believe a thorough understanding of the SCR 1325 is necessary to understand how it has been and can be implemented. In answering these

questions, I hope to gain an understanding of women's participation in peace processes and conflict resolution in Afghanistan, and understand where the gap between the SCR 1325 and the women of Afghanistan occurs.

1.3 Scholarly point of view

I am a student of international development studies, and it is within this context that this research was conducted. Earlier I have studied topics such as gender, development and international relations. This research focuses on aspect on women when it comes to the SCR 1325.

As a young woman, I find it interesting to understand the situation of women in other parts of the world, and I am curious on Afghanistan, as it has a history unlike any other country I have the knowledge of. Women are in most parts of the world still not equal to men, something that triggers my sense of justice.

1.4 Limits and emphasis on the problem statement

There are many aspects of women's rights and women's participation in peace and security in Afghanistan. For the sake of this thesis, I have chosen to focus on the part of this that links with the SCR 1325. Among other things, there is not a focus on sexual violation in this thesis. This is not because I do not believe that this effect the situation of women in Afghanistan, but I believe that excluding sexual violations in this thesis is necessary, for the focus to be on women's participation, and women as actors, not as victims.

1.5 Terms and concepts

'Conflict management and resolution' in this thesis refers to all aspects of dealing and resolving with conflict. When looking at women's participation in this field in Afghanistan, I came to the conclusion that all attempts of dealing with and resolving conflict will be classified as conflict management.

'Women' refers to the sex of the person, i.e. different to men.

'Women's involvement' means the active participation of women, either in conflict management, peace processes, or in other societal fields.

1.6 Purpose of the thesis

My purpose of this thesis is to examine and understand the implementation of SCR 1325 in Afghanistan, and the role that women play within this implementation. I am eager to discover the action that women's groups and women have done, in regards to the topic of this thesis. I am also interested in figuring out how the SCR 1325 have been implemented in Afghanistan, and to understand the role that women play in these regards.

Another purpose of this thesis is that I am a student at Noragric, NMBU, and this is my final product of my master's degree. I have studied this master's programme for two years, for the first time studying development, and this is the result and final exam in my master's programme.

1.7 The disposition of the thesis

This thesis consists of a literature review, where the literature used for the thesis is discussed and explained. The study area shortly describes Afghanistan, its population and the situation of women. In the section of methodology I describe what methods have been used in conducting this research, and explain how I went forward with the research.

My findings have been divided up in four categories; The United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325; National Plans; Women's Groups; and at last Women. In the first section on UN SCR 1325 I describe the history of international politics leading up to the adoption of SCR 1325 before going into more detail on the actual adoption. Further, there will be a section on the implementation on SCR 1325, before moving on to section two, on national plans. Here the NAPWA will be explained; its goals and implementation, followed by a section on GEP.

'Women's Groups' goes into detail about existing women's groups in Afghanistan, starting with the work of Afghan Women's Network, followed by a section on Women for Afghan Women, and then ending with Shuhada Organisation and its work. The fourth section

describes the contributions made by women in Afghanistan; here the work of dr. Sima Samar, Malalai Joya, Manizha Naderi and Rula Ghani will be explained.

In the next part of the thesis, there will be a discussion of the findings; where SCR 1325, National Plans; Women's groups and Women will again be brought up and discussed. The thesis ends with a part containing the conclusion drawn from the research.

2. Literature review

The topic of this thesis is women's participation in conflict management and peace processes in Afghanistan, with special regards to the implementation of Security Council Resolution 1325. I have used a broad variety of sources in this research; news articles; policy papers; policy reviews; scholarly articles; websites of NGOs; the UN website; and published scholarly books. Here I would like to emphasise a few of the sources that has helped shape this thesis, and provide a short description of a variety of the sources used.

Helga Hernes (2014) argues that there are three global trends that has contributed to the focus on an participation of women in politics; 'the human rights revolution', 'the diffusion of democracy'; and 'the growing acceptance of gender equality'. This research was published through the Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO). This research provided good insights of what led up to the adaption of SCR 1325.

Ramsbotham, Woodhouse and Miall (2011) emphasised the importance of the women's movement when it comes to the passing of SCR 1325, published by Polity Press. Chun and Tryggestad (2010) evaluates the results after ten years of the SCR 1325, in a policy brief published by PRIO. United Nations (2010) has also done a research on the ten year impact of SCR1325. Both these articles provides an understanding of how far along the implementation has come, both in general and in Afghanistan.

National Action Plan for the Women of Afghanistan (NAPWA) was implemented in 2007, and this plan provides information of how Afghanistan plans to implement women's participation in the country. The Gender Equality Project (GEP), also implemented in 2007, a cooperation between the United Nations and Afghanistan, provides an outline used in the research to evaluate the measures taken for women in Afghanistan.

Afghan Women's Network, Women for Afghan Women and Shuhada Organisation provides information about their work on their websites. Visions, missions and projects are explained.

A variety of different news sites were used for the gathering of information on women in Afghanistan; among these were the New York Times, NBS News and other internationally recognised news sites.

3. Study Area

Afghanistan is a landlocked country that lies in Southern Asia, bordering Pakistan and Iran. There are a variety of ethnic groups in the country; the two largest groups being the Pashtuns with 42 percent and the Tajiks with 27 percent (CIA World Factbook, 2014). The official languages are Dari and Pashto, and the population consists of 80 percent Sunni Muslims and 19 percent Shia Muslims. In July 2014, the population was estimated to be approximately 31,8 million people (CIA World Factbook, 2014). The life expectancy are 50,5 years, and 64 percent of the population are under the age of 24 (CIA World Factbook). The literacy rates, according to measures from 2000, are 45 percent among men and 12,6 percent among women, although the literacy rates among women are assumed to have gone up (CIA World Factbook, 2014).

Women in Afghanistan are suppressed, but there is a women's movement working for the rights of Afghan women, both within and outside Afghanistan (FOKUS, 2011). Under the Taliban rule, women were not allowed to walk outside their homes without being chaperoned by a male relative (FOKUS, 2011). There is evident that in today's Afghanistan, women are not equal to men in Afghanistan. Afghanistan is a country rich in culture and history, and there are great differences within the country.

