

Challenges to the Implementation of the UNSCR 1325

By
Katrín Siider

Submitted to
Central European University
Department of International Relations and European Studies

*In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of
Arts in International Relations and European Studies*

Supervisor: Paul Roe

Word Count: 14,520

Budapest, Hungary
2013

Abstract

The United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security was adopted in October 31, 2000. It was hoped the resolution leads to significant changes in how women and ‘gender’ issues are addressed within peace and security practices. However, since the resolution was adopted, various criticisms have emerged to explain its unsuccessful implementation. These can be summarized as 1) lack of accountability; 2) lack of coordination and cooperation; 3) confusion over ‘gender’ and ‘gender mainstreaming;’ 4) lack of support to staff working on ‘gender;’ and 5) the masculine culture of peacekeeping missions as well as the masculine culture of the host countries. It has not been determined which one of these challenges best explains the inadequate implementation. This paper attempts to fill this gap by claiming it is the masculine culture of peacekeeping missions as well as the masculine culture of the host countries that presents the biggest challenge to using the resolution. Furthermore, the amount of support the staff working on ‘gender’ receives could impact the level of attention ‘gender’ is given both within the mission and in the host country.

Acknowledgements

I would like to say thank you to my supervisor, Professor Paul Roe, for his patience and assistance during the thesis writing process. Also, I would like to thank Vera and Natalija for all their support throughout the year and especially during the past month. I could not have done this without you.

Table of Contents

Abstract.....	i
Acknowledgements	ii
Introduction.....	1
CHAPTER 1: The United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security (UNSCR 1325)	6
1.1. The Development of 1325	6
1.2. The UNSCR 1325	9
1.2.1 Lack of accountability	11
1.2.2. Lack of coordination and cooperation.....	12
1.2.3. Lack of support to the staff working on ‘gender’	14
1.2.4. Confusion over ‘gender’ and ‘gender mainstreaming’	16
1.2.5. The masculine culture of peacekeeping missions as well as the masculine culture of the host countries	18
1.3. Conclusion	19
CHAPTER 2: UN Peacekeeping missions in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL), the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC), Liberia (UNMIL), and Côte d’Ivoire (UNOCI)	21
2.1. UNAMSIL	22
2.1.1. Sierra Leone’s civil war	22
2.1.2. UNAMSIL’s work on ‘gender’	23
2.2. MONUC.....	24
2.2.1 The civil war in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.....	25
2.2.2. MONUC’s work on ‘gender’	26
2.3. UNMIL.....	27
2.3.1. The civil war in Liberia.....	27
2.3.2. UNMIL’s work on ‘gender’	28
2.4. UNOCI	28
2.4.1. The civil war in Côte d’Ivoire	29
2.4.2. UNOCI’s Work on “Gender”	29
2.5. Conclusion	30
CHAPTER 3: Challenges to Implementing 1325 in Liberia, Sierra Leone, Côte d’Ivoire, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo	32
3.1. The masculine culture of peacekeeping missions	33
3.1.1. Sexual exploitation and abuse	35
3.2. The masculine culture of the host countries	39
3.2.1. Sexual- and gender based violence (SGBV)	40
3.3. Lack of support to staff working on ‘gender’	41
Conclusion	43
Bibliography	46

Introduction

The question of ‘gender,’ as it relates to peace and security, has been and continues to be a source of debate. Recognizing that “the theory and practice of international security remains a man’s world,” feminist scholars criticize the lack of attention women and ‘gender’ receive in peace and security practices.¹ The tendency to associate war with men and masculinity and peace with women and femininity rests on essentialism whereby men are perceived to be more aggressive and violent while women are perceived to be more passive and peaceful.² This has significant implications on how certain actions by men and women are understood. In addition, it can also influence the opportunities men and women have in the peace and security arena. While it is clear that not all men are aggressive and violent and not all women are passive and peaceful, the dichotomies between men and women have nevertheless served to create a gendered power hierarchy between the two sexes.³ Accordingly, men not only have more power but they are also perceived as having the responsibility to provide those with less power, that is women, with protection. Nevertheless, feminist scholars are skeptical as to what extent women’s and girls’ lives actually are protected during armed conflicts.⁴ In today’s wars, women and girls are subjected to various forms of violence such as rape, prostitution, trafficking, and domestic violence.⁵ In addition, it is usually women and children who become either refugees or internally displaced persons further increasing their vulnerability to violence.⁶ While it is important to acknowledge the harmful effects armed conflict has, it is also important to remember women are not only

¹ Laura Sjoberg, “Introduction to *Security Studies: Feminist Contributions*,” *Security Studies* 18 (2009): 184.

² Susan Willett, “Introduction: Security Council Resolution 1325: Assessing the Impact on Women, Peace and Security,” *International Peacekeeping* 17, no. 2 (2010): 145.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ann J. Tickner, “Gendered Dimensions of War, Peace, and Security,” in *Gendering World Politics: Issues and Approaches in the Post-Cold War Era* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), 49-51.

⁵ Susan McKay, “The Effects of Armed Conflict on Girls and Women,” *Peace and Conflict Journal of Peace Psychology* 4, no. 4 (1998); Patricia H. Hynes, “On the Battlefield of Women’s Bodies: An Overview of the Harm of War to Women,” *Women’s Studies International Forum* 27 (2007).

⁶ Ibid.

victims of warfare but also active actors that not only participate in fighting but that also take up a variety of different roles as a result of hostilities.⁷ Acknowledging that women can be both victims as well as active actors is what has led the feminist scholars and women's activists to research and advocate for the inclusion of women and 'gender issues' in peace and security related activities.

Undeniably, the adoption of the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security has been one of the biggest achievements for actors advocating for the importance of making 'gender' an integral part in peace and security practices. Since the resolution was adopted on October 31, 2000 'gender issues' in the peace and security context have begun to receive more attention. One of the UN bodies utilizing the resolution in its work is the Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO). Because of the "multidimensional"⁸ nature of today's missions, it is important the various mission personnel adopt a 'gender perspective' in their work in order to respond to the needs of the entire population. It is often said that in post-conflict settings a "window of opportunity" exists whereby "gender relations are often thrown into flux."⁹ Therefore, it is necessary that the mission staff is aware of the 'gender' dynamics of their activities in order to make sure they do not perpetuate 'gender inequality.' In order to increase the 'gender sensitivity' of its staff, the DPKO has developed different documents to guide its work on 'gender.' For example, in 2004, a Gender Resource Package for Peacekeeping Operations was published in order to clarify the concepts guiding the work on 'gender' such as 'gender equality,' 'gender mainstreaming,' and 'gender balance.'¹⁰ In addition, the Resource Package serves as a point of reference for various actors to inform them on the relevance of 'gender' in different

⁷ McKay, "The Effects of."

⁸ United Nations, *Gender Resource Package for Peacekeeping Operations*, New York, 2004, 21.

⁹ Karen Barnes and Funmi Olonisakin, "Introduction," in *Women, Peace and Security: Translating Policy Into Practice*, ed. Funmi Olonisakin, Karen Barnes, and Eka Ikpe (New York: Routledge, 2011), 4.

¹⁰ United Nations, *Gender Resource Package*.

mission related activities.¹¹ What is more, the DPKO Policy Directive on Gender Equality in UN Peacekeeping Operations is yet another example of the DPKO commitment to ‘gender’ in its work.¹² Furthermore, today, the various mission components are able to refer to the guidelines that have been developed for implementing 1325 within their respective area of activity.¹³ In addition to these various policies, as of 2004, the DPKO also has a gender adviser at its headquarters whose responsibility is to support the gender advisers in the field.¹⁴ While these are all significant steps for enhancing the implementation of 1325, progress has been slow. The literature on 1325 identifies several criticisms that challenge the implementation of the resolution. These can be summarized as: 1) lack of accountability; 2) lack of coordination and cooperation; 3) confusion over ‘gender’ and ‘gender mainstreaming; 4) lack of support to staff working on ‘gender;’ and 5) the masculine culture of peacekeeping missions as well as the masculine culture of the host countries.

In order to examine the validity of the above-mentioned criticisms, I will look at how 1325 has been used in four UN peacekeeping missions. Two of the missions, United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL) and United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC) were established in 1999, one year before 1325 was adopted.¹⁵ The other two missions, United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL) and United Nations Operation in Côte d’Ivoire (UNOCI) were established in 2003 and 2004 respectively.¹⁶ While UNMIL and UNOCI are ongoing missions, UNAMSIL ended in 2005 and the United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² The Policy Directive can be accessed at: <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/issues/women/>

¹³ According to the Ten-Year Impact Study on the Implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 these guidelines include: Gender Guidelines for Political Affairs Officers; Guidelines on Enhancing the Role of Women in Post-Conflict Electoral Processes; Guidelines for Integrating a Gender Perspective in the Work of United Nations Police in Peacekeeping Missions; Guidelines for Gender Advisers and Gender Focal Points in United Nations Peacekeeping Operations; Gender Checklist for Senior Managers; and Guidelines for Integrating a Gender Perspective in the Work of the United Nations Military in Peacekeeping Operations.

¹⁴ Sofi Ospina, *Ten-Year Impact Study on Implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) on Women, Peace and Security in Peacekeeping* (New York: United Nations, 2010), 40.

¹⁵ United Nations Peacekeeping, <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/operations/>

¹⁶ Ibid.

Congo (MONUSCO) replaced MONUC in 2010.¹⁷ I decided to choose these missions in order to see whether them being established before and after the adoption of 1325 has had an impact on the level of attention women and ‘gender issues’ have received during the mission activities. I will argue that out of the five previously mentioned challenges identified in the literature on the SCR 1325 the masculine culture of peacekeeping missions as well as the masculine culture prevailing in the host countries together with the lack of support to the mission staff working on ‘gender’ has posed the biggest challenge for implementing 1325 in Sierra Leone, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Liberia, and Côte d’Ivoire. Furthermore, I will claim the masculine culture prevailing in peacekeeping missions is explained by the fact that peacekeepers are soldiers who serve in the militaries of their respective home countries; therefore, the militarized masculinity they have constructed during their service leads to misconduct while deployed as well as makes the peacekeepers reluctant to incorporate a ‘gender perspective’ in their work. What is more, in all four countries, in addition to the already existing cultural context where women have a lower status compared to men, it is reasonable to assume both the rebels and soldiers in the armies have also constructed their masculinity so that aggression and violence are being valorized. Due to the masculine culture prevalent in peacekeeping missions as well as in the host societies, it will be difficult to implement 1325.

In the first chapter, I will provide both a general overview of the events that led to the development of 1325 as well as describe its content. In addition, the chapter addresses the various criticisms of 1325 as they are identified in the literature. This will provide the reader with an understanding of the challenges that make implementing 1325 difficult. The second chapter will provide a brief background information on the civil wars in Sierra Leone, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Liberia, and Cote d’Ivoire that ultimately led to the

¹⁷ Ibid.

deployment of peacekeeping missions in each of these countries. I will also describe the mission activities as they relate to 'gender.' However, it has to be noted that it is not always clear how 'gender' is incorporated in the mission activities. The third chapter will focus on the challenges the peacekeeping missions in all four countries have faced. Inadequate implementation is reflected in the prevalence of sexual- and gender based violence as well as sexual exploitation and abuse committed by peacekeepers. In addition, the chapter will explain how the United Nations has attempted to address these problems and how the prevailing masculinity impedes these efforts.

CHAPTER 1: The United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security (UNSCR 1325)

The United Nations has always been committed to advancing and protecting women's rights; however, it can be said that the adoption of the Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security took this commitment to another level. By adopting the resolution, the Security Council recognized the importance of incorporating women and gender issues in peace and security practices.¹⁸ The Security Council's endorsement of gender in the peace and security context was important because of the power and authority the Council has not only within the United Nations system but also in the international arena in general.¹⁹ Nevertheless, it was the commitment and support of many different actors that ultimately led to the development and adoption of 1325.²⁰

1.1. The Development of 1325

As was mentioned previously, the United Nations has long expressed its commitment to women's rights. The UN Decade for Women (1976-1985) with its three world conferences (Mexico City 1975, Copenhagen 1980, Nairobi 1985) as well as the fourth conference held in Beijing in 1995 – all symbolize the United Nations commitment to address questions related to women and gender.²¹ Out of these four conferences, the one held in Beijing had the biggest impact on the development of 1325.²² It was in Beijing where the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action was developed, a significant document because it identified women and

¹⁸ Carol Cohn, "Mainstreaming Gender in UN Security Policy: A Path to Political Transformation," *Boston Consortium on Gender, Security and Human Rights: Working Paper* no. 204 (2003-2004): 2.

