

Challenges In Implementing UN Resolutions On Women, Peace And Security: Case Study Of Khyber Puklhtunkhwa

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Abstract

The role of women in peace and security from the grassroots level is extremely important, because women are the preliminary victims in the war or insurgency. Since 2000, the UNSC subsequently adopted ten resolutions on women peace and security, to engender the peace and security processes to make it productive, however, the implementation of those resolutions can be called into question. In KP, multiple challenges disallowed the women to play their role in peace building. The most difficult challenge among all is the patriarchal cultural norms, models, attitudes, and behaviors towards women. It is very difficult for women in KP to bypass the cultural challenges. And henceforth, it influences the other challenges as well: women's access to education, economic activities and political participation, etc. In the presence of these challenges, the significant inclusion of women in peace and security process is a monumental proposition. Overall this paper has analyzed the key challenges in implementing the UN resolutions on women, peace and security.

Keywords: Challenges, UN Resolution, Women, Peace, Security, KP, Pakistan.

Introduction:

Treating women as the second citizen, bullying, and slamming them, discriminating against them on gender base is the global issue that needs to be cured at all levels, whether domestic, national, or international level. The principle of equality and non-discrimination form the basis of all human rights instruments. Today, building peace is the central focus of the world, but women are overlooked here too. Women constitute one half of the total world population, yet they have limited access to education, health, and politics, economic, and other denominators of quality of life, even in the

developed world. Before WWI, in many European countries, women had no right to vote. Although, now they have made tremendous progress in raising the social status of women after the adoption of international conventions, declarations, and resolutions related to women. The cycle of discrimination and deprivation against women starts even before she is born, it begins in the womb of a mother and ends on her death. (Khan, 2020) Feeling the importance of the issue of women globally, several international conventions, declarations, and resolutions are adopted by the international community. The aim of the conventions, declarations, and resolution is to address and eliminate discrimination, give protection, and empower the women's voices. The unexpected increase in violence against women during the conflict compelled the UNSC to adopt special resolutions on women, peace, and security. Since 2000, the UNSC has adopted ten resolutions on women peace and security. It includes the resolution 1325, 1820, 1888, 1889, 1960, 2106, 2122, 2242, 2467 and 2493. To implement these UN resolutions there are multiple and unique challenges in different societies. This paper has addressed the major question what are the key challenges in implementing the UN resolutions on women, peace and security in KP? The paper has addressed these resolutions in detail and identified the major challenges in implementing these resolutions in KP.

UN resolutions on women, peace and security

One of the major goals of the UN is the empowerment and protection of the women, especially in a conflict situation. In 2000, for the first time in the history the UNSC formally recognized the brutal impacts of conflict on women and the women's crucial role in peace building. On October 31, 2000, the UNSC in its 4213th meeting adopted its first landmark and umbrella resolution 1325 on women, peace and security. (United Nations Security Council, 2020) The 1325 resolution addresses two important points. The brutal and different impacts of armed conflicts on women and the crucial role of women in the prevention of conflict, management of conflict, resolution of conflict, peacekeeping, peacemaking and in peace-building. The resolution engenders the peace building processes. It directed the states to must take special measures for the women protection against violence during the conflict and the women's equal and meaningful engagement at every stage of the conflict resolution and peace building processes. (United States Institute of Peace, 2020) With this resolution the problem of women got international recognition and attention. The resolution has four key pillars.

a) Pillars and articles of the UNSCR 1325

The UNSCR 1325 has presented the four key pillars and 18 articles. These pillars are participation, prevention, protection, and relief and recovery. (United States Institute of Peace, 2020) Each pillar is supported by different articles. In the following section, these pillars are discussed along with the supportive articles of the resolution.