After the US led UN intervention in 2001, many international organisations and institutions got involved in the rebuilding and restructuring of Afghanistan. Afghanistan is indeed a country with a long history of conflict, and today there are several plans, policies and projects working on creating a more peaceful Afghanistan.

4. Methodology

When starting to research for this thesis, I decided to use Google to search for topics such as 'gender perspective in Afghanistan'; 'SCR 1325 in Afghanistan'; 'women's participation in Afghanistan'; 'women's empowerment in Afghanistan'; and 'women's role in Afghanistan'. Through this process I learned what has been most researched on when it comes to women's empowerment and participation in Afghanistan.

At the beginning of the research process, I read up on the history of Afghanistan, and learned to know the history and culture of Afghanistan. I read several novels about Afghanistan, just to get a feel of the country and its culture. This is not used in the thesis, but it provided me with an image of how life in Afghanistan can be. I read stories about women's struggle to survive in the rough, conflict-shaped everyday life. As I have never been to Afghanistan, these stories helped me create an image of Afghan lives.

After gaining some general ideas about the history, culture and everyday life in Afghanistan, I started searching for articles regarding SCR 1325; the history and the context of how the resolution came to be. The implementation of Resolution 1325 in Afghanistan was not an easy thing to find clear facts on, and impacts was not an easy task, so in this process I read news articles regarding women in Afghanistan and legislature; as well as research reports on the general implementation of Resolution 1325.

This thesis builds on a literature based research. 'Women, peace and security' is a topic that has come more into action the last few years, and in Afghanistan it took several years after the adoption of SCR 1325 to see the plan for the implementation. This results in there being little scholarly articles, and especially books, about the direct implementation of Resolution 1325.

There is a lot written on sexual violations in Afghanistan, but this I soon decided to not include in this research. The focus in this research lies on women in peace and conflict, and although women's relations within the family and society will have an effect on women's participation, the thesis would simply be too broad if sexual violations were included in the research as well.

In articles and research papers that I have read, names of women and women's organisations contributing to women's empowerment and participation was mentioned, and I noted down all the names I came across. After a while, the list was long, and I read up on the different women and women's organisations. A few were selected, and further researched, deemed as good examples in this context for the thesis.

I have used the internet for a lot of my research; I have found news articles, scholarly papers and research papers that have been used in the thesis. In addition to this, BIBSYS, the library database, has been used in the search of literature. The librarian at Noragric provided me with some helpful tips, and I have spent a long time looking for related literature.

The literature I ended up using were news articles from various countries and publishers. The sources have been thoroughly researched, and those used in this thesis I have deemed reliable for the kind of information I have needed them for. Websites of women's organisations have been used, in particular the ones that I chose to focus on; Afghan Women's Network, Women for Afghan Women and Shuhada Organisation. I have also used a lot of the UN's online resources, for information on UN policies and projects. Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO) has also through their websites offered me valuable articles and policy papers that have been used. The books that have been used are books I have used earlier at NMBU, and in my previous studies, as well as the ones that I found through BIBSYS.

I have chosen to read up on a lot of different sources, and together they have formed a holistic picture of Afghanistan. There have been troubles in finding relevant information on SCR 1325 implementation in Afghanistan, and direct linkages between Resolution 1325 and the national plans, women's organisations and independent women in Afghanistan. The picture I have formed is not complete, but have provided me with enough information to see the gaps in the information.

Olav Dalland (2012) has been informative as to consider what sources are good, and what sources I should rely/not rely on. It has also provided me with an overlook as of how the thesis should look like, and what it should contain.

5. Findings

Looking at 'women, peace and security' in Afghanistan resulted in various findings. The findings have been divided into categories, which we will take a closer look at in this section, starting with a closer look at the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325; the history of how it came in to creation, the adaption of it, and how it is implemented. Further we look at national plans in Afghanistan; if the SCR 1325 is implemented in to these plans, and how. There are many women's organisations operating within Afghanistan, with different focus and aims; we will look at some of the work these organisations do relating to women, peace and security, although not necessarily directly linked with SCR 1325. We will also take a closer look at a few women in Afghanistan which work contributes to the strengthening of women's empowerment in Afghanistan.

5.1 United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325

The United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 was adopted in 2000, and in this part of the thesis the focus will be on women's role in international politics before SCR 1325, what led up to the adoption of the resolution, and how it is implemented.

5.1.1 'Women' in international politics before Resolution 1325

Hernes argues in her Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO) Policy Brief on women's political participation from 2014, that there are three 'global trends' that has formed an increase in the participation and focus on women in politics; the 'human rights revolution', the 'diffusion of democracy' and the 'growing acceptance of gender equality'. We will look at these three trends, and how they have helped pave the way for the Resolution 1325.

The 'human rights revolution' can be described as what happened within the international community after WWII; when in 1948 the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly.

"The development of a significant body of human rights law has transformed individual citizens into legitimate members of the international community with rights of their own,

rights they can appeal to and support, and rights that are universal and encoded as such" (Hernes, 2014). Hernes (2014) argues that with this international human rights body, human rights have challenged states' sovereignty; as such that even though states still are sovereign, there is now an acceptance of certain guidelines that states are held accountable to.

The UDHR "spells out a list of specific, inalienable rights all human beings possess by virtue of being human" (Uvin, 2004, p.9). The document at the time was seen by many as a milestone, as it challenged the limits of how states could treat its citizens (Uvin, 2004). The document ensures the rights that all human beings intrinsically are born with. With the UDHR, a new wave of human rights came into play, and it challenged existing structures, and among its groundbreaking features was that it was universal (Uvin, 2004).

On the spread of democracy, Hernes (2014) claims that this spread has led to governments being accountable to their people. There are several consequences of democracy, and Dahl (2000) argues that some of these consequences are 'essential rights', 'general freedom', 'self determination', 'political equality' and 'peace-seeking'. When democracy started to spread, it did not include women; in fact in Great Britain in 1832, only 5% of the total population over the age of 20 was allowed to vote (Dahl, 2000). Today, the common picture of democracy looks a lot different, although the notion of gender equality within democracies is quite recent (Hernes, 2014).

