

## **Is the Portrayal of Women's Role Changing in United Nations Peacekeeping Resolutions?**

**Victoria Martín de la Rosa**

Universidad Complutense  
Avda. Complutense s/n 28040 Madrid  
ESIC, Business and Marketing School,  
Madrid Spain

**Elena Domínguez Romero**

Universidad Complutense  
Avda. Complutense s/n 28040 Madrid  
Spain

### **Abstract**

*UN Resolution 1325 marked a groundbreaking achievement in terms of recognizing for the first time the need to increase the involvement of women in peace processes to perform a more active role and institute a gender perspective in peacekeeping. Some other UN resolutions followed, as for instance 1820, 1888, 1889 and 2122. The aim of this paper is to analyze the representation of women in these UN pronouncements from a cognitive approach to shed light on the way in which women are actually being portrayed by means of the metaphors used.*

**Keywords:** UN resolutions; women's agency; peacekeeping; conceptual metaphors; cognitivism

### **1. Introduction**

The equal rights of women and men, in the interwar period, were firstly affirmed in The Pan American Conference in Montevideo in 1933 (Berkovitch, 1999a). After World War II the United Nations Charter, in 1945, adopts the same principle, also reflected in art. 2 of The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) (Pietilä & Vickers, 1994). Nevertheless, as Zinsser (2000) says "From its founding until 1975 and the declaration of the International Women's Year (IWY), the United Nations did little to advance the cause of women's rights"; from her point of view, "the condition of women worldwide was never a priority for action in any part of the United Nations system" (p. 139).

In the 1970s we can find a more attentive approach to the interests of women, as can be seen in the fact that the United Nations General Assembly proclaimed 1975 as International Women's Year with the themes of equality, development and peace (Berkovitch, 1999b). This can be seen both in the *Declaration of Mexico on the Equality of Women and Their Contribution to Development and Peace* at the world conference in Mexico City in 1975, plus the importance of the proclamation of the 1976-1985 period as the *UN Decade for Women* at the same conference. This last initiative, in Pietilä's words (2007), "changed the world" (p. 54).

On the other hand, 1974 can be marked as an important date as it is the time when the General Assembly adopted the *Declaration on the Protection of Women and Children in Emergency and Armed Conflict*. The year 1979 is also considered a relevant date as the *Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination* was signed (Pietilä & Vickers, 1994). As pointed out by Berkovitch (1999a), it is "the most comprehensive convention on women's rights"; in its preamble it can be read that "the full and complete development of a country, the welfare of the world and the cause of peace require the maximum participation of women on equal terms with men in all fields" (p. 144).

This new dynamics generated significant momentum among the different world Conferences that were held later, from 1975 up to the *Fourth World Conference on Women* (Beijing, 1995), which for Pietilä (2007) was "The greatest success of all time" (p. 70). The reason being it featured a Section (E) on Women and Armed Conflict, whose outcome document (*The Beijing Platform for Action*) is considered very important as governments vowed to improve women's positions and to implement legislation that would secure their rights.

It must be said at this point that the role of NGO-led international women's rights movement was extremely relevant throughout the decade to place emphasis on the problems and interests of women in the successive conferences (Chen, 1995; Friedman, 2003).

Each of those UN world conferences has increased the visibility of UN activities for women by introducing a gender perspective into the UN approach to peace building and conflict resolution. This can be seen particularly in *The Nairobi Forward - Looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women* adopted at the World Conference of 1985, with section III dedicated to peace, obstacles and strategies to be implemented to overcome problems counting on the role of women<sup>i</sup>. This document was an important step forward by giving a feminist approach to the definition of peace and the role that women could play in achieving and maintaining its development. However, as pointed out by Gierycz (2001), this new perspective was not translated into any real changes when addressing the problem at government level. This new perspective was also favored, to some extent, by the reorientation brought about in those years when peacekeeping operations went beyond monitoring cease-fire between states, into new activities such as providing humanitarian assistance (Barnett & Finnemore, 2004).

Another important step was the Seminar in Windhoek (Namibia) in May 2000, which ended with an agreement, *Windhoek Declaration or Namibia Plan of Action on 'Mainstreaming a Gender Perspective in Multidimensional Peace Support Operations*. This declaration demanded that "Equal access and participation by women and men should be ensured in the area of conflict at all levels and stages of the peace process"<sup>ii</sup>. No doubt, both the gender mainstreaming outlook followed by all UN agencies since 1977 and the human rights approach to the political participation of women in decision-making process contributed to generate the need to have women involved in all areas of peacekeeping<sup>iii</sup>.