The first key pillar of the resolution is participation, which means engendering the processes of conflict resolution and peace building. This pillar directed the states to ensure higher women's participation at every level of conflict resolution and peace building processes. The articles that focus on the women's participation, include article 1, which requested the member states to increase women's participation, at all stages of conflict resolution and peace-building. Article 2 encourages the Secretary General to call for increased women participation. The articles 3 and 4, requested the

Sectary General, for the appointment of a high number of women as envoys and special representatives. It also requested, to expand the women's contribution to the UN field-based operations. The article requested the member states to adopt a feminist perspective, during negotiations and its implementation. Article 8 of the resolution is important because it focuses on a gender perspective. (United Nations Security Council, 2000) Many times, it happened that women are present on the negotiation tables but their perspective is not and it is not the inclusion of women. Including the women's perspective and approaches to conflict resolution and peace building is the actual participation of women.

Protection is another important pillar of this resolution. It directed the states to strengthen the women's rights and provide every possible support to the initiatives related to the protection of women in conflict. Article 6 of the resolution, specifically focuses on the protection. Through this article, the Security Council requested the Sectary General for providing the special training materials and procedures on protection to the member states. Article 9 also stresses on the women's protection during armed conflict. It directed the state parties involved in the conflict to fully respect the international law that applies to the protection of women. (United Nations Security Council, 2000)The third pillar is prevention. In this pillar, the UN demanded the UN member states to take special measures to prevent violence against women, based on gender. The article 10 of the resolution is supporting this pillar. It is directing the member states to take special measures, to prevent sexual violence against women. (United Nations Security Council, 2000) The fourth pillar stresses on the recognition and identification of women's and girl's needs in both, during, and after the conflict to resettle them. This pillar urges the states, local organizations, and the UN bodies to use feminist lenses during and peace negotiations, agreements, and operations, to best, represent the women's needs and problems. (Peace Women, 2020) The most common method, to easily identify, the women's problems and needs are, to include women and their perspectives in peace processes. Secondly, conducting surveys in the field is also very effective in the identification of the needs and problems of women.

The major and most important pillar among all is the participation, which is the basic objective of the resolution. The rest of the pillars are supportive pillars to make sure the women high participation. To strengthen and reinforce these pillars of resolution 1325, the UNSC passed some subsequent resolutions. Each of those addresses unique anxiety about the girls and women's protection, prevention, and full participation in peace building and conflict resolution process.

The UNSC, during its 5916th meeting in 2008, unanimously passed the resolution 1820. The resolution specifically detects the problem of sexual violence against women and girls, during the conflict. (United Nations Security Council, 2008) The resolution declared sexual violence as a crime against humanity and a war crime. The resolution demands that all the UN member states must take immediate measures to sexual violence against women and girls in the conflicted zones. (Peace Women, 2020) Moreover, the resolution requested the special training of the peacekeepers and the implementation of the policy of zero tolerance for those committed sexual violence. (United Nations Security Council, 2008) The resolution identifies sexual violence as an armament of war. (United Nations Security Council, 2008)

The resolution 1888 was passed in 2009, during the 6195th meeting of the Security Council. The resolution aims to make sure the implementation of the SCR 1820, on sexual violence. (United

Nations Security Council, 2009) To resolve any problem it is highly important to identify the problem first. This resolution calls for leaderships, to identify the sexual violence against women and investigate the violence committed by both the military and civilians. (United States Institute of Peace, 2020) It demanded a team, including the expert on gender to deal with the problem effectively. (United Nations Security Council, 2009)

The SCR 1889 was adopted in 2009 during the 6196th meeting of the Security Council. (United Nations Security Council, 2009) To strengthen the implementation of the UNSC resolution 1325, this resolution calls for addressing the obstacles to women's inclusion in peace building and conflict resolution activities. (United States Institute of Peace, 2020) The resolution urges the states, regional and international organizations to increase women's involvement at every stage of conflict resolution and peace building practices. (United Nations Security Council, 2009) Furthermore, the resolution requested, the relevant organizations a systematic analysis and assessment of hurdles to women's involvement in peace building and prepare frameworks accordingly. (United Nations Security Council, 2009)