¹⁹ Cohn, "Mainstreaming Gender," 3.

²⁰ Sandra Whitworth, "When the UN Responds: A Critique of Gender Mainstreaming," in *Men, Militarism & UN Peacekeeping: A Gendered Analysis* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2004), 121; Cohn, "Mainstreaming Gender," 4-8.

²¹ Mona Lena Krook and Jacqui True, "Rethinking the Life Cycles of International Norms: The United Nations and the Global Promotion of Gender Equality," *European Journal of International Relations* 18, no. 1 (2010): 112.

²² Cohn, "Mainstreaming Gender," 4.

armed conflict as one of its twelve “critical areas of concern.”²³ The Platform for Action addresses the effects of armed conflict on women and girls and identifies six “strategic objectives”²⁴ as well as proposes a number of specific actions in order to make peace and security practices more gender sensitive. What is more, it was the Platform for Action that identified ‘gender balance’ and ‘gender mainstreaming’ as methods for reaching ‘gender equality.’²⁵ Despite the fact that 189 member states expressed their support for the provisions articulated in the Platform for Action, carrying out these prescriptions in practice proved to be inadequate.²⁶ Therefore, different meetings, seminars, sessions, and statements followed the Beijing conference where progress on the Platform for Action was evaluated and commitment to women and gender issues reaffirmed.²⁷

When Bangladesh held the presidency at the Security Council in March 2000, Anwarul Chowdhury made a statement on the International Women’s Day that was important for the later development of 1325²⁸. He said:

...members of the Security Council recognize that peace is inextricably linked with equality between women and men. They affirm that the equal access and full participation of women in power structures and their full involvement in all efforts for the prevention and resolution of conflicts is essential for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security. In this context, members welcome the review of the Fourth World Conference on Women as an essential element in achieving this goal.²⁹

At the time, this statement was significant because it acknowledged the importance of including women in peace and security practices. Furthermore, because it was the NGO’s that took the lead in getting women and gender issues, as they relate to peace and security, on

²³ UN Women, *Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action*, adopted at the 16th plenary meeting, 15 September 1995, 56-65.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Krook and True, “Rethinking the Life,” 112.

²⁶ Natalie Florea Hudson, “En-Gendering UN Peacekeeping Operations,” *International Journal* 60, no. 3 (summer 2005): 788-789.

²⁷ Natalie Florea Hudson, “Women, Peace, and Security: An Introduction,” in *Gender, Human Security and the United Nations: Security Language as a Political Framework for Women* (New York: Routledge, 2010), 11-14.

²⁸ Hudson, “Women, Peace, and Security,” 12-13.

²⁹ United Nations, *Peace Inextricably Linked with Equality Between Women and Men say Security Council*, in *International Women’s Day Statement*, SC/6816, 2000, 8 March 2000. <http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2000/20000308.sc6816.doc.html>

the Security Council agenda, they now had an additional incentive to continue their work.³⁰ Consequently, six NGO's (i.e., Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Amnesty International, International Alert, Hague Appeal for Peace, Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children, Women's Caucus for Gender Justice), known as the NGO Working Group on Women, Peace and Security, began advocating for a Security Council resolution.³¹

What is more, in order to evaluate the progress already made and continue being committed to 'gender equality' the Lessons Learned Unit of the United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations together with the government of Namibia held a discussion on "Mainstreaming a Gender Perspective in Multidimensional Peace Support Operations."³² As a result of this meeting, a Windhoek Declaration and the Namibia Plan of Action were adopted.³³ The declaration and the plan of action reaffirmed the importance of 'gender balance' and 'gender mainstreaming' for achieving 'gender equality' at all levels of peace and security practices.³⁴ Furthermore, the United Nations General Assembly session (i.e., Beijing +5) held in June 2000 is yet another example of the international community's commitment to advance women's rights, evidenced both in the General Assembly's Political declaration and the Outcome Document.³⁵ Through these meetings and the subsequent documents a commitment to 'gender equality' was once again made. It was this already existing commitment to women's rights, expressed in various documents that the NGO's referred to when lobbying for the Security Council resolution.³⁶

³⁰ Hudson, "Women, Peace, and Security," 12.

³¹ Cohn, "Mainstreaming Gender," 4.

³² United Nations, *Windhoek Declaration*, Windhoek Namibia, 31 May 2000, 1.

³³ Whitworth, "When the UN Responds," 126.

³⁴ United Nations, *Windhoek Declaration*, 1-4.

³⁵ Cohn, "Mainstreaming Gender," 4; UN Women, General Assembly, *Five-year Review of the Implementation of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (Beijing +5)*, 5-9 June 2000; United Nations, General assembly, *S-23/3. Further Actions and Initiatives to Implement the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action*, A/RES/S-23/3, 16 November 2000; United Nations, General Assembly, *S-23/2, Political declaration*, A/RES/S-23/2, 16 November 2000.

³⁶ Cohn, "Mainstreaming Gender," 4.

Having these different, already agreed upon documents in addition to the support of certain member states (i.e., Namibia, Canada, Bangladesh, Jamaica) as well as UNIFEM helped the NGO's to present the Security Council with information signaling the importance of addressing women and gender issues in the peace and security context.³⁷ When Namibia held the Security Council presidency in October 2000, it started an "Open Debate" on "Women, Peace and Security"³⁸ and a day before 1325 was adopted, the NGO Working Group invited women from various conflict zones to give statements in front of the Security Council.³⁹ Finally, the Security Council adopted the resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security in October 31, 2000.

1.2. The UNSCR 1325

The UNSCR 1325 is one of five Security Council resolutions adopted to advance the United Nations women, peace and security agenda.⁴⁰ In the preamble of the resolution the Security Council recognizes the effects of armed conflict on women and girls and acknowledges the importance of including women in various peace and security practices.⁴¹ What is more, the preamble includes references to the already existing documents (i.e., previous Security Council resolutions, the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, the outcome document of Beijing +5, the Windhoek Declaration, and the Namibia Plan of Action) as they demonstrate the international community's commitment to advancing women's rights and working towards 'gender equality.'⁴² Furthermore, the Security Council

³⁷ Hudson, "Women, Peace, and Security," 13.

³⁸ PeaceWomen, "1325 Annotated Text- What it Means (UNIFEM)," <http://www.peacewomen.org/pages/about-1325/scr-1325-what-it-means>

³⁹ Cohn, "Mainstreaming Gender," 4-5

⁴⁰ PeaceWomen, "About Women, Peace & Security Agenda," http://www.peacewomen.org/security_council_monitor/about-women-peace-and-security-agenda

⁴¹ United Nations, Security Council, *Resolution 1325*, S/RES/1325, 31 October 2000.

⁴² Ibid.

refers to the significance of “international humanitarian and human rights law”⁴³ for guaranteeing the protection of women and girls.

The operational paragraphs of the resolution are more specific and identify the Security Council, the Secretary-General, the member states and other actors that participate in conflict as parties responsible for furthering the United Nations women, peace and security agenda.⁴⁴ Overall, as stated in the International Alert’s Toolkit for Advocacy and Action, the operational paragraphs encourage “1) the participation of women in decision-making and peace processes; 2) integration of gender perspectives and training in peacekeeping; 3) protection of women; and 4) gender mainstreaming in UN reporting systems and programmes.”⁴⁵ Ultimately, it can be said that when first adopted, 1325 was an attempt to truly transform the way women and gender are understood, approached, and included within the peace and security context. It is not surprising words and phrases such as a ‘landmark,’ a ‘major milestone,’ an ‘innovative political framework’⁴⁶ were used to describe the resolution because it was the first time the Security Council formally acknowledged the importance of incorporating a women and gender perspective in peace and security related activities. Therefore, actors advocating for the inclusion of gender issues in the security arena hoped for significant changes in how women are perceived and gender approached in the peace and security realm. However, it seems that the main difficulty since the adoption of 1325 has been the realization of its prescriptions in practice. Consequently, the literature on 1325 identifies various criticisms of the resolution that can be summarized as: 1) lack of accountability; 2) lack of coordination and cooperation between actors responsible for

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Ancil Adrian-Paul and Sanam Naraghi Anderlini, “Key International Policies and Legal Mechanisms: Women’s Rights in the Context of Peace and Security,” in *Inclusive Security, Sustainable Peace: A Toolkit for Advocacy and Action* (London: International Alert, 2004), 17.

⁴⁶ Heidi Hudson, “The Security Framework in Practice: The Case of Security Council Resolution 1325,” in *Gender, Human Security and the United Nations* (New York: Routledge, 2010), 44; Willett, “Introduction: Security Council,” 142; Laura Shepard, “Power and Authority in the Production of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325,” *International Studies Quarterly* 52 (2008): 383.

implementing the resolution and adhering to its provisions; 3) confusion over ‘gender’ and ‘gender mainstreaming;’ 4) lack of support to staff working on ‘gender;’ and 5) the masculine culture of peacekeeping missions as well as the masculine culture of the host countries.

1.2.1 Lack of accountability

UNSCR 1325 identifies various actors responsible for furthering the United Nations women, peace and security agenda.⁴⁷ Although the resolutions passed by the Security Council are legally binding on the United Nations member states,⁴⁸ the member states cannot be held accountable for not following 1325.⁴⁹ In fact, one of the biggest criticisms of 1325 is the fact that it “contains no mention of accountability mechanisms, disciplinary action, or monitoring and evaluative measures.”⁵⁰ Furthermore, the resolution does not identify the importance of establishing such measures either.⁵¹ This significantly affects the various actors’ commitment to the resolution and the consequences of the lack of such mechanisms are well captured by the following statements:

If you do not measure results, you cannot tell success from failure. If you cannot see success, you cannot reward it...If you cannot see success, you cannot learn from it. If you cannot recognize failure, you cannot correct it.⁵²

Measuring performance is essential in marking the difference between success and failure, it is the foundation of accountability, and it is therefore fundamental to ensure successful policy implementation.⁵³

Not having a system that allows monitoring and evaluating ones actions and inactions means that no one can be held accountable. In addition, this also means the political will of the

⁴⁷ S/RES/1325

⁴⁸ Charter of the United Nations, Chapter V, Article 25 <http://www.un.org/en/documents/charter/index.shtml>

⁴⁹ Christy Fujio, “From Soft to Hard Law: Moving Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security Across the Spectrum,” *The Georgetown Journal of Gender and the Law* 9 (2008).

⁵⁰ Fujio, “From soft to,” 9.

⁵¹ International Alert, “Key International Policies,” 17.

⁵² Sebastian T. Muah, “Indicators of Peace Consolidation from a Gender Perspective: The Case of Liberia- Including SCR 1325 & SCR 1820,” (February 19-20, 2009): 2, quoted in Gwendolyn Beetham and Nicola Popovic, *Putting Policy Into Practice: Monitoring the Implementation of UN Security Council Resolutions on Women, Peace and Security* (Oslo, 2009), 6.

⁵³ Gwendolyn Beetham and Nicola Popovic, “Putting Policy Into Practice: Monitoring the Implementation of UN Security Council Resolutions on Women, Peace and Security,” *Conference Background Paper* (November 2009): 6.

various parties involved in peace and security practices will influence both their compliance with and their decision to implement the provisions of the resolution. Therefore, the unsystematic and inconsistent use of 1325 is not surprising because there is no incentive to comply with its prescriptions.

1.2.2. Lack of coordination and cooperation

As was mentioned in the previous section, a variety of actors are called upon by the Security Council to make sure women and gender issues are recognized during various peace and security practices. However, the literature on 1325 points out the gaps in these actors' actions that has made the implementation erratic. It is argued that the United Nations organizational structure prevents the successful implementation of the SCR 1325.⁵⁴ The United Nations six principal organs with their bodies, commissions, departments, and offices as well as the specialized agencies and research and training institutes – are all, albeit to a different degree, involved in carrying out the United Nations women, peace, and security agenda.⁵⁵ However, lack of cooperation within the United Nations system has been critiqued for preventing a systematic and consistent use of 1325.⁵⁶ For example, the Department of Peacekeeping Operations, in carrying out the United Nations gender equality principle, is accompanied by other UN actors (e.g., UNIFEM, OSAGI, UNDP, OHCHR etc.) in achieving this goal.⁵⁷ However, the large number of actors involved in addition to lack of collaboration between these entities has made progress on the use of 1325 difficult. What is more, while these actors share a common goal, by not working together, their activities can overlap.⁵⁸ This means lack of efficiency and poor use of resources.

