

**An analysis of female participation in UN peacekeeping since
the implementation of SCR 1325**

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A thesis submitted to Auckland University of Technology in partial
fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts (MA) in
Conflict Resolution

2016

School of Social Sciences and Public Policy

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Attestation of Authorship

I hereby declare that this submission is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person (except where explicitly defined in the acknowledgements), nor material which to a substantial extent has been submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma of a university or other institution of higher learning.

Signed

Date

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank my supervisors, Dr Jane Verbitsky and Associate Professor Camille Nakhid, for all their help and guidance throughout this project. I truly appreciate all your support, all the knowledge and wisdom you have imparted to me, and all your patience with me as I progressed through my thesis.

Thank you also to my mother, Rosana Eteia de Vasconcelos, for all her love and unwavering support – throughout my life, but especially during the completion of my thesis. Having someone who has been there, done that, and who is always willing to give me that extra bit of moral and psychological support in my most fragile moments truly made a difference in this journey.

I would also like to acknowledge and especially dedicate this thesis to my late father, Rubens Alcino Dutra Alves. His death was an essential driving force in my pursuit of postgraduate study, in more ways than I could ever verbalise. Without your support when you were alive, I would not be where I am today. Rest in peace, and I hope I was able to make you proud.

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List of Abbreviations

CEDAW – Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (1979)

CIMIC – Civil Military Cooperation Group

CVR – Community Violence Reduction

DDR – Disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration

DDRR – Disarmament, demobilisation, reintegration and repatriation

DPKO – Department of Peacekeeping Operations

KLA – Kosovo Liberation Army

LDK – Democratic League of Kosovo

LURD – Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy

MINUCI – United Nations Mission in Côte D'Ivoire

MINUSTAH – United Nations Stabilisation Mission in Haiti

MONUC – United Nations Organisation Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo

MONUSCO – United Nations Organisation Stabilisation Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

NATO – North Atlantic Treaty Organisation

NGOs – Non-governmental organisations

NPFL – National Patriotic Front of Liberia

PLO – Palestinian Liberal Organisation

R2P – Responsibility to Protect

SCR 1325 – Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000)

SCR 1820 – Security Council Resolution 1820 (2008)

SCR 1888 – Security Council Resolution 1888 (2008)

SCR 1889 – Security Council Resolution 1889 (2009)

SCR 1960 – Security Council Resolution 1960 (2010)

SCR 2106 – Security Council Resolution 2106 (2013)

SCR 2122 – Security Council Resolution 2122 (2013)

SRSG – Special Representative of the Secretary General

UN – United Nations

UNAMA – United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan

UNIFIL – United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon

UNMIK – United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo

UNMIL – United Nations Mission in Liberia

UNPOL – United Nations Police

UNOCHA – United Nations Office for Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs

UNOCI – United Nations Operation in Côte D'Ivoire

UNSMA – United Nations Special Mission to Afghanistan

WILPF – Women's International League for Peace and Freedom

Abstract

Although there is a breadth of literature and research on gender and armed conflict, its scope in the field of conflict resolution seems to be smaller than in other disciplines. Thus, the purpose of this research is to contribute to the existing literature on gender and armed conflict in the field of conflict resolution. My research looks at the changes that have occurred in United Nations peacekeeping since the adoption of Security Council Resolution 1325 in 2000, using secondary data to gain insight into seven selected peacekeeping missions. The focus is on women's involvement in peacekeeping missions in uniformed components (military and police) and in the implementation of gender mainstreaming strategies and activities. Data were retrieved from publicly available secondary documents, including disaggregated data on uniformed peacekeeping personnel, and progress reports on gender mainstreaming in different missions. The findings showed that some improvements in gender inclusion and gender mainstreaming have occurred since the implementation of SCR 1325, however, these changes have been minimal. My findings not only reflect a number of the concerns raised in the existing literature, but they also seem to imply that change may not occur until there are changes in the social and cultural attitudes towards gender equality, both in missions' host countries as well as within the UN peacekeeping system.

Chapter One: Introduction

This thesis aims to add to existing literature on gender and international conflict in the field of conflict resolution. In particular, this thesis will be looking at gender inclusion in United Nations (UN) peacekeeping since the adoption of Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000), and related resolutions on women, peace and security which have followed since then. This research uses secondary data in order to determine some of the changes which have occurred in peacekeeping missions since the adoption of Security Council Resolution 1325 in 2000. The collected data will be analysed using comparative analysis, paying attention in particular to what has been mandated in Security Council resolutions on women, peace and security as well as the concerns raised in the existing literature on gender and armed conflict. A feminist framework focusing on gender, war and militarism will be used for this analysis.

The aim of this chapter is to introduce the main concepts and ideas behind gender and international conflict initiatives. It will first give a background to the influence of women's movements in international policy-making and the move towards the establishment of a common women, peace and security agenda, then will explain how this has been applied to the UN peacekeeping system.

Women's activism and the implementation of Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000)

Gender is concerned with the power relationships and role differences between men and women, and its effects on social institutions, practices and behaviours (Ramsbotham, Woodhouse and Miall, 2005). Throughout history, women have adapted themselves to

existing power structures and used their existing positions to garner influence (Boulding, 1992). According to Elshtain (1987) women “have been linked to peace campaigns at least since the Middle Ages” and “to anti-war sentiment since the Greek tragedies” (p. 233). However, throughout history women’s peace efforts went largely ignored (Elshtain, 1987). War has primarily been conceptualised as a male activity, thus ignoring the impacts it may have on women (El-Bushra, 2007). At the same time, war also contributed to the creation of women-led organisations. The First World War was a catalyst for the creation of the Women’s Peace Party, which later became the Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom (Elshtain, 1987).

Since then, women’s activism and peace movements have continued to be on the rise. Women’s movements began to focus on the worsening human rights conditions women were experiencing globally, enabling these groups to begin mobilising in international forums to discuss issues related to empowerment and development (Dorsey, 2005). Between the 1970s and the 1980s, women began to focus more on poverty and oppression and began to advocate for equal rights in property ownership and access to land in rural communities (Dorsey, 2005). In 1975, the first international conference on women took place in Mexico, where women’s groups were able to voice their concerns about global patterns of inequality and devise a collective strategy with a focus on development (Dorsey, 2005). The focus on development led women’s groups in the 1980s to focus on existing legal systems and their power to inhibit women’s empowerment, which in turn led to the establishment of the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) (Dorsey, 2005). CEDAW was adopted in December 1979 after considerable discussion about the best strategies for monitoring human rights violations and discrimination against women in all areas of society (Byrnes, 2013; Hellum, and Aasen, 2013; UN Women, 2000). The convention established the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women, a predominantly

women-led body tasked with holding governments accountable for the implementation of CEDAW's provisions (Byrnes, 2013).

By the end of the Cold War, the increase in women's activism paved the way for increased awareness and recognition within the international community that women's experiences and roles in conflict need to be taken into consideration during peace processes (El-Bushra, 2007; Klein, 2012). Women's groups continued to use international forums to apply pressure on international actors such as the UN and its state members (Dorsey, 2005). Over a twenty-year period, between the latter part of the Cold War and the early post-Cold War period, the UN organised four international conferences on women, peace and security: in Mexico City in 1975, in Copenhagen in 1980, Nairobi in 1985, and the Beijing Conference in 1995 (UN Women, n.d.). Out of these four conferences, the 1995 World Conference in Beijing is seen as a significant turning point for gender equality, focusing on including women's issues and women's empowerment into policy-making agendas (UN Women, n.d.). The Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, which came out of this conference, was adopted unanimously by the 189 participating countries, consolidating "five decades of legal advances aimed at securing the equality of women with men in law and practice" (UN Women, n.d., para. 3). The Beijing Conference is also where the principle of gender mainstreaming was officially launched (Meyer and Prügl, 1999, as cited in Walby, 2005). Gender mainstreaming as a concept was initially developed in the 1970s by feminist practitioners in the field of gender equity and development (Walby, 2005). By 1997, following the lead of the Beijing conference two years prior, the UN decided to adopt gender mainstreaming as a core concept in all programmes and policies in the UN system (Moser, 2005).

Other notable conferences focusing on issues of gender in armed conflict in the 1990s include the 1993 Vienna Conference on Human Rights which addressed the issue of sexual violence in armed conflict, as well as the meeting of the Commission on the Status

of Women in 1998, the 1999 UN Security Council Resolution on the Protection of Civilians in Armed Conflict, and the Beijing+5 Review in 2000, all of which addressed women's needs in armed conflict and the need to increase women's participation in peacekeeping and peace building (Klein, 2012). These conferences, along with years of lobbying by women's organisations, ultimately led to the implementation of Security Council Resolution 1325 in 2000 (El-Bushra, 2007; Klein, 2012). Resolution 1325's adoption is seen as a milestone for international human rights law, as this was the first time the Security Council created a mandate specifically focusing on the impact of armed conflict on women and girls, and also the first time it expressed willingness to be more gender inclusive in the UN's peacekeeping operations (El-Bushra, 2007; Dornig, 2010). Since then, other resolutions focusing on gender and armed conflict were implemented by the Security Council. These resolutions, as well as the provisions set out by Resolution 1325, will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

An overview of UN Peacekeeping

Within the United Nations system, the Security Council is chiefly responsible for keeping the peace and is the body that authorises peacekeeping missions (Luard, 1994). UN member states must negotiate with the Security Council when it comes to allocating armed forces for peacekeeping operations (Luard, 1994). The Security Council was established in an attempt to rectify the failings experienced by the United Nations' predecessor, the League of Nations (Luard, 1994). The latter organisation was believed to have failed not only because of a lack of authority and reliance on unanimity, but also because of a lack of armed forces of its own (Luard, 1994). Unanimity was replaced by a system whereby only the five most powerful states would hold the power to veto proposed resolutions (Luard, 1994). The five permanent members of the Security Council are

France, China, the United States, Russia and the United Kingdom, and ten non-permanent members are elected into the Council by the General Assembly (United Nations Security Council, n.d.). Non-permanent members are elected for two years (United Nations Security Council, n.d.). United Nations membership is open to all states, with the Security Council having the power to decide whether or not to allow these states to participate in the intergovernmental body (Luard, 1994). All Security Council members were given the ability to vote on decisions not vetoed by the five permanent members (Luard, 1994).

Creating UN-based armed forces, however, proved to be a difficult task. Negotiations to establish a Security Council force failed, and thus other alternatives had to be debated (Luard, 1994). The first Secretary-General, Trygve Lie, called for the creation of a UN ground force to help maintain the security in contested territories such as Jerusalem and Trieste (Luard, 1994). In 1948 and 1949, the first UN observer missions were established in Palestine and Kashmir (Luard, 1994; Macqueen, 2011). However, these two operations were created prior to the development of peacekeeping as a distinctive UN practice, and were therefore not considered peacekeeping missions by definition (Macqueen, 2011). The first fully fledged peacekeeping mission was not established until the Suez crisis in 1956 (Luard, 1994).

When it comes to the peaceful settlement of disputes, the Security Council works in accordance with Chapters VI and VII of the United Nations Charter (Luard, 1994). The Charter gives the Security Council the power to recommend procedures, settlement terms, ceasefires or mutual withdrawal agreements, and the imposition of sanctions (Luard, 1994). Nevertheless, there is no specific provision in these chapters establishing UN peacekeeping as a conflict prevention measure. Peacekeeping is not explicitly mentioned in the UN Charter as the concept emerged in response to the organisation's failure to act as a collective security instrument (Weiner and Ariza, 2015). While Article 42 of Chapter VII states the Security Council can take action using special forces when it is deemed

necessary for the restoration of peace and justice, the provision does not specify that this has to be an UN-based force (Luard, 1994).

The Security Council's decisions related to intervention are often influenced by recommendations made by the Secretary General (Johnstone, 2005). For instance, the fifth Secretary General, Perez De Cuellar, was the first to incorporate human rights into peacekeeping by bringing it to the forefront of the operation in El Salvador (Johnstone, 2005). Similarly, Kofi Annan's ability to influence member states led to consent being given to establish the peacekeeping operation in East Timor, with Indonesia accepting the intervention on a human rights basis (Johnstone, 2005). While the Secretary General cannot threaten the use of force, they can influence the Security Council to do so on the grounds that this will enable them to perform their diplomatic duties – something which the Secretary General used to his advantage in a period of intransigence during the Iraqi war (Johnstone, 2005).

Peacekeeping is defined by the United Nations (1992) as the deployment of UN military, police, and civilian personnel, with the consent of all concerned parties, in an attempt to expand the possibilities for conflict prevention and peace making. This is different to peacebuilding, which is concerned with actions and efforts to bring hostile parties to agreement through peaceful means (United Nations, 1992). During the Cold War, peacekeepers were impartial players who were on the ground to monitor and separate combatants with the consent of host states (Diehl, 2005). Superpower tensions within the Security Council, and the ability of these states to veto UN policies, meant that the UN and its peacekeepers primarily played a muted role during this period (Luard, 1994; Diehl, 2005). In the post-Cold War era, however, the nature of conflicts and state sovereignty changed in a way that led to the need for peacekeeping operations to broaden their mandates (Diehl, 2005). With an increase in failed states and internal conflicts came challenges to state consent and its importance, as well as issues relating to impartiality

and the role of peacekeepers in host countries (Diehl, 2005). This led to varying results in peacekeeping missions, with the UN being credited with succeeding in preventing violence in the Golan Heights but failing to stop genocide from occurring in Bosnia and Rwanda (Diehl, 2005).

Peacekeeping strategies in the post-Cold War era lacked the necessary political support from member states that they needed in order to be effective (Zittel, 2002; United Nations, 2000b). At the request of then-Secretary General Kofi Annan, the Panel of the United Nations Peace Operations assessed the existing shortcomings and devised a report detailing specific recommendations for structural change in the practices of peacekeeping operations (United Nations, 2000b). The panel, led by former Algerian foreign minister Lakhdar Brahimi, called for an improvement in the mechanisms for preventive action; the creation of a clear peace-building strategy that focuses on the strengthening of rule of law and respect for human rights in post-conflict contexts; the implementation of demobilisation and reintegration programmes into complex peace operations' assessed budgets; the increase in capacity for peacekeepers to carry out their mandates and protect themselves – including the improved training and arming of personnel; individual mandates for each mission that are clear and achievable; and mechanisms that allow for rapid deployment of troops and public information (Zittel, 2002; United Nations, 2000b).

Since then, peacekeeping operations have transitioned into focusing on four different deployment phases: preventive deployment, intervention during armed conflict, deployment after a ceasefire, and deployment post peace agreement (Diehl, 2005). These phases, however, come with their own limitations. Peacekeeping operations cannot interfere with matters that fall under a state's domestic jurisdiction, as doing so is disrespecting that state's sovereignty (Weiner and Ariza, 2015). This means that peacekeepers must observe territorial integrity and political independence, they must

obtain consent from state parties prior to intervening, and must only use force in self-defence (Weiner and Ariza, 2015).

Preventive deployment, which focuses on the monitoring of situations on the ground as a means of deterrence, is a rarer occurrence because of the sovereignty constraints under which the UN continues to work (Diehl, 2005). Intervention during armed conflict can be limited by the fact that peacekeeping forces may be small in numbers and lightly armed, meaning they tend to be ill-equipped to defend themselves and suppress military attacks on the ground (Diehl, 2005). Deployment after a ceasefire is the most common type of operation, but it risks creating a stalemate in negotiations whereby complacency becomes imminent (Diehl, 2005). Timing also impacts the extent to which post peace agreement deployment will be successful, as it depends on the mission's abilities to properly facilitate the implementation of peace and electoral processes (Diehl, 2005).

The international community's failure to prevent genocides and human rights violations during the 1990s led to continuous debates about how to address such issues (Stamnes, 2013). After pleas from then-Secretary-General Kofi Annan for an international consensus on this issue, the 2001 International Convention on Intervention and State Sovereignty devised the Responsibility to Protect (R2P) concept, which was then unanimously adopted at the 2005 UN General Assembly World Summit (Stamnes, 2013; Davies, Nwokora, Stamnes and Teitt, 2013). In doing so, the UN member states declared they are responsible for protecting their citizens from war crimes, crimes against humanity, ethnic cleansing, and genocide (Stamnes, 2013). This concept, however, has been criticised by women, peace, and security scholars as being a gender-blind synonym for armed humanitarian intervention (Davies, Nwokora, Stamnes and Teitt, 2013). In particular, the general consensus is that women, peace and security and R2P agendas are for the most part incompatible, especially when it comes to addressing the issue of sexual and gender-based violence and the conditions in which it occurs (Davies, Nwokora,

Stamnes and Teitt, 2013). Sexual and gender-based violence is a term used by the United Nations to refer to acts of sexual violence, including rape, forced prostitution, and sexual slavery, perpetrated against men, women, or children during armed conflict (United Nations, 2013a). While rape and other forms of sexual violence are mentioned in the R2P doctrine, gender advocates criticise it for not addressing women's unique contributions and needs in decision-making, the prevention of violence and other contributions in conflict and post-conflict environments (Stamnes, 2013).

All of this has meant that, since the end of the Cold War, UN peacekeeping operations have transitioned from solely focusing on military objectives to taking a broader approach to peace and security (Kent, 2005). Although there are small, ongoing, military observer missions most missions rely on unarmed personnel as well as armed troops (United Nations, 2006). Contemporary peacekeeping operations are mostly concerned with countries undergoing serious political and socio-economic crises (Peksen, 2011). The objectives of peacekeeping missions may include working on ending civil wars, rebuilding failed states, and providing humanitarian assistance (Peksen, 2011). Because the Security Council's legitimacy relies on its ability to take action when there is a threat to international and/or human security, one can also expect that the more civilians are killed in armed conflict, the higher the likelihood of the creation of a peacekeeping operation to deal with it (Hultman, 2012). A lot of contemporary operations are now defined as multidimensional peacekeeping operations, that is, operations which involve "a combination of military, civilian and police capabilities to support comprehensive agreements" (Durch et al., 2003, as cited in Dorussen and Gizelis, 2013, p. 692). Peacekeepers working in multidimensional operations may be involved in activities such as the repatriation of refugees, human rights monitoring, the monitoring of local elections as well as traditional military and policing activities (Olsson, 2000). UN peacekeepers

work alongside non-governmental organisations (NGOs), other UN agencies, and civil society actors in order to achieve the missions' main objectives (Kent, 2005).

Peacekeeping operations typically consist of military observers, military members of national contingents, police, UN volunteers, consultants, and individual contractors (Kent, 2005). Military components' main roles in peacekeeping missions are providing security and observing and reporting on security matters (United Nations, 2006). Military observers, also known as military experts, are unarmed officers, often working in small teams, who are often incorporated into the chain of command of the mission (United Nations, 2006). Formed military units or contingents include armour, aviation, infantry, engineers, and other support units (United Nations, 2006). Support units in military contingents can provide logistic support in areas such as weapons destruction (United Nations, 2006). The UN police (UNPOL) is made up of individual officers and formed police units (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2009). Formed police units are cohesive forces which support police operations in peacekeeping missions in the management of public order, the protection of UN personnel and facilities, and in police operations with a higher risk than individual police officers are able to handle (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2009). Formed police units are expected to be deployed for a recommended period of six months, and no more than a year (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2009). As with military forces, UNPOL staff come from member state contributions (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2009). Multidimensional peacekeeping missions will also deploy Gender Advisory teams, which are led by a Gender Advisor, to support gender mainstreaming in missions (United Nations Peacekeeping, n.d.-a). The work done by Gender Advisory teams includes the protection of women and girls, advocacy, and disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration (United Nations Peacekeeping, n.d.-a). Disarmament, demobilisation, and reintegration (DDR) are programmes implemented in many UN peacekeeping missions,

involving the collection and disposal of weapons used by combatants and civilians (disarmament) the discharge of combatants from armed forces (demobilisation), and acquisition of civilian status and sustainable employment for ex-combatants (reintegration) (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010a).

Missions may also have Gender Focal Points, which are gender advisory representatives appointed to work at a tactical operational level (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010b). The main tasks of gender focal points include the monitoring and support of gender equality goals and efforts in different missions and UN departments, the provision of advocacy and counselling to female staff, developing gender targets for the operations they are in charge of, and advising in the allocation of staff to ensure gender balance is being taken into consideration (Office of the Special Adviser on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women, 2009).

Gender mainstreaming and peacekeeping

Gender mainstreaming is the act of bringing the issues of gender into policy agendas and decision-making (Youngs, 2008). It involves incorporating gender perspectives into human rights thought and practice (Kelly, 2005). In order for gender mainstreaming to be effective, it needs to go further than simply adding women to development agendas and policy goals (Harding, 1995; Reeves, 2012). Rather, gender mainstreaming strategies need to take into account the social, political, historical and economic contexts in which they are being implemented (Mukhopadhyay, 2006). One of the key criticisms of gender mainstreaming approaches is that their strategies are often quite narrow, confining the advancement of women's development "within institutions with often little mandate and power to effect real change" (Subrahmanian, 2006, p. 114).

As previously stated, the global conferences on women and security led to gender mainstreaming being formally adopted into UN practice. The United Nations formalised gender mainstreaming in its Economic Social Council Report in 1997, defining gender mainstreaming as:

...the process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programmes, in all areas and at all levels. It is a strategy for making women's as well as men's concerns and experiences an integral dimension of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programmes in all political, economic and societal spheres so that women and men benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated. The ultimate goal is to achieve gender equality. (United Nations, 1997, "Concepts and Principles", Section A).

The report also explicitly called for institutionalisation of gender mainstreaming in all parts of the UN system and into all areas of the organisation's work – including its agencies, budgetary bodies, and committees (United Nations, 1997).

When it comes to addressing issues of gender, the United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations are mandated to follow the previous provisions set by Security Council resolutions on women, peace and security (United Nations Peacekeeping, n.d.-b). In particular, UN peacekeeping focuses on the following resolutions: Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) (SCR 1325), Security Council Resolution 1820 (2008) (SCR 1820), Security Council Resolution 1888 (2009) (SCR 1888), Security Council Resolution 1889 (2009) (SCR 1889), Security Council Resolution 1960 (2010) (SCR 1960), Security Council Resolution 2106 (2013) (SCR 2106), and Security Council Resolution 2122 (2013) (SCR 2122) (United Nations Peacekeeping, n.d.-b).

SCR 1325 (2000) expresses concern that women and children are among the most vulnerable groups in armed conflict, suffering from displacement and being targeted by armed groups (United Nations, 2000a). The resolution also emphasises the need to ensure the equal participation of women in peace-making decisions, conflict prevention, and

conflict resolution practices, urging member states to increase the participation of women in national, regional, and international levels (United Nations, 2000a). It urges the Secretary General to “appoint more women as special representatives and envoys on his behalf” (United Nations, 2000a, p. 2), calling on member states to provide suitable candidates for inclusion in these processes (United Nations, 2000a). The resolution also urges the Secretary General to expand women’s peacekeeping roles and duties, incorporating a gender perspective into operations and increasing the participation of women in field based operations as military observers, civilian police, and humanitarian personnel (United Nations, 2000a). Other issues targeted in this resolution include calling for peace agreements to take into consideration the needs of women and girls during post-conflict reconstruction, the need to protect women and girls from gender-based violence, and the to consider the needs of ex-female combatants in the planning for disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration programmes (United Nations, 2000a).

SCR 1820 (2008) reiterates the importance of the issues raised by SCR 1325, focusing in particular on the issue of sexual violence in armed conflict contexts. The resolution stresses that the use of sexual violence as a war tactic can exacerbate conflict situations, and that measures need to be taken by the Security Council in order to prevent and respond to these threats (United Nations, 2008). It also requests that all armed conflict parties cease acts of sexual violence against civilians, especially women and girls, and take appropriate measures to protect them (United Nations, 2008). SCR 1820 further advises armed conflict parties to enforce disciplinary measures for sexual violence, particularly stressing the importance of ending impunity for these acts and the need to ensure that sexual violence is excluded from amnesty provisions in peace processes (United Nations, 2008). It also emphasises the need to educate armed forces about sexual violence, and urges the Secretary General to encourage dialogue about the issue (United Nations, 2008). The resolution also requests that peacekeeping and humanitarian

personnel receive appropriate training for preventing, recognising and responding to sexual violence and violence against civilians in the context of the missions they have been deployed to (United Nations, 2008). Further, it requests the Secretary General to develop relevant guidelines for UN peacekeeping operations which are consistent with their mandates (United Nations, 2008). It also requests the UN and the Security Council to consult with women and women-led organisations about the effective mechanisms for dealing with sexual violence (United Nations, 2008).