In 2010, it is noted that during armed conflict, sexual violence remains rampant, systematic, and widespread. The Security Council held its 6453rd meeting on December 16, 2010. In the meeting, the council adopted the resolution 1960. (United Nations Security Council, 2010) This resolution calls for the formation of observing and reporting mechanisms on sexual violence during conflict. (UN Women, 2020) To protect women from sexual violence during the conflict the Security Council detained its 6984th meeting, on June 24, 2013. (United Nations Security Council, 2013) In this meeting, the council adopted a new resolution, 2106 on women, peace, and security. This resolution pressures the state parties for accountability of the committers of sexual violence to make it functional and effective. (UN Women, 2020) Additionally, the resolution stresses the women economic and political empowerment.

On October 18, 2013, the UNSC passed Resolution 2122 during the 7044th meeting of the Council to further strengthen the UNSC landmark resolution 1325. (United Nations Security Council, 2013) The resolution specifically focuses on women's involvement in peace negotiation and accords. (United States Institute of Peace, 2020) The difference between this and the previous resolution is that through this resolution the Council requested the member states and organization to work on the frameworks that help in increasing the high number of women representation in peace negotiations. (United Nations Security Council, 2013)

On October 13, 2015, during the 7533rd meeting of the Security Council, the resolution 2242 was adopted. (United Nations Security Council, 2015) Since 2001, the continuous increase in violent extremism and terrorism has affected women in unique ways. The women are many times targeted by the extremist and terrorist, although they are mostly the non-combatants. This resolution recognized the unique impacts of violent extremism and terrorism. Moreover, the resolution recognizes the role of women in countering violent extremism, terrorism, and militancy and urges the states to further accelerate the women's role in countering militancy, extremism, and terrorism. (United States Institute of Peace, 2020)

The issue of sexual violence is not only the issue of women but also the issue of the children born of rape. On April 23, 2019, the Security Council held its 8514th meeting in which the resolution

2467 was adopted, focuses on a new issue. (United Nations Security Council, 2019) The resolution directed the state parties to take effective measures for the support of the children born of rape. (UN Women, 2020) Keeping in mind the intensity and seriousness of the problem, the Security Council adopted, the resolution 2493 in its meeting number 8649th held on October 29, 2019. (United Nations Security Council, 2019) This resolution demands full execution of all the Security Council resolutions on women, peace, and security, adopted previously. (UN Women, 2020) The resolution requested the UN for developing context-specific approaches for the participation of women in the peace process. (UN Women, 2020) Moreover, the resolution urged the states for timely and full support for the participation of women.

To implement these resolutions, the most common method states adopted is the National Action Plan for women. To implement these resolutions Pakistan also established some women-friendly institutions and also passed women friendly legislations. For example, in 1996 Pakistan ratified the CEDAW convention with a reservation. In 2000 a permanent National Commission on the Status of Women was established. After two years of the establishment of the commission, a National Policy for development and Empowerment was launched. In 2005 the Gender Reforms Action Plan was launched. (Legislative Watch, 2011) It is very repulsive that in the presence of all these institutions Pakistan's position in the GGGI is 151 out of 153. (Express Tribune, 2020) The most horrible thing is that instead of improvement Pakistan is falling in the ranking, in 2006 the Pakistan position was 112 and it slipped to 151 in 2020. (Express Tribune, 2020) This shows that there are some hard core social and legal challenges are present in the way of implementing the UN resolutions on women, peace and security. This paper argues that the dysfunctional nature of these institutions is because of the presence of those challenges that need to be address.

