ENGENDERED PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS:
TRANSECTIONAL MASCULINITIES AND SEXUAL VIOLENCE IN AFRICAN POST-CONFLICT SETTINGS

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Abstract

The post-Cold War disorder was undermined by the "New Humanism", represented by the United Nations peacekeeping operations through the figure of the "humanitarian hero." In the beginning of the XXI century, different media reports came out showing some of the negative impacts of peacekeeping in local settings. As a result, many feminist scholars started to analyze peacekeepers' engagement in violence against women and girls from different perspectives. The majority of them focus in the construction of masculinities and femininities within the UN and the impact of those gendered relations in post-conflict settings. This research will use a transectional approach to analyze how transnational gender macro-practices impact peacekeepers' performances, and how they influence peacekeepers' engagement, or not, in violence against locals. A comparative case study will be developed analyzing two different groups of peacekeepers in two different missions in Africa: Canadian peacekeepers in the UN mission in Somalia, and Swedish peacekeepers in the UN mission in Liberia. The analysis will explore how transnational dynamics impacted both groups differently, by using a transectional approach on male masculinities' intersectionality with race, nationalism, and transnationalism.

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INTRODUCTION

The post-Cold War period was characterized by the breakout of diverse civil conflicts, changing the traditional understandings of war. In this so called "New Wars" the number of civilians killed and violently abused significantly increased as compared to combatants lost. As Dyan Mazurana et al. explain: "We have moved to conflicts, where civilians including women and children, are the combatants, perpetrators, and intended targets of violence".[1] The bipolar world order was not only sustained by geopolitical and economic tensions, but also through the configuration of ideas and behavior coming from people's ordinary lives. In this sense, the beginning of the 21st century represented both the emergence of a "New World Order" in the international foreign policy agendas, and a reconfiguration of an old world of disorder in women's and men's lives.[2]

The ending of any war is a highly complex process. As Cynthia Enloe explains, in the majority of war ending processes there is a redefinition of long-held notions of masculinity and femininity, as well as a reconfiguration of the gendered relations that sustained the established order. Accordingly, in order to understand the gender consequences of the Cold War, it is important to first analyze the gendered relations on which the bipolar order relied on for its forty-five-year-long permanence. As Enloe argues, the Cold War is best understood, not only as a clash between two superpowers trying to absorb as many countries as possible to their sphere of influence, but also as a series of contests within each of those societies over the definitions of masculinity and femininity that would endorse or dilute the encounter. On the one hand, in this context, men were taught to use their manliness in order to protect the nation (meaning the nation's women and children), and these constructions shaped their experiences

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[1] Dyan Mazurana, Angela Raven-Roberts, and Jane Parpart, foreword to *Gender, Conflict, and Peacekeeping* by Dyan Mazurana, Angela Raven-Roberts, and Jane Parpart (Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2005), iix.

[2] The old world of disorder is understood as the Cold War period and its forty-five-year long permanence.

of danger. On the other hand, women were considered those most vulnerable to danger, and their experiences were shaped differently.[3]

The Cold War was highly influenced by a militarized understanding of security and identity. As Cynthia Enloe explains, the militarization that sustained the relationships between people for forty five years relied on distinct notions about masculinity, notions that stayed in power because they were legitimized by both women and men. This militarization required that men would be able to kill for their country, while women were prohibited to do so. Thus, informed by these processes, men and women constructed their ideas about what is natural in male and female behavior, and what it means to be "feminine" or "manly". The end of the war between the two superpowers did not represent the end to the militarization of masculinity on which that order was sustained. However, masculinity is not monolithic, and was not only constructed through militarization. As Enloe argues, "ideas about what constituted acceptable behavior by men can share patriarchal tendencies and yet vary in surprising ways across cultures. Patriarchy does not come in 'one size fits all'."[4]

Like militarization, demilitarization is sexualized. As Enloe explains, demilitarization can take years, and masculinity and femininity are crucial political territories where the struggle for demilitarization will have to be played out.[5] In the context of demilitarization, masculinity was perceived and performed in different ways depending on each man's experience: either by accepting or refusing to redefine his identity in this period of transition. This understanding was highly influenced by a man's relationship with other men, but particularly his relation with women. The identity crisis that emerged during the post-Cold War disorder was partially undermined by the "New Humanism" represented through the United Nations' peacekeeping operations, and personified in the figure of the humanitarian hero. As Paul Higate and Marsha

[3] Cynthia Enloe, *Sexual Politics at the End of the Cold War: The Morning After*, (California: University of California Press, 1993), 5-14.
[4] Enloe, *Sexual Politics at the End of the Cold War*, 5.
[5] Idem, 23-26.

Henry explain, the changing nature of the conflicts together with a new military discourse of legitimacy, among other factors, led to the emergence of what they call "the Genesis of the Soft Warrior."[6] Similarly, Hayley Lopes argues that the United Nations' peacekeeping operations resolved the legitimization crisis for many post- Cold War militaries, given that it was one of the few military activities still in demand.[7] Similarly, Sandra Whitworth argues that peacekeeping provided a raison d'être for a number of militaries, and at the same time tells us great deal about who conducts peacekeeping ("us") and who needs it ("them"). As she explains, peacekeeping has been about much more than the missions, "it has been about the constitution of identities: those of particular militaries, of particular states, of the United Nations, and of those countries in need of peacekeeping's various, if suspect, promises."[8]

Some feminist accounts had positive expectations of these humanitarian missions. Enloe, throughout her research on sexual politics at the end of the Cold War, explained that the form of military force that inspires the greatest hope is the UN peacekeeping force." It inspires optimism because it seems to perform military duties without being militaristic."[9] After the deployment of some missions, feminist accounts started to have more negative perceptions of these operations. Dyan Mazurana warned the international community about the increased concern regarding the militarization of humanitarianism, by highlighting the negative gender consequences of certain missions.[10] Likewise, Sandra Whitworth explains how peacekeeping operations provide a rationale to militaries, informing those military's states and nations, while shaping their image in the world. Similarly, she argues that inherent to this understanding are the variety of ways in which the global North brings peace to the "anarchic" global South,

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[6] Marsha Henry and Paul Higate, "Peacekeepers as New Men? Security and Masculinity in the United Nations Mission in Liberia," *SPAIS* 2, no. 8 (2008): 5, accessed May 15, 2017, SPAIS.

[7] Hayley Lopes, "Militarized Masculinity in Peacekeeping Operations: An Obstacle to Gender Mainstreaming." *Peace Build Paix Durable* (2011): 1-19, accessed May 15, 2017, Peace Build Paix Durable.

[8] Sandra Whitworth, *Men, Militarism, and UN Peacekeeping* (London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2004), 7.

[9] Enloe, *Sexual Politics at the End of the Cold War*, 33.

[10] Dyan Mazurana, "Gender and the Causes and Consequences of Armed Conflict," in *Gender, Conflict and Peacekeeping* ed. Dyan Mazurana, Angela Raven-Roberts, and Jane Parpart (Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2005), 40.

informed by the principles of rationality, liberalism and free market economy.[11] Thus, it is important to analyze how peacekeeping contributes to the construction of the Western self.[12] Thus, UN peacekeeping operations developed in this context out of a paradox: On the one hand, through the gendered military roles as a result of the militarization of peacekeeping, represented by the figure of the warrior-soldier model. And on the other hand, through the humanitarian strategy based on a minimal use of force, and the creation, promotion and maintenance of peace, represented by peacekeepers' professional identities.

From the beginning of the United Nations until 1989 "there were only fifteen peacekeeping operations. With the end of the Cold War and the resulting thawing of relations on the Security Council, the figure accelerated to thirty-five in the years 1989-2001. By 2001, more than 47,575 people had been deployed in peacekeeping operations."[13] Currently, there are 16 peacekeeping operations, 9 of which are located in Africa, with the remaining 7 located in the Middle East (5), Kosovo, and Haiti. Previous peacekeeping operations were mainly located in Africa as well. The missions are led and monitored by the Department of Peacekeeping Operations, and their goal is to "help countries torn by conflict to create conditions for lasting peace." However, current peacekeeping operations do not only operate in peace and security, but also support the organization of elections, and protect and promote human rights.[14]

As explained before, the UN was created based on certain gender constructions. Likewise, peacekeeping missions are defined by and developed along gender values and norms. These values and norms are highly influenced by the UN's gender mainstreaming, represented in the Security Council's resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security. Despite the efforts of the

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[11] Sandra Whitworth, *Men, Militarism, and UN Peacekeeping*, 25-28.

[12] Throughout this research "the West" will be understood in terms of the ideal figure of White nations, and the archetype of the "white heterosexual male".

[13] Angela Raven-Roberts, "Gender Mainstreaming in United Nations Peacekeeping Operations: Talking the Talk, Tripping over the Walk," *in Gender, Conflict, and Peacekeeping*, ed. Dyan Mazurana, Angela Raven-Roberts, and Jane Parpart (Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield, 2005), 45.

[14] What is Peacekeeping? United Nations Peacekeeping, last modified 2016, accessed May 29, 2017, http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/operations/peacekeeping.shtml.

United Nations, diverse international NGO's reports showed and are still showing cases in which peacekeepers' engage in violence against local population, particularly in the sexual exploitation of local women and girls. In 2002, the "child refugee sex scandal" in Guinea, Liberia and Sierra Leone, was the headline on the BBC news. Followed by different articles in the Guardian, the New York Times, and other international newspapers that pointed out cases of sexual abuse by peacekeepers in different parts of the world. Accordingly, in 2005, a "Central Conduct and Discipline Office was established at UN headquarters in New York. However, according to the annual Secretary General's report of 2016, between 2006 and 2007, more than 600 allegations of sexual exploitation and abuse against peacekeeping personnel were reported.[15] Despite the "decrease" in reports of allegations, according to UN data, reports from international NGO's still show that this is a current problem that affects millions of peoples' lives.

In this sense, this research will approach this problematic trough a critical perspective, by exploring UN male peacekeepers' transectionality in post-conflict settings. The research will explore R.W. Connell's concept of "hegemonic masculinity" applied to the context of peacekeeping operations in Africa. The analysis will focus on different feminist accounts, particularly within the study of men and masculinities that apply Connell's concept to peacekeepers' performances. Sandra Whitworth's notion of "militarized masculinities", and Paul Higate's understanding of "oppressive social masculinities" will be analyzed. The research proposes the notion of peacekeepers as "transectional men" by studying peacekeepers' masculinities intersectionality with race, nationalism and transnationalism. Accordingly, a comparative case study will be developed exploring two peacekeeping missions in Africa: Canadian peacekeepers in Somalia, and Swedish peacekeepers in Liberia.