All the steps looked at can be seen as part of a domino chain reaction, where once a domino tips over all the others are destined to fall in a successive fashion, until the approval of Resolution 1325. In turn, this resolution, which works as a general framework to look back on, will trigger the subsequent approval of some other resolutions which are further elaboration on that first document. One in 2008, UNSCR 1820 on sexual violence as a weapon of war, and two further resolutions in 2009, 1888, which works on the steps that need to be taken to be able to implement Resolution 1820, and Resolution 1889, which does the same with Resolution 1325. Finally, we will also be addressing Resolution 2122, which is the most recent pronouncement of the Security Council on the issue of women, peace and security (October 2013). This last resolution marks a qualitative leap forward towards the portrayal of women in a new light, with a different identity where protection is not the main issue to be addressed, and the necessity to engage them in peacebuilding and all decision-making processes related to conflict resolution is emphasized more than ever. The five resolutions are then part of the same drive to increase the visibility of women's voices and a gender perspective into the language of UN documents and should be approached in a complementary manner. It should be highlighted at this stage that getting the Security Council to pass resolutions on women, peace and security was already quite a significant achievement, as suggested by Cohn, Kinsella & Gibbings (2004), taking into account the conservative role of this institution towards issues such as gender mainstreaming.

If we look at Resolution 1325 in more detail, we will see that its importance resides in the fact that, for the first time, the Security Council "devoted an entire session to debating women's experiences in conflict and post-conflict situations" (Cohn, Kinsella, and Gibbings, 2004, p. 130) and, also, in the fact that women are considered for the first time "critical actors in peace-building processes and in peace negotiations" (Binder, Lukas & Schweiger, 2008, p. 25). Therefore, they come to be considered as critical factors in both processes. The four other resolutions, as mentioned above, follow in an effort to pursue further and look into ways to implement the initial drive of UNSCR 1325.

## **2. Methodology and Theoretical Review**

The present paper aims at analyzing how women are represented in terms of metaphors in the important resolutions mentioned so far: UNSCR 1325 (2000), UNSCR 1820 (2008), UNSCR 1888 (2009), UNSCR 1889 (2009) and, finally, UNSCR 2122 (2013). The selection of these documents has been motivated by the fact that they, specifically UNSCR 1325, allow for a new political framework that enables, as emphasized by Shepherd (2008), "the consideration of gender issues during periods of armed conflict as well as in the processes of peacebuilding and post-conflict reconstruction" (p. 383).

With this purpose in mind, the metaphorical representation of women pursued in our analysis will be approached from the perspective of Cognitive Linguistics and the theory of Conceptual Metaphor, which signaled a shift in the study of metaphor (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980).

This theory has been applied to different fields such as economics (Herrera–Soler & White, 2011), politics (Schön, 1993), mathematics (Lakoff & Núñez, 2000), or education (Martín & Lázaro, 2011), but little work if any has been done in the field of women as active agents in peacebuilding and post-conflict resolution. Following Stone (1988), metaphors are an excellent persuasive strategy for the politician to justify certain courses of action and to bring about a certain type of behavior on the part of the audience. Politicians choose metaphors with the intention of exploiting mappings, between the source and target domains, which serve their purposes best and which enhance the ideas which are generally taken for granted in our collective understanding, such as the cultural values of the community (Mc Millan & Cheney, 1996; Kövecses, 2005). As Thompson (1996) says, “metaphors become the vehicle for institutionalizing policy and creating a sense of community through repeated use” (p. 191).

As for the theoretical review, this paper is mainly grounded on the work done on cognitive linguistics (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, 1999; Lakoff, 1987, 2004, 2006; Johnson, 1987; Goatly, 1997; Kövecses, 2002, 2005; Semino, 2008). Within cognitive linguistics, there are different cognitive devices that have proved very fruitful in yielding results, though we will be focusing on the use of metaphors.

Research into the topic of metaphor has received much attention over the last three decades. As an example of the scholarly work which has been pursued, we can mention the work in 1979 by Ortony. One year later the seminal work by Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors we live by*, marked a switch in the study of metaphor from a rhetorical to a conceptual phenomenon. According to them, conceptual metaphors allow us to understand an abstract or inherently unstructured concept in terms of a more concrete, more highly structured one. Thus, at the root of metaphor there has always been a kind of comparison in an attempt to identify what two things have in common. As Charteris-Black (2004) says “Metaphor is evidence of the ability of the human brain to perceive similarity relations and our ability to find the similar in the dissimilar [...]” (p. 2). Along the same lines, Black (1993) points out that “the similarity has not always been there, but rather it is created ad hoc to satisfy a need or meet some objective” (p. 35).

Metaphors of any kind evoke a particular cognitive script, which means that they have a narrative structure where facts and human motives are organized in a definite sequence of stages setting up a general structure, as in the case of LOVE IS A JOURNEY, which implies a whole narrative story about the lovers as travelers along a path with a purposeful destination in mind. The strength and success of the metaphor relies on the fact that it taps into a widely shared and accepted cultural experience. Furthermore, as claimed by Fisher (1985), “the uniqueness of this paradigm is that one is encouraged to accept the logic displayed by the sequence of events –without even being aware– as a prescription for future action” (p. 348).