Challenges in implementing the UN resolutions on women, peace and security in KP

Women with few exceptions are always the non-combatant actors in conflicts; however, they are adversely affected by the war. They must be included in the peace processes to understand and deal with women's issues and plight. In post-conflict, there are many families, headed by the women (Afghanistan and erstwhile FATA), therefore it is important to have women inclusive peace building activities such as rehabilitation, the building of communities, and providing economic opportunities, etc. (Naseer, Faculty of Political Science, University of Peshawar, 2020)

Unfortunately, in Pakistan especially in KP, the status of women is undermined both in history and in present as well. According to the 2014 measurement of the World Economic Forum's, Pakistan ranks second-last in gender-based differences, due to its terrible involvement in women's political, economic, and involvement in higher education. (World Economic Forum, n.d.) Women in KP are facing so many problems that put aside them from participation in formal 'Track 1', semi-formal 'Track 1.5', and informal 'Track 2' (that women often doing) peace building process. A single factor can't be blamed for sidelining them from participating in the peace building activities. Therefore this paper has identified the following key difficulties which halt the women in the province from participating in the peace building activities, however, the hurdles vary from case to case, from situation to situation, and from individual to individual but, are interconnected and equally important to address.

1. Patriarchal culture, models and attitude towards women

Patriarchy is a belief and a social system of male supremacy/dominancy over women, it dominates and appreciates the idea that women are weak and they need men's support. (What is patriarchy, 2020) In other words, it is the unequal distribution of power, authority, and opportunities between male and female gender. A culture dominated by such beliefs is patriarchal culture. The patriarchal/restricted cultures, social norms, models, and attitudes that reinforce the traditional gender roles make it very hard for women to participate actively and in a productive way in building peace all over the world, especially in KP. (Muller, 2012) Comparatively, the Pashtun culture is highly patriarchal, and that's why the women in Pashtun society are almost out of public life. A key respondent has said that there is nothing powerful than culture when culture accepts, appreciates, or promotes something, nothing can stop it, but when culture rejects something, nothing has the power to let it. Moreover, the respondent added that because of the presence of the patriarchy factor in Pashtun's culture, it has rejected the women's participation not only in the peace building activities but also excluded them from the public life. Another respondent has said that in conflict-ridden and a militarized society, patriarchy is a prevalent system. Patriarchal culture restricted women's mobility in the public spaces, thus robbing them from important decision making processes including peace building activities. Therefore, patriarchal cultural values and norms are a major hurdle in women's participation in peace building activities. (Naseer, Faculty of Political Science, University of Peshawar, 2020)

Here the question is what makes the Pashtun culture so rigid for women to participate in public life. Pashtun's geographical location, their violent history of tribal feuds, and this mantra of survival of the fittest have transformed their culture from matrilineal to patrilineal that evolved into a patriarchal structure. Also, the last 200 years of violent politics on the Pashtun borderland has changed their cultural practices. Pashtun men are born and raised in the conflict that also included and introduced violent practices to their culture, which later was directed towards the weakest section of their society. State policies also played its role in changing the Pashtun men into an unbending and patriarchal being, devoid of humility and mercy by militarizing Pashtun areas and since 1948 using them for different regional and international conflicts. (Naseer, Faculty of Political Science, University of Peshawar, 2020) The research has revealed that the family and religious leaders/clerics are also the two key factors in Pashtun society that is discouraging and halt the women from participating in building peace and other social activities.

2. Women limited involvement in politics, governance and economic activities

Politics and governance are the best platforms one can use to play his/her part in building peace. When more women are involved in politics and governance, there will be more women representation on negotiation tables, policy tables, and other peace negotiations. Unfortunately, in KP the women representation in politics and governance is very low, as voters and as an elected official, especially in PATA and newly merge districts, where peace building activities are the utmost need to normalize the life of the public. Politics in Pakistan and generally amongst Pashtun is considered men's domain, thus we see less or limited involvement of women in politics that has robbed them from policy-making processes including peace building. (Naseer, Faculty of Political Science, University of

Peshawar, 2020) The research has discovered that gender inequalities are lower in countries where women are participating in public life and political participation is considered the best way to participate in public life. (Woodbury, 2016)