Hernes writes that: "Mere awareness and knowledge of the increasing body of international human rights and women's human rights has played an important role in the domestic politics of constitution making" (Hernes, 2014, p.3). Within democracies, governments are accountable to their people; if the people are not happy with its government, it will simply not vote for the same representatives come next election. Today, women are a part of that society in which democratic governments are accountable to.

The last trend that Hernes (2014) argues to have affected women's participation is the 'growing acceptance of gender equality'. In the 1960s and 1970s, the women's movement spread from the US, to the Nordic countries and the rest of Europe; which Hernes argues was the start of the third trend (Hernes, 2014). Women's issues were put on the agenda, and the United Nations made 1986-1995 the International Women's Decade (Hernes, 2014). During this time, and after, women's networks have been established, there have been conferences

and talks on the topic, and several conventions have resulted from it; the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) being one of them. One weakness of these covenants and conventions is that they lack enforcement (Hernes, 2014).

The 'human rights revolution', the 'diffusion of democracy' and the 'growing acceptance of gender equality' has, according to Hernes, strengthened women's political participation, the events described earlier, among other movements, paved the way for UN SCR 1325.

5.1.2 UN history leading up to the adoption of Resolution 1325

Before Resolution 1325, the feminist movement had worked and lobbied for years for such a resolution. Women's organisations lobbied the Security Council, with a focus on getting women on the security and peace agenda, recognizing women as actors and participants in the field (Ramsbotham et al, 2011). The Coalition on Women and International Peace and Security, consisting of several NGOs, led this lobbying, and in October 2000, Resolution 1325 was passed after an open session on women, peace and security hosted by Namibia; who had been persuaded by the Coalition on Women and International Peace and Security to hold this session, due to the country's own conflict history (Ramsbotham et al, 2011).

The Inter-Agency Network on Women and Gender Equality (IANWGE) has given a short history of the events that led up to the adoption of Resolution 1325 - where the women's movement's lobbying is mentioned as one of the factors; but there were also a series of events within the United Nations, where the focus on women grew, that strengthened the awareness of women in conflict. The United Nations Charter is committed to the 'equal rights of men and women', but it took decades from the focus on women in conflict were first brought up, and until the UN system had created a framework and policies that included the role of women (IANGWE, 2005).

In 1975, the World Conference on the International Year of Women in Mexico City "identified international cooperation, the strengthening of international peace and women's political participation as specific areas for national and international action" (IANGWE, 2004, p.1). In 1979, the General Assembly adopted the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), and in 1980 the World Conference of the

United Nations Decade for Women took place in Copenhagen; in this conference women were seen as 'agents of change' (IANGWE, 2004). The Nairobi World Conference took place in 1985, and women's participation were considered vital to peacebuilding (IANGWE, 2004). 1985 to 1995 became known as the International Women's Decade (Hernes, 2014). In Beijing the Fourth World Conference on Women was held in 1995, and delegates "discussed the increased participation of women in conflict resolution at decision-making levels; the protection of women living in the situation of armed conflict; reduction of excessive military expenditure; and the promotion of women's contribution to fostering the culture of peace" (IANGWE, 2004). Here, the creation of a 'Platform for Action' took place, and in 2000 at a General Assembly, these commitments were reaffirmed (IANGWE, 2004).

"[T]he Security Council issued a Presidential Statement on International Women's Day in March 2000. It recognized the link between peace and gender equality, and the fact that women's full participation in peace operations was essential to sustainable peace. It was an important precursor to resolution 1325" (IANGWE, 2004, p.3).

October 31, 2000, the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 was adopted.

5.1.3 Resolution 1325

With UN SCR 1325, the view of women changed; they were no longer viewed simply as victims of conflict, but also as actors, and 1325 "was the first all-encompassing Security Council resolution on issues concerning women during armed conflicts and in the post-conflict peacebuilding phase" (Chun & Tryggestad, 2010, §1). Resolution 1325 addresses different actors, that all play a crucial role for its implementation; one of these actors being civil society and women's groups (Chun and Tryggestad, 2010).

"*Reaffirming* the important role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts and in peace-building, and *stressing* the importance of their equal participation and full involvement in all efforts for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security, and the need to increase their role in decision-making with regard to conflict prevention and resolution" (United Nations Security Council, 2000, §5).

Resolution 1325 clearly states that role of women in conflict is important, and urges member states to increase women's representation at all decision-making levels, and encourages the member states to create an action plan on 'women, peace and security'. It emphasises the importance of all actors to adopt a gender perspective, and create measures that supports women's role in conflict and peace.

5.1.4 Resolution 1325 in Afghanistan

10 years after the adoption on Resolution 1325, an overall evaluation of the resolution shows that there has been limited success with regards to women's participation in peace negotiations and peace agreements (United Nations, 2010). United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA) has worked hard to "with varying success to ensure that women were included in the peace process (United Nations, 2010, p.15). In 2001, at the signing of the Bonn Agreement, only two out of 35 official participant were women (United Nations, 2010). The Emergency Loya Jirga, established in 2002, included 13% women representation, and the establishment of the Ministry of Women's Affairs in 2002 was a part of the arrangements for including women in peace and conflict (UNAMA , 2010).

"As women are underrepresented or absent in decision making structures of political parties and armed groups they are not automatically invited as delegates to peace talks" (United Nations, 2010, p.17). This has become one of the struggles to include women in peace talks, as they are not naturally a part of these talks, and it has proven difficult to involve women regarding these talks.

5.2 National Plans

In this section, the focus will be on national plans already in place in Afghanistan. Today, 46 countries have adopted a national action plan on Resolution 1325; Afghanistan not being one of them, although Afghanistan is on the list of countries with an upcoming national plans (Peace Women, *List of National Action Plan*¹). Therefore, the focus will be on the 'National Action Plan for the Women of Afghanistan: 2007-2017', which refers to the Resolution 1325, and on the Gender Equality Project, as these both focus on women in Afghanistan.

¹ This list is updated when new national action plans are adopted. This reference is based on countries that had implemented national action plans before November 19, 2014.

