## The New Zealand Foreign Policy (2015-2019): Feminist Approach on Global Peacekeeping

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#### ABSTRACT

Feminism in international relations studies has brought new perspective with its focuses on women's empowerment and gender equality. The adoption of United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325 is a starting point of the world's attention on women's active role in conflict and peace, encouraging UN member countries to participate in promoting Women, Peace, and Security (WPS). New Zealand, as the first self-governing country in the world to allow women suffrage in parliamentary elections, has been committed to promoting the WPS agenda, both in the region and globally. According to the Global Peace Index (GPI), New Zealand became the second most peaceful country in the world in the last few years. With no recent armed conflict and any external threats, New Zealand's National Action Plan (NAP) on the WPS agenda primarily focuses on external affairs. This article seeks to provide an analysis of how feminist values influence New Zealand's foreign policy on peacekeeping efforts and its implications on global peace. Data shows that during the NAP implementation period (2015-2019), New Zealand has continuous improvement of GPI score, which is a measure of a country's level of peace. New Zealand's efforts to maintain world peace through its aid program to conflict-affected countries also have a relatively positive effect on the level of peace in these countries, as happened in Timor Leste and Papua New Guinea.

### ABSTRAK

Feminisme dalam studi hubungan internasional telah membawa pandangan baru dengan fokus pada pemberdayaan perempuan dan kesetaraan gender. Pengadopsian resolusi Dewan Keamanan PBB menandai awal mula perhatian dunia terhadap peran aktif perempuan dalam konflik dan perdamaian, yang kemudian mendorong negara-negara anggota PBB untuk ikut serta dalam mempromosikan agenda Women, Peace, and Security (WPS). Selandia Baru, sebagai negara pertama di dunia yang mengatur tentang hak suara perempuan dalam pemilihan parlemen, merupakan salah satu negara yang telah berkomitmen dalam mengadopsi agenda WPS, baik di kawasan maupun secara global. Menurut laporan Global Peace Index (GPI), Selandia Baru telah menjadi negara paling damai kedua di dunia selama beberapa tahun terakhir. Tanpa menghadapi konflik bersenjata dan ancaman eksternal apapun dalam beberapa waktu terakhir, National Action Plan (NAP) Selandia Baru tentang agenda WPS utamanya berfokus terhadap urusan luar negeri. Artikel ini berupaya memberikan analisis mengenai bagaimana pengaruh feminis dalam kebijakan luar negeri Selandia Baru tentang upaya menjaga perdamaian serta dampaknya terhadap perdamaian dunia. Data menunjukkan bahwa selama periode implementasi NAP (2015-2019), Selandia Baru terus mengalami peningkatan skor GPI yang menjadi ukuran tingkat perdamaian suatu negara. Upaya Selandia Baru dalam menjaga perdamaian dunia yang diwujudkan melalui program bantuannya ke negara-negara terdampak konflik juga secara relatif berefek positif pada tingkat perdamaian negaranegara tersebut, seperti yang terjadi pada Timor Leste dan Papua Nugini.

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#### Introduction

Feminists thoughts has recently become a major concern, including in the study of international relations (IR). Feminists see the world from a gender perspective. The applicability of gender in the IR builds more complexity regarding the world system. Feminists perspective creates diversity of the study of international relations by means of its conception of peace and its critics to the power which is mainly dominated by masculinity.

