

Implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 in Cambodia

by

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Abstract

United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 (UNSCR 1325) was created in 2000 for the purpose of promoting women's equal and meaningful participation throughout peace and security processes. This research examined how and where UNSCR 1325 has been implemented in Cambodia, a post-conflict state, and what the impact has been on gendered peace and security processes. In examining successful implementation of the resolution, key tenets of "prevention, protection, participation and peacebuilding and recovery" were examined (Coomaraswamy, 2015, p. 13). Central throughout this research are human security and gendered peace and security frameworks. From participant interviews and document analysis, this thesis concluded that although UNSCR 1325 has begun to be implemented by civil society, international organizations and government bodies, there remains opportunity for further implementation. This thesis adds to the growing body of knowledge on how UNSCR 1325 has been implemented around the world.

Keywords: women, peace and security, human security, United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325

List of Abbreviations

CC	Constitutional Council
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women
ECCC	Extraordinary Chamber of the Courts of Cambodia
FUNCINPEC	Front Uni National pour un Cambodge Indépendent, Neutre, Pacifique et Coopératif
HRW	Human Rights Watch
MoWA	Ministry of Women's Affairs
NAP	National Action Plan
NCCT	National Committee for Counter Trafficking
NGO	Non-governmental organization
RGC	Royal Government of Cambodia
UN	United Nations
UNCEDAW	United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNHRC	United Nations Human Rights Committee
UNGA	United Nations General Assembly
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
UNSCR 1325	United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325
WPS	Women, Peace and Security

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

This study presents an examination of how United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 (UNSCR 1325) has been implemented in Cambodia. UNSCR 1325 was passed by the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) on October 31, 2000 for the purpose of promoting the full and equal involvement of women in peace processes and addressing how conflict affects women's security. It was born out of the understanding that women face gendered insecurities during times of conflict and recovery and that women's meaningful and equal involvement in peace processes is essential for the establishment and maintenance of sustainable peace (United Nations Security Council (UNSC), 2000). UNSCR 1325 is now one of eight UNSC resolutions that form the Women, Peace and Security (WPS) agenda. At its foundation, UNSCR 1325 and the WPS agenda sets out a framework to achieve gender equal peace and security processes; an approach that could fundamentally shift the peace and security landscape.

The implementation of UNSCR 1325 and the WPS agenda has been championed around the world by international organizations, including United Nations (UN) bodies, governments, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), activists and other civil society actors. This thesis has therefore broadly examined how all of these groups have utilized and implemented UNSCR 1325 throughout peace and security processes in Cambodia. Cambodia was chosen as this study's research location because, as a post-conflict country, it provided a complex environment to better understanding how the resolution can be applied. Although UNSCR 1325 has been studied relatively widely around the world, a research gap in examining how UNSCR 1325 has been implemented in Cambodia was discovered. This research hopes to narrow this gap.

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The main research question of this thesis is: how has UNSCR 1325 been implemented in Cambodia and has the resolution promoted a gendered approach to peace and security in Cambodia? Three subsequent research questions were also examined: 1) What does gendered peace and security mean for Cambodians? 2) How have/do women contribute to peace and security in Cambodia? and 3) Have there been barriers preventing the full and meaningful implementation of UNSCR 1325 in Cambodia? Through this examination, this thesis has sought to better understand, first, if UNSCR 1325 has encouraged the full and equal involvement of women in peace processes in Cambodia and second, if it has addressed the peace and security concerns of both men and women fully and equally. To answer these questions, field research was conducted in the capital city of Cambodia, Phnom Penh, in May 2016, where individuals from international organizations, government bodies and civil society were interviewed. A thorough literature and document analysis was also conducted.

Throughout the research process, two theoretical and one methodological approaches were applied. First, a human security theoretical lens encouraged a broad examination of the interconnected elements of community, health, personal, food, economic, political and environmental security (United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), 1994). Second, a gendered peace and security lens, drawn principally from Ellerby's (2013) concept of "(en)gendered security", ensured that a gender perspective was considered throughout the research (p.436). Ellerby's (2013) concept of "(en)gendered security" includes the four gendered pillars of: "representation, incorporation, protection and recognition" (p. 442). Third, a case study methodology drawn from Yin (2014), provided a framework to incorporate the expertise of interviewees while also adhering to the boundaries of a single case.

In summary, this thesis has sought to discover the ways in which international organizations, government bodies and civil society have implemented UNSCR 1325 throughout peace and security processes in Cambodia. It has also been an examination into barriers that have prevented the resolution's full implementation and areas of peace and security where the resolution could be further applied moving forward. What has been concluded from this examination process is that, although there has been some successful implementation, overall UNSCR 1325 remains an under-utilized peace and security tool in Cambodia. This conclusion will be demonstrated throughout the literature review, data discussion and document analysis sections of this thesis.

1.2 Problem Identification

Two main areas of concern in relation to women, peace and security (WPS) issues have been identified around the world. First, there is vast and persistent underrepresentation of women in peace processes (Diaz et al., 2012). Second, there is a significant lack of gendered provisions and considerations in final peace agreements (Bell & O'Rourke, 2010; Ellerby, 2013). In 2012, UN Women published a study that examined when and where women have been included in peace processes between the years 1992 and 2011 (Diaz et al., 2012). The study concluded that in this period, "only 4 per cent of signatories, 2.4 per cent of chief mediators, 3.7 per cent of witnesses and 9 per cent of negotiators [were] women" (Diaz et al., 2012, p.3). These statistics demonstrate the significant underrepresentation of women in peace processes around the world. In a study conducted by Bell and O'Rourke (2010), it was further shown that the particular insecurities women face during times of peace and times of conflict continue to be overlooked in formal peace agreements. Bell and O'Rourke (2010) determined that in peace processes, that took place between 1990 and 2010, only 92 out of 585 peace agreements specifically referenced

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women. In another study conducted by Ellerby (2013), only ten per cent of the examined peace processes involved “high levels of “(en)gendered security”, a concept parallel to gender equality (p. 436).

After identifying the above concerns at the global level, this research sought to better understand if gender unequal peace and security processes have also taken place in Cambodia. It was discovered that, although women in Cambodia have played important peacebuilding roles, their involvement in formal peace and security processes has been limited (Vannath, 2003). For example, during Cambodia’s 1991 peace agreement processes, “not a single woman sat as a major player at the negotiation table, and very few women had been involved in the pre-agreement negotiations” (Vannath, 2003, p. 2). Further to this, in the 1991 Agreement on a Comprehensive Political Settlement of the Cambodia conflict, McGrew, Frieson and Chan (2004) noted, that there was only one gendered peace and security reference throughout the document (p. 8). This reference reads: “Cambodia’s tragic recent history requires special measures to assure protection of human rights. Therefore, the constitution will contain a declaration of fundamental rights, including...freedom from racial, ethnic, religious or sexual discrimination” (Agreement on a Comprehensive Political Settlement of the Cambodia Conflict, 1991, p. 21). Further, the words gender or women are not mentioned throughout the agreement.

Failing to fully and meaningfully involve women in peace and security processes, and not including gendered provisions in peace agreements has the potential to significantly affect peace processes in the immediate and long-term, for several reasons. First, the underrepresentation of women in peace processes is problematic as it can result in talks that overlook matters of particular relevance or impact to women (Diaz et al., 2012; O’Rourke, 2014; Blanchard, 2003). In this way, women are unequally “excluded from decision making related to the security of their

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environment, their bodies, and their lives” (Ní Aoláin, 2013, p. 33). It also results in peace processes that overlook the gendered viewpoints and solutions of women (Karam, 2001). Results of this exclusion can, for example, be male dominated peace processes that overlook the gendered issues of male dominance or male privilege (Karam, 2001). Beyond this, gender unequal peace processes may also overlook gendered insecurities. For example, Blanchard (2003) notes that by examining gendered issues such as sexual violence in post-conflict environments, it can be concluded that “peacetime does not always bring security” and that there remain security threats to address (p. 1301).

Second, the longer-term consequence of this underrepresentation is under-prioritized and under-funded programs that address gendered insecurities (Hudson, 2009; Ellerby, 2013; Willett, 2010). If gendered concerns are not addressed, a cycle of insecurity for women is carried over from times of conflict into times of relative peace (Hudson, 2009). For example, women can face insecurity in the form of gender-based violence at the hands of militia or even peacekeepers (Hudson, 2009). By overlooking this particular need for safety from gender-based violence, the problem is not addressed and insecurity for women is perpetuated (Hudson, 2009). Women may also miss the opportunity to secure post-conflict power-holding positions if they are absent from these peace processes, as this is where many of these positions are allocated (Willet, 2010). Finally, third, by missing the opportunity to involve women equally in peace processes it “reinforc[es] women’s invisibility as stakeholders in war and peace” (Ellerby, 2013, p. 436). This further reinforces the harmful view of “women as the passive victims” of conflict (O’Rourke, 2014, p. 7). Building on these concerns, I sought to examine how UNSCR 1325 has been implemented in Cambodia in order to promote greater gender inclusive peace and security processes.

1.3 Theoretical Framework

A human security lens.

This thesis has applied two theoretical frameworks: a human security lens and a gendered peace and security lens. In this research, I define human security as encompassing the seven inter-connected elements of: community, health, personal, food, economic, political and environmental security (UNDP, 1994). In this way, the lens “focuse[d] on the linkages between the various forms of insecurity” (Tripp, 2013, p. 15). These interconnected elements were considered throughout this thesis. Beyond this, a human security lens also “redefined security from state security to the security of ordinary citizens” (Tripp, 2013, p. 7). This allowed for a broader definition of security threats to include such issues as “famine, epidemics, economic decline, environmental degradation, migration, and other such crises” (Tripp, 2013, p. 3).

I also examined how human security and gender issues intersect. Chenoy (2005) argued that “feminists support the human security approach but want to engender it because experience has shown that the concept of “people” still leaves out women, especially those at the margins” (p. 176). Although the human security paradigm “challenges the exclusive emphasis on state security conceptualised by realist national security paradigms and advocates that the state must simultaneously concern itself with the security of individuals”, which broadens security examinations, the concept must also be gendered (Chenoy, 2009, p.44). In other words, “human security and women’s movements must work together” (Chenoy, 2009, p. 48). Parmar, Agrawal, Goyal, Scott and Greenough (2014), drew similar conclusions: “that in order to move toward an effective, accurate, and predictive quantitative measure of human security, measures of sexual and gender based violence must be included” (p. 16). Comparatively, Tripp (2013), argued that a human security approach already addresses both women and men’s security, for example by

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examining “social constructions of masculinity that force [men] into conflict” (p. 17). Similarly to Tripp (2013), Fukuda-Parr (2004) noted that “the holistic nature of the human-security perspective is particularly valuable to women” given the unique economic, social and political challenges and opportunities they face (p. 37). For Fukuda-Parr (2004) the human security lens allows researchers to examine these unique gendered risks down to the “level of human well-being” and “the vital core of human lives” (p. 35). For the purposes of this thesis, both human security and gender considerations were applied in the recognition that women and men have different security requirements and also experience conflict differently. This thesis will therefore contribute to the debate on whether a human security approach can sufficiently acknowledge and address the peace and security needs of both women and men.

A gendered peace and security framework.

The second lens that was applied to this research was a gendered peace and security lens. The application of this lens encouraged me to examine power dynamics within the field of peace and security (Hudson, 2005). This gendered lens was developed primarily from Ellerby’s (2013) understanding of “(en)gendered security” (p. 436), but also drew from other feminist scholars. Throughout this thesis, gender is understood to be “a system of symbolic meaning that creates social hierarchies based on perceived associations with masculine and feminine characteristics” (Sjoberg, 2009, p. 187). This definition closely aligned with McGrew et al.’s (2004) understanding of gender as being, “socially constructed- as opposed to biologically determined” (p. 3). A combination of these definitions were applied throughout this thesis.

From Sjoberg (2013), I drew a broad working definition of peace as “the absence of violence and insecurity rather than just the absence of formally declared war” (p. 180). This lens encouraged the understanding that women can still face insecurity in the absence of armed

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conflict due to threats such as human trafficking, sweatshop labour or economic inequality (Sjoberg, 2013). This perspective “not only broaden[ed] what is meant by security but also who merits security” (Sjoberg, 2009, p. 198). Sjoberg’s (2009) argument stems from the recognition that what is resulting from our current approach to peace and security is “secure states [that] often contain insecure women” (p. 198). Applying a gender lens to security processes is also necessary for the creation of “responsible and comprehensive peacebuilding policies and practices” (Hudson, 2009, p. 288). Failing to apply such a lens results in the “neglect of women’s pervasive insecurity” (Hudson, 2005, p. 171). Throughout this thesis, I apply the understanding that in order to address the unequal distribution of security between the genders, there has to be a change in the way peace and security is conceived and practiced towards more gender inclusive and aware peace and security processes (O’Rourke, 2014).

A gendered peace and security framework was principally drawn from Ellerby’s (2013) work. Ellerby’s (2013) concept of “(en)gendered security” includes the four pillars of: “representation, incorporation, protection and recognition” (p. 442). According to Ellerby (2013), representation is the involvement of women in decision making and power-holding positions. For example, this includes women having access to “formal bodies of government, leadership, and peacebuilding committees” (Ellerby, 2013, p. 443). Comparatively, incorporation refers to the involvement of women throughout all peace and security bodies (Ellerby, 2013). For example, “practices of incorporation deal with the lack of women within the day-to-day activities of peacebuilding and government functions” (Ellerby, 2013, p. 443). Protection, which directly addresses women’s security, “includes provisions regarding direct and structural violence, explicitly provisions regarding gender violence and specific forms of discrimination” (Ellerby, 2013, p. 444). Finally, recognition involves acknowledging and incorporating women’s outlooks

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and security needs throughout policy and practice (Ellerby, 2013). I examined each pillar throughout this thesis.

In the formation of this thesis' theoretical frameworks, I examined gendered components of the current peace and security landscape to identify areas of concern. A persistent understanding that was of concern was "the portrayal of women as victims in need of protection" (Willett, 2010, p. 143). According to Chenoy (2005), in times of conflict or post-conflict, women can be labelled as "rape victim" or "war widow" which perpetuates the understanding of women as victims (p. 169). Although women do experience conflict differently than men (Chenoy, 2005, p. 169), this approach to women and conflict undermines and undervalues "women's active roles in conflict resolution and peacemaking" (Willett, 2010, p. 143). Tickner (2004) argued that, in this way, not only are women devalued but peace in general becomes devalued. Tickner (2004)'s argument has been understood to mean that when women's insecurities and involvement in peace processes are overlooked, peace has not been fully realized. Overall, this creates a landscape where women remain undervalued and their experiences under-represented in power holding and decision making positions in peace and security.

Beyond gender inequality issues in peace and security realms, Chenoy (2005) noted that gender inequality extends throughout many societies. Although different across communities and groups, "structural discrimination against women remains" a significant issue for many (Chenoy, 2005, p.169). Chenoy (2005) argued that this inequality is rooted in "patriarchal ideologies [that] give less value to feminine roles and identity in comparison to masculine ones" (p. 169). In this landscape, security threats for women can often extend beyond armed conflict, and "can come from within the family, from community conflict or from state or interstate sources" (Chenoy, 2005, p. 168). I have considered these understandings and consequences throughout this thesis.

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In examining how UNSCR 1325 seeks to address these issues of insecurity, I examined feminist security theory. According to Blanchard (2003),

feminist security theory interrogates the philosophical, academic, and political underpinnings of gendered insecurity and articulates an alternative vision of security.

This vision entails revealing gendered hierarchies, eradicating patriarchal structural violence, and working toward the eventual achievement of common security. (p.1305)

In this way, feminist scholars examine gendered peace and security issues facing women that have often been considered outside traditional understandings of state security (Tickner, 2004).

These issues of insecurity include, but are not limited to, “wartime rape and military prostitution” (Tickner, 2004, p. 45). A feminist perspective further questions sources of insecurity including from states and seeks to redefine sources of insecurity and protection (Tickner, 2004). These perspectives have been foundational throughout this thesis.

In examining the above gender inequality challenges, I have relied on a feminist approach to best examine and evaluated the security issues of women and men. This approach allowed for an examination of power, rights and access structures between women and men (Tickner, 2004), and sought to explore these unequal balances in “traditional security and patriarchy” (Chenoy, 2005, p. 176). The goal of these pursuits being “a gender balance as well as a feminization of security” (Chenoy, 2005, p. 176). It also sought to raise awareness that power is not gender equal, especially during times of widespread insecurity (Chenoy, 2005). In doing this, this perspective prompted questions such as, “who is being secured by security policies” (Blanchard, 2003, pp. 1290)? The prevailing thought that has been applied throughout this thesis is that women have the right to be equally and meaningfully involved in all peace and security processes, rather than solely “on the basis of women’s utility to peace” (Charlesworth, 2008, p.

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350). This thesis has moved away from the understanding that “women are somehow predisposed to be peaceful and are naturally gifted as peace-builders” and has upheld the understanding that they have an equal right to contribute and make important decisions (Charlesworth, 2008, p. 257). This thesis has determined after examining feminist ideology and gendered peace and security, that both a human security lens, with a focus on interconnected dimensions of insecurity (UNDP, 1994) and a gendered peace and security lens encouraged the research to constantly consider these concerns throughout an examination of UNSCR 1325.

1.4 Thesis Overview

This thesis is organized into five chapters. The first chapter has identified women’s widespread underrepresentation in peace and security processes and has outlined the purpose of UNSCR 1325. It has also outlined the theoretical and methodological lenses that I have applied in examining how UNSCR 1325 has been implemented in Cambodia. The second chapter includes a literature review of the evolution of the WPS agenda and a historical overview of peace and conflict in Cambodia. The literature review provided a base understanding in which to examine current peace and security issues in Cambodia. The third chapter outlines the methodological approach that framed this thesis, which was a Yinian (2014) case study approach, and the methods used, which included interviews and document analyses. The fourth chapter outlines the findings from the data collection, broken down into each research and sub-research question. This chapter also includes the document analysis findings. Finally, the fifth chapter discusses the results of the research and recommendations moving forward.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

This literature review includes an examination of the evolution of the WPS agenda, the implementation of UNSCR 1325, the history of peace and conflict in Cambodia and women, peace and security issues in Cambodia. The purpose of exploring each theme at a global level and then in Cambodia was to link implementation successes and challenges seen around the world to similar experiences in Cambodia.