5.2.1 National Action Plan for the Women of Afghanistan

The National Action Plan for the Women of Afghanistan (NAPWA) states that the situation of women in Afghanistan today is a challenge to human development; "The women of Afghanistan are among the worst off in the world, both in comparison to Afghan men and with women of most countries" (NAPWA, 2007, p.7). The situation of women and public participation is poor, and there is a need for an investment in education for women. There are many factors that results in the status of women in Afghanistan, which has led to their limited participation within society as well as their low status within the family.

The Bonn Agreement "laid the foundation for increasing women's involvement in government and for more concerted action to advance the role of women in the country" (NAPWA, 2007, p.11) This resulted in a focus on increasing women's involvement in decision-making. The Bonn Agreement also led to the adoption of a national constitution; which under article 22 ensures the equality between men and women when it comes to rights and duties (NAPWA, 2007).

In 2006, Afghanistan and the international community signed the Afghanistan Compact. The Compact seeks to restore peace and rebuild Afghanistan under three pillars; 'security'; 'governance, rule of law, and human rights'; and 'economic and social development' (NAPWA, 2007, p.11).

NAPWA builds on these agreements and previous experiences with frameworks for women and peace. The vision of NAWPA is "a peaceful and progressive country where women and men enjoy security; equal rights and opportunities in all aspects of life" (NAPWA, 2007, p.11). The mission of NAPWA is to promote the implementation of women's empowerment and gender equality, with a goal of Afghanistan being a country where men and women enjoy their full rights, and where women are empowered.

The goals of NAPWA will be followed through with three strategies; 'eliminate discrimination against women, 'develop their human capital' and 'ensure their leadership', for women to become full participant in Afghan society and in their own lives (NAPWA, 2007). NAPWA states that it is a legal obligation to Afghanistan to eliminate all forms of

discrimination against women. This is planned to be followed by a revision of laws, to make sure that women are equal to men under the constitution, and within Afghan society.

Afghanistan, through NAPWA, therefore intend to invest in programs that will strengthen women's status. NAPWA also includes the Millennium Development Goals (MDG); with the "target of thirty percent representation of women in elected and appointed bodies at all levels of government by 2020" (NAPWA, 2007, p. 16). The Declaration of the Essential Rights of Afghan Women, The Bonn Agreement and the Afghan Constitution are all integrated into NAPWA, and the importance of women's representation is highlighted.

When it comes to security, NAPWA states that: "The government recognizes the importance of putting all Afghan citizens - women and men alike - at the centre of its approach to security concerns" and it specifically points out the importance of Resolution 1325; "The government also recognizes and supports the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1325" (NAPWA, 2007, p. 24). It stresses that not only are women victims of war, but also 'agents of peace'. One of the goals of NAPWA is articulated as such; "To build and sustain a secure environment that enables women to live a life free from intimidation, fear and violence, and which supports their participation and leadership on promoting and maintaining peace and security" (NAPWA, 2007, p.25). One of the indicators of this goal will be the number of women participating in peace processes and promoting peace, both at community and national levels.

Several measures will be taken in order to achieve the goals set out by NAPWA; to promote, support, develop and strengthen women's participation and gender perspective in the respected areas, they aim to achieve these goals. NAPWA sets out to adopt strategies to ensure they meet these goals, as well as continued consultation with women from all levels, to formulate recommendations on how to implement such programmes and plans.

5.2.2 Gender Equality Project I

The Gender Equality Project (GEP) began in March 2007, and was planned be completed by February 2009. The project aimed to develop gender-mainstreaming methods, and to strengthen the capacity of the government (Rodriguz and Anwari, 2011). GEP had a slow start, and was not properly implemented until September 2009; and as a result of this the project was extended several times, until December 2011 (Rodriguz and Anwari, 2011). The

project launched several 'pilot projects' such as 'training of Mullah's'; 'income generation for women'; 'legal help centres'; and 'gender responsive budgeting' (Rodriguz and Anwari, 2011). GEP was a collaboration between the government of Afghanistan and the UNDP; and the Ministry of Women's Affairs (MoWA), the Ministry of Economy and a UNDP Project management team were responsible for the implementation (UNDP, 2007).

Component 3 of GEP is on women's empowerment, with emphasis on the topics of 'conflict resolution', 'justice', 'security and peace'. The component has many actors engaged in the implementation, selected NGOs and women's groups being some of them, in addition to MoWA (UNDP, 2007). In this component, the resistance of gender equality is discussed:

"Cultural sensitivities with respect to the promotion of gender equality may lead to some resistance as well. The concepts of gender equality, women's rights and women's empowerment are not yet well understood in Afghanistan. They are frequently referred to as western and un-Islamic, even though women's equal rights, etc. are firmly grounded in Afghanistan's constitution and Islamic teachings. By stressing Afghanistan's traditions of men's and women's responsibilities, by showing the socioeconomic benefits to the family units, by the use of culturally sensitive terminology and by involving religious leaders in spreading the gender-equality messages, such resistance can be minimised" (UNDP, 2007, p.20).

GEP is constructed to create a series of pilot projects, and to work with several actors within Afghanistan. The programme is constructed in regards to resolutions, programmes and goals already in place, and aims to promote gender equality through these different partners and projects.

In 2010, through GEP, 500 religious leaders had been trained on gender issues, help centres had been created and 'gender responsive budgeting' had been established in the Ministry of Economy.

5.2.3 Gender Equality Project II

In January 2013 GEP II was launched, planned to be in place until December 2015 (UNDP, 2013). There have been achievements in Afghanistan since 2002, but there are still challenges

regarding women in Afghanistan; amongst others women's participation in decision-making (UNDP, 2013). GEP II focuses on "lack of or weak support provided to women's rights through policies and legal documents; feeble participation of women in the economic activities; and limited access to justice and human rights systems due to the weakness of the judicial system" (UNDP, 2013).

5.3 Women's Groups

There are many groups that works with women, women's rights and women's empowerment in Afghanistan today; international as well as national. The focus in this paper will be on Afghan Women's Network, Women for Afghan Women and Shuhada; as these three organisations all work on women, , although with different ways of doing so.