IR mainstream theories such as realism for example, realists consider the international system to be anarchy, and the absence of supreme authority creates possibility of armed conflict, even leads to war. Therefore, by nature, states will enhance their military capabilities to provide their national security. As Jean B. Elshtain showed in her article, Women and War (1987), Elshtain highlighted masculine perspective that war was a way to protect peace among nations. <sup>2</sup>

Furthermore, in order to maintain peace, the current hierarchical international system allowed some nations to have more political influence on other nations. It is indicated by how permanent members and their veto work in the United Nations which makes it possible for them to take more control of others. However, instead of using veto power to ensure global peace and equal justice for all, they tend to behave according to their ideology and national interest. Therefore, the world political system has become a stage of armament rivalries and nuclear proliferation.<sup>3</sup> The relations between the

In contrast, feminists promote a different viewpoint to the international system that is still unequal and too narrow. Feminism is not limited to women's rights and gender emancipation. As a scientific approach, feminism looks through gender lenses to see global politics and understand how the world works.<sup>4</sup>

It is important for states to involve gendered practices, including its foreign policy, as constitutive links that pursue gender justice both domestically and abroad. Feminist approach to foreign policy has major focus on injustice and the struggle for gender justice at the international realm by exposing gender-based violence in conflict, subordination of women in peace-making processes, and listen to the victims of global injustices, as Cynthia Enloe suggests. <sup>5</sup>

States' adoption on feminist foreign policy in general are driven by Women, Peace, and Security agenda which promoted by the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) Resolution 1325. Zealand is one of the countries that implemented Resolution 1325 both at home and abroad. New Zealand adopted its National Action Plan (NAP) in 2015 as a of implementation concrete form Resolution 1325. The New Zealand government openly stated that the National Action Plan 2015-2019 will be in line with UNSCR 1325 and the WPS agenda.<sup>6</sup>

On the other hand, New Zealand has actively contributed to global peacekeeping

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system and power eventually shows how the international system still operates from a masculine perspective.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Scott Burchill, et.al, Theories of International Relations: Third edition, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005): 223

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Christine Sylvester, "Feminist International Relations: An Unfinished Journey", Cambridge University Press, no. 77 (2002): 18

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Blessing N. Iyase, and Sheriff F. Folarin, "A Critique of Veto Power System in the United Nations Security Council", Relationes Internationales 11, no. 2 (2018): 112

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Judith A. Tickner, and Laura Sjoberg, eds., Feminism and International Relations: Conversations about the past, present, and future (New York: Routledge, 2011): 5-6

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Karin Aggestam, Annika B. Rosamond, and Annica Kronsell, "Theorising feminist foreign policy", Journal of International Relations 33, no. 1 (2019): 27 
<sup>6</sup> New Zealand Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, "Women, Peace, and Security", https://www.mfat.govt.nz/en/peace-rights-and-security/international-security/women-peace-and-security/

since the United Nations establishment. New Zealand has been involved in peacekeeping missions as well as regional and international forums. Along with its great role in maintaining world peace, New Zealand has increased its security, economy and trade growth.<sup>7</sup> In the past few years, New Zealand has been ranked in the top 3 most peaceful countries in the world. There are not many recent domestic concerns and external threats for New Zealand.<sup>8</sup>

Hence, the NAP 2015-2019 could primarily focus on New Zealand external affairs; to support sustainable development in developing countries, reduce poverty and contribute to a safer, more equitable and prosperous world. This article seeks to answer the question: How New Zealand's implementation of the Women, Peace, and Security Agenda could affect world peace?

#### Research Method

This article uses case studies methods. Among various types of case studies, the authors choose a snapshot study (classified by its time dimension), where a singular case is examined in one particular period of time. The authors collect qualitative and quantitative data from primary sources, such as government and organization official statements. Also, secondary sources e.g. books, journal articles, and reports related to the subject of the case study. The authors will analyze the data and draw conclusions.

In this research article, the author tried to explain the influence of gender perspective on New Zealand's policy (2015-2019) under its National Action Plan (NAP)

in terms of global peacekeeping efforts as a case study.

Moreover, using the feminist approach, the authors will explain the New Zealand's effort in peacekeeping missions (related to the WPS agenda) to some conflict-affected countries between 2015-2019, analyzed the data, and conclude its efficacy to the global peacekeeping. This article is expected to contribute to the advancement of international relations studies, regarding feminist perspective on global peace.