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[15] Kate Grady, "Sex, Statistics, Peacekeepers and Power: UN Data on Sexual Exploitation and Abuse and the Quest for Legal Reform," Modern Law Review 79, no.6 (2016), accessed May 27, 2017, DOI: 10.1111/1468-2230.12225.

The thesis will be structured as follows: the first chapter, "Theorizing Masculinities in the Context of UN Peacekeeping Operations", provides a literature review that explores the main contributions within studies of men and masculinities that analyze peacekeepers' engagement in violence against local women and girls. The debate is mainly carried out by the different uses of R.W. Connell's concept of "hegemonic masculinity". One side of the debate understands violence in peacekeeping mission as a result of hegemonic "militarized masculinities," while the other focuses on "social masculinities" in which peacekeepers are understood as heterogeneous groups of agents. The second chapter offers an intersectional approach, based on Kimberlé Crenshaw's notion of "intersectionality." The chapter analyzes the relation between masculinities, racism, nationalism, and transnationalism in the context of peacekeeping. The notion of "transectional approach" is proposed in order to move beyond ethnographic studies and explore the intersectional macro-practices that both influence and are influenced by peacekeepers performances, given that the UN is a transnational forum. Finally, the third chapter compares two case studies: Canadian peacekeepers in the UN mission in Somalia, and Swedish peacekeepers in the UN mission in Liberia. These cases explore the proposed notion of peacekeepers as "transectional men", explained in chapter two, by revealing different results, positive and negative, when doing a transectional analysis of peacekeeping missions in African post-conflict settings.

1.1. Research question and approach

The research's purpose is to analyze how hegemonic masculinities in a globalizing world both impact and are influenced by peacekeepers' performances in post-conflict settings—in other words, how gendered transectional macro-practices influence peacekeepers' engagement, or

not, in violence against local women and girls. The thesis will use Judith Butler's notion of gender performativity, in which gender identities are understood as performances interpreted through wider social practices that give them meaning, for example as hegemonic, nonhegemonic, etc.[16] The research will focus on the construction of male peacekeepers' masculinities. It is important to mention that this type of approach does not pretend to return women to a silence and marginalization. On the contrary, by deconstructing men—a usual taken—for—granted category in diverse feminist accounts—this study will shed light on the discrimination and violence that women suffer, but approached from the other side of the coin. Accordingly, men and masculinities are understood as socially constructed, produced and reproduced rather than as somehow just 'naturally' one way or another: "as variable and changing across time (history), and space (culture), within societies, and through life courses and biographies, spanning both the material and the discursive in analysis; and also in terms of intersections of gender and gendering with other social divisions."[17] All the subjective concepts, as globalization, patriarchy, structure, racism, nationalism, transnationalism, among others, are understood in terms of the logic of the "Handbook of Studies on Men and Masculinities."[18] As well, the uses of "the West" are understood according to the archetypal figure of the "white heterosexual male", and the "white nations." This thesis does not pretend to imply that only "white heterosexual male peacekeepers" engage in violence, however, this figure is the focus of analysis in this study.

The thesis will use critical IR theory, particularly feminist studies on men and masculinities. Likewise, the study will use other social theories in order to explore the intersectionality of masculinities with other identities. Within the studies of men and masculinities, intersectional connections remain under-researched. The majority of the studies that analyse peacekeepers

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[16] Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble* (New York: Routledge, 2007).
[17] Jeff Hearn. *Men of the World: Genders, Globalizations, Transnational Times* (London: SAGE, 2015), 9.
[18] Michael S. Kimmel, Jeff Hearn and R. W. Connell, *Handbook of Studies on Men & Masculinities*, (California: SAGE, 2005).

engagement in sexual violence against local women and girls focus on the differences between a soldier-warrior identities constructed through the training processes, and the humanitarian duties that peacekeepers' have to follow once deployed in the missions. To analyze militarized masculinities in peacekeeping is important given that the majority of peacekeepers are trained soldiers, however peacekeepers are not a homogenous group. Even though male peacekeepers have in common some aspects of masculinities, their differences in national, ethnic, class, religious, and sexual backgrounds, among others, can shape the ways in which they experience and construct masculinities in a variety of ways. Likewise, a transectional analysis will offer a deeper engagement with the problematic since the UN is not only representing men, but nations, and structures that are sustained by different understanding of gender, race, and nationalism. Therefore, this research attempts to analyze not only the interconnection between different social identities, but also the macro practices and dynamics between different social hierarchies in a global space that influence peacekeeping negatively.

1.2.Method

This study will use comparative case studies as a research method—specifically, feminist case studies. The reason for using this method in particular is the desire to analyze the interrelating and variable facts in a single case. Likewise, this method provides an opportunity for an intensive analysis of many specific details often overlooked with other methods, such as exclusions and marginalizations. According to Shulamit Reinharz, the three major purposes for feminist case studies are to "analyze the change in a phenomenon over time, analyze the significance of a phenomenon for future events, and to analyze the relations among parts of the phenomenon."[19] This research will try to show the importance of feminist research and

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[19] Shulamit Reinharz and Lynn Davidman, *Feminist Methods in Social Research* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 166.

methodology in International Relations and will try to achieve an inclusive study by contesting the often static notion of men, showing the other side of the gendered dynamics that marginalize women and affect women's lives. It is the most important challenge of this research to avoid gender mainstreaming within feminism in IR and instead try to apply intersectional and transectional approaches.

Through the comparative case study, the research will explore the role of transnational dynamics in gendered nation-building processes within peacekeeping missions. It will use a transectional approach to analyze the interrelation between masculinities, race, and nationalism. Two different groups of peacekeepers in two different missions in Africa will be analyzed: Canadian peacekeepers in the UN mission in Somalia, and Swedish peacekeepers in the UN mission in Liberia. These groups of peacekeepers were chosen because of three important reasons: (1) they are both associated with the archetypal figure of "White Heterosexual Males of the North"; (2) they are considered worldwide as "middle-power nations" that constructed a post-Cold War nationalism based on the figure of the United Nations' peacekeeping operations; and finally, (3) peacekeepers from these countries see themselves as humanitarian heroes whose job is to protect the local population and promote the protection of human rights in post-conflict settings.

CHAPTER 2: THEORIZING MASCULINITIES IN THE CONTEXT OF UN PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS

2.1. Introduction

Enloe asked in 1993, are UN peacekeepers real men?[20] Years later, Cockburn and Zarkov were asking why the UN is using soldiers to create peace. Accordingly, feminist studies of gender and security, particularly those focusing on peacekeepers' masculinities increased since the beginning of the 21st century. Their focus is to understand what happens to a male soldier's sense of masculinity when he puts on the blue helmet. During the 1980s and 1990s feminism influenced a shift in men's popular representation, resulting in the emergence of the so called "new man" characterized by actively embracing "feminine" qualities.[21] In this context, the male peacekeepers' identity was constructed upon a contradiction: they are trained as soldiers but their duties in the field are not entirely soldierly, thus losing almost all the traits (e.g. bravery, physical and psychological strength, rationality, endurance, obedience, patriotism, etc.) that used to define what a solider is. As Henry and Higate explain, the figure of the peacekeeper contests traditional understandings of what it is to be a soldier, because of the caring dimensions involved in peace work. In their words, "these images [the caring dimensions of peace work] are antithetical to the stereotypical hypermasculine warrior, where sensitivity, empathy, and compassion are often subordinated to displays of emotional control."[22] Consequently, as Whitworth argues, peacekeeping is a lesser warrior purpose, so unsoldierly it can almost be shameful. Consequently, the contradiction between a peacekeeper's soldierly training as opposed to his humanitarian duties can result in explosions of hypermasculinity.[23]

The focus of this chapter is to understand how male UN peacekeepers' identities were constructed in the post-Cold War period through gender conceptions, representations, and practices that informed both the relationships between them, and their relations with women. The following subchapters will explore different accounts on masculinities in the context of

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[20] Referring to one of the chapter's title in Enloe, *Sexual Politics at the End of the Cold War: The Morning After*, 10.
[21] Henry and Higate, "Peacekeepers as New Men? Security and Masculinity in the United Nations Mission in Liberia," 5.
[22] Idem, 6.
[23] Whitworth, *Men, Militarism, and UN Peacekeeping,* 184.

UN peacekeeping, based on R.W. Connell and James W. Messerschmidt concept of "hegemonic masculinity" (2005).

2.2. The Concept of "Hegemonic Masculinity"

Raewyn Connell was one of the pioneers in the field of masculinity studies that emerged around the 1970s. In the late 1980s, she developed a social theory of gender relations which emphasized the understanding of gender as a social construct. She developed the concept of "hegemonic masculinity" in a field study of social inequality in Australian high schools. The proposed model was integrated into the sociological theory of gender, in Connell's "Gender and Power" (1987), and consequently reformulated in 2005 with the contribution of James W. Messerschmidt. The concept of "hegemonic masculinity" came from the Gramscian understanding of hegemony transferred to the parallel problem of gender relations. The concept was influenced by a vast literature in social psychology and sociology about the "male sex role", the analysis of the oppression by and of men that resulted from the gay liberation movements, empirical social research—mainly coming from documenting local gender hierarchies and local cultures of masculinity in schools—and finally, the concept was also influenced by psychoanalysis.[24]

"Hegemonic masculinity" was understood as the pattern of practice that allowed men's dominance over women to continue. This type of masculinity was distinguished from other types of masculinities, specially subordinated ones. However, it was not assumed to be normal—only a minority of men can enact it—but certainly normative. It embodied the most honored way to be a man and the ideological legitimation of the global subordination of women. Hegemony did not mean violence, although it could be supported by force; it meant ascendancy

achieved through culture, institutions, and persuasion. The concept became the most cited in masculinity studies. A particular focus of this research was devoted to the study of the diverse masculinities found in particular institutions such as the military. "The analysis of multiple masculinities and the concept of hegemonic masculinity served as a framework for much of the developing research effort on men and masculinity, replacing sex-role theory and categorical models of patriarchy."[25] Likewise, the concept was frequently used in studies of masculinities in the context of peacekeeping operations.

Such an emblematic concept raised several criticisms. First, the concept was highly criticized for producing a static typology, and for essentializing the character of men. Second, it was criticized for being ambiguous and for not representing what masculinity actually looks in practice. Who actually represents hegemonic masculinity? A third problem founded in the concept was that of the reification, meaning the deduction of relations among masculinities from the direct exercise of personal power by men over women. The fourth critique concerns the masculine subject, referring to the unsatisfactory theory of the subject in which, according to several authors, the concept is based, meaning that it presumes a unitary subject.