5.3.1 Afghan Women's Network

After the fourth United Nations World Conference on Women on Beijing in 1995, the Afghan Women's Network (AWN) was founded. The Global Network of Women Peacebuilders (GNWP) writes AWN is a 'well-established' network for women's organisations in Afghanistan. It is a non-profit organisation, which both works as a network of women's organisations, as well as it undertake "its own advocacy function" (GNWP, 2014). AWN has its own managers on 'advocacy', 'networking' and 'research and capacity building', and works at different levels for the empowerment of women.

In 2011, AWN released a report called 'UN SCR 1325: Implementation in Afghanistan', which focuses on the ongoing conflict in Afghanistan, women's role in the conflict, as well as relevant policies and practices; ending the report with recommendations on what the different actors involved in Afghanistan should do to promote 'women, peace and security'.

The report states that urban women from peaceful areas take part in civil society, but in small numbers (AWN, 2011). It emphasises that elected women in Parliament is not synonymous with the support for women's rights, as there are women in Parliament that works their husbands agendas or simply do not work on the issue (AWN, 2011). The report underlines the importance of raising awareness of Resolution 1325, and AWN has contributed to this process.

The report sees the National Consultative Peace Jirga as a success, with regards to the number of women included in this institution; namely 21 percent. This was a result of heavy lobbying by women's activist for a strong inclusion of women. The statistics on the involvement of women's organisations in the implementation of Resolution 1325 are inconclusive, which makes it hard to come to conclusion of their involvement and its outputs (AWN, 2011).

AWN (2011) draws attention to the fact that gender and peace education is not formalised into the teaching plans of Afghan schools, and school officials confirmed this. According to the report, this means that school children in Afghanistan does not get education on gender and peace in a manner that teaches them about conflict resolution, equality between men and women and the values of peace.

The report ends with conclusions, and a set of recommendations. "Afghan women's participation in the areas of governance, security, peace and justice has certainly expanded since 2001. However, there are extensive gaps in how much access women have to positions with influence and decision making power, to safety and security at the most basic level" (AWN, 2011). The recommendations are aimed at different actors in Afghanistan, from the government to civil society actors; committing to an 'Action Plan for Peace, Reconciliation, and Justice' being one of the recommendations to the government.

5.3.2 Women for Afghan Women

Women for Afghan Women (WAW) is a grassroots, civil society organisation, working with the rights of disenfranchised women in Afghanistan (WAW). It is the biggest shelter-providing NGO in Afghanistan, in addition to working with women in Afghanistan, it also helps Afghan women in New York, and advocate for women's rights in Washington D.C. and with Afghan leaders (WAW).

Manizha Naderi is the executive director of WAW. She moved from New York to Kabul to launch WAW's programs in Afghanistan, after researching what women in Afghanistan needed, and looking at what programs already existed in Afghanistan, and the first 'Family Guidance Centre' was opened in Kabul in March 2007 (WAW). The organisation is community based, and close to 99% of the staff consists of Afghans. During the years, there

have been established several 'Family Guidance Centres' (FGC), which offers counselling, mediation and legal representation (WAW).

WAW consists of different programs, aimed to aid the women of Afghanistan. They offer women's rights training programmes, speaking to villages and communities about women's rights, which has resulted in an increase in referrals to the FGCs. WAW have established 'Women's Shelters', which are homes where women can stay until their cases in the FGC are resolved. These shelters are situated at confidential locations, for the safety of the women. The 'Halfway House' is in Kabul, and is a temporary home for women that needs a place to stay after their cases have been resolved in the FGC, where their education is continued. Another measure that WAW has taken is the 'Transitional Houses', which are homes for Afghan women that have been imprisoned, providing these women with a safe place to come and live. In addition to this, WAW has also provided 'Children's Support Centres' (WAW).

Manizha Naderi, on behalf of WAW, expresses big expectations towards women's situation in Afghanistan after the election of the new president, Ashraf Ghani, who supports women's rights and to the role that his wife Rula Ghani will have regarding women in Afghanistan.

5.3.3 Shuhada Organisation

Shuhada Organisations (SO) was founded in 1989 by Dr. Sima Samar and Mr. Abdul Rauf Naveed, who is now the executive director of SO. The organisation started working to strengthen the reproductive health care system in Afghanistan, but came to work with human rights, women's empowerment, gender inclusion and democracy in addition to health care (SO).

SO has worked to empower women in Afghanistan through several projects, one example being 'empowering women through the support of independent media' (SO). Another example is the campaign to raise women's awareness and empowerment; this was done through training sessions, posters, brochures and radio messages (SO). SO also created a program to raise women's awareness, literacy and legal assistance, in the Pajab and Waras district.

5.4 Women

There are many brave and courageous women in Afghanistan, many whom have done a marvellous job at empowering girls and women, and helped them to gain a stronger voice and presence in society. This section will focus on a few, whom in different ways are women that have been able to create their own space in Afghan society, and in various ways have become actors of diverse versions of conflict management and peace processes. Finding women directly linked with peace processes and conflict management has been challenging, but there are several women doing a job that helps create space for women, and in different ways contributes to a road to conflict management and peace. Where women are able to demand their space in society, getting an education and taking part in work, women's voices will be heard and taken into account, and this is one way of creating a platform for conflict resolution.

5.4.1 Sima Samar

Doctor Sima Samar is an Hazara woman; the Hazara being one of the most persecuted minorities of Afghanistan, in addition to being a woman, means that dr. Samar has fought a hard struggle to get where she is today (Women's Refugee Commission, 2014). Dr. Samar got her medical degree from the University of Kabul, which was an impressive accomplishment on her side (Women's Refugee Commission, 2014). In 1984, she fled to Pakistan; where she founded schools and hospitals for Afghan people, and in 1989 she founded Shuhada Organisation together with Mr. Abdul Naveed (Women's Refugee Council, 2014). Shuhada is a non-profit, non-political NGO that, amongst other topics, works on empowerment of women (SO).