SCR 1888 (2009) was adopted as a follow up on the issues raised by SCR 1325 and SCR 1820. It expressed concern about the lack of progress in dealing with issues such as violence against women and children, especially when it comes to sexual violence. The resolution reiterates the provisions set by SCR 1820, and urges conflict parties to thoroughly investigate all reports of sexual violence and ensure perpetrators, civilian or military, be punished for these acts of violence accordingly (United Nations, 2009a). Further, it calls upon the Secretary General and UN entities to take measures to assist armed conflict states to strengthen the capacity of national legal and judicial systems in order to address issues of impunity (United Nations, 2009a). The resolution also affirms the decision to include specific provisions for the protection of women and children in peacekeeping missions, including the appointment of women's protection advisers to peacekeeping gender adviser and humanitarian units (United Nations, 2009a). Other provisions in this resolution include putting emphasis on the need for national and local leaders to play more active roles in addressing sexual violence, reiterating the need to include more women in mediation and peace processes, deploying a larger number of female peacekeeping personnel, and including the issue of sexual violence in all UN-sponsored peace negotiation agendas (United Nations, 2009a).

SCR 1889 (2009) adds to the issues raised in SCR 1325, SCR 1820, and SCR 1888. It continues to urge member states, and regional and international organisations to take

further measures to improve women's participation in peace processes, especially in the areas of conflict resolution, peacebuilding, post-conflict reconstruction and political and economic decision-making (United Nations, 2009b). The resolution also continues to reiterate the need for armed conflict parties to respect international law regarding the rights and protection of women and girls, and the need to end impunity for perpetrators of sexual violence (United Nations, 2009b). It also urges member states to ensure that gender mainstreaming and women's empowerment are factored into post-conflict reconstruction processes, encouraging member states to consult community groups and women's organisations in order to develop post-conflict reconstruction strategies which take into consideration the needs of women and girls (United Nations, 2009b). Women's and girls' different needs include improving socio-economic conditions and physical security, access to education, access to basic services such as health services, access to justice, protection in refugee camps from all kinds of violence, and unique situations in relation to disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration (United Nations, 2009b).

SCR 1960 (2010) continues to reiterate the issues raised in previous resolutions on women, peace and security, particularly focusing on the issue of sexual violence in conflict. The resolution requests the Secretary General to implement zero tolerance policies when it comes to sexual exploitation and abuse committed by UN peacekeeping and humanitarian personnel deployed in different missions (United Nations, 2010a). It further requests the Secretary General to continue providing guidance on addressing the issue of sexual violence, including the establishment of adequate training for military and police personnel that is equally appropriate to the peacekeeping mandates and the social contexts of peacekeeping missions (United Nations, 2010a). Other provisions emphasise the need to uphold and monitor the implementation of SCR 1820 (2008) and SCR 1888 (2009) (United Nations, 2010a).

SCR 2106 (2013) continues to call for an improvement in the status of women in armed conflict. In particular, the resolution focusses on the need to protect women from, and prevent, acts of sexual violence, and further emphasises that, in order for this to occur, women's participation in decision-making processes is essential (United Nations, 2013b). It also emphasises the need for more systematic monitoring, and the need for more accurate and reliable information about sexual violence in armed conflict and post-conflict situations (United Nations, 2013b). The resolution also states that women's roles in civil society, such as informal community leaders and participants in women's organisations, could be essential in exerting influence over armed conflict parties when it comes to addressing issues of sexual violence (United Nations, 2013b). Further, it urges the Security Council's sanctions committees to apply targeted sanctions against perpetrators of sexual violence, in accordance with the provisions set by SCR 1960 (2010) (United Nations, 2013b). SCR 2106 (2013) also contains a provision on women who have been forcefully abducted by armed groups, urging armed conflict parties to release them from captivity (United Nations, 2013b). There is also a provision specifically focusing on the issue of HIV and AIDS as the result of sexual violence, highlighting the need for improved capacities of national health systems and civil society networks when it comes to providing assistance for women and girls affected by HIV and AIDS in armed conflict and post-conflict contexts (United Nations, 2013b).

SCR 2122 (2013) continues to express concern about the threats and human rights abuses women experience in armed conflict and post-conflict contexts (United Nations, 2013c). In this resolution, the UN Security Council recognises the need for consistent implementation of SCR 1325 (2000) in its work, stating its intention to focus more on the issue of women's participation in leadership roles and conflict resolution processes (United Nations, 2013c). The resolution welcomes more briefings on issues relevant to women, peace and security, such as women's participation in decision-making processes

and the special needs of women during armed conflict (United Nations, 2013c). It also requests the Secretary General's Special Envoys and Special Representatives to UN missions to regularly consult with women leaders, women's organisations and groups, from early on in deployment (United Nations, 2013c). Additionally, the resolution requests the Secretary General to support the appointment of women to senior levels, particularly as UN mediators and members of mediating teams (United Nations, 2013c). SCR 2122 (2013) also invites the Secretary General to commission a global study on the implementation of SCR 1325, looking at the progresses made and shortcomings, in preparation for the UN's High Level Review in 2015 (United Nations, 2013c).

The 2015 global study highlighted the successes and failures in UN gender mainstreaming since the adoption of SCR 1325. Areas where there has been some improvement globally include the increase in women senior leaders within the UN system and in gender equality assistance for failed states, and a small increase in women's participation in peace processes (UN Women, 2015). However, the progress seen has failed to evolve into standard practices due to the fact that many challenges related to the 'status quo' of peace and security continue to prevail (UN Women, 2015). This includes a lack of prosecution of sexual violence, despite the creation of normative frameworks for states to follow; a continuous lack of women peacekeepers outside of support roles; the lack of financial resources for the implementation of action plans on women, peace and security at a national level; and the effects of increased levels of violence, as the result of an increase in extremism, on women's lives and peacebuilding initiatives (UN Women, 2015).

Thesis outline

This first chapter gave an overview of the context and build-up to the implementation of SCR 1325 as the 'blueprint' to all peacekeeping mandates. An increase in feminist

research, activism and lobbying paved the way for gender issues to be considered in international policy agendas. The adoption of SCR 1325 in 2000 was a testament to these efforts, being the first time that the Security Council explicitly created a resolution focusing on the gendered nature of conflict. Since then, a number of different resolutions were implemented by the Security Council, as the result of increasing concerns that women's needs are not being met. These resolutions are SCR 1820 (2008), 1888 (2009), 1889 (2009), 1960 (2010), 2106 (2013), and 2122 (2013). The key issues the resolutions on women, peace and security focus on are women's participation in peacekeeping, peacebuilding, and decision-making, issues relating to sexual and gender-based violence in conflict, and gender mainstreaming and post-conflict reconstruction.

The second chapter will focus on the concerns in existing literature, giving an overview of feminist theories of gender and conflict, then looking at the different gendered discourses in armed conflict and security, women's roles and participation, and gender mainstreaming and peacekeeping. While literature on gender and conflict in the field of conflict resolution and peace studies is growing, it is still quite limited in comparison to other fields of research, especially international relations. As such, this research aims to add to the existing literature from a conflict resolution point of view.

The third chapter will introduce the research question, theoretical approach, methods, and the case studies to be analysed. This research will use secondary documents from the United Nations to examine some of the changes which have taken place since the adoption of SCR 1325 in 2000. This includes disaggregated gender data on uniformed peacekeeping personnel, and two progress reports outlining the different achievements and shortcomings of UN peacekeepers' gender mainstreaming efforts. The research narrowed its focus down to seven ongoing missions: MINUSTAH in Haiti, MONUC/MONUSCO in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, UNAMA in

Afghanistan, UNIFIL in Lebanon, UNMIK in Kosovo, UNMIL in Liberia, and UNOCI in Côte D'Ivoire.

Chapters four and five will provide an analysis of this data. My findings chapter (Chapter Four) will show the different trends in statistics and the gender mainstreaming in the seven selected missions. The discussion chapter which follows it (Chapter Five) will compare these trends with the concerns raised in the existing literature. The trends in my findings show that, while some progress has been made in gender mainstreaming and the inclusion of female personnel in uniformed peacekeeping components, these changes have been quite gradual and inconsistent. These findings are consistent with the trends and concerns raised in previous literature about women's roles in conflict, conflict resolution, and peacekeeping. Key issues that continue to prevail include a lack of progress in women's participation in leadership roles, contextual implications limiting the scope of peacekeepers' work, and peacekeepers continuing to be perpetrators of violence themselves. The main implications of my findings, outlined in Chapter Five, is that one has to question the rate of change that has occurred since the implementation of SCR 1325 given that progress has been slow to occur. Additionally, one also has to question the extent to which real change can occur without drastically changing social structures and the existing global militarist system.

The final chapter (Chapter Six) will detail the contributions that my study has made to the literature, and will also identify the limitations of this research and where there could be further scope for study.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

The previous chapter gave a brief overview of the history of women's activism, the build up to the implementation of women's rights and gender mainstreaming into international law and peacekeeping mandates, and an overview of the peacekeeping operations. This chapter will analyse some of the different areas in which literature on gender and conflict has focused. As such, this chapter will be divided according to the different themes and issues raised in the existing literature on gender and conflict that are relevant to the area of my research. It will first look at general theories from feminist literature on conflict, following on to discuss the literature's findings about the gendered discourses used in armed conflict, women's roles in conflict and peace, and gender and peacekeeping. Finally, this chapter will look at some of the literature on gender and conflict in the conflict resolution discipline, and identify key gaps in the literature.

Feminist theories of gender and international conflict

Feminist approaches to security take the perspective that "war and violence have always been gendered, and may now be increasingly so" (Väyrynen, 1999, p. 48). In looking at issues using a gendered perspective, one can investigate the different relationships between men and women (Enloe, 2014). Too often, ungendered analyses tend towards attributing the existing social and power structures to "tradition, cultural preferences, and timeless norms, as if these existed outside the realms where power is wielded" (Enloe, 2014, p. 11). The expansion of women's movements and feminist scholarship over the last decade has been one of the principal driving forces behind the increased awareness of gender issues at decision-making levels, particularly within international institutions

concerned with peace and security (Reeves, 2012). It is believed that focusing on women's experiences in conflict, particularly in the way they fit into the wider context of conflict-ridden societies, is necessary in order to "make visible what is invisible or undervalued, namely, the full extent of women's participation in social structures" (Warren and Cady, 1994, p. 4).

Feminist gender theories, particularly in international relations, tend to focus on equality and inclusion, paying attention to the way relationships between men and women impact on "our understanding of power, institutional influences and norms" (Youngs, 2008, p. 693). Theorists looking at these relationships raised questions about how the ascription of gender roles and identities impact on everyday activities and the way wars are waged, alliances are created, and foreign investment is attained (Zalewski and Enloe, 1995). Feminist international relations research tends to adopt holistic approaches to security, focusing on the welfare of human beings, long-term strategies and alternative security systems (Boulding, 1984). It also tends to criticise contemporary international relations for ignoring the gendered nature of international conflicts (Steans, 1998). Conceptions of politics and national security, feminist international relations scholars argue, are constructed out of masculine values which legitimise the use of violence and exclude women from decision-making realms (Steans, 1998).

Women may be impacted by armed conflict in a number of different ways. Armed conflict can affect women economically, particularly when it comes to division of labour and access to work, and may also lead to structural changes such as an increase in women-led households as the result of internal displacement (Mazurana, Raven-Roberts, Parpart and Lautze, 2005). Violence against women tends to increase across all areas of society during armed conflict and often persists and continues to increase after the conflict has ended (Pankhurst, 2008). Violence towards women is associated with domination of women's lives and bodies (Väyrynen, 2011; Steans, 2014), and with sexual violence being

constantly used as a war tactic (Mazurana et al., 2005; Väyrynen, 1999; Väyrynen, 2011). Nevertheless, focusing primarily on women as victims of violence can be detrimental to women's activities as it tends to undermine their agency by taking the focus away from their participation in peace efforts (El-Bushra, 2007).

Gendered discourses in armed conflict

Generally, in feminist literature, women are seen as cooperative whereas men are seen as conflictual – that is, women are seen as workers for peace, and men as wagers of war (Caprioli and Boyer, 2001). Men are conceptualised as the warriors who sacrifice themselves in times of war (Elshtain, 1987). Men are interior to war whereas women are exterior, meaning men's narratives are prioritised as they are perceived to have greater insight of war than women (Elshtain, 1987). Similarly, while women's bodies are symbolically seen as bearing the “burden of community building and narrating the nation”, women's accounts “seldom become a part of conflict resolution attempts, negotiation processes or the collective stocks of knowledge” (Väyrynen, 2011, p. 49).

Many feminists argue that in Western culture emotion, nature, and the body have been historically identified as feminine and therefore as having inferior qualities, whereas reason, culture, and the mind have been identified as having masculine qualities (Warren and Cady, 1994). This phenomenon is referred in some literature as hypermasculinity – where masculinity is used to justify “barbaric acts of aggression, competition, power, and production” while denigrating “caricatures of welfare, nurturing, kindness and compassion as womanly and feminine” (Ling, 2002, p. 117). Nature and naturist language are also sexualised, with women being described as ‘cows’ or ‘serpents’, and nature being ‘raped’, ‘controlled’ and ‘mined’ (Warren and Cady, 1994). Within these discourses, pacifists are seen as weak and naïve, whereas warriors are seen as realistic and heroic

(Warren and Cady, 1994). Similarly, soldiers are often trained in cultures that emphasise that they are invincible warriors (Patel and Tripodi, 2007). The military, in particular, uses a lot of sexist, naturist and infantilised language within its operational systems (Warren and Cady, 1994). This includes missiles and bombs being portrayed using phallic imagery; nuclear missiles being stored in 'silos' and 'farms'; a submarine part where multiple warhead missiles are lined up being referred to as a 'Christmas tree farm'; and an early version of an antiballistic missile system being given the acronym BAMBI (for Ballistic Missile Boost Intercept) (Warren and Cady, 1994).

According to Bilgic (2015), gendered discourses were evident in the case of the conflict between Greece and Turkey over territorial ownership of Cyprus in 1974. Turkish policy makers' discourse towards the Greeks was both feminised and infantilised, with the ascription of characteristics of irrationality, emotionalism, aggressiveness, misguidedness and authoritarianism prevalent in its discourses (Bilgic, 2015). Further, the Turkish represented themselves as the paternal figure ready to teach Greece about what is right and wrong (Bilgic, 2015). In contrast, Greece's Western allies, particularly the United States, feminised Turkey as a weak, passive, peripheral state unable to properly conduct its domestic and international affairs (Bilgic, 2015).

In their study on gendered discourses of security in Lebanon, Northern Ireland and South Africa, Hamber, Hillyard, Maguire, McWilliams, Robinson, Russell and Ward (2006) found that women in these post-conflict societies tended to associate the word 'security' with negative, and often masculine, connotations. For instance, women from Lebanon and Northern Ireland who were interviewed for this study said that women's status tend to be undermined by their countries' patriarchal notions of security (Hamber et al., 2006). Women who participated in the research also emphasised the need to reimagine the concept of security to include a more holistic approach which takes into consideration

factors such as physical safety, social and economic welfare, and women's empowerment (Hamber et al., 2006).

The discourses about violence perpetrated by males and violence perpetrated by females also differ. Women who are violent are seen as transgressing away from their pacifist nature, whereas male violence is seen as a justified means to an end (Elshtain, 1987). Male violence can be pardoned as societies give the warrior male the prerogative to use it in the pursuit of the restoration of justice (Elshtain, 1987). Even in situations when women are in uniform, Elshtain (1987) notes that they are often perceived as taking auxiliary roles rather than combat duties. Women, conversely, are seen as the "designated noncombatants because of the part they play in the reproductive process" (Elshtain, 1987, p. 183).

When women are perpetrators of violence, narratives in academia and in news media tend to portray them in a way which denies their own culpability, shaping their actions as a deviation from reason and what is considered the norm (Sjoberg and Gentry, 2008). Women who perpetrate violence are often stereotyped as sexual deviants, characterised as either 'sex crazed' or as 'sexually dysfunctional' (Sjoberg and Gentry, 2008). These narratives and discourses are prominently used to explain women's choices to engage in violence and commit acts of terrorism (Sjoberg and Gentry, 2008). Similarly, women spies are often perceived as partaking in a "sexualised and manipulative activity given our Mata Hari-dominated image of it" (Elshtain, 1987, p. 172).

There is also criticism that gender discourses are used as a means to legitimise social structures and justify political interventions (Steans, 2014). For instance, one criticism of UN official documents, and particularly SCR 1325, is that the language used primarily portrays women as victims (Puechguirbal, 2013). In SCR 1325, there is emphasis on women as part of vulnerable groups, often associated with children, who need the most

protection (Puechguirbal, 2013). Ultimately, by focusing on the need to protect the vulnerable women-and-children group, SCR 1325 makes women appear dependent on male members of society, thus undermining their ability to play active roles in decision-making processes (Puechguirbal, 2013).

Women's roles and participation in conflict and decision-making

One common strand among many feminist movements has been the insistence that there is a greater need for women's participation, both in public life and at decision-making levels (Boulding, 1984). An increase in the inclusion of women in decision-making is thus seen as needed in order for women's concerns to be prioritised during peace processes (Porter, 2003).

Existing literature on gender and conflict is also concerned with whether women are being deliberately excluded from the political spectrum and decision-making processes in general (Tickner and Sjoberg, 2013). For instance, in 2010 only 19 per cent of all parliamentarians around the world were women, despite there being an increase in gender quota programmes in government institutions (Tickner and Sjoberg, 2013). Similarly, when looking at gender inclusion in the UN, Dornig (2010) found that only six out of the 33 Special Representatives of the Secretary General were women; that women occupy only 25 per cent of all high level posts of the UN Secretariat; and that no woman has ever been appointed by the UN as a chief mediator. In the seventy years the UN has been in operation, women have occupied the roles of Under-Secretary-General and Special Representative of the Security Council (Anstee, 2015), but all elected Secretaries-General thus far have been men (United Nations, 2014).

The literature also raises concerns over the extent to which women's bodies are used in a politicised way. The boundaries between what is considered the public, private, domestic,

and international spheres change according to how much the state decides to intervene in and regulate social relations (Steans, 2014). Sexual violence against women during armed conflicts is often influenced by, and a response to, the systemic contexts in which these atrocities are taking place (Swaine, 2015). Women are more susceptible to becoming trafficked workers in countries enduring military violence, the aftermath of natural disasters, or economic crises (Enloe, 2014). This phenomenon is particularly evident in the case of sex workers, where women's reproductive labour is utilised to construct an image of women as commodities and assets (Agathangelou, 2002). Women working in forced sexual labour as part of the sex tourism industry, for instance, are participating in systems which are by nature patriarchal, political, and international (Enloe, 2014).

The increased participation of women in governance and security can be seen as challenging, leading to the destabilisation of existing gender roles (Hamber et al., 2006). For instance, in their analysis of women's roles and the use of force in the international arena, Regan and Paskeviciute (2003) posited that "the greater the number of women in the political and economic aspects of society", the smaller the likelihood that "the state will engage in militarised interstate conflict" (p. 289). The reason for this, Regan and Paskeviciute (2003) argue, is that women could be less likely to support the use of violence in the pursuit of political objectives, so their presence in political decision-making could have an impact on the systemic use of force by the state.

Historically, while women have been largely opposed to participating in war than men, they have cooperated in war as the result of the complex interdependent relationships between men and women (Boulding, 1984). During armed conflict, women may play a number of roles – they can be combatants and military personnel, they can be spies or terrorists, they can be political leaders, they can be protesters and grassroots organisers, they can be hostages and hostage takers (Warren and Cady, 1994; Porter, 2003; Mazurana et al., 2005). Women can become perpetrators of violence for a number of reasons ranging

from opposition to existing regimes, participating in rebel factions, to being coerced into battle (Mazurana et al., 2005).

Significant barriers to the inclusion of women in decision-making processes include “stereotypical attitudes, men’s reluctance to share power, competing work and family responsibilities, and inadequate education and training” (Porter, 2003, p. 248). Despite the fact that women are active in community peacebuilding initiatives, they tend to be almost completely absent from official peace negotiations (Porter, 2003). When it comes to peacebuilding and post-conflict reconstruction, it can be difficult to identify women who could contribute to peacebuilding processes due to the fact that women are primarily acting at the grassroots level, meaning that it is more difficult for the UN and intergovernmental bodies to notice their efforts (Gizelis, 2009).

Research on gender equality suggests there is a link between the levels of violence and extent of human rights violations and power distribution between genders (Caprioli and Boyer, 2001; Brysk and Mehta, 2014). In their empirical study of gender equality in international crisis, Caprioli and Boyer (2001) found that the more women were present in national legislature, the less likely a state was to use violence. In addition, the research also found that democratic values also contributed to a decrease in severity of violence employed during crises (Caprioli and Boyer, 2001). Caprioli and Boyer’s (2001) conclusions were based on statistically testing ten international crises in which female leaders were present but did not initiate, including seven different crises in Israel, four in India, one in the United Kingdom and one case in Pakistan. However, this research also found that, in some cases, the presence of a female leader can increase the severity of violence in crises – something which could be explained by women leaders needing to prove their worth to male leaders in the same crisis (Caprioli and Boyer, 2001). This was seen in the case of conflicts between Israel and Libya in 1973, the United Kingdom and

Argentina in 1982, and Pakistan and India in 1990 – all of which occurred while women were in power in at least one of the states in conflict (Caprioli and Boyer, 2001).

Brysk and Mehta's (2014) empirical study on gender equality and human rights foreign policy decisions yielded similar results. Brysk and Mehta (2014) found that socialisation plays an important role in gender equality. The study found that gender equality does not have much international leverage unless overt democracy, focusing on gender equality and global citizenship, accompanies it (Brysk and Mehta, 2014). More gender equitable countries with more empowered women are also more likely to support international commitments against violence, are able to more reliably defend children's rights, and are able to devise higher quality development assistance (Brysk and Mehta, 2014).

Gender perceptions and women's participation in the military

In a study of gendered effects of military privatisation, Stachowitsch (2013) found that women are marginalised and excluded from military labour markets. Women are underrepresented in military and police forces, and when recruited they are concentrated in jobs at middle and lower ranks (Stachowitsch, 2013). In private military industries, women tend to work as personal assistants, human resource assistants and secretaries – in other words, being confined to administrative roles stereotypically associated with femininity (Stachowitsch, 2013). Military privatisation, therefore, tends to emphasise historical institutionalisation of masculine cultures through the marginalisation of women in the military workforce (Stachowitsch, 2013).

Similarly, Patel and Tripodi's (2007) case study on masculinity in peacekeeping and the prevalence of issue of HIV and AIDS due to sexual and gender-based violence found that the masculine military culture can have negative impacts on the integration of women in armed forces. The presence of women in the military has been found to be problematic in

some situations, particularly because of male soldiers' resistance towards changing their attitudes about working with women (Patel and Tripodi, 2007). Traditionally, military recruitment relies strongly on masculine ideals, especially in the use of the 'warrior' discourse to attract young men – something which is used both to constrain female involvement, and justify sexual misconduct by males (Patel and Tripodi, 2007). The feeling of invincibility that comes from this masculine, warrior-focused, mentality leads to male soldiers being more physically aggressive and thus more likely to become perpetrators of sexual violence (Patel and Tripodi, 2007).

Woodward and Winter (2004) found similar trends in their discourse analysis of policy documents, official military communication, and parliamentary debates about women's involvement in the British Armed Forces. Their research found that, while policy documents may show eagerness and positivity towards including more women in the British Armed Forces, this enthusiasm is not always reflected in practice (Woodward and Winter, 2004). In the context of armed combat, Woodward and Winter (2004) found that the acceptance of women has been limited due to perceptions that it will affect the military negatively. In particular, the presence of women in armed combat positions tended to be perceived by military men as indicative of emasculation and feminisation of the armed forces (Woodward and Winter, 2004). The organisational culture of the military, Woodward and Winter (2004) found, opposes femininity and as such sees the inclusion of women in armed combat positions as a threat to the armed forces' cohesion. Military culture may, for instance, exaggerate the importance of gender differences, thereby justifying the clear division of gender roles and exclusionary policies within the armed forces (Woodward and Winter, 2004).