2.2 Evolution of the Women, Peace and Security Agenda

UNSCR 1325 was born from an evolving human rights and women's rights agenda. In 1948, the international community formally recognized the equal rights of all persons through the creation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (United Nations General Assembly (UNGA), 1948). Several important advancements in human rights policy and practice have taken place since, with specific attention being increasingly paid to the rights of women. In 1979, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) was created. To this day, CEDAW remains one of the foundational toolkits and policies that promote gender equality around the world (True, 2016). In October 1992, Cambodia ratified the CEDAW without reservations (United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women-UNCEDAW, 2004, p. 7). From this convention, a norm began to develop around the world, which acknowledged that women have equal rights to justice and recognition (True, 2016).

The next significant international level advancement in gender equality policy came in 1995 at the 'World Conference on Women' where the 'Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action' was created (UN Women, 2014). Cambodia endorsed the declaration and platform at the

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convention that same year (Ministry of Women's Affairs, n.d., p. 7). By the late 1990s, concern over women, peace and security issues had started to gain significant international traction. In 1998, a group of civil society actors demanded to the "UN Commission on the Status of Women" that an examination be conducted on how the tenets of the Beijing Platform for Action had been implemented in conflict environments (Cohn, Kinsella & Gibbings, 2004, p. 131). This civil society group became known as the NGO Working Group on Women, Peace and Security, an influential body that significantly contributed to the creation of UNSCR 1325. As awareness of women, peace and security issues grew, so too did the increase in international policies. For example, in 2000 the Windhoek Declaration, as well as the Namibia Plan of Action recognized the need to include gender perspectives into all peacekeeping policies and programs (Basu, 2016). Eventually on October 31, 2000, after much effort by civil society actors, UNSCR 1325 was passed (George & Shepherd, 2016). It was the first of eight resolutions in fifteen years that have been dedicated to women, peace and security issues.

At its core, UNSCR 1325 was designed to encourage member states and UN bodies to "mainstream gender' into peace and security policies and practices" (Cohn et al., 2004, p. 130). The resolution was the first of its kind dedicated primarily to how conflict affects women and how women impact peace and security. Key themes that the resolution acknowledged include: 1) that women's full and equal involvement in peace processes is essential for the establishment of sustainable peace, and 2) that women face particular insecurities during times of conflict and recovery (UNSC, 2000). For example, the resolution:

reaffirm[ed] the important role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts and in peace-building, and *stress[ed]* the importance of their equal participation and full involvement in all efforts for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security, and

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the need to increase their role in decision-making with regard to conflict prevention and resolution. (UNSC, 2000, para.5)

Further, it “call[ed] on all actors involved, when negotiating and implementing peace agreements, to adopt a gender perspective” (UNSC, 2000, para.19). Overall, UNSCR 1325 has been recognized for its important role in promoting the equal rights of women and ensuring women’s greater access to peace processes (Binder, Lukas & Schweiger, 2008). In this thesis, I refer to a gender perspective that encompasses, according to UNSCR 1325, “the special needs of women and girls”, and that “involve[s] women in all of the implementation mechanisms”, in order to “ensure the protection of and respect for human rights of women and girls” (UNSC, 2000, para. 20-22). According to Cohn (2004), the resolution’s reference to gender perspectives means, “attention to the special needs of women and girls during disarmament, demobilization, repatriation, resettlement, rehabilitation, reintegration and post-conflict reconstruction, as well as measures supporting local women’s peace initiatives” (p. 8). From these definitions, I applied the understanding that a gender perspective is the sustained process of mainstreaming the gendered concerns, needs and abilities of women throughout all peace processes.

The seven subsequent resolutions that followed UNSCR 1325 are not the primary focus of this research project. However, because they have contributed to the development of a global WPS agenda, they were examined briefly. These resolutions are significant because all UN member states are bound to implement them, including Cambodia (George & Shepherd, 2016). The eight resolutions focus on broad recommendations including: 1) “the need for the full, equal and effective participation of women at all stages of peace processes” (UNSC, 2009, para. 6); and 2) “that women and girls are particularly targeted by the use of sexual violence, including as a tactic of war” (UNSC, 2008a, para. 6). In marking the fifteen-year anniversary of the passing of

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UNSCR 1325, the UNSC passed UNSCR 2242 on October 31, 2015. The resolution reaffirmed commitments made in previous WPS resolutions and called on member states to be primarily responsible for implementation (UNSC, 2015). Despite this commitment and further promises at the UNSC level, what can be concluded from the passing of another resolution is that the full implementation of the WPS agenda has yet to be achieved.

2.3 Key Themes of United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325

In examining how UNSCR 1325 has been implemented in Cambodia this thesis has drawn from four key tenets of the resolution (Coomaraswamy, 2015). These key themes or “pillars” were articulated in 2010 by then UN Secretary- General Ban Ki-Moon during his report on Women Peace and Security (UNSC, 2010). They included: prevention, participation, protection and relief and recovery (UNSC, 2010, p. 3). Earlier versions of these pillars were noted in the “2008-2009 UN System-wide Action Plan on [UNSCR 1325] (2000) on WPS” (UNSC, 2008b). These pillars have remained key tenets in the WPS field (George & Shephard, 2016). I have utilized the recent key tenets as articulated in the fifteen year review of UNSCR 1325; these tenets are: “prevention, protection, participation and peacebuilding and recovery” (Coomaraswamy, 2015, p. 13).

As described by Coomaraswamy (2015), prevention, as a key pillar of the resolution, is prioritized in the hopes of avoiding armed conflict and insecurity. It’s two pronged approach involves both “short-term prevention measures such as early warning systems and intensified efforts at pre-emptive dialogue at the local, national and international levels” (Coomaraswamy, 2015, p. 15). It also focuses on “address[ing] the root causes and structural drivers of conflict, such as exclusion, discrimination, attacks on dignity and structural inequality” (Coomaraswamy, 2015, p. 15). This thesis has understood the pillar of protection to be rooted in the understanding

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that the human rights of women and men are of equal value in peace and in conflict situations (Coomaraswamy, 2015). Participation of women equally has been prioritized as foundational throughout all peace processes for “the operational effectiveness, success and sustainability of peace processes and peacebuilding efforts” (Coomaraswamy, 2015, p. 15). Finally, in regards to peacebuilding and recovery, Coomaraswamy (2015), describes this pillar as touching on issues of justice where ingrained issues of insecurity and inequality must be addressed. These understandings have been applied throughout this thesis.

The key tenets of UNSCR 1325 align well with Ellerby’s (2013) approach to “(en)gendered security”, which is why both frameworks have been applied throughout this thesis. Both frameworks acknowledge protection as a key focus area and I have determined that Ellerby’s (2013) concepts of representation, incorporation and recognition (p. 441), align well with and expands upon UNSCR 1325’s key tenet of participation (Coomaraswamy, 2015). Finally, peacebuilding and recovery was considered to be the expansion of “(en)gendered security” into the post-conflict period (Coomaraswamy, 2015; Ellerby, 2013). A human security lens also aligned with the priorities of UNSCR 1325 and a gender perspective as all frameworks seek to re-examine the definition of security (Ferree, 2013). For example, Ferree (2013) argued that a feminist approach to human security brings the idea of human security to a new depth by identifying security issues for both women and men. It was also determined that UNSCR 1325 and human security align in their relation to human rights and individual securities (Chenoy, 2005; Coomaraswamy, 2015). As such all three frameworks were applied throughout this thesis.

2.4 Global implementation of UNSCR 1325

Before conducting a review of how UNSCR 1325 has been implemented in Cambodia, it was important to understand how the resolution has been implemented around the world.

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Successful implementation of UNSCR 1325 has primarily been measured in one of two ways, either a country has developed a National Actions Plan (NAP) on UNSCR 1325 or has implemented the tenets of the resolution by successfully mainstreamed gender throughout their peace and security processes (George & Shepherd, 2016). Both approaches are examined here.

A NAP is a roadmap or framework that outlines how a country will implement the tenets of UNSCR 1325. They are significant because they demonstrate the successful transition from international to national policy and indicate a state's commitment to pursuing the WPS agenda (True, 2016). At the time of writing this thesis, "55 countries and four regional organizations had adopted such plans" (True, 2016, p. 308). There were a further 133 UN member states that had not adopted NAPs (True, 2016, p. 309); Cambodia was amongst these states. There are several challenges that may prevent a country from designing and implementing a NAP, including that the creation of a NAP requires significant financial resources and time to design; it is a "lengthy and political consuming" process (True, 2016, p. 311). In order to fully implement this gendered peace and security framework, there also has to be sufficient funds to build the capacity of and support peacebuilding actors (Willet, 2010). Karam (2001) also noted that the challenge in abandoning "the baggage of values, norms and practices of patriarchy structures [is] part of the reasons why women remain underrepresented in public life" (p. 18). Building on this, True (2016) furthered that "in countries where women are legally or de facto marginalized or excluded from the political process, it is unlikely that institutions will ensure strong protection against their exploitation and abuse" (p. 316). Thus, gendered insecurity can be considered to be cyclical where power holders are unwilling to share their power and their security (Willet, 2010), which could further prevent implementation. These barriers push states to attempt to implement UNSCR 1325 through other means than a NAP.

The second approach to implementing UNSCR 1325, is to mainstream gender throughout peace and security processes. Examples of this approach include gender-focused capacity building and the inclusion of a gender perspective throughout policies and programs (Barrow, 2009). It is also recognized as a process of empowering women and securing their rights (Barrow, 2009). Some countries have chosen to implement UNSCR 1325 through a gender mainstreaming approach, because they believe they can apply the resolution's tenets without needing a NAP (Gumru & Fritz, 2009). As such, some countries have chosen to "integrate the elements of [UN]SCR 1325 into already existing domestic policy frameworks" (Swaine, 2009, p. 411). There are both drawbacks and benefits to this approach.

One critique of the gender mainstreaming method is that programs and policies stray too far from the underlying ideology of UNSCR 1325 (Swaine, 2009). Also, according to Swaine (2009), "the effective translation of the resolution into transformative policy and practice remains the greatest challenge" (p. 421). For example, as an external international policy, some have noted that the resolution can fail to be adaptable to each community (Barrow, 2009). However, if community members are aware of the resolution and adapt it to fit their needs (Basu, 2016), the resolution can "shift the focus from women as victims (without losing this aspect of conflict) to women as effective actors in peace and peace building" (Cohn et al., 2004, p. 132). The extent to which a country has successfully implemented UNSCR 1325 through gender mainstreaming in peace processes requires more extensive review than measuring the success of a NAP. As Cambodia does not have a NAP, such a review has been conducted in Cambodia for this thesis.

2.5 Ten and fifteen Year Reviews of UNSCR 1325's Global Implementation

To commemorate the ten and fifteen year anniversaries of UNSCR 1325, two global reviews were conducted. The ten-year review focused primarily on the effects that UN peacekeeping missions had in implemented the Resolution throughout eleven countries (Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO), 2010).¹ Researchers gathered data from semi-structured interviews and focus groups. The review examined women's inclusion in peace and political processes, governance and post-conflict structures and throughout security institutions. It also examined prevailing issues of women's insecurity such as incidents of gender-based violence and gender considerations in peace and security processes (DPKO, 2010). The study concluded: 1) that "missions [had] achieved little success in turning around the limited participation of women in peace negotiations and peace agreements," with most levels still below 10%; 2) that women who reside outside of urban capitals still felt more excluded from peace processes than women in the capital cities; and comparatively, 3) that there has been an increase in women's participation in political processes (DPKO, 2010, p. 9). Overall, the report indicated that although there has been some implementation success in these eleven countries, there still remained significant ways to improve implementation.

The fifteen-year review conducted a broader examination of successes and challenges in the implementation of UNSCR 1325 globally. Two examples of successes in advancing the tenets of the resolution included: 1) the development of international policy dedicated to gendered peace and security, namely the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court's acknowledgement of "crimes against women," and 2) increased engagement with the resolution by the UNSC (Coomaraswamy, 2015, p. 13). The study noted that "in 2000 only 25 per cent of

¹ The impact study was designed and the report written by Sofi Ospina, Gender Consultant for DPKO/DFS.

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relevant resolutions included a reference to women, whereas that proportion increased to 94 per cent in 2013,” with a “noticeable increase in mainstreaming gender language in [UNSC] outcomes from 2011 onwards” (Coomaraswamy, 2015, p. 330). While this appears advantageous, the study did not clearly define- quantitatively or qualitatively- “a reference to women”. A “reference to women” could therefore mean anything along the spectrum of a basic acknowledgement of women’s existence, to as thorough as, the meaningful mainstreaming of gender throughout all peace processes and decisions. The study also recognized persistent concerns that are particularly noteworthy including that there is still a lack of prosecutions for sexual violence crimes, a lack of female negotiators, and a lack of funding for WPS programs (Coomaraswamy, 2015). Overall, the study indicated that UNSCR 1325 remains an under-utilized, gender-equity and peace and security tool in many parts of the world.

In conclusion, there are three key aspects of UNSCR 1325 that have been investigated throughout the research. First, that UNSCR 1325 is a resolution meant to promote human rights and gender equality during times of conflict, post-conflict and relative peace (Coomaraswamy, 2015; Swaine, 2009). Accordingly, this thesis has examined how UNSCR 1325 has impacted the human security and gender equality landscape in Cambodia, a post conflict country. Second, that it is important to tailor UNSCR 1325 to fit each conflict and country (Coomaraswamy, 2015). As such, this thesis has examined how UNSCR 1325 has been tailored in Cambodia. Finally third, that international organizations, government and civil society should assist in implementing UNSCR 1325 (Coomaraswamy, 2015). This thesis has therefore examined how UNSCR 1325 has been implemented by different sectors of society.

2.6 Peace and Conflict in Cambodia: Introduction

The remainder of this literature review is focused on the gendered peace and security landscape in Cambodia. To begin, it is important to frame this historical review within this thesis' gendered framework. According to David Chandler (1991), it is important to recognize that in an examination of the history of Cambodia, the political history has "privileged the testimony of male witnesses at the expense of those of women" (p. 316). Therefore, the history has likely been recorded unequally, gender wise. Further, according to Chandler (1991), "it might be argued that allowing politics to take command of Cambodia in the 1970s led to a disempowerment of women in Cambodian society, where they had always dominated or at least had played a powerful role in the nonpolitical spheres of everyday life" (p. 316). Frieson (2001) argued that Cambodia, has had a tradition of women leadership in the home and family. Through this role, women have had a significant impact on the social shapings of Cambodia and have also contributed more informally to politics, usually through advising and supporting male family members (Frieson, 2001). Given this reality, I have drawn from the recorded history of Cambodia as has been analyzed in the literature review and document analysis sections of this paper, as well as the lived and told experience of the interview participants (Chandler, 1991).

2.7 Cambodia Historical Review

This literature review examines the historical context in Cambodia over the last fifty years, starting with the overthrow of King Norodom Sihanouk and his subsequent ousting from power in 1970 (Vannath, 2003). Shortly after Lon Nol's overthrow of King Sihanouk the country fell into widespread disarray (Chandler, 2008). King Sihanouk had called on Cambodians to rise up in protest against the coup and further widespread rioting ensued (Chandler, 2008). International forces compounded the situation and by 1972 Lon Nol and his brother controlled only a few main Cambodian cities (Chandler, 2008). At the same time that the Khmer Republic

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was losing strength, the communist forces were gathering strength (Chandler, 2008). By April 17, 1975 communist forces had overtaken the capital Phnom Penh (Chandler, 2008). For the next nearly four years, Cambodia was plunged into chaos and devastation at the hands of communist forces infamously known as the Khmer Rouge (Chandler, 2008).

2.8 Khmer Rouge Control

Communist forces under the leadership of Saloth Sar, also known as Pol Pot, swiftly implemented a form of socialism inspired by Mao's China in Cambodia (Yousuf, 2013, p. 17). The social structure was changed quickly and with this change came the end of "money, markets, formal education, Buddhism, books, private property, diverse clothing styles, and freedom of movement" (Chandler, 2008, p. 255). Beyond this, "the population was systematically driven into the countryside to begin establishing a collectivised agricultural system" (Yousuf, 2013, p. 17). For nearly four years, the people of Cambodia experienced extreme famine and anyone who was accused of being an enemy of the regime was killed (Yousuf, 2013, p. 17). All sects of society were affected in this time. Nearly "60,000 monks were forced to disrobe", former government and military officials and elites were executed and massive purges within Khmer Rouge ranks took place (Poethig, 2002, p. 22). It is estimated that under the control of Pol Pot, over two million people died; a quarter of the population at the hand of Khmer Rouge "policies and actions" (Chandler, 2008, p. 259).

2.9 Civil war and Hun Sen's rule

On December 25, 1978, Vietnamese forces invaded Cambodia and by January 7, 1979 they had forced Pol Pot and his leadership from power (Chandler, 2008). Vietnam quickly established a new ruling government in Cambodia, called the People's Republic of Kampuchea (PRK) (Chandler, 2008). The PRK established a constitution in 1981 that recognized the human

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rights of Cambodians (Chandler, 2008). However, in reality, significant insecurity and widespread human rights violations continued for both men and women. For example, violent crime rose, the education system failed and environmental damage increased due to unregulated logging (Chandler, 2008). Civil war between four parties: “the incumbent Vietnamese-backed People’s Republic of Kampuchea, later known as the State of Cambodia (SOC); the Khmer Rouge; and two smaller parties, the royalist Front Uni National pour un Cambodge Indépendent, Neutre, Pacifique et Coopératif (FUNCINPEC), and the republican Khmer People’s National Liberation Front (KPNLF)” continued for twelve years (Whalan, 2012, p. 228). Prominent leaders in this period included “Heng Samrin, Chea Sim and Hun Sen” (Chandler, 2008, p. 277).