## **Theoretical Approach**

This article uses a feminist approach in understanding the behavior of state policy-making using gender analysis and feminist foreign policy concepts. Feminist approach helps the author to provide an analysis to the state decisions related to peacekeeping. This article is constructed by a combination of two sources, primary and secondary. Primary sources are obtained directly from the official website of the New Zealand government. And secondary sources come from journal articles and books related to our topic.

This article uses the concept of gender which is pretty much explained by Cristhine Sylvester her book, "Feminist in International Relations: An Unfinished Journey" (2004), and Jean Bethke Elshtain in her article, Women and War (1987). Sylvester argue that there were several conventional IR concepts that adopted feminism such as Keohane's security concept in liberal institutional theory.

Elshtain emphasize more on the concept of gender, which are not limited to feminism but also masculinism, Elshtain tried to explain the conception of war from both masculine and feminist perspectives. She argues that in the masculine perspective, the war was a way to protect the peace among nations. She also emphasizes that men (masculine) as the protectors of the home (feminine), and women themselves were described by a lovely mother who

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> New Zealand Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, "International Security", https://www.mfat.govt.nz/en/peace-rights-and-security/international-security/

<sup>8</sup> Vision of Humanity, "Global Peace Index: The Most & Least Peaceful Country, https://www.visionofhumanity.org/maps/#/

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Adrijana B. Starman, "The case study as a type of qualitative research", Journal of Contemporary Educational Studies 1, (2013): 33

raises her son with love. These two conceptions describe how men and women were being part of the war.

The war analogy describes the way of both men and women to keep peace in the international system when men will provide their gun, weapon, and other military things to keep the security, and women described as a mother who is willing to keep her children safe. Later, this war analogy explains how the international system has been influenced by the struggle for power to enhance their national security.<sup>10</sup>

We also use the feminist foreign policy concept which is based on several indicators: (1) political dialogue, (2) inclusion and intersectional approach, (3) empathetic community, (4) safety and wellbeing, and (5) gender analysis.11

The feminist foreign policy emphasizes the need for inclusive political dialogue rather than militarized and coercive solutions and coercive solutions in overcoming the world's security problems and trade politics. Such as the ethical foreign policy commits, transformative change of global politics requires more broadly and comprehensive dialogue to the needs and wants of women and other marginalized groups. Diverse and inclusive groups also need to be identified and included as well in policy making through gender lobbyism and reaching out to civil society, grassroots, and local organizations.

Feminist approaches tend to focus on safety and wellbeing by preventing violence, identify and address the causes of conflict. In contrast to the traditional approach that is based on the concept of national or human security, feminist approaches do not neglect the gendered dimension of security and criticize the inability of militarized security

10 Sylvester, 2002

72,

https://www.jstor.org/stable/26760832

<sup>11</sup> Victoria Scheyer, and Marina Kumskova, "FEMINIST FOREIGN POLICY: A FINE LINE BETWEEN "ADDING WOMEN" AND PURSUING A FEMINIST AGENDA", Journal of International no. (2019), to protect all intersectional groups and individuals. Militarized security fails to prevent starvation, the spread of disease, or gender-based violence, indeed this form of security frequently even maintains these conditions. Instead of focusing on security, feminists are shifting to the peace, safety, and wellbeing (including physical, social, and political security, basic social needs) of the gendered individual. Feminist approaches also disagree with neo-realism values and hegemonic security models that attempted to increase military security and national interest to deal with enemies, threats, and power conflicts through military and defense alliances. Otherwise, feminists emphasize more on building trust and empathy-based community to create peace, mutual trade disarmament. advantages, and Wallström, Sweden's Foreign Minister, emphasized connections between women's participation in global politics sustainable peace, as well as the positive impacts of women's empowerment to national and international security.<sup>12</sup>

Furthermore, carrying out gender analysis to the feminist foreign policy shall provide alternative solutions by revealing what is behind social and political norms, underlying power relations, discriminatory policies and law. It is crucial to be applied to the existing security concepts, military alliances, and militarism to understand how different groups of people lack access to resources, how some communities are prone to violence, or how policies affect them differently. Gender analysis of power and leadership, states' international behavior, and intersectional relations is also needed in feminist foreign policy practice. Intersectional gendered subjects of the feminist foreign policy recognize other social categories, including class, ethnicity, and sexuality, all of which interact with gender.