Cohn's (2000) study of discourses and attitudes towards women in the military in the United States also showed similar trends. After conducting interviews with men and women in the military, Cohn (2000) found that men would view women's participation

as important because it promotes diversity in keeping with the military's official stance about gender inclusion. When asked about the negatives of female participation, however, the men interviewed expressed concern about the standards of the military being dropped as the result of increased female participation – that is, they perceived that women's participation not only challenges the power distance between men and women, but also lowers the standards of the military as a whole (Cohn, 2000). Overall, Cohn (2000) found that the discourse on military standards was used by the men interviewed as a way to reinforce gender differences whilst asserting male superiority, expressing anger about competing against women, and expressing despair over “the loss of the military as a male sanctum” (p. 147).

Women's roles in conflict-ridden societies

In their study about gender and the reintegration of armed combatants into society in northern Uganda, Annan, Blattman, Mazurana, and Carlson (2011) found that women abducted by the Lord's Resistance Army were given different roles depending on how long they remained in captivity. More than two thirds of women abducted for longer than two weeks played servile roles in the rebel group, as porters, cooks and water collectors (Annan et al., 2011). Women who were abducted for longer time periods would be given weapons training and would sometimes take on fighting roles (Annan et al., 2011). Abducted females reported to have perpetrated similar numbers of violence as abducted males, with both males and females being forced by rebels to beat, cut, and kill family members (Annan et al., 2011). For the most part, however, women were primarily recruited to become wives and mothers, with 75 per cent of abducted women married within a year (Annan et al., 2011). Prepubescent girls were kept as servants until they reached adolescent age, adolescent girls were the mostly likely to be given away as wives,

and older adolescents and young adults were more likely to be released and were seldom forced to marry (Annan et al., 2011).

Lee-Koo's (2012) case study research on women's participation in conflict and peace processes in the Indonesian province of Aceh pointed to the fact that the "dominant narrative of the conflict offers only silence surrounding the diversity of women's experiences" (p. 64). The civil war between the Free Aceh Movement and the Indonesian government forces took place for thirty years, until Aceh was hit by a tsunami in 2005 (Lee-Koo, 2012). The tsunami provided "a catalyst for the 2005 peace agreement" (Lee-Koo, 2012, p. 60), however, these processes have predominantly focused on the male agenda, with no mention of women's issues (Lee-Koo, 2012). The lack of women involved in peace negotiations meant that the peace agenda had a very narrow focus, particularly concentrating on ending militarised conflict and coordinating power-sharing between the conflicting parties (Lee-Koo, 2012). This occurred despite the fact that women played roles in rebel factions, as intelligence gatherers, weapons smugglers, soldiers, and logistic providers (Lee-Koo, 2012). Women's activism aimed at promoting women's experiences in conflict tends to be perceived by societies as lacking power and authority (Lee-Koo, 2012). Lee-Koo (2012) also states that most research and news media coverage of the conflict in Aceh focused on women's experiences as victims, with very little attention being given to women's social and political activism activities.

There seems to be little research focusing on women's participation in women-led peace organisations. El-Bushra's (2007) research looked at regional women's organisations and their peace efforts. Women's peace organisations' practices and efforts are widespread with many operations across the grassroots level, and others at regional, national, and international spectra (El-Bushra, 2007). However, El-Bushra (2007) points out that, most often, women's peace initiatives tend to be ignored by mainstream conflict resolution actors. The research also found that women's groups' peace activism agendas differ

according to the social context they are working in (El-Bushra, 2007). Women's peace initiatives are often fuelled by desperation, often borne out of their personal experiences with hardship during war, rather than inherently pacifist orientations, and responses may vary according to the nature of the conflict at hand (El-Bushra, 2007). El-Bushra (2007) found that the growth of women's organisations tended to be explained by the trauma civilian women have to endure and the resilience they develop in warfare.

Similarly, Confortini (2010; 2013) looked at the activities of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF), from 1945 up to 1975. The WILPF was established after the First World War, with 1200 women coming together at the Hague in 1915 to discuss its goals to give women a political voice (Confortini, 2013). After the Second World War, however, many women in the WILPF were doubtful about the need for women's activism (Confortini, 2010). After fighting against Nazism alongside men, some of the WILPF's members thought maintaining a women's organisation could perpetuate a status of inferiority, rather than be an agency for social change (Confortini, 2010). By 1975, however, the organisation had shifted towards making more radical critiques of the international system (Confortini, 2010). This shift coincided with the increase of nuclear energy and arms race that eventuated in this era (Confortini, 2010). Since then, the WILPF have taken the position that issues surrounding disarmament are intrinsically linked to "global political structures of gender subordination and militarism" (Confortini, 2010, p. 167). Women's peace movements and groups such as the WILPF have been able to "secure a unique sphere in protesting arms race based on the intersection of gender and militarism in global politics" (Confortini, 2010, p. 167). Some of these changes, Confortini (2013) found, occurred as a result of the WILPF's increased cooperation with other non-governmental partners, which allowed the organisation to look self-critically at its own practices and goals.

Sharoni (2012) looked at Israeli and Palestinian women's grassroots organisations and feminist movements since the 1987 Intifada. One of the limitations for women's efforts on both sides was that these were primarily seen in the media and the political arena as human interest stories rather than credible actions "capable of brokering a long and lasting solution to the conflict" (Sharoni, 2012, p. 115). Another limitation Sharoni (2012) found was the disparities between Israeli and Palestinian feminist movements during cross-community encounters with Jewish participants being "generally unwilling to account for their power and privilege vis-à-vis Palestinian women" (Sharoni, 2012, p. 122). More specifically, Sharoni (2012) found that Palestinian women participating in these dialogues felt that the Jewish women, who tended to dominate all discussions, were being patronising towards them. Nevertheless, women's movements on both sides have been successful to the extent that, in exposing the gendered dimensions of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, activists have been able to transform the dialogues and cultures of their collectives "ensuring that gender and other inequalities and oppressions are not overlooked" (Sharoni, 2012, p. 126).

Gender, gender mainstreaming, and peacekeeping

Gender mainstreaming recognises the existence of the gendered relations in societal norms (Youngs, 2008). As such, gender mainstreaming policies are context-specific and dependent on multiple stakeholders both at regional and international levels (Youngs, 2008). Stakeholders involved in gender mainstreaming may include international and local non-governmental organisations, national governments, and intergovernmental bodies such as the European Union and the United Nations (Youngs, 2008).

Female peacekeeping personnel assist in normalising peacekeeping troops' presence, facilitating peace processes, abating fears, and engendering trust in host countries

(Bridges and Horsfall, 2009). The deployment of female peacekeepers, and missions' successes in gender mainstreaming, are dependent on the UN's member states and their ability to send suitably qualified personnel to serve in peacekeeping missions (Bridges and Horsfall, 2009). While UN peacekeeping may involve a number of different organisations, it is predominantly a military activity (Bridges and Horsfall, 2009). In general, female peacekeepers are well regarded by host countries, as they are often perceived by civilians to be more approachable than their male colleagues (Bridges and Horsfall, 2009). Women peacekeeping personnel can also conduct body searches on civilian women, which can, in turn, reduce incidences of weapons smuggling (Bridges and Horsfall, 2009).

Peacekeepers as perpetrators of atrocities

It is believed that an increase in female personnel can decrease crime against women and children committed by peacekeepers in host countries (Bridges and Horsfall, 2009). Peacekeeping activities are often marred by some personnel in military contingents committing crimes against civilians (Bridges and Horsfall, 2009). For instance, peacekeepers have been "responsible for rape and sexual assaults on women and children in host nations" (Bridges and Horsfall, 2009, p.122). In addition, peacekeepers who have engaged in sexual assault in host countries have also been found to have contracted HIV and AIDS and passed on the disease to others (Bridges and Horsfall, 2009). Some peacekeepers have also been found to be involved in facilitating human trafficking, and also engaging in illegal prostitution (Bridges and Horsfall, 2009). Between January 2004 and November 2006, the UN "investigated and sent home 144 peacekeepers who were accused of exploitation and/or abuse" (Bridges and Horsfall, 2009, p. 124).

Kent (2005) states that, despite the fact that peacekeepers have codes of conduct and zero-tolerance policies to abide by, allegations of sexual abuse and exploitation “continue to be heard with increasing frequency and, as a result of limited remedial action, the abusers continue with impunity” (p. 86). Some of the countries where there have been allegations of sexual assault by peacekeepers include the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Burundi, Bosnia, Mozambique, Kosovo, Liberia, Haiti, and Cambodia (Kent, 2005). Impunity prevails due to the fact that many missions lack the capacity to monitor their personnel, leading to incomplete reporting and follow-up on cases of peacekeepers and aid workers abusing their positions of power (Kent, 2005).

Peacekeeping operations' limitations

In an analysis of gender mainstreaming and the issues of human rights and violence against women, Kelly (2005) argues that one of the shortcomings in the UN's gender mainstreaming policies is their failure to be much more than rhetoric. While the UN, after much lobbying from NGOs and women-led groups, has created provisions and a common framework that allows the mobilisation against gender-based violence, these successes are not without persisting challenges (Kelly, 2005). The call for elimination of violence against women in these provisions, Kelly (2005) argues, not only suffers due to a lack of mechanisms for implementation and enforcement, but also fails to take into account issues relating to men as perpetrators of violence and the social construction of masculinity. International human rights law provisions often focus on the public sphere, seldom referencing the private sphere in which violence against women is likely to occur, limiting their ability to permeate into domestic contexts and everyday life (Kelly, 2005). The issue, therefore, is whether the language of UN gender mainstreaming can in fact be

used to create greater social transformation of gender relations and expected gender roles (Kelly, 2005).

Moser (2005) also points to the fact that there needs to be more scrutiny about the accountability of enforcement of gender mainstreaming provisions, by not only the UN but also governments, civil society, and the private sector. There have also been issues about identifying the best practices and criteria when it comes to evaluating whether gender mainstreaming efforts are successful (Moser, 2005). The main area in which progress has been made, Moser (2005) notes, has been in the increased consideration of gender mainstreaming and an increase in gender-focused policies being put in place. These improvements have been possible as the result of an increase in public awareness of women's issues which shows the growing strength of women's organisations (Moser, 2005).

Hudson (2005) looked at gender mainstreaming in UN peacekeeping. Hudson's (2005) research found that, while gender mainstreaming strategies in UN peace missions reflect what has been mandated in SCR 1325, progress in the implementation of these strategies has been gradual and sporadic. Nevertheless, Hudson (2005) highlights some of the attempts to increase gender mainstreaming in peacekeeping operations. For instance, the mission in Ethiopia and Eritrea is one of the few in the UN's department of peacekeeping operations' history to have a woman in a leadership role (Hudson, 2005). The mission in Sierra Leone has a gender specialist promoting women's rights, and engaging in monitoring and capacity-building activities (Hudson, 2005). Peacekeeping missions with gender affairs units, such as the missions in East Timor, Kosovo, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo, have been actively working to increase women's representation in peace processes and political decision-making (Hudson, 2005).

Gizelis (2009) argued that UN missions have often been unsuccessful in moving its gender mainstreaming goals beyond awareness-raising rhetoric and into policy implementation. In countries with low levels of gender empowerment, Gizelis (2009) found that UN peacekeeping missions are less likely to succeed and that a combination of both UN intervention and women's higher status is more likely to lead to successful peacebuilding. Other factors such as the domestic characteristics of the countries of deployment, such as the prevalence of identity conflicts, and the level of economic development can also contribute to the likelihood of success of UN peacekeeping and peacebuilding (Gizelis, 2009).

Whittington (2003) provided a brief account of the gender mainstreaming approaches in the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) mission. The mission, which operated from 1999 to 2002, included a Gender Affairs Unit comprised of six international staff (Whittington, 2003). Gender Affairs Unit staff included a senior gender specialist, a policy and legislation analyst, a communications and information specialist, a statistician, and a civil society and district liaison officer (Whittington, 2003). One of the mission's main priorities was to ensure the mainstreaming of gender in the new Timorese government, in accordance with SCR 1325 and the Economic and Social Council Resolution on gender mainstreaming (Whittington, 2003). In order to do this, UNTAET worked in collaboration with the Special Representative of the Secretary General to establish a number of affirmative action programmes to promote the participation of women in the electoral process (Whittington, 2003). Some of the initiatives taken included encouraging political parties to nominate women candidates for winnable positions, incorporating women's issues into party platforms, and suggesting extra broadcasting time to be available for women candidates' campaigns (Whittington, 2003). These initiatives led to a 27 per cent representation of women in the country's first elected legislature, as well as enabling the creation of a position focusing on the equality

of women which directly reports to Timorese Prime Minister (Whittington, 2003). More specifically, the elected women were appointed to the ministries of Justice and Finance, and to serve as women advisors for the chief minister in the areas of human rights and promotion of equality (Whittington, 2003).

Stiehm's (2001) research focused on analysing data on women's participation in peacekeeping missions. Overall, Stiehm (2001) found that while women have been included in peacekeeping, peacemaking and post-conflict reconstruction, progress has been slow to occur. Looking at peacekeeping in particular, data from 1957 to 1991 shows that women's participation in uniformed factions were limited by contributing states' abilities to deploy them. For instance, in the operation in Somalia, which had the largest number of female peacekeeping deployments, three-quarters of the women deployed were from the United States (Stiem, 2001). At the time, this number equated to eight per cent of the total US peacekeeping force, whereas women made up 14 per cent of all US armed forces' military personnel (Stiem, 2001). Stiehm (2001) also found that, in 1993, data from all peacekeeping missions showed that member state contributions for uniformed personnel were quite small, with less than two per cent of female military personnel contributions and even lower figures for female civilian police. Also in 1993, women constituted 32 per cent of all civilian staff deployed in peacekeeping missions (Stiehm, 2001). Another finding was that in newer, larger and more multidimensional operations gender balance had, overall, not improved for civilian staff, but women were attaining higher-level posts than in previous years (Stiehm, 2001). In the mission in Kosovo, for example, women constituted 17 per cent of policy level staff, and 25 per cent of professional staff which includes clerical positions and other administrative roles (Stiehm, 2001). When it came to military field staff, 24 per cent of personnel deployed in Kosovo were women (Stiehm, 2001).

Reeves (2012) conducted interviews with some women officials working for the UN's Department of Peacekeeping Operations. One of the issues highlighted in Reeves' (2012) research was the fact that the UN itself does not have control over the percentage of women deployed in missions "as it is the prerogative of the states contributing to the operation" (p. 353). Additionally, when there are female peacekeepers and gender advisers deployed in missions, the extent to which they have access to financial resources, expertise, and the establishment of adequate policies have an impact on the likelihood of success of gender mainstreaming initiatives from the recruitment of adequate staff for gender-related positions, to the implementation of projects and gender-specific training (Reeves, 2012). For instance, in 2002 gender advisers deployed in Kosovo had no support or backup resources from the New York headquarters, no financial resources of their own, no strategic planning, and no advisory and decision-making functions (Reeves, 2012). In contrast, a gender adviser deployed in the mission in Darfur in 2010 stated that funding for gender units was adequate, and where additional funding was required it could be obtained through strategic partnerships with other components in this mission (Reeves, 2012). Other circumstantial conditions, such as gender advisers' ability to demonstrate sensitivity to gender issues and their ability to use their knowledge to influence social practices, can also be barriers to gender mainstreaming goals (Reeves, 2012).

In a report about gender training in peacekeeping operations, the Chief of the Gender Affairs office in the UN mission in Kosovo, Angela Mackay, outlined some of the challenges of gender mainstreaming and gender-sensitive training. One of the issues Mackay (2010) found was that women have "typically been overlooked by the warring parties and peacekeepers alike" as both tend to "regard women as 'victims', as helpless bystanders, as targets of abuse, or as indispensable commodities" (p. 221). Additionally, the creation and implementation of gender training material rely on states' willingness to enforce peacekeepers' initiatives (Mackay, 2010). Because of sovereignty issues, all UN

personnel can do is “suggest, request, persuade – but not enforce or insist on the delivery of training” (Mackay, 2010, p. 220). Gender training for UN peacekeeping missions also requires a mixture of general training material, and material that is specific to the context of the mission peacekeepers are being deployed to (Mackay, 2010). Generic training is given pre-deployment, whereas context specific training is only given once peacekeepers arrive in their mission’s host countries (Mackay, 2010).

Olsson (2000) looked at gender representation in peacekeeping forces. Olsson (2000) found that the number of women in military and police components in peacekeeping missions was quite small, whereas the number of women employed as civilian staff was substantially higher. The main reason military numbers were lower than civilian staff numbers is the fact that the UN relies on contributing countries to send them personnel, thus the deployment of women becomes dependent on their status in states’ armed forces (Olsson, 2000). Resistance to female participation may also occur as a result of “assumptions of expected problems which could result if women were to be included” (Olsson, 2000, p. 9).

Conflict resolution and peace studies research on gender

While there has been an increase in research focusing on gender in the field of conflict resolution, until recently the discipline failed, for the most part, to address gender issues (Ramsbotham, Woodhouse and Miall, 2005; Bercovitch and Jackson, 2012). This is largely due to the fact that conflict resolution tends to adopt the international relations Westphalian discourse, that is, a state-centric, male-dominated, view of diplomacy which focuses on official political spheres and largely excludes women (Bercovitch and Jackson, 2012). The international relations Westphalian discourse posits that states are rational, autonomous and unified actors and has been used extensively by scholars to

orient their analyses of the state system (Schmidt, 2011). In the same vein as international relations scholarship (e.g. Steans, 1998), conflict resolution literature received criticism for being 'gender blind' and neglecting the different dynamics between gender relations and war (Richter-Devroe, 2008). Elise Boulding is seen as the pioneer for women's research in peace studies (Rasmbotham et al., 2005; Woodhouse and Santiago, 2012), and peace researcher Betty Reardon's work is also credited with being one of the first in the field (Ragland, 2015). Betty Reardon's work will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter.

Boulding's work emerged out of her training as a sociologist (Woodhouse and Santiago, 2012). One of the key areas related to gender that Boulding (1992a; 1992b) looked at was the different roles women have played throughout history. More specifically, Boulding (1992a; 1992b) looked at history from a feminist point of view, examining the differences and changes in gender roles which have taken place from prehistoric time up until the late twentieth century. As societies changed, so too have the roles men and women play in society (Boulding, 1992b). For instance, the beginning of the First World War led to an increase in women's activism in the Western world, leading to the creation of the WILPF, and also led to changes in women's social standing, with women being able to vote for the first time (Boulding, 1992b).

Donna Pankhurst is another academic in the field of conflict resolution looking at issues related to gender in international conflict. One of the main arguments Pankhurst (2003; 2008) put forward is that women's contributions and roles in conflicts are seldom recognised. Pankhurst (2008) stated that post-war policies tend to ignore women's efforts unless they are trying to silence them and stifle their opposition. For instance, in some cases where women have tried to put forward economic strategies during and after war involving small scale trade, their ideas have been dismissed as being unimportant or unsustainable (Pankhurst, 2008). As well as suffering from marginalisation and

stigmatisation, women's organisations may also have to deal with physical harassment from security forces and local men (Pankhurst, 2003).

Catia Confortini, whose case study on the WILPF has already been mentioned, is also a researcher in the peace studies field. Aside from research on the WILPF, Confortini (2006) has also tried to incorporate peace theories with feminist theories, with particular focus on Johan Galtung's theory of violence. Confortini (2006) argued that, while Galtung's theory of violence – that it can be personal, structural or cultural, and that only the elimination of these levels of violence can lead to true peace – may be widely uncontested in peace studies, it “fails to explore the role of gender in the social construction of violence” (p. 335). By adopting a gender lens in conjunction with Galtung's theories, Confortini (2006) argued, one can obtain a better understanding of “violence as a complicated process through which social relations of power are built, legitimized, produced, and naturalized” (p. 356).

Other peace and conflict resolution research has focused on similar themes to those which have previously been mentioned. For instance, peace researcher Stern (2006) has looked at the narratives and the construction of identity of Mayan women in light of their experiences with violence, racism, and genocide attempts by the Guatemalan government. The narratives from the women Stern (2006) talked to emphasised the need to preserve the Mayan culture and use it in resistance to the regimes marginalising them.

Conflict resolution researcher Richter-Devroe (2008) looked at theories of conflict resolution and gender in relation to the Palestinian conflict. Women's empowerment, Richter-Devroe (2008) found, can be achieved when contextualised gender roles are taken into account in both political and social levels. In order for this to occur, Richter-Devroe (2008) argued, a multidimensional and multilevel approach to conflict resolution is required. In the case study of Palestine, practical women's sustainable needs such as

economic stability and access to healthcare were driving forces for resistance activism (Richter-Devroe, 2008). Additionally, women's efforts at bargaining were more likely to be successful at changing patriarchal societal norms when their advocacy was careful not to push too many boundaries (Richter-Devroe, 2008). Women who made patriarchy their prime target, Richter-Devroe (2008) found, were more likely to be alienated and garner less support.

Summary

Literature on gender and conflict focuses on a number of issues and concerns about women's roles in society. It looks at the relationships between men and women, and the social structures that emerged out of these relationships. The literature also looks at how power differences between men and women are sustained and enforced through political systems, public discourse, gender role allocation, and marginalisation. While there is a growing body of literature on the impact of the work of women's groups during conflict, the main focus from the literature seems to be on the hardships suffered by women. This may be a reflection of the fact that, as previous works have outlined, women's participation in peace negotiations and in leadership positions is still quite limited. More research on women's participation in different organisations, whether it is at grassroots level or through international bodies, could add to the debate about the impact of women's contributions to conflict resolution and peace processes in different societal contexts.

There is also a growing body of research on gender and peacekeeping. Research on gender and peacekeeping has focused on a range of topics, including the impacts of gender mainstreaming, the limitations of peacekeepers' work, and peacekeepers as perpetrators of sexual and gender based violence. The literature often focused on a selected number of cases, either looking at women's participation in uniformed components or at gender

mainstreaming activities. Based on the analysed literature, however, there is not a lot of research looking at both uniformed components and the impacts of UN gender mainstreaming activities since the implementation of SCR 1325, and other resolutions which make up the ‘blueprint’ for UN peacekeeping. Therefore, my research would be adding to the existing body of literature by comparing women’s participation in uniformed components and the different gender mainstreaming initiatives in different peacekeeping missions with the Security Council resolutions relating to gender and conflict.

Additionally, while there is a growing body of literature on gender in the field of conflict resolution and peace studies, the body of literature on is still quite small in comparison to other disciplines. Given the fact that research on gender and conflict in the field of conflict resolution is not as prevalent as it is in other disciplines, my research aims to add to the debate about gender and international conflict in the field of conflict resolution.

Chapter Three: Research Design and Methodology

Introduction

This chapter will look at the research design and methodology that will be employed in my research. It will begin by stating my research question and the rationale for it, then will follow with a discussion of the theoretical framework and research design employed in this study. This chapter will conclude by introducing the selected case studies which are to be analysed in the next chapter.

Research question

This research is concerned with the extent to which gender inclusion has occurred in UN peacekeeping over time. As such, my research question for this study is: “What are some of the changes which have taken place since the adoption of SCR 1325?” In asking this question, I will investigate the changes in women’s participation in UN peacekeeping activities, and their roles and duties in peacekeeping missions. I want to find out whether the concerns raised in the literature about women’s participation in peace processes continue to prevail within the UN peacekeeping system. Because SCR 1325, and the different resolutions on gender and peace which have since followed, have been incorporated as blueprints for UN peacekeeping, focusing on how these missions operate within different host countries could be a starting point at gaining some insight into the UN system and the organisation’s efforts to become more gender inclusive. The aim, therefore, is to find out whether gender mainstreaming, as mandated by SCR 1325 and the other resolutions which followed it, is taking place in peacekeeping missions. This includes the different ways missions attempted to address gaps in women’s participation

in host countries' decision-making processes (electoral, peace processes and governance) as well as measures taken to address issues women face during conflict such as victimisation and socio-economic hardship.