Eventually, persistent instability in Cambodia during the post-war period led to the creation of the “Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea” (Chandler, 2008, p. 283). Under this new political makeup Hun Sen gradually increased his power-hold until eventually becoming Prime Minister in 1985 (Chandler, 2008). Insecurity persisted in Cambodia under the leadership of Hun Sen, in part due to his relentless pursuits to maintain power. The burden of these challenges fell especially on women, as “more than 60 percent of the families were headed by widows” in the post-war period (Chandler, 2008, p. 279).

2.10 The 1991 Peace Agreement

In the hopes of ending persistent insecurity, conflicting parties from Cambodia met in Paris, France in the hopes of forming a power-sharing government (Richmond & Franks, 2007). The meeting eventually led to the signing of the “Agreements on a Comprehensive Political Settlement of the Cambodia Conflict” (Vannath, 2003, p.2). Only a few women were ever consulted during pre-agreement talks leading up to the agreement (Vannath, 2003). With the

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signing of the agreement, came the formulation of the “United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia” (UNTAC) (Vannath, 2003, p. 2).

UNTAC worked in Cambodia from 1992 to 1993, followed by a smaller UN operation until 1999 (McGrew, et al., 2004). A total of two-billion dollars was spent on the UNTAC mission (Chandler, 2008). Both successes and shortfalls of UNTAC have been noted. Successes included: 1) that over 370,000 Cambodian refugees were repatriated, 2) that over 1300 investigations into human rights violations were conducted, 3) that the presence of UNTAC opened a space for civil society to grow (Whalan, 2012), and 4) that elections with a 90% turnout rate took place (Richmond & Franks, 2007). However, even though these elections were peaceful, they cannot be considered fully successful as Hun Sen, who was defeated, refused to accede power (Chandler, 2008). Comparatively, shortcomings of UNTAC included: 1) that insecurity persisted, including economic devastation especially in rural communities, 2) that massacres continued at the hand of the Khmer Rouge forces (Chandler, 2008), and 3) that the mission failed to promote the rule of law (Whalan, 2012). UNTAC eventually pulled out of Cambodia in 1993 leaving behind a country where many individuals still faced widespread insecurity (Richmond & Franks, 2007).

2.11 Dhammayietra Peace Marches

In the face of devastating long-term conflict and insecurity Cambodians persisted in their pursuit of peace. One of the most influential peace initiatives was the Dhammayietra peace marches. The marches were championed by civil society and were led by Samdaich Maha Gosananda, Cambodia’s Buddhist spiritual leader (McGrew et al., 2004). Laypersons, who were often women, also played a significant organizational role in the marches (McGrew et al., 2004). The first marches began in 1992 (Dosch, 2012). Subsequent marches have focused on the

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promotion of peace amidst conflict and insecurity (Montiel, 2006). During the walks, participants would share information about peace and support marchers with food and water (Montiel, 2006, p. 184). Although a direct impact of the marches on peace is difficult to measure, they were significant initiatives in spreading peace and reconciliation around the country.

2.12 Cambodian Women in Peace and Conflict

Throughout Cambodia's turbulent history, women have both experienced unique insecurities and have made unique contributions to peace. In the post-war period in Cambodia, the population was composed of 60% women (McGrew et al., 2004). With the sudden change in population demographics came changes to the traditional social roles of women, which compounded their responsibilities. Women continued to be responsible for caretaking and also became the primary income earners for the family (Mu Leiper, 1993). However, issues of insecurity persisted for women, such as unequal access to land rights (McGrew et al., 2004). Women also faced increased levels of domestic violence that had worsened in a militarized Cambodia with a widespread "culture of violence" (McGrew et al., 2004, p. 11). In this culture of violence and facing significant economic struggles, high levels of human trafficking further increased the health and physical security risks of women (McGrew, 2004).

Beyond these challenges, women have also contributed in a significant way to peacebuilding and security in Cambodia (Vannath, 2003). Women were and continue to be champions of nonviolent dispute resolution by "challenging the culture of violence, the legacy of the war years, and the barriers to good governance" (McGrew et al., 2004, p. 16). The contributions women have made to peace and security in Cambodia, often through civil society roles, are widespread and have positively affected many areas of human well being (McGrew et al., 2004). For example, women contributed significantly to a transparent understanding of

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conflict and post-conflict recovery through outreach from the Women's Media Center (Dosch, 2012). Women further played active roles post-conflict to advance security by facilitating vocational trainings for other women (Vannath, 2003). Women's action "urge[d] accountability in government, establish[ed] government-civil society partnerships, and advance[d] women's political participation" (McGrew et al., 2004, p. iv). Civil society women's organizations also contributed their input to a proposed domestic violence law in the 1990s (McGrew et al., 2004). Overall, the contributions women made to peace and security were significant, widespread, multifaceted and often under-acknowledged.

2.13 A Prominent Women Peacebuilder: Profile on Mu Sochua

One of Cambodia's most influential female peace activists is Mu Sochua. As the first women to form an NGO in Cambodia, she is known for playing a significant role in opening up space for women to contribute to civil society post-1991 (Anderlini, 2000). Mu Sochua's organization was formed primarily to advocate peace in the lead up to the first election (Anderlini, 2000). Her activism work involved participating in the Dhammayietra peace marches (Anderlini, 2000). Eventually, her work turned more political when she won a seat in parliament and then went on to secure the head role at the Ministry for Women's and Veteran's Affairs (Anderlini, 2000). Mu Sochua was especially influential as a peace leader because she worked within the Cambodian culture to highlight and address specific areas of insecurity and gender inequality while also preserving Cambodian cultural integrity (Anderlini, 2000). She was just one of many Cambodian women who have contributed to peace and security in similar ways. Today, Mu Sochua is a Member of Parliament in the opposition, Sam Rainsy Party (Mu, n.d.c). Her priorities include, "put[ting] women at the forefront of Cambodian society and politics" (Mu, n.d.c, para.1).

2.14 Barriers Preventing Gender Equality

Despite the significant contributions women have made to peace in Cambodia, they have still had limited access to formal peace and security decision-making positions (Vannath, 2003). Ní Aoláin (2013), notes that some of the barriers preventing women around the world from peace processes include physical security threats that prevent women from accessing the political and public sphere, as well as insufficient political understanding. Further, there has also been a significant lack of (en)gendered security in Cambodia's history (Ellerby, 2013). Reflecting back on Cambodia's history, McGrew et al., (2004) argued "there were few explicit references to gender balance and none to mainstreaming in either the peace agreements or the various UNTAC documents" (p. 5). Where and when women have been included in peace processes is one of the main focuses of this research, and is explored in greater detail in Chapter Four and Chapter Five. However, below I begin discussing barriers that may have prevented women's inclusion in peace processes in Cambodia and how these barriers might be overcome. It is important to note that many of the barriers preventing women's full inclusion may not be unique to Cambodia but could rather be faced by many women around the world.

According to Yousuf (2013), cultural traditions have played a role in perpetuating unequal gender relations and have thus impacted women's opportunities to contribute equally and meaningfully to peace processes. Beyond this, economic burdens have also posed significant challenges for women in accessing political and peacebuilding processes (Yousuf, 2013). Physical security threats to women seeking political positions or participating in peace processes have also posed significant barriers (McGrew et al., 2004; Thornton & Whitman, 2013). For example, "in the campaign period leading up to the 2002 commune council elections, three female candidates were killed" (McGrew et al., 2004, p. 27). For the limited number of women

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who do secure a political position, many feel pressure to not raise gendered concerns in a political space that is so male dominated (Anderlini, 2000). Recognizing these challenges, there have been many efforts to overcome these barriers in Cambodia. For example, from an international policy perspective, Mu Sochua noted that the implementation of CEDAW has had some impact on gender equality in Cambodia (Anderlini, 2000). This impact, according to Mu Sochua, is that CEDAW “ha[s] provided concrete principles on which the politics of Cambodia is being transformed” (Anderlini, 2000, p. 46). In Mu Sochua’s words, this “principle is that men and women are equal in front of the law, and partners in developing their own country” (Anderlini, 2000, p. 46). From a national perspective, the Ministry of Women’s Affairs is the leading government body that encourages public and private organizations to include gender perspectives throughout their work (Gender and Development for Cambodia (GAD/C) et al., 2009). The government has also developed “Gender Mainstreaming Action Plans” in over fifteen government bodies (GAD/C et al., 2009, p. 1). All of these can be considered steps toward greater gender equality; however, significant barriers still remain. Furthermore, the quality of the implementation of these commitment is integral to reflect true progress towards gender equality in Cambodia.

2.15 The Peace and Security Landscape in Cambodia Today

In order to examine how UNSCR 1325 has impacted the peace and security landscape in Cambodia, it was important to also briefly examined some current security issues within this thesis. According to McGrew et al., (2004), “good governance, as defined by respected international institutions in the field, is contingent upon the equal participation of all citizens in the exercise of the state’s powers and responsibilities and in its management of political, social and economic affairs” (p. 13). Building from this, it is important to note concerns raised by

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Human Rights Watch (HRW) (2015), over an incident that would indicate a lack of willingness to incorporate the views of all opposition voices into political processes. HRW (2015) noted that:

opposition leader Sam Rainsy attempted to establish a “culture of dialogue” with Hun Sen and the ruling Cambodian People’s Party (CPP), but his initiative failed to stem arrests or attacks on the opposition, and on November 13, 2015, a politically motivated arrest warrant was issued for him based on a conviction for peaceful expression in 2011. (p. 151)

Another factor contributing to the peace and security landscape in Cambodia is in regards to which groups are permitted to carry out peace and security work. In 2015, the government passed “ a draconian new law on [NGOs]” (Human Rights Watch (HRW), 2015, p. 151). This new law significantly restricted the ability of “domestic and international associations and NGOs, as well as community-based advocacy movements, to work effectively in Cambodia” (HRW, 2015, p. 154). Although Cambodia is no longer engulfed in armed conflict, this evidence suggests that women and men still face significant security threats.

In 2015, Licadho, the Cambodian League for the Promotion and Defense of Human Rights, conducted a study on the response to rape cases in Cambodia (Licadho, 2015, p. 1). The study relieved “serious and systemic flaws in the prosecution of rape cases resulting in a disturbingly low number of convictions” (Licadho, 2015, p. 1). The conclusion Licadho drew was that these issues were linked to “the widespread negative impact of corruption amongst the police and judiciary, poor understanding and application of the law by judges, and the deleterious effect of discriminatory attitudes towards women, and in particular towards women’s sexuality” (Licadho, 2015, p. 1). Overall, the report called on the justice system to better address these gendered insecurity issues (Licadho, 2015). This is one example of gendered peace and security

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issues in Cambodia. Licadho also works on other human rights and security issues such as “political, economic and social rights in Cambodia” (Licadho, n.d, para.1).

2.16 Literature Review Summary

In the fifteen sections of the above literature review, I have covered broadly an examination of UNSCR 1325 and the WPS agenda, a recent history of peace and conflict in Cambodia and current peace and security issues for both women and men in Cambodia today. Key findings that were discovered during this literature review include: 1) that women offer unique contributions and perspectives to peace and security processes because of their different lived experiences (George & Shepherd, 2016; Hudson, 2009); 2) that without women’s equal contribution to peace and security processes, a “male-dominated vision of a post-war society” emerges (Karam, 2001, pp. 9-10); and 3) that the purpose of UNSCR 1325 is to secure gender inclusive peace and security processes and institutions (Swaine, 2009). These findings are relevant to Cambodia and beyond. Through the literature review it was also discovered that although there has been significant attention paid to the resolution by the international community, including the UNSC (Swaine, 2009), there is a research gap in examining how UNSCR 1325 has been implemented in Cambodia.

Chapter 3: Methodology and Methods

3.1 Introduction

This chapter includes an examination of a Yinian (2014) case study methodology and the various methodological approaches used in this study. The chapter outlines why a Yinian (2014) case study best fit my research goals, which were to examine how UNSCR 1325 has been implemented in Cambodia and the impacts the resolution has had on promoting a gendered approach to peace and security. It further explains how a pattern-matching approach allowed me to compare data findings against the key tenets of the resolution in order to determine the extent of successful implementation (Yin, 2014; Coomaraswamy, 2015). This chapter also outlines the research methods used in this project, which were semi-structured interviews and document analysis (Marshall & Rossman, 2016), and why they were chosen. Finally, this chapter includes an overview of the research participants, ethical considerations and study limitations.

3.2 Yininan Case Study Methodology

This research project has applied Yin's (2014) approach to case study methodology. While a Stake (1995), approach to case study research was also examined as a suitable methodology, it was not chosen because of its more flexible approach to both data collection and analysis (Stake, 1995; Yazan, 2015). Yazan (2015), when comparing Yinian (2014) and Stakian (1995) case study methodologies, noted that Stake's more flexible approach may be less suited to novice researchers. For example, Stake (1995) noted that "each researcher needs, thorough experience and reflection, to find the forms of analysis that work for him or her" (p.77). According to Yazan (2015), "Stake's [(1995)] advice, as an advocate of qualitative research, would lead to uncertainty and ambiguity on the emerging researchers' side since clear guidelines are missing" (p. 141). As such, this study moved forward with a Yinian (2014) case study

methodology.

According to Yin (2014), “a case study is an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon (the “case”) in depth and within its real-world context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context may not be clearly evident” (p.16). Yin’s (2014) definition of a case study developed from his earlier work stemming back to 1981. In applying Yin’s (2014) approach to case study design, this research focused on how UNSCR 1325 has been implemented in Cambodia, the case, within the greater peace and security field in Cambodia, the context. It is also recognized that there are aspects of the case that can be framed within the greater context of the global women, peace and security landscape.

According to Yin (2014), a case study relies on several sources of evidence, which researchers then triangulate; it also “benefits from the prior development of theoretical propositions to guide data collection and analysis” (p.17). Yin’s (2014) version of case study research was chosen for this study as these requirements aligned well with the project design. For example, this study relied on multiple sources of evidence including a literature review, in-depth interviews and a document analysis. It also applied two theoretical lenses to help frame the research findings. This study further fit Yin’s (2014) approach to case study research as it examined a current issue from a position where “the relevant behaviors cannot be manipulated” (p.12). This project studied women, peace and security issues in Cambodia, where I do not play an active role in these processes. These contemporary issues were however, examined through in-the-field interviews with individuals who are directly engaged on the issues under review (Yin, 2014). This approach has allowed academic rigor to be maintained in the analysis while also remaining unbiased throughout the research process.

A Yinian approach further guided this research project in three main ways. First, it helped to define the limits of the case study. According to Yin (2014), case studies can examine “small groups, communities, decisions, programs, organizational change and specific events” (p. 31). Yin (2014) also warned against choosing a case study that is too broad or without “end points” (p. 31). This framework guided the researcher to remain focused on a specific case: how UNSCR 1325 had been implemented in Cambodia, specifically by international organization, the government and civil society. The choice to examine implementation efforts by all three groups was made in order to examine how different organizations have worked together to promote the Resolution. Second, a Yinian (2014) approach guided the researcher to frame the research around earlier findings from this field. As such, the understanding of women, peace and security issues and the implementation of UNSCR 1325 was built on the findings from a thorough literature review of women, peace and security issues both globally and in Cambodia (Yin, 2014). Finally, third, utilizing a Yinian (2014) case study methodology encouraged the research to focus on the topic in a particular environment, while also remaining aware of a greater “holistic and real-world perspective” (p. 4). As such, the researcher focused on how the Resolution has been implemented in Cambodia, while remaining aware of how it had been implemented around the world.

3.3 Case Study Design

A Yinian (2014) approach has five main components to case study research. The first of these components is the type of questions a study asks (Yin, 2014). According to Yin (2014), “how” type questions fit well with case study research (p. 29). As mentioned earlier, this thesis has asked a “how” question. Second, Yin (2014) has suggested utilizing propositions to help guide the research. As such, propositions assisted the researcher to understand what should be

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studied in order to answer the research question directly (Yin, 2014). This project's propositions, based on information gathered from the literature review, included the hypothesis that UNSCR 1325 can be applied in various ways, by various government, civil society and NGOs. The third element of a Yinian (2014) case study design is its "units of analysis" (p. 29). This study's units of analysis were drawn from how well the four key tenets of UNSCR 1325 were applied. Yin (2014) also noted that in order to determine these units of analysis, the researcher must first bind the case. This binding is essential "to determine the scope of [the] data collection and, in particular, how [to] distinguish data about the subject of your case study (the "phenomenon") from data external to the case (the "context")" (Yin, 2014, p. 34). For this research project, the units of analysis included implementation of UNSCR 1325 only in Cambodia (Yin, 2014). The fourth criteria is "linking data to propositions" (Yin, 2014, p. 35). In this way, after collecting all of the data, I analyzed the data comparatively with information gathered from the literature review. Finally, fifth, is the "criteria for interpreting a case study's findings" (Yin, 2014, p. 36). In meeting this criteria this study compared the collected data to the four tenets of the resolution and also examined possible rival explanations before drawing final conclusions (Yin, 2014).

Lastly, this thesis has also been an explanatory study which applied "how" type questions, which according to Yin (2014), are well-suited to a case study methodology (p. 10). Beyond this, this thesis project also applied a thematic analysis (Guest, MacQueen & Namey, 2012). According to Guest, MacQueen and Namey (2012), "thematic analyses move beyond counting explicit words or phrases and focus on identifying and describing both implicit and explicit ideas within the data, that is, themes" (p. 9). In this way, after identifying appropriate themes relevant to the research topic, I identified codes within these themes to categorize the data (Guest et al., 2012). These themes and codes related directly to the tenets of UNSCR 1325

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and “(en)gendered” security and are described later in this chapter (Coomaraswamy, 2015; Ellerby, 2013). Together they formed the pattern that framed this research (Yin, 2014).