⁵⁴ Felicity Hill, Carol Cohn, and Cynthia Enloe, "U.N. Security Council Resolution 1325 Three Years On: Gender, Security and Organizational Change," *The Boston Consortium on Gender, Security and Human Rights* (January 2004): 9.

⁵⁵ PeaceWomen, "UN Implementation" http://peacewomen.org/peacewomen_and_the_un/un-implementation

⁵⁶ Willet, "Introduction: Security Council," 142.

⁵⁷ DPKO Policy Directive on Gender Equality.

⁵⁸ Hill et al. (2004).

What is more, it is not only a lack of cooperation and coordination between the United Nations entities that prevents the successful implementation of 1325 but also a lack of collaboration between the UN entities and the member states as well as the local governments and civil society organizations.⁵⁹ The UNSCR 1325 refers to the member states and encourages them to take action towards creating ‘gender equality.’⁶⁰ However, while the member states have expressed verbal support for the resolution and some have even developed National Action Plans for implementing its provisions, just as the UN, the member states’ commitment is often not realized in practice.⁶¹ This affects the way the women, peace and security agenda is carried out especially if the countries contributing to peacekeeping missions fail to prepare and sensitize their staff to women and gender issues. Furthermore, although the resolution encourages the peacekeeping missions to work with women’s organizations when carrying out their tasks, the literature on the implementation of 1325 in various contexts shows that the expertise of local actors is often underutilized.⁶² This is unfortunate because in many conflict affected areas the local civil society organizations actively work toward establishing peace and security. These groups have an in-depth knowledge of the local context which is why including their expertise can improve the implementation of 1325. Overall, considering the large number of actors involved in furthering the United Nations women, peace, and security agenda and the criticism directed at their lack of collaboration, it can be said that better coordination of efforts is needed in order to utilize the resolution to its maximum.

⁵⁹ Karen Barnes, “The Evolution and Implementation of UNSCR 1325: An Overview,” ed. Funmi Olonisakin, Karen Barnes, and Eka Ikpe, *Women, Peace and Security: Translating Policy into Practice* (New York: Routledge, 2011): 24-27.

⁶⁰ S/RES/1325

⁶¹ Fujio, “From Soft to,” 8.

⁶² For different case studies refer to Funmi Olonisakin, Karen Barnes and Eka Ikpe, *Women, Peace and Security: Translating Policy Into Practice* (New York: Routledge, 2011).

1.2.3. Lack of support to the staff working on ‘gender’

All the United Nations peacekeeping missions established after the adoption of 1325 have included a gender affairs unit; however, the success of their work depends on a variety of different factors.⁶³ For example, inadequate funding has been cited as one of the main reasons the resolution is not successfully implemented.⁶⁴ Commitment to the ‘gender equality’ principle requires resources. However, gender advisers are not given a budget; instead, they get their money through fundraising which means there is no guarantee they will have enough money to carry out the tasks expected of them.⁶⁵ The following statement is a good example of the limitations gender advisers face due to lack of funding:

We cannot serve the populations outside the capital. They are really being neglected, not only by us, but by other members of the mission, but in particular by us because we cannot get out there because we do not have the funds to get out to the rural communities.⁶⁶

Clearly, the gender advisers are restricted in where and with whom they are able to work with. On the one hand, the lack of support the gender advisers receive is surprising especially because the gender advisers have a lot of responsibility within the peacekeeping missions. For example, it is their job to make sure a ‘gender perspective’ is incorporated in all areas of peacekeeping missions.⁶⁷ This includes providing the peacekeepers and other actors involved in the peacekeeping operation, including the local actors, with training on ‘gender,’ educating and empowering the women on the ground on becoming active participants during the different peace and security related activities as well as making sure all the parts of the peacekeeping mission integrate ‘gender’ in their work.⁶⁸ In addition, the gender advisers themselves have to be trained on women and gender issues in order to be able to successfully

⁶³ Hudson, “The Security Framework,” 55.

⁶⁴ Willett, “Introduction: Security Council,” 143.

⁶⁵ Colleen Keaney-Mischel, “‘We Have to Do All the Pushing’: UN Gender Adviser Strategies for Implementing Gender Mainstreaming Policy in Peacekeeping Missions,” *The Boston Consortium on Gender, Security and Human Rights* (April 2006): 5.

⁶⁶ Keany-Mischel, “We have to,” 5.

⁶⁷ Adibeli Nduka-Agwu, “‘Doing Gender’ After the War: Dealing with Gender Mainstreaming and Sexual Exploitation and Abuse in UN Peace Support Operations in Liberia and Sierra Leone,” *Civil Wars* 11, no. 2 (2009): 183.

⁶⁸ Whitworth, “When the UN,” 130.

utilize the SCR 1325 in their work.⁶⁹ On the other hand, the lack of financial support is not surprising because anything associated with ‘gender’ is given low priority.⁷⁰ Therefore, in addition to financial constraints, research has shown that there is also a general lack of support to individuals holding such positions.⁷¹ The staff working on ‘gender’ tends to receive less support from the mission leaders both because of the prevailing masculine organizational structure of the United Nations and its peacekeeping missions as well as because of a general limited knowledge on ‘gender.’⁷²

What is more, the location of the gender adviser within the mission can have an impact not only on the legitimacy of their role but also on the help they receive for carrying out their tasks.⁷³ Ultimately, however, the amount of influence the gender advisers have as well as the degree of support they receive seems to vary from mission to mission. For example, while some gender advisers feel being placed in the Office of the Special Representative of the Secretary General will allow them to carry out their tasks more effectively others feel the personal characteristics of the people at higher positions will influence the success of their work as evidenced by the following statement: “Too often, it is individual commitment, rather than institutionalized mechanisms that drives our work.”⁷⁴ The individual commitment also refers to the commitment of the gender advisers themselves as many of them have to be very creative in how to fulfill their tasks in an environment that is more often than not unsupportive. If anything, the statements made by the gender advisers show the inconsistency between missions especially in how the staff working on ‘gender’ is perceived and the support they receive. Nevertheless, it is clear the gender advisers can have

⁶⁹ Hudson, “The Security Framework,” 59.

⁷⁰ Keaney-Mischel, “We have to,” 4.

⁷¹ Hill et al., “U.N. Security Council,” 10; Nadine Puechuirbal, “Discourses on Gender, Patriarchy and Resolution 1325: A Textual Analysis of UN Documents,” *International Peacekeeping* 17, no. 2 (2010): 183.

⁷² Puechuirbal, “Discourses on Gender,” 182-183.

⁷³ Carol Cohn, Nadine Puechuirbal, Nathalie Gahunga, and Angela Raven-Roberts, “Working in the Field: Practitioners Discuss UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security,” *The Boston Consortium on Gender, Security and Human Rights* (April 2004): 3; Keaney-Mischel, “We have to,” 4.

⁷⁴ United Nations, *Gender Advisory Team Annual Progress Report 2010*, 6.

an enormous impact on how women and gender issues are dealt with within a particular peacekeeping operation. However, inadequate support significantly affects the degree of their contribution. Even though the SCR 1325 provides a framework for advancing the United Nations women, peace, and security agenda, it seems that what matters on the ground are the people involved in furthering this agenda. Although the masculine organizational structure as well as the masculinity that prevails in the peacekeeping missions affect the way women and gender are approached, it also seems individual beliefs, characteristics, and attitudes, albeit only to a certain degree, matter when it comes to ‘gender.’ Of course, the overall organizational support, and the support of all other relevant actors, to the women, peace, and security agenda is still important, especially when it comes to funding.

1.2.4. Confusion over ‘gender’ and ‘gender mainstreaming’

The United Nations commitment to the ‘gender equality’ principle includes both ‘gender balance’ and ‘gender mainstreaming.’⁷⁵ Therefore, the SCR 1325 highlights the significance of including more women in decision-making positions both within the UN system and its activities in the field, including the peacekeeping missions.⁷⁶ However, a lack of “quotas, benchmarks, and timetables”⁷⁷ makes it difficult for women to gain access to these positions of power. In addition, promoting the inclusion of women does not mean more attention to ‘gender issues.’⁷⁸ As a result, scholars are torn on whether increasing the number of women, without addressing the root causes of their absence, can lead to the success of the resolution. What is more, the United Nations own lack of commitment to gender balance makes it difficult for the organization to ask its member states to be more inclusive and gender sensitive.

⁷⁵ Hill et al., “U.N. Security Council,” 9.

⁷⁶ S/RES/1325

⁷⁷ Adrian-Paul and Anderlini, “Key International Policies,” 16.

⁷⁸ Steven Schoofs, Chitra Nagarajan, and Lulsegg Abebe, *Implementing Resolution 1325 in Guinea, Liberia and Sierra Leone: Charting a Way Forward* (London: International Alert, 2010), 3.

Furthermore, there is a general confusion over the concepts of ‘gender’ and ‘gender mainstreaming’ that makes the implementation of 1325 difficult.⁷⁹ While ‘gender’ is often equated with women, ‘gender mainstreaming’ is associated either with ‘gender balance’ or with providing women with more rights.⁸⁰ This perception of gender is reinforced by the fact that it is the women that hold the gender adviser positions thus creating an image whereby working on ‘gender’ is perceived to mean working on women’s rights.⁸¹ Of course, looking at ‘gender’ and ‘gender mainstreaming’ as something that refers to women, to the inclusion of women, and to the rights of women is part of these concepts. However, simply reducing these concepts to everything that is associated with women only is problematic. By excluding men and masculinity, it is difficult to achieve true ‘gender equality.’ Furthermore, there is an agreed upon definition of ‘gender mainstreaming’ according to which the concept means:

The process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies and programmes, in all areas and at all levels. It is a strategy for making the concerns and experiences of women and men an integral dimension of design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programmes in all political, economic and societal spheres so that women and men benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated. The ultimate goal is to achieve gender equality.⁸²

Clearly, ‘gender mainstreaming’ goes beyond increasing the rights of women. Besides being important for creating programs that will reflect and respond to the needs of all people, the purpose of ‘gender mainstreaming’ is to make sure the proposed activities are not harmful nor “perpetuate harmful practices” that marginalize one group, women, at the expense of

⁷⁹ Hill et al., “U.N. Security Council,” 9; Nduka-Agwu, “ ‘Doing Gender’ After,” 181-182; Keaney-Mischel, “We have to,” 10.

⁸⁰ Keaney-Mischel, “We have to,” 11; Nduka-Agwu, “ ‘Doing Gender’ After,” 182.

⁸¹ Sarah Martin, *Must Boys Be Boys: Ending Sexual Exploitation & Abuse in Peacekeeping Missions*, Refugees International, 2005, 10.

⁸² ECOSOC, A/52/ as cited in Willett, “Introduction: Security Council,” 148.

another group, men.⁸³ However, there nevertheless seems to be an overall confusion regarding the activities that have to be undertaken in order to mainstream gender.⁸⁴

1.2.5. The masculine culture of peacekeeping missions as well as the masculine culture of the host countries

It is clear that the language used in the resolution and the way different actors interpret its prescriptions significantly affect how 1325 is utilized and implemented. The literature on the resolution points out a trade-off that was made in order to get the women and gender issues on the Security Council's agenda. Instead of placing the focus on 'gender equality' the actors advocating for the inclusion of women and gender issues in peace and security matters framed the incorporation of these issues as being crucial to the success of various peace and security related activities.⁸⁵ The argument that women are essential for establishing and maintaining peace and security has gained support within the UN and is included in the SCR 1325.⁸⁶ However, instead of transforming the gendered nature of the peace and security arena, it can actually contribute to maintaining it.⁸⁷ Although the resolution has been applauded for recognizing women as active actors in various activities related to peace and security, the agency given to women is nevertheless one that associates them with peace.⁸⁸ The essentializing arguments used to promote the inclusion of women in peacekeeping missions make this especially clear. Accordingly, women are perceived to be

⁸³ Sanam Naraghi Anderlini, "How the International System Lets Women Down," *Women Building Peace. What They Do, Why It Matters* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2007): 202.