Theoretical framework

Feminist literature on gender is comprised of multiple perspectives, drawing upon various methods such as ethnography, discourse analysis, statistical research, cross-cultural analysis and case studies (Tickner, 2005). The common theme in feminist research is that it is based around frameworks that challenge existing masculine biases that have been ingrained in the construction of different academic research and disciplines (Tickner, 2005). However, because of the plurality in perspectives and approaches there is also division within feminist thinking (Elshtain, 2009). For instance, feminists are divided on the issue of human nature and its impact on gender equality – with some feminist analyses arguing that a universal view of human rights is essential for social change, whilst others vehemently contend that such a universalist approach could further serve to oppress women (Elshtain, 2009). Feminist theories also have differing views on how to end gender inequality – for instance, liberal feminists advocate for equality of opportunity and shared responsibility, Marxist feminists argue that change in women's status will only occur once there is an overthrow of the existing capitalist system, and radical feminists posit that change needs to come from a thorough transformation of human relationships (Steans, 1998). Thus, for the purposes of this research I will focus on one specific framework, narrowing my approach to one specific theorist. My rationale is that, since feminist research is comprised of a plurality of views, working with a single framework will enable me to specify the main areas of focus for my analysis. Since I am approaching this research from a conflict resolution/peace studies perspective, I decided to focus on a

theorist in the same field. Thus, I will be looking at the theories on gender, militarism and the war system put forward by peace research scholar Betty A. Reardon. As stated in the previous chapter, Reardon is regarded to be one of the first feminist theorists in the field of peace studies. Since I am focusing on UN peacekeeping, which entails military activities, adopting a framework that focuses on gender and militarism from a peace studies perspective will allow me to gain insight into gender mainstreaming from a conflict resolution point of view.

Reardon (1985; 1996) strongly suggests that the current world politics system is a product of patriarchy. Global economic and political systems, Reardon (2015a; 1985) argues, are controlled by male elites and are characterised by structural separation between the privileged few and the general public. The patriarchal power structures which dominate the political system reflect the fact that there is a fear that women's participation in decision-making would undermine the elite entrenchment (Reardon, 1996). An example of resistance towards women's involvement in security matters in particular is that governments have blocked international disarmament action plans which emerged after four world conferences on women (Reardon, 1996). In doing so, Reardon (1996) claims, the patriarchy has reinforced its idea that legitimating the use of force is a determinant of power in the international system. By holding fast to this view, states are avoiding a commitment to democracy and gender equality (Reardon, 1996).

Reardon (1985) uses the term 'war system' to refer to the competitive social order, and the authoritarian principles, inequality, and the use of coercion that comes with these patriarchal social structures. This war system affects all aspects of society, from interpersonal relationships to social structures (Reardon, 1985). Within the war system, war itself is characterised as legally sanctioned and institutionalised, with the use of force being perceived as the most effective mechanism for the protection of interests, conflict resolution, and social control (Reardon, 1985). Being a product of the patriarchal system,

the act of war waging is thus seen as the prerogative of male elites (Reardon, 1985). Militarism is defined as the process in which military control is legitimised, and is based on military values (Reardon, 1985). According to Reardon (1985), the “more militarist a society tends to be the more sexist its institutions and values” (p. 14). Militarisation is the process through which military values and policies are emphasised, and can be seen, for example, in the total expenditures allocated to the military in national finances as well as in the use of military measures in resolving political and economic conflicts (Reardon, 1985).

Militarisation is seen by feminists as a consequence of negative masculine values, such as the encouragement and rewarding of aggressive behaviour, being overemphasised by patriarchal societies (Reardon, 2015a). This is especially true when it comes to the encouragement of coercion and aggression in the pursuit of national security, a tactic that consistently prevails in the international system (Reardon, 2015a; Reardon, 1996; Reardon, 1985). Reardon (1996) argues that, if states were to use more non-violent approaches in the pursuit of policy goals, the rest of society would follow in their footsteps. Nevertheless, weaponry and violence continue to be the main determinants of power in the existing patriarchal war systems (Reardon, 1996; Reardon, 1985). One consequence of this is that gender violence becomes an essential component of the violent patriarchal system (Reardon, 2015c).

Gender analysis of militarisation, according to Reardon (2015a), takes into consideration the relationships between gender roles and military systems, masculine and feminine norms and military values, and the relationship between arms spending and the level of exploitation women experience. Militarism and sexist repression are seen to be directly linked with women’s inequality (Reardon, 2015a; Reardon, 1985). In highly militarised societies, for instance, women’s labour is likely to be exploited, either as unrecompensed producers or as a result of sexual objectification (Reardon, 2015a). Militarism’s sexist

nature can be seen in the use of traditional gender role stereotypes used to “inspire men to serve in the military and women not to question military policy” (Reardon, 2015a, p. 45). In this view, men are socialised to be authoritative and autonomous figures, whereas women are socialised into being dependent and submissive (Reardon, 1985).

A masculine worldview tends to emphasise organisations and institutions, whereas a feminine view is more likely to focus on human relationships and the fulfilment of basic human needs (Reardon, 2015b). As such, feminine values are seen to be more nurturing and inclusive, whereas male values are seen to be more competitive and exclusive (Reardon, 2015b). In this worldview, militarism and the war system can only be maintained through hierarchical organisations, superior and inferior relationships, and the different dimensions of socialisation which are used as a means to justify these hierarchical relationships (Reardon, 2015b; Reardon, 2015c; Reardon, 1985). For instance, during the two world wars there was an emphasis within popular culture on the vital contribution of motherhood to society and the armed forces, a tactic employed “to deflect the potential influence of the more political anti-war arguments women were advancing” as well as a means to “impede the drive for women’s suffrage, seen as a way for women to have more political influence over war, peace and other public matters” (Reardon, 2015c, p. 92). Reardon (2015c) echoes the concerns of other feminist researchers that unequal representation of women is an obstacle to peace as women’s issues will not be adequately addressed until there is a critical mass of women to overcome systemic discrimination.

According to Reardon (2015b), the masculine system has mostly focused on peace as being the prevention of armed conflict and the absence of war. This perspective is “what peace researchers now refer to as negative peace” (Reardon, 2015b, p. 65). One of the problems with this system is that state systems prioritise the security of the state over that of its population (Reardon, 2015d). Feminist theorists argue that there needs to be a

change in methods of pursuing peace and security, moving from this notion of negative peace to focusing on positive peace (Reardon, 2015b). Positive peace takes into consideration life-affirming conditions which can decrease the likelihood of the types of conflicts which lead to war, including conditions of social justice and economic equity (Reardon, 2015b). Using a feminist framework, Reardon (2015b) argues, would mean looking at security using a broad, holistic approach taking into consideration the fundamental requirements of human life and security. This holistic approach would take into consideration factors such as the protection from harm, the insurance of a life-sustaining environment, the fulfilment of health needs and survival needs, and the respect for individual and group identity (Reardon, 2015d). While social structures and economic and political processes profoundly influence members of societies psychologically and socially, they have emerged from human experience and, as such, can be changed accordingly (Reardon, 1985). In other words, “sexism and the war system are culturally conditioned and subject to change” (Reardon, 1985, p. 6). Thus, in order for authentic transformations in social and political structures to occur people need to change their values, views and behaviours accordingly (Reardon, 1985).

Reardon (1985) also argues that focusing solely on women’s concerns, as some feminist scholars tend to do, can be a problem in itself. Focusing solely on the needs of one interest group – in this case, women – could potentially do a disservice to other marginalised groups in society (Reardon, 1985). For instance, the view that women’s exclusion from the military helps to maintain militarism may serve as a point of examination of the relationships between sexism and the war system, but it is at times framed in a way which ignores the fact that minority groups have been used by militaries to extend their scope of power (Reardon, 2015). Nevertheless, women’s participation in political decision-making is seen as constituting “the best hope for achieving a culture of peace” (Reardon, 1996, p. 315). Social transformation can only occur when men and women share power

equally and work in partnership (Reardon, 1996). Thus, in order for peace and human security to be achieved, patriarchal systems need to be replaced with gender equality and non-violent structures need to be established (Reardon, 2015d). Equity needs to be achieved for women in “all cultural, social and ideological contexts” (Reardon, 2015a, p. 39).

In sum, Reardon’s theories on gender and militarism focus on the relationships between men and women, and the way in which patriarchy has impacted on the social construction of political systems and norms. This is similar to other works discussed in previous sections and chapters, however Reardon’s approach puts more emphasis on the need for transformative change when it comes to the pursuit of positive peace. The prevailing issue, according to Reardon, is that masculine values that are used to legitimise the use of force and coercion to maintain power and silence opposition are still an important component of the international system of governance. In order for change to occur within the international system, a transformative approach that focuses on attitudinal, behavioural and value changes needs to take place. One critique of Reardon’s theories is that her focus on transformational change tends to fall short when it comes to recognising the complex struggles that emerge out of women’s unique experiences (Runyan and Peterson, 1991). While Reardon addresses the issues of dualism within the patriarchal system, that it fosters the production of winners and losers, aggressors and victims, and allies and enemies, her view of the feminist qualities is criticised for focusing on the caring and cooperative nature of women without explicitly mentioning the plurality of views which may arise from trans-historical and cross-cultural experiences of oppression (Runyan and Peterson, 1991).

Research methods

This research employs a secondary analysis of existing data, including existing official statistics and documents (Bryman, 2008; Sarantakos, 1998). Secondary analysis allows researchers to look at existing datasets and information from a different angle than those who collected the data initially envisaged (Bryman, 2008). The availability of resources for secondary analysis also means longitudinal research can be conducted at a low cost (Bryman, 2008). The United Nations publishes extensive amounts of publicly available data (May, 2011). This data can offer insight on societal trends and dynamics, particularly when focusing on specific demographics such as age, ethnicity, class, and gender (May, 2011).

The data collected comes from the United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO). Disaggregated gender data for uniformed peacekeeping personnel have been available since August 2006, and are updated on a monthly basis. The UN data on peacekeeping personnel is displayed using frequency tables which show the different peacekeeping missions taking place at the time and the different uniformed positions in which men and women are present. The disaggregated gender data break down numbers for military experts/observers, and members of the contingent military troops. Numbers for police officers in peacekeeping missions became available with this disaggregated data from 2009, showing figures for individual police officers and formed police units. Additionally, disaggregated gender data for UN member states' troop contributions have been available since November 2009, with figures also updated on a monthly basis. Because these statistics mention specific peacekeeping missions, the research will look at trends in missions which have been taking place from the start of the collection of data (i.e. August 2006) to most recently (i.e. December 2014). The main reason for focusing on ongoing missions is that this will provide me with consistent data on changes in gender inclusion which have occurred over time. Focusing on selected missions, I will be looking

at the number of women involved in each peacekeeping operation, and the positions they have held in these missions.

Data are also taken from two different reports on gender and peacekeeping, which are the Gender Advisory Annual Progress Report and the Ten-Year Impact Study of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (SCR 1325) on Women, Peace and Security in Peacekeeping. These two reports, released in 2010, appear to be the only documents produced by the United Nations which provide a written account of gender inclusion activities in peacekeeping operations since the adoption of SCR 1325 in 2000. Since the disaggregated gender data only focuses on uniformed personnel, these reports can fill in some gaps in my research by providing a larger picture of peacekeeping missions and their activities. In particular, these reports can offer further insight into the roles women have had in these missions, and the gender mainstreaming activities that have been taking place. The UN released a ten-year progress report in 2010 looking into the impact of gender-inclusive programmes within peacekeeping missions since the adoption of UN SCR 1325 in 2000. This report looked at the impact of peacekeeping operations in the areas of women's participation in peace negotiations and agreements, women's participation in political processes, gender sensitivity and women's participation in disarmament, women's participation in security reforms, participation in legal reforms, and peacekeepers' abilities to protect women from sexual and gender-based violence, and protection of internally displaced women (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010c). In the same year, the Department of Peacekeeping Operations' Gender Advisory Team also released a progress report specifically focusing on the roles women have been playing in peacekeeping operations, where they have been present, since the implementation of SCR 1325 (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010d). Both reports focus on selected peacekeeping missions taking place at the time.

I will be looking at the missions which have also been mentioned in the peacekeeping statistics, and will compare them with the missions in these two reports. In order to do this, I will do a comparative analysis of the selected secondary data. Comparative analysis is a method of secondary data analysis where the information available is used to make comparisons of trends and patterns over a period of time (Sarantakos, 1998). Comparative analysis can be used where there are two or more cases to be analysed, in order to better understand social phenomena (Bryman, 2008). Comparative analysis is used in order to identify similarities and differences between different cases, and draw valid conclusions based on the analysis' findings (Sarantakos, 1998). The information I will be taking from the two reports will be the peacekeeping missions they mention, women's peacekeeping roles, gender mainstreaming initiatives, and the challenges and limitations of these peacekeeping activities as highlighted by these reports. With this I will then compare my collective findings with the trends and concerns raised in the literature, as well as with the resolutions on gender and peacekeeping which make up the DPKO's mandate.

In order to obtain a consistent picture of patterns over time, I will focus on missions which took place from August 2006 to December 2014. There are fourteen ongoing peacekeeping missions, however this research will only focus on seven of them. The seven peacekeeping missions were selected based on whether they were mentioned in all the secondary documents I have retrieved for this research. Details on the selected missions are outlined below.

Selected Peacekeeping Missions

The seven selected peacekeeping missions which I will focus on are MINUSTAH in Haiti, MONUC/MONUSCO in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, UNAMA in Afghanistan, UNIFIL in Lebanon, UNMIK in Kosovo, UNMIL in Liberia, and UNOCI

in Côte D'Ivoire. These missions range from being traditional operations to multidimensional operations. They are also ongoing, and disaggregated gender data are available for all of them for the entire duration of the time period selected for this study.

1. MINUSTAH

The United Nations Stabilisation Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH) was established in 2004 by Security Council Resolution 1542 (United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti, n.d.). Haiti experienced decades of political and economic instability. Dictatorial regimes were in place from 1956 to 1986, followed by a short-lived elected government in 1990, and another military coup in 1991 which led to a high number of refugees fleeing to the United States (Malone and Chavda, 2013). By 1994, the United States' naval base in Guantanamo Bay was housing more than 16800 refugees from Haiti (Malone and Chavda, 2013). Five different missions were established by UN peacekeepers from 1995 until 2000 with the intention of helping the country regain political stability, however another armed insurgency took place in 2004 (Malone and Chavda, 2013). The United States intervened this time, leading to the end of the armed rebels' control of Haiti and the appointment of the Head of the Supreme Court as the country's new president. The Supreme Court then requested UN assistance, and thus MINUSTAH was formed (Malone and Chavda, 2013).

The mission was initially mandated to support Haiti's Transitional Government in security matters, providing assistance to the National Police, helping out with the implementation of disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration (DDR) programmes, assisting in the restoration of the rule of law and public safety, supporting political processes, and promoting and protecting human rights (United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti, n.d.). Since then, MINUSTAH's mandate was adjusted on several

occasions in order to reflect the context of the mission, taking into consideration changes in political, socio-economic, and security issues (United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti, n.d.). For instance, following the earthquake in 2010, the Security Council increased the number of forces in Haiti in an effort to provide immediate support in recovery and reconstruction (United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti, n.d.). Subsequently, once security in Haiti improved, personnel numbers in this mission were reduced (United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti, n.d.).

2. MONUC/MONUSCO

The United Nations Organisation Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC), later renamed the United Nations Organisation Stabilisation Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUSCO), began its work in 2000 after the implementation of Security Council Resolution 1291 (United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, n.d.). MONUC was established in response to the Second Congo War in 1998, a conflict which combined intra-state territorial disputes with two major rebel groups (the Rassemblement Congolais pour la Democratie, and the Mouvement de Liberation du Congo) and the local government as well as external invasion by neighbouring countries such as Uganda and Rwanda (Koko, 2011). The conflict went without international intervention for two years before the UN Security Council accused Uganda and Rwanda of invading and perpetrating aggression, ordering them to withdraw under Resolution 1304 (Koko, 2011). Prior to deploying peacekeepers to the DRC, the UN was involved in the establishment of the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement in 1999, a peace agreement between all the warring groups in the DRC conflict (Koko, 2011). MONUC was then deployed to help the country become

unified and stable – at the time of deployment, territories in the DRC were occupied by government, different local armed groups and foreign rebels (Koko, 2011).

The mission's initial mandate was to monitor the Ceasefire Agreement between warring factions; to work with conflict parties and their military forces in areas such as the release of war prisoners and military captives, as well as supervising the disengagement of armed forces; facilitating humanitarian assistance, focusing in particular on vulnerable groups including women, children and demobilised child soldiers; and monitoring and coordinating mine action activities (United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, n.d.). In 2004, MONUC's mandate was revised, authorising the mission to increase its personnel numbers (United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, n.d.). The new mandate also included provisions about DDR programmes, with the mission being mandated to support the disarmament of foreign combatants working for the Armed Forces of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and of Congolese combatants and their dependants (United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, n.d.). The mission's mandate was extended once again in 2008, and then one last time in 2010 when it became MONUSCO (United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, n.d.).

MONUSCO was established by Security Council Resolution 1925 (2010), which focused on the protection of civilians and humanitarian personnel under direct threat of physical violence, as well as supporting DRC's government in stabilisation and peace efforts (United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, n.d.). The mission's configuration was determined by situations evolving on the ground, including the government's capacity to effectively protect the population, the consolidation of State authority throughout the territory, and the completion of military operations in the North Kivu, South Kivu, and Orientale provinces (United Nations

Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, n.d.). MONUSCO's mandate was extended on March 2013, with the creation of a special Intervention Brigade in response to recurrent conflict in Western DRC, and again in March 2014 in an attempt to strengthen its military, police and civilian personnel (United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, n.d.).

3. UNAMA

The United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA) was established by the Security Council in 2002 at the request of the Afghani government (United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan, n.d.). UNAMA was part of an effort to transform Afghanistan into a stable democratic state after more than twenty years of continuous conflict, with a death toll of 1.5 million, and the collapse of the Taliban in November 2001 (del Castillo, 2008; Saikal, 2012). The mission also took over from US-led military intervention, with Afghanistan's reconstruction then becoming largely led by the United Nations (del Castillo, 2008). Establishing this mission also led to the merging of the two main bodies on ground at the time, the UN Special Mission to Afghanistan (UNSM) and the UN Office for Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UNOCHA), giving UNAMA the power to oversee all UN operations in Afghanistan (Saikal, 2012). UNAMA's objective is to assist the government and people of Afghanistan in achieving sustainable peace and economic development (United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan, n.d.). It is also mandated to assist in strengthening the capacity of human rights provisions, particularly focusing on women's rights in Afghanistan (United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan, n.d.). The mission's mandate was renewed on 16

March 2015 with the adoption of Security Council Resolution 2210 (United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan, n.d.).

4. UNIFIL

The United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) was originally established in 1978 in response to the conflict between Israel and Lebanon (United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon, n.d.). The Lebanese Civil War broke out in April 1975, and was an intra-state conflict between Christian and Palestinian-backed Muslim factions (Murphy, 2012). Under the Cairo Agreement, the Palestinian Liberation Organisation's (PLO) presence in Southern Lebanon was legitimised by the Lebanese government (Murphy, 2012). The conflict resulted in the collapse of the Lebanese government, the division of security forces, and military intervention from Syrian and Arab forces in an effort to put an end to the war (Murphy, 2012). In 1978, Israel invaded Southern Lebanon in response to an attack by Lebanon-based Palestinian militias, targeting a bus full of Israeli civilians and killing 36 of its passengers (Murphy, 2012).

It is this Israeli invasion that led to UNIFIL's formation (Murphy, 2012). Its initial mandate, established by the adoption of Security Council Resolutions 425 and 426, was to confirm that Israeli forces had withdrawn from Southern Lebanon, to restore peace and security in the country, and to assist the Lebanese government in restoring its authority (United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon, n.d.). The mandate was readjusted in 1982, following the Israeli-Lebanese war, when the mission's positions were overrun and functions subsequently were limited to providing humanitarian assistance (United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon, n.d.). UNIFIL's role at the time was to protect civilians, and their work on the ground succeeded in highlighting Israeli humanitarian law breaches and ensure compliance with human rights provisions (Murphy, 2012). For

instance, in 1985 Israeli forces deployed an ‘iron fist’ deterrence policy which involved the displacement, deportation and mass arrests of Lebanese civilians (Murphy, 2012).

In 2000, Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon enabled UNIFIL’s force to resume its military functions, with its mandate being readjusted to reflect these changes (United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon, n.d.). The July/August Israeli-Hezbollah war led to an extension in UNIFIL’s mandate, with the adoption of Security Council Resolution 1701 (United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon, n.d.). Since then, the mission has been mandated to monitor the processes of cessation of hostilities, work in collaboration with the Lebanese and Israeli governments, accompany and give support to the Lebanese Armed Forces in its deployments, assisting the Lebanese government with border security, and providing humanitarian assistance (United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon, n.d.).

5. UNMIK

The United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) was established by the creation of Security Council Resolution 1244 in 1999. Sustained conflict between the Kosovo’s Albanian resistance movement and the Serbian state over political power was the driving force behind this mission’s establishment, with UNMIK assuming governing power until a democratic transition was reached in the region (Tansey, 2009). Kosovo was a former province of the Serbian region, becoming an autonomous territory under the Yugoslav Convention in 1974, but later losing this status to the Serbian government in 1985 (Tansey, 2009). This led to the emergence of two Kosovar rebel forces, the non-violent Democratic League of Kosovo (LDK) and the paramilitary Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) (Tansey, 2009). The former became the elected governing authority, which failed to attain full independence due to the constant

harassment of civilians by Serbian forces; the latter emerged in response to this lack of independence and sparked an armed battle that led to large scale displacements and fatalities for Albanian civilians (Tansey, 2009).

The mission was originally mandated to perform transitional administration tasks until an autonomous governing body was established in Kosovo (United Nations Administrations Mission in Kosovo, n.d.). UNMIK assisted in areas such as the organising of elections, peacebuilding activities, supporting economic reconstruction, giving humanitarian assistance, and maintaining civil law and order (United Nations Administrations Mission in Kosovo, n.d.). In 2008, following the declaration of independence by authorities and its entry into force in the new constitution, UNMIK's configuration and tasks were modified (United Nations Administrations Mission in Kosovo, n.d.). Since then, the number of personnel in this mission has been reduced, and the mission's main tasks have been in promoting security, stability and human rights in Kosovo (United Nations Administrations Mission in Kosovo, n.d.). Throughout the years, UNMIK has worked in collaboration with a number of local and international actors, such as the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO), the European Union Rule of Law Mission in Kosovo, and the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (United Nations Administrations Mission in Kosovo, n.d.).

6. UNMIL

The United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL) was formed in 2003 by Security Council Resolution 1509. The 2003 Accra Peace Agreement brought together the different actors in the civil war that had been in place for more than two decades, and marked the beginning of UNMIL's deployment (Neumann and Winckler, 2013). In 1980, Samuel Doe staged a coup in Liberia, overthrowing the ruling Americo-Liberian oligarchs and

taking control of most of the country's political and military institutions (Hegre, Østby and Raleigh, 2009). The Liberian civil war broke out in 1989, when armed insurgents led by Charles Taylor instigated an attack to overthrow the ruling government (Hegre, Østby and Raleigh, 2009). With this attack the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) began a seven-year spell of brutal violence, leading to more than half of the Liberian population becoming internally displaced and decimating eight percent of the entire population (Hegre, Østby and Raleigh, 2009). The government's retaliation against the NPFL, which included civilian attacks, looting and forced displacements, strengthened support for the NPFL (Hegre, Østby and Raleigh, 2009). By April 1990, Charles Taylor and the NPFL controlled more than 90 per cent of the country, leading to the formation of anti-Taylor rebel groups. One of these groups, the Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy (LURD) was effective in creating an insurgency that led to Taylor's resignation and the signing of the Accra agreement in 2003 (Hegre, Østby and Raleigh, 2009).

Resolution 1509 (2003) mandated UNMIL to monitor the ceasefire agreement and investigate any violations of the agreement; to liaise with conflict parties' military forces; to develop an action plan for disarmament, demobilisation, reintegration and repatriation (DDRR) paying attention to the needs of women, child combatants, and non-Liberian combatants, and then carry out DDRR programmes; providing security at key government installations such as ports and airports; protecting UN staff; supporting humanitarian assistance; and supporting the re-establishment of national authority and the restructuring of the national security sector (United Nations, 2003). The mission's mandate has been adjusted on several occasions to reflect the changing security situations and new developments in Liberia (United Nations Mission in Liberia, n.d.). Most recently, the mission has been mandated to protect civilian populations from violence, to facilitate humanitarian assistance, to assist the Liberian government in the reform of the justice and

security sectors, protecting women and children from sexual and gender-based violence, strengthening the efforts of the Liberian government in combating sexual and gender-based violence and impunity for such crimes, and the protection of United Nations personnel deployed in the mission (United Nations Mission in Liberia, n.d.).