Sima Samar was one out of two women in the Interim Administration of Afghanistan, from December 2001 until June 2002, where she held the position of Vice Chair and Minister of Women's Affairs (Women's Refugee Commission, 2014). Today, Dr. Samar is the head of the Afghan Independent Human Rights Commission (AIHRC) (Women's Refugee Commission, 2014). Dr. Samar's résumé is outstanding; she has held high positions in the government, as well as establishing a well-renowned NGO. She is a women that has been able to create space for herself and her beliefs in the Afghan society, which has not been an easy accomplishment.

5.4.2 Malalai Joya

Malalai Joya was born in Afghanistan in 1978, and only four days old her mother brought her and her nine siblings to Iran (Saner, 2011). They later travelled to a refugee camp in Pakistan, where Joya began teaching reading and writing to other female refugees, before Joya, at age 16, went back home to Afghanistan where she started a secret school for girls with the help of the Organisation of Promoting Afghan Women's Capabilities (Saner, 2011). Malalai Joya has worked with health and literacy issues, and in 2003 she criticized the mujahideen in the loya jirga (BBCNews, 2005). In 2005, she ran for election for the Parliament, and won by raising her voice and criticizing the warlords, and became the youngest elected member (Saner, 2011). She was removed from her position in 2007, after having accused members of parliament of being criminal warlords (Jensen and Hammer, 2014). Today, after having survived several assassination attempts, Joya lives underground, often changing her address and with strict security around her (Saner, 2011) (Jensen and Hammer, 2014).

Her book, 'Raising my Voice', also known as 'A Woman Among Warlords' tells Joya's story of being a woman in Afghanistan. She is critical of the international presence in the country, and firmly believes that women's rights must be gained within the country, without foreign help. Joya bravely tells her story, although it has led her to a life full of threats and dangers. Although not all women's activists agrees with all her points, Joya is an important voice in today's Afghanistan.

In 2013, Malalai Joya went on a tour in the US, addressing topics such as women's vulnerability in Afghanistan, supported by the United National Antiwar Coalition and Afghan Women's Mission (Afghan Women's Mission, 2013). Joya has become a spokesperson for young women in Afghanistan, and has raised her voice where many women and men dare not.

5.4.3 Manizha Naderi

Manizha Naderi was born in Kabul, but her family soon moved to New York, where she was raised (Women for Afghan Women). In 2002, Naderi became a volunteer for Women for

Afghan Women (WAW), and in 2006 she moved to Kabul and started WAW's work in Afghanistan (Women for Afghan Women). Today, she is the leader of WAW, and during her leadership she has opened 'family guidance centres', 'women's centres', 'halfway houses' and 'children's support centres' (Women for Afghan Women).

WAW works with women and families, with a focus on education, community advocacy and issues relating to domestic abuse; it employs several hundred staff members, and are spread out around the country (Women for Afghan Women). Naderi's work contributes to helping women in Afghanistan, preserving their safety and helping them move on in life - with a safe place to stay, or an education to improve their situation (Women for Afghan Women).

Naderi describes the work that WAW does in an article published in the Cairo Review of Global Affairs: "Women's rights organisations like Women for Afghan Women (WAW) work with individual women and girls who have been denied basic human rights and who would lack access to justice were it not for the caseworkers and lawyers who mediate with their families, defend them in court, arrange medical treatment for the most grievously wounded, take care of their children, and rehabilitate their lives" (Naderi, 2014).

Through her work, she empowers girls and women, and negotiates conflicts between women and families. This is one way of doing conflict management in a war-torn country. When asked if her children are the influence for her work, Naderi answers: "I don't know if they are my influence, because I see every child in Afghanistan as my daughter, so I separate them from that. The work I do, I was born in Afghanistan, but I was fortunate enough to grow up in the US. Growing up, I saw the violations happening to Afghan women, and I wanted to help out, and that's how it started" (Pearlman, 2012).

5.4.4 Rula Ghani

Rula Ghani, the Christian wife of the newly elected president of Afghanistan Ashraf Ghani, was born in Lebanon (Saifullah, 2014). Mrs. Ghani met Ashraf Ghani in Lebanon, at an American university where they both were studying (Walsh and Nordland, 2014). Rula Ghani is an educated woman; she has studied in Paris, Beirut and New York, and is a journalist (Walsh and Nordland, 2014) (Saifullah, 2014). Both the president and Mrs. Ghani have proclaimed that she will be working for children and women's rights, as the president's wife,

which has been met with various reactions (Saifullah, 2014). Mrs. Ghani has already stated that she appreciates the role women play, and encourages the Afghan people to "appreciate more the role of women at home and outside" (Saifullah, 2014).

Rula Ghani has been criticized for being a Christian, for not being regarded as Afghan, and for not being suitable for her role as the president's wife. Not since Queen Soroya in the 1920s, the wife of King Amanullah, has a wife of an Afghan leader taken on a public role, and Queen Soroya met massive resistance after showing herself in public without a veil (Walsh and Nordland, 2014). Although Mrs. Ghani has critics, one example being Mawlawi Habibullah Hussam, a religious scholar and imam deeming Mrs. Ghani as 'not qualified', she has supporters from the women's movement in the country (Rahim and Bruton, 2014). One of her supporters are the women's activist Shukria Barakzai, saying: "This will be a first for Afghanistan that the first lady is seen in public and this can have a very positive effect on women. This is a male dominated society and a strong woman like her in the palace will make a huge difference" (Rahim and Bruton, 2014). Mrs. Ghani has a lot to prove, especially for the women of Afghanistan, as not all women's activists are sure her role will be a positive one. Khatera Asadi, working with promoting women's rights, is sceptical; partly due to the fact that she is not Muslim, and partly because the people of Afghanistan does not know her (Rahim and Bruton, 2014).

Ashraf Ghani himself has grown up in a family of strong women. A family friend, Seema Ghani, has gone out and said that the president says: "Respect a woman as a woman - not as a mother, sister or wife" (Walsh and Nordland, 2014). What road Rula Ghani goes down, or what she may be able to accomplish is for the future to tell, but Rula Ghani may be the first wife of an Afghan leader that is taking a public part in Afghanistan since the 1920s (Walsh and Nordland, 2014).