⁸⁴ Hill et al., "U.N. Security Council," 10.

⁸⁵ Audrey Reeves, "Feminist Knowledge and Emerging Governmentality in UN Peacekeeping," *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 14, no. 3 (2012): 352; Whitworth, "When the UN Responds," 120; Carol Cohn, Helen Kinsella, and Sheri Gibbings, "Women, Peace and Security Resolution 1325," *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 6, no. 1 (2004): 136.

⁸⁶ S/RES/1325.

⁸⁷ Reeves, "Feminist knowledge," 354.

⁸⁸ Puechubral, "Discourses on Gender," 180; Oliver Simic, "Does the Presence of Women Really Matter? Towards Combating Male Sexual Violence in Peacekeeping Operations," *International Peacekeeping* 17, no. 2 (2010): 189.

inherently more “caring, nurturing, and empathetic”⁸⁹ compared to their male colleagues which is why their presence is believed to increase the success of peacekeeping missions. Based on this belief, it is easier for the female peacekeepers to build connections with women on the ground, especially in situations of gender-based violence.⁹⁰ What is more, local women feel more empowered to participate in the peace and security arena when they see female peacekeepers in these roles.⁹¹ In addition, the presence of female peacekeepers is believed to make their male colleagues more peaceful as well.⁹² While research both supports and counters these arguments one thing is clear, including women in peacekeeping missions because of these essentialist arguments hardly challenges the gendered power hierarchies and the prevailing masculinity inherent in the United Nations, its peacekeeping missions and the local contexts.⁹³ Instead, focusing on these arguments makes women responsible for their male colleagues inappropriate behavior.

1.3. Conclusion

Overall, the adoption of 1325 was a significant step toward getting women and gender issues recognized in the peace and security arena. Since its adoption, actors involved in peace and security activities have expressed their commitment to the various provisions of the resolution. However, as evident in the literature on 1325, today, thirteen years later, many challenges remain. When it comes to the activities the UN is participating in, ‘gender’ continues to be at the bottom of the list of priorities. This can only be changed through continued advocacy on women and ‘gender issues.’

⁸⁹ Simic, “Does the Presence,” 195; Johanna Valenius, “A Few Kind of Women: Gender Essentialism and Nordic Peacekeeping Operations,” *International Peacekeeping* 14, no. 4 (2007): 514-515.

⁹⁰ Valenius, “A Few Kind,” 515; Donna Bridges and Debbie Horsfall, “Increasing Operational Effectiveness in UN Peacekeeping: Toward a Gender-Balanced Force,” *Armed Forces and Society* 36, no. 1 (2009): 122.

⁹¹ Simic, “Does the Presence,” 189; Donna Bridges and Debbie Horsfall, “Increasing Operational Effectiveness in UN Peacekeeping: Towards a Gender Balanced Force,” *Armed Forces and Society* 36, no. 1 (2009): 122.

⁹² Valenius, “A Few Kind,” 515, Bridges and Horsfall, “Increasing Operational Effectiveness,” 122.

⁹³ Valenius, “A Few Kind,” 513.

In order to better understand how 1325 is used in practice, I will look at four United Nations peacekeeping missions: United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL), United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC), United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL) and United Nations Operation in Côte d'Ivoire (UNOCI). While UNAMSIL and MONUC were both established in 1999, UNMIL and UNOCI were established in 2003 and 2004 respectively. By looking at these four missions, I can examine whether the adoption of 1325 has resulted in more attention being paid to women and 'gender issues' during the mission activities. Although it is not always clear how the different mission personnel incorporate 'gender' in their work, by looking at the actions where 'gender' seems to have informed particular activities, some conclusion regarding whether the establishment of a mission before or after the adoption of 1325 made a difference on the level of attention women and 'gender issues' received can be made.

Ultimately, I will argue it is the masculine culture of peacekeeping missions as well as the masculine culture of the countries the missions are deployed to together with the lack of support to the staff working on 'gender' that presents the biggest challenge for successfully implementing 1325 in Liberia, the DRC, Sierra Leone, and Côte d'Ivoire. The peacekeepers are soldiers that have been trained in a traditional military setting and through this rigorous training many soldiers develop a distinct masculine identity that valorizes violence and aggression. Because the military component of each peacekeeping mission is the largest, the masculine culture prevails in peacekeeping missions as well. What is more, I claim the cultural context of all four countries is one where the low status of women subjects them to different forms of discrimination and violence; therefore, it is reasonable to assume the militarized masculinity prevalent among the peacekeepers also guides the activities of various armed groups in these societies. All this creates an environment where implementing the provisions of 1325 is difficult.

CHAPTER 2: UN Peacekeeping missions in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL), the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC), Liberia (UNMIL), and Côte d'Ivoire (UNOCI)

The peacekeeping missions in Sierra Leone, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Liberia, and Côte d'Ivoire have all been multidimensional. This means the missions' mandates have included many different activities among them assisting the disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration process; supporting the provision of humanitarian assistance; promoting human rights; assisting the security sector reform etc. It is precisely because the missions get involved in so many different activities that awareness of and sensitivity to 'gender' is important.⁹⁴ Today, it is recognized that 'gender' has to be included in the early phases of planning for the mission in order to make sure the mission mandate is created with an awareness of how the assigned mission activities can be carried out in a 'gender sensitive' manner.⁹⁵ As will be evident from the case studies, this in itself does not determine whether the mission personnel actually does take 'gender' into consideration when carrying out their tasks but it nevertheless is something that the staff working on 'gender' can refer to in order to justify their work. The DPKO has taken different steps to improve its work on 'gender.' For example, it has developed various resources among them a number of guidelines for different mission components on how to incorporate a 'gender perspective' in their respective area of activities.⁹⁶ However, it has to be noted that many of the resources, including the different guidelines, have been created after UNAMSIL, MONUC, UNMIL, and UNOCI were established. Therefore, it is not clear to what extent they have been subsequently informed the mission activities. Not to mention that many of them were

⁹⁴ United Nations, *Gender Resource Package*.

⁹⁵ For more on gender and planning for the mission refer to the DPKO Gender Resource Package Chapters 3 and 4.

⁹⁶ For a list of guidelines refer to note 11.

developed after UNAMSIL had already completed its mandate. Nevertheless, ‘gender’ has been addressed in all four missions.

2.1. UNAMSIL

UNAMSIL was established in 1999, one year before 1325 was adopted. Therefore, its mandate does not include specific references to women or ‘gender.’ The mission however did have a gender specialist who took the lead in ‘gender’ related activities.⁹⁷ Overall, the mission was mandated, among other things, to providing assistance with the DDR process; help with elections; assist the various mission personnel (e.g., human rights officers) with carrying out their tasks etc.

2.1.1. Sierra Leone’s civil war

A decade long civil war in Sierra Leone started in 1991 when the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) attempted to gain power in the country that was led by the All People’s Congress (APC).⁹⁸ APC rule has been described as one of “corruption, nepotism and fiscal mismanagement” that left the country in a poor shape.⁹⁹ Ultimately however, it was Sierra Leone’s Army (SLA) that overthrew the APC.¹⁰⁰ Both the regional organizations and the UN attempted to help the country to end the hostilities and during the 1996 elections Alhaji Dr. Ahmed Tejan Kabbah was elected president.¹⁰¹ This however did not stop the violence and despite the Abidjan Peace Accord, signed between the government and the RUF, fighting continued.¹⁰² The following year saw another military coup during which RUF along with the army took control of the government that was renamed the Armed Forces Revolutionary

⁹⁷ The gender specialist Theresa Kambobe was assigned to the mission in 2003; Nduka-Agwu, “ ‘Doing Gender’ After,” 187-188.

⁹⁸ Human Rights Watch, “Background,” in “*We’ll Kill You if You Cry.*” *Sexual Violence in the Sierra Leone Conflict*, 15, no. 1(A) (2003), 9-15.

⁹⁹ Ibid., 9

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ Background information on Sierra-Leone’s civil war can be accessed at:

<http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/past/unamsil/background.html>

¹⁰² Ibid.

Council (AFRC).¹⁰³ Kabbah was forced to leave Sierra Leone and did not return until 1998 after ECOMOG succeeded in forcing RUF and the AFRC to leave the capital. Nevertheless, hostilities in other parts of the country continued and in 1999 RUF and AFRC forces once again attacked the capital.¹⁰⁴ According to a report by the Human Rights Watch, the attack on Freetown saw some of the worst “human rights abuses and international humanitarian law violations in Sierra Leone’s ten-year civil war.”¹⁰⁵ Sexual- and gender based violence was widespread and many women were kidnapped and forced to join the rebels as either fighters or sex slaves.¹⁰⁶ Eventually, a ceasefire agreement was signed in May 1999 in Lome and the same year in October UNAMSIL was established.¹⁰⁷ However, fighting broke out again and it was not until the end of 2000 that the government signed another ceasefire agreement with RUF.¹⁰⁸

2.1.2. UNAMSIL’s work on ‘gender’

As was mentioned in the previous section, women and girls were exposed to different forms of violence over the course of the decade long civil war; therefore, any mission activity should have taken their needs into consideration. However, because the mission did not have a gender specialist until 2003; therefore, it is not clear to what extent the mission activities were guided by ‘gender awareness’ prior to the arrival of the gender specialist. Nevertheless, even after the gender specialist was hired, she faced numerous challenges. First, she worked in the human rights branch and therefore did not have direct contact with the head of the mission and was excluded from the higher-level meetings where she would have been able to

¹⁰³ Human Rights Watch, “Background.”

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 12

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ Background information on Sierra-Leone’s civil war can be accessed at: <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/past/unamsil/background.html>

¹⁰⁸ Human Rights Watch, “Background.”

raise awareness on ‘gender issues.’¹⁰⁹ In addition, lack of funding and personnel made her work more difficult.¹¹⁰ What is more, the mission staff was not responsive to her attempts to educate them on ‘gender issues’ because they perceived it to be irrelevant.¹¹¹ In addition to all this, the local cultural context where women are usually excluded from the public sphere posed a challenge as well.¹¹² Nevertheless, the gender specialist did cooperate with UNIFEM’s gender advisor and they together worked on community awareness raising.¹¹³ What is more, Sierra-Leone had a United Nations Country Team Gender Theme Group that allowed the staff working on ‘gender’ within the various UN agencies to get together every month and share ideas on how to improve their work.¹¹⁴ However, research has shown that not everyone showed up to these meetings.¹¹⁵ Overall, the majority of the work on ‘gender’ by UNAMSIL included capacity building with government actors, the police, the legal system, and the different community actors in order to increase the ‘gender sensitivity’ of the various sectors of the society.¹¹⁶

2.2. MONUC

Just as UNAMSIL, MONUC was established in 1999; however, despite the mission being established before 1325 was adopted, its initial mandate did make a reference to women in relation to humanitarian assistance and human rights.¹¹⁷ What is more, the updated mandate made references to women as well.¹¹⁸ Nevertheless, the gender unit was not created

¹⁰⁹ Karen Barnes, “Lost in Translation: UNAMSIL, UNSCR 1325 and Women Building Peace in Sierra Leone,” ed. Funmi Olonisakin, Karen Barnes, and Eka Ikpe in *Women, Peace and Security: Translating Policy into Practice* (New York: Routledge, 2010), 123.

¹¹⁰ Nduka-Agwu, “‘Doing Gender’ After,” 188.

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² April O’Neill and Leora Ward, “Gender and Peacekeeping in West Africa,” *Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Center Monograph* no 1 (April 2005): 39.

¹¹³ Nduka-Agwu, “‘Doing Gender’ After,” 188.

¹¹⁴ O’Neill and Ward, “Gender and Peacekeeping,” 40.

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁶ United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations, *Gender Mainstreaming in Peacekeeping Operations: Progress Report*, New York, 2005, 33.