7. UNOCI

The United Nations Operation in Côte D'Ivoire (UNOCI) was established in 2004, taking over from the United Nations Mission in Côte D'Ivoire (MINUCI) which had been established the previous year (United Nations Operation in Côte D'Ivoire, n.d.). These missions were created in response to on-going political and identity tensions taking place since the 1990s. In 1993 the death of Côte D'Ivoire's first president, Félix Houphouët-Boigny, destabilised the dictatorial regime that had been in place up to that point (Butler, 2015). This prompted a state of political unrest, fuelled by nationalist identity rhetoric about immigration and what makes someone a 'true' Ivorian (Butler, 2015). It further led to the passing of a law to ban descendants of foreigners from running for presidency, with identity tensions eventually escalating into a full-blown civil war in 2002 (Butler, 2015).

The Security Council established UNOCI through the implementation of Resolution 1528 (2004), after determining that the situation in the country was a continual threat to both regional security and international peace (United Nations Operation in Côte D'Ivoire, n.d.). The mission's initial mandate was to monitor the implementation of the 2003 ceasefire agreement; to assist with border protection; to help the government in the implementation of DDR programmes, focusing on the needs of women and children; to coordinate the voluntary repatriation and resettlement of foreign ex-combatants, particularly focusing on the needs of women and children; to protect UN personnel; support humanitarian assistance; support the peace process, and in particular the re-

establishment of state authority and electoral processes; and assisting in matters of law and order (United Nations, 2004). UNOCI's mandate was adjusted in 2014 after the adoption of Resolution 2162 (United Nations Operation in Côte D'Ivoire, n.d.). The mission's current mandate includes the protection of civilians; protecting Ivorian authorities and preparing them for the upcoming elections; addressing remaining security threats, with a focus on border security challenges; the implementation of DDR without further delay; reconstruction and reform of the security sector; monitoring the arms embargo; providing human rights protection and assistance, focusing in particular on the needs of women and girls; and protecting UN personnel (United Nations Operation in Côte D'Ivoire, n.d.).

Summary

This chapter introduced the design and methodology for my research. Secondary data analysis will be used to find the trends in women's participation in seven continuing peacekeeping missions – MINUSTAH in Haiti, MONUC/MONUSCO in the DRC, UNAMA in Afghanistan, UNMIK in Kosovo, UNMIL in Liberia, UNIFIL in Lebanon and UNOCI in Cote D'Ivoire. My analysis will be done on the basis of Betty Reardon's theories of gender and militarism, comparing the trends with her frameworks as well as with concerns raised in existing literature on gender and armed conflict. Reardon's theories focus on the relationships between men and women, how these are used to legitimise existing social systems and power differences, and the move towards a holistic transformation of society with cooperation between men and women. This chapter also gave a brief overview of the contexts and mandates the seven selected peacekeeping missions operate under. The next chapter will analyse each mission's activities in their respective host countries.

Chapter Four: Findings

This chapter is divided into two parts. The first part will focus on the trends in gender inclusion in uniformed peacekeeping units. This part is only concerned with trends found in the disaggregated gender data on uniformed peacekeeping personnel. The second part of this chapter will look at the different trends in peacekeeping missions related to gender mainstreaming. It will focus on the different points raised by progress reports on gender mainstreaming efforts in different missions. Both sections will look at the different trends in each of the seven selected ongoing peacekeeping missions introduced in the previous chapter.

Trends in statistical data: Uniformed peacekeeping personnel

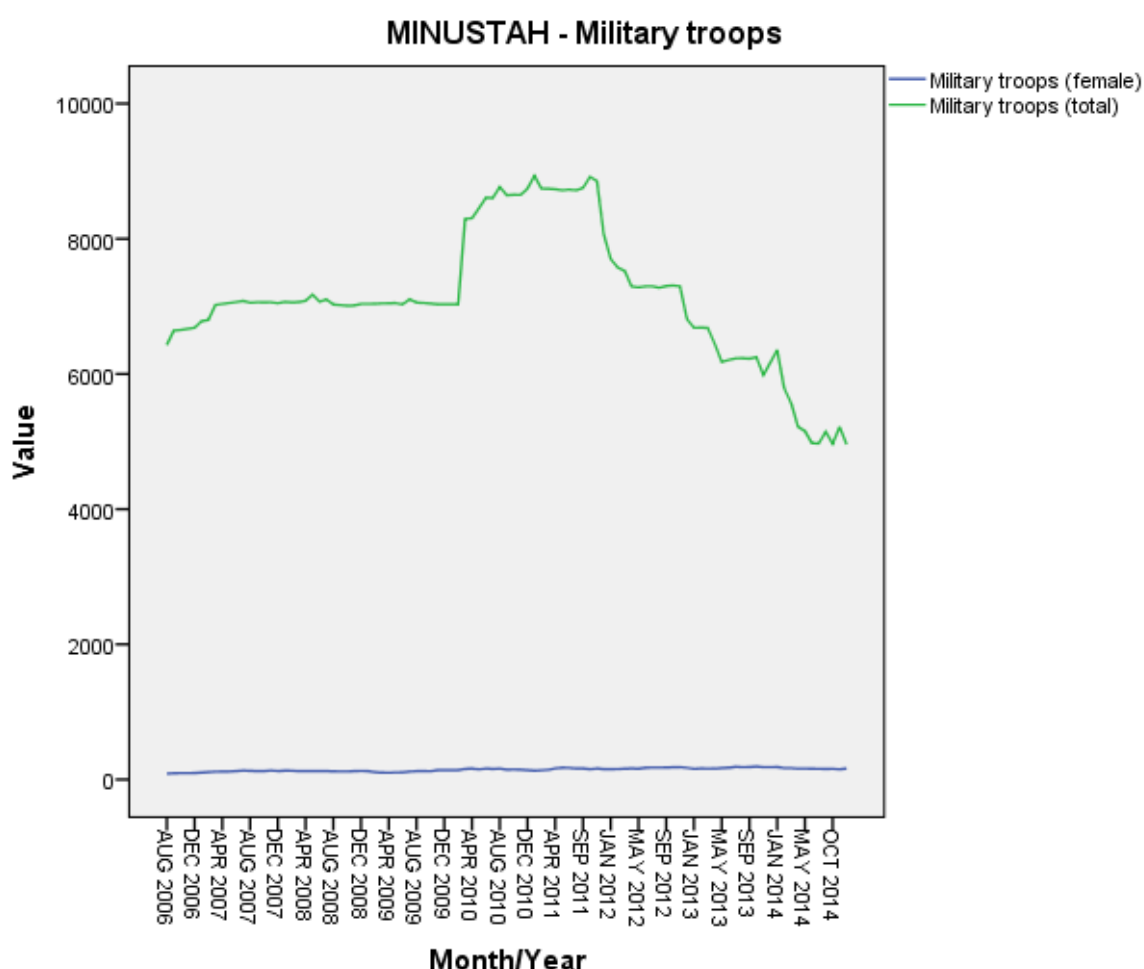
MINUSTAH (Haiti)

This mission did not have any military experts/observers deployed, only military troops and police personnel. Proportionally, the number of women soldiers in this peacekeeping mission is quite small. In August 2006 there were 87 women peacekeepers deployed in this mission, compared to 6343 men deployed at the same time period. In February 2009, when police figures became available, 112 out of the 2031 police officers in this mission were women. In November 2009, formed police units figures for this mission became available, and there were 35 women deployed out of a total of 1129 formed police unit personnel. By December 2014 there were 164 female military personnel (out of a total of 4957), 70 individual police officers (out of 687), and 125 formed police units (out of 1569).

Graphs 1, 2 and 3 show the different trends in uniformed peacekeeping personnel numbers from August 2006 until December 2014. The graphs show the total number of

personnel versus the number of female personnel over this period of time. As can be seen in these graphs, the number of women across all uniformed factions constantly stayed at proportionally smaller levels to the total number of personnel deployed. This means that women are severely underrepresented compared to male personnel in these uniformed factions. Significant increases and decreases in the overall number of personnel deployed in all these units can be attributed to the changing nature of the conflict situation – the more hostile the situation in the country, the more likely there will be an increase in uniformed staff present.

Graph 1: Military Troops in MINUSTAH

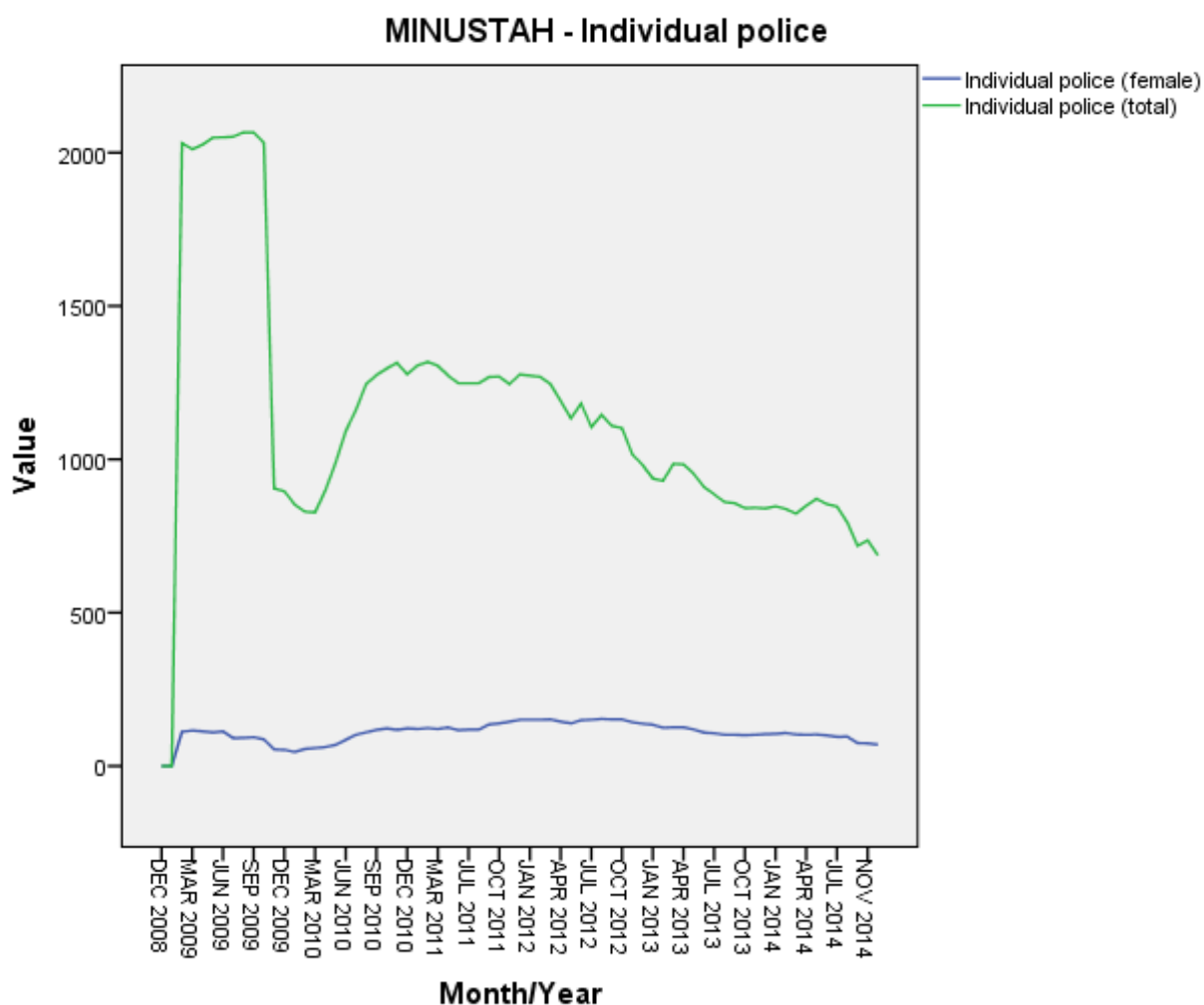


Note: Adapted from

<http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/resources/statistics/gender.shtml> Copyright 2006-2014 by United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations

As can be seen in Graph 1, the number of female military troops consistently stayed in the hundreds, with very little change occurring over the selected period of time. By comparison, the total number of military troops deployed in this mission over time consistently stayed between 4,000 and 10,000, with numbers slowly increasing between the years 2006 and 2008, peaking between the years 2009 and 2011 and then consistently dropping from 2012 onwards. The peak in military troop numbers in 2010 reflects the fact that the UN increased its presence on the ground immediately after the earthquake that occurred in Haiti that same year. Overall, however, while there has been variation in the total number of military troops throughout the selected time period, there has been very little variation on the numbers of female personnel deployed the whole time.

Graph 2: Individual Police in MINUSTAH



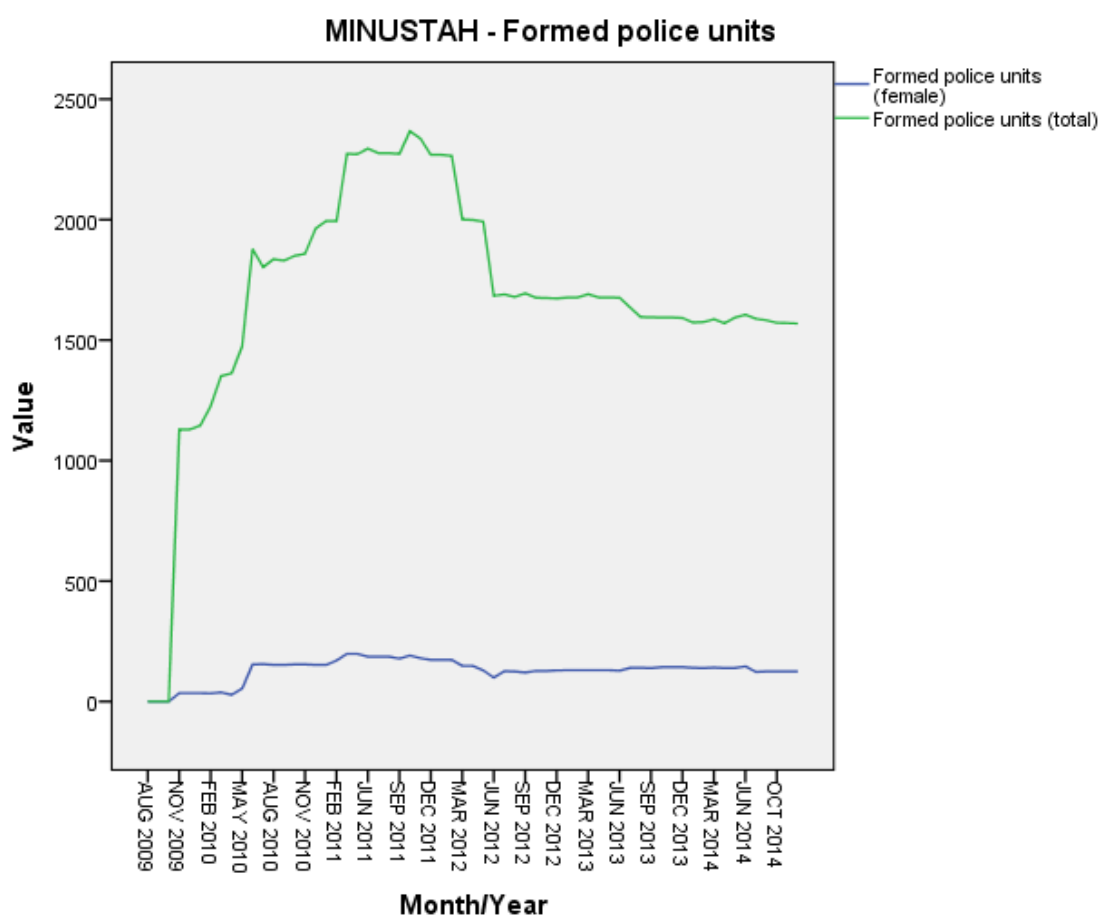
Note: Adapted from

<http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/resources/statistics/gender.shtml> Copyright 2006-2014 by United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations

Graph 2 shows the number of individual police officers deployed in this mission. Police were deployed in this mission from 2009 onwards. As with military personnel, the number of female police officers in this mission has been proportionally small compared to the total number of police officers deployed. The graph shows that, even though there has been variation in the total number of individual police officers deployed in MINUSTAH, the number of female police officers has not followed the same patterns. The number of women consistently stayed under 500 for the selected time period, whereas the total

number of individual police officers ranged between 1000 and 2000. Like the number of military troops, the overall number of police officers steadily decreased from the years 2012 to 2014, possibly indicating a de-escalation of the existing conflict over time.

Graph 3: Formed Police Units in MINUSTAH



Note: Adapted from <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/resources/statistics/gender.shtml> Copyright 2006-2014 by United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations

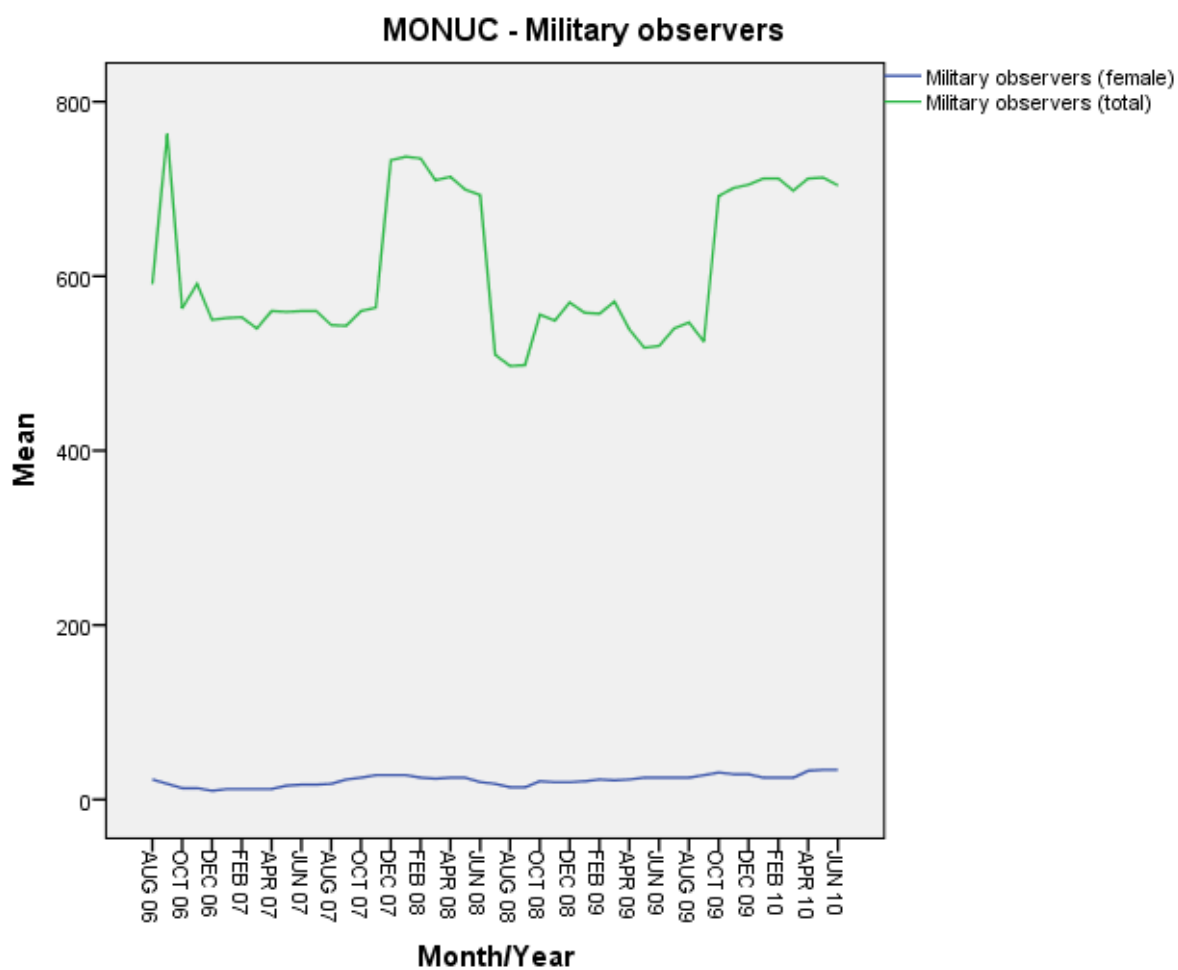
Graph 3 shows the number of formed police units in this mission. As can be seen, the total number of personnel in formed police units constantly increased from December 2009, peaking towards the end of 2011, then constantly decreasing for the remaining time period. The total number of personnel in formed police units stayed between 1000 and 2500 from December 2009 until December 2014. Like the other uniformed components

of this mission, however, the number of women constantly stayed below 500, with very little variation in numbers in this period of time.

MONUC/MONUSCO (Democratic Republic of the Congo)

MONUC/MONUSCO consists of military observers, military troops, individual police officers, and formed police units. In August 2006 there were 23 women deployed as military observers and 319 women in the military troops. By comparison, in the same month there were 568 male military observers and 16322 men in the military troops. In February 2009, when police figures first became available, there were 58 women in the police force (out of a total of 1085 police officers). In November 2009, the number of female individual police officers were broken down into individual police officers and contingent troops. The number of women in the individual police officer component in November was 19 (out of 301 individual police) and the number of women in formed police units was also 19 (out of 639), bringing the number of female police staff to 38 in total (out of 940 police staff). July 2010 was the month when MONUC extended its mandate, and changed its name to MONUSCO. The graphs and tables to follow first show uniformed personnel numbers for MONUC, and then the numbers for MONUSCO.