Mr. Ghani himself has undergone quite the transformation before and during the presidential election; he grew a beard, replaced his coffee with tea, and went from Western clothing to more traditional Afghan clothing. Where the future will take Mr. and Mrs. Ghani is yet to see, but during his first few months of presidency, both Mr. and Mrs. Ghani has expressed views that brings hope to the women of Afghanistan.

6. Discussion

6.1 United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325

SCR 1325 was adopted in 2000, and women's participation and empowerment was brought on to the international agenda. The resolution urges states, as well as other actors such as NGOs and international bodies, to take action and implement a women's perspective in their agendas. Resolution 1325 stresses the importance of equal participation. The responsibility of the implementation of Resolution 1325 lies on the states themselves.

Ten years after the implementation the United Nations evaluated the resolution and its achievements. The report by the UN (2010) shows that there has been limited success when it comes to the participation of women in peace processes. McPhedran (2005) indicates that women's rights tends to not be measured as the most important factor, when security is on the table. The value of the integration of women is simply not high enough, and can easily end up as remarks, rather than priorities.

There has been a lot of focus on the SCR 1325, and a lot of women's organisations sees the resolution as an important step towards the empowerment of women and women's participation in security related issues. Resolution 1325 have put women on the international agenda, and has contributed to increased focus on the integration of women in peace and security. Afghanistan can show to results such as the 13 percent women included in the Emergency Loya Jirga.

It is difficult to measure the result of a resolution, as there are no straight guidelines, and states themselves are responsible for creating national action plans (NAP) on Resolution 1325. Afghanistan's NAP is pending, and in a few years time it might be possible to measure the results, or lack of results, from this plan. It took several years from the adaption of the resolution until it became evident in national action plans and in government actions. Resolution 1325 had a slow start, and with varying efforts to implement the resolution, there might take time before we see clear results in countries such as Afghanistan.

What Resolution 1325 brings to the table is a framework which can be consulted when creating policies and projects on security and peace. It can work as a guideline, and with long-term commitment to SCR 1325, it certainly holds the potential to contribute to positive changes for women.

6.2 National Plans

6.2.1 National Action Plan for the Women of Afghanistan

Afghanistan has, as earlier stated, not a national action plan on Resolution 1325 in place. There is a plan pending, and if it gets ratified, an evaluation of this can be made. What Afghanistan do have is NAPWA, which refers to SCR 1325, and aims to include women in peace processes and conflict management. There has been an increasing focus on women's participation in Afghanistan, and NAWPA is a result of this. It builds upon earlier agreements, and envisions a future Afghanistan where women are more prominent participants. NAPWA do consult women's organisations, and this can be regarded as a positive step toward integrating women. What can be said is that SCR 1325, although without a NAP, did have an effect on policies in Afghanistan, as it was implemented in NAPWA.

6.2.2 The Gender Equality Project

The Gender Equality Project in Afghanistan had a difficult start, and only became properly in place a few years after the project's start. This led to several extensions of the project; which might have had an unfortunate effect on the projects outcome. Even so, the SCR 1325 components of 'women, peace and security' was integrated into GEP, resulting in pilot projects tackling this issue. The training of religious leaders is a step closer to the acceptance of women in public space in Afghanistan.

The lack of a NAP on SCR 1325 in Afghanistan makes this part a bit more difficult, as it is unclear what parts of the other national plans are directly influenced by SCR 1325, and what is influenced by other projects and plans implemented in Afghanistan. There seems to be a lack of political will within Afghanistan to properly implement Resolution 1325, but the pending NAP might change this impression. The newly elected President Ashraf Ghani carries with him a lot of expectations, and it seems as though he is ready to make social

change in Afghanistan (Nordland and Walsh, 2014). What the future holds for SCR 1325 and Afghanistan is now in the hands of the new government.

6.3 Women's Groups

The peace jirga was received as a major achievement by women's activists; after the lobbying of inclusion of women in the peace jirga, women representatives constituted 334 out of 1,668 participants (Hamid, 2011). "At this jirga, women demanded protection of the gains they have made the past nine years should reconciliation with the current parties in conflict occur; national programs must contain 30 % women; participation and inclusion of women in creation of national policy and programs; women participant voices must not be negated based on their gender; and decisions and policies without social justice and gender justice are unacceptable. The list of recommendations gives a snapshot of the priorities of Afghan women activists as it relates to the shifting political and social dimensions within the country." (Hamid, 2011, p. 26). It becomes evident that the body of women's activists have beliefs in women's rights and participation, and this is an example of the measures women's activists goes to.

6.3.1 Afghan Women's Network

Women's groups and organisations use their voices to lobby for the inclusion of women in the security and peace sector. AWN's report on the implementation of SCR 1325 in Afghanistan (2011) shows that they are active at promoting women's implementation. AWN works with the SCR 1325 as a framework, and are persistent in their work. AWN function as a networking platform, as well as it does its own advocacy.

The AWN report (2011) has been seen by many, and when researching on the implementation of Resolution 1325 in Afghanistan, you will both stumble upon it rather quickly, as well as it is referred to in several articles and researches on the topic. AWN constitutes an important organ for women in Afghanistan, and has managed to become a large and well-known organization. Even so, it seems like there is a gap between the work that organisations such as AWN does, and the implementation of the SCR 1325 from the government.

6.3.2 Women for Afghan Women

Women for Afghan Women works with disenfranchised women in Afghanistan, and their work contributes to the empowerment of many women, whose lives would be drastically different without the support from WAW. It deals with conflict resolution at the local level, and the 'Family Guidance Centres' is a clear example of this. The women they help find their own way to WAW, are advised by the Ministry of Women's Affairs to consult them, or are recommended by other organs to search for the help of WAW. WAW is an important organisation in Afghanistan, and their work relates to the SCR 1325. Even so, there is no direct link between WAW and the government of Afghanistan, and this work is done on the will of the organisation. It becomes clear that the women of Afghanistan are capable of dealing with conflict management. The work WAW does creates a more peaceful society, as women are able to create a life where they are empowered, and WAW helps find peaceful solutions for women who without their support would have to deal with great conflicts within their families.

Women's groups, such as WAW, deal with women, peace and security on an everyday basis; they create space in the society where women are given a chance to start a new life outside of a violent marriage. These women are educated and taught life-skills that provides for them a better future.