Since the framing of problems and policies depends intimately on underlying structures of belief and perception (or generative metaphors which refer to a ‘seeing-as’ process where there is a tacit recognition that policy issues are framed in metaphorical language) as stated by Schön (1993), and Schön and Rein (1994), this article applies some of the insights from metaphor analysis to a cultural understanding of the discourse on women as reflected in the different UNSC Resolutions mentioned above. The scholar Stone (1988) already noted that metaphors on the surface “may simply draw a comparison between one thing and another, but in a more subtle way they usually imply a whole narrative story” (p. 118).

Two questions guide this paper: On the one hand, and in accordance with Edelman (1971), taking into account that “each metaphor intensifies selected perceptions and ignores others” (p. 67), what are the aspects of women being highlighted and those left in the dark when analyzing the way women are represented, through metaphors, in the five UNSC Resolutions chosen for this paper? On the other hand, as noted by Charteris-Black (2004), since metaphor is a persuasive device that “is frequently employed discursively in rhetorical and argumentative language” (p. 7), in what way is metaphor being used to influence the audience’s judgement both in the UN spaces and outside?

The paper has been structured in the following manner: the first introductory section frames the topic and precedes the methodology and theoretical review in the second section. In the following section, the most frequent metaphors found in the UN documents chosen are analyzed, and then some final conclusions are drawn in the last section.

### 3. Metaphors Analyzed in the UNSC Resolutions Chosen

The following section analyzes the 5 different resolutions at stake (UNSCR 1325, UNSCR 1820, UNSCR 1888, UNSCR 1889, UNSCR 2122) with the aim of examining the language used to talk about the UN agenda on ‘women, peace and security’, which intends to bring sensitivity towards gendered violence and gendered inequalities. As Rehn and Sirleaf (2002) point out, Resolution 1325 “makes the pursuit of gender equality relevant to every single Council action [...] from negotiating peace agreements and peacekeeping operations to reconstructing war-torn societies” (p. 3). However, this gender perspective, which has been previously referred to, is almost inadvertently changed into women issues, which is not surprising taking into account the name of the agenda is *on women, peace and security*. In other words, with the exception of the scattered references throughout some of the resolutions to a gender perspective, with the exception of UNSCR 2122, the focus seems to be on women: ‘women and children’, ‘women and girls’, ‘women as targets of violence’, etc. Along the same lines, Shepherd (2008) claims that the topic of the documents is “women rather than gender” (p. 390), as women are the ones whose situation is being exposed and commented upon.

In analyzing the language, the metaphors that come up repeatedly and make up the narrative story that runs between the lines are the following: WOMEN ARE VICTIMS, which is a frequent metaphor in most resolutions, and WOMEN ARE OUTCAST MEMBERS OF SOCIETY. However, it must be said that in the last pronouncement, UNSCR 2122, the metaphor WOMEN ARE AGENTS OF CHANGE will also play an important role.

#### 3.1 Women are Victims

As Puechguirbal (2010) claims, there is no intention to minimize the painful experiences women have to go through as the result of war, but rather, to show, as clearly as possible, that women tend to be mostly represented in the different UN documents as victims which need to be taken care of by male protectors. Therefore, reproducing a piece of Resolution 1889 may be a good way to start this section, since it clearly touches on this issue. It states:

‘Noting that women in situations of armed conflict and post-conflict situations continue to be often considered as victims and not as actors in addressing and resolving situations of armed conflict and stressing the need to focus not only on protection of women but also on their empowerment in peacebuilding,’ Resolution 1889

This statement reflects well the drive and spirit behind the passing of the different resolutions being analyzed in this paper. Thus, even though the resolutions are supposed to be about the empowerment of women, the metaphor that is most often conjured up in the different resolutions is that of the woman seen as a victim. In other words, through the association of women to children and to girls, they are represented, according to Valasek (2012), as “protectees” (p. 309). Following Charteris-Black (2004, 2011), the evaluation conveyed by this frequent approach to women, where they are presented as people who are harmed, taken advantage of and made to suffer, is quite negative as it leaves no other way out but to feel pity and sympathy for them while at the same time seeking to take care of them by, typically, the male members of our community.

On the other hand, hardly ever, with the exception of the last resolution, are they presented as a group with their own rights or are they associated to men, which prevents them from gaining more agency and playing a more dynamic role in armed conflict and post-conflict. Nevertheless, as stressed by Pratt and Richter-Devroe (2011), a gradient will be noticed when analyzing the different documents: in the first three resolutions the victimization of women is clearly perceived in the type of language used; the fourth resolution (1889), though still reminding and emphasizing the vulnerability of women, advances in the direction of wanting to engage women in conflict and post-conflict; finally, resolution 2122 moves openly towards placing women as a much more visible and necessary figure in peacebuilding and conflict resolution.