In their 2005 revision, Connell and Messerschmidt reformulated the concept. They agree that the fundamental feature of the concept remains to be the combination of the plurality of masculinities and the hierarchy. They explain that "hegemonic masculinity" presumes the subordination of nonhegemonic masculinities, however, it is not a pattern of simple domination based on force. Also, they support the original idea that it needs not to be the most common pattern in men's everyday lives. Similarly, they clarify that the notion of masculinity trait in the concept does not treat it as if it was a fixed character.

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[25] Connell and Messerschmidt, "Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept", 832-835.

Accordingly, Connell and Messerschmidt reviewed and reformulated the idea based upon recommendations in four main areas: gender hierarchy, the geography of masculinities, social embodiment, and the dynamic of masculinities.[26] First, they explain that hegemonic masculine patterns may change by incorporating elements of the other masculinities in place. They acknowledge the centrality of women and marginalized men since gender is always relational. However, they argue that in practice, both incorporation and oppression can occur together, recognizing the agency of subordinated groups as much as the power of dominant ones. Second, they explain that empirically existing hegemonic masculinities can be analyzed at three levels— local (face-to-face interaction), regional (at the level of culture or the nation-state), and global (transnational arenas such as world politics). In this sense, they recognize the importance of place without falling into a monadic world of independent cultures. Third, they accept that it is important not only that masculinities be understood as embodied but also that the interweaving of embodiment and social context be addressed. Thus, bodies are both objects of social practice and agents in social practice. Finally, Connell and Messerschmidt argue that masculinities are "configurations of practice that are constructed, unfold, and change through time."[27] They explain that there may be specific patterns of internal division and emotional conflict since gender relations are always areas of tension. Therefore, a hegemonic masculinity is hegemonic if it provides a solution to these tensions, by stabilizing patriarchal power or reconstituting new conditions of patriarchal order.[28]

2.3. The concept of "Militarized Masculinities" in the Context of UN PKO

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[26] Idem, 845-847.
[27] Idem, 847.
[28] Idem, pages 847-853.

The development of masculinity studies has been influenced by an increasing attention to the figure of the UN peacekeeper. Recently, the focus has turned to the understanding of peacekeepers' engagement in violence against local women and girls, particularly in sexual exploitation. Accordingly, based on Connell's "hegemonic masculinity", Sandra Whitworth develops the concept "militarized masculinities" in order to explain this peacekeepers' gender identity crisis and how it translates into violence. As she argues, this crisis that a warrior-trained soldier experiences when he puts on the blue helmet is mainly absorbed by a militarized masculinity affecting peacekeeping negatively. The military is more than an adventure or an experience, it is a strictly hierarchical organization which main purpose is to create men that are prepared to kill and die for the state. In this sense, Whitworth follows, the skills that peacekeepers acquired through military training involve those myths and ritual characteristics in the construction of the warrior-soldier that shape, and sometimes create, ideals about manliness, race and belonging.[29]

Whitworth acknowledges that there is no single masculinity but rather multiple masculinities, and that the "hegemonic masculinities" are not determined by natural characteristics but as a result of social practices. In this sense, peacekeepers have been socialized into myths associated with militarized masculinity—courage, rationality, obedience, discipline, patriotism, and physical and psychological strength—meanwhile they were forced to deny all that is "soft" within themselves. As Whitworth argues, it is not only explosions of militarized masculinity—the construction of the other vis-à-vis the self—but also its implosions—killing the "woman" in themselves—that disturb visions of the heroic warrior. Consequently, that ambiguity is important because peacekeepers are "repeatedly exposed to dangerous, provoking, or

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[29] Whitworth, *Men, Militarism, and UN Peacekeeping*, 151-152.

humiliating situations, with limited possibilities to express their feelings of anger and frustration."[30]

Militarized masculinity may be particularly fragile, in part because the hypermasculine licenses associated with it require more consistent confirmation. The difference between myths of militarized masculinities on the one hand, and the actual conditions of men's lives on the other, creates great emotional pain for peacekeepers. This pain can be translated into the missions themselves, influencing the relations between the mission's members, and their relations with locals, especially with women and girls. As Whitworth explains, this clash can have numerous consequences: "the sense of license to sexually assault and exploit women when deployed; the hyperviolence against men understood as 'foreign' and less than human; high rates of domestic violence; and incidence of post-traumatic stress disorder."[31]

Whitworth is recognized but her valuable studies of Canadian peacekeepers in different post-conflict settings around the world. She analyzed particularly the experiences of new recruits. As she explains, new recruits come to see the military as their family, because the group "is all you've got."[32] Accordingly, she argues that the bond created within the military is as strong as any close relationship these new recruits had previously experienced, and in some cases even stronger. Therefore, through a process of transformation that turn young men into soldier-warriors, these new recruits come to see themselves as members of a new family, part of the "warrior brotherhood."[33] However, these processes of transformation involve particular myths and promises regarding masculinity. In Whitworth's words: "the promise of turning boys into men; the myth of male-dominated and exclusively heterosexual world; the promise of a place

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[30] Idem, 168.
[31] Idem, 160-172.
[32] Idem, 158.
[33] Idem, 158.

in which force, and even violence, can be celebrated; and the myth that a soldier's superiority will never be questioned."[34]

Despite the relevance of the concept in the military, two main critiques can come as a result of the understanding of "militarized masculinities" as the "hegemonic masculinities" that inform peacekeepers' engagement in violence in post-conflict settings. First, that the concept implies that peacekeeping, like the military, has a homogenous constituency. Second, by using this notion, peacekeepers are conceived as victims of the military institution, and thus being denied any form of agency. Regarding the homogeneity critique, Marcia Kovitz brought up the crucial question: why is military masculinity identified and represented as singular and uniform? As she explains, it is the emphasis on male-female difference that serves to deflect attention from the fault lines along which military masculinity breaks internally, allowing the perpetuation of the military's attachment to a single uniform masculinity: "Masculine unity, an ally of masculine military uniformity, is a method of containing, as well as actually masking, differences in military masculinities, and it forms the basis for constructing and fostering troop solidarity in order to achieve operational effectiveness, military's unit of purpose."[35]

The notion of peacekeepers' agency inherent to the concept of "militarized masculinities" can be appreciated through Whitworth's words: "not only are soldiers serving on peacekeeping missions witness to horrific acts of violence, they sometimes must stand by and do nothing to intervene."[36] The ways in which peacekeepers react to the differences between their military training and their occupational performance may vary. In other words, these differences can be experienced differently by peacekeepers, some of them may engage in violence, some others may find distinct ways to solve their gender identity crisis. As a former British soldier Paul

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[34] Idem, 163.
[35] Marcia Kovitz, "The Roots of Military Masculinity" in *Military Masculinities: Identity and the State,* ed. Paul Higate (USA: Library of Congress, 2003), 9.
[36] Whitworth, *Men, Militarism, and UN Peacekeeping,* 184.

Higate explains, "I—in league with clerk colleagues—attempted to live up to this ideology by working out in the gym, while others parodied the feminized role."[37] Agency is maintained even in the harshest of conditions. Thus, military training can produce broad tendencies in values, attitudes and beliefs that peacekeepers may carry to their everyday lives, however, these individuals do not unquestioningly internalize this belief system. As Higate argues, in this perspective there is little if any scope for reflection on military men's agency, coming closer to a fixed 'blue-helmet soldier gender identity'. "The concept of military masculinities can assume a kind of analytical allure that can distract them from the social-structural contexts in which peacekeepers find themselves."[38]

Even if some analysts might see peacekeepers' engagement in sexual exploitation as evidence of a hegemonic militarized masculinity, this might not be the most common form of masculinity in peacekeepers' everyday lives. It can be appreciated, that peacekeepers are not a homogenous group, and their masculinities may be influenced by a highly militarized training, however, their humanitarian professional occupations and duties may influence them in less negative ways. For example, how can we explain that some peacekeepers do not engage in violence, or if they do, why do they act in different ways and for different reasons?

2.4. The concept of "Social Masculinities" in the Context of UN PKO

Paul Higate is one of the major contributors to the study of masculinities, and his theories are influenced by both his experience in the army, and his insight as a sociologist. Through his analysis of peacekeepers' sexual exploitation of women in Africa, he explains that the concept

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[37] Paul Higate, "Military Masculinities" in *Military Masculinities: Identity and the State*, ed. Paul Higate (USA: Library of Congress, 2003), 31.
[38] Paul Higate, "Peacekeepers, Masculinities, and Sexual Exploitation," *SAGE Publications* 10, no.1 (2007): 103, accessed May 15, 2017, DOI: 10.1177/1097184X06291896.

of military masculinities offers a useful analytical point of departure in explaining the dynamics of gendered power relations, "given that 6 out of every 7 peacekeepers are military (with the remaining numbers made up of civilian police), and therefore have been trained in combat."[39] However, as explained before, he highlights the limitations of the concept, mainly the problem of homogeneity and the lack of agency the concept gives not only to the peacekeeper, but to the victims of exploitation. As a result, he proposes a different reading of Connell' original concept through the notion of "oppressive social masculinities".[40] He uses this concept in order to capture better the intersectionality of gender, power and sexuality, and to explain that it is not only soldiers who engage in the sexual exploitation of others (women in the majority of the cases). He came to this conclusion by analyzing the performance of different male members of civil organizations and transnational security companies in post-conflict settings. Thus, the concept gives importance to the agency, but also to the structure, the context that the peacekeepers face, the post-conflict setting and the masculine and feminine cultures and subcultures prevailing there.

Likewise, Higate emphasizes that gender relations between peacekeepers and local women remain under-researched. Less attention has been paid to the ways in which women creatively challenge, resist and negotiate masculine forms of domination. As he explains: "Peacekeepers and local women occupy diverse and shifting subject position, their experiences of insecurity and security are variable and thus worthy of investigation."[41] As he argues, we know less about the positive impact of male peacekeepers. Similarly, Antonia Porter explains that what is constructed can be transformed, thus, the notion of "hegemonic masculinity" offers as well a positive suggestion: that a new, less oppressive masculinity could arise and become hegemonic,

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[39] Paul Higate and Marsha Henry, "Engendering (In) security in Peace Support Operations," *Security Dialogue* 35, no.4 (2004): 484, accessed May 15, 2017, DOI: 10.1177/0967010604049529.
[40] Paul Higate, "Peacekeepers, Masculinities, and Sexual Exploitation," 100.
[41] Higate and Henry, "Engendering (In) security in Peace Support Operations", 482.

therefore dismantling gender hierarchies.[42] This idea will be developed deeply in the next chapters, particularly in the case study section.