3.4 Single Case Study Approach

This study has applied a single-case study approach (Yin, 2014). According to Yin (2014), this approach may be applied when the single case being examined can be considered to be a common case. The objective behind a common single case study is “to capture the circumstances and conditions of an everyday situation... because of the lessons it might provide about the social processes related to some theoretical interest” (Yin, 2014, p. 52). Although the peace and conflict realities Cambodian have faced cannot be directly compared to the realities of other communities and states, what can be shared are similar successes and challenges in how UNSCR 1325 has been implemented, and how the findings of this study can be applied to other human security and women, peace and security examinations.

Within the single case, this study has examined several “subunits of analyses” (Yin, 2014, p. 56). These subunits include: how international organizations, government bodies and civil society have each implemented the resolution. These subunits were utilized as they provided “significant opportunities for extensive analysis, enhancing the insights into the single case” (Yin, 2014, p. 56). Although the study examined implementation in these three areas it also remained focused on the greater holistic picture of how these three bodies together have impacted the women, peace and security landscape in Cambodia, which is an important facet of case study research (Yin, 2014). The researcher also remained cautious not to allow the examination into one body’s implementation efforts to dominate the findings (Yin, 2014).

3.5 Analytic Strategy: Pattern Matching

According to Yin (2014), “the purpose of [an] analytic strategy is to link your case study data to some concepts of interest, then to have the concepts give you a sense of direction in analyzing the data” (p. 142). As such, this thesis has applied a pattern matching logic to the data analysis (Yin, 2014). This approach was applied at Yin’s (2014) suggestion that the pattern matching logic fits well with an explanatory study. According to Yin (2014),

The pattern matching occurs in the following manner: If, for each outcome, the initially predicted values have been found, and at the same time alternative “patterns” of predicted values (including those deriving from methodological artefacts, or “threats” to validity) have not been found, strong causal inferences can be made. (p. 143)

To simplify, this thesis has matched the data collected from the interviews and document analysis against an identified pattern (Yin, 2014). In this pattern matching approach, “successful matching would be evidence for concluding that the original explanation was the better one (and that the other explanations were less acceptable)” (Yin, 2014, p. 146). The pattern that this thesis has utilized involved the four tenets of UNSCR 1325: “prevention, protection, participation and peacebuilding and recovery” (Coomaraswamy, 2015, p. 13). These tenets formed this thesis’ pattern and thus all data have been compared against them. The analysis approach that I applied therefore involved identifying where and to what extent these tenets had been applied in Cambodia. The logic behind this pattern and approach is that implementation of UNSCR 1325 involves meaningful and full implementation of these tenets (Coomaraswamy, 2015).

Finally, in describing this approach Yin (2014) outlines two further points, first that “the actual pattern-matching procedure involves no precise comparisons” as “available statistical techniques are likely to be irrelevant because each of the variables in the pattern will probably

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represent a single data point, and none will therefore have the variance needed to satisfy the statistical need” (p. 146). As such, Yin (2014) notes that “low levels of precision can allow some interpretive discretion on the part of a researcher” (p. 147). Finally, second, that the “analysis should address, if possible, all plausible rival interpretations” (Yin, 2014, p. 168). The primary rival hypothesis that the researcher examined throughout the research process was whether the tenets of the resolution were implemented in certain policies and programs but not due to efforts aimed at implementing UNSCR 1325 (Coomaraswamy, 2015). For example, a program may have prioritized women’s participation but not in an effort to implement UNSCR 1325. As such, this thesis has relied on Yin’s approach which allows for “interpretive discretion” in analysing UNSCR 1325’s implementation (Yin, 2014, p. 147).

3.6 The Application of Theories in Case Study Research

Yin (2014) noted that what distinguishes a case study from other forms of qualitative research is the inclusion of theory throughout the research design process. By this Yin meant that a thorough literature review can provide a framework for data collection and analysis based on theories discovered in the literature review (Yin, 2014). From the literature review, the two theoretical lenses that emerged and were applied include: first, Ellerby’s (2013) concept of “(en)gendered security”, and second, the four tenets of UNSCR 1325: “prevention, protection, participation and peacebuilding and recovery” (Coomarasway, 2015, p. 13).

3.7 Methodological Approach: Methods for Data Collection

The research methods for this project included semi-structured interviews and document analysis (Marshall & Rossman, 2016). Similar methods have been used in other UNSCR 1325 studies. For example, Barrow (2009), in her qualitative study, conducted thirty-three interviews with actors from civil society organizations. Other methods, such as surveys were used by

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Parmar et al. (2014). In this study, semi-structured interviews were conducted in order to allow participants, who bring a high level of expertise from this field, to shape the discussion while at the same time adhering to the research's main themes. I determined that this was the most effective method to gain a rich understanding of the various ways the resolution had been implemented. Eleven in-person interviews were conducted in Phnom Penh, Cambodia in May 2016. A further three interviews were conducted over the online communication platform, Skype, in order to accommodate the location and schedules of the interview participants. Each interview lasted between 30-60 minutes. According to Yin (2014), case study research does not outline the specific number of interviews to be conducted in a study and therefore the researcher determined when sufficient information had been gathered. This was determined based on Yin's (2014) advice that enough data had been collected when: 1) there is "confirmatory evidence (evidence from two or more different sources) for most of your main topics," and 2) "evidence includes attempts to investigate major rival hypotheses or explanations" (p. 104). Both of these criteria were met in this study.

In order to achieve "converging lines of inquiry" and an accurate in-depth understanding of the topic, this study has triangulated data sources (Yin, 2014, p. 120). This process involved a thorough literature review, interviews and a document analysis. This three-step process provided the data needed to compare and contrast what interviewees had said with peer-reviewed research and organization produced reports. The thesis was also reviewed by a research committee with extensive expertise on the subject. These three sources of data, provided for a multi-step reflection on the same phenomenon (Yin, 2014). The first primary source of evidence were in-depth interviews. Interviews were conducted as "guided conversations rather than structured queries," which allowed the interviewees to speak more freely in their areas of experience and

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expertise (Yin, 2014, p. 110). Each question was carefully constructed to allow participants to share unique commentary about the topic (Yin, 2014) (Please see Appendix A for a copy of the interview guide). The researcher was also careful to ensure personal biases did not influence the interviewee (Yin, 2014). Interviews also took place primarily at the offices of interviewees at their request. This provided comfortable and relaxed atmospheres for the participants. The second form of data collection in this thesis project was a document analysis. A document analysis was used to augment the data gathered during interviews (Yin, 2014). These documents included sources gathered during field research in Cambodia, especially government and civil society produced documents (Yin, 2014). Further to the review of academic documents, this thesis research project also examined relevant grey literature gathered and released by NGOs, governments and international bodies reviewing women, peace and security issues in Cambodia.

3.8 Research participants

To understand broadly how UNSCR 1325 has been implemented in Cambodia, research participants came from international organizations, government bodies and civil society. Throughout the literature review, these bodies were identified as having championed the implementation of the Resolution in other areas and thus it was determined that such groups would likely have impacted Cambodia as well. A “judgement sampling” (purposeful sampling) method was used to select the most appropriate and relevant sample group and to identify appropriate research participants (Marshall, 1996, p. 523). The sample group chosen included both “outliers (deviant sample)” who were individuals who work on issues of peace and security without necessarily an expertise in UNSCR 1325, as well as “subjects with special expertise (key informant sample)”, which included individuals with experience in the women, peace and

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security field (Marshall, 1996, p. 523). Access to these experts was crucial to developing meaningful research in this field (Yin, 2014).

3.9 Interviewing participants

In choosing which participants should take part in the study, I first worked with experts in the field of women, peace and security to determine an initial list of research participants. While in Cambodia, the researcher developed this list further when other experts were identified through document research or were suggested by interview participants. A thorough literature review also uncovered who were experts in the field of women, peace and security in Cambodia. In the end, participants who took part in the study represented all three implementation focus areas. Because all of the research participants were identified by experts in the field of women, peace and security or were in other ways peace and security experts, the researcher found each participant to have thorough and in-depth knowledge on the subject. Participants were contacted by the researcher by email and phone and their role within a certain organization was often verified by the interview physically taking place at their office and also through online searches of the organizations or government bodies (Cone and Foster, 2006). The participant informed consent process is described later in this chapter (Please see Appendix B). In the end, participants that took part in the study had a broad array of experience and expertise on women, peace and security, and peace and security issues in Cambodia. Many had direct experience with peacebuilding processes and who had lived through the conflict.

The application of a Yinian case study methodology required the researcher to be able to ask appropriate questions, actively listen to participants' responses, to understand in-depth the issues being studied, and to be adaptive and to "avoid biases by being sensitive to contrary evidence" (Yin, 2014, p. 73). Throughout the interviews, I sought to create rich dialogue on the

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topic rather than be restricted by the pre-planned questions (Yin, 2014). As such, I would often expand on questions if the participant had a particular area of expertise or experience. I developed compounding questions on the topic in order to create a more in-depth interview (Yin, 2014). This process requires that the researcher,

hears the exact words used by an interviewee (sometimes, the terminology reflects an important perspective), captures the mood and affective components, understands the context from which the interviewee is perceiving the world, and infers the meaning intended by the interviewee (not by the researcher). (Yin, 2014, p. 74)

Throughout this process I was careful not to guide the conversation toward an affirmation of the researcher's thoughts on the subject (Yin, 2014).

3.10 Participant Demographics

The data presented in chapter 4, has been collected from fourteen interviews that took place in 2016. Of the fourteen people interviewed, all were either experts in gendered issues, women, peace and security issues or peace and security issues in Cambodia. They are all working or have worked in international NGOs, Cambodian government bodies, civil society or are academics. All interviewees have spent a majority of their lives and careers living and working in Cambodia. To protect the privacy and security of the participants, no names, organizational affiliation or personal details have been disclosed in this project. Instead, the researcher has referred to participants as, participants A-N. A more detailed table of participants and their organizations can be found in Appendix C: Participant Demographics.

Of the fourteen participants, eight had more than ten years experience working in their field and six had less than ten years. Six participants had, in some capacity, worked directly on the implementation of UNSCR 1325 with one other participant who had experience working in

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Cambodia but had worked on UNSCR 1325 implementation projects outside of Cambodia. Four participants were only familiar with the Resolution and three were not familiar with the resolution.

3.11 Research sites

Research interviews were primarily conducted in the capital, Phnom Penh due to the location of government bodies, and international and local NGO offices. All interviews were audio recorded and did not require the assistance of a translator as all of the interviewees were fluent in English. All interviews were conducted one-on-one. This setting provided a comfortable interview environment for both the researcher and interviewee, which facilitated open and frank discussion on the topics. I utilized the audio transcription software Atlas Ti to code and analyze the audio-recorded interviews. Atlas Ti allowed me to place codes within an audio file for future analysis. This allowed me to return directly to coded sections of the audio and to ensure that quotes and information pulled from the audio recordings could be verified directly with the original version of the data.

3.12 Research Codes

This thesis applied codes to the interview data and collected documents in order to retrieve key themes noted by various interviewees and throughout documents. Initial codes were built from the foundational dimensions of this research (Yin, 2014). These codes were determined in relation to the four key tenets of UNSCR 1325 (Coomaraswamy, 2015; Yin, 2014). These codes were: “prevention, participation, protection, peacebuilding and recovery” (Coomaraswamy, 2015, p.13). From here, subsequent codes, built off these key themes, were also applied (Yin, 2014). These codes were identified throughout data collection and were related to the following key tenets:

- **Codes related to prevention:** peace activities, engage, women's rights, human rights, prepare, awareness, prevent;
- **Codes related to gendered participation:** representation, incorporation, recognition (Ellerby, 2013), equal, gender mainstreaming, inclusion, involvement, gender balance, number, empower, empowered women, actively engaged, leadership role, integrating, power holder, capacity building, gender roles, discussion;
- **Codes related to protection:** gender sensitize, community, awareness, gender mainstreaming;
- **Codes related to peacebuilding and recovery:** peace walks, peacebuilding, peacebuilding process, sustainability, transitional justice, psycho-social support, governance, dialogue, weapons reduction, post-conflict, peace education, gender policy, education, gender empowerment, economic power, safe environment, access to justice, land rights, peace activities;
- **Codes related to security/insecurity:** night, suffering, violence, divides, domestic violence, violence against women, post traumatic stress disorder, power holder, gender-based violence.

3.13 Rigor and trustworthiness

To satisfy rigor and trustworthiness, this research has again turned to Yin's (2014) case study methodology framework and has satisfied three forms of validity: construct, internal and external validity. To ensure construct validity, this study clearly defined how successful implementation of UNSCR 1325 would be measured against recognized determinants (Yin, 2014). According to Yin (2014), construct validity involves "identifying correct operational measures for the concepts being studied" (p.46). These determinants were the successful

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implementation of UNSCR 1325's key tenets of "prevention, protection, participation and peacebuilding and recovery" (Coomaraswamy, 2015, p. 13). This thesis has also relied on "multiple sources of evidence" and was reviewed by experts (Yin, 2014, p. 47). To meet the standards of internal validity, the researcher maintained a rigorous approach to interviewing and data collection so as not to infer conclusions without first considering all rival explanations and converging evidence (Yin, 2014). For Yin (2014), internal validity means "to establish a causal relationship, whereby certain conditions are believed to lead to other conditions, as distinguished from spurious relationships" (p.46). Finally, to ensure external validity, which "deals with the problem of knowing whether a study's findings are generalizable beyond the immediate study" (Yin, 2014, p. 48), this project sought the review of experts and has highlighted commonly addressed themes from the literature review (Twycross & Shields, 2004a). Finally, this research project also utilized a strict research procedure, as previously described, in order to achieve research reliability (Yin, 2014).

Beyond Yin's (2014) understanding of validity this study also applied Twycross and Shield's (2004a) understanding of validity which is when: "a tool measures what it sets out to measure" (p. 28). In this case, the research sought to measure how UNSCR 1325 has been implemented in Cambodia. This thesis has remained focused on the implementation of UNSCR 1325 in Cambodia, with the exception of a broader literature review of how the resolution has been implemented globally in order to develop a foundational understanding. According to Twycross and Shields (2004b), "reliability refers to the consistency, stability and repeatability of results" (p. 36). It involves being able to find the same results and drawing the same conclusions of earlier cases (Yin, 2014). In order to accomplish this with a qualitative case study

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methodology, this research project again worked with a broad participant population and highlighted themes that appeared frequently across the collected data.

3.14 Ethical Considerations

Before contacting research participants, this research project underwent a rigorous ethical review process to ensure that the research would not cause any harm or create unnecessary risks for participants or to the research environment. This project was also approved by the Royal Roads University Research Ethics Board. This project adhered to the guidelines of the Government of Canada Interagency Panel on Research Ethics, which outlines that the ethical conduct of research involving people calls for the respect of persons, concern for welfare and justice (Government of Canada Interagency Panel on Research Ethics, 2016).

This process involved a thorough review of all interview questions and research procedures. Ahead of participating in any research, participants also went through an informed consent process. Participants were given a written explanation of the informed consent and research process (Please see informed consent in Appendix B). This process was then discussed between the researcher and the interviewee and the interviewee's rights, specifically the right to leave the study at any time, were highlighted. Further ethical considerations for this research project included: 1) that participant selection was conducted without undue pressure or influence, 2) that transcription was conducted in a manner that maintains the integrity of the participant's contributions, and 3) that data was stored confidentially.

Glesne (2011) argued that although "informed consent neither precludes the abuse of research findings, nor creates a symmetrical relationship between researcher and the researched, it can contribute to the empowering of research participants" (p. 166). Before participants took part in the research process they were encouraged to only answer questions that they were

comfortable answering and that if they choose not to answer a certain question, their decision would be respected by the researcher. Participants were informed that because the data was going to be stored on a computer, that it could never be 100% protected from potential hackers. Research data was stored on password locked USB drives and all personal data was stored securely in hard copy. The names and personal details of the participants were kept separate from the interview recordings and data. The researcher also ensured that no participants felt they needed to support the theories or hypotheses of the researcher. The researcher remained unbiased when discussing the topic and did not share their personal leanings or thoughts on the subject.

According to Halse and Honey (2005), the selection of participants risks becoming an ethical quandary if participants feel they are being asked to participate only because they share a similar point of view to the researcher. To mitigate this problem, the researcher ensured that interview questions were not leading. Participants were also informed that if they wanted to withdraw their consent after taking part in an interview, all of this interview data would be destroyed. Marshall and Rossman (2016) identified that ethically the researcher would need to be cautious to maintain the integrity of the participants' words and worldview throughout the transcription process. In order to minimize this ethical issue, the researcher avoided interpreting participants' remarks if the data was incomplete.

3.15 Study Limitations

One of the limits of case study methodology is that study findings are not necessarily generalizable beyond the case under examination (Yin, 2014). In recognizing this, Yin (2014) cautioned not to see the case not as a sample of other identical cases. The goal should instead be to "expand and generalize theories" from the case (Yin, 2014, p. 20). From the beginning, this

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study has hoped that discovered findings would not be applied to other peace and conflict situations directly but instead would build upon existing gendered peace and security theories. Marshall and Rossman (2016), identified a similar concern and concluded that “although no qualitative studies are generalizable in the probabilistic sense, their findings may be transferable” (p.85). This study recognizes that because this research project targets a very specific community in Cambodia the conclusions will not be directly applicable to other environments. Another identified limit to this study include the possibility that interviewed participants did not feel comfortable disclosing their true thoughts during their interview. Marshall and Rossman (2016) stated that, “interviews are often intimate encounters that depend on trust” (p.150). Taking this limit into account, the researcher worked with participants to ensure they felt comfortable in the interview environment.

3.16 Chapter Summary

This chapter has been an overview of the methodological approaches and methods applied in this thesis. Included in this chapter was a thorough overview of a Yinian (2014) case study methodology, with explanations on the single case study and the pattern-matching approaches. It also outlined how the application of theories were applied throughout the thesis (Yin, 2014). Moving to the methodological approaches used, this chapter outlined why the methods were chosen and how they were applied ethically. It also provided an overview of the research participants, interview approaches and research sites. Finally, the chapter outlined ethical consideration and study limitations.