We will now look at each of the five documents to see how women are portrayed as vulnerable figures and targets of violence by the type of language used in them. Then we will provide one example of this metaphor from each resolution.

- 1) Resolution 1325 (2000): in this eighteen point document, the association ‘women and children’ is found twice. Then the construction ‘women and girls’ is repeated in twelve instances: in four of them it is when talking about the special needs of ‘women and girls’, and in the other eight cases ‘women and girls’ are said to be the targets of violence. In contrast, there is one example where women are paired to men by saying that they should be given equal participation.
- 2) Resolution 1820 (2008): in this sixteen point document, which deals specifically with sexual violence, the mention to the protection of ‘women and girls’ is repeated in 13 different occasions. Then the protection of ‘women and children’ is raised four times. Once again, we come across one example where women are paired to men by making reference to an equal participation. As for the involvement of women in the prevention and resolution of armed conflict, it is mentioned four times.
- 3) Resolution 1888 (2009): in this twenty-nine point document, the construction ‘women and children’ as the civilians most frequently affected by armed conflict is raised in eight different occasions. Consequently, ‘women and children’ embody the prototype of civilians at risk in armed situations, which applies to this and to previous resolutions. Again, as in the last two resolutions, there is one example where women are related to men by referring to an equal and full participation of women in peace processes.
- 4) Resolution 1889 (2009): in this twenty point resolution, there are nine instances in which the appointment of a higher number of women in peacebuilding and after conflict is encouraged. And we find eleven instances, distributed between five cases where the needs of ‘women and girls’ should be addressed and six cases where ‘women and girls’ are the targets of all forms of violence, including rape and other sexual violence. In this resolution, we run into not one but three examples where they push for the equal participation of women at all stages of peace processes. For the first time, the concept civilians is detached from the construction ‘women and children’, which had been the case in many previous examples. As can be seen from the figures given, there is some progress towards assigning a higher degree of agency to women.
- 5) Resolution 2122 (2013): this nineteen-point resolution is the most recent document. It aims at strengthening women’s role in all stages of conflict prevention and resolution. In this case, the association ‘women and children’ as targets of violence is mentioned just once. The construction ‘women and girls’ occurs nine times: eight cases where they are presented as a vulnerable group, affected in armed conflict and post-conflict, and once where, on the contrary, their empowerment is considered critical to maintain peace and security. On the other hand, the group of women, considered on their own and with their own rights, is raised twenty-five times: eight cases where they are presented as the victims of violence and discrimination in conflict and post-conflict, and as many as seventeen cases where the leadership, empowerment, engagement and full participation of women in conflict prevention and resolution is highly stressed. As a result, there is a much higher visibility given to them as agents of peace as said above.

At this point, it should be said that although men are hardly mentioned, they are always present as background knowledge in all these documents. Whenever claims are made about the needed equal participation of women, as Connell (2005) says, “there is an implied comparison with men as the advantaged group”, or when violence against women is discussed, “men are implied, and sometimes named as the perpetrators” (pp. 1805-1806).

Examples:

- 1) [The Security Council] *Expressing* concern that civilians, particularly women and children, account for the vast majority of those adversely affected by armed conflict [...], and increasingly are targeted by combatants and armed elements [...]. Resolution 1325.
- 2) [The Security Council] *Affirms* its intention [...] to take into consideration the appropriateness of targeted and graduated measures against parties to situations of armed conflict who commit rape and other forms of sexual violence against women and girls in situations of armed conflict. Resolution 1820.
- 3) [The Security Council] *Requests* the Secretary-General to include [...] information on steps taken to implement measures to protect civilians, particularly women and children, against sexual violence; Resolution 1888.
- 4) [The Security Council] *Calls upon* all parties to armed conflicts to respect the civilian and humanitarian character of refugee camps and settlements, and ensure the protection of all civilians inhabiting those camps, in particular women and girls, from all forms of violence, including rape and other sexual violence [...]; Resolution 1889.

5) [The Security Council] *Expressing deep concern* at the full range of threats and human rights violations and abuses experienced by women in armed conflict and post-conflict resolutions [...]; Resolution 2122.

In this narrative, as noted by authors such as Tickner (1992) and Gibbings (2011), women are still depicted as eternal victims of violence through their association to children, and to girls. What is being highlighted is their role as mothers. But apart from emphasizing their role as caretakers (in charge of the food their kids eat, the clothes they wear, their health or their education), they do not push for a different identity, with the very clear exception of UNSCR 2122, where women are presented as social subjects with their own rights.