Higate and Henry are one of the main contributors to the studies of men and masculinities, particularly throughout their ethnographic studies in Africa. By analyzing different peacekeepers' diaries in the UN mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo, Higate appreciated that traditional accounts of masculinity were presented as vulnerable. In these accounts, the framing of a virulent masculinity in pursuit of passive femininity is reconfigured. As he explains, "local women were constructed as sexual players in an apparently equitable game through 'rhetoric of mutuality'.[43] Likewise, Higate developed an analysis of UN civilian and NGO elements in the Congolese post-conflict setting. He concludes that not only military peacekeepers were involved in the sexual exploitation of local women and girls, thereby problematizing the notion of a hegemonic "militarized masculinity" among peacekeepers.[44]

Similarly, Claire Duncanson analyzes the different approaches that have been made regarding peacekeepers' masculinities and their involvement in the sexual exploitation of local women and girls. Like Paul Higate, she explains that "masculinities are multiple, dynamic and contradictory. As they are constructed in relation to contexts men find themselves in."[45] Therefore, in the case of peacekeepers, she argues that peacekeeping post-conflict settings may play a crucial role in the construction of alternative masculinities. Despite her agreements with Higate, she concludes that the concept of hegemonic masculinity helps us theorize how masculinities can vary and yet why men remain in positions of power overall. As she argues,

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[42] Antonia Porter, "What is Constructed can be Transformed: Masculinities in Post-Conflict Societies in Africa." *International Peacekeeping* 20, no. 4 (2013): 488, accessed May 16, 2017, DOI: 10.1080/13533312.2013.846137.
[43] Higate, "Peacekeepers, Masculinities, and Sexual Exploitation," 108.
[44] Idem, 109.
[45] Claire Duncanson, "Forces for Good? Narratives of Military Masculinity in Peacekeeping Operations," *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 11, no.1 *(2009):* 63, Accessed May 15, 2017, http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14616740802567808.

multiple masculinities exist in peacekeeping but the hegemony of the warrior model is part of the reason that certain men dominate in the missions.[46]

Masculinities are not fixed, and even within one institution or organization we can encounter multiple and diverse masculinities. Likewise, the multiplicity of masculinities is relative to different locations and diverse dynamics, since gender is always relational. Higate's analysis offers a more detailed picture of the different masculinities that overlap within peacekeeping, and the relation between these masculinities and post-conflict's cultural contexts. He has contributed greatly to the development of the studies on men and masculinities. Higate and Henry belong to few feminist scholars that used an intersectional approach in their work on masculinities, peacekeeping, and sexual violence. They created an interesting intersectional exercise between masculinities and nationalisms in the context of the UN peacekeeping mission in Liberia. However, their studies remain highly based on the local constructions of men. In a transnational space like the UN, it is important to study not only local constructions, but regional and global.

2.5. Moving forward: Intersectional Framing of Masculinities

The majority of the authors who theorize peacekeepers' masculinities and sexual violence in post-conflict settings acknowledge the importance of gender intersectionality; however, this approach remains under-developed. Enloe looked at the wider hegemony under which hegemonic masculinities negotiated, by studying how engendered macro-practices shape regional and local settings, and viceversa. Likewise, Whitworth explores the relation between masculinity and racism by arguing that "peacekeeping is, in short, part of the 'subject-

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[46] Duncanson, "Forces for Good? Narratives of Military Masculinity in Peacekeeping Operations," 76.

constituting project' of the colonial encounter."[47] Similarly, Higate and Henry repeatedly mention the importance of intersectionality: "even though male peacekeepers have in common some aspects of masculinity, differences in religious, class, and military and ethnic backgrounds can shape the ways in which they promote, experience, and construct masculinities."[48] Finally, Claire Duncanson also includes the intersectional factor in her 2009 analysis of peacekeepers masculinities, "the world intersect is crucial as identities are not constructed as a collection of discretely elements, so that race, age, class, ethnicity, ability and nationality are also gender specific identities."[49] Accordingly, the next chapter's intention is to explore the intersection of peacekeepers' masculinities with other identities and the implications of the intersection in peacekeepers' engagement in sexual exploitation of local women and girls in post-conflict settings.

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[47] Whitworth, *Men, Militarism, and UN Peacekeeping*, page 185.
[48] Higate and Henry, "Engendering (In) Security in Peace Support Operations", 489.
[49] Duncanson, "Forces for Good? Narratives of Military Masculinity in Peacekeeping Operations," 65.

CHAPTER 3: MASCULINITIES, INTERSECTIONALITIES, AND TRANSECTIONALITIES IN THE CONTEXT OF UNPKO

3.1. Introduction

The previous chapter approached different perspectives of the debate on peacekeeping, masculinities, and sexual violence. As explained, the center of the debate relies in the different uses of the concept of "hegemonic masculinity" in order to explain peacekeepers' engagement in sexual violence against local women and girls. One side of the debate agrees that peacekeepers' identities are mainly informed by a "militarized hegemonic masculinity" that influences their actions in the post-conflict setting. The other side of the debate understands "hegemonic masculinity" in terms of "social oppressions", not only recognizing the agency of the peacekeepers but the importance of the context, of the negotiations and resistances of nonhegemonical masculinities. Both sides acknowledge the importance of intersectionality with other social hierarchies, however, this research remains underdeveloped in studies of masculinities in the context of peacekeeping operations and violence. Accordingly, the following chapter's purpose is to develop and intersectional analysis of masculinities, race, nationalism, and transnationalism in the context of UNPKO and sexual violence.[50]

The concept of "intersectionality" was coined by Kimberlé Crenshaw as a way of understanding how identities are constructed through the intersection of multiple dimensions. Intersectionality refers to the "interactions between gender, race, and other categories of difference in individual lives, social practices, institutional arrangements, and cultural ideologies, and the outcomes of

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[50] The social identities chosen for this intersectional analytical exercise (race, nationalism, and transnationalism), were selected according to the content and goals of this particular research. However, other social identities are equally important in the understanding of peacekeepers' sexual violence in post-conflict settings (class, sexuality, etc.)

those interactions in terms of power."[51] As Crenshaw explains, the problem with identity politics is that it frequently ignores intragroup differences. In the context of violence, these differences are problematic fundamentally because the violence that many women experience is often shaped by multiple dimensions of identity. Likewise, as she argues, ignoring differences may create tensions among groups.[52] Similarly, Kathy Davis explains that intersectionality addresses central theoretical and normative concerns within feminism—differences among women—by employing compatible methodologies with post-structuralist projects of deconstructing categories, and exploring the contradictory and dynamic workings of power.[53]

As Davis explains, intersectionality is successful because it provides a much needed bridge between feminist field researchers and feminist theoreticians. With each new intersection, new connections emerge and hidden exclusions come to light.[54] History and context determine the utility of identity politics, therefore, intersectionality provides a useful way to analyze how differences intersect in a specific social practice or location, or within particular personal identities. Research on social identities often details the everyday micro-practices, as Benita Moolman acknowledges on her research of South African masculinities, but does not explore the macro-environment that influences and engages them. As she explains, "intersectionality recognizes the myriad and multiple articulations of social power."[55] Accordingly, this chapter will explore the utility of the intersectional analysis in order to understand the crossroad between masculinities, race, nationalism, and transnationalism in the context of UN peacekeeping and sexual violence in post-conflict settings.

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[51] Kathy Davis, "Intersectionality as Buzzword: a sociology of science perspective on what makes a feminist theory successful," *Feminist Theory* 9, no. 1 (2008): 68, accessed May 22, http://fty.sagepub.com.

[52] Kimberlé Crenshaw, "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color," *Stanford Law Review* 43, no. 6 (July, 1991): 1242, accessed May 9, 2017, http://www.jstor.org/stable/1229039.

[53] Davis, "Intersectionality as Buzzword: a sociology of science perspective on what makes a feminist theory successful," 71-74.

[54] Ídem, 76.

[55] Benita Moolman, "Rethinking 'masculinities in transition' in South Africa considering the 'intersectionality' of race, class, and sexuality with gender," *African Identities* 11, no. 1 (2013): 93, accessed May 12, 2017, http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14725843.2013.775843.

3.2. Rethinking "Hegemonic Masculinities" in a Globalizing World

Since its creation, the concept of "hegemonic masculinity" coined by R.W. Connell has evolved hand by hand with the field of theories of masculinities. This development can also be seen as part of the debate on intersectionalities. In their 2005 reformulation of the concept, Connell and Messerschmidt reiterate that the concept doesn't have any meaning outside its relation to femininity—and all those femininities practiced in a complementary, compliant, and accommodating subordinate way—and to nonhegemonic masculinities. Likewise, they acknowledge that the concept must incorporate a more holistic grasp of gender hierarchy that recognizes not only the power of hegemonic groups, but also the agency of subordinated groups and intersectionality of gender with other social dynamics (class, race, nation, etc.) Similarly, they encourage further research on how patriarchal relations are stabilized and legitimized at the local, regional and global levels, and how each level impacts the other levels, as well as how much nonhegemonic masculinities relate to hegemonic ones on each level.[56]

The global gender order is defined by the relationships that interconnect gender orders of local societies and the gender regimes of institutions in a global scale. As Connell explains, the links that constitute a global gender order seem to be of two basic types: "the first is the interaction between existing gender orders, and the second is the creation of new 'spaces' and arenas beyond individual countries and regions."[57] Accordingly, the United Nations is one of the best examples where major forms of globalizing masculinity converge, and where the historical development of global society patterns in a postcolonial world can be appreciated. Likewise,

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[56] James W. Messerschmidt, "Engendering Gendered Knowledge: Assessing the Academic Appropriation of Hegemonic Masculinity," *Men and Masculinities* 15, no. 1 (2012): 59-73, accessed May 12, 2017, http://jmm.sagepub.com.

[57] R.W.Connell, "Globalization, Imperialism, and Masculinities," in *Handbook of Studies on Men & Masculinities*, ed. Michael S. Kimmel, Jeff Hearn and R. W. Connell (California: SAGE, 2005), 73-74.