York: Columbia University Press, 2015)

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Valerie M. Hudson, and Patrica Leidl, The Hillary Doctrine: Sex and American Foreign Policy, (New

## Resolution 1325 and Women, Peace, and Security Agenda

For decades, women struggled to act as a political actor in the public sector. Resolution 1325 paved the way to increase women's participation, where the resolution emphasized inclusion and representation of women and other marginalized groups.<sup>13</sup> Resolution 1325 (2000) is a starting point of global attention to women's participation in maintaining peace and security. Under the adoption of Resolution 1325, women are no longer considered only as victims and "vulnerable groups" along with children, elderly and disabled people, it recognized women's participation in peace-building and conflict prevention. Moreover, resolution 1325 calls out adoption of a gender perspective to all peacekeeping operations and peace negotiations participants.<sup>14</sup>

Resolution 1325 is provided by the UN Security Council Resolution or UNSCR, that leads on women empowerment as implementation of gender equality. Resolution 1325 explicitly recognized that the gender perspective is important to provide a better place for both men and women. This was described by the point "Reaffirming the important role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts and peace-building, and stressing importance of their equal participation and full involvement in all efforts for maintenance and promotion of peace and security, and need to increase their role in decision-making with regard to conflict prevention and resolution".

Prat and Devroe mentioned in their articles that the adoption of the resolution is considered by many to be a milestone since it marked the first time that the UN Security Council dealt specifically with the gender

issues and women's experiences in conflict and post conflict situations and their contribution to conflict resolution and prevention. Previous UN resolutions had treated women as victims of war, in need-of protection.<sup>15</sup>

Gender analysis is a part of feminist approach. Feminist approach that used in the Resolution 1325, has affected most of the UN members' foreign policies. With gender analysis, feminist approach challenged us to rethink about the meaning of the security itself. Prat and Richter mentioned, the feminist approach want to renew the world view to security, as they mentioned before, women could not simply be the victim of war but also as an actor to maintain the world peace. Why is it necessary to put women's perspective in developing security and peacebuilding?

Basically, the world is not only lived by men but also women, and all of the men's (masculine) decisions do not represent women's needs. For example, in the war logic, sexual violence was defined as an "unfortunate byproduct" If we use the feminist approach or specifically gender analysis on sexual violence, it is not only an unfortunate byproduct but a weapon of war. The masculine logic of war that is absolutely not representing women and creates the world as an unsafe place for women. With gender analysis, we can ensure the needs of both men and women also redefine the form of security, peace for both of them.

The reason that we are agree to use the resolution 1325 of UNSCR as the key of foreign policy that using feminist approach is not only about the women empowerment, or women issues, but we agree that the international entities is not only lived by patriarchal thought but also we need a feminine approach to see the phenomenon of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Aggestam, 2019: 30

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Carol Cohn, "Feminist Peacemaking: In Resolution 1325, the United Nations Requires the Inclusion of Women in All Peace Planning and Negotiation", The Women's Review of Books 21, no. 5 (2004), doi:10.2307/4024325

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Nicola Pratt, and Sophie Richter-Devroe, "Critically Examining UNSCR 1325 on women, Peace and Security", International Feminist Journal of Politics 13, no. 4 (2011): 490, http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14616742.2011.611658

the international event, like mentioned on the article with the title women, peace and security: exploring the implementation and integration of UNSCR 1325 elaborate that the resolution of 1325 draw attention to gendered impacts of the conflict-related and advocate for violence the participation of women at all stages of peace processes.<sup>17</sup> The gendered impact that mentioned in the article is not only represented for the feminine only but also for the men, that is why they use the word gender instead of women impact. The international system should not be just seen with the lens of patriarchal but also using the lens of feminism on it.