Chapter 4: Findings

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the key data findings collected from fourteen interviews that took place in 2016 with experts in gendered issues, women, peace and security issues or peace and security issues in Cambodia. The findings in this chapter are presented as follows: first, the research question is included; second, a conclusion or answer to each research question based on the collected interview data is presented; and third, key collected data that was relevant in answering the research questions is included. This data presentation follows Yin (2014) and Cone and Foster's (2006) approach. I have also included relevant supporting and opposing data in a neutral manner (Yin, 2014). As noted earlier in this thesis, the Government of Cambodia does not have a NAP on implementing UNSCR 1325. As such, the document analysis portions of this thesis has examined where the tenets of the resolution have been implemented by various international, governmental and NGO bodies, as well as which organizations have integrated UNSCR 1325 into their policies and programs.

4.2 Research Questions 1: How has UNSCR 1325 been implemented in Cambodia and has the resolution promoted a gendered approach to peace and security in Cambodia?

This case has measured successful implementation of UNSCR 1325 against the four primary tenets of the Resolution: "prevention, participation, protection, and peacebuilding and recovery" (Coomaraswamy, 2015, p. 13). When participants were asked how UNSCR 1325 had been implemented in Cambodia they had varying opinions on how successfully and how broadly the resolution had been implemented. For example, while some participants felt that the government was making progress in implementing the resolution, others felt that the government's effort had been minimal and slow. However, participants continually reiterated

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one point: that there remained opportunities for further implementation. The main conclusion that has been drawn from the interview data is that UNSCR 1325 has been utilized by international organizations, government bodies and NGOs, primarily to enhance existing gendered policies and practices, but that there is still significant opportunity for it to be relied on further as a gendered peace and security tool.

Another key theme that was drawn from the interview data was that although participants noted that their programs and policies were in some way meeting the four tenets and priorities of the resolution, they often noted that UNSCR 1325 had not been the guiding force behind these activities. Rather, their organizations were mainstreaming gender or were focused on peacebuilding through other mandates than UNSCR 1325. Nine participants noted difficulties and challenges in implementing the resolution as they did not have the time or resources to create new programs, or action plans, but felt they were meeting the underlying goals of the resolution through their own gender centric or peacebuilding work. Smaller organizations were also seen to be targeting one aspect of the resolution, for example increasing women's participation in peace processes but may not have the capacity to also manage other areas of conflict prevention. This is one of the reasons why a broad analysis of how the resolution has been implemented by many actors was necessary. The conclusion drawn from this is that although some progress towards gendered peace and security processes has been achieved in Cambodia, opportunities remain to apply a holistic implementation of the resolution where each tenet is prioritized. Included below are key examples of implementation and areas for further implementation of the resolution. Findings have been categorized into UNSCR 1325's key tenets.

Prevention.

Some participants noted that their own local or international organization or other organizations were prioritizing the prevention of gendered insecurities throughout their work. This work involved both learning from past experiences to influence future policy as well as addressing security issues such as domestic abuse. For example, Participant H's international level organization works to prevent future gender based violence by facilitating dialogue between victims of gender based violence and the government. The purpose of this is to shape policies and programs to minimize future threats and gendered risks. Participant H noted that they collaborated with a local NGO during this process to ensure that the victims would not be re-traumatized during discussions. This organization works with both the victims and the government ahead of time to ensure everyone has an understanding of the process and is prepared to speak respectfully and maintain a safe space. This organization utilizes this stakeholder-inclusive gender-equitable approach in addressing other issues of gendered insecurity in Cambodia such as land rights, again through a prevention and response approach. This work aligns well with the prevention tenet of the resolution as defined by Coomaraswamy (2015). Participant H further noted that UNSCR 1325 is one of the policies that guides their organization's priorities and projects in Cambodia.

As another example of a local organization addressing current issues of insecurity for women and families, Participant F noted that their work addresses issues such as domestic violence and child abuse through prevention and response initiatives that raise awareness of human rights and protection options. For this organization, UNSCR 1325 was not a guiding force behind these programs however Participant F noted that their work happened to address many of

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the tenets, especially through their capacity building workshops aimed at raising awareness and preventing violence.

Participation.

I examined UNSCR 1325's second primary tenet, participation (Coomaraswamy, 2015), by expanding on Ellerby's (2013) three interconnected dimensions of participation: representation, incorporation and recognition. As Cambodia is a post-conflict country, participation in peace and security processes could have a broad meaning including participation in government, security institutions and other bodies whose work could be considered to be preventing or recovering from conflict and insecurity. The following three sections address how the tenet of participation has been applied in Cambodia (Coomaraswamy, 2015).

Representation.

In regards to representation, participants disagreed on whether UNSCR 1325 had impacted gender equal participation in peace processes in Cambodia. While Participant K noted that the resolution had had little success as they still saw low levels of women in power-holding positions in Cambodia, Participants D and E both noted that UNSCR had impacted Cambodia somewhat and said that the Cambodian Government was making an effort to stream women into leadership positions. Participant D further thought that some government departments were working to increase the number of women in power-holding positions. According to the World Economic Forum, in 2015 there were 20 female and 80 males in parliament in Cambodia, making for a female-to male ratio of 0.26 (World Economic Forum (WEF), 2015, p. 63). This ratio ranked Cambodia 75th in the world in 2015 (WEF, 2015, p. 63). In regards to "women in ministerial positions" of government, Cambodia ranked 125th with only 7 women and 93 men

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holding ministerial positions (WEF, 2015, p. 64). When examining the statistics, it is clear that there remains significant room for further gender equal inclusion in power holding positions.

Beyond the figures, Participant G further noted that outside of formal political roles there is less engagement from the younger generation in politics. To tackle this problem, Participant G said that there needs to be an increase in capacity building opportunities for women which will prepare them for higher power-holding positions. Participant G noted that government bodies and civil society are beginning to tackle the issue of unequal representation by facilitating trainings in leadership, law and technology skills. Moving forward, over half of the fourteen participants noted that ensuring equal educational opportunities for girls and boys would be the most effective way for women to gain access to all levels of governance, including power-holding positions. As an example of an organization approaching the issues in this way, Participant M noted that their academic institution had incorporated gendered components into their international studies curriculum for the purpose of empowering women. Participant M was aware of UNSCR 1325 but did not link the gendered components of their curriculum design to the resolution.

Incorporation.

In regards to incorporating women into peace processes, eleven participants noted mainly civil society efforts. Participant H, from an international organization, said that they are working with a variety of civil society and community groups in their UNSCR 1325 implementation outreach. Participant H confirmed that their organization is focused on increasing awareness of the resolution so that it can be better utilized by individuals and communities in order to further incorporate women into peace and security processes. They have done this through hosting workshops to raise awareness of the resolution and why it is important. Participant H confirmed

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that promoting women throughout governance and transitional justice programs is one of their top UNSCR 1325 implementation priorities. Working from these comments, I have examined how gender has been incorporated into the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia, which contributes to transitional justice and post-conflict peacebuilding issues, further on in this section.

Participants disagreed on whether efforts by civil society and government to promote the inclusion of women across sectors has had a positive impact in Cambodia. Participant E, who works for a Cambodian civil society organization, noted that efforts have led to increased awareness of what gender mainstreaming means and that women's inclusion throughout a variety of sectors was progressing forward. However, Participant F noted that still when they go to a new community for their work, they often find that it is the community members' first interaction with a women, peace and security organization, indicating that understanding of the field and resolution is still limited. One significant difference between Participant E and F's work is that Participant F works primarily in rural communities and Participant E works primarily in the capital city, Phnom Penh. Their conclusions could indicate higher awareness of the resolution in urban areas. Both participants agreed however, that the resolution's tenet of inclusion has yet to be fully utilized and implemented across both rural and urban communities.

Recognition.

Participants noted several efforts they take in recognizing women throughout peace and security processes. For example, Participant E noted that when determining who is involved in their youth peacebuilding programs, they aim to include women and men equally with the ultimate goal of "equal interactions and partnerships". Participant E said that this gender balance creates a more diverse and engaged discussion on issues that affect women and men. Although

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aware of UNSCR 1325, the resolution was not the guiding force for Participant E in designing their organization's programs. Participant D also noted that they try to mainstream gender throughout their programs. For example, Participant D's organization facilitates events with political parties and asks that at least 40 percent of attendees be women. Although participant D had previously engaged on UNSCR 1325 implementation, it was not the sole policy guiding their current organization's gendered approach. These remarks indicate efforts to incorporate women equally in peace and political processes beyond efforts to implement UNSCR 1325.

Other participants felt they were meeting the participation tenet of UNSCR 1325 through their gendered engagements implementing CEDAW. However, Participant C noted that when facilitating workshops on the implementation of CEDAW they often had to explain what gender mainstreaming was to their participants. From this, Participant C felt that there was still a long way to go in mainstreaming gender throughout peace and security processes in Cambodia. One participant, who was working in an international organization, noted that they increased their implementation of UNSCR 1325 in 2012. Their work includes training communities on the resolution and translating it into Khmer. This participant noted that because more people are familiar with CEDAW than UNSCR 1325 in Cambodia, their organization uses CEDAW as a platform to create discussion on UNSCR 1325. Participants felt that other international policies were in some way facilitating a platform for further discussion on UNSCR 1325.

In regards to government initiatives that have increased recognition, Participant E felt that government bodies, including the Ministry of Women's Affairs, had contributed to the promotion of gender equality through mainstreaming efforts, by integrating women into the government and through studies on gender related issues. Participant E viewed these activities as indicating good progress but acknowledged that UNSCR 1325 was not necessarily the driving

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force behind these efforts. Participant D also noted that the Ministry of Women's Affairs was working to mainstream gender across various bodies, but that there was still areas where UNSCR 1325 could be further implemented. Efforts by the Ministry of Women's Affairs have been discussed in the following section of this thesis.

In analyzing women's participation in peace and security processes in Cambodia, I have briefly examined gender equality, as determined by international evaluation bodies, as an indication of women's equal access and protection. The UN Development "Gender Inequality Index" measures: "maternal mortality ratio", "adolescent birth rate", "share of seats in parliament", "population with at least some secondary education", and "labour force participation rate," in measuring a country's gender equality level (UNDP, 2015, para.1). According to these criteria, Cambodia ranked 143 out of 188 countries (UNDP, 2015). Comparatively, the Global Gender Gap Report 2015, measures the gender gap of countries based on "economic participation and opportunity", "educational attainment", "health and survival", and "political empowerment" (World Economic Forum (WEF), 2015, p. 9). Based on these measurements, Cambodia ranked 109 out of 140 countries in 2015 (WEF, 2015, p. 9). These figures indicate room to develop towards greater gender equality in many areas in Cambodia.

Protection.

This thesis has examined efforts being undertaken to protect against gendered insecurities in Cambodia. Participants noted specific efforts to incorporate gendered perspectives into their peace and security work that touch on many areas of human security (UNDP, 1994). For example, Participant J, from an international organization, noted that they work to incorporate a gendered perspective when addressing health risks such as a gendered response to HIV/AIDS. In regards to efforts taken by the government, Participant I noted that efforts have been made to

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improve the economic, health, social, and environmental security of women as well as to increase their legal protection and access to education. In addressing gendered human insecurities, Participant J noted that there have been community events held on December 10th, International Human Rights Day, with the purpose of drawing attention to issues of gender based violence and to end discrimination against women. Participant J also noted that in their work, they are holding capacity trainings to empowering women to know their rights in the work force and throughout their lives. Overall, efforts that were identified included small-scale community projects, international organization led capacity buildings efforts and government initiatives. I have further examined Cambodian government policies that address issues of gendered protection in the following sections.

Peacebuilding and Recovery.

Finally, the fourth tenet of the resolution that I examined was peacebuilding and recovery (Coomaraswamy, 2015). Some of the efforts to meet this tenet included creating centers for dialogue on peace and security, creating employment opportunities for women, and by providing psychosocial and legal support for genocide victims. Significant issues of concern which impact the long-term peace prospects of both women and men were also identified throughout this thesis.

Participant E's organization is an example of a civil society organization working with women, men and youth to provide leadership trainings on peacebuilding, conflict resolution and reconciliation. In the post-conflict period, Participant E noted that not only is it important to include women and men equally in peacebuilding processes, it is also important to include youth, as current and future peace leaders. Participant E said that their organization has involved youth to: "mobiliz[e] victims, [the] post-war generation, and related stakeholders like local authorities

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[and] women, in building or transforming mass killing sites in the community... into [sic] centers for dialogue, center[s] for killing memories and peacebuilding activities.” So far, these students have set up six such centers. Participant E’s organization has also trained over 2,000 youth to participate in peacebuilding and security programs each year. Participant E confirmed that in each of these processes and throughout the design of their centers, a gender balance was always considered. However, Participant E did note that UNSCR 1325 was not a guiding force in their choice to apply a gender perspective, even though Participant E was familiar with the resolution. This initiative is an example of a community led initiative by a civil society organization working to promote gendered and youth-inclusive peace in a post-conflict environment.

As part of the recovery process, Participant C noted that civil society organizations had made efforts to establish agricultural associations for women. These programs were set up with the purpose of establishing communal and supportive financial committees to improve the economic stability for women in the post-conflict environment. This type of program can achieve greater economic security for women, a key pillar of human security (UNDP, 1994). However, Participant L noted, in their words, that the “sexual division of labour” in Cambodia, still ensures that some women are treated unequally in the workforce. Participant L felt that UNSCR 1325 has had little impact in advocating for the gendered peace and security rights of women in this area. Participant L felt that although there are some initiatives working to improve the economic security of women, there remain areas for further progress.

Other examples of programs working to ensure greater peace and security in the post-conflict period, according to participants, includes psycho-social and legal support for those who need it. Participant H noted that, their organization is working to support both female and male

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victims of past-conflict through psycho-social support, which often involves discussions around Khmer Rouge times. Their gendered approach is to ensure that both women and men have equal access to their programs. One participant also noted that they are working to provide legal support to women human rights defenders as well as psycho-social support for post-conflict survivors. They have also incorporated creative ideas where survivors can choose to share their stories with other victims through performance art, as a form of post-conflict recovery and peacebuilding. Both of these initiatives were local and international civil society led efforts.

A significant post-conflict peace and recovery issue in Cambodia, according to participants, has been related to forced marriages that occurred under the control of the Khmer Rouge. Participant L noted that in the post-conflict period, the traumatizing effects of forced marriages have been significant and remain a security issue overlooked by many peacebuilding bodies in Cambodia, including organizations who have championed UNSCR 1325. Participant L also stated that under the Khmer Rouge, marriages were forced for the purpose of reproducing to support the revolution. Participant L further remarked that although both men and women were forced to marry under the Khmer Rouge regime, the consequences for women have been vastly different; these consequences included economic burdens, social stigma and health concerns, especially due to forced pregnancies. Further to this, Participant L felt that the inter-generational consequences have also been under-acknowledge and now a third generation of Cambodians are feeling the effects of these marriages. Participant L noted that this security issue started to gain more civil society attention in 2009. However, further recognition of this security threat, according to Participant L, is a direct example of how UNSCR 1325 could be better utilized throughout the country. From these examples, it can be concluded that there remains areas for improving gendered peace and security post-conflict peacebuilding and recovery efforts.

Implementation of UNSCR 1325 by Cambodian government bodies.

Throughout the interviews, several participants noted that Cambodian government bodies have begun to implement UNSCR 1325 as a gender equality tool and framework. Participants further identified the Ministry of Women's Affairs as the government body responsible for issues that affect women, including peace and security issues. As such, I examined how UNSCR 1325 and the four tenets of the resolution (Coomaraswamy, 2015), have been implemented throughout a key Ministry of Women's Affairs policy, the "National Action Plan to Prevent Violence Against Women 2014-2018" (Ministry of Women's Affairs (MoWA), 2014a). In this plan it was recognized that Cambodia, as a member, "is bound by all decisions of the Security Council of the UN, especially decisions relating to [WPS]" (MoWA, 2014a, p. 2). Further to this, the plan recognized that Cambodia is committed to "UN[SCR] 1325, 1820 and 1888 related to [WPS]" (MoWA, 2014a, p. 2). This inclusion is an indication of the government's recognition of the WPS agenda and its commitments.

National Action Plan to Prevent Violence Against Women 2014-2018.

As has been noted by participants, not always are the four tenets of UNSCR 1325: "prevention, protection, participation and peacebuilding and recovery," prioritized equally (Coomaraswamy, 2015, p. 13). As such, this thesis conducted a thorough review of how the four tenets were prioritized throughout the plan (MoWA, 2014a). From the beginning of the plan, it is recognized that "women have an important role in Cambodian society and are the backbone of the national economy and social development" (MoWA, 2014a, p.1). Here the document acknowledges women's important and unique role in Cambodian society, which aligns with the resolution's prioritization of women's "equal participation and full involvement in all efforts for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security" (UNSC, 2000, para. 5). This is

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particularly aligned if you apply the broad definition of human security, as involving economic and community security (UNDP, 1994). The plan further outlines that women face particular gendered peace and security threats, such as: “physical, psychological, sexual and economic violence, cutting across all divisions of income, culture and class in their daily public and private spheres” (MoWA, 2014a, p. 2). This aligns with UNSCR 1325’s recognition that women and girls face particular gendered peace and security threats (UNSC, 2000).

In regards to the tenet of prevention (Coomaraswamy, 2015), the plan includes prevention against gendered violence and insecurity as one of its key priority focuses (MoWA, 2014a). In order to minimize gendered security threats through prevention, the plan calls for greater coordination between government and civil society and increased awareness of gender insecurity issues amongst educators and throughout society (MoWA, 2014a). This approach aligns with suggestions from participants, that in order to further implement UNSCR 1325 and achieve gendered peace and security in Cambodia, the issues must be tackled through collaboration between international organizations, government bodies and civil society.