6.3.3 Shuhada Organisation

Shuhada Organisation works on the spreading of information, through training sessions and campaigns to raise women's awareness on empowerment. It also offers women legal assistance, which can be of big support in cases where the local police do not meet these women with the help and support they are required to get.

6.3.4 General on Women's Organisations

Women's organisations in Afghanistan offer support and help to women that local institutions do not. They create a space where women are allowed a voice and an opinion, and they use this voice to articulate the wrong-doings in Afghan society. These organisations are important actors in peace and security, and help model a society where women are equal and

empowered. I believe that these organisations creates a better life for many Afghan women, as they provides something that cannot be found elsewhere; namely help, support, legal advice and backing on issues that can be hard to deal with alone as a woman.

Shuhada Organisation also runs more than a hundred schools in Afghanistan, creating better a better chance for young Afghan girls to get an education (Latschan, 2012). Education of girls is one step closer to the empowerment of women; a society of literate and educated women creates more qualified and prepared women for the participation of politics, peace and security.

6.4 Women

6.4.1 Sima Samar

Women like dr. Sima Samar are important for the women of Afghanistan. Women such as herself, and other brave women like her, pave the way into professions, offices and public spaces, where up until recently - women were not welcome.

Through her work, dr. Samar has played an important role trying to reshape the image of Afghan women, but what does this have to do with conflict resolution and peace processes? For women to be able to participate in conflict resolutions or holding a leading role in a peace process, several things must be in place; one being the acceptance of women in public, professional and social space. Another important factor for women to be able to participate in such work, education of women must be in place, where women can learn how to read and write.

Sima Samar was awarded with the alternative Nobel Prize in 2012 for her "courage and commitment in one of the world's most unstable regions" (Latschan, 2012). Sima Samar has worked her whole life for the rights of women, and for human rights. She has voiced her opinions on numerous occasions, and shows Afghan women that there is room for strong women in the political arena. This has come at a cost, and she lives with a constant threat to her life, as not all of the Afghan society agrees with her opinions (Latschan, 2012).

6.4.2 Malalai Joya

Malalai Joya, like dr. Sima Samar, has worked with the education of girls. In addition to that, Malalai Joya has been a woman challenging the political institutions of Afghanistan by raising her voice and criticising the parliament and its members. This took great courage, and resulted in Joya leading a life filled with more threats and dangers. Although she was not allowed to keep her position in the parliament, Joya was seen and heard by men and women of power, and her action led to news articles all over the world; not only was she seen in Afghanistan, but in most of the western world. Her voice was loud, and for that she paid a prize where she no longer can stay in the same address for too long at a time, and where she is surrounded by security for her own safety. With doing so, she attracted awareness to the injustice that takes place in Afghanistan.

Malalai Joya spoke out about injustice. There have been little reconciliation in Afghanistan, and this points out one aspect that is problematic in Afghanistan today. For peace processes and conflict management to flourish, issues like the ones Joya spoke out against needs to be addressed.

6.4.3 Manizha Naderi

Naderi is a courageous woman, and her work is very important for the women of Afghanistan. Through her work, she creates a space where women are taken care of, so that they can move on from being victims, to being independent actors in their own lives.

Naderi writes articles featured in online newspapers, and expresses her views on women's organisations and the work that they do. She uses her voice, and addresses her concerns, which is admirable considering the repercussions this have on her own life. All these women, who talk out loud in public about their concerns, endangers their own lives for the sake of women and women's rights. These voices are important, especially in a country like Afghanistan, as there are not many public forums where these views are welcomed.

6.4.4 Rula Ghani

Rula Ghani holds an important position, as she is the wife of the president of Afghanistan. The future will tell if what has been said so far about will come true, but she seems eager to work on women and women's role in society. Due to her position, this might lead to loud discussions in Afghanistan, though they might not all agree with her. Ever the more, her voice can be an important voice for the women of Afghanistan.

7. Conclusion

It seems evident that the SCR 1325 is not a resolution that has either started on the ground and worked its way up, or started at the top and worked its way all the way down to the civil society organisations. Several women's organisations has taken it upon themselves to work with the Resolution 1325, as well as the government have implemented plans and projects touching on the topic of Resolution 1325. It does though seem as if these different actors works separately on the topic in many instances, even if at some points the women's organisations are conferred with.

The SCR 1325 comes from the UN, and it has encouraged its member states to adopt the resolution and create action plans for its implementation. As earlier mentioned, so far Afghanistan has failed to do so. What the government of Afghanistan have done, is include Resolution 1325 into NAPWA and to a certain extent GEP. These plans and projects in its turn, seems to have failed at involving the already existing institutions and tools that are already in place in Afghanistan. The women's organisations have a lot of on ground experience and knowledge of the issue, but still seems to be working alone or in cooperation with each other more than in cooperation with the government.

Where does this gap appear? It seems as though the status of women in Afghanistan has made it difficult for women to be a part of the high level conflict management and peace processes, and even if included, their voices does not count equal to the voices of men. This is a problem for the future work on women, peace and security in Afghanistan, and structural changes needs to take place.

Through this research there has been difficulties in locating where the gap between the SCR 1325 and the women of Afghanistan appears, and it seems a necessity to conduct an analysis of the governments concrete actions and steps towards SCR 1325.

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Acronyms

AIHRC

Afghanistan Independent Human Rights
Commission

AWN

Afghan Women's Network

GEP

Gender Equality Project
(United Nations Development Programme-
Afghanistan)

MDG

Millennium Development Goals

MoVA

Ministry of Women's Affairs

NAP

National Action Plan

NAPWA

UNDP

United Nations Development Programme

UN SCR

United Nations Security Council Resolution

WAW

Women for Afghan Women

National Action Plan for the Women of
Afghanistan

NGO

Non-Governmental Organization

PRIO

Peace Research Institute Oslo

SO

Shuhada Organisation

THRA

Training Human Rights Association for
Afghan Women

UDHR

Universal Declaration of Human Rights

UN

United Nations

UNAMA

United Nations Assistance Mission in
Afghanistan