entitled "Theorising article feminist foreign policy", argue that the feminist scholars places gender equality, discrimination and violence at the center of the analysis of foreign policy conduct and discourse. They also argue that state-stated centered institutional framework often are not considered conductive to the promotion of feminist ethical agendas since they are embedded within patriarchal and oppressive power structures. 18 This point is well described by the fact that the role of women is still underestimated and needs to change the stereotype of women by using gender analysis in the decision making process.

The UNSCR has four priorities: Participation, addressing the pressing issues of women's political leadership in peace and security governance; Prevention, focusing on strategies to combat violence; Protection of both the rights and bodies of women; and Relief and recovery for conflict survivors, particularly survivors of sexualized violence in conflict.<sup>19</sup>

The gender matter on the international system is well implicated in the resolution

1325, that we need an alternative option to resolve peace issues with both on masculine and feminism lens. For example, in the Resolution 1325, that Recognizing the Urgent need to mainstream a gender perspective into peacekeeping operations, and in this regard noting the Windhoek Declaration and the Namibia Plan of Action on Mainstream a Gender Perspective in Multidimensional Peace Support Operation.<sup>20</sup> This point will implement the matters of gender analysis to provide world peace. As we mentioned before, the analogies of war stated by Jean Bethke Elshtain, we agree that there is a huge difference between the way of man (masculine) and women (feminine) point of view to interpret peace. When men were well described as protectors of women in war and protecting peace using weapons and war, but women are well described as a mother who protects the needs of her children. In this case, we can see the difference between the feminine and masculine way to describe peace. Instead of arguing which is best, it is way better to combine both perspectives using gender analysis to analyze the need of both genders among the peacekeeping efforts.

#### New Zealand commitments to implementing UNSC Resolution 1325

New Zealand played an active role in global peacekeeping as one of the founding members of the United Nations. According to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade (MFAT), New Zealand's contribution to the peacekeeping efforts are to support the maintenance of international order, enhance its security interests and the safety of New Zealanders, and protect its economic and trade interests. In maintaining a peaceful world, New Zealand actively participates to prevent and deal with conflicts, and protect people, by participating in international peacekeeping campaigns, operations,

(2000)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Nicole George, and Laura J. Shepherd, "Women, Peace and security; Exploring the implementation and integration of UNSCR 1325", International Political Science Review 37, no. 3 (2016): 2, DOI: 10.1177/0192512116636659

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Aggestam, 2019

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> George, 2016: 3

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> United Nations Security Council, Resolution 1325

involved in regional and international forums such as the UN, the Pacific Islands Forum and the ASEAN Regional Forum to promote wider security cooperation and stability.<sup>21</sup> New Zealand has been involved in more than 40 peace operations in more than 25 countries under the UN or as part of coalitions.

As the importance of the role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts and peacekeeping has emerged by the adoption of UNSC Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace, and Security, New Zealand implements resolution 1325 through its National Action Plans (NAP) for 2015-2019 in effort to keep the world's peace by paying more attention to women's participation. New Zealand's NAP focuses on the role of women in New Zealand, including those who are directly involved in peacemaking and conflict prevention, civil society, women outside New Zealand both in the Pacific region and global. As New Zealand has not faced any external threats in recent years, New Zealand's NAP has a primary external focus, and is aimed at increasing the number of women at the decision-making level in peacekeeping and aid missions.