Jeff Hearn explains that the majority of the studies on the "hegemony of men"[58] and masculinities have been limited to a single national, societal context, exemplifying what he names "methodological nationalism."[59] As he argues, "much less examined is the construction of men in terms of assumptions about the nation, national context, globalization, post-colonialism, and transnational issues."[60]

Globalization provides a common ground in the processes of construction and reconstruction of masculinities. Connell analyses the reconstruction of masculinities in relation to four substructures: the division of labor, power relations, emotional relations, and symbolization.[61] A she explains, violence has been particularly important in the construction of masculinities based upon these substructures. In the processes of encounter between "modern" and "traditional" masculinities men do not abandon either model, rather, "they develop a practice that Pearlman calls "code switching", in which different patterns of masculinity are enacted with different audiences."[62] As Moolman argues, masculinity as a relation is constituted through larger ideological discourses such as race, sexuality, age and imperialism, among others.[63] These relations produce different functions and forms of power, therefore, intersectionality is vital for understanding how power mobilizes in the production or reproduction of masculinities. In Moolman's words: "social power is exercised through the articulation of multiple identities and sanctioned as legitimated through macro-social processes and social institutions."[64]

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[58] He emphasizes the importance on focusing on men as a category of analysis, rather than just on masculinities. As he explains, the "hegemony of men" seeks to address the double complexity that men are both a social category formed by the gender system, and individuals, often dominant, agents of social practices. Jeff Hearn. *Men of the World: Genders, Globalizations, Transnational Times* (London: SAGE, 2015), 16.
[59] Hearn, *Men of the World: Genders, Globalizations, Transnational Times*, 17
[60] Idem, 17.
[61] For the purpose of this research the focus will be the relations between masculinities and the substructures of power relations and emotional relations. For more information see Connell, "Globalization, Imperialism, and Masculinities," 78-82.
[62] Ídem, 80.
[63] Moolman, "Rethinking 'masculinities in transition' in South Africa considering the 'intersectionality' of race, class, and sexuality with gender," 95.
[64] Ídem, 94.

3.3. "Racial Masculinities" in the Context of UN PKO

Crenshaw's work has focused mainly in the interconnectedness of gender and race in the context of violence against Black women. Similarly, the intersectionality between masculinities and race has been central to the development of different social theories in diverse fields of study. Crenshaw focuses on three types of intersectionality: structural, political and representational.[65] As she explains, the structural and political intersectionalities analyze how the imposition of one burden that interacts with existing vulnerabilities create multiple dimensions of disempowerment. In her words, "intersectionality exacerbates the disempowerment of all those already subordinated by other structures of domination."[66] Likewise, Moolman acknowledges that race is not a unified or unifying category like it was during the apartheid. As she explains, "macro-social processes of race are critical for rethinking the practices of men and masculinities."[67] Race is a strong determinant of social identities, therefore, the meaning and practice of gender power is usually informed by racial ideologies.

Different theoretical approaches analyze the relation between gendered and racialized traditional macro-practices constructed during colonial rule with post-colonial global, regional, and local dynamics. As Connell explains, imperial social order created a hierarchy of masculinities and races where the colonizers distinguished "more manly" from "less manly".[68] Sherene Razack understands these relations in the context of UN peacekeeping operations, in her analysis of Canadian peacekeepers in Somalia: "humanitarian agents such as some of the

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[65] For the purpose of this research the focus will be on structural and political intersectionalities. For more information see Crenshaw, "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color," 1246-1283.

[66] Ídem, 1242.

[67] Moolman, "Rethinking 'masculinities in transition' in South Africa considering the 'intersectionality' of race, class, and sexuality with gender," 99.

[68] Connell, "Globalization, Imperialism, and Masculinities," 75.

UN workers, come to define their own individual sense of morality in deeply colonial terms."[69]

As she explains throughout her research in Africa, if the soldiers "lost it" in Africa it is only because they were pushed too far by the "cruelties of the land". In this twilight zone confronted by men "who wore skirts and held hands" who could be a saint? , natives need to be taught a lesson.[70]

What can we know about "racial masculinities" in the context of peacekeeping? Intersectional hierarchies can be better understood through the dynamics of socially dominant and dominated masculinities, and their relation to different settings. As Razack explains, the ideal man is one who is superior to both women and racial minorities. In her words, "if an ideal men is one who engages in practices of dominance, then all men have incentives to do so, just as all men have incentives to engage in violence against women."[71] Accordingly, in the context of peacekeeping grew the hegemonic ideal grew out of what Razack names "colonial masculinities", or in the words of Messerschmidt "the social construction of white supremacist masculinity."[72] In this sense, throughout different studies of peacekeeping missions in what are considered "less developed countries", particularly in Africa, soldiers acted more like conquerors than humanitarians. As Razack concludes in her analysis of the peacekeeping mission in Somalia, "the international epitomized by the United Nations becomes a space where there is no outright aggression or colonial domination. There is only Third World barbarisms."[73]

Accordingly, how can we explain peacekeeping violence of Western troops in post-colonial settings? As different authors acknowledge, peacekeeping enables nations, particularly Western nations, to constitute themselves as a group of civilized members with a global civilizing

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[69] Sherene Razack, "From the 'Clean Snows of Petawa': The Violence of Canadian Peacekeepers in Somalia," *Cultural Anthropology* 15, no.1 (2000): 133, Accessed May 19, 2017, American Anthropological Association.

[70] Razack, "From the 'Clean Snows of Petawa': The Violence of Canadian Peacekeepers in Somalia," 142-147.

[71] Sherene Razack, "Outwhiting the White Guys: Men of Color and Peacekeeping Violence," *UMKC Law Review* 71, no. 331 (2003): 334. Accessed May 20, 2017, HeinOnline.

[72] Razack, "From the 'Clean Snows of Petawa': The Violence of Canadian Peacekeepers in Somalia," 138.

[73] Sherene H. Razack. *Dark Threats & White Knights: The Somalia Affair, Peacekeeping, and the New Imperialism* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press Incorporated, 2004), 45.

mission. Razack explains, peacekeepers coming from "developed countries" seem to be highly influenced by the civilized/uncivilized imaginary in their perceptions of the missions. The "uncivilized world" where people are from different moral and legal orders, and which practices differ from those of the "civilized world".[74] She acknowledges the importance of the intersectionality between masculinities, race, and nation. As she argues, human rights abuses, abstracted out of context and history, materially and ideologically support the dominance of white Western nation-sates. In her words, then as now, "nationhood and manhood require testing in the spaces and on the bodies of racialized "Others.""[75]

Throughout her research on the UN peacekeeping mission in Somalia, Razack argues that the mission enabled certain nations, especially Canada, to grow up outside the shadow of both the US and Great Britain. Peacekeeping makes possible a history of "doing good". In the Somalian post-conflict setting, as Razack explains, one pattern of peacekeepers reflected a ·soldier-warrior strategy", in which they treated the entire population as enemies. The other pattern was based on a humanitarian strategy adopted mainly by women and Black soldiers. Razack acknowledges the power dynamics between hegemonic and nonhegemonic masculinities in this context. Therefore, she argues that it was not only the experience of racism that prompted peacekeepers into violence, but also the colonial shape of the encounter, where a majority of peacekeepers were drawn into. Therefore, the "colonial logic—the natives can only be kept in line through force"[76]—is an important variable to understand peacekeepers' engagement in violence in Somalia, and many other missions in Africa as well.

3.4. "National Masculinities" in the Context of UN PKO

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[74] Sherene H. Razack. *Dark Threats & White Knights: The Somalia Affair, Peacekeeping, and the New Imperialism,* 54.

[75] Razack, "From the 'Clean Snows of Petawa': The Violence of Canadian Peacekeepers in Somalia," 134.

[76] Razack, "Outwhiting the White Guys: Men of Color and Peacekeeping Violence," 351.

As explained before, the intersectionality between gender, race, and nation is crucial in the analysis of peacekeepers' violence in post-conflict settings. As Razack explains, in the context of peacekeeping, the figure of the "soldier male", especially hyper-masculine and prone to engage in violence, sever his masculine ideal from its national and international contexts. [77] According to Joane Nagel, "the project of establishing national identity and cultural boundaries tend to foster nationalist ethnocentrism."[78] As she explains, the link between masculinity and nationalism shapes the thinking and feeling of men and women. Therefore, she highlights the importance on recognizing nationalism as a feminist issue since a great number of transnational relations are constructed throughout the historical and modern connection between nationhood and manhood.[79]

The relationship between masculinity and nationalism, like the relation between masculinity and race, is a hegemonic one. As Laura Prividera and John Howard explain, nationalism is a strategic rhetoric, group membership is defined in relation to an "ideological center", which in turn is defined by cultural constructions of masculinity and whiteness.[80] The archetypal actor is the ideal to emulate, the national representative in the context of peacekeeping is mainly socially constructed as a "white heterosexual male." In Prividera and Howard's words: the further one is from the "ideal" national, "the more foreign, impure, and ultimately, untrustworthy a person becomes."[81] Similarly, Nagel explains that the sometimes hysterical resistance to a diversity—that clearly exists outside military boundaries—makes more sense when it is understood that these men are not only defending tradition, but a particular gendered,

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[77] Idem, 337.

[78] This research follows Nagel understanding of nationalism as "both a goal to achieve statehood, and a belief in collective commonality. National ethnocentrism is understood as the judging of another culture according to the standards of one's own. Joane Nagel, "Masculinity and Nationalism: gender and sexuality in the making of nations," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 21, no. 2 (1998): 248, accessed May 20, 2017, http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/014198798330007.

[79] Joane Nagel, "Nation," in *Handbook of Studies on Men & Masculinities*, ed. Michael S. Kimmel, Jeff Hearn and R. W. Connell (California: SAGE, 2005), 397.

[80] Laura C. Prividera and John W. Howard III, "Masculinity, Whiteness, and the Warrior Hero: Perpetuating the Strategic Rhetoric of U.S. Nationalism and the Marginalization of Women," *Women and Language* 29, no. 2, (August, 2006): 30, accessed May 18, 2017, ProQuest Central.

[81] Prividera and Howard, "Masculinity, Whiteness, and the Warrior Hero: Perpetuating the Strategic Rhetoric of U.S. Nationalism and the Marginalization of Women," 30-31.

racial, and sexual conception of the self. As she argues, "a white, male, heterosexual notion of masculine identity loaded with all the burdens and privileges that go along with hegemonic masculinity."[82]

The majority of theories of masculinity in the context of peacekeeping, as explained in the previous chapter, agree that peacekeepers who engage in violence against the local population are mainly informed by a hegemonic "militarized masculinity." Likewise, several authors analyze the connection between masculinities and states' institutions, particularly the military. As Nagel explains, there is no surprise that the culture and ideology of "hegemonic masculinity" go hand in hand with the culture and ideology of "hegemonic nationalism."[83] Similarly, as Prividera and Howard explain, the national ideology sanctions specific constructions of gender and race both in and out the military. Therefore, as they argue based on D'amico and Weinstein's analysis of gender and civil-military relations, "to begin to un-gender the military, we have to undo other social hierarchies that maintain the gender divisions."[84]

The encounters between peacekeepers and local population are characterized by complex dynamics of interconnectedness of social identities, relations and hierarchies. This complexity was explained throughout this chapter in an attempt to understand peacekeepers' engagement in sexual violence against local women. This analysis offers the opportunity to move beyond the argument of a hegemonic "militarized masculinity", which remains the most used explanation in the studies of masculinity in peacekeeping missions. As appreciated throughout these sections, the soldier-warrior identity can only explain one piece of the whole picture, since this identity is informed by a relation with interconnected macro-practices of other social identities and hierarchies. As Higate and Henry explain in their research of peacekeepers in the

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[82] Nagel, "Nation," 407.
[83] Nagel, "Nation," 397.
[84] Prividera and Howard, "Masculinity, Whiteness, and the Warrior Hero: Perpetuating the Strategic Rhetoric of U.S. Nationalism and the Marginalization of Women," 30.