The representation of women in these resolutions plays down female agency, articulating a feminine subject that in times of conflict is the target of sexual violence, and in times of peace they just reproduce the roles assigned to them in the power hierarchy, where they are subordinated and dependent on their protectors: male figures. In other words, according to Shepherd (2011), it can be said that the discursive representation of gender assumed in these documents reproduces roles where women are ‘characterized as fragile, passive and in need of protection’, and men as the strong members of this society with the responsibility of providing the needed protection to women (p. 506). As can be seen, a clear link is drawn between sex and security in suggesting that “women have become the metaphor for vulnerable/victim in war”, as stated by Charlesworth (2008, p. 358). Consequently, the role of security providers, which is one clear way for women to be empowered, as pointed out by Valasek (2012), seems to be ruled out. For example, as Adrian-Paul (2012) says, in failing to increase the percentage of women military and police in deployments to UN peacekeeping operations, their perspective is often left out.

### 3.2 Women are Outcast Members of Society

Although the above metaphor is the more powerful, there is another pattern that, to a lesser extent, is repeated throughout the different documents and presents women as excluded from society by means of the concept of ‘displacement’ –which means that victims need to be reintegrated–, as pointed out, for instance, by Nadine Puechguirbal, the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) adviser on women and war<sup>iv</sup>; that is to say, either they are forced out from their homes or escaping is the only way to stay alive. As a result, their needs have to be taken care of to be fully reintegrated. The concept of displacement implies that women, originally placed at the centre of the community, are pushed to the outside of the community, where the benefits from belonging to such community disappear. The value judgement that arises out of this portrayal is very negative as feelings of alienation are evoked by the metaphor. The only expected progress out of this situation is to bring women back under the care and protection of the community. Furthering on the negative evaluation of this metaphor, as Florence Tercier<sup>v</sup>, former ICRC's women and war adviser, claims, displacement has some tragic consequences such as losing your familiar environment, your source of income and separation from family members, to mention but a few.

The impact on women is particularly severe because when that happens they do not have access to the usual protection mechanisms they benefit from when they stay at home and, as a consequence, they are more prone to exploitation and violation. Thus, their physical security is at risk. It is precisely in that difficult situation when the challenges for them are higher as they have to perform both roles: that of the mother and that of the father, who is absent, to try to guarantee the survival of the members of the family.

If we look at the different UN resolutions, we come across a reasonable number of examples, three or four in each resolution, which talk about either displaced refugees –mostly referring to women and children, or women and girls– or victims in need of a social/economic reintegration. Consequently, this displacement infringed upon them comes associated with other factors which make their role as outcast members of society even more explicit, not having access to basic needs such as healthcare, psychosocial support, education, legal assistance or funding. As the scholar Thompson (1996) states, metaphors, as important tools when framing issues, help us “define who is inside the system and who is not” (p. 185). This metaphor reminds us that women, in cases of armed conflict, are placed outside the system, where there is nothing to claim and nothing to benefit from but just the stigmatization and disgrace resulting from it. Thus, language and reality become intertwined in a very compelling manner. Let us look at some examples:

6)[The Security Council] *Expressing concern* that civilians, particularly women and children account for the vast majority of those adversely affected by armed conflict, including refugees and internally displaced persons and increasingly are targeted by combatants and armed elements [...], Resolution 1325.

- 7)[The Security Council] *Requests* the Secretary General and relevant United Nations agencies [...] to develop effective mechanisms for providing protection from violence, including in particular sexual violence, to women and girls in and around UN managed refugee and internally displaced persons camps [...], Resolution 1820.
- 8)[The Security Council] *Encourages* States, with the support of the international community, to increase access to health care, psychosocial support, legal assistance and socio economic reintegration services for victims of sexual violence [...], Resolution 1888.
- 9)[The Security Council] *Remaining* deeply concerned about the persistent obstacles to women's full involvement in the prevention and resolution of conflicts and participation in post-conflict public life, as a result of violence and intimidation, lack of security and lack of rule of law, cultural discrimination and stigmatization, [...], and socio-economic factors including the lack of access to education, and in this respect, *recognizing* that the marginalization of women can delay or undermine the achievement of durable peace, security and reconciliation. Resolution 1889.
- 10)[The Security Council] *Expressing* concern at women's exacerbated vulnerability in armed conflict and post-conflict situations particularly in relation to forced displacement [...], Resolution 2122.

Curiously enough, as pointed out by Tercier<sup>vi</sup>, when women are displaced, their autonomy and standing can be enhanced. When that is the case, they are likely to meet with disapproval because the important role they come to play goes beyond the boundaries they are expected to step into, which reinforces their role as members who live on the margins of society and get stigmatized for that. Therefore, the marginalization of women in periods of armed conflict –as reflected in the different UNSC Resolutions– is all true, but the remaining question is: how are women going to be given a new space and a new horizon if the picture portrayed of them in UN-related documents seems to be far from capturing the multi-faceted reality women face in armed conflicts?