To evaluate the current trends in women's political participation in the province, one may focus on four important questions. 1) How many women contested the general election of 2018? 2) Of those how many women won their seats? 3) What is the total representation of women from KP in both provincial and national assemblies? 4) How many women voters are registered and how many women participated in the election? For both the provincial and national assembly, 55 women contested the general election of 2018 from KP but, none of them won the election. (Pakistan, 2020) However, there are women MPA's and MNA's from KP in the provincial and national assemblies. In the provincial assembly, there are 26 women representatives but, all of them are on women reserved seats. (Pakhtunkhwa, 2020) In the national assembly, there are 10 women MNA's from KP, but they are also on reserved seats. (Pakistan N. A., 2020) So there is no direct women representation in both the national and provincial assemblies from KP.

In the general election of 2018, the total registered women voters in KP excluding the newly merged districts are 6,616,605 which is 43.17% of the total. (Pakistan E. C., 2018) KP had the lowest number of women participated in the election which is 2,209,696.00 that makes 32.68% of the total. (Pakistan E. C., 2020) The highest women participated constituencies in the general election of 2018 are, PK-40 Haripur-I, PK-I Chitral, PK-41 Haripur-II, and PK-36 Abbottabad-I with 45.12, 44.33, 44.23, and 44.7%. (Pakistan E. C., 2020) The lowest women participated constituencies are PK-23 Shangla-I, PK-28 Battagram, PK-20 Buner-I, PK-84 Hangu, PK-24 Shangla-II, PK-9 Swat VIII, PK-29 Battagram-II, PK-4 Swat-III, PK-6 Swat-V, PK-5 Swat-IV, PK-7 Swat-VI with 5.2, 10.44, 11.61, 15.83, 17.28, 18.52, 18.81, 19.47, 20.11, 20.14 and 20.82%. (Pakistan E. C., 2020)

This lowest participation of women in politics and governance in KP disregarded them from the formal 'Track 1' peace negotiations which is one of the keys and the most important element of the peace building and it remains a key hurdle for women to put their voices, approaches and perspectives on the policy table to build sustainable peace.

Empowerment comes with economic steadiness. It's a fact that, when one is economically stable, people will listen and value him/her. It's a bitter reality that, economic stability gives the power to impose your will, to put your voice on agenda and policy table. On the other hand, there are so many reasons of instability and extremism in KP, one of the key reason scholars believe, is poverty. The people living in the area especially in PATA and newly merged districts are mostly poor. A respondent says the reason behind poverty is the overall unemployment and women's unmentionable involvement in economic activities. The women limited involvement in economic activities damage the women's social status and due to the low social status, they could not play any mentionable role in the transformation of the society and peace building. (Khan N. A., 2012) Peace is deeply dependent on economic stability. In Pakistan, because of the higher gender gap, only 22% of women are participating in the workforce, compared to 46% of women globally. Closing this gap could boost Pakistan's GDP by 30%. (Stone, 2020) The women's involvement in economic activities will not only empower women but also bring peace and stability, additionally, it will boost the state economy.

In this patriarchal society of Pashtun's, all the power is in the hands of men. It is a natural

phenomenon when someone gains power it is very difficult to share it with others. This is considered one of the obstacles to women's participation in peace building,

3. Degrading women's role as peace builders and lack of support for women rights organizations

Acceptance and appreciation are motivating one for doing more. To increase women's participation in peace building activities in KP it is extremely important to accept and appreciate their work as peace builders. On the other hand, to perform well and to survive, we all, on individual and organizational levels need support and nothing can progress without support. To increase women's contribution to peace building in KP there is a need for awareness to support women who are raising voices for their rights and the organizations working on women's rights and empowerment.