UN mission in Liberia, a "military nationality configures peacekeepers' everyday social practices, but more than that how their nationality is hierarchized and organized into a series of security styles."[85] In this sense, the crucial question may be, as they both acknowledge, soldiering for a state calls forth different notions of masculinity than soldiering for the United Nations?

3.5. Are UN Peacekeepers transectional men?

The United Nations is one of the best examples of the key arenas of transnational relations, in which different intersectional social constructions take place. Jeff Hearn and Marina Blagojevic acknowledge that transnationality is a strongly neglected arena of intersectionality. Consequently, they explain why it is important to understand institutions like the UN through a transectional analysis. First, transnationalities concern relations between nationalities, and thus nations. Second, it highlights intersectionalities within and between nationalities, language, culture, location, and movement, but also across boundaries. And finally, transnationality may involve metamorphosing of boundaries, national and other. [86] Therefore, a transectional analysis—that examines not only the interconnection between different social identities, but also the dynamics between different social hierarchies in a global space—is crucial for studying UNPKO's practices.

The element of 'trans' refers to three basically different notions: moving across (across national boundaries or between nations), metamorphosing (problematizing or blurring nations, or national boundaries), and creating new configurations (intensified transnational, supranational, deterritorialized, or virtual institutions). [87] Accordingly, transnational processes, on the one

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[85] Henry and Higate, "Peacekeepers as New Men? Security and Masculinity in the United Nations Mission in Liberia," 14.
[86] Hearn, Jeff and Blagojevic, Marina, "Introducing and Rethinking Transnational Men." *In Rethinking Transnational Men: Beyond, Between and Within Nations*, ed. Jeff Hearn, Marina Blagojevic, and Katherine Harrison, (New York: Routledge, 2013), 7.
[87] Hearn, *Men of the World: Genders, Globalizations, Transnational Times,* 91.

hand, may further strengthen cultural differences. But, on the other hand, some transnational political bodies like the UN may even intentionally transform established gender relations. The crucial point of the transectional analysis in the context of UN peacekeeping is, as Hearn and Blagojevic explain, to understand "how the values that are largely seen as transnational values are appropriated by national leaders, to be reinserted eventually into the transnational realm with transformative power."[88] As noticed, this does not only apply to national leaders, but also to transnational agents such as peacekeepers.

What is the place of men in the world? The majority of feminist approaches have followed Enloe's popular question, where are the women?[89] This question is crucial because it gives voice to a great amount of women that have been marginalized by the different structures and relations of patriarchy. However, in the majority of the studies the figure of "men"—understood as the "archetypal white heterosexual male"—has been taken for granted and left out as a fixed category of analysis. As women, men are intersectionally gendered. Connections can be made between the intersections of gender and other social divisions in men's lives, in the form of multiple oppressions. In Hearn's words: "one of the key issues of intersectional analysis is the extent to which two or more social divisions and differences are understood as determinate of other social divisions and differences."[90] Therefore, looking only at women's lives develops an incomplete analysis of global gender dynamics.

In many transnational movements, particular groups of men are the most powerful actors. As Hearn explains, transnational locations and movements do not necessarily reduce social stratification, but rather impact it in different ways: "some men are fixed in national/local space; others are forced into transnational space; some seek affluent transnational 'freedom'; some

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[88] Hearn, Jeff and Blagojevic, Marina, "Introducing and Rethinking Transnational Men,"15.

[89] Where are the women? Is Cynthia Enloe's central question. This question leads the majority of her work, in an attempt to show the marginalization of women throughout history.

[90] Hearn, *Men of the World: Genders, Globalizations, Transnational Times,* 88.

construct national space through transnational endeavor."[91] But, what is the relation between transnationality and violence? The military is one of the clearest arenas of transnational social power and violence. In this sense, military organizations can be analyzed through transnational embodied connections. Hearn name a few: "most military activity is based in a real or imagined relation to specific spaces and places; second, militaries and militarisms, both state and para-state, are major sources of actual and potential destruction of bodies, and their associated emotions."[92] Thus, the military both, is informed by, and produces rationalizations and emotionalizations that are transferred to local, regional, and transnational fields.

The analysis of male peacekeepers is even more complex than the military one. As explained before, peacekeepers are not defined entirely by hegemonic "militarized masculinities." Peacekeepers engagement in violence can be better analyzed through the understanding of male peacekeepers as transectional men. Agents that are informed by their intersectional identities constructed based on their nationality, race and gender, and the different hierarchical relations where they belong in their nations and in the transnational arena of the United Nations. Likewise, these agents' performances—the engagement or not in violence—are shaped by the intersectional micro and macro practices in the post-conflict settings. This theoretical exercise will be better developed in the next chapter through the particular cases of peacekeepers' performance in two missions in Africa.

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[91] Idem, 93.
[92] Idem, 115.

CHAPTER 4: TRANSECTIONAL PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS IN AFRICA

4.1 Introduction

The previous chapter proposed a transectional approach to better analyze peacekeepers' engagement in violence against the local population, particularly toward women and girls. A transectional approach allows to understand how peacekeepers' agency is influenced not only by local dynamics, but also by regional and global understandings associated with masculinities, race, and nationalism. Consequently, this approach offers as well the possibility to better understand how such macro-practices impact peacekeepers' performances once deployed in post-conflict missions. Likewise, analyzing peacekeepers as transectional men offers the possibility to appreciate as well how their performances are seen in the mission they belong to, and how these performances shape the image of the countries they represent in transnational forums, in this case in the UN. Finally, this approach offers a wider explanation of transectional practices within the UN.

Accordingly, the purpose of this chapter is to analyze, through a comparative case study, the role of transnational dynamics in gendered nation-building processes within peacekeeping missions. The chapter will be developed using a transectional approach of the interrelation between masculinities, race, and nationalism. Two different groups of peacekeepers in two different missions in Africa will be analyzed: Canadian peacekeepers in the UN mission in

Somalia, and Swedish peacekeepers in the UN mission in Liberia. These groups of peacekeepers were chosen because of three important reasons: (1) they are both associated with the archetypal figure of "White Heterosexual Males of the North"; (2) they are considered worldwide as "middle-power nations" that constructed a post-Cold War nationalism based on the figure of the United Nations' peacekeeping operations; and finally, (3) peacekeepers from these countries see themselves as humanitarian heroes whose job is to protect the local population and promote the protection of human rights in post-conflict settings. Despite these similarities, as we will appreciate throughout the chapter, Canadian peacekeepers' performance had a negative effect on the local population, contrary to the Swedish case in which the locals confirmed an impact on their security that was positive in several ways.

4.2. "Transectional Peacekeepers in the Context of UN Missions in Africa

As explained throughout this research, masculinities are variable and changing. The concept of "hegemonic masculinity" does not necessarily imply, as Connell and Messerschmidt explained in their 2005 reformulation of the concept, that dominant forms of masculinity legitimate men's power. "Alternative masculinities" can cooperate with, negotiate, or resist hegemonic ones in different spaces, creating a more symmetrical order.[93] However, this possible symmetry can be undermined by transectional gender dynamics at the global level. As Oystein Gullvag Holter explains, even if gender by itself is symmetrical, it becomes asymmetrical when entangled with inegalitarian or patriarchal structures, or other main societal power relations.[94] Messerschmidt offers a very good example of this situation: "peacekeeping masculinity challenged traditional British localized military hegemonic masculinity yet simultaneously was constructed in relation

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[93] Messerschmidt, "Engendering Gendered Knowledge: Assessing the Academic Appropriation of Hegemonic Masculinity," 59.
[94] Oystein Gullvag Holter, "Masculinities in context: on peace issues and patriarchal orders," in Male roles, masculinities, and violence, a culture of peace perspective, ed. Ingeborg Breines, et al. (Paris: UNESCO, 2000), 66.

to subordinate racialized and feminized Others."[95] In this sense, "middle-power nations" are good examples of how "alternative masculinities" work in transnational dynamics. They are located at some distance from the archetypal "White Heterosexual Male Nations"—which are understood to be the United States and the United Kingdom—but at the same time well positioned in the transnational hierarchy of nations.

A transectional approach offers the possibility to see how dynamics of power and power positions are created and reshaped. This is particularly evident in the analysis of "middle-powers" like Canada and the Nordic countries. As Razack explains, peacekeeping provides middle powers with a role in international governance: in France's case, participation in UN peacekeeping helped to consolidate France's position as a permanent member of the Security Council.[96] Likewise, by analyzing Belgian and Italian interventions in their former colonies, Razack argues that Northern peacekeepers, even before they go to Africa, have constituted themselves as men of superior morality whose task is to instruct the natives: "peacekeeping provides a way for both settler colonies and ex-colonial powers to perform themselves as members of an international brotherhood of civilized states."[97] These examples show the contradictions in the mission and vision of UN peacekeeping operations and the "New Humanism", that understands the missions as transnational spaces where national, gender, and racial differences are "erased" by the blue helmet.

Similarly, Moolman applies this understanding in a dual model of "hegemonic masculinity", as she explains: "both the modern citizen/man and the traditional man coexist to support, sanction, and legitimize different masculine practices in different spaces".[98] As Knut Oftung explains in his study of men and gender equality in the Nordic countries,[99] there exists a hierarchy of

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[95] Messerschmidt, "Engendering Gendered Knowledge: Assessing the Academic Appropriation of Hegemonic Masculinity," 66.
[96] Razack, *Dark Threats & White Knights: The Somalia Affair, Peacekeeping, and the New Imperialism*, 45.
[97] Idem, 45.
[98] Moolman, "Rethinking 'masculinities in transition' in South Africa considering the 'intersectionality' of race, class, and sexuality with gender," 96.
[99] By Nordic countries it is meant: Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden.

various masculine roles and male cultures. "It is possible for young men in the Nordic countries to do their compulsory national service in the form of civilian service instead of military service, but the choice must often put them in a more vulnerable position in relation to other men."[100] This a good example for explaining the modern nationalist project of the Nordic countries in the 1990s, which allows more freedom to experiment new ways of being men. However, it is important to notice how traditional socialization patterns, confirmed by macro-factors and institutionalized schemes, can also have a positive influence on women's and men's everyday lives.