#### 4. Conclusion

The main goal of this paper has been to identify the dominant metaphors used to talk and approach the issue of women involvement in conflict and peacebuilding in some UNSC Resolutions (1325, 1820, 1888, 1889 and 2122). In fact, the agenda on women, peace and security by the Security Council has been a long process. We decided to focus on UNSCR 1325, as, according to Shepherd (2011), it was the first document drafted with the aim of ensuring that all efforts towards peacebuilding and post-conflict would include a gender perspective. The other resolutions chosen (UNSCR 1820, UNSCR 1888, UNSCR 1889, UNSCR 2122) come to further elaborate on that first document. They all make up the data, available on the Internet, that we have used for this analysis.

The two metaphors analyzed are the following: WOMEN ARE VICTIMS and WOMEN ARE OUTCAST MEMBERS OF SOCIETY. As for the first one, women are frequently portrayed in several of the UN documents as targets of violence, which means that their potential to contribute as actors in addressing situations of armed conflict is underestimated. Nevertheless, this metaphor loses some strength in Resolution 1889 and is substituted in Resolution 2122 by an approach where the need for the empowerment of women is claimed repeatedly. The second metaphor presents a story where women are displaced and sent to the margins of society, where basic needs such as healthcare, education or funding are not covered.

Let us now analyze the two questions guiding this paper. Regarding the first one, the aspects of women being highlighted in the different resolutions are: vulnerability, which means that women, together with children and girls, are to be protected by male members of our society; their role as victims, as members of society who are the target of all kinds of violence, including rape; displacement, as members who are pushed from their homes to the borders of society, where they are installed in a vacuum with no benefits and no rights to claim. On the other hand, the aspects of leadership and engagement, barely present in the first three resolutions, appear timidly in Resolution 1889 and with strength in Resolution 2122, where women are presented in a new light as more active agents of change.

As far as the second question is concerned, if the development of ideology depends on the choice of metaphors, it is to be said that metaphors serve to articulate points of view as we have seen. Going back to the first metaphor used, WOMEN ARE VICTIMS, it leads readers to view women, as stated above, as vulnerable human beings, but, at the same time, it establishes some kind of sympathy towards women, as well as towards children and girls. Thus, the cognitive script evoked is that of a human being in need of protection, not in need of freedom to face and address new challenges.

The second metaphor, WOMEN ARE OUTCAST MEMBERS OF SOCIETY, touches once again on a negative side of women's role, as they are portrayed as members of a community that have been excluded from the daily running of such community, which means that they do not belong and do not have access to any of the benefits resulting from being a member. Exclusion is said to be one of the words with a more negative evaluation, as the sense of belonging is very highly valued in our society. Consequently, negative sides (vulnerability, victimization and exclusion) are being emphasized. It can be said that, as Semino (2008) points out, there is an ideological dimension to the metaphors being used as "constructing something in terms of something else results in a particular view of the 'something' in question, often including specific attitudes and evaluations" (p. 32).

As said above, it is very interesting to see that, in these UN documents, references to women as actors or agents that can bring about change have notably increased, not only timidly reflected in the very passing of those resolutions from the year 2000, but in the substantial change that can be noticed in the last pronouncement, UNSCR 2122, where women are presented, for the first time, as a group on their own right, without having to attach them to more vulnerable groups such as children or girls. Furthermore, claims to have women play a much more engaging role in society, where they are involved in decision-making processes for peacebuilding after conflict, and even as security providers, are constantly repeated throughout the last resolution. In other words, there seems to be an urgent need for women to play a new role in society where their leadership and engagement in peace processes and post-war rehabilitation can be felt much more strongly with the consolidation of the metaphor WOMEN ARE AGENTS OF CHANGE. As a matter of fact, this metaphor has been around for some time but advocates at the UN have struggled to get this new spirit into Security Council documents.

However, as claimed by Valasek (2012), let us not forget that "equal participation does not automatically make – and stand for– equitable and gender-responsive security institutions" (p. 312). Rather, the consideration of gender-related issues must be accompanied by the presence of early warning and early response systems to monitor implementation of resolutions and assess impact, by the presence of mechanisms which deal with the needs of women living in forced displacement with no access to any type of health, legal assistance, education or funding, and by a firm political commitment, both within the UN and at the country level, to push the resolutions forward (Shepherd, 2011; Adrian-Paul, 2012).

As a final point, let us say that even though peacemaking is still seen as a masculine activity, which perpetuates a vision of gender roles that boosts inequalities and prevents us from opening new paths, Kofi Annan reminds us that:

"[...] women, who know the price of conflict so well, are also often better equipped than men to prevent or resolve it. For generations, women have served as peace educators, both in their families and in their societies. They have proved instrumental in building bridges rather than walls. They have been crucial in preserving social order when communities have collapsed".<sup>vii</sup>

<sup>i</sup> UN, 'Nairobi Forward-looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women', UN doc., A/CONF.116/28/Rev., July 1985, paras.232–262 (at: [www.un-documents.net/nfl-3.htm](http://www.un-documents.net/nfl-3.htm)).