This is true that in KP organizations working on women's rights is not appreciated, but there is a mistake committed by those organizations due to which they are facing this kind of problem. Many organizations working on women's rights in KP adopted the approaches that were against the Pashtun norms, so they started believing that these organizations are degrading our cultural norms and values, they aim to bring out our women from their homes and destroy our culture. (Stone, 2020) Unfortunately, in KP the women's role as peace builders is mostly unappreciated on both the family and society level. However, it differs from case to case. In some cases, families are the biggest hurdle and not allowing and appreciating their women to work as peace builders. Sometimes, the families want, allowing and appreciating their women to work for building sustainable peace, but the Pashtun's society because of the rigid patriarchal culture is not allowing them to play their role as peace builders. The local women affected by the war and conflicts were never included in the peace building role and it is more than degrading, it means that they are not considered important enough or affected by the conflict. (Naseer, Faculty of Political Science, University of Peshawar, 2020)

Paradoxically, the majority of the Pashtun's norms and attitudes towards those women who are working outside their homes are coincided, with the militant views, in terms of getting the education, employment, etc. (Arqam, 2020) The militant groups reinforced these values, norms, and attitudes by the name of religion and raised the women's movements outside their homes to a sinful status, and resultantly it creates a total women exclusionary system in Pashtun's society. In the presence of such a social system, the support of women's rights organizations and women peace-builders just a dream. In terms of disempowering women, the Pashtun men and the militant are somehow on the same page, the only difference is that the militants are more brutal. (Arqam, 2020) In the small cities of Pakistan, specifically of the KP, and the rural areas, it is considered that the women economically empowered and working outside their homes are characterless and have immoral character, and they are not giving much respect as giving to those who are in their homes. (Stone, 2020) This means that, in KP, staying at homes and not participating in the political, economic, and other kinds of social activities is a sign of good character for women, and those working outside their homes are labeled as the bad and immoral character.

4. Limited access to education

Education is the key to every kind of empowerment of men, women, and other depressed groups. The

only way to women's permanent empowerment is education. (Qazi, 2020) Most of the aforementioned kinds of empowerment are closely linked with education, especially economic and political empowerment. Pakistan is failing to educate a large proportion of girls. According to statistic thirty, two percent of the primary school-age girls are out of school in the country. (Human Rights Watch, 2020)

There are so many factors that keep the girls out of school. The key factors among those are the government's low investment in girl's education, the unavailability of girl's school, physical punishment, the government failed to implement compulsory education, and the poor quality of education especially in KP. (Human Rights Watch, 2020) In the village of the researcher, there is only one primary and one middle girl's school. When it comes to boys, there are three primaries; one middle and high school are for boys in the same village, so it is clear discrimination with the girls.

Moreover, there are some external factors as well that blocked the girl's from attending school. The factors include the Child labor, child marriages, sexual harassment, gender discrimination both intentionally and unintentionally, insecurity, and attacks on school and students. (Human Rights Watch, 2020) Apart from the aforementioned factors there is another important factor that needs to be addressed is the family restriction on girls to not go to school but, this applies to girls going to middle schools and above. A local respondent was asked, that in your family girls are primary and middle passed why you people are not sending them to get more education? The respondent replied that we have no financial issue but, our elders are not allowing them to get more education. Further the respondent added that the elder believes that it is against Islamic education and ethics. The women's limited access to education limits her knowledge about her rights, other than that you don't need education or training to be a part of peace building if the victim of war or conflict.

5. Violence against women

In addition to the other obstacles, the violent behaviors and attitudes of the community men towards women also exclude them from peace building efforts. Violence against women refers to any particular method used to subjugate or disrespect, disturb women individually or group of women, aiming to establish or maintain control over them. (Tabassum, 2020) It is present in many forms in Pakistan, like, verbal violence, it is the use of painful or unkind words for women. Physical violence is the use of physical force against women. Psychological or mental violence, it is the adoption of a systematic pattern of the explicit or malicious non-physical act against women to degrade them and realizing them that they have no importance in the society building. Sexual violence, it is the behavior that forces women to reluctantly get involved in any sexual activity. Cultural violence, patriarchal culture is violence against women. Cultural violence refers to the behaviors and actions, that damage or harm the interest and degrade the status of a specific individual or group, and it is practiced as part of the culture. Economic violence, it is the behavior by which someone is controlling, exploiting, and misusing any other person's financial or productive resources without his or her permission. Forcing or not allowing someone to work outside homes is a form of economic violence. (Tabassum, 2020) These mentioned forms of violence against women remain the most crucial kind of hurdle in the way of women's contribution to peace building all over the world.