There are four key strategies in the NAP that is in line with the four pillar of WPS-agenda: 1) Prevention; integration of women's perspectives to the early warning community systems, awareness, prosecution of violation to the women's rights, 2) Participation; ensure women's involvement in decision making, Protection; increasing police and military roles of NZ women in peacekeeping and international assistance missions, improves its capabilities to support women's needs, gender analysis in the NZ peace support, and combating sexual or any other forms of violence against women and girls in conflict 4) Peacebuilding, relief and recovery: engage women and address their needs in relief and recovery, redress for injustice, promote NZ

<sup>21</sup> New Zealand Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, International Security"

women as mediators and negotiators in international forums, and ensure post-conflict processes are gender responsive.<sup>22</sup>

New Zealand's National Action Plan is led by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade (MFAT), New Zealand Police (NZP), and the New Zealand Defense Force (NZDF). The MFAT mainly focuses on engaging with the United Nations on conflict and postconflict policy settings, particularly with the **UNSC** and other regional security organizations, encourage women's to participation in conflict prevention, peacekeeping, and security. New Zealand is actively participating in UNSC meetings, including open debates to discuss WPSagenda and implementation of resolution 1325, to influence UN members to end sexual violence and violence against women in conflict, and improve peacekeeping and conflict prevention efforts. New Zealand also fights for a broader spectrum of the rights of women and girls through the UN forum. Meanwhile, NZP and NZDF, play a role in increasing the involvement of NZ women in peacekeeping missions in international conflicts.

Along with the implementation of NAP, New Zealand also proved our analysis in feminist had an influence on their foreign policy. Like we already mentioned before, the NAP itself had a strong correlation with the UNSCR 1325, so implementing the NAP itself could be seen as an action of implementation feminisme itself.

New Zealand's peacekeeping efforts under its National Action Plan on Women, Peace, and Security (2015-2019)

New Zealand's National Action Plan fits to the broader framework of

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> New Zealand Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, "New Zealand Action Plan for the Implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolutions, including 1325, on Women, Peace & Security 2015– 2019", https://www.mfat.govt.nz/assets/Peace-Rightsand-Security/International-security/WPS-NAP-2015-2019.pdf

strategies complementary which Zealand has committed, such as the Pacific Regional Action Plan on Women, Peace and 2012-2018; agency-specific strategies on Women, Peace and Security, such as those currently proposed within the New Zealand Defense Force (NZDF) and New Zealand Police (NZP); and the New Zealand Aid Programme's cross-cutting focus on gender in its activities. A genderbalanced inter-agency Women, Peace and Security Advisory Group will be established, to enhance New Zealand's expertise in response to WPS issues and to ensure the implementation of the National Action Plan. This will be reported annually to the responsible Ministers such as Foreign Affairs, Police, Defense, and Women, led by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade (MFAT).

Adopting National Action Plan on WPS-agenda as an implementation of resolution 1325 is a concrete form of embodiment of a feminist foreign policy. As mentioned before, feminist foreign policy consisted of political dialogue, inclusion and intersectional approach, empathetic community, safety and wellbeing, gender analysis. Although the preparation of NZ's National Action Plan working group is led by MFAT, NZP, and NZDF, it was consulted with The Ministry for Women and Crown Law and civil society groups through the targeted consultation of interested groups and open and public workshops Wellington (2015). The draft of NAP is also available for public suggestion and will be considered by the interdepartmental working group. The New Zealand policy opens up opportunities for civil society groups to be included.

Apart from the fact that the NAP is aimed at including women to the peace agenda, such as peace negotiations and conflict resolution, women are able to participate both in policy making and its implementation. In terms of implementing this National Action Plan, New Zealand may have contributed to placing its military

forces for peacekeeping missions in some conflict countries to provide assistance. However, as the third principle of four pillars of the WPS agenda, protection, New Zealand aiming for increasing NZ's women police and military roles in peacekeeping missions, support women's needs, and combating sexual or any other forms of violence against women and girls in conflict.