Regarding the tenet of protection (Coomaraswamy, 2015), the plan acknowledges that women in Cambodia, “face additional barriers in access to human right, protection and justice,” which often increases their insecurity (MoWA, 2014a, p. 2). Particular gendered security risks that were identified in the plan include: “domestic violence”, “rape and sexual violence”, “trafficking in persons”, and “violence against women with increased risk” (MoWA, 2014a, pp.4-6). The plan recognized that some women face additional security risks due to ethnicity, disability or sexual orientation, because they may be “stigmatized and are neglected or ignored in their communities or in society” (MoWA, 2014a, p. 6). In addressing these security issues, the plan calls for a strengthened legal sector and greater awareness amongst security institutions

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such as the police (MoWA, 2014a). If the protection pillar of the plan is implemented meaningfully and fully, this could indicate not only that the Ministry of Women's Affairs but also other security institutions are implementing UNSCR 1325's pillar of protection (Coomaraswamy, 2015).

The tenet of participation (Coomaraswamy, 2015) is highlighted throughout the plan through, for example, initiatives that support women's empowerment and capacity building (MoWA, 2014a). However, the involvement of women equally and meaningfully throughout all bodies and programs could be further emphasized in order to bring the plan in closer alignment with UNSCR 1325 (UNSC, 2000). Finally, as the plan is dedicated to addressing concerns of gendered insecurity in the post-conflict period, each policy and program could be seen, in some way, as contributing to peacebuilding and recovery (Coomaraswamy, 2015). As a specific example however, the plan sets out to "review, monitor and evaluat[e]" progress towards greater security for women (MoWA, 2014a, p. 10). It also recognizes that women can face significant risks outside of armed conflict (MoWA, 2014a). These approaches could be seen as aligning with the understanding that a gendered approach is still required in "the maintenance and promotion of peace and security" even after conflict (UNSC, 2000, para.5). What remains important, beyond the areas of the resolution that have been acknowledged, is the successful implementation of these commitments.

Neary Rattanak IV: Five Year Strategic Plan for Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment.

The second national policy that this thesis has examined was the "Neary Rattanak IV: Five Year Strategic Plan for Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment" (MoWA, 2014b). Neary Rattanak IV, is a Cambodian Government policy, designed to increase gender equality

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throughout society (MoWA, 2014b). Although it does not specifically target women, peace and security issues, nor does it reference UNSCR 1325, it has been examined for the potential gendered peace and security framework it promotes (MoWA, 2014b). The plan sets out to target gender equality by promoting the economic empowerment of women, increasing equal access to education, addressing gendered health concerns, increasing women's access to power-holding political positions and supporting "gender mainstreaming in national and sectoral policies" (MoWA, 2014b, p. 12). These priority areas align well with areas of human security (UNDP, 1994), and especially target UNSCR 1325's pillar of participation (Coomaraswamy, 2015).

In regards to women's participation in political spheres, the plan acknowledged that women remain "under-represented in decision-making positions in politics, the public sector, and the judiciary" (MoWA, 2014b, p.12). All of these sectors directly impact peace and security in Cambodia. The plan sets out to increase women's involvement in these spheres as it holds the understanding that women have the right "to participat[e] fully in the whole spectrum of public life and decision-making equally" (MoWA, 2014b, p.14). One area of political gender inequality that the plan articulates is caused by barriers such as "the placement of women on party lists and the absence of quotas for women" (MoWA, 2014b, p.12). The plan sets out to address these issues and thus aligns well with UNSCR 1325's underlying ideology (MoWA, 2014b; UNSC 2000). The approach to mainstream gender throughout government programs and institutions (MoWA, 2014b), is a further example of how the plan could meet the participation tenet of UNSCR 1325 (Coomaraswamy, 2015). In particular, this approach could be considered to also meet Ellerby's (2013) (en)gendered component of recognition. The prioritization of women "in decision-making at all levels" (MoWA, 2014b, p.15), could also meet Ellerby's (2013) tenet of representation.

In regards to peacebuilding and recovery (Coomaraswamy, 2015), the plan “recognized that sustainable development and good governance depend on women taking part in all decision-making processes”(MoWA, 2014b, p.20). This recognition and follow-through meets both the participation and peacebuilding and recovery tenets of the resolution (Coomaraswamy, 2015). Overall, the plan sets out a framework to impact gender relations in Cambodia which, if implemented fully and meaningfully, could positively impact gender, peace and security issues as well. Although Neary Rattanak IV does not specifically outline that UNSCR 1325 was utilized as an underlying framework, the fact that the document was produced by the same body, in the same year, could indicate the possibility that UNSCR 1325 was considered during the drafting of this plan (MoWA 2014b).

National Strategic Development Plan 2014-2018.

The next government policy that was examined was the “National Strategic Development Plan 2014-2018” (Royal Government of Cambodia (RGC), 2014). Though the plan was not specifically aimed at promoting gendered peace and security in Cambodia, it has been examined for how the tenets of UNSCR 1325 may have been incorporated and how the overall strategy prioritized gender equality and promoted gendered peace and security (Coomaraswamy, 2015; RGC, 2014). Although designed in the same year as the “National Action Plan to Prevent Violence Against Women 2014-2018” (MoWA, 2014a), this plan does not specifically acknowledge Cambodia’s commitment to UNSCR 1325 (RGC, 2014). This could indicate that the resolution was not viewed as an essential framework to be applied to these development issues. However, within the first chapter of the plan, it was recognized that Cambodia is a post-conflict country (RGC, 2014). As UNSCR 1325 is considered to be a peacebuilding and recovery

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tool (Coomaraswamy, 2015), this thesis has concluded that the resolution could be further implemented in other post-conflict development frameworks going forward.

Nevertheless, the plan still highlights the importance of gender equity and gender mainstreaming throughout the document (RGC, 2014), and touches on broad areas of human security (UNDP, 1994). For example, the plan included attention to “environmental protection, conservation and climate change”, and called for gender-mainstreaming to be strengthened within relevant ministries addressing these issues (RGC, 2014, p. 35). In regards to the Royal Cambodian Armed Forces, the plan noted that “gender awareness within the military communities has [sic] been improving remarkably, though it requires further enhancement” (RGC, 2014, p. 16). It also noted that this security institution is supporting the promotion of women to higher-ranking power-holding positions (RCG, 2014). Although the tenets of “prevention, protection, participation and peacebuilding and recovery,” are touched upon throughout the document (Coomarasway, 2015, p. 13), there remains room to further mainstream UNSCR 1325 throughout the plan, for example by calling for women’s equal and meaningful participation at every level (RGC, 2014).

“Rectangular Strategy” for Growth, Employment, Equity and Efficiency Phase III.

Another example of a government produced plan is the ““Rectangular Strategy” for Growth, Employment, Equity and Efficiency Phase III” (RGC, 2013). The plan was examined in this thesis due to it being a post-conflict, forward-looking government document that prioritizes equity (RGC, 2013). Although the plan includes a particular section on “peace, political stability, security and public order,” UNSCR 1325 was not referenced in this section, nor was gender mainstreamed (RGC, 2013, p. 9). Although the plan notes progress towards greater gender equality, the gendered peace and security tenets of the resolution have not been meaningfully and

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fully mainstreamed throughout the plan (Coomaraswamy, 2015; RGC, 2013). However, the plan does acknowledge the need to “further mainstream[sic] gender in government initiatives” (RGC, 2013, p. 41), which could indicate a willingness to incorporate further gendered policies moving forward.

National Plan of Action of The National Committee for Counter Trafficking.

The next government document that I reviewed was the “National Plan of Action of The National Committee for Counter Trafficking” (National Committee for Counter Trafficking (NCCT), 2014). Although the plan did not specifically mention UNSCR 1325, it did meet some of the tenets of the resolution (NCCT, 2014; Coomaraswamy, 2015). The plan also outlined that initiatives were created in a way that incorporated a gendered approach, after recognizing that “human trafficking is often a consequence of gender-based violence, starting from gender discrimination that develops into a series of violations of human rights” (NCCT, 2014, p. 7). This aligns with the foundation of the resolution which notes that women face particular security risks (UNSC, 2000). The plan further acknowledges the importance of addressing “social mores, behaviours and attitudes... to promote gender equity and combat gender based violence” (NCCT, 2014, p. 7). This can be noted as an initiative that aligns with the resolution’s tenets of gendered prevention and protection (Coomaraswamy, 2015). In regards to peacebuilding and recovery (Coomaraswamy, 2015), the plan recognized that victims require post-conflict or post-trauma security support and recovery (NCCT, 2014). Here the plan specifically highlighted that this must be a gendered support approach (NCCT, 2014). Further to this, participation from a variety of stakeholders is noted throughout the document, however the qualification of women’s meaningful and equal participation could be further articulated to align with UNSCR 1325 (UNSC, 2000; NCCT, 2014).

Constitution of the Kingdom of Cambodia.

Beyond the above examined government policies, the equal rights of women and men are highlighted in the “Constitution of the Kingdom of Cambodia” (Constitutional Council (CC), 2015). For example, “all forms of discrimination against women shall be abolished [and] the exploitation of women’s labour shall be prohibited” (CC, 2015, p. 15). The constitution further notes that, “the dismissal of [a] woman worker for reason of pregnancy shall be prohibited” (CC, 2015, p. 15). In regards to human rights, “the Kingdom of Cambodia recognizes and respects human rights as enshrined in the United Nations Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human rights and all the treaties and conventions related to human rights, women’s rights and children’s rights” (CC, 2015, p. 10). It further notes that “Khmer citizens are equal before the law, enjoying the same rights, liberties and duties regardless of race, color, sex, language, beliefs, religions, political tendencies, birth origin, social status, wealth or other situations” (CC, 2015, p. 10). This document provides a foundation on which to promote equality throughout Cambodian society.

Implementation of international policy in Cambodia.

Throughout the research process, interview participants repeatedly noted that CEDAW was a well-known international convention in Cambodia. Although participants had varying opinions on how successfully the convention had been applied, it nevertheless was an important gender-equality promoting policy to review in this study. Participants also highlighted that the framework CEDAW laid out in Cambodia, in terms of gendered equality and security, could provide a path where UNSCR 1325 could follow. As such, this study reviewed how the implementation of CEDAW in Cambodia aligns with the tenets of UNSCR 1325 as a framework for further implementation of the resolution moving forward.

In 2013, the UNCEDAW evaluated how successfully CEDAW had been implemented in Cambodia and made several recommendations going forward. The committee recognized that the government had made some progress towards greater gender equality through the creation of laws that protect against gendered issues of insecurity (UNCEDAW, 2013). This progress is important, as movement towards overall gender equality could support further interest in incorporating gender throughout other government documents and peace and security institutions. However, this progress was noted not without opportunity for further implementation; the committee remained concerned that “the Convention is not fully incorporated into the domestic legal system” (UNCEDAW, 2013, p. 2). If these laws are implemented fully and meaningfully, they could promote and protect greater gender equality and also be seen to meet UNSCR 1325’s tenet of protection (Coomaraswamy, 2015).

In terms of the tenet of participation (Coomaraswamy, 2015), the committee recognized the positive work done in creating “gender mainstreaming action groups in various ministries as mechanisms for implementing and monitoring gender equality policy commitments” (UNCEDAW, 2013, p. 4). The committee however encouraged that more funds be allocated to these priorities (UNCEDAW, 2013). Although the report indicates areas for improvement, these efforts can be considered to be movement towards achieving the underlying goal of the resolution (Coomaraswamy, 2015). In regards to efforts that may prevent gendered insecurity (Coomaraswamy, 2015), the committee recognized efforts to “eliminat[e] gender stereotypes” in school curriculums as a means to promote gender equality throughout society (UNCEDAW, 2013, p. 4). However, they “remain concerned that the *Chbab Srey*, the traditional code of conduct for women, is deeply rooted in Cambodian culture and continues to define everyday life on the basis of stereotypical roles of women and men in the family and in society” (UNCEDAW,

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2013, p. 4). Some traditions were also identified by participants as being a barrier to gender equality and implementation of the resolution. Further addressing these concerns could play a role in meeting the tenets of the resolution.

In regards to post-conflict peacebuilding and recovery, the committee was “also concerned at the failure of the State party to incorporate effectively the provisions of the Convention and of [UNSCR 1325] into its post-conflict programmes” (UNCEDAW, 2013, p. 4). The committee therefore recommended that Cambodia “take advantage of the process of drafting the second National Action Plan to End Violence against Women to fully incorporate into it the provisions of the Convention and of [UNSCR 1325]” (UNCEDAW, 2013, p. 4). This is one of the few direct references to the resolution and is an example of an international organization recognizing that UNSCR 1325 has yet to be fully implemented in Cambodia. This recommendation could have influenced the Ministry of Women’s Affairs’ decision to reference the resolution in the “National Action Plan to Prevent Violence Against Women 2014-2018”, as discussed above (MoWA, 2014a). The committee also noted concern that women are underrepresented in many governance and power-holding positions, including in the judiciary, the political sphere and in the diplomatic corps, and called for an increase in women holding these positions moving forward (UNCEDAW, 2013). Following this recommendation would align with the participation tenet of UNSCR 1325 (Coomaraswamy, 2015).

The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.

In 2015, the United Nations Human Rights Committee evaluated the implementation of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights; another international policy that targets some similar priorities to UNSCR 1325 (UNGA, 1966). I have briefly examined this evaluation in order to better understand how the international policy may have also promoted the underlying

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ideology and tenets of UNSCR 1325 in Cambodia. The committee recognized advancements in gendered security including through the implementation of “the Law on Prevention of Domestic Violence and Protection of Victims” (2005) and “the Law on Suppression of Human Trafficking and Sexual Exploitation” (2008) (United Nations Human Rights Committee (UNHRC), 2015, p. 1). These laws can be considered to work towards a gendered approach to security. However, the committee remained concerned that there was a “limited level of awareness of the provisions of the Covenant among the judiciary and the legal profession” which indicates a need for further implementation (UNHRC, 2015, p. 2).

In regards to participation (Coomaraswamy, 2015), the committee noted concern “about the low representation of women in political and public sectors, particularly decision-making positions” (UNHRC, 2015, p. 2). Regarding the tenet of peacebuilding and recovery (Coomaraswamy, 2015), the committee also remained concerned over “reports that no one has been held accountable for the extrajudicial killings, allegedly mainly perpetrated by the army, police and gendarmerie, in Cambodia since the 1991 Paris Peace Agreements (art. 6)” (UNHRC, 2015, p. 3). The committee also remained concerned over how human rights defenders and activists have been treated (UNHRC, 2015), which could also relate to the tenet of protection (Coomaraswamy, 2015). By addressing these concerns, this thesis has concluded that the Convention could possibly promote the further implementation of UNSCR 1325’s tenets (Coomaraswamy, 2015).

Extraordinary Chamber of the Court of Cambodia.

Part of the post-conflict peacebuilding process in Cambodia has been the trial of Khmer Rouge leaders in the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia (ECCC). As such, several participants specifically addressed how the resolution has been implemented in the

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ECCC because of its national and international links (Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia (ECCC), 2015). Participants identified that there was a need to increase awareness of gender-based violence throughout the ECCC trials and a need to mainstream gender further throughout all transitional justice process. While some participants thought that some gendered concerns had been overlooked in court cases, others noted that there are gendered groups at the Court meant to promote the rights of women. One participant from an international organization noted that their organization is working to raise awareness of UNSCR 1325 in the courts and beyond but that overall the resolution has been under-implemented by the ECCC as a framework to advocate gender inclusive post-conflict peacebuilding and recovery. One participant working in the courts noted that they were familiar with UNSCR 1325, that the resolution had been implemented in the court and that part of the efforts to implement the resolution also involved participating in community events to raise awareness of women, peace and security issues.

Both the United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (2013) and the United Nations Human Rights Committee (2015) noted concern over how the court had addressed issues of gendered and overall security. Concern was noted in:

that the [ECCC] have not adequately addressed cases of gender-based violence, in particular sexual violence, against women committed under the Khmer Rouge regime.

The Committee is concerned that the State party lacks other mechanisms, including non-judicial programmes, to provide effective redress to victims of other forms of gender-based violence committed during the Khmer Rouge regime. (UNCEDAW, 2013, pp.3-4)

The United Nations Human Rights Committee (2015) also noted concern over:

reports that high-ranking officials of the State party have repeatedly made statements that interfere with the functioning and independence of the [ECCC], and that the statements

indicate the reluctance of the State party to prosecute additional suspects of crimes perpetrated during the Khmer Rouge regime. (p. 6)

In regards to positive contributions from the court, Helen Jarvis, Former Chief of the Victims Support Section of the ECCC, commented on the courts saying “victim’s participation may be considered one of the ECCC’s main contributions to the development of international justice” (Jarvis, 2014, p. 18). As identified by participants and the document analysis there is room for further implementation of UNSCR 1325 in the ECCC and beyond.

4.3 Sub-Research Question 2: What does gendered peace and security mean for Cambodians?

Because UNSCR 1325 is an international level policy, implementation of the resolution into different country environments can be challenging. This thesis has determined that it was essential to understand what peace and security means to Cambodians in order to better contextualize the resolution within the national context. All participants were asked what gender, peace and security means to them and to Cambodians. A key conclusion that was shared by participants was that peace and security means more than the absence of armed conflict. Beyond this foundation, participant responses included that peace and security encompasses a person’s quality of life, their fundamental freedoms and protection of their rights.

Participant D and F both noted that some Cambodians look upon the concept of peace as only being the absence of war or conflict. However, nearly all participants noted that it is a much more complex process that revolves around a person’s quality of life and wellbeing. In the words of Participant F: “peace [for women] in Cambodia, it mean[s] that they can live together, with their family, safely, they don’t have domestic violence...they can help the children to grow”.

Participant F said in their outreach they ask people what peace means and often will get answers

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such a “no war, no conflict”. Participant F goes one step further to ask people what are peace activities, but noted that many of their workshop participants don’t know. The organization works to create dialogue on what are peaceful activities. These activities can include communication skills and mediation. Participant F noted that when running their peace programs they encourage participants to expand on their definition of peace and to talk about what constitute “peace activities”. Participant F noted that for many participants this is a new concept. Recognizing this, Participant F facilitates discussions on what peaceful activities could be and how Cambodian families and communities can implement these activities in their daily lives. These activities revolve recognizing that all individuals have equal rights in their communities and homes. A specific example of peaceful activities, as given by Participant F, included ensuring both men and women have a voice in family and community decisions.