The result of all the aforementioned forms of violence, either it is intentionally or

unintentionally, is the women exclusion from the social system and public life. Unluckily, the violence against women in Pakistan is practiced by the name of culture, honor, dignity, and ego. Pashtun men think that violence against their women is the symbol of their manhood. (Qazi, 2020) Among all the psychological violence is on the top, they cannot do anything as they want, they are totally under the control of men and treated very badly, they have to do what the men want, even their education, marriage, etc. this has to stop. (Qazi, 2020) To make the women an effective force to play their role in the transformation of society, it is very important to protect them from all forms of violence in the workplace, homes, and other public spheres. (Stone, 2020)

In KP, a very high number of women, are subjected to violence. Only in 2019 around 778 women were killed in the province and about 4,504 were killed in the last decade. (Dawn, 2020) The ratio of violence against women is very high, but they are not reporting. Because of this rapid rise in the sexual, physical, and other forms of domestic violence against women, Pakistan is in the sixth more dangerous countries in the world for women. (Violence against women on rise in Pakistan, 2020) The activist believes that the patriarchal norms, attitudes, and culture is the cause of the problem. (Violence against women on rise in Pakistan, 2020) The activists are very correct, because the cause of the many forms of violence is the Pashtun's patriarchal culture.

6. Violent extremism and terrorism

The brutal waves of militancy in KP affected the life of both gender, but specifically, the social life of women is affected very badly. Violent extremism and terrorism forcefully excluded the KP's women from the social circle, including the women who had crossed all the restrictions facing by them and were already working on peace building in the province. Therefore, it can be considered as one of the most crucial hurdles to women's participation in peace building activities.

The violent extremism and terrorism closed almost all the ways for women to prepare themselves for participating in peace building activities. They were very rigid towards women's education and freedom. In the presence of them, women's education was a crime which is a basic right. Malala stated that "She was just 10 when more than 400 schools were destroyed. Women were flogged. People were killed. And our beautiful dreams turned into a nightmare. Education went from being a right to being a crime. Girls were stopped from going to school". (Malala Yousafzai, 2014)

The militant groups attacked the girl's schools directly or targeted the girls who used to go to school or college. The attack on a school bus in the Swat region in which Malala Yousafzai and her two other friends were shot is the most highlighted case. Malala was born on 12 July 1997, in Mingora Swat valley. When the Taliban took control of the valley and prohibited the girl's education, Malala was continuously speaking against the prohibition on girl's education. In 2008, when she was just 11 years old, delivered a speech "How Dare the Taliban Take Away My Basic Right to Education" in a press club in Peshawar. (Blumberg, 2020) Till 2012, she continually spoke out against Taliban restrictions on girl's education. On October 9, 2012, when she was going back home from school in school van, the militants of the Fazlullah and TTP attacked her and shot on the head. (BBC News, 2020) The attack on Malala and her two friends created the fear in the valley, and every girl was afraid who used to go to school. This attack stopped many girls from attending school. The long term impact of extremism, militarization, and Talibanization in KP creates a culture of fear and violence

against women. Nowadays, the problem of militancy and extremism is almost over, but the fear is still present.