NAP urges the need to protect women, girls and other civil society groups in conflict, as well as engage women and address their needs in the post-conflict relief and recovery process. Through its aid program, New Zealand also supports sustainable development in developing countries, helps reduce poverty and contributes to a safer, more equitable and prosperous world. As mentioned in the NAP, this aid program is being implemented in some conflict-affected countries such as Solomon Islands, Papua New Guinea, Timor Leste, and Afghanistan.

Women and girl's empowerment and gender equality are critical to efforts to maintain international peace and security. In contemporary conflicts, the vast majority of casualties are civilians, and most of these are women and children. Women and girls disproportionately suffer the effects of displacement from stable communities and societies. They are increasingly targeted directly by combatants and women may also be combatants themselves.

Women's experiences of violence and discriminations in conflict societies tend to reflect the attitude and social norms of the communities in which they live during time and peace. Violence and inequalities that women face in crises do not exist in a vacuum. Therefore, educating whole communities and achieving core attitudinal and societal norm change is an important preventive measure. Family violence is also a key concern that New Zealand is working to address.

Incorporating women's perspectives into early warning systems, public education and training guidelines and prosecution of violators of women's rights, including sexual

and gender-based violence, are all measures that are essential to conflict prevention efforts.

Considering the conflict Bougainville and Papua New Guinea in 1989-1997 New Zealand sent the New Zealand Aid Programme to support New Zealand to establish the network and communication between those countries. In Papua New Guinea, New Zealand increased the participation of women in pacific parliaments, specifically in the politics sector. In Bougainville, New Zealand succeeded in bringing benefits in the Bougainville Bridges Saving Programme, which directly affected approximately 2.400 households (6,100 men and 5,880 women) and actively encouraged women's leadership and financial independence.

In Solomon Island, New Zealand Also focused on strengthening the WPS and Gender awareness from 2016-2019, by, Developing an overarching Gender Strategy. participation of New Zealand Government trough prevention and lasting resolution success to bring positives impact to the country, this was proven by the increasing the quantity and seniority of women's representation in national and United Nations Led Peace processes, and empowering local women at all levels to be involved at all decision-making levels in formal and community led conflict and post conflict peace processes.

New Zealand also has an important role in Timor Leste assisting the National Police of Timor Leste in certain areas: family violence, youth policing, and custodial conditions related to station management, which have a direct impact on the protection needs of women, youth and girls. In its development assistance to Afghanistan, New Zealand promotes gender issues in sustainable economic development as the crucial aspect in peacebuilding.

## 1.1 Global Peace Index 2015-2019

2015 2016 2017 2018 2019
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New Zealand	1,292	1,267	1,262	1,235	1,231
Papua New Guinea	2,102	2,102	2,049	2,084	2,053
Timor Leste	1,884	1,857	1,85	1,878	1,785

Source: visionofhumanity.org

Table 1.1 shows New Zealand, Papua New Guinea, and Timor Leste's Global Peace Index score in 2015-2019. The Global Peace Index score uses 23 indicators and is divided into 3 domain<sup>23</sup>:

- 1. Ongoing Domestic and International Conflict are including
- Number and duration of internal conflicts
- Number of deaths from organized conflict (external)
- Number of organized conflict (internal)
- Number, duration and role in external conflicts
- Intensity of organized internal conflict
- Relation with the neighboring countries
- 2. Societal safety and security are including
- Level of perceived criminality in society
- Number of refugee and internally displaced people as a percentage of the population
  - Political instability
  - Political terror scale
  - Impact of terorism
- Number of homicides per 100,000 people
  - Level of violent crime
  - Likelihood of violent demonstrations

<sup>23</sup> Institute for Economics & Peace, "Global Peace Index", (2015) https://www.visionofhumanity.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/10/Global-Peace-Index-Report-2015 0-1.pdf

- Number of jailed population per 100,000 people
- Number of internal security officers and police per 100,000 people.