¹¹⁷ MONUC’s mandate can be accessed at: <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/monuc/mandate.shtml>

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

until 2002.¹¹⁹ Overall, MONUC's mandate included, among other things, disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration; electoral assistance; human rights; security sector reform.¹²⁰

2.2.1 The civil war in the Democratic Republic of the Congo

The 1994 genocide in Rwanda and the subsequent flight of Hutus to the eastern part of the DRC (then Zaire), after the Rwandan Patriotic Front gained control in the country, contributed to the outbreak of the civil war in the DRC.¹²¹ The Hutu refugees in eastern Congo continued their violence towards the Tutsis living there while president Mobutu remained unresponsive to the widespread violence.¹²² A rebellion by the Alliance of Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Congo-Zaire (AFDL) with a rebel leader Laurent Kabila, and support from Rwanda and Uganda, broke out in 1996 and resulted with Kabila becoming the president.¹²³ Nevertheless, in 1998, the Rally for Congolese Democracy, supported by Rwanda and Uganda, led a rebellion against Kabila who received support from Zimbabwe, Chad, Namibia, and Angola.¹²⁴ While Kabila was able to remain in power various rebel groups emerged that caused havoc in the entire country. After the DRC signed a Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement with Angola, Namibia, Rwanda, and Uganda in 1999, MONUC was established.¹²⁵ Despite the ceasefire and subsequent peace agreements, violence in the country has continued, especially in the eastern part of the DRC where women and girls experience widespread sexual- and gender based violence.¹²⁶ The fact that the eastern part of

¹¹⁹ United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations, *Progress Report*, 26.

¹²⁰ Ibid.

¹²¹ Michael Deibert, "Congo: Between Hope and Despair," *World Policy Journal* 25, issue 2 (2008).

¹²² Ibid.

¹²³ Ibid.

¹²⁴ Background information on the DRC's civil war can be accessed at: <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/monuc/background.shtml>

¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁶ Sara Meger, "Rape of the Congo: Understanding Sexual Violence in the Conflict in the Democratic Republic of Congo," *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* 28, no. 2 (2010): 126.

the Congo is known as the “rape capital of the world” demonstrates the level of violence women are subjected to.¹²⁷

2.2.2. MONUC’s work on ‘gender’

As was previously stated, the mission’s gender unit was developed in 2002. However, it does seem it has been one of the better-staffed units; for example, by the end of 2002 there were five people in the unit, among them two volunteers.¹²⁸ Nevertheless, the gender unit had no budget which significantly restricted its work.¹²⁹ Much of the mission’s activities on ‘gender’ consisted on collaborating with various community organizations in order to raise awareness and train various local actors (i.e., police officers, lawyers, government officials etc.) on ‘gender’ related issues.¹³⁰ However, it is not clear to what extent such training actually makes a difference as many women continue to be excluded from local power structures and women continue to suffer from various forms of SGBV because the local culture allows the mistreatment of women.¹³¹ Although MONUC advocated for the inclusion of women in the police force, female officers are not well perceived in the community.¹³² This again is most likely due to the local cultural context where women are marginalized and often have to ask their husband if they want to work outside of the home.¹³³ The society places a high value on masculinity; therefore, women are often expected to obey their husbands and suffer in silence if experiencing violence.¹³⁴ MONUC’s other ‘gender’ related activities included increasing the ‘gender sensitivity’ of the electoral process by supporting the adoption of new and the revision of existing laws in order to increase women’s

¹²⁷ Séverine Autessere, “Dangerous Tales: Dominant Narratives on the Congo and their Unintended Consequences,” *African Affairs* 111, no. 443 (2012): 214.

¹²⁸ United Nations, *Activities Report from the Office of Gender Affairs (OGA) of the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC)*, January 2003.

¹²⁹ Ibid.

¹³⁰ UN DPKO, *Progress Report*, 26-27.

¹³¹ Meger, “Rape of the Congo,”

¹³² United Nations, *Ten-Year Impact*, 26.

¹³³ Meger, “Rape of the Congo,” 129.

¹³⁴ Ibid.

participation in political processes.¹³⁵ Also, because women were excluded from the disarmament and demobilization phase of the DDR process, the mission worked towards women's participation in the last phase.¹³⁶

2.3. UNMIL

UNMIL was established three years after the adoption of 1325; therefore, one would expect to see more work being done on 'gender' not only because the mission was established after the adoption of the resolution but also because UN had some time to learn from previous missions. Some of the areas UNMIL's mandate covers include: disarmament, demobilization, reintegration, and repatriation; security sector reform; humanitarian assistance; human rights etc. The mandate also makes specific references to women and addresses the need to combat SGBV.¹³⁷ What is more, the mandate recognizes women as active actors with the right to participate in peace and security activities.¹³⁸ Furthermore, the two UNMIL Special Representatives of the Secretary-General both have been women.

2.3.1. The civil war in Liberia

Over the course of 14 years, starting in 1989 and ending with the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) in 2003, Liberia was engulfed in a civil war that resulted in many deaths and with many more people becoming either refugees or internally displaced persons.¹³⁹ Both the UN and the various regional organizations were involved in establishing peace in the country.¹⁴⁰ The civil war took place between the government of Liberia and various rebel groups.¹⁴¹ Some stability was achieved when Charles Taylor, a former leader of the National Patriotic Front of Liberia, a rebel group opposing the

¹³⁵ UN DPKO, *Progress Report*, 27

¹³⁶ United Nations, *Ten-Year Impact*, 22

¹³⁷ UNMIL's mandate can be accessed at: <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/unmil/mandate.shtml>

¹³⁸ Ibid.

¹³⁹ Background information on Liberia's civil war can be accessed at: <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/unmil/background.shtml>

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

government during the first phase of the civil war, was elected president in 1997. However, soon after his election, the country fell back into violence and the conflict did not end until CPA was signed in 2003.¹⁴² President Taylor stepped down and during the 2005 elections Ellen Johnson Sirleaf was elected president.

2.3.2. UNMIL's work on 'gender'

It is not clear when UNMIL's gender unit was established; however, at one point during the early phases of the mission, the only person in the unit was a volunteer who lacked the authority to lead work on 'gender.'¹⁴³ In general, UNMIL's activities related to 'gender' have included advocating for a more 'gender sensitive' DDR process in order to make sure all women, despite their role in the armed groups, benefit from the DDR services.¹⁴⁴ In addition, UNMIL has supported the participation of women in the country's political arena not only as voters but also as candidates running for office.¹⁴⁵ What is more, due to the prevalence of incidents of SGBV, UNMIL supported the development of the Women and Children's Unit in police stations in order to make responses to such violations more effective and 'gender sensitive.'¹⁴⁶ Nevertheless, women and girls continue to be victimized and face challenges when seeking help. The overall cultural context that is largely discriminatory towards women creates a situation where women do not seek assistance either because of the ineffective legal system or because they are afraid of becoming outcasts in their communities.

2.4. UNOCI

UNOCI was established in 2004 and just as the three previous missions has a broad mandate including, but not limited to, disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration;

¹⁴² Ibid.

¹⁴³ Martin, "Must Boys Be," 9.

¹⁴⁴ United Nations, *Ten-Year Impact*, 22.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., 18.

¹⁴⁶ UN DPKO, *Progress Report*, 31.

security sector reform; humanitarian assistance; human rights; protection of civilians.¹⁴⁷

What is more, UNOCI is mandated to take women's needs into consideration during the DDR process as well as to promote the 'gender sensitivity' of the security sector through training on sexual- and gender based violence.¹⁴⁸

2.4.1. The civil war in Côte d'Ivoire

Côte d'Ivoire's civil war broke out in September 2002 between the government of Côte d'Ivoire and the rebel groups collectively known as Forces Nouvelles (New Forces).¹⁴⁹ The situation in the country leading up to the civil war can be described as one of poor economy, corruption, and tensions between different ethnic groups.¹⁵⁰ In 2003, the parties to the conflict signed a ceasefire agreement and UNOCI was established in 2004 to monitor its implementation.¹⁵¹ Despite the ceasefire, hostilities in the country have continued and subsequent peace agreements have been signed.¹⁵² While the hostilities have had an impact on everyone's lives, it is the women and girls of Côte d'Ivoire who have been exposed to some of the most brutal forms of violence.¹⁵³ Virtually no place is safe for women and girls, especially in Western Côte d'Ivoire that saw some of the worst fighting during the civil war.¹⁵⁴

2.4.2. UNOCI's Work on "Gender"

UNOCI's gender unit was created in 2005; however, it is not clear how many people it includes.¹⁵⁵ As was stated in the previous section, widespread sexual violence, especially in the western part of the country, has significantly affected when and where women go and

¹⁴⁷ UNOCI's mandate can be accessed at: <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/unoci/mandate.shtml>

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.

¹⁴⁹ Human Rights Watch, *Afraid and Forgotten: Lawlessness, Rape, and Impunity in Western Cote d'Ivoire*, New York, October 2010, 14

¹⁵⁰ Ibid.

¹⁵¹ Background information on Côte d'Ivoire's civil war can be accessed at: <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/unoci/background.shtml>

¹⁵² Human Rights Watch, *Afraid and Forgotten*, 15-16.

¹⁵³ Human Rights Watch, *Afraid and Forgotten*.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵⁵ UN DPKO, *Progress Report*, 25.

carry out their daily activities.¹⁵⁶ The situation is worsened by the fact that a ‘culture of impunity’ prevails, as the security sector is largely unresponsive and ineffective when it comes to holding perpetrators accountable.¹⁵⁷ In addition, the local cultural context tends to be discriminatory towards women who have been sexually assaulted; therefore, many women do not disclose such information. In order to increase the ‘gender sensitivity’ of the local system, UNOCI has collaborated with the local actors on building capacity for the police, the justice system, as well as the women’s groups.¹⁵⁸ Also, by working with the women from the Forces Nouvelles, UNOCI’s gender unit has been able to recognize women who participated in the conflict in one way or another and who therefore qualified for services under the DDR process.¹⁵⁹

2.5. Conclusion

In all four countries, women and girls were exposed to different forms of violence both during the conflict as well as after the fighting had ended. Therefore, it was important for the peacekeeping missions deployed in these countries to take a ‘gender perspective’ when carrying out their tasks. Although UNAMSIL and MONUC were established before 1325 was adopted, it seems the amount of attention ‘gender’ received in these two missions did not differ from that of UNAMSIL and UNOCI. This despite the fact that by the time UNMIL and UNOCI were created, 1325 had already existed for a few years. Although it is not clear when UNMIL’s gender unit was created, the three other missions had been operating for quite some time before a specific person assigned to work on ‘gender’ was hired. Because it is usually the gender unit that helps the rest of the mission personnel to incorporate ‘gender’ in their work, not having such a unit can significantly affect the level of

¹⁵⁶ Human Rights Watch, “Afraid and Forgotten.”

¹⁵⁷ Ibid.

¹⁵⁸ UN DPKO, *Progress report*, 25

¹⁵⁹ United Nations, *Ten-Year Impact*, 23.

attention 'gender issues' receive. Much of the missions' work on 'gender' seems to have been focused on awareness raising on 'gender' and promoting the participation of women in the various sectors of the society. However, it seems that none of the missions specifically addressed the reasons why women face exclusion from these different sectors to begin with. Ultimately, progress made on paper, be it women's participation in elections or the rewriting of discriminatory laws, will have a limited impact without an overall change of attitude on seeing women as not subordinate to men.

CHAPTER 3: Challenges to Implementing 1325 in Liberia, Sierra Leone, Côte d'Ivoire, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo

While acknowledging that all four missions, UNAMSIL, MONUC, UNMIL, and UNOCI, have incorporated 'gender' in their work to a certain degree, progress has been slow. I claim it is the masculine culture that prevails in peacekeeping missions as well as the masculine culture of the countries the missions are deployed to that presents a challenge for implementing 1325. Furthermore, the amount of support the staff working on 'gender' receives can have an impact on how 'gender' is incorporated in the mission activities. The military component of each mission is the largest and the peacekeepers are soldiers that have been trained in a traditional military setting in their respective home countries.¹⁶⁰ Militaries are known as institutions where "hegemonic masculine culture and ideology"¹⁶¹ prevails. This has an impact on the peacekeepers' conduct as well as their openness to incorporating a 'gender perspective' in their work. What is more, the cultural context of Sierra Leone, the DRC, Liberia, and Côte d'Ivoire is one where masculinity is valued; therefore, women in these countries experience marginalization and discrimination. This, together with the hostilities, has created a situation where it is difficult to promote 'gender equality' initiatives. Ultimately, while the "Gender Advisory Capacity"¹⁶² of each mission has attempted to assist both the mission personnel and the local actors with becoming more sensitive to 'gender issues,' the success of their efforts is limited in contexts where masculinity prevails and where work on 'gender' receive little, if no, support.

¹⁶⁰ Martin, "Must Boys be," 4.