7. The state and the government callous behavior and discriminatory legislation

It is the state and government responsibility to raise the living standard of the depressed citizen for any reason. The state has to keep special eyes in such areas. If the state and government are ignoring and not taking action on it, then it is a crime committed by the state and government. A crime can be defined, as an unlawful act that is harmful to an individual, any group, or community. It is forbidden and punishable by the law. (Tabassum, 2020) On one side, the state of Pakistan is not taking mentionable measures to raise the living standard of women in KP and on the other hand, the weak and crippled legal system, in the presence of the patriarchal cultural and social structure of Pashtun society legitimizes a large range of crimes and violence against women. (Tabassum, 2020) If the state and government did not give them due attention, it will further degrade the women's social status.

The Pakistani state treated the borderland and its inhabitants as their scapegoats for national interest and strategic depth. Therefore, considered the tribal people lesser humans and unfortunately, women were considered invisible in the conflict. If the state and government treat you as non-entity and invisible then naturally you are not considered worthy of being a part of peace processes. (Naseer, Faculty of Political Science, University of Peshawar, 2020) This behavior of the state officially excludes the women from the public life including the peace building process. To bring them into the public life state has to change this behavior towards the women of KP.

Discriminatory legislation is considered the official exclusion of a specific group or class. If there is discriminatory legislation against women in terms of power-sharing, this means women are officially left out, from the power circle. Pakistan is not an exception when it comes to discriminatory legislation against women. Now though Pakistan has approved some women-friendly legislation, there are issues in implementing, and also social change takes time for which a lot of convincing and changing the mindset required. (Haque, 2020)

The presence of laws, but to not implement it is also discrimination because implementation needs attention, and if there is no attention this means there is discrimination. In Pashtun's culture, there are many things, practicing as part of the culture, but actually, it is the violence against women. It includes Ghag (forced marriages of girls), Swara (offering girls as a bride to settle disputes), Valvar, or Badal (offering girls as a bride in exchange for money). (Naseer, Faculty of Political Science, University of Peshawar, 2020) There is no proper legislation on it, which is clear and intentional discrimination with women.

Conclusion

The UN resolutions have the agenda of women's empowerment, protection, and participation in political, social, economic cultural, and all other spheres of life in both pre and post conflict situation. It aims to transform the world into a place where both the gender have equal opportunities and equal participation. The UN has no legal right to implement its resolutions forcefully. The states are not legally bound to these resolutions. So, with this non-binding policy models, the UN cannot implement their resolutions, until and unless the state willingly implements it. So, it all depends on and in the

control of the state. State has to identify the challenges and make sure the implementation of these resolutions. This paper has identified some major challenges in the way of implementing the UN resolutions on women, peace and security. The paper argues that the most crucial among all the challenges is the patriarchal culture, norms, attitudes, and behaviors. It plays its role everywhere when it comes to politics, economy, education, social activism, etc. the cultural factor has its impact and all other mentioned hurdles have a link with the cultural factor. According to Dr. Noreen Naseer, the women's political participation is limited by three things, the most important of them is the cultural restraints, and the other two are the government callous behavior and militancy. (Noreen Naseer, 2020) If talking about education, no doubt there are other factors as well which is discussed, but the cultural restrictions on women to not go to school is also a cause, due to which the number of girls in higher education is very low. If talk about the women in economic activities, the cultural values have a high impact, in Pashtun culture it is the men's responsibility to earn, even the men beg from someone, but not allowing their women to work outside their homes and earn money. There are some exceptions but most of the people are not allowing their women to work and earn. When it comes to violence against women, again the culture has a role, the Pashtun culture taught them that the exercise of the power is the men's domain and the women have no right to exercise power or challenge the men's power and status and have no right to say no to the men. When a woman is challenging the men's power and status in the family or outside the family or saying no to the men, then she is facing violence and is labeled as characterless and disrespectful. That is why violence against women is part of the Pashtun's culture to maintain the men status. This can be concluded that the Pashtun's culture is a women exclusionary culture and is the main challenge in the way of implementation of UN resolutions on women, peace and security. No doubt, the other mentioned factors are equally important to address, but the cultural factor is the most crucial and all other factors are in one way or other linked and dependent on cultural factors.

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