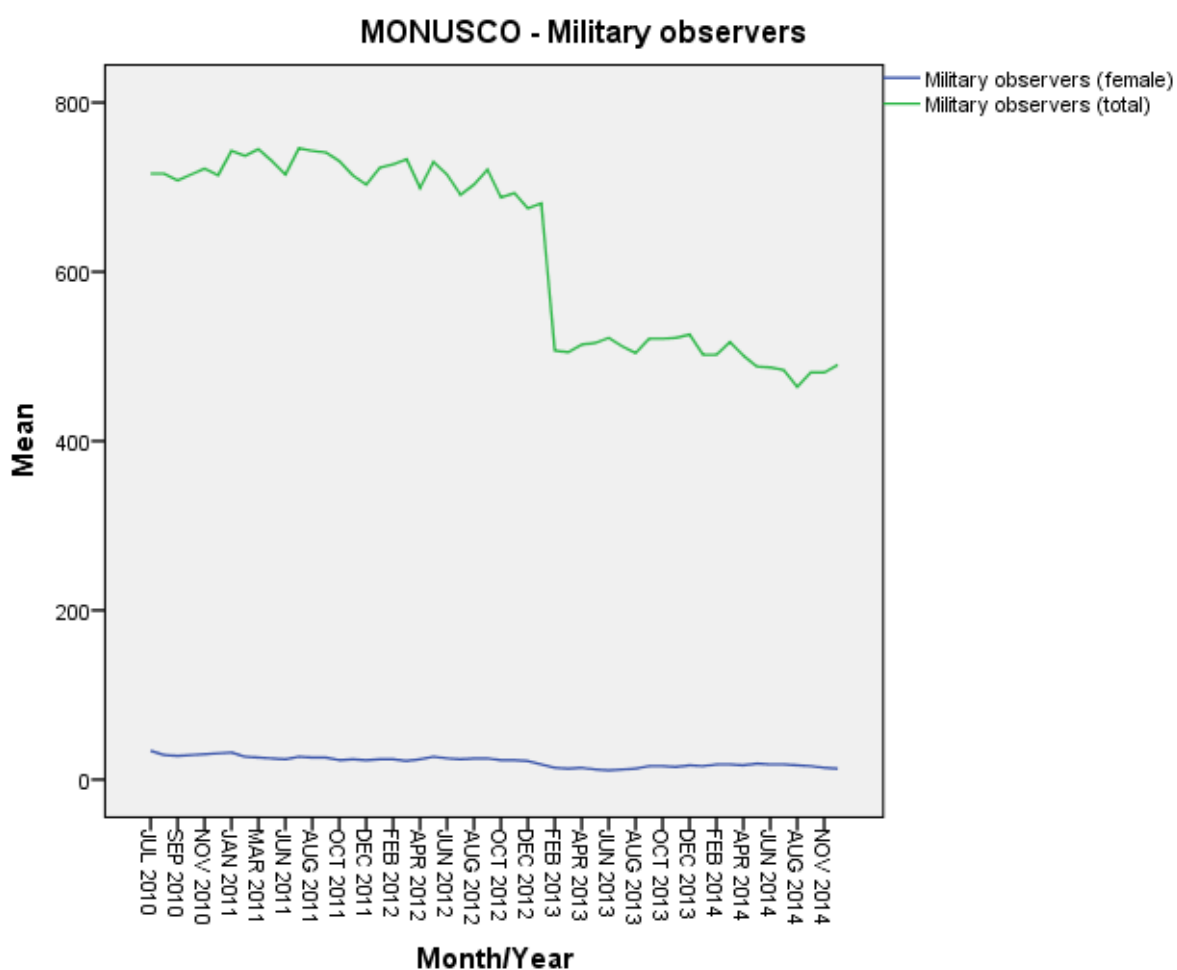
Graph 4: Military Observers in MONUC



Note: Adapted from

<http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/resources/statistics/gender.shtml> Copyright 2006-2010 by United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations

Graph 5: Military Observers in MONUSCO



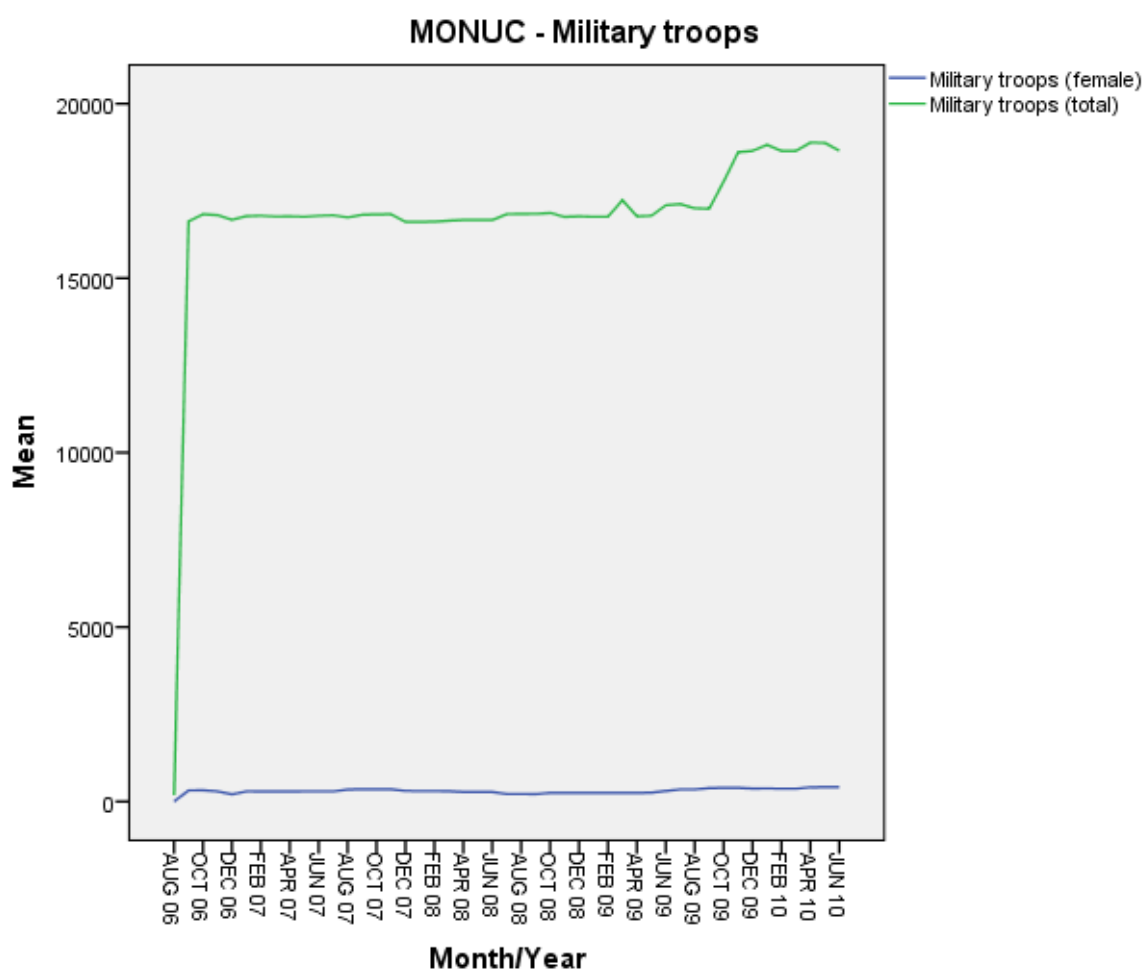
Note: Adapted from <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/resources/statistics/gender.shtml> Copyright 2010-2014 by United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations

Graph 4 shows the number of military observers for MONUC, from August 2006 until June 2010, and Graph 5 shows the number of military observers for MONUSCO, from July 2010 until December 2014. Both graphs show that the number of women deployed as military observers consistently stayed below 200, whereas the total number of military observers was between 600 and 800 for MONUC, and between 400 and 600 when the mission became MONUSCO. Throughout the whole of the time period (August 2006 until December 2014) the number of female military observers had very little variation,

compared with the total number of military observers which experienced significant increases and decreases throughout.

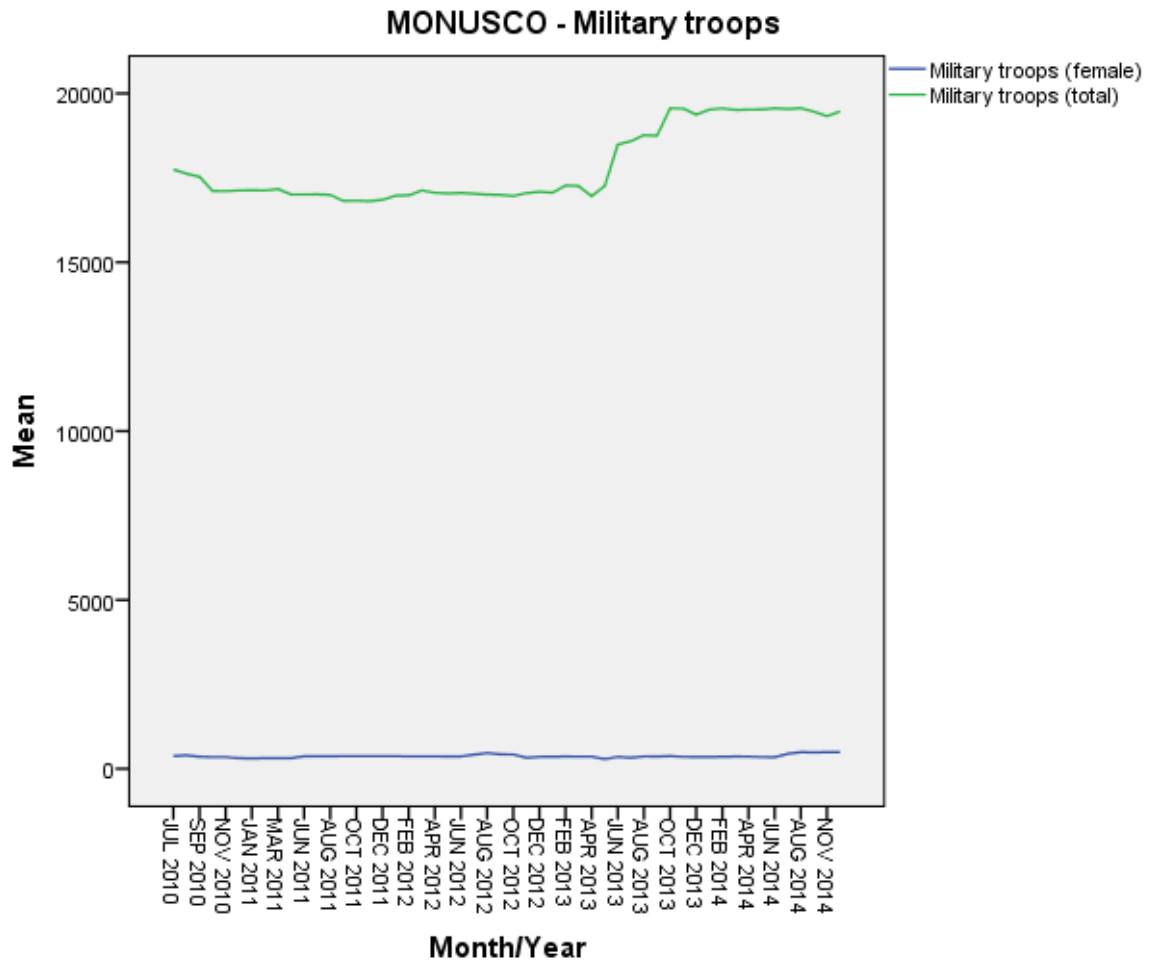
Looking at the overall number of military observers, MONUSCO seems to have less variation than MONUC in the number of observers deployed. This could mean that, during MONUC, the conflict situation was less stable, whereas in MONUSCO the nature of the conflict remained largely unchanged. The rapid decline in staff in MONUSCO at the end of 2012 could be an indication of an overall de-escalation of conflict.

Graph 6: Military Troops in MONUC



Note: Adapted from <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/resources/statistics/gender.shtml> Copyright 2006-2010 by United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations

Graph 7: Military Troops in MONUSCO



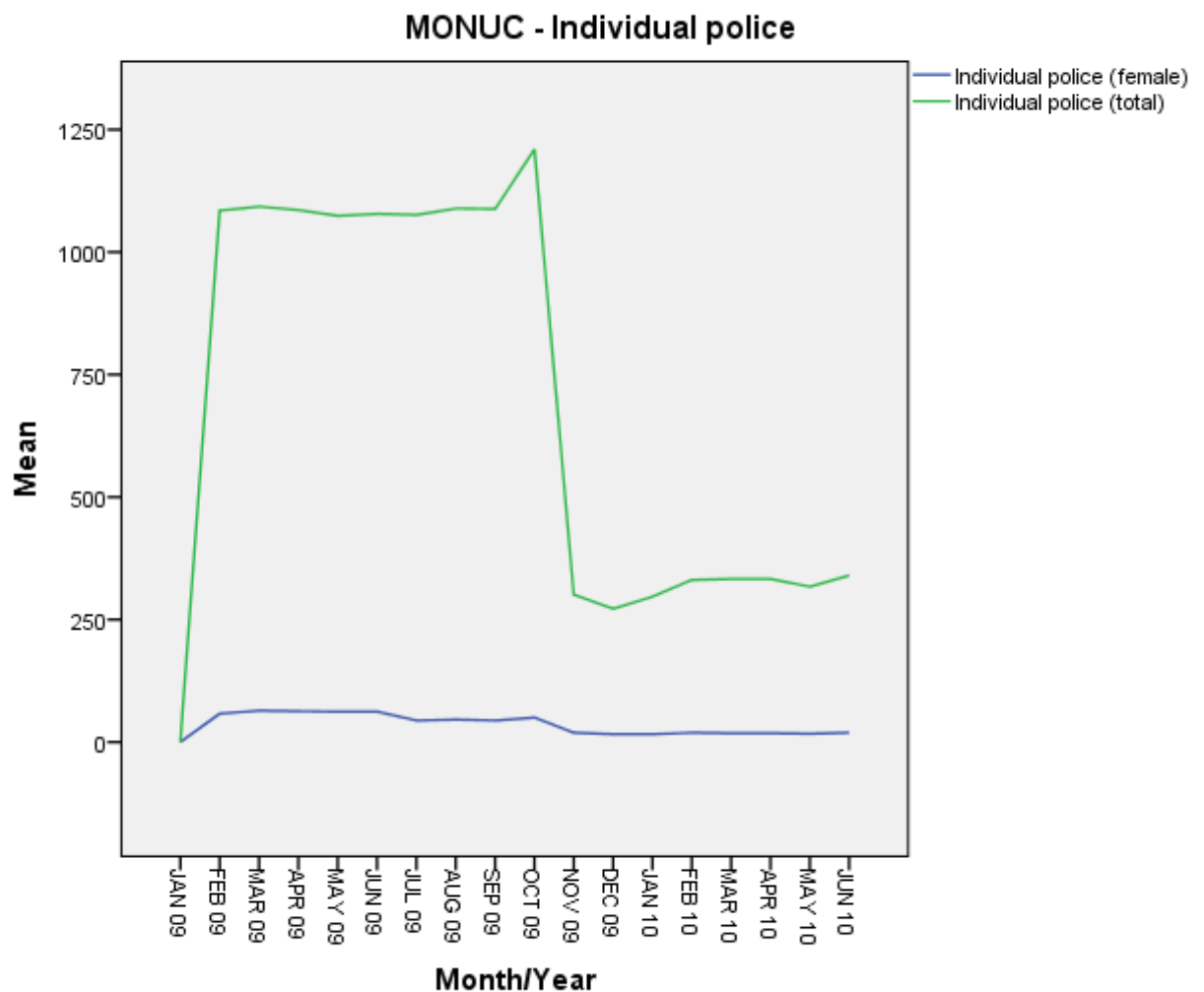
Note: Adapted from

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Graphs 6 and 7 show the number of military troops for MONUC and MONUSCO. Again, the number of female personnel is proportionally small compared to the total number of military troops deployed in the mission, both when it was MONUC and when it became MONUSCO. The number of women consistently stayed under 5000 throughout the selected time period, with very little variation in numbers. In contrast, the total number of military troops deployed in MONUC and then MONUSCO consistently stayed between 15000 and 20000, constantly increasing throughout MONUC's duration as well as constantly increasing when the mission transitioned into MONUSCO.

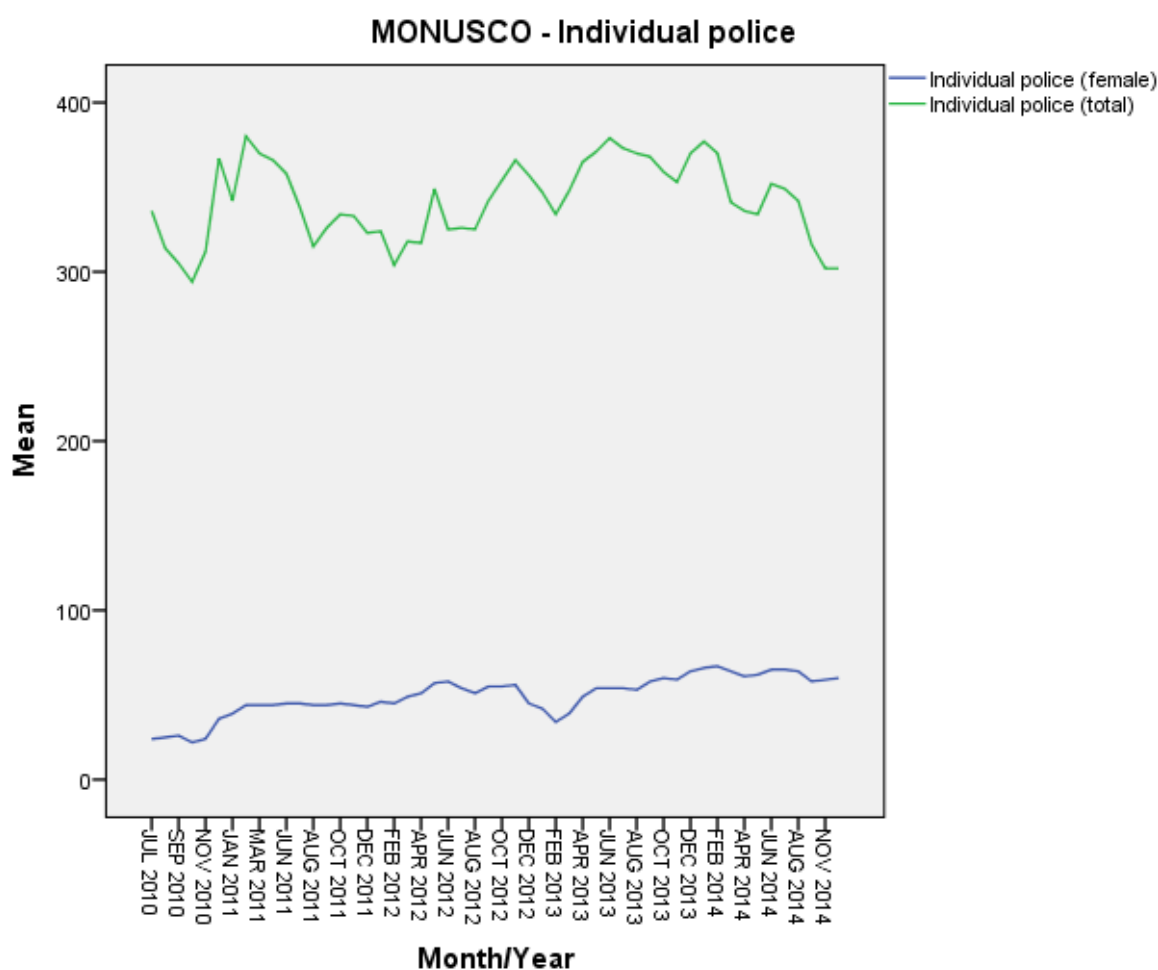
Interestingly, unlike the number of military observers, the number of military troops deployed continued to steadily increase towards the end of MONUC, and during MONUSCO from 2013 onwards. This contradicts trends in military observer numbers, and suggests that the conflict situation had actually become more hostile during this time period.

Graph 8: Individual Police in MONUC



Note: Adapted from <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/resources/statistics/gender.shtml> Copyright 2009-2010 by United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations

Graph 9: Individual Police in MONUSCO



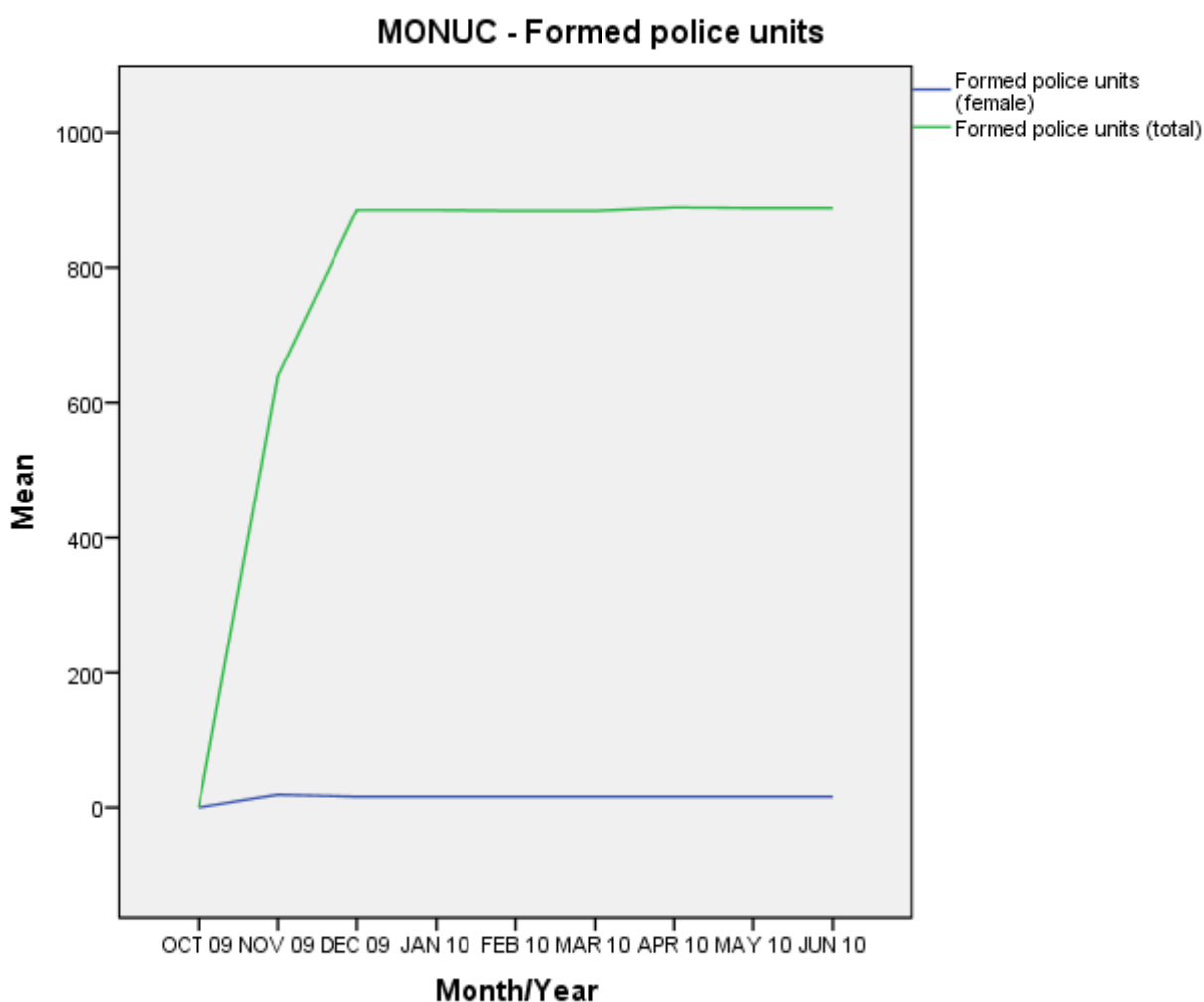
Note: Adapted from

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Graphs 8 and 9 show the number of individual police in MONUC and MONUSCO. Because police personnel data only begins in 2009, MONUC's UNPOL figures are limited to a year and six months' time span. The total number of individual police officers for MONUC dropped significantly around the time when figures further break down between individual police and formed police units, indicating that perhaps the number of police personnel was split between those two components from then onwards. Throughout the whole time period, the number of female police officers consistently stayed under 100, with very little variation occurring during MONUC but some variation

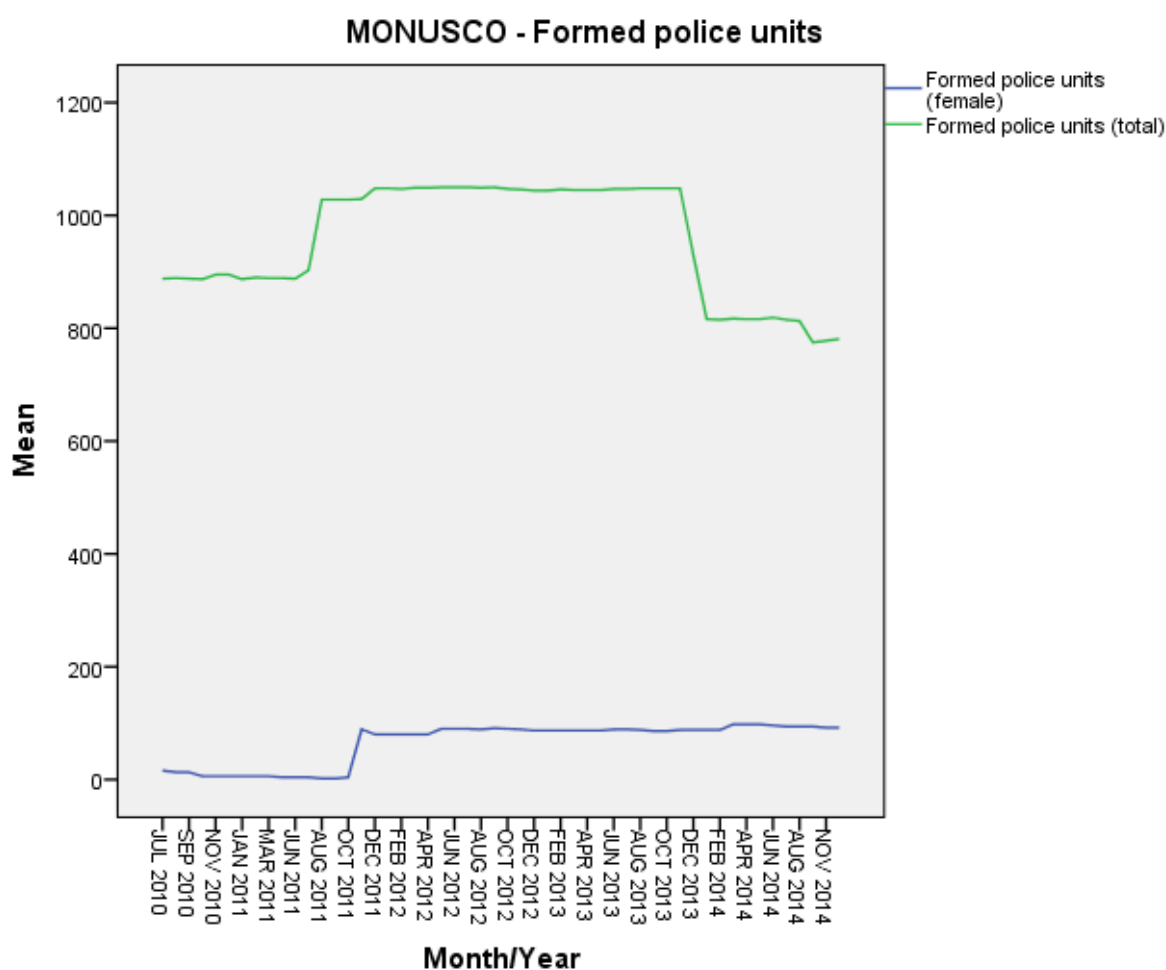
when the mission became MONUSCO. MONUSCO for the most part saw constant increases in the numbers of female police officers, with a drop in numbers occurring in February 2013 before continuing to increase once again a few months later. Nevertheless, like with other components, the number of women was proportionally significantly smaller than the total number of individual police officers deployed throughout this mission.