<sup>ii</sup> UN, 'Windhoek Declaration On the 10<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the United Nations Transitional Assistance Group, Windhoek, Namibia, 31 May 2000', p.2 (at: [www.un.org/womenwatch/osagi/wps/windhoek\\_declaration.pdf](http://www.un.org/womenwatch/osagi/wps/windhoek_declaration.pdf)). From that moment onwards, other pronouncements in European institutions will follow: the European Parliament (2000; 2005; 2011) And Council of Europe, Parliamentary Assembly (2004).

<sup>iii</sup> As pointed out by Annan: 'Within the Organization itself, the integration of gender perspectives in peace and security areas has become a central strategy', Kofi A. Annan, 'The Secretary-General Foreword to the Study on Women, Peace and Security', in UN, *Women, Peace and Security. Study submitted by the Secretary-General pursuant to Security Council resolution 1325 (2000)*, New York, NY: United Nations, 2002, p.IX. And Gierycz (see n.8 above), p.22.

<sup>iv</sup> International Committee of the Red Cross, 'Women and displacement: strength in adversity', 2010, (at: [www.icrc.org/eng/resources/documents/interview/women-displacement-interview-020310.htm](http://www.icrc.org/eng/resources/documents/interview/women-displacement-interview-020310.htm)).

<sup>v</sup> 'Women displaced by war', 2007, (at: [www.icrc.org/eng/resources/documents/interview/women-displacement-interview-260207.htm](http://www.icrc.org/eng/resources/documents/interview/women-displacement-interview-260207.htm)).

<sup>vi</sup> ICRC (see n.5 above).

<sup>vii</sup> UN, 'Secretary-General calls for Council action to ensure women are involved in peace and security decisions', Press Release SG/SM7598 24 October 2000 (at: [www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2000/20001024.sgsm7598.doc.html](http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2000/20001024.sgsm7598.doc.html)).

## 5. References

- Adrian-Paul, A. (2012). Empowering women to promote peace and security: From the global to the local – Securing and implementing UN Security Council Resolution 1325. In A. Schnabel & A. Tabyshalieva (Eds.), *Defying Victimhood: Women and Post-Conflict Peacebuilding* (pp. 236-259). NY: United Nations University Press.
- Allison, G. & Zelikow, P. (1999). *Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis*. Longman: New York.
- Barnett, M., & Finnemore, M. (2004). *Rules for the World. International Organizations in Global Politics*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Berkovitch, N. (1999a). *From Motherhood to Citizenship. Women's Rights and International Organizations*. Baltimore, MD: The John Hopkins University Press, 1999.
- Berkovitch, N. (1999b) *The Emergence and Transformation of the International Women's Movement*. In J. Boli, & G. M. Thomas (Eds.), *Constructing World Culture. International Nongovernmental Organizations since 1875* (pp. 100-126). Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Binder, C., Lukas, Karin, L., & Schweiger, R. (2008). Empty Words or Real Achievement The Impact of Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women in Armed Conflicts. *Radical History Review* 101, Special Issue: Women and Transnationalism, 22–41.
- Black, M. (1993). More about Metaphor. In A. Ortony (Ed.), *Metaphor and Thought* (pp. 19-41). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition.
- Charlesworth, H. (2008). Are Women Peaceful? Reflections on the Role of Women in Peacebuilding. *Feminist Legal Studies* 16 (3), 347-361.
- Charteris-Black, J. (2004). *Corpus Approaches to Critical Metaphor Analysis*. Basingstoke, Hampshire/New York: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Charteris-Black, J. (2011). *Politicians and Rhetoric: The Persuasive Power of Metaphor*. Basingstoke, Hampshire/New York: Palgrave MacMillan
- Chen, M. (1995). Engendering world conferences: the international women's movement and the United Nations. *Third World Quarterly* 16 (3), 477-494.
- Cohn, C., Kinsella, H., & Gibbings, S. (2004). Women, Peace and Security, Resolution 1325. *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 6 (1), 130-140.
- Connel, R. W. (2005). Change among the Gatekeepers: Men, Masculinities, and Gender Equality in the Global Arena. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 30 (3), 1801-1825.
- Edelman, M. J. (1971). *Politics as Symbolic Action: Mass Arousal and Quiescence*. Chicago, IL: Markham Publishing Company.
- Fischer, W. (1985). The narrative paradigm: An elaboration. *Communication Monographs* 52, 347-367.
- Friedman, E. J. (2003). Gendering the Agenda: the Impact of the Transnational Women's Rights Movement at the UN Conferences of the 1990s. *Women's Studies International Forum*, 26 (4), 316–320.
- Gibbings, S. (2011). No Angry Women at the United Nations: Political Dreams and the Cultural Politics of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325. *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 13 (4), 522-538.
- Gierycz, D. (2001). Women, Peace and the United Nations: Beyond Beijing. In I. Skjelsbaek, & D. Smith (Eds.), *Gender, Peace and Conflict* (pp. 14-31). London: Sage.
- Goatly, A. (1997). *Washing the Brain. Metaphor and Hidden Ideology*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins .
- Herrera-Soler, H., & White, M. (Eds.). (2011). *Metaphor and mills: figurative language in business and economics*. Berlin/Boston, MA: De Mouton Gruyter.
- Johnson, Mark. 1987. *The Body in the Mind. The Bodily Basis of Meaning, Imagination and Reason*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Kovecses, Z. (2002). *Metaphor. A Practical Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kövecses, Z. (2005). *Metaphor in Culture. Universality and Variation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lakoff, G., & Johnson, M. (1980). *Metaphors We Live by*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Lakoff, G., & Johnson M. (1999). *Philosophy in the Flesh. The Embodied Mind and its Challenge to Western Thought*. New York: Basic Books.