In the words of Participant C:

Peace for villagers, they say, is a period of tranquility, without war [and] without fighting. For Buddhist believers, they say, peace is the calm. But from my experience, peace is not no war [or] no fighting, but [it is] no fear, no invasion, no disasters, but [when you] have freedom and food to [stay] alive.

Comparatively, for Participant G, the definition of peace encompasses having your basic securities cared for and to be able to provide for your family. For Participant C, they “think gender, peace [and] security means a state that gives opportunity to both men and women, [in] the same [way]...in generating capacity or knowledge [and] experience [in order] to develop the society together”. Other participants described peace and security as involving safe spaces for women and men, the freedom from violence and having your individual rights protected and

respected by your country's laws and the equal right to participate in all areas of your community and society.

Further to the primary source definitions of gendered peace and security collected through interviews, I briefly examined how gendered peace and security is viewed and evaluated by the Ministry of Women's Affairs in Cambodia. For example, gendered peace and security concerns for the Ministry of Women's Affairs, as noted in 2014, included that "women and girls continue to be subjected to physical, psychological, sexual and economic violence, cutting across all divisions of income, culture and class in their daily public and private spheres" (Ministry of Women's Affairs (MoWA), 2014a, p. 2). Particular gendered security risks that were identified include: "domestic violence", "rape and sexual violence", "trafficking in persons", and "violence against women with increased risk" (MoWA, 2014a, pp.4-6). These gender security risks align with similar risks identified by participants, particularly domestic violence.

4.4 Sub-Research Question 3: How have/do women contribute to peace and security in Cambodia?

One of the key areas of this research has been the equal and meaningful participation of women at all levels and throughout all peace and security organizations. As such, it was important to understand and highlighting the significant contributions women have made to peace and security in Cambodia. These contributions have included efforts to champion international gender policies such as CEDAW, to include women's voices equally in peacebuilding trainings and to raise their voices in protest over human rights and human security violations. What has been concluded is that women have been and remain essential actors in the promotion of peace and security in Cambodia. These contributions to peace and security in

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Cambodia, that are highlighted below, can also be considered work that contributes to meeting the tenets of UNSCR 1325.

Participants noted that women in Cambodia have both been seen as victims in the country's long history of civil war and are also seen as having contributed significantly to peacebuilding and conflict resolution. One of the ways that women have contributed to peace and security was by organizing and participating in the Dhammayietra peace marches. In this way, participants noted that women played unique peace leadership roles in their communities and by talking about these roles, women have further inspired a younger generation to also contribute to peace and security. Participant E noted that both men and women have contributed to peacebuilding in their own ways but that there has been a gap in youth contributing to peacebuilding. Therefore, their organization's objective is to provide skills and capacity training to youth to empower them to contribute to reducing violence in their communities and families.

Participants noted that because women have had limited access to formal peace processes or government roles, they have often contributed to peace and security in Cambodia through civil society roles. Participant L said that women have stood and continue to stand up for human rights and human security by protesting for these rights in Cambodia. For Participant L, this has given them confidence that women are further empowering themselves by seizing leadership roles in order to secure their own rights and peace. Other participants noted that women have made contributions through UN bodies and through other international and local women's organizations to champion, for example, gender equality policies such as CEDAW throughout Cambodia.

Participant F is an example of a woman who has been engaging on peace and security issues for over fifteen years. Noticing a gap in gendered peace and security in Cambodia, she

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created an organization that empowers women to be champions of active non-violence.

Volunteers in her organization travel throughout rural areas delivering trainings on gender equality, human rights and peace issues, for example land rights. Participant F also noted that throughout their trainings, not only do they address gendered issues of security, they also emphasize that both women and men's voices must be heard equally. According to Participant F, this allows women and men to address gendered power dynamics in a safe space. In their work, Participant F noted that they promote the understanding that "women's rights are human rights" and they provide trainings on issues of insecurity such as gender-based violence, and family and domestic violence law for women. They also share their training materials with community leaders to be dispersed amongst the community. Participant F further contributes to peace and the empowerment of women by providing trainings on women's rights including their "right to speak and right to listen" which is instrumental in sharing the responsibility of peacebuilding. According to this participant, their organization has also contributed to peace by developing a network of peacebuilders to share experiences and develop skills. They also provide "peacebuilding, active non-violence, and conflict transformation" trainings.

As another example of an organization working to promote peace and security, the Cambodian Women's Crisis Center "has been recognized by government, civil society and international agencies as a leading women's organization that advocate for the human rights of women and children, gender justice and the elimination of all forms of violence against women and children" (Cambodian Women's Crisis Center (CWCC), n.d.a, para. 1). Their vision is: "women and girls living in peace, security and dignity and enjoying their universal human rights" (CWCC, n.d.b, para.1). They are working towards this goal by "empower[ing] women and girls to claim their universal human rights to personal security and to equal participation in

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community, civil, economic, social and cultural life” (CWCC, n.d.b, para.2). This center is tackling peace and security issues in a gender inclusive way that aligns with the tenets of the resolution (Coomaraswamy, 2015).

Mu Sochua is a long-time human rights activist and member of the political opposition, the Sam Rainsy Party (Mu, n.d.a, para.2). As a human rights and women’s rights champion, Mu Sochua keeps a personal blog where she details security issues facing women in Cambodia today (Mu, n.d.b). As quoted on her blog, she believes: “development is not progress till it is equally shared and not till women can be safe from violence and exploitation” (Mu, n.d.b, para. 1). This approach aligns well with the gendered security tenets of UNSCR 1325 (Coomaraswamy, 2015). Issues of gendered insecurity that Mu Sochua highlights include: exploitation and human trafficking, widespread poverty, unequal access to education and political power, and unequal land rights (Mu, n.d.b). Raising public awareness of these issues, likely at significant personal risk, plays a role in working towards gendered peace and security solutions. Mu Sochua is an example of a Cambodian woman who has made significant contributions to peace and security in her country.

4.5 Sub-Research Question 4: Have there been barriers preventing the full and meaningful implementation of UNSCR 1325 in Cambodia?

The intention of this thesis was not only to understand how UNSCR 1325 has been implemented in Cambodia, but also how the resolution could be further implemented. As such, each interview included a discussion on potential barriers that may be preventing the full implementation of the resolution. Key barriers that were identified included: unequal gender distribution in power-holding positions, the belief that the resolution is more important to implement in conflict environments than in post-conflict environments, and insufficient

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resources or groups focused on the resolution's implementation. A discussion on how these barriers may be overcome has been included in the final section of this paper.

One barrier to the full implementation of UNSCR 1325 as identified by Participant L was that, after decades of conflict, people don't want to talk about issues of insecurity. Participant L noted that this may be one of the reasons why the resolution has received limited traction, because people may want to avoid discussions on the long-term effects of conflict. A second challenge that was identified by participants included the re-distribution of power. Participant L noted that in order to achieve gender equality, men also have to be willing to give up some of their male privilege. According to Participant L: "One of the things that happens with the WPS agenda is you have to give up some of your male privilege, your male power, in order to share it, and if you do that then your development will be faster, your peace will be more sustainable". Unwillingness to share this power could be a barrier to the full implementation of the resolution. Beyond this, participants said that the pressure of cultural gender roles may be impacting progress towards gender equality and the full implementation of the resolution. For example, participants noted that there is an unequal view of who should work inside and outside the home. Participant N did note that their organization is working to break this cycle of divided gender roles.

Another challenge in implementing UNSCR 1325 was stakeholders not understanding the value of the resolution. One participant noted that they are working to include dialogue on UNSCR 1325 in their teaching curriculum but are facing significant resistance from their colleagues who do not view the resolution's tenets as essential to peacebuilding processes. Building on this, Participants J and L both noted that the resolution has been seen as only being important during times of armed conflict. In the words of Participant L:

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“There is this sense that 1325 only matters when you are a country in conflict. Which of course, if you are a country in conflict you are not going to care about 1325 any more than you did when were in peace, right?... It’s not going to be the opportune time to be preparing, or preventi[ng] or having some of those conversations...but that has been a very hard sell”.

Participants further noted that CEDAW and the Beijing Platform for Action have received substantial attention in Cambodia which has drawn focus away from UNSCR 1325. A fourth barrier that was identified by participants was that poverty prevents women and men from having the opportunity to focus on implementing UNSCR 1325, as individuals need to focus their attention on fulfilling their basic needs. Further to this, Participant H noted that financial resources for implementing UNSCR 1325 can be delegated to conflict countries and away from post-conflict countries in their organization. This lack of funding may impact the number of organizations working to implement UNSCR 1325 in Cambodia. Finally, Participant D noted that it has been problematic when only women are sent to participate in discussions that center on gendered issues and that because gender inequality affects everyone, it needs to be addressed by everyone. Although Participant E recognized that “women have to claim themselves to be in the front lines” of gender equality issues, participants were in agreement that it is the responsibility of all Cambodians to seek greater gender equality in Cambodia.

Another significant concern discovered in this thesis’ document analysis was the current human rights landscape in Cambodia that may be restricting activists and organizations from their work. The UN Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner noted in September 2016, that they “are very concerned about the escalating atmosphere of intimidation of opposition politicians, their supporters, civil society, and peaceful demonstrators in Cambodia”

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(Shamdasani, 2016, para.1). Human Rights Watch also noted concern that “[Prime Minister Hun Sen] continues to rely on security force violence and politically motivated prosecutions” (2016, para.1). Issues of particular relevance and concern include that “the government often restricts peaceful protests, and has imposed legislation regulating civil society and the internet that violates the rights to freedom of association and expression” (Human Rights Watch, 2016, para.1). This atmosphere has a direct effect on the ability of any group to advance their human rights cause.

Gender equality in Cambodia.

As UNSCR 1325 is so closely tied to issues of gender equality, participants often raised this topic during their interviews. As the status of gender equality has also been identified above as a barrier to the full and meaningful implementation of the resolution, this thesis has included remarks from participants on the status of gender equality in Cambodia. Participant I noted that in general it is recognized in Cambodia that women and men have equal rights. However, they noted that access to a full education for girls still acts as a barrier to achieving gender equality throughout society. Participant I also noted that this problem is heightened in rural areas. Comparatively, Participant K, who has engaged for many years in trainings to end domestic violence, thought that young women and men in Cambodia are aware of their individual rights and that in Cambodia there has been gradual progress towards gender equality. However, Participant K noted that one barrier to full gender equality in the workforce has been that there is a lack of childcare options if both parents go to work. This plays a role in forcing one parent to stay home to take care of the children.

Participant A believed that a view that women are not suitable for power holding positions has been perpetuated, which has prevented women from securing more of these roles.

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Participant J highlighted that women feel that the court system does not protect them equally and that government bodies have been insufficient in fully defending women's rights. Participant N felt that gender equality was improving in Cambodia and that it was the responsibility of both men and women to further promote equality in all aspects of society. Participant B, who works on promoting women's involvement in the political realm, noted that in practice gender equality has not been achieved in Cambodia. Participant B also noted that the low representation of women in politics is problematic as a gendered perspective is often missing from policies. Participant F noted that it is essential that the view that "women's rights are human rights" prevails throughout all levels of society. Overall, what can be concluded is that the barriers are widespread and touch on many areas of society.

Security Risks.

As UNSCR 1325 is aimed not only at promoting gendered peace and security during times of armed conflict but also has a specific mandate for prevention and peacebuilding and recovery (Coomaraswamy, 2015), it was important to understand current security risks facing Cambodian women and men in order to examine how UNSCR 1325 can be utilized as a tool to address these security issues. Several areas of insecurity were brought to light by participants. These issues touched on nearly every area of human security (UNDP, 1994).

Participant K said that during the war Cambodians were faced with militarization, were forced to marry without consent and faced gendered violence including rape. In the years following civil war, Participant K noted that although the security risks for Cambodians have changed, they still face issues of oppression including freedom of movement. Participant C discussed the security risks that have worsened for women and men over the past decade. They noted that when Cambodians moved to the city after the genocide, in search of economic

opportunity and survival, health security risks including the spread of HIV/AIDS and easy access to drugs increased. Participant H noted the long-term effects conflict has had on the current security landscape in Cambodia including from post-traumatic stress disorder caused by forced marriages and decades of violence. Other security issues identified by participants included economic and health concerns, for example finding food and enough money to survive, physical security risks due to threats from gangs and unnecessary traffic accident, and gendered issues such as domestic violence, access to justice, land rights and labour rights. From these comments, this thesis has therefore concluded that there is significant room for further implementation of UNSCR 1325 to promote greater peace and security for all in Cambodia.

4.6 Chapter Summary

This chapter has outlined participant responses and document analysis to each of this thesis' research questions. Data collected was organized by the resolution's four tenets in order to best measure where and how the resolution has been implemented in Cambodia (Coomarawamy, 2015). Following data collected by participants, the chapter also included analysis of where the resolution has been implemented throughout Cambodian Government policies and how other international policies have met the tents of UNSCR 1325. Following this, the chapter outlined what gendered peace and security means to Cambodians, according to participants, in order to better understand how the resolution could support the security needs and desires of Cambodians. Finally, the chapter outlined barriers that may have prevented full implementation of the resolution.

Chapter 5: Discussion, Recommendations and Conclusions

5.1 Introduction

This thesis has been an examination into how UNSCR 1325 has been implemented in Cambodia by various international groups, government bodies and civil society. Successful implementation of the resolution has been considered to be the meaningful and full implementation of the resolution's four key tenets: "prevention, protection, participation and peacebuilding and recovery" (Coomaraswamy, 2015, p. 13). Data was collected from fourteen participant interviews and a thorough document analysis of government and international policies and programs. The following chapter provides discussion, recommendations and conclusions on this thesis' key findings.

5.2 Findings Summary

Firstly, and in brief, a Yinian (2014) case study methodology was proven to be a suitable research methodology for a novice Master's level researcher, as it provided both the structure and guidance needed to conduct valid and reliable research, as well as the flexibility to allow the expertise of interviewees to shine throughout the research process. Triangulated data sources (Yin, 2014) provided the data needed to compare and contrast what interviewees had said with peer-reviewed research and organization produced reports.

The main conclusion that this thesis has drawn is that UNSCR 1325 has begun to be implemented in Cambodia, but that there remains significant areas for further implementation. It has further been concluded that civil society organizations have led in championing the resolution. The primary research question this study explored was: How has UNSCR 1325 been implemented in Cambodia and has the resolution promoted a gendered approach to peace and security in Cambodia? In answering this question, the researcher and interview participants

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explored both how UNSCR 1325 had been directly implemented in Cambodia and how the key tenets of the resolution have been prioritized (Coomaraswamy, 2015). A prevailing view from participants was that many peace and security programs and policies happen to align closely with the four tenets and priorities of the resolution (Coomaraswamy, 2015), but that UNSCR 1325 had not necessarily been the guiding force behind these activities, as there was little actual reference to the resolution in policy frameworks or programs.

Throughout this study, gender was considered as a key framework and as “intrinsic to the subject matter and politics of security” (Hudson, 2005, p. 156). This thesis has discovered three reasons for why a gendered approach to peace and security studies is important. First, it expands the “understanding of security to include not just war, but also interpersonal violence, rape, poverty, and environmental destruction” (Tripp, 2013, pp. 9-10). Second, it encourages an examination of gender hierarchies “that express themselves through the state, in rebel movements, in the home, and in society- [and are] at the root of much insecurity in the world” (Tripp, 2013, p. 16). Third, it promotes a review of women’s contributions to peace and security which can be overshadowed by formal political peace processes primarily dominated by men (Tripp, 2013). As such, gendered considerations were central throughout all analysis and discussions of this thesis.

Of the fourteen participants who took part in this study, five participants said that their current work involved, to some extent, the implementation of UNSCR 1325. These participants came from all of the groups examined (international organizations, government bodies and civil society). While two of these five noted significant barriers and push-back against implementing the resolution, the other three participants said that efforts and collaboration to implement the resolution were taking place but that the process would take some time. A further three

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participants noted that they were aware of the resolution and that their organization was addressing some of the principles of UNSCR 1325 in their work, but that the resolution was not necessarily being utilized as a foundational ideology. These participants highlighted that other gender equality policies were also guiding principles in their work. Six participants felt that although they were not purposefully implementing UNSCR 1325, but that their work did put varying degrees of emphasis and effort into gendered approaches to their projects and policies. For example, some participants felt they were meeting the tenets of the resolution (Coomaraswamy, 2015), through their work implementing CEDAW. Others felt UNSCR 1325 was making little impact in Cambodia but that their work still emphasized the importance of gender equality.

Overall, all participants were in agreement that there remained room for further implementation of the resolution. While some participants were pessimistic over the slow and limited impact UNSCR 1325 has had in Cambodia, others felt that the resolution needed time for slow implementation and that other gender equality and peace and security policies had created a framework where UNSCR 1325 could follow. As with any policy, if a framework is not outlined formally within an organization's structure, it is challenging to measure which individual may be applying some of the resolution's ideology throughout their work. This was an important consideration throughout this thesis and is a primary example of why interviews with primary implementers was key to analysing how UNSCR 1325 has been used as a formal women, peace and security framework as well as a gendered peace and security tool.

One specific reference to UNSCR 1325 was found in the Ministry of Women's Affairs' "National Action Plan to Prevent Violence Against Women 2014-2018" (MoWA, 2014a). As noted earlier, the plan recognized that Cambodia is committed to "UN[SCR] 1325, 1820 and

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1888 related to [WPS]” (MoWA, 2014a, p. 2). This was considered an indication of the government’s recognition of the WPS agenda and its commitments. Although it was discovered that UNSCR 1325 was not specifically mentioned in other gender equality and peace and security related policy (MoWA, 2014b; RGC, 2014; RGC, 2013; NCCT, 2014), the resolution may still have influenced these policies in an informal way. The focus on gendered equality in these plans also indicated a willingness on the part of various government bodies to increase gendered components in peace and security policy and could possibly indicate the potential for further attention to UNSCR 1325 in the future (MoWA, 2014a; MoWA, 2014b; RGC, 2014; RGC, 2013; NCCT, 2014).