Graph 10: Formed Police Units in MONUC



Note: Adapted from <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/resources/statistics/gender.shtml> Copyright 2009-2010 by United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations

Graph 11: Formed Police Units in MONUSCO



Note: Adapted from

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Graphs 10 and 11 show the number of formed police units for MONUC and MONUSCO. Graph 10 shows that the total number of personnel deployed in MONUC's formed police units stayed between 800 and 1000, with very little change occurring in numbers, and the number of women deployed during the same time period constantly remained under 100. Because the mission changed its mandate and transitioned to MONUSCO just before formed police unit data became available, there is not a lot of information of MONUC's formed police units. From the end of MONUC to the beginning of MONUSCO, the

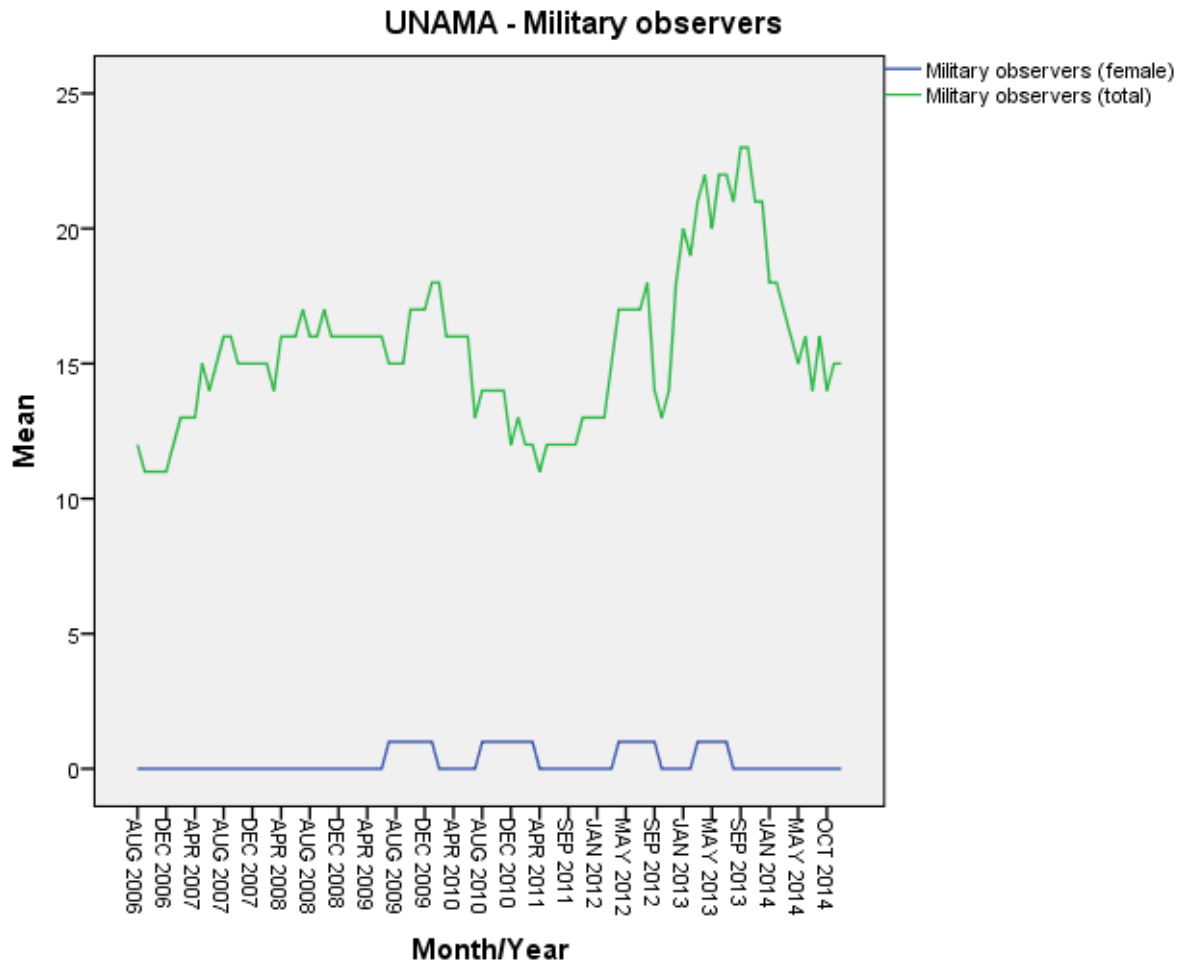
overall number of formed police units remained under 1000, only surpassing this value in 2011. Graph 11 shows that the number of women continued to stay under 200 once the mission transitioned into MONUSCO, despite there being an increase in women in the formed units in October 2011. The number of female police officers continued to be proportionally a lot smaller than the total number of personnel in formed police units.

UNAMA (Afghanistan)

Up until 2009, the figures only showed military experts/observers in this mission. From 2009 onwards, figures show military experts as well as individual police officers were deployed in this mission. No women were deployed as military observers from the years 2006 to 2008. From August 2006 to December 2006 there were 11 males deployed in this mission.

One woman was deployed as a military observer in July 2009. This was the first time a woman was deployed to this peacekeeping mission. There were 15 military observers deployed at the time, and eight police officers. No female police officers were deployed in this mission until January 2011, when one woman was added to the police team. A total of four police officers were part of this mission at the time.

Graph 12: Military Observers in UNAMA



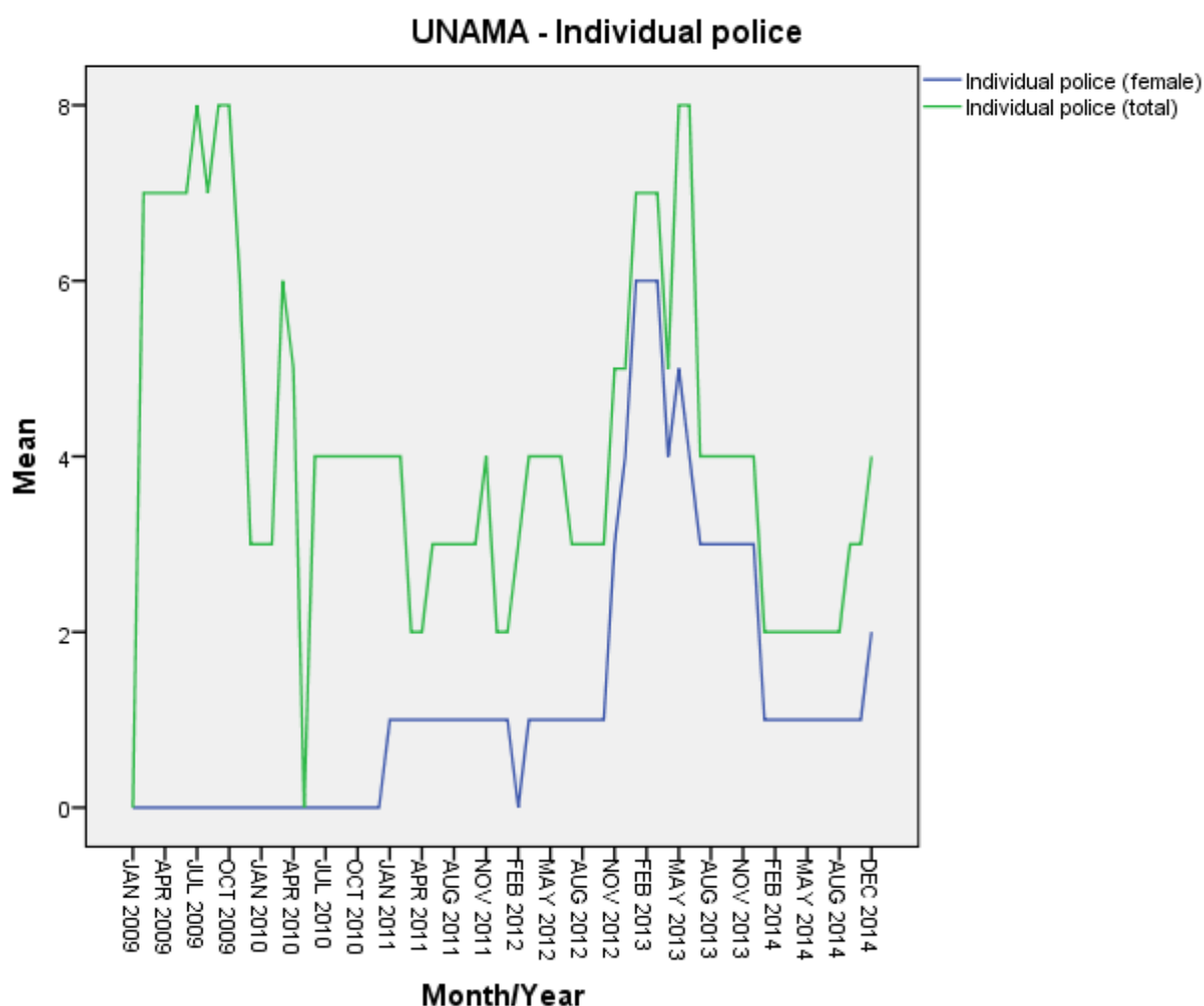
Note: Adapted from

<http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/resources/statistics/gender.shtml> Copyright 2006-2014 by United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations

Graph 12 shows the number of female military observers in this mission between August 2006 and December 2014. As can be seen, when women were deployed there were fewer than five of them present throughout this mission. The number of women, for the most part, stayed at zero. By comparison, the total number of military observers stayed between 10 and 25, with some variance in numbers throughout. The total number of military observers slowly increased between the years 2007 and 2010, then decreased between

April 2010 and April 2011, slowly increasing again until 2014 when numbers finally decreased again.

Graph 13: Individual Police in UNAMA



Note: Adapted from <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/resources/statistics/gender.shtml> Copyright 2009-2014 by United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations

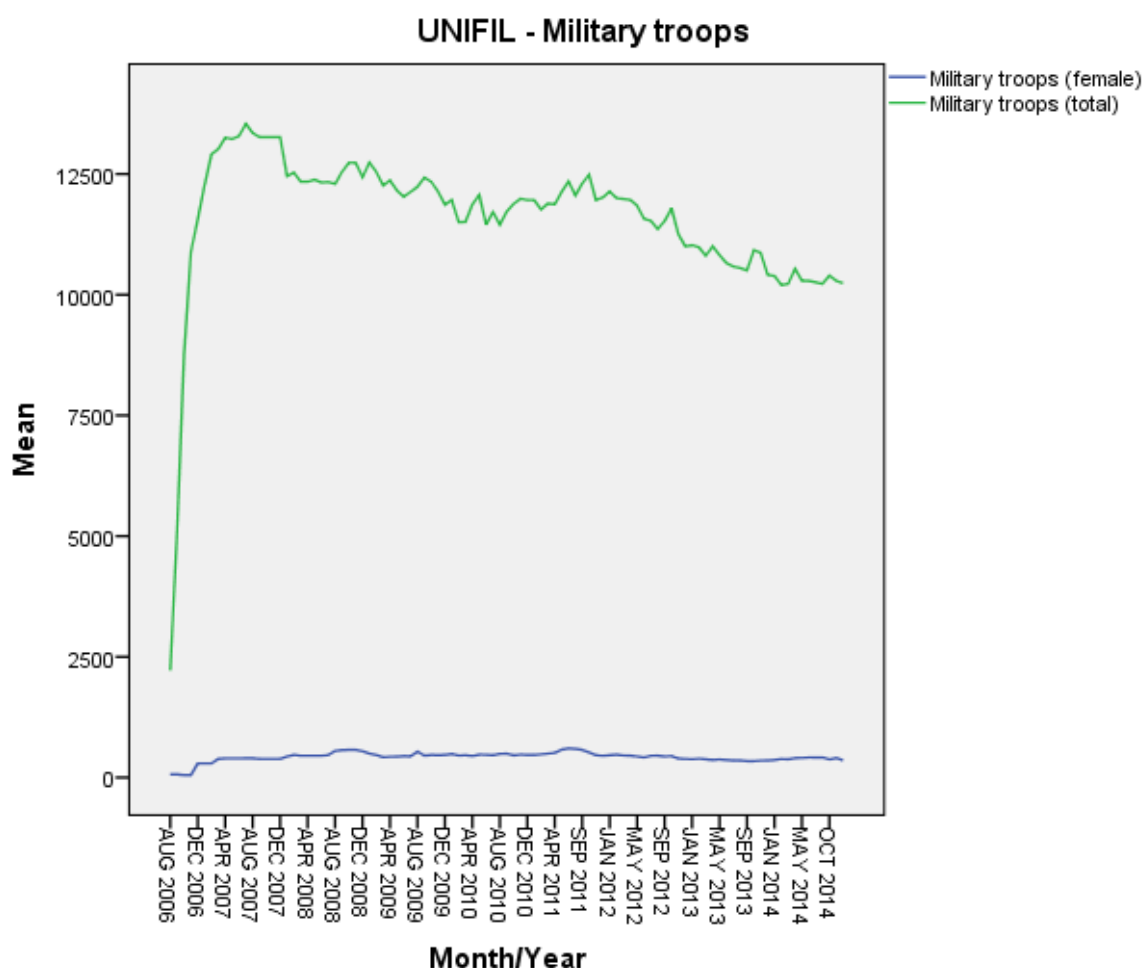
Graph 13 shows the number of individual police officers in this mission. Between 2009 and 2011, the number of female police officers was proportionally smaller than the total number of police deployed. However, from 2013 onwards the number of female police officers was closer to that of the total number of individual police officers. Nevertheless, the number of police officers deployed in this mission, as a whole, is quite small, with

fewer than 10 police officers deployed at any time. The small size of the police force could explain the more equal gender distribution from 2013 onwards.

UNIFIL (Lebanon)

This mission is only made up of military troops – and therefore no military experts/observers, individual police officers, or formed police units. In August 2006, there were 64 women deployed in this mission, and 2155 men. In December 2014 women made up 355 out of the 10238 of peacekeepers deployed in this mission.

Graph 14: Military Troops in UNIFIL



Note: Adapted from

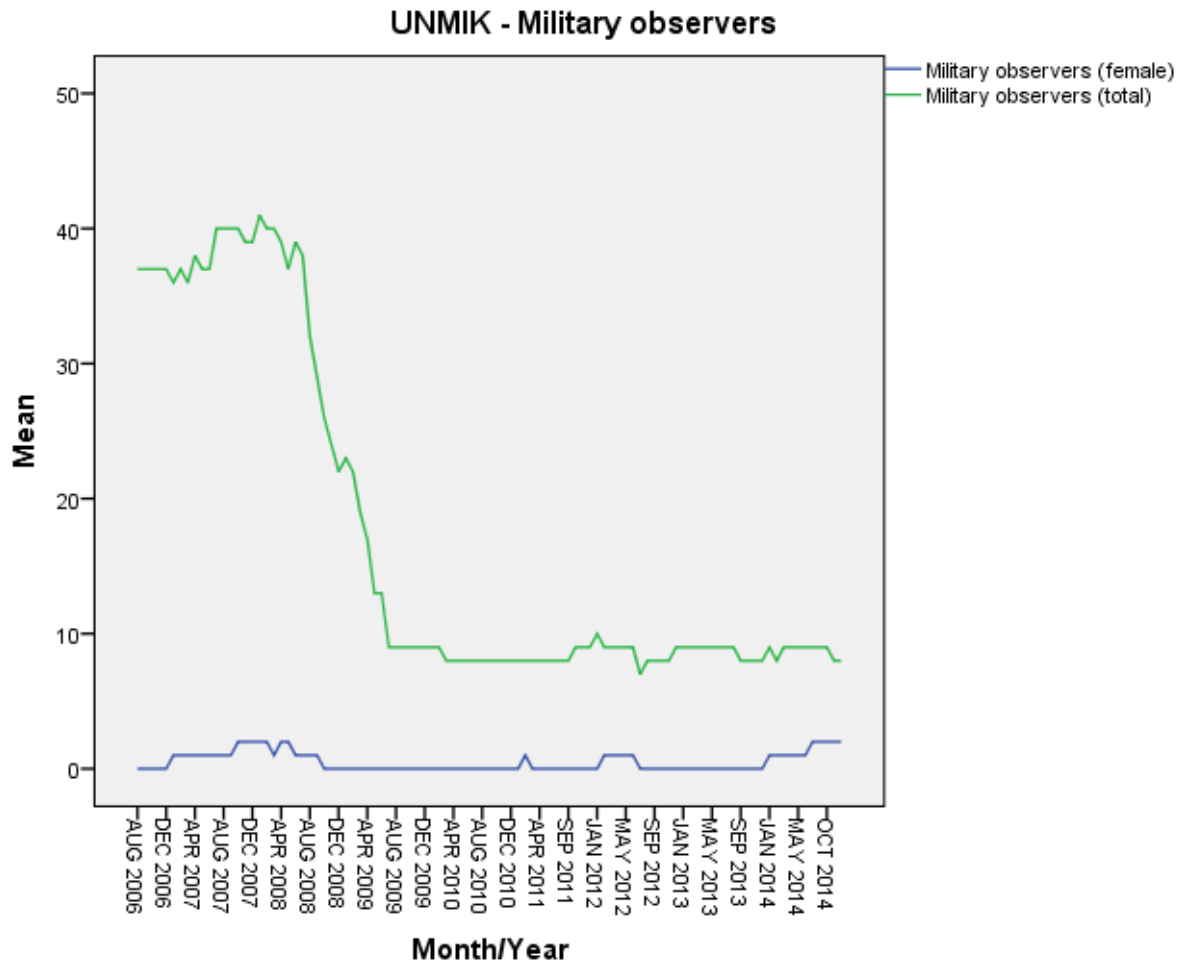
<http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/resources/statistics/gender.shtml> Copyright 2006-2014 by United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations

Graph 14 shows the number of military troops in UNIFIL. As can be seen, the number of women in this mission has constantly stayed below 2500, with very little variation from August 2006 until December 2014. By comparison, the total number of troops deployed in this mission has constantly been above 10,000 and usually above 12,500. Throughout the selected time period, the total number of military troops deployed gradually increased and decreased over time, but with very little change occurring in values.

UNMIK (Kosovo)

This is a small mission, comprised only of military experts and individual police officers. In August 2006, this mission only included 37 military experts/observers. None of the military observers deployed at the time were women. Uniformed women were absent in this mission until January 2007, when one female military observer was added to the mission. Comparatively, there were 35 male military observers deployed at the time. In February 2009, when police figures became available, there were three female police officers deployed in this mission (out of a total of 55 police officers). There were only two female military observers and one female police officer deployed in December 2014.

Graph 15: Military Observers in UNMIK



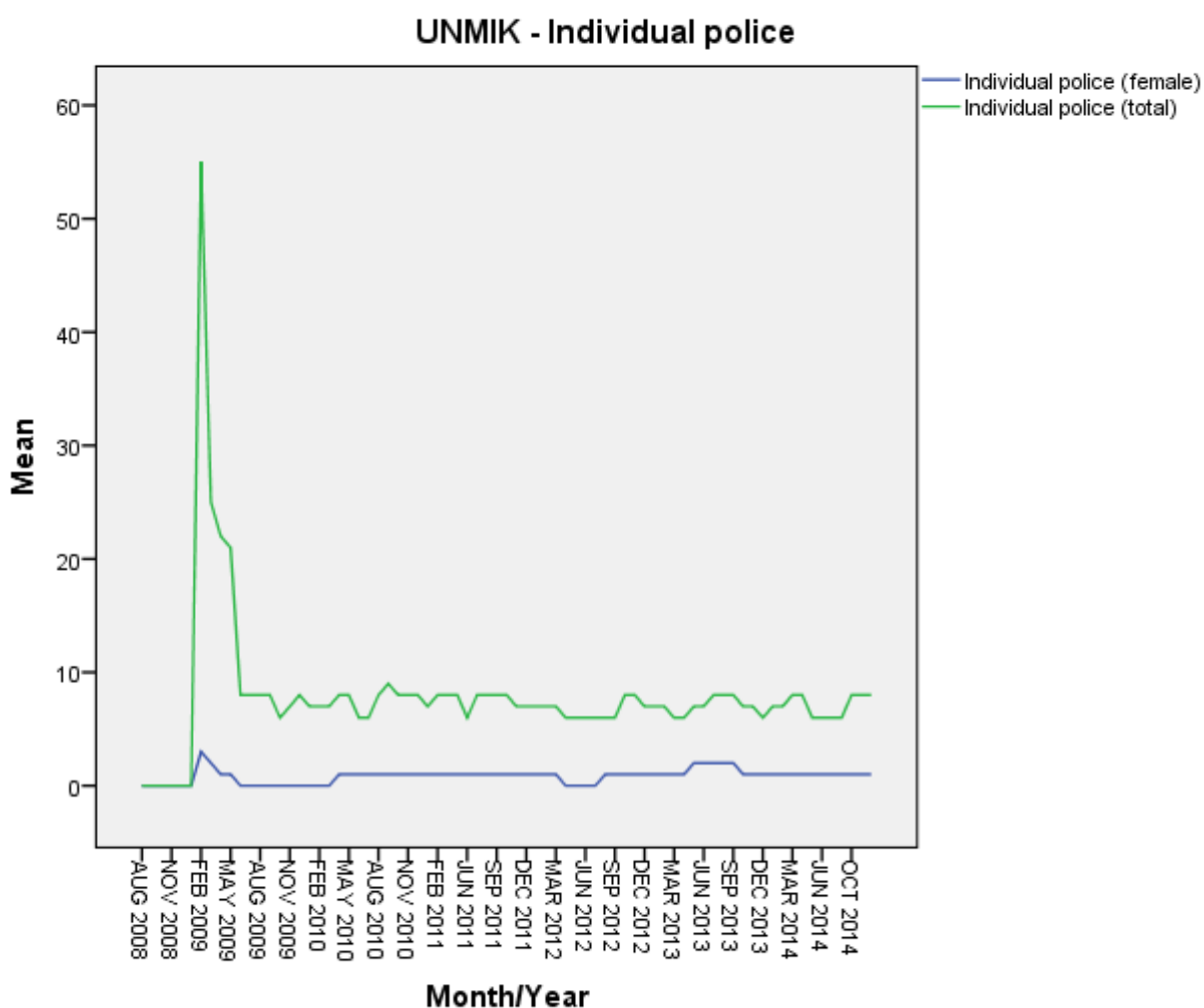
Note: Adapted from

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Graph 15 shows the trends in UNMIK's military observer numbers over time. Throughout the selected time period, the number of female military observers stayed under 10, and constantly remained at zero from December 2008 and December 2010, from April 2011 to January 2012, and September 2012 until January 2014. In contrast, the total number of military observers went from being between 30 and 40 to dropping to fewer than ten over time. The decrease in the number of male military observers does not seem to have

affected the number of women deployed in this mission, meaning that, for this mission, personnel numbers do not affect the number of females deployed.