¹⁶¹ Robert Connell, *Gender and Power: Society, the Person and Sexual Politics* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1987) cited in Helena Carreiras, "Gendered Culture in Peacekeeping Operations," *International Peacekeeping* 17, no. 4 (2010): 472.

¹⁶² According to the NGO Working Group on Women, Peace and Security, the Gender Advisory Capacity means that a mission either has a gender unit with many staff members or just one person who has the responsibility to work on 'gender.'

The peacekeeping setting can challenge the masculine identity of the peacekeepers. Reactions to this can be different and in the case of sexual exploitation and abuse, harmful toward the local population. Because the women in Sierra Leone, the DRC, Liberia, and Côte d'Ivoire have experienced mistreatment by both the men in their community as well as by the men from the peacekeeping community, it is important to acknowledge the masculine culture that prevails both within the missions and within these four countries. Part of what 1325 prescribes is to include more women in peacekeeping missions and provide training to mission personnel.¹⁶³ This is expected to have a positive impact both within the mission and in the field. However, these initiatives are not always well received nor do they necessarily achieve the expected outcomes.

3.1. The masculine culture of peacekeeping missions

The phrase military will “make a man out of you”¹⁶⁴ is well known. This is achieved through rigorous training. As Whitworth writes: “after breaking down new recruits, the training aims slowly to rebuild them as soldiers.”¹⁶⁵ Rebuilding one as a soldier entails constructing a certain masculinity that valorizes “emotional control, overt heterosexual desire, physical fitness, self-discipline, self-reliance, the willingness to use aggression and physical violence, and risk taking.”¹⁶⁶ However, precisely because it is a constructed identity, it is never secure and can be thrown out of balance if one's environment changes.¹⁶⁷ This is exactly what can happen in a peacekeeping mission where soldiers find themselves in an environment that poses a challenge to the militarized masculine identity they have developed while in the military.

¹⁶³ S/RES/1325.

¹⁶⁴ Arkin and Dobrofsky, “Military Socialization and Masculinity,” quoted in Sandra Whitworth, “Militarized Masculinities and Blue Berets” in *Men, Militarism & UN Peacekeeping* (Boulder, Lynne Rienner Publishers: 2004), 160.

¹⁶⁵ Whitworth, “Militarized Masculinities,” 157

¹⁶⁶ Ramon Hinojosa, “Doing Hegemony: Military, Men, and Constructing a Hegemonic Masculinity,” *The Journal of Men's Studies* 18, no. 2 (2010): 180.

¹⁶⁷ Whitworth

Depending on a situation and the activities the peacekeepers are allowed to carry out, the peacekeeping environment tends to differ from a traditional military setting. Therefore, the characteristics valued in the military such as violence and aggression can contradict the ones usually valued in a peacekeeping setting such as empathy.¹⁶⁸ As a result, soldiers who have been taught to use force and aggression might find the peacekeeping setting at odds with what they have been trained for.¹⁶⁹ In fact, research has shown the peacekeepers find the peacekeeping setting “feminine” and “emasculating.”¹⁷⁰ In her study of British peacekeepers in Bosnia, Claire Duncanson found that peacekeepers responded to the perceived emasculating setting of the mission by developing a “peacekeeper masculinity.”¹⁷¹ This entailed accommodating the feminine qualities, usually valued in a peacekeeping setting, in order to make them less threatening.¹⁷² However, the same way as the militarized masculinity is constructed against the “other,” constructing a peacekeeping masculinity entailed the “other” as well. Therefore, even though the peacekeepers constructed a different form of masculinity, it was nevertheless constructed to serve their interests.¹⁷³ Consequently, considering that peacekeepers construct their identity against that of a soldier which will always entail the marginalization of the “other,” that is perceived not to have the qualities valued by soldiers, it will be challenging to promote ‘gender equality’ principals in such a setting and to have the peacekeepers promote ‘gender equality’ principles in the field.

In a different study on male peacekeepers’ attitude towards having women in peacekeeping missions, Liora Sion argues that the Dutch peacekeepers in peacekeeping units in Kosovo and Bosna considered the mission “as a challenge to their combat and masculine

¹⁶⁸ Paul Higate and Marsha Henry, “Engendering (In)security in Peace Support Operations,” *Security Dialogue* 35, no. 4. (2004): 484.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid.

¹⁷⁰ Liora Sion, “Peacekeeping and the Gender Regime: Dutch Female Peacekeepers in Bosnia and Kosovo,” *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* 37, no. 5 (2008): 562; Claire Duncanson, “Narratives of Military Masculinity in Peacekeeping Operations,” *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 11, no. 1 (2009): 69.

¹⁷¹ Duncanson, “Narratives of Military,” 63.

¹⁷² Ibid., 63

¹⁷³ Duncanson, “Narratives of Military,” 74.

identity;”¹⁷⁴ therefore, they opposed women’s inclusion because “if even a woman can do it,”¹⁷⁵ the mission will no longer be a setting where the peacekeepers can reinforce their masculine identity. Both the study by Duncanson and the study by Sion demonstrate the instability of militarized masculinity. The peacekeepers’ attempt to reinforce their masculine identity can lead to misconduct in the field.

3.1.1. Sexual exploitation and abuse

SEA by the peacekeeping personnel has received considerable attention especially because the peacekeeping missions are supposed to prevent violations of women’s rights not contribute to it. In 2004, international attention was directed at the DRC where allegations regarding the peacekeepers’ misconduct emerged.¹⁷⁶ However, SEA perpetrated by the UN peacekeepers has taken place in Liberia, Cote d’Ivoire, and Sierra Leone as well.¹⁷⁷ For example, a joint study by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and the UK based NGO Save the Children found peacekeepers’ and humanitarian workers involved in SEA in Sierra Leone, Liberia and Guinea.¹⁷⁸ While statistics documenting the violations exist, any numerical representation on the prevalence of SEA should be critically looked at because many cases go unreported.¹⁷⁹ Although different standards, rules, and codes of conduct exist informing the peacekeepers about the appropriate and expected behavior in the field, SEA continues to be a problem.¹⁸⁰ Clearly, such behaviors can significantly impair any work on ‘gender.’ By engaging in such activity, it will be difficult for the peacekeepers to convince the local actors on the importance of ‘gender.’ It is interesting however that the peacekeepers themselves do not perceive their behavior as harmful. In examining how the

¹⁷⁴ Sion, “Peacekeeping and the,” 562.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid.

¹⁷⁶ Martin, “Must boys be,” 1.

¹⁷⁷ Statistics on SEA perpetrated by the peacekeeping personnel can be accessed at: <http://cdu.unlb.org/>

¹⁷⁸ Higate and Henry, “Engendering (In)security in,” 492.

¹⁷⁹ For more information regarding the number of SEA by mission and personnel component refer to the Conduct and Discipline Unit webpage: <http://cdu.unlb.org/>

¹⁸⁰ For information on the existing standards of conduct and the existing policy refer to the Conduct and Discipline Unit webpage. <http://cdu.unlb.org/AboutCDU.aspx>

peacekeepers in Sierra Leone and the DRC made sense of SEA, Paul Higate and Marsha Henry found that instead of taking responsibility for their behavior, the peacekeepers tended to assign blame to the local women that they perceived as forcing themselves on the peacekeepers.¹⁸¹ As Higate and Marsha explain, the peacekeepers did not acknowledge the difference in status between them and the local women nor the consequences their actions could have once they left the mission.¹⁸² In an attempt to address SEA as well as improve the work on 'gender,' various policies have been created to guide the peacekeepers' conduct. In addition, it is believed including women in peacekeeping missions and providing 'gender training' for all components of the mission personnel will increase the gender sensitivity of the mission staff and also improve the overall effectiveness of mission activities.¹⁸³ Both training and women's inclusion are included in the SCR 1325 and therefore are important steps for furthering the women, peace and security agenda.¹⁸⁴ However, the small number of women found in peacekeeping operations and the continuance of peacekeepers misconduct indicate a gap between policy and practice.¹⁸⁵

Including women in peacekeeping missions

Scholars argue including women in peacekeeping missions will improve the effectiveness of mission activities and reduce incidents of SEA committed by peacekeeping personnel.¹⁸⁶ The main argument for women's inclusion emphasizes the seemingly inherent peaceful, caring, and nurturing qualities women have that in certain situations make them better peacekeepers.¹⁸⁷ For example, survivors of sexual violence might feel more

¹⁸¹ Higate and Henry, "Engendering (In)security in,"

¹⁸² Ibid.

¹⁸³ Comfort Lamprey, *Gender Training in United Nations Peacekeeping Operations*, 2012.

¹⁸⁴ S/RES/1325

¹⁸⁵ According to the gender statistics provided by the DPKO for the month of April 2013, UNMIL has a total of 378 women out of 8,256 people (this number includes military experts, troops, individual police, and formed police units). The statistics for UNOCI are 180 women out of 11,058 (with no women in the formed police units). The statistics for MONUC and UNAMSIL are not included in the April 2013 as UNAMSIL completed its mandate in 2005 and MONUC was replaced by MOUSCO in 2010.

¹⁸⁶ Bridges and Horsfall, "Increasing Operational Effectiveness," 121

¹⁸⁷ Simic, "Peacekeeping and the," 194-196; Valenius, "A Few Kind," 514

comfortable disclosing such information to a female peacekeeper.¹⁸⁸ Considering the widespread sexual violence women in Sierra Leone, the DRC, Liberia, and Côte d'Ivoire have been subjected to, the importance of having female personnel is clear. What is more, women's presence is expected to reduce the misconduct of their male colleagues.¹⁸⁹ Ultimately, the problem is not with increasing the number of women in peacekeeping missions but with how the importance of their inclusion is framed. On the one hand, focusing on the essentialist claim according to which women's peaceful and caring nature makes them a better peacekeeper may result in the member states recognizing the value of sending more women to serve in peacekeeping missions. On the other hand, framing their inclusion in these terms only furthers the divide between women/femininity and men/masculinity. What is more, the argument that women's presence decreases their male colleagues misconduct rests on the assumption that the overall environment in the mission indeed is masculine with soldiers being unable to control their behavior. Therefore, women's presence is expected to change that. However, research has found that women do not necessarily challenge the masculine culture prevalent in peacekeeping missions; instead, "women tend to be absorbed into these settings."¹⁹⁰ For example, in the previously mentioned study, Sion found that women in the Dutch peacekeeping units, in order to be accepted by their male colleagues, either denied their femininity or emphasized it.¹⁹¹ On the one hand, not expressing their femininity meant that women had to "become 'one of the boys.'"¹⁹² On the other hand, emphasizing femininity meant acting in accordance to what men would expect from women in order "not to threaten men's sense of competence and superiority."¹⁹³ Overall, while the women in these units attempted to fit in with the group, they were never

¹⁸⁸ Simic, "Peacekeeping and the," 194.

¹⁸⁹ Bridges and Horsfall, "Increasing Operational Effectiveness," 120.

¹⁹⁰ Simic, "Does the Presence," 196.

¹⁹¹ Sion, "Peacekeeping and the," 569.

¹⁹² Sion, "Peacekeeping and the," 569.

¹⁹³ Ibid., 570.

fully accepted. Based on Sion's research, it is reasonable to assume women will not always report their male colleagues misconduct out of fear of becoming further alienated from the group. However, it is not clear to what extent these dynamics hold true for the UN missions in Sierra Leone, the DRC, Liberia, and Côte d'Ivoire. Nevertheless, using the essentialist arguments to advocate for adding more women in peacekeeping missions results in "military culture, training and masculinity" being ignored.¹⁹⁴ Although the inclusion of women is in line with what 1325 prescribes, the way their inclusion is currently framed can end up perpetuating inequality not eliminate it.

Gender training

All peacekeeping personnel from the civilian component to the senior management receive 'gender training' in order to increase the personnel's 'gender awareness' that is expected to improve the 'gender sensitivity' of the missions' activities.¹⁹⁵ However, the training provided tends to be too generic and short; therefore, its impact on the peacekeepers' behavior is not clear.¹⁹⁶ The troop contributing countries are required to provide pre-deployment training for which the DPKO provides training materials.¹⁹⁷ However, research has shown such training either does not take place, or if it does, it ignores 'gender.'¹⁹⁸ Once deployed, the gender unit is responsible for providing induction training on 'gender' while the conduct and discipline team is responsible for providing training on SEA.¹⁹⁹ However, the masculine culture that prevails in peacekeeping missions makes it difficult to convince the mission staff on the importance of incorporating a 'gender perspective' in their work. This is also demonstrated by the following statement where a gender adviser explains how the preoccupation with the military renders the work on 'gender' unimportant: "so it's like,

¹⁹⁴ Valenius, "A Few Kind," 515.