In examining gender, peace and security issues in Cambodia, participants held broad and personal understandings of what peace and security means to them. A key conclusion that was shared by participants was that peace and security means more than just the absence of armed conflict. Beyond this foundation, participant responses included that peace and security encompasses a person’s quality of life, their fundamental freedoms and protection of their rights. These broad definitions often touched on many of the interconnected elements of human security: community, health, personal, food, economic, political and environmental security (UNDP, 1994). As such it could be argued that the broad tenets of UNSCR 1325 (Coomaraswamy, 2015), could align well with the holistic peace and security desires of Cambodians.

In regards to how women have contributed to peace and security in Cambodia, participants noted that women have both been seen as victims of conflict and contributors to peace and security. Participants brought forward many examples of where women have been the peace leaders in their communities and families, and how women have contributed significantly

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to peace and security through civil society and activists roles, often due to being excluded from more formal peace processes. Women continue to be active in the post-conflict period on issues of gender equality and women, peace and security issues in Cambodia.

Moving forward, participants noted several barriers that may still be preventing the full and meaningful implementation of the resolution. These barriers included that in the post-conflict period, some people may not want to discuss issues of insecurity and would rather focus on positive peace. Participants further highlighted that UNSCR 1325 is sometimes viewed as a policy for countries currently in armed conflict and that the resolution is seen as less applicable to Cambodia. Others noted that traditional gender roles may have also caused some barriers. Some participants also noted that although they have seen excitement over the resolution there has been challenges in adapting and mainstreaming the resolution into existing gender equality or peace and security frameworks.

5.3 Recommendations

Throughout the interviews, participants commented on how barriers to the full and meaningful implementation of UNSCR 1325 could be overcome or how the resolution could be better implemented. Key points in this area included the need to further engage youth in peacebuilding efforts, to create more employment opportunities in the fields of international studies and gender studies in order to attract younger students to these positions, to focus on equal education, access to legal support and capacity building for women, and to provide opportunities for security bodies to build their capacities in gendered peace and security issues. Moving forward, participants highlighted the importance of increasing the awareness of gendered peace and security issues and how UNSCR 1325 can be utilized as a gendered peace and security framework. The need to increase resources dedicated to these processes was also

identified. From these conclusions, this thesis has put forward several recommendations that may assist in the further implementation of UNSCR 1325 and its principal tenets in Cambodia.

1. The first recommendation that was drawn both from a thorough document analysis and reiterated by participants was that many international organizations have the ability to champion UNSCR 1325 and the responsibility to prioritize the tenets of the resolution in their policy and program frameworks (Ellerby, 2013). In this way, international policy can be shaped, discussed and shared at international, national and community levels. The same applies for national and local bodies.
2. Second, it is recommended that men and women work together as champions of gendered peace and security (Ellerby, 2013). This understanding not only broadens who is responsible for peace and security but also who can contribute to peace and security.
3. Third, participants highlighted the need to further include women in politics, to promote youth engagement on issues of peace and security and to ensure that equal education opportunities are available to girls and boys, in order to further promote security for all individuals of all genders. It is recommended that gender equality and other issues of equality be foundational throughout society including throughout all peace and security processes.
4. Fourth, there is a need for greater coordination between local, national and international bodies “to develop long-term strategies, rather than focusing mainly on short-term tactics” in regards to peace and security (Felicity Hill and Maha Muna as cited in Cohn et al., 2004, p. 132). This sentiment was mentioned

several times by participants who felt that implementation processes had been slow and disconnected.

5. Fifth, it was identified that the process of peacebuilding extends well beyond the end of armed conflict and that in order “to avoid a resurgence of violence, it is necessary to develop and support measures for strengthening the governance, security, justice, and socioeconomic capacities of a state” (McGrew et al., 2004, p. i). Participants noted that Cambodia, as a post-conflict country, still faces many security threats as a result of years of armed conflict and that these challenges need to continue to be recognized and addressed in order to achieve peace and security for all. As such, inclusive peace and security processes must be prioritized for the well being of Cambodians.
6. Sixth, as participants and the literature review both noted, it can be costly and time consuming to fully implement UNSCR 1325 or a NAP on UNSCR 1325 (True 2016; Willet, 2010). As such, it is recommended that UNSCR 1325 be utilized, at least initially, as a supportive gender, peace and security tool in order to enhance the existing gender equality and peace and security efforts already underway in Cambodia.
7. Seventh, it was determined, in alignment with Chenoy (2005, 2009), Parmar et al. (2014), Tripp (2013), and Fukuda-Parr (2004), that human security as a paradigm is enhanced when specific attention is paid to gendered peace and security realities. It is recommended that human security studies, policies and programs be enhanced with consideration to the unique peace and security challenges of both men and women.

8. Eighth, triangulated data sources and a Yinian (2014) case study methodology, allowed for the production of reliable research by encouraging me to compare all interview data with peer-reviewed research and organizational reports. It allowed the expertise of interviewees to be captured throughout the research while also adhering to a rigorous research process. Interviews in particular allowed interviewees to shape the research by speaking to the topics they deemed most relevant in the study of UNSCR 1325 in Cambodia. I recommend interviews be considered as a valuable method when studying similar topics.
9. Finally, ninth, it is recommended that UNSCR 1325 be utilized as a platform to promote diversity throughout peace and security processes. As such, not only should women's equal and meaningful inclusion be prioritized, but the inclusion of all communities and minority populations in Cambodia should also be prioritized throughout these processes.

5.4 Conclusion

This thesis has been an examination of how UNSCR 1325 has been implemented in Cambodia and how the resolution has impacted gendered peace and security processes. Fourteen interviews with participants from international organizations, government bodies and civil society, and a thorough document analysis and literature review were conducted in answering this research question. A Yinian (2014) case study methodology allowed the researcher the flexibility to draw from the expertise of local and international women, peace and security experts in order to gain a broad understanding of the gendered peace and security landscape in Cambodia. As outlined during the theoretical section of this thesis, a human security framework was applied throughout this thesis and was defined as encompassing the seven inter-connected

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elements of: community, health, personal, food, economic, political and environmental security (UNDP, 1994). A gendered understanding and approach to peace and security was also applied in order to broaden the definition of peace and security, and to promote greater security for all (Hudson, 2005). In the end, the thesis concluded that some efforts have been taken by international organizations, government bodies and local NGOs to implement the resolution, however there remain significant opportunities where UNSCR 1325 could be further implemented in order to encourage a gendered approach to peace and security in Cambodia. It is hoped that the findings of this study will not only be relevant to Cambodia, but to peace and security processes around the world.

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Appendix A: Interview Guide

Interview Guide

The following interviews are intended to be semi-structured yet open-ended. The interview questions have been designed for qualitative responses and research. This guide has been created to ensure that the interviewer asks consistent questions throughout all interviews.

Included in this guide are structured interview questions to begin the conversation, followed by potential prompt questions to ensure the interviewee speaks on all areas of the research topic. The researcher will use these prompts to ensure full responses to each question area.

Before conducting an interview, the researcher and interviewer will choose a comfortable setting for both the interviewer and the interviewee. Considering the target interviewee audience, the researcher suggests a quiet place possibly outside of the interviewee's regular office environment. Some options could include a quiet coffee shop or alternative office space. Considering that these interviews will be conducted one-on-one, this environment may change for each interview. Considering the busy schedules of interviewees it is anticipated that they will want to take minimal time out of their day to travel to the interview location. Therefore, interviews will be held at a location close to their work. Interview locations will be suggested by the interview facilitator and agreed upon with the interviewee in advance of the interview day. If interviews are conducted over Skype (which is anticipated in this study) the interview facilitator will strongly suggest that interviewees chose a quiet location where they feel comfortable to speak freely on the topics.

Before beginning the interview, the interview facilitator will go over the informed consent. This is both to ensure confidentiality and comfort for the interviewee.

Interview Protocol

- The researcher introduces themselves and allows time for the interviewee to introduce themselves.
- The researcher reads the following passage:

The purpose of this interview is to understand, from your perspective, whether UNSCR 1325 has been promoted for a gendered understanding and approach to peace and security in Cambodia. By way of exploring this I hope to better understand how and if the resolution has 1) encouraged the full and equal involvement of women in peace processes in Cambodia, 2) addressed the peace and security concerns of both men and women equally, and 3) resulted in any substantial progress towards gendered security dialogue during times of instability.

Throughout the interview, if I ask you any question that you feel uncomfortable answering, please let me know and feel free and comfortable not to discuss that particular topic. If you would ever like to take a break during the interview process or feel uncomfortable in any way please let me know and we will pause and re-assess. We will then decide how and if you are comfortable continuing with the interview. “This is as much your process as mine and it is important for me that you feel comfortable guiding and shaping our shared conversation about your experiences” (Cox & Heykoop, 2015, p. 2).

- The researcher will go through informed consent with interviewees and gather any contact information if needed.
- The researcher will ask permission to follow up with the questions if needed. Considering the design of this research project, this will most likely be over Skype or email. The researcher will ask interviewees if they have a preference for communication and confidentiality.
- The researcher will share their contact details so that the interviewee is able to contact you easily after the interview.
- The researcher reads the following passage:

As discussed previously in the consent process, this interview will be tape-recorded but without image. These tapes will be kept confidential and your name will not be said in the tape, instead an interview number will be recorded on the tape and will correspond to the interviewer’s confidential notes.

- The researcher will ask if the interviewee has any questions before beginning the interview.

Interview Outline

Time limit: Maximum 90 minutes

Project Name: Implementation of UNSCR 1325 in Cambodia

Date: _____

Time: _____

Participant number: _____

Interview Questions and Prompts:

**Not all questions were asked during each interview*

Background and experience

- *I'd like to open the interview by asking you a few questions about you and your work. Could you please tell me a little bit about your role in the organization you work for?*
- *Could you please tell me specifically about your role as it relates to peace and security issues? (OR) Could you please tell me specifically about your role as it relates to women, peace and security issues?*
- *How long have you been in this role?*
- *Have you had other roles within the field of women, peace and security?*

Gendered Peace and Security in Cambodia

(Sub-Research question #1: What does gendered peace and security mean for Cambodians?)

- *What does peace mean to you?*
- *What does security mean to you?*
- *What does gender mean to you?*
- *What does gendered peace and security mean to you?*
- *What are current security concerns facing women and men today in Cambodia?*
- *Do you think that it is important to include women equally in peace and security decision-making processes? Why or why not?*
- *Do you think it is important to mainstream gender in peace and security processes? Why or why not?*

Women peacebuilders in Cambodia

(Sub-Research question #3: How have/do women contribute to peace and security in Cambodia?)

- *Have women contributed to peace and security in Cambodia? Can you give me an example?*
- *Where, when and how have women made contributions to peace and security in Cambodia and what has been the impact of these contributions?*

UNSCR 1325 and women, peace and security in Cambodia

(Research question: How has UNSCR 1325 been implemented in Cambodia and has the resolution promoted a gendered approach to peace and security in Cambodia?)

- *UNSCR 1325 was enacted in the year 2000. Has the resolution impacted Cambodia? And if yes, in what ways? If no, why not?*
- *Has UNSCR 1325 and the greater women, peace and security agenda promoted the application of a gender lens to peace and security processes in Cambodia?*
- *One of the resolution's key tenets is women's "equal participation and full involvement in all efforts for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security" (UNSCR 1325,*

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2000, para.5). *Since the resolution was passed in 2000, have women participated more equally and fully in peace and security decision-making processes in Cambodia? If yes, when, where and how has women's participation changed? If no, why not?*

- *Has the resolution helped to address the peace and security concerns of both men and women equally in Cambodia?*

Identifying Barriers

Sub-Research Questions #2: Have there been barriers preventing the full and meaningful implementation of UNSCR 1325 in Cambodia?)

- *Do you think that UNSCR 1325 and its tenets have been fully implemented in Cambodia? If yes, where, when and how? If no, what might be preventing the resolution's full implementation?*
- *Do you think that women are included equally and fully in all peace processes in Cambodia? If yes, where, when and how? If no, what might be preventing their full and equal involvement?*

Closing:

- *Is there anything else you would like to speak on before the closing of this interview? Do you feel that any important topic areas have not been covered that you would like to address?*

I would like to sincerely thank you for taking the time to speak with me. I know your time is very valuable and I appreciate the time you took to meet with me. Should you have any follow up questions please do not hesitate to contact me.

I also want to ensure you that all of the information will be kept confidential to the standards we already discussed.

This research will be published by Royal Roads University.

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Appendix B: Informed Consent

Researcher: Jennifer Farquharson

University: Royal Roads University, Victoria, British Columbia, Canada

RESEARCH CONSENT FORM – For Interviews **Research Title: Implementation of UNSCR 1325 in Cambodia**

My name is Jennifer Farquharson, and this research project is part of the requirements for my Master of Arts degree in Human Security and Peacebuilding that I am currently working on through Royal Roads University in Victoria, British Columbia, Canada.

This document constitutes an agreement to participate in my research project, the objective of which is to examine how the tenets of United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325 and gendered peace and security have been applied in Cambodia. The purpose of this research project is to gain a better understanding of 1) how UNSCR1325 has been implemented in Cambodia and 2) how gendered peace and security has been implemented in Cambodia. It is then hoped that this research will contribute to the work of dismantling and overcoming barriers preventing the equal and meaningful involvement of women in all peace processes not only in Cambodia but also beyond.

You have been asked to participate in this research project because it has been recognized that you bring experience and expertise in the field of women, peace and security, or peace and security, or a similar field of direct impact in Cambodia. In your official capacity you may be working with a non-governmental organization (NGO), be a government worker, academic, United Nations worker or bring this experience and understanding from another role or lived experience. Recognizing the many different roles and levels of experience interviewees have, I would like to acknowledge that all interview data will be measured equally without exception.

I would also like to acknowledge that there are no sponsoring organizations for this research project and no foreseeable harms to you for participating in this research study.

The research methods will consist of open-ended interview questions. The interview will last no longer than 90 minutes. The interview questions will be open ended and you will be given the time to answer fully and discuss your experience and thoughts. The foreseen questions may include:

- *What does gendered peace and security mean to you?*
- *Do you think it is important to mainstream gender in peace and security processes? Why or why not?*

- *Do you think that UNSCR 1325 and its tenets have been fully implemented in Cambodia? If yes, where, when and how? If no, what might be preventing the resolution's full implementation?*

As a research participant, you are free to not answer questions that make you feel, in any way, uncomfortable. You will be supported in this decision by the researcher. The researcher also welcomes feedback on the interview questions.

I will be submitting my final report to Royal Roads University in partial fulfillment for a Master of Arts degree in Human Security and Peacebuilding. I would like to request your contact information for follow up questions. If you are willing to share your contact information for this purpose please also indicate this at the bottom of the form.

Information throughout the research process will be recorded in hand-written format as well as audio-recorded. At no time will any comment be attributed to you. Audio recordings and interview transcripts will be kept confidential to only the researcher on a password locked personal computer. I will assign you a code number attached to the data and your personal details will be stored separately to the data. If I decide that I would like to use a direct quote from you, your identity will still remain anonymous. Your name will not appear on any final documentation (whether the report is published or unpublished). I will follow up with you if there is any doubt that I haven't quoted or referenced correctly from the audio recordings. This will take no more than a few minutes and I will only contact you if you give your consent at the end of this form. If I need to record any phone calls in this follow up process I will inform you before hand.

As an interview participant, your identity will be kept anonymous to only the interview facilitator. Your name, your specific work role or any personal information will not appear on any written transcripts of the interview.

You are in no way obliged to take part in this research project. If you have been pressured by anyone to take part in this project but still do not feel comfortable, please feel free to discuss this with me and I will work with you to find a suitable option that will not disclose your feelings or harm your personal or professional life. All data will be destroyed after the thesis has been published.

If you agree to be a participant in this research you will be free to not answer any questions that you don't want to and you can end the interview at any point. You can also withdraw fully whenever you want. The data collected from your interview will be destroyed. You are also free not to participate in this research project, and there will be no consequences from this decision. I will work with you to make sure you feel comfortable throughout the whole process.

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The research will be published by Royal Roads University and will be available through their library.

If you choose not to participate, you are free to withdraw at any time without consequence. Similarly, if you choose not to participate in this research project, this information will also be maintained in confidence. I would be happy to answer any of your questions before beginning the interview or at any time in the process.

There are no foreseeable harms in contributing to this project and I will not force you to answer any questions that you are not comfortable with. The only benefit is that your answers will contribute to a better understanding of women, peace and security issues.

As a student at Royal Roads University we have been trained in how to answer any questions you may have regarding the research or thesis process. We also work closely with a team of thesis supervisors and committee members who are available to assist us if you have any questions I cannot answer.

By signing this letter, you give free and informed consent to participate in this project. A copy of this consent form will be given to you and a copy will be kept (locked) with the researcher.

Name: (Please Print): _____

Signed: _____

Date: _____

Contact details: (Please circle a response to each of the following questions)

Contact details to be used for follow up questions: Yes or No

Contact details to be used to receive completed thesis report: Yes or No

Email: _____

Phone: _____

(Research and Consent Form adapted from Cox & Heykoop, 2015)

References

Cox, R., & Heykoop, C. (2015). *Sample research consent form* [Class handout]. Victoria, BC, Royal Roads University, HUMS 630.

Royal Road University. (2014). *Request for ethical review for research involving humans*. Retrieved from <http://moodle.royalroads.ca/moodle/mod/folder/view.php?id=135780>

Appendix C: Participant Demographics

Table 1

Summary of interview participant codes

	Participant Code	Occupation
1.	Participant A	NGO
2.	Participant B	NGO
3.	Participant C	NGO
4.	Participant D	NGO/ Academic/ Previously worked with the Government of Cambodia
5.	Participant E	NGO
6.	Participant F	NGO
7.	Participant G	Academic
8.	Participant H	International Organization
9.	Participant I	Government of Cambodia
10.	Participant J	NGO/International organization
11.	Participant K	Academic/ Previously worked with NGO and International Organization
12.	Participant L	Academic
13.	Participant M	Academic
14.	Participant N	NGO

Names and personal details have not been disclosed to ensure the security and privacy of interview participants