- Lakoff, G., & Núñez, R. E. (2000). *Where Mathematics Comes From. How the Embodied Mind brings Mathematics into Being*. New York: Basic Books.
- Lakoff, G. (1987). *Women, Fire and Dangerous Things*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Lakoff, G. (2004). *Don't think of an elephant*. Vermont: Chelsea Green Company.
- Lakoff, G. (2006). *Thinking points. Communicating our American Values and Vision*. New York: Rockridge Institute.
- McMillan, J., & Cheney, G. 1996. "The student as consumer: The implications and limitations of a metaphor." *Communication Education* 45 (1): 1–15.
- Martín, V., & Lázaro L. M. (2011). The race to educational reform in the USA: the Race to the Top. *Language and Education*, 25 (6), 479–490.
- Ortony, A., (Ed.). (1979) (1993). *Metaphor and Thought*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Pietilä, H., & Vickers, J. (1994). *Making Women Matter. The Role of the United Nations*. London: Zed Books.
- Pietilä, H. (2007). *The Unfinished Story of Women and the United Nations*. New York/Geneva, UN Non-Governmental Liaison Service (NGLS).
- Pratt, N., & Richter-Devroe, S. (2011). Critically Examining UNSCR 1325 on Women, Peace and Security. *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 13 (4), 489- 503.
- Puechguirbal, N. (2010). Discourses on Gender, Patriarchy and Resolution 1325: A Textual Analysis of UN Documents. *International Peacekeeping*, 17, 172-187.
- Rehn, E., & Sirleaf, E. (2002). *Women, War and Peace: The Independent Experts' Assessment on the Impact of Armed Conflict on Women and Women's Role in Peace-building*. Retrieved July 30, 2013 [http://www.unifem.org/materials/item\\_detaild89f.html](http://www.unifem.org/materials/item_detaild89f.html)
- Schnabel, A., & Tabyshalieva, A. (Eds.). (2012). *Defying Victimhood: Women and Post-Conflict Peacebuilding*. NY: United Nations University Press,
- Schön, D. A. (1993). Generative metaphor: a perspective on problem-setting in social policy." In A. Ortony (Ed.), *Metaphor and Thought* (pp. 137-163). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition.
- Schön, D. A., & Martin, R. (1994). *Frame Reflection. Toward the Resolution of Intractable Policy Controversies*. New York: Basic Books
- Semino, E. (2008). *Metaphor in Discourse*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Shepherd, L. J. (2008). Power and Authority in the Production of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325. *International Studies Quarterly*, 52 (2), 383-404.
- Shepherd, L. J. (2011). Sex, Security and Superhero(ines): From 1325 to 1820 and Beyond. *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 13 (4), 504-521.
- Stone, D. A. (1988). *Policy Paradox and Political Reason*. Glenview, IL: Scott Foresman.
- Tannen, D. (1993). *Framing in Discourse*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Thompson, S. (1996). Politics Without Metaphors Is Like a Fish Without Water. In S. Mio & A. N. Katz (Eds.), *Metaphor: Implications and Applications* (pp. 185-201). Mahway, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Tickner, A. (1992). *Gender in International Relations: Feminist Perspectives on Achieving Global Security*. Columbia University Press: New York.
- UN Security Council Res. UN doc., S/Res/1325, 31 October 2000.
- UN Security Council Res. UN doc., S/Res/1820, 19 June 2008.
- UN Security Council Res. UN doc., S/Res/1888, 30 September 2009.
- UN Security Council Res. UN doc., S/Res/1889, 5 October 2009.
- UN Security Council Res. UN doc., S/Res/2122, 18 October 2013.
- Valasek, K. (2012). Combating stereotypes: Female security personnel in post-conflict contexts. In A. Schnabel, & A. Tabyshalieva (Eds.), *Defying Victimhood: Women and Post-Conflict Peacebuilding* (pp. 309-329). NY: United Nations University Press.
- Zinsser, J. P. (2000). From Mexico to Copenhagen to Nairobi: The United Nations Decade for Women, 1975-1985. *Journal of World History*, 13 (1), 139-168.