Canada and the Nordic countries, among others, are considered the humanitarian nations by excellence. During the Cold War the cooperation known as the Nordic peacekeeping model was the archetype of peacekeeping missions.[101]Eleven of the thirteen operations conducted by the UN in this period had Nordic participation, and approximately 125,000 troops or about 25 percent of the personnel that served in these operations came from Nordic countries.[102] As Peter Viggo Jakobsen explains, five factors made Nordic involvement in peacekeeping inevitable: suitability, common interests, distinct national interests, a high overlap between national interests and UN ideals, and the narrative of success. As Jakobsen argues, "Once the Nordic politicians realized that their involvement in peacekeeping operations markedly enhanced their national status and prestige, they quickly began to make the best out of it."[103] The benefits that peacekeeping provided them were not limited to the international scene, domestically, it became a source of national prominence.

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[100] Knut Oftung, "Men and gender equality in the Nordic countries," in Male roles, masculinities, and violence, a culture of peace perspective, ed. Ingeborg Breines, et al. (Paris: UNESCO, 2000), 144.
[101] "An institutional framework made up of regular meetings between the Nordic ministers of defense and a number of working groups; a series of joint special UN peacekeeping courses for officers; national standby forces which generally consisted of volunteers recruited at short notice on an individual basis and deployed in the field with only a few weeks of preparation and a minimum of logistical support; and finally a high willingness to provide personnel for UN operations." In Peter Viggo Jakobsen, "The Nordic peacekeeping model: Rise, fall, resurgence"? *International Peacekeeping* 13, no.3 (2006): 381-382, accessed May 26, 2017, DOI: 10.1080/13533310600824082.
[102] Jakobsen, "The Nordic peacekeeping model: Rise, fall, resurgence"? 382.
[103] Idem, 386.

Canada, as the Nordic countries, meets almost the same characteristics outlined by Jakobsen in order to explain the inevitability of being involved in peacekeeping. Canada is not a country characterized by posing a threat to anyone regarding its political and economic interests. It provided trained and well-equipped troops to the majority of their peacekeeping missions. They are considered as a peaceful nation whose participation in conflict resolutions is characterized by the role of mediator. Likewise, their national interests highly overlap with the UN values and ideals. In this sense, Canada seemed to meet all the requirements needed to be a success history of peacekeeping missions, however, Canadian peacekeepers' performances in missions in Africa, particularly in Somalia and the Democratic Republic of Congo, put into question the long-standing Canada's internal self-perception and their status in the world of nations. Two main aspects of Canadian history and identity politics differentiate the from the Nordic countries, their colonial histories and involvement in imperial designs through the shadow of Great Britain, and their image as the "little brother" of the United States of America.[104] These aspects will be developed further in the subchapter on Canada's mission in Somalia.

4.3. The Somalia Affair: Canadian Peacekeepers in UNOSOM

Canada has a premiere status of being one of the most experienced peacekeeping countries in the world. Canada is considered the archetypal of a benign and altruistic middle power, the ideal of moral purity in the world of nations. This image is better described through the words

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[104] Whitworth, *Men, Militarism, and UN Peacekeeping*, 85-102.

of General Paul Manson: "The image of a Canadian soldier wearing a blue beret, standing watch at some lonely outpost in a strife-torn foreign land, is part of the modern Canadian mosaic, and a proud tradition."[105] Canada's defense strategies and foreign policy highly relied on its mediating role in the United Nations, and its relations with other nations in transnational spaces like peacekeeping missions. Since 2000, "Canada provided approximately 2.8% of the UN peacekeeping assessed contributions in accordance with the UN scale of apportionment, ranking it among the top 10 financial contributors to UN peace operations."[106] As appreciated, peacekeeping is a crucial terrain in Canadian nationalism and Canada's foreign relations. Peacekeeping certainly played a role in Canada's successful bid for a Security Council seat in 1998.[107]

Two factors are important in order to explain Canadian peacekeepers' performances in post-conflict settings: colonial histories and neighborhood relations with the United States of America. Canada is not characterized by being a colonizer nation, however, their involvement in imperial designs—under the shadow of Great Britain—can be appreciated in actual colonial tendencies it has in peacekeeping missions.[108] One example of Canadian colonial histories is the "voyageurs" rescue of British Governor General in Sudan in 1880.[109]Similarly, being the neighbor of the United States informs partially Canada's rationale in peacekeeping. As Razack argues, Canadians have often found colonial terrain already occupied by the Americans. She continues, "In the Canadian national vocation of peacekeeping, the glorious dream of being a kinder, gentler version of the United States can easily slide into the distinctly unheroic and less masculine role of younger brother playing second fiddle."[110] In this sense, peacekeeping gave

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[105] Idem, 85.

[106] Peacekeeping Contributor Profile: Canada, Providing for Peacekeeping, last modified April, 2017, accessed May 29, 2017, http://www.providingforpeacekeeping.org/2014/04/03/contributor-profile-canada-2/.

[107] Whitworth, *Men, Militarism, and UN Peacekeeping*, 88.

[108] The national role of helper to larger Western nations in their colonial activities in the Third World is readily in evidence in Canadian history and frequently romanticized by Canadian historians. Razack, *Dark Threats & White Knights: The Somalia Affair, Peacekeeping, and the New Imperialism, 34.*

[109] Razack, *Dark Threats & White Knights: The Somalia Affair, Peacekeeping, and the New Imperialism*, 34.

[110] Idem, 67.

Canadians the opportunity to mark themselves as distinct from the Americans, without losing their strategic alliances with them.

The United Nations mission in Somalia was divided in two: UNOSOM I that started in 1992 and further developed in UNOSOM II in 1993- both Canada and the United States contributed with military and civilian police personnel.[111] Razack describes Canadians in UNOSOM as follows: "The hero's friend, however, encountered new moral dilemmas in the New World Order where military aggression is required to keep the natives in line…The hero's friend is not a warrior." Whitworth analyzes the negative impacts that these factors—colonial histories and the relationship with the US—had in Canadian peacekeepers' performance in Somalia, particularly the Airborne Regiment.[112] The deployment of the Airborne regiment—or "Operation Snatch Niggers"—is crucial in the analysis given that it established the end of UNOSOM I and the beginning of UNOSOM II. This regiment's actions show partially Canadian peacekeepers' understandings of the mission, the local population, and of themselves. Just before the mission was deployed, one soldier commented: "I think the men we are glad when the mission changed from peacekeeping to peace making…this was more real."[113]Similarly, the commander of the Airborne Regiment in Belet Huen, Lieutenant Colonel Carol Mathieu, changed the directions of the original mission by allowing peacekeepers to shoot locals in the legs, or as he said, "between the skirt and the flip flops."[114] Many of the Canadians assumed that the desperate poverty in Somalia was a result of a backward culture of laziness, and they construct themselves as different from Somalis mainly because of their attitudes toward women.

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[111] There are no records on the amount of troops contributed by each country. Somalia UNOSOM II: Facts and Figures, United Nations Peacekeeping Operations last in 2016, accessed May 29, 2017, http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/past/unosom2facts.html.
[112] The Airborne regiment was an elite unit within the Canadian forces, and one that in principle was prepared to deploy to any location in the world with little or no advance warning. Whitworth, *Men, Militarism, and UN Peacekeeping*, 93.
[113] Idem, 99.
[114] Idem, 91.

Similarly, Razack analyzes how transnational narratives civilization are enacted by individual men. Using the evidence from various Canadian legal processes after the mission, she suggests that "concrete practices of violence against Somalis enabled individual soldiers to imagine themselves as men from the land of clean snow, men of Northern nations whose duties in bringing order to Somalis required violence."[115] Canadian nationalism has relied on the notion of a stronger and superior Northern nation. This type of nationalism was appreciated during the legal procedures that came after media reports of the brutalities committed by the Airborne Regiment, where the problem was normalized by considering it a practice of a "few bad apples." Canadian participation in Somalia, as Razack concludes, was officially described as both military and humanitarian. However, when the incidents came to light the missions was renamed as a peace enforcement operation.[116]

4.4. The Liberia Affair: Swedish Peacekeepers in UNMIL

Swedish peacekeepers were part of the Nordic model that was established as the peacekeeping archetype during the Cold War. Sweden, a small developed country with no recent colonial histories, and a nation with the required potential to provide trained and equipped troops at short notice seemed to fulfill the ideals and values that defined UN peacekeeping. Throughout the period of 1945-1990 Sweden, together with the other three Nordic countries, belonged to the group of the seven most active participants in international peacekeeping: "approximately, 80,000 Swedes have participated in UN forces since the 1950s.[117]

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[115] Razack, *Dark Threats & White Knights: The Somalia Affair, Peacekeeping, and the New Imperialism*, 55.
[116] Idem, 69.
[117] Annika Bergman, "Post-Cold War shifts in Swedish and Finish Security Policies: The compatibility of non-alignment and participation in EU led conflict prevention," ECPR Panel on The European Union and Conflict Resolution (13-18 April, 2004): 5, accessed May 26, 2017, ECPR.

The end of the Cold War—particularly the rise of the EU and NATO as key players in the field of peace operations—explain the fall of the Nordic peacekeeping model and made Nordic cooperation harder to achieve because of the different relations the four countries developed with these two transnational organizations.[118] As Jakobsen argues, the fall of the Nordic model can in short be explained by the massive increase in the number of troop contributors, "which made it possible for the Nordics to maintain their position as troop contributor, and, more importantly, their strong reluctance to participate in peace operations involving use of force beyond self-defense."[119] Accordingly, the Nordic countries reacted to the decline of the model by expanding their cooperation. Since 1997, a new more comprehensive institutional framework was created through the establishment of the Nordic Coordinated Arrangement for Military Peace Support (NORDCAPS). [120] It is important to explain that this cooperation has been obscured by Norway and Denmark's membership in NATO, and the relations of all four countries with both NATO and the EU.

Another important factor for the analysis is the overlap between Swedish national interests and UN values and ideals. Support for peacekeeping allowed Sweden to promote their interests (reduce power abuse and prevent great power conflicts) and ideals (peaceful resolution of conflicts and decolonization) at the same time.[121] In the words of Jakobsen: "It was the ability of peacekeeping to unite realists and idealists that made it so popular in the Nordic countries."[122] Neutrality has been closely associated with Swedish support for international solidarity and peace on the global stage and remains so. As Annika Bergman explains: "In Sweden, internationalism and solidarity have "acquired a status of national ideology" influencing the manner in which the country conceives its duty across borders."[123]Likewise, as a result of the

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[118] Jakobsen, "The Nordic peacekeeping model: Rise, fall, resurgence"? 387-388.
[119] Idem, 390.
[120] Idem, 387.
[121] Idem, 385.
[122] Idem, 385.
[123] Bergman, "Post-Cold War shifts in Swedish and Finish Security Policies: The compatibility of non-alignment and participation in EU led conflict prevention," 3.

collapse of the USSR, Swedish military has undergone a period of internationalization. As Bergman argues, the national militaries of Sweden are being restructured based on their international duties.[124] It is appreciated through this analysis that Swedish hegemonic masculinities were more influenced by Swedish nationalism and its overlap with transnational dynamics in the UN, rather than hegemonic "militarized masculinities".