## 3. Militarisation including

- Military expenditure as a percentage of GDP
- Number of armed services personnel per 100,000 people
- Volume of transfers of major conventional weapons as recipient (imports) per 100,000 people
- Volume of transfers of major conventional weapons as supplier (export) per 100,000 people
- Financial contribution to UN peacekeeping missions
- Nuclear and heavy weapons capabilities
- Ease of access to small arms and light weapons.

Each indicator has their own scoring with the scale between 1 to 5. Overall the assessment shows that the closer to 1, the better. As we explained above, New Zealand's aid program was implemented in conflict-affected countries, including Papua New Guinea and Timor Leste. Both countries during the 2015 to 2019 have increased their GPI scores.

### 1.2 New Zealand Global Peace Index

Domain	Ongoing Domestic & Internation al Conflict	Societal Safety & Security	Militarisati on
Tours			
2015	1,005	1,514	1,3
2016	1,005	1,46	1,294
2017	1,004	1,447	1,295

2018	1,003	1,438	1,198
2019	1,002	1,138	1,185

Source: visionofhumanity.org

From table 1.2, we could see that the New Zealand GPI scores in 2015-2019, which is the same period as its National Action Plan, tends to keep closer to 1. As we mentioned in the previous section, New Zealand achieved the second rank for the most peaceful countries in the world from 2018 to 2019. Although New Zealand is not always in second place, the GPI score shows that there is continuous improvement.

## 1.3 Timor Leste Global Peace Index

Domain Years	Ongoing Domestic & Internation al Conflict	Societal Safety & Security	Militarisati on
2015	1,403	2,339	1,773
2016	1,403	2,348	1,642
2017	1,403	2,402	1,517
2018	1,403	2,36	1,709
2019	1,403	2,209	1,591

Source: visionofhumanity.org

Table 1.3 shows both stagnance and fluctuative GPI scores for Timor Leste, in terms of the 3. However, as we informed before, the New Zealand aid program in Timor Leste is only focusing on the domestic issues that may only affect the Societal Safety & Security and Militarisation Domain.

1.4 Papua New Guinea Global Peace Index

Domain Years	Ongoing Domestic & Internation al Conflict	Societal Safety & Security	Militarisati on
2015	1,626	2,652	1,846
2016	1,418	2,81	1,834
2017	1,418	2,682	1,843
2018	1,418	2,716	1,929
2019	1,403	2,76	1,739

Source: visionofhumanity.org

In Papua New Guinea, the New Zealand aid program is focused on peacebuilding and mediation between Papua New Guinea and Bouganville. Table 1.4 shows the Ongoing Domestic & International Conflict Domain score remains closer to 1 since the NAP period of implementation.

## Conclusion

Feminist concepts of gender enlighten the study of international relations. Mainstream theories in this field, notably realism, were previously dominated by their view on power, which related to states' military capabilities. In contrast, gender perspective in Feminism IR focused on aspects such as social-cultural, education, health, prosperity, etc. Feminist value in the New Zealand's policy could be seen in its National Action Plan on Women, Peace, and Security 2015-2019 as their commitments to the UNHCR Resolution 1325. Furthermore, New Zealand actively participated in the peacekeeping process and institutions, providing assistance in health, education, and women empowerment. New Zealand's actions in regional international peacekeeping efforts using gender approach with more key aspects other than military, has shown that peacebuilding is more than just power and force, but the need to prevent, protect, and participate women as actors, as well as relief and recovery to the victims affected by conflicts.

The implementation of feminism is visible in New Zealand's foreign policy, especially through the National Action Plan (NAP) which is in line with Resolution 1325. As we have mentioned before, NAP has a firm links with feminist foreign policy.

From the Global Peace Index report we conclude that the NAP also provided the succession for New Zealand on maintaining peace. We noticed that the Global Peace Index indicators could be gradually obtained by the NAP. This correlation is an example of how feminism influence the world peace.

Both theory and practical feminist point of view have impacted New Zealand for maintaining national and global peace. Nonetheless, the authors agree that feminism is not the only paradigm that might have influence on global peace.

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