¹⁹⁵ Lamptey, *Gender Training*.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid., 10.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid., 16.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid., 10.

it's a little thing; it hasn't got to do with the troops, it hasn't got to do with the military, it hasn't got to do with the fighting, and therefore, it's not important.”²⁰⁰ Also, as the gender adviser at the DPKO headquarters explains, peacekeeping personnel has developed their beliefs over the course of their entire life; therefore, an hour of training on ‘gender’ upon arrival to the mission will not change the peacekeepers’ behavior.²⁰¹ The gender specialist in UNAMSIL has said her work on ‘gender’ was difficult due to “reluctance and even resistance” from the mission staff.²⁰² Ultimately, not enough is known about the impact ‘gender training’ has on peacekeepers behavior. However, it is clear that by not acknowledging and addressing the masculine culture of peacekeeping missions and the beliefs and attitudes peacekeepers hold regarding women and ‘gender,’ the impact of 1325 will be limited. While the prescriptions of 1325 are followed to a certain degree, in terms of including women among the mission personnel and providing the mission staff with training, these seem to be actions that imply the resolution has been effectively implemented. However, these on the surface examples ignore the fact that on the ground, challenges remain. Despite 1325, anything associated with ‘gender’ is still given low priority.

3.2. The masculine culture of the host countries

The peacekeeping missions in all four countries have been in a position where they have attempted to carry out work on ‘gender’ in an environment that is largely exclusionary to women. Local laws, beliefs, and practices not only place women at a lower status but also prevent them from actively participating in various spheres of the society, which only leads to further marginalization.²⁰³ In addition, it can be said these countries saw or have seen

²⁰⁰ Keaney-Mischel, “We Have to,” 4.

²⁰¹ Lamptey. *Gender Training*.

²⁰² Nduka-Agwu, “ ‘Doing Gender’ After,” 188.

²⁰³ Steven Shoofs, Chitra Nagarajan, and Lulsegg Abebe, *Implementing Resolution 1325 in Guinea, Liberia and Sierra Leone* (London, International Alert, 2010), 2.

overall militarization of the society and therefore any masculine ideals that prevailed prior to the conflict were only further exacerbated during the wars.

3.2.1. Sexual- and gender based violence (SGBV)

1325 specifically addresses the question of SGBV and emphasizes the importance of holding perpetrators accountable.²⁰⁴ However, as the four country examples chosen for this thesis demonstrate, SGBV continues to be a problem.²⁰⁵ In all of four countries women have suffered from widespread abuse. Eastern part of the DRC is referred to as the “most dangerous place on earth to be a woman”²⁰⁶ which demonstrates the seriousness of the problem in this specific country. It can be said the masculine culture of these societies contributes to both the ‘culture of silence’ and the ‘culture of impunity’ that subsequently increases the prevalence of abusive incidents.²⁰⁷ In its report on Côte d’Ivoire, Human Rights Watch found that sometimes, women of Côte d’Ivoire have to pay in order to report a crime and even this does not guarantee that justice will be served.²⁰⁸ What is more, women in Liberia, Sierra Leone and Cote d’Ivoire are sometimes asked for a certificate saying they were assaulted.²⁰⁹ However, getting such a certificate is expensive and therefore not an option for every woman.²¹⁰ Furthermore, the ineffective security and justice sector make it difficult to report crimes. Therefore, many perpetrators are not held accountable for their actions leading them to commit more acts of violence. Not reporting a crime out of fear of becoming rejected by the community and family members as well as due to fear of the attacker is common to all four countries as well.²¹¹ Nevertheless, while acknowledging that the local context can pose a challenge for implementing the provisions of 1325, any progress

²⁰⁴ UNSCR 1325.

²⁰⁵ Human Rights Watch “Afraid and Forgotten.”

²⁰⁶ ²⁰⁶ Severine Autesserre, “Dangerous Tales: Dominant Narratives on the Congo and their Unintended Consequences,” *African Affairs*, 111, no. 443 (2012): 214

²⁰⁷ United Nations, *Ten-Year Impact*, 33.

²⁰⁸ Human Rights Watch, “Afraid and Forgotten,” 35.

²⁰⁹ O’Neill and Ward, “Mainstreaming or Maneuvering?” 37-38.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 38.

²¹¹ Meger, “Rape of the Congo,” 129; Human Rights Watch, “Afraid and Forgotten,” 35; Shoofs, et al., “*Implementing Resolution 1325*.”

a peacekeeping mission makes is unlikely to last unless the local discriminatory attitudes and practices change.

3.3. Lack of support to staff working on ‘gender’

The gender advisory capacity of each mission has the important task of promoting ‘gender’ within the mission as well as outside of the mission.²¹² For example, it is their responsibility “to promote, facilitate, support and monitor the incorporation of gender perspectives in peacekeeping operations.”²¹³ It seems that in all four missions, it was the staff working at the gender unit that was the most committed to furthering the ‘gender equality’ agenda. While it is not clear when UNMIL’s gender unit was established, the units in the three other missions were created later in the mission. Coming into the mission once all other mission components have been set up can present a challenge. First, it is not clear who is responsible for training the incoming personnel before the arrival of a gender adviser and whether the individuals assuming the responsibilities of the gender adviser have enough expertise on ‘gender’ to carry out the initial in-mission training. Also, not being part of the mission since the beginning can create a situation where the gender advisers have to justify their presence later on. Furthermore, due to the overall disregard to anything associated with ‘gender,’ the gender component of the mission is often unfunded and understaffed.²¹⁴ What is more, the gender adviser has to have seniority in order to have legitimacy within the mission. This became evident in Liberia where, at one point, a volunteer was responsible for providing ‘gender training’ to the mission personnel.²¹⁵ This individual’s position within the staff power hierarchy did not provide them with enough authority to carry out their tasks with

²¹² Keaney-Mischel, “We Have to,” 3; for information on different areas of collaboration between the gender unit and the various sections of the mission as well as other UN entities and the host country refer to the United Nations Gender Resource Package.

²¹³ United Nations, *Gender Resource Package*, 6.

²¹⁴ The NGO Working Group on Women Peace and Security, *From Local to Global: Making Peace Work for Women. The Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security* P.2

²¹⁵ Martin, “Must boys be boys,” 9.

legitimacy.²¹⁶ While it is not clear at what time during the mission the gender unit was understaffed, it is a good example of the importance of “status” within a mission, especially for the staff working on ‘gender’ as they are already marginalized. Furthermore, it is important for the gender adviser to have access to senior management in order to promote ‘gender’ at the highest levels within the mission. It is argued the gender adviser should be placed at the office of the Special-Representative of the Secretary General because it not only allows the gender adviser to have better contact with the head of the mission but also gives them an opportunity to take part on higher-level meetings.²¹⁷

²¹⁶ Ibid.

²¹⁷ Keaney-Mischel, “We Have to,” 4.

Conclusion

The adoption of the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace, and Security was an important achievement for everyone advocating for its development but most importantly for the people on whose lives it was going to have an impact on. Since 1325 was adopted in 2000, both the United Nations and its member states have expressed its commitment for the resolution. Every year, the Secretary-General submits a report on Women, Peace and Security to the Security Council covering the progress made in implementing the resolution as well as addressing challenges and making recommendations for further action.²¹⁸ In addition, the UN has a System-Wide Action Plan for improving the implementation throughout the entire organization.²¹⁹ It can be said that one of the most important steps taken toward increasing the effective use of the resolution has been the development of a list of indicators in 2010 that provide a framework for measuring progress.²²⁰ The coming years should indicate whether these indicators improve the implementation of the resolution. These are some overall examples of how the United Nations has expressed its commitment to 1325. The member states have shown their support for the resolution by developing National Action Plans.²²¹ However, progress has been slow as in 2012 only 37 such plans existed.²²² This reflects the overall criticism that the resolution has received. Accordingly, while various policies supporting the implementation of 1325 have been created and some national action plans exist, this is commitment that has not seen a lot of realization in practice.

²¹⁸ The Secretary-General Reports can be accessed at:

http://www.peacewomen.org/security_council_monitor/report-watch

²¹⁹ The System-Wide Action Plan for 2005-2007 is included in the 2005 Secretary-General Report on Women, Peace and Security, S/2005/636; The System-Wide Action Plan was updated for 2008-2009.

²²⁰ The list of indicators are included in the 2010 Secretary-General Report on Women, Peace and Security, S/2010/173

²²¹ The current National Action Plans can be accessed at: <http://www.peacewomen.org/naps/>

²²² United Nations, *Report of the Secretary-General on women and peace and security*, S/2012/732.

In this thesis I focused on the various criticisms that the literature on 1325 has identified as presenting a challenge for implementing the resolution. I summarized them as: 1) lack of accountability; 2) lack of coordination and cooperation; 3) confusion over ‘gender’ and ‘gender mainstreaming’; 4) lack of support to staff working on ‘gender,’ and 5) the masculine culture of peacekeeping missions as well as the masculine culture of the host countries. Because the literature does not examine any one of these challenges more in depth, I decided to look at if and how the resolution informs the UN peacekeeping mission activities. For this, I chose four United Nations Peacekeeping Missions: United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL), United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC), United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL), and United Nations Mission in Côte d’Ivoire (UNOCI). Also, choosing two missions (UNAMSIL and MONUC) that were established before 1325 was adopted and two (UNMIL and UNOCI) that were established after, allowed me to look at whether the adoption of the resolution had some impact on the level of attention ‘gender’ received.

I argue that out of the five challenges identified in the literature on 1325 the masculine culture of peacekeeping missions and the masculine culture of the host countries presents the biggest challenge for implementing 1325 in Sierra Leone, the DRC, Liberia, and Côte d’Ivoire. Furthermore, I argue the lack of support the staff working on ‘gender’ receives affects the ‘gender’ related work of peacekeeping missions.

On the one hand, I used the concept of militarized masculinity to explain the masculine culture of peacekeeping missions that makes the mission personnel reluctant to truly invest in the information they receive through ‘gender training’ that subsequently is expected to inform both their behavior and activities in the field. However, it seems that the amount of ‘gender training’ the peacekeepers receive equals only to an hour, if not less. Therefore, it is not clear to what extent such training informs the peacekeepers activities in

the field. Also, the prevalence of SEA committed by the peacekeepers could partly be explained by the militarized masculinity as the peacekeepers are constantly attempting to reaffirm the superiority of their identity resulting in them engaging in exploitative behavior where they can exert ones power over the vulnerable local women. On the other hand, the militarized masculine identity can also be found among the rebel groups and armed forces of all four countries. This, together with the already low status women have, would partly explain the widespread sexual- and gender-based violence that women in all these countries have been exposed to. Therefore, this presents an avenue for further research in order to examine this component of the peacekeeping missions more in detail.

It seems that the one component of the peacekeeping missions that could significantly affect what gets done on ‘gender’ both within the mission as well as outside of the mission is the mission’s gender unit. One of the big gaps in the literature on 1325 is the lack of information on the work of the gender advisers. In all four missions covered in this thesis, it was the gender unit, and it seems quite often just one person, that despite limited resources attempted to increase the ‘gender sensitivity’ of the mission personnel as well as the local actors. It would be interesting to know what the gender advisers consider as the biggest challenge to their work. Clearly, from the literature it can be said the small size of the unit an lack of funding significantly restricts what the gender advisers can do. However, it would be interesting to know if they find it easier to work within the mission or outside of the mission and what factors they perceive enhance or hinder the efforts they undertake. Considering the work they are already doing, without much support, with better resources and more staff they could do so much more. o ‘gender awareness.” 1325 informs the work the gender advisers are It would be interesting to know what the gender advisers Because very little is known about the specific work the gender unit does, more research is needed in order to best utilize their expertise.