Erik Hedlund is popular for his research in Swedish peacekeepers. In his latest work, he analyzed the motivations of Swedish soldiers to participate in peacekeeping missions. As he explains, the Swedish Armed Forces have undergone a dramatic transformation, from a defensive—preventing invasion—focus, to a one, strongly focused on participation in peacekeeping missions. Likewise, governmental regulations and policies highly contributed to this transformation, the most important contribution is the government's move away from compulsory military conscription to an all-voluntary system.[125] Hence, the majority of peacekeepers are not soldiers, but civilians who participate in eight-month long peacekeeping missions on a voluntary basis. Through his research, Hedlund discovered that the most frequent motive among Swedish soldiers for participating in peacekeeping missions was the opportunity to experience a real and exciting adventure where they can meet new people from other cultures. Other motivations he found are the possibility to test professional, skills, to do something good for disadvantaged people, or maturing as human beings. [126] Similarly, in his research on Swedish Peacekeepers of 2010, Hedlund, together with Joseph Soeters, analyzed the construction of Swedish peacekeepers' self-image in the UN mission in Liberia.[127]The findings

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[124] Idem, 11.

[125] Erik Hedlund, "What motivates Swedish Soldiers to participate in Peacekeeping Missions: Research Note," Armed Forces & Society 37, no.1 (2011): 180, accessed May 26, 2017, DOI: 10.1177/0095327X10372597.

[126] Hedlund, "What motivates Swedish Soldiers to participate in Peacekeeping Missions: Research Note," 183-184.

[127] This research is based on 12 semi-structured interviews made before, during, and after the deployment in Liberia. Interviews were done to male infantry soldiers aged between 21 and 30 years old. There was a similarity between the opinions put forward by the interviewees and views expressed in informal, spontaneous conversations. Erik Hedlund and Joseph Soeters, "Reflections on Swedish Peacekeepers' Self-image and Dilemmas of Peacekeeping," International Peacekeeping 17, no.3 (2010): 408, accessed May 27, 2017, DOI: 10.1080/13533312.2010.500153.

reveal eleven different self-images that referred almost entirely to the peacekeeping, rather than to the war-fighting role.[128]

The United Nations Mission in Liberia was established by the Security Council resolution 1509 in 2003. Sweden contributed with 254 peacekeepers: 54 policemen, 23 military experts, and 177 troops.[129]In this mission, Swedish peacekeepers combined high motivation with strong ambition. Through the analysis of the encounter, Hedlund and Soeters noticed two important factors in the construction of Swedish self-image: education and discipline. Swedes are characterized by having high levels of education, and a high level of military competence. As explained by Hedlund and Soeters: "The Swedish described themselves as having higher ethical and moral standards than peacekeepers from elsewhere."[130]The Swedish peacekeepers are also explicitly proud of not disobeying UN general regulations and policies, such as not giving presents to the locals and not getting "distracted" while on guard.[131] An ethnographic study made by Marsha Henry and Paul Higate in the UNMIL mission shows coherence between Swedish peacekeepers views of themselves and the views the locals have of them. Higate and Henry analyzed three groups of peacekeepers—Swedish, Bangladeshi, and Nigerians—in the UNMIL, based on three different ways in which locals constructed them through the lens of their security practices: (1) traditional warrior, (2) humanitarian, and a synthesis of both (1) and (2), labeled (3) "humanitarian warrior"[132]. As a result, they conclude that the Swedish represented the figure of the "humanitarian warrior" because they were perceived as equipped, effective, and efficient. Likewise, as they explain, Swedish peacekeepers were perceived

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[128] Hedlund and Soeters, "Reflections on Swedish Peacekeepers' Self-image and Dilemmas of Peacekeeping," 408.
[129] UNMIL, United Nations Peacekeeping, last modified 2016, accessed May 29, 2017, http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/resources/statistics/contributors.shtml.
[130] Hedlund and Soeters, "Reflections on Swedish Peacekeepers' Self-image and Dilemmas of Peacekeeping," 410.
[131] Idem, 411.
[132] Henry and Higate, "Peacekeepers as New Men? Security and Masculinity in the United Nations Mission in Liberia," 14.

through a particular masculinity that turned perceptions of professionalism and a degree of moral superiority, not only on reputation but also in the way they occupy public spaces.[133]

This chapter analyzed two different groups of peacekeepers in two missions in Africa after the Cold War, through a transectional approach of the intersection between masculinities, race, nationalism, and transnationalism. The two groups of peacekeepers were chosen given their similar role as "middle powers", and their image in the international arena as the "humanitarian nations by excellence". As explained, transnational dynamics impacted the two groups differently. The differences can be explained trough the way in which both nations constructed their nationalism through the overlap with UN values and ideals. Similarly, colonial histories are important factors in the equation as well. As a result, Canadian peacekeepers, informed by colonial experiences and tense relations with the US, constructed their masculinities based on the ideal of "White Northern Superior Males", affecting negatively their performances and influencing their engagement in violence towards the locals. On the other hand, Swedish peacekeepers, informed by a Nordic sense of cooperation and ideal of a peaceful method for resolving conflicts, constructed their masculinities through an overlap between and internationalized nationalism and UN values and ideals. As a result, Swedish peacekeeping had positive impacts on the local population, influencing them towards the non-engagement in violence. It is important to explain that through these cases it is appreciated that militarized masculinities are not the hegemonic ones, rather, they clearly exist but peacekeepers' performance was mainly informed by the intersection with other transectional social categories-particularly, in the case of Sweden, given the civilian-volunteering model of recruitment.

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[133] Idem, 16-17.

CONCLUSION

The end of the Cold War changed the understandings of warfare, as well as the gender notions that constructed relations among people for more than forty-five years. This transformation was characterized by the breakout of multiple civil conflicts, the so called "New Wars", where the number of civilians killed and violently abused increased as compared to combatants lost. The post-Cold War disorder was partially undermined by the "New Humanism" represented through the United Nations' peacekeeping operations, and personified in the figure of the humanitarian hero. Peacekeeping provided a reason to be for a number of militaries after the war, and also serve as a channel for the transmission of engendered nationalisms to transnational spaces like the UN. Diverse feminist accounts had positive expectations of these humanitarian missions; however, after the release of different NGOs and media reports that showed peacekeepers brutally abusing locals, particularly women, the perspective changed.

Peacekeepers' engagement in violence against women and children became a normal practice in post-conflict settings. Different feminist approaches try to explore this problematic through the study of men and masculinities, particularly through R.W. Connell's concept of "hegemonic

masculinity." Accordingly, one side of the debate, mainly led by Sandra Whitworth and Claire Duncanson, argue that UN peacekeepers are informed by hegemonic "militarized masculinities" that influence their performance negatively resulting in the explosion of a hypermasculine culture of violence. The other side of the debate, mainly led by Paul Higate and Marsha Henry, understand Connell's concept rather as "oppressive social masculinities". They explain that the concept of "militarized masculinities" does not analyze heterogeneity within peacekeepers, and also they argue that peacekeepers are presented as actors without agency that just behave according to militaristic myths and values. They propose a wider analysis that approaches peacekeepers' construction of themselves *vis-à-vis* their relations with locals. This approach gives special important to the intersection of gender with other social identities, however, intersectionality remains underresearched in the context of peacekeeping. Likewise, this approach focuses on the dynamics at the local level, without taking into consideration the role of transnational dynamics.

Intersectionality, the term coined by Kimberlé Crenshaw, analyses how identities overlap with each other through multiple dimensions. This notion is particularly important in the understanding of peacekeepers' identities given that these groups are heterogeneous, thus, with each intersection, new connections emerge and hidden marginalizations come to light. Similarly, the research used a transectional approach—a strongly neglected arena of intersectionality—in order to explain how transnational dynamics impact peacekeepers' performances, and in response, how peacekeeping reinforces or contests traditional understandings of manhood, nationhood, and race in local settings. Accordingly, this research analyzed the problematic through a transectional approach that studied the impact of transnational dynamics in peacekeepers' performances through the intersection of gender with race, nationalism and transnationalism. As a result, peacekeepers are understood as "transectional men", and their engagement in violence against locals is not entirely defined by

a hegemonic "militarized masculinity". Peacekeepers' engagement in violence, or not, can be analyzed in a more profound way if peacekeepers are considered as agents that are informed by their intersectional identities, and by the different transnational dynamics under they work, as blue helmets, citizens, males, etc.

The research analyzed two different groups of peacekeepers in similar missions in Africa: Canadian peacekeepers in UNOSOM II in Somalia, and Swedish peacekeepers in UNMIL in Liberia. These groups were chosen given that their nations of origin share diverse characteristics. Canada and Sweden are both "middle-powers", and they both represented the archetypal nations of the "New Humanism" after the Cold War. This comparative case-study was developed through a transectional framework exploring the connections between masculinities, nationalisms, racisms, and transnationalisms, both at the local and global scales. Despite the similarities among the groups, the performances have different results in African post-conflict settings. Canadian peacekeepers, informed by colonial experiences and tense relations with the US, constructed their masculinities based on the ideal of "White Northern Superior Males", affecting negatively their performances and influencing their engagement in violence towards the locals. On the other hand, Swedish peacekeepers, informed by a Nordic sense of cooperation and an ideal of a peaceful method for resolving conflicts, constructed their masculinities through an overlap between and internationalized nationalism and UN values and ideals. As a result, Swedish peacekeeping had positive impacts on the local population, influencing them towards the non-engagement in violence. Two main conclusions came up as result of this research: first, that hegemonic "militarized masculinities" cannot explain alone peacekeepers' engagement in violence in post-conflict settings. Second, that peacekeeping can have positive impacts for locals, as the Swedish case showed. It is important to acknowledge that there are some dilemmas regarding Swedish peacekeeping, mainly their neutrality and lack of participation in soldierly activities when needed. The analysis of Swedish peacekeeping

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represents a different exercise of research, however, the proposed transectional model they

offered, as explained through this work, is very important for the understanding of engendered

peacekeeping operations.

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