Bibliography

- Adrian-Paul, Ancil and Sanam Naraghi Anderlini. "Key International Policies and Legal Mechanisms: Women's Rights in the Context of Peace and Security" in *Inclusive Security, Sustainable Peace: A Toolkit for Advocacy and Action*. International Alert, Women Waging Peace, 2004.
- Autesserre, Séverine. "Dangerous Tales: Dominant Narratives on the Congo and Their Unintended Consequences." *African Affairs* 111 (2012): 202-222.
- Barnes, Karen. "Lost in Translation: UNAMSIL, UNSCR 1325 and Women Building Peace in Sierra Leone." In *Women, Peace and Security: Translating Policy into Practice*, ed. Funmi Olonisakin, Karen Barnes, and Eka Ikpe (New York: Routledge, 2010).
- Barnes, Karen. "The Evolution and Implementation of UNSCR 1325: An Overview." In *Women, Peace and Security: Translating Policy into Practice*, ed. Funmi Olonisakin, Karen Barnes, and Eka Ikpe, 15-33. New York: Routledge, 2011.
- Barnes, K, and Funmi Olonisakin. "Introduction." In *Women, Peace and Security: Translating Policy Into Practice*, ed. Funmi Olonisakin, Karen Barnes and Eka Ikpe, 3-14. New York: Routledge, 2011.
- Bridges, Donna and Horsfall, Debbie. "Increasing Operational Effectiveness in UN Peacekeeping: Toward a Gender-Balanced Force." *Armed Forces and Society* 36, no. 1 (2009): 120-130.
- Carreiras, Helena. "Gendered Culture in Peacekeeping Operations." *International Peacekeeping* 17, no. 4 (2010): 471-485.
- Beetham, Gwendolyn and Nicola Popovic. "Putting Policy Into Practice: Monitoring the Implementation of UN Security Council Resolutions on Women, Peace and Security." *Conference Background Paper* (November 2009): 1-47.
- Charter of the United Nations, Chapter V, Article 25.
- Cohn, Carol. "Mainstreaming Gender in UN Security Policy: A Path to Political Transformation." *Boston Consortium on Gender, Security and Human Rights*, Working Paper no. 204 (2003-2004): 2-21.
- Cohn, Carol, Kinsella, Helen, and Sheri Gibbings. "Women, Peace and Security Resolution 1325." *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 6, no. 1 (2004): 130-140.
- Cohn, Carol, Puechguirbal, Nadine, Gahunga, Nathalie, and Angela Raven-Roberts. "Working in the Field: Practitioners Discuss UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security." *The Boston Consortium on Gender, Security and Human Rights* (April 2006): 2-15.
- Connell, Robert. *Gender and Power: Society, the Person and Sexual Politics* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1987) cited in Helena Carreiras. "Gendered Culture in Peacekeeping Operations." *International Peacekeeping* 17, no. 4 (2010): 472.
- Deibert, Michel. "Congo: Between Hope and Despair." *World Policy Journal* 25, issue 2 (2008).

- Duncanson, Claire. "Narratives of Military Masculinity in Peacekeeping Operations." *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 11, no. 1 (2009): 63-80.
- Freedman, Jane. "Explaining Sexual Violence and Gender Inequalities in the DRC." *Peace Review: A Journal of Social Justice* 23 (...): 170-175.
- Fujio, Christy. "From Soft to Hard Law: Moving Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security Across the Spectrum." *The Georgetown Journal of Gender and the Law* 9 (2008)
- Olonisakin, Funmi, Barnes, Karen, and Eka Ikpe, *Women, Peace and Security: Translating Policy Into Practice*. New York: Routledge, 2011.
- Higate, Paul and Henry, Marsha. "Engendering (In)security in Peace Support Operations." *Security Dialogue* 35, no. 4 (2004): 481-498.
- Hill, Felicity; Cohn, Carol and Enloe, Cynthia. "U.N. Security Council Resolution 1325 Three Years On: Gender, Security and Organizational Change." *Boston Consortium on Gender, Security and Human Rights* (January 2004): 2-22.
- Hinojosa, Ramon. "Doing Hegemony: Military, Men, and Constructing a Hegemonic Masculinity." *The Journal of Men's Studies* 18, no. 2 (2010): 179-194.
- Hudson, Natalie. F. "En-Gendering UN Peacekeeping Operations." *International Journal* 60, no. 3 (summer 2005): 785-807.
- Hudson, Natalie. F. "The Security Framework in Practice: The Case of Security Council Resolution 1325." *Gender, Human Security and the United Nations: Security Language as a Political Framework for Women*. New York: Routledge, 2010.
- Hudson, Natalie. F. "Women, Peace, and Security: An Introduction." *Gender, Human Security and the United Nations: Security Language as a Political Framework for Women*. New York: Routledge, 2010.
- Human Rights Watch, "Background," in "*We'll Kill You if You Cry*." *Sexual Violence in the Sierra Leone Conflict*, 15, no. 1(A) (2003), 9-15.
- Human Rights Watch, *Côte d'Ivoire: Afraid and Forgotten: Lawlessness, Rape, and Impunity in Western Côte d'Ivoire*, New York, 2010, <http://www.hrw.org/reports/2010/10/22/afraid-and-forgotten>
- Hynes, P. Patricia. "On the Battlefield of Women's Bodies: An Overview of the Harm of War to Women." *Women's Studies International Forum* 27 (2004): 431-445.
- Keaney-Mischel, Colleen. "'We Have to Do All the Pushing': UN Gender Adviser Strategies for Implementing Gender Mainstreaming Policy in Peacekeeping Missions." *The Boston Consortium on Gender, Security and Human Rights* (April 2006): 2-17.
- Krook, L. Mona and True, Jacquie. "Rethinking the Life Cycle of International Norms: the United Nations and the Global Promotion of Gender Equality." *European Journal of International Relations* 18, no. 1 (2010): 103-127.

- Martin, Sarah. *Must Boys Be Boys: Ending Sexual Exploitation & Abuse in UN Peacekeeping Missions*. Washington DC, Refugees International, 2005.
- McKay, Susan. "The Effects of Armed Conflict on Girls and Women." *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology* 4, no. 4 (1998): 381-392.
- Meger, Sara. "Rape of the Congo: Understanding Sexual Violence in the Conflict in the Democratic Republic of Congo." *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* 28, no. 2 (2010): 119-135.
- Muah, T. Sebastian. "Indicators of Peace Consolidation from a Gender Perspective: The Case of Liberia-Including SCR 1325 & SCR 1820." (February 19-20, 2009): 2, quoted in Gwendolyn Beetham and Nicola Popovic, *Putting Policy Into Practice: Monitoring the Implementation of UN Security Council Resolutions on Women, Peace and Security*, 6. Oslo, 2009.
- Naraghi Anderlini, Sanam. "How the International System Lets Women Down." In *Women Building Peace. What They Do, Why It Matters* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2007).
- Nduka-Agwu, Adibeli. "'Doing Gender' After the War: Dealing With Gender Mainstreaming and Sexual Exploitation and Abuse in UN Peace Support Operations in Liberia and Sierra Leone." *Civil Wars* 11, no. 2 (June 2009): 179-199.
- Lampthey, Comfort. *Gender Training in United Nations Peacekeeping Operations* (Pambazuka Press, 2012), http://www.fahamu.org/resources/5_lampthey_v3.pdf
- O'Neill, April and Ward, Leora. "Mainstreaming or Maneuvering? Gender and Peacekeeping in West Africa." *Kofi Annan International Peace Keeping Training Center Monograph*, no. 1 (April 2005): 2-75.
- Ospina, Sofi. *Ten-Year Impact Study on Implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) on Women, Peace and Security in Peacekeeping*. New York: United Nations, 2010.
- PeaceWomen. "UN Implementation." http://peacewomen.org/peacewomen_and_the_un/un-implementation
- PeaceWomen. "1325 Annotated Text- What it Means (UNIFEM)." <http://www.peacewomen.org/pages/about-1325/scr-1325-what-it-means>
- PeaceWomen. "About Women, Peace & Security Agenda." http://www.peacewomen.org/security_council_monitor/about-women-peace-and-security-agenda
- Puechguirbal, Nadine. "Discourses on Gender, Patriarchy and Resolution 1325: A Textual Analysis of UN Documents." *International Peacekeeping* 17, no. 2 (2010): 172-187.
- Reeves, Audrey. "Feminist Knowledge and Emerging Governmentality in UN Peacekeeping." *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 14, no. 3 (2012): 348-369.

- Schoofs, Steven, Nagarajan, Chitra, and Lulsegg Abebe. *Implementing Resolution 1325 in Guinea, Liberia and Sierra Leone: Charting a Way Forward*. London: International Alert, 2010.
- Simic, Oliver. "Does the Presence of Women Really Matter? Towards Combating Male Sexual Violence in Peacekeeping Operations." *International Peacekeeping* 17, no. 2 (2010): 188-199.
- Sion, Liora. "Peacekeeping and the Gender Regime: Dutch Female Peacekeepers in Bosnia and Kosovo." *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* 37, no. 5 (2008): 561-585.
- Shepard, Laura. "Power and Authority in the Production of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325." *International Studies Quarterly* 52 (2008): 383-404.
- Sjoberg, Laura. "Introduction to *Security Studies*: Feminist Contributions." *Security Studies* 18 (2009): 183-213.
- The NGO Working Group on Women, Peace and Security, "SCR 1325 Five Years On: United Nations Progress & Responsibility," ed. Krista Lynes and Gina Torry, in *From Local to Global: Making Peace Work for Women: Security Council Resolution – Five Years On Report*, New York, 2005, http://womenpeacesecurity.org/media/pdf-NGOWG_5_Years_On_Report_EN.pdf
- Tickner, Ann. J. "Gendered Dimensions of War, Peace, and Security." In *Gendering World Politics: Issues and Approaches in the Post-Cold War Era*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2001.
- Valenius, Johanna. "A Few Kind Women: Gender Essentialism and Nordic Peacekeeping Operations." *International Peacekeeping* 14, no. 4 (2007): 510-523.
- Whitworth, Sandra. "When the UN Responds: A Critique of Gender Mainstreaming." In *Men, Militarism, and UN Peacekeeping: A Gendered Analysis*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2004.
- Willett, Susan. "Introduction: Security Council Resolution 1325: Assessing the Impact on Women, Peace and Security." *International Peacekeeping* 17, no. 2 (2010): 142-158.
- United Nations, *Activities Report from the Office of Gender Affairs (OGA) of the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC)*, January 2003.
- UN Women, *Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action*, adopted at the 16th plenary meeting, 15 September 1995, 56-65.
- United Nations. *Gender Advisory Team Annual Progress Report 2010*. New York, 2010.
- United Nations. *Gender Resource Package for Peacekeeping Operations*. New York, 2004.
- United Nations, General Assembly, S-23/2. *Political Declaration*, A/RES/S-23/2, November 2000, <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/followup/ress232e.pdf>

United Nations, General assembly, *S-23/3. Further Actions and Initiatives to Implement the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action*, A/RES/S-23/3, 16 November 2000.

UN Women, General Assembly, *Five-year Review of the Implementation of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (Beijing +5)*, 5-9 June 2000.

United Nations, *Peace Inextricably Linked with Equality Between Women and Men say Security Council*, in *International Women's Day Statement*, SC/6816, 2000, 8 March 2000,
<http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2000/20000308.sc6816.doc.html>

United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations. *DPKO Policy Directive: Gender Equality in UN Peacekeeping Operations*. November 2006.
http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/documents/gender_directive2006.pdf

United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations, *Gender Mainstreaming in Peacekeeping Operations: Progress Report*, New York,
<http://www.peacekeepingbestpractices.unlb.org/PBPS/Library/Gender%20Mainstreaming%20Progress%20report.pdf>

United Nations, *Windhoek Declaration*, Namibia, 31 May 2000,
http://www.un.org/womenwatch/osagi/wps/windhoek_declaration.pdf

United Nations, Security Council, *Resolution 1325*, S/RES/1325, 31 October 2000.

United Nations Peacekeeping, *Sierra-Leone – UNAMSIL – Background*
<http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/past/unamsil/background.html>

United Nations Peacekeeping, *MONUC Background*,
<http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/monuc/background.shtml>

United Nations Peacekeeping, *UNMIL Background*,
<http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/unmil/mandate.shtml>

United Nations Peacekeeping, *UNMIL Background*,
<http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/unmil/background.shtml>

United Nations Peacekeeping, *MONUC Mandate*,
<http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/monuc/mandate.shtml>

United Nations Peacekeeping, *UNOCI Mandate*,
<http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/unoci/mandate.shtml>

United Nations Peacekeeping, *UNOCI Background*,
<http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/unoci/background.shtml>