Graph 16: Individual Police in UNMIK



Note: Adapted from <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/resources/statistics/gender.shtml> Copyright 2009-2014 by United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations

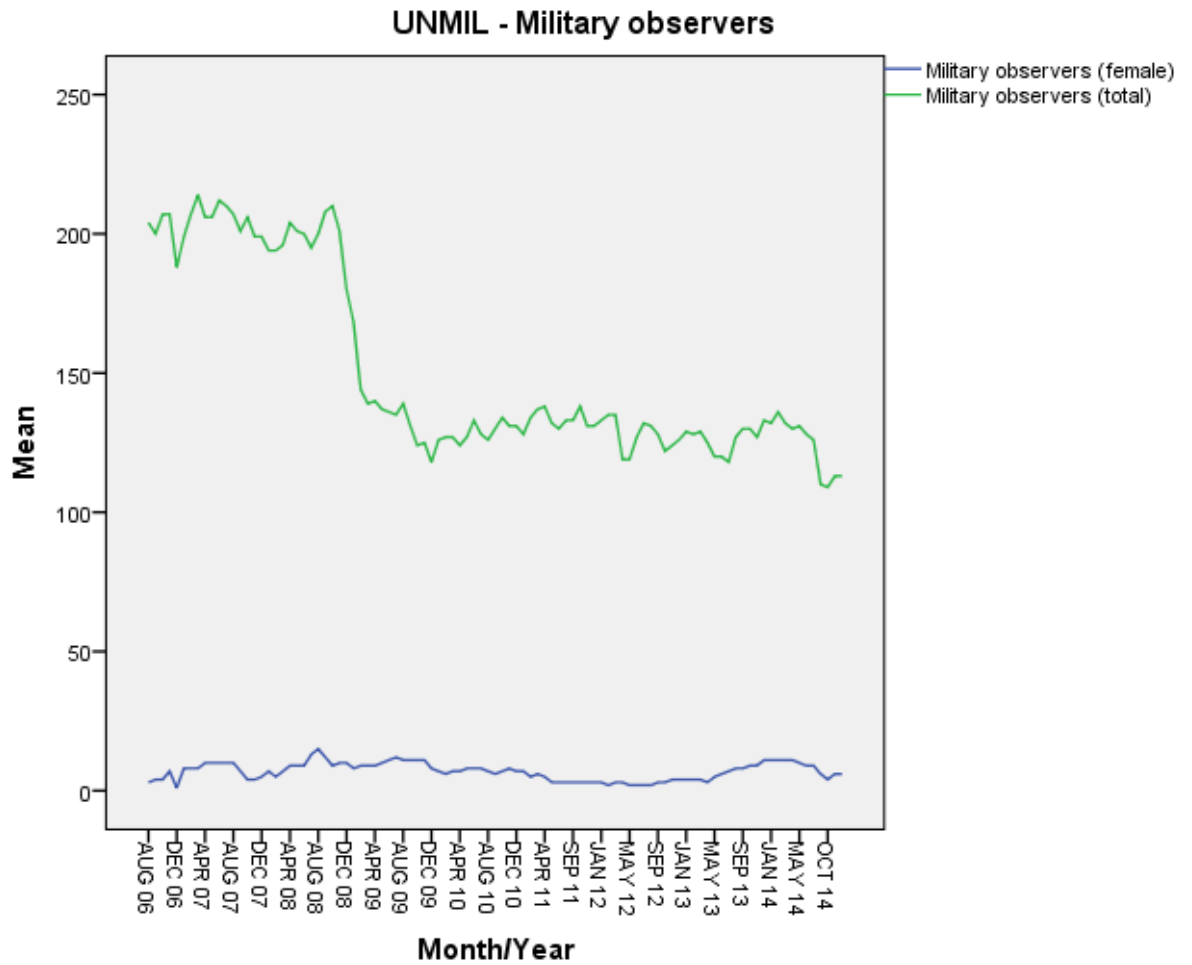
Graph 16 shows the trends in number of individual police officers over time. Again, the number of women stayed below ten throughout the selected time period, whereas the total number of police personnel deployed peaked at more than 50 in December 2008, then

dropped to ten, oscillating between slightly higher and lower values right through to the end of 2014.

UNMIL (Liberia)

This mission consists of military observers, troops, individual police officers, and formed police units. In August 2006, UNMIL had three female military observers (and 201 male military observers), and 371 women in military troops (compared to 14261 men). In February 2009 the number of female police officers was 194 (out of a total of 1213 police officers). In November 2009, figures for formed police units deployed in this mission became available, with women making up 130 officers in formed police units, out of a total of 844 personnel. In December, there were six female military observers, 164 women in military troops, 76 female individual police officers, and 129 women in formed police units.

Graph 17: Military Observers in UNMIL

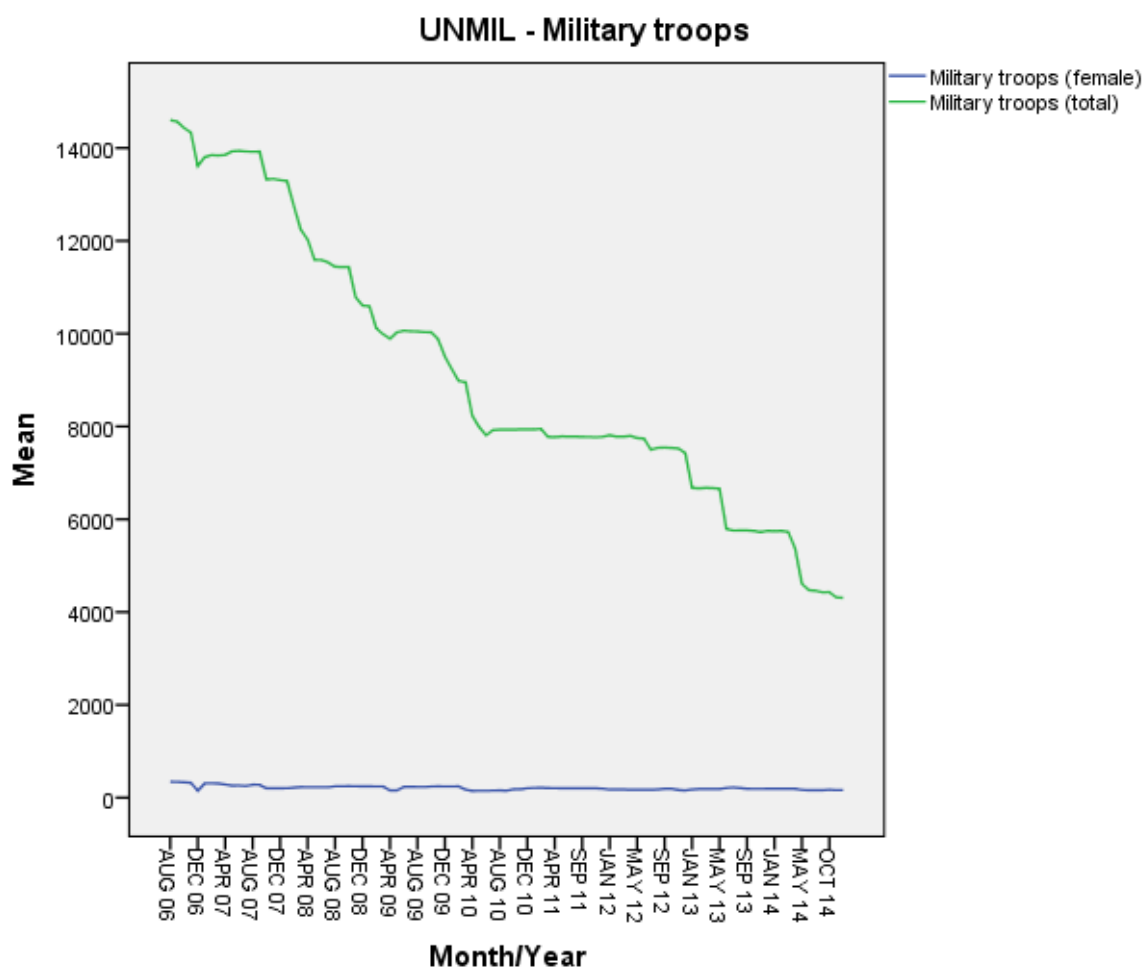


Note: Adapted from

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Graph 17 shows the trends in military observers for UNMIL from 2006 until 2014. The number of female military observers has stayed below 50 throughout the time period, with very little variation. By contrast, the total number of military observers began at around 200, eventually decreasing to under 150. Aside from a significant drop in the total number of military observers between December 2008 and April 2009, the total number of military observers mostly stayed around similar values for the duration of the time period.

Graph 18: Military Troops in UNMIL

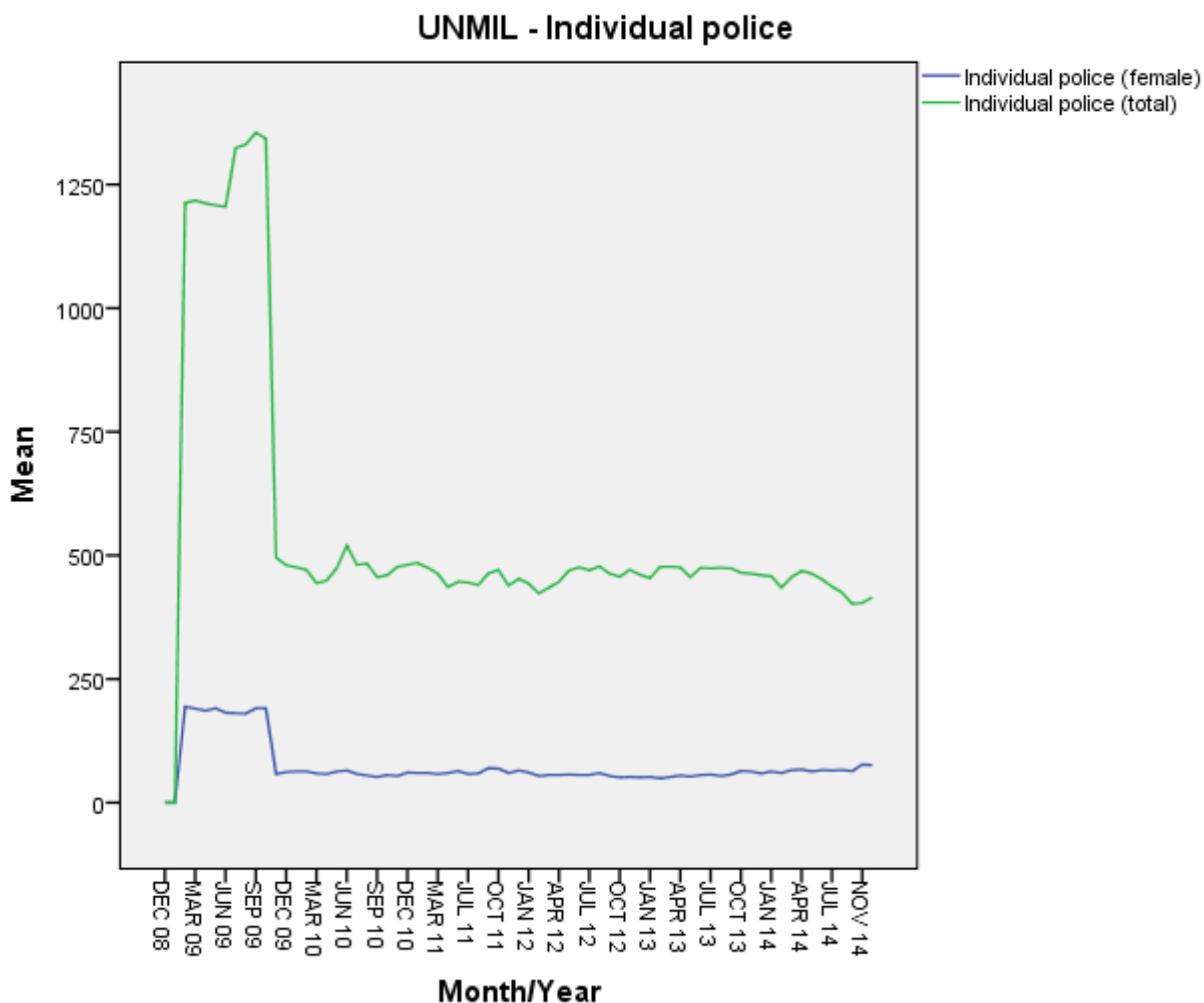


Note: Adapted from

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Graph 18 shows the trends in military troops for UNMIL. The total number of women in military troops constantly stayed under 2000 throughout the selected time period, with very little variation in numbers. In contrast, the total number of military troops began as more than 14,000 and constantly decreased throughout the time period. By the end of 2014, the total number of military troop personnel was just over 4000.

Graph 19: Individual Police in UNMIL



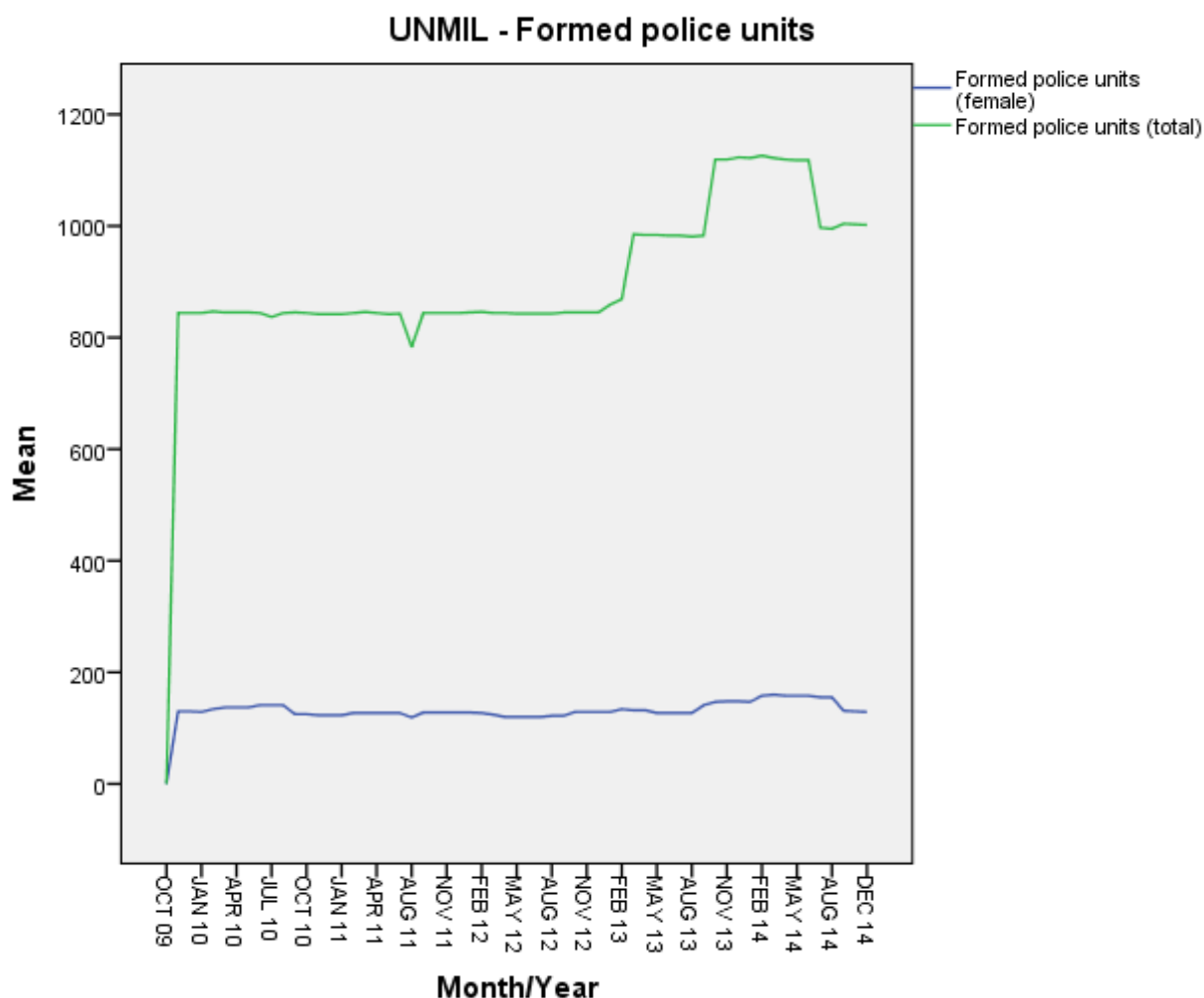
Note: Adapted from

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Graph 19 shows trends in individual police numbers for UNMIL. As can be seen, the number of women over the selected period of time has proportionally been a lot smaller than the total number of individual police officers deployed. There were fewer than 250 female police officers deployed at any time, whereas the total number of individual police officers was above 500 since figures for police became available in 2009. The number of women and the total number of police officers, however, followed similar patterns in

increases and decreases throughout the time period, increasing and decreasing in a similar manner.

Graph 20: Formed Police Units in UNMIL



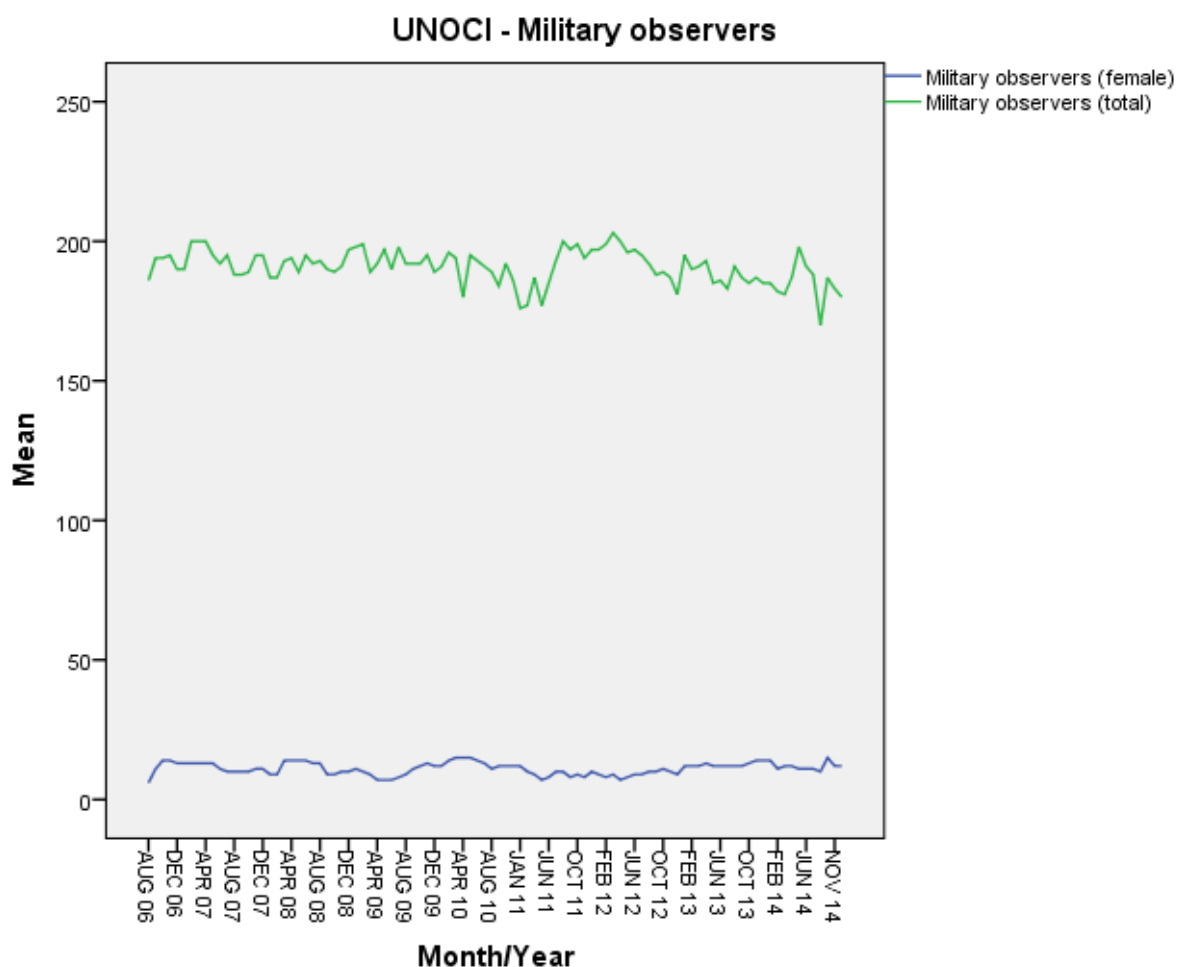
Note: Adapted from <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/resources/statistics/gender.shtml> Copyright 2009-2014 by United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations

Graph 20 shows the trends for the mission's formed police units. While the number of women deployed in the police units stayed under 200 for the whole of the selected time period, the total number of personnel in the units was between 800 and 1200.

UNOCI (Côte D'Ivoire)

Like UNMIL, this mission consists of military observers, troops, individual police and formed police units. In August 2006 there were six female military observers and 45 female military troop personnel deployed in this mission. By comparison, there were 180 male military observers, and 7798 male military troop personnel deployed in this mission that same month. Police figures available from February 2009 show there were 19 women serving as police officers in this mission during the time period (out of a total of 1146 police officers). In June 2011, women were added to formed police units in this mission for the first time – out of the 957 peacekeepers in formed police units at the time, three were women. By February 2012, however, the number of women in formed police units was back at zero, and no woman was deployed in formed police units in this mission from then onwards.

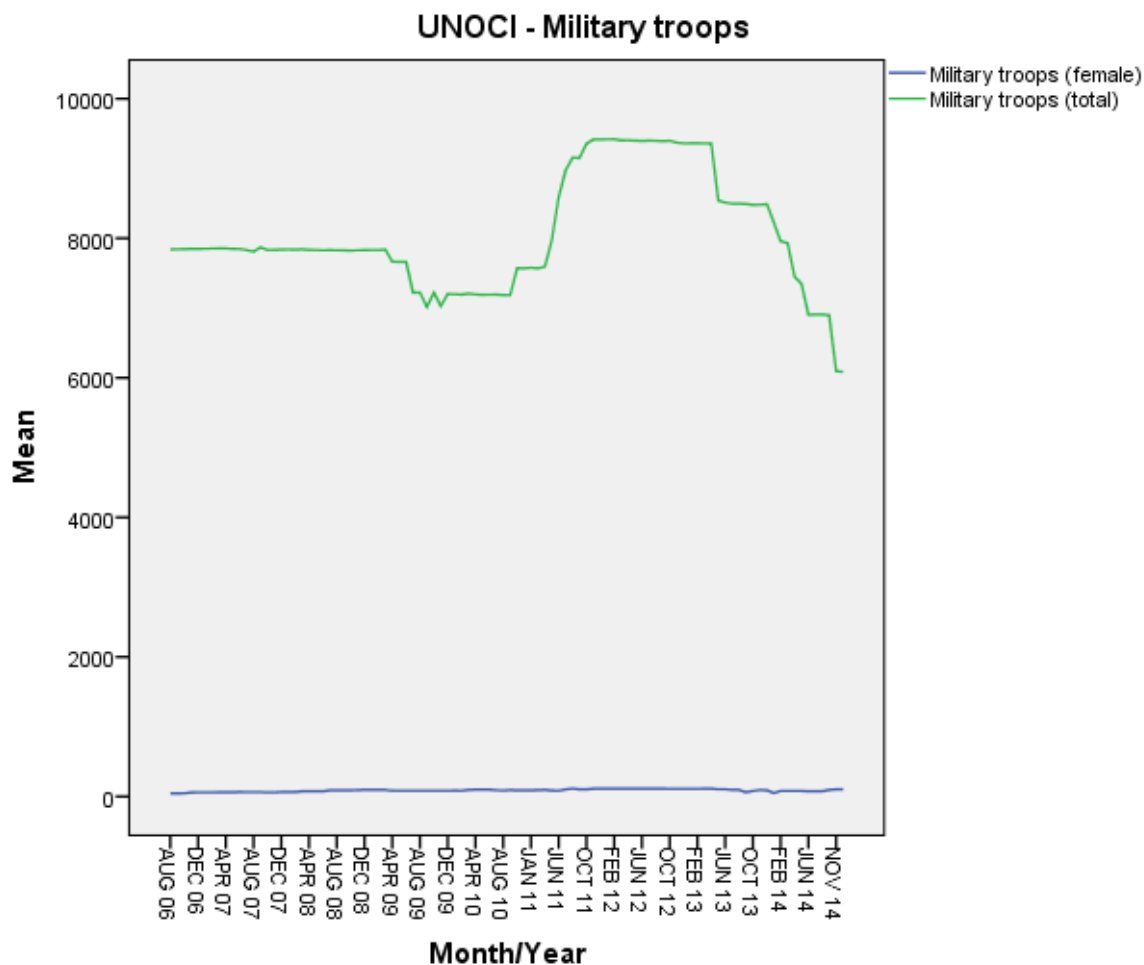
Graph 21: Military Observers in UNOCI



Note: Adapted from <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/resources/statistics/gender.shtml> Copyright 2006-2014 by United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations

Graph 21 shows the trends in military observer numbers for UNOCI. Whereas the total number of military observers stayed between 150 and 250 throughout the time period, with very little variation between numbers, the number of female military observers in this mission was consistently below 50. Similar to the total number of military observers, however, the number of women did not change significantly over the selected period of time.

Graph 22: Military Troops in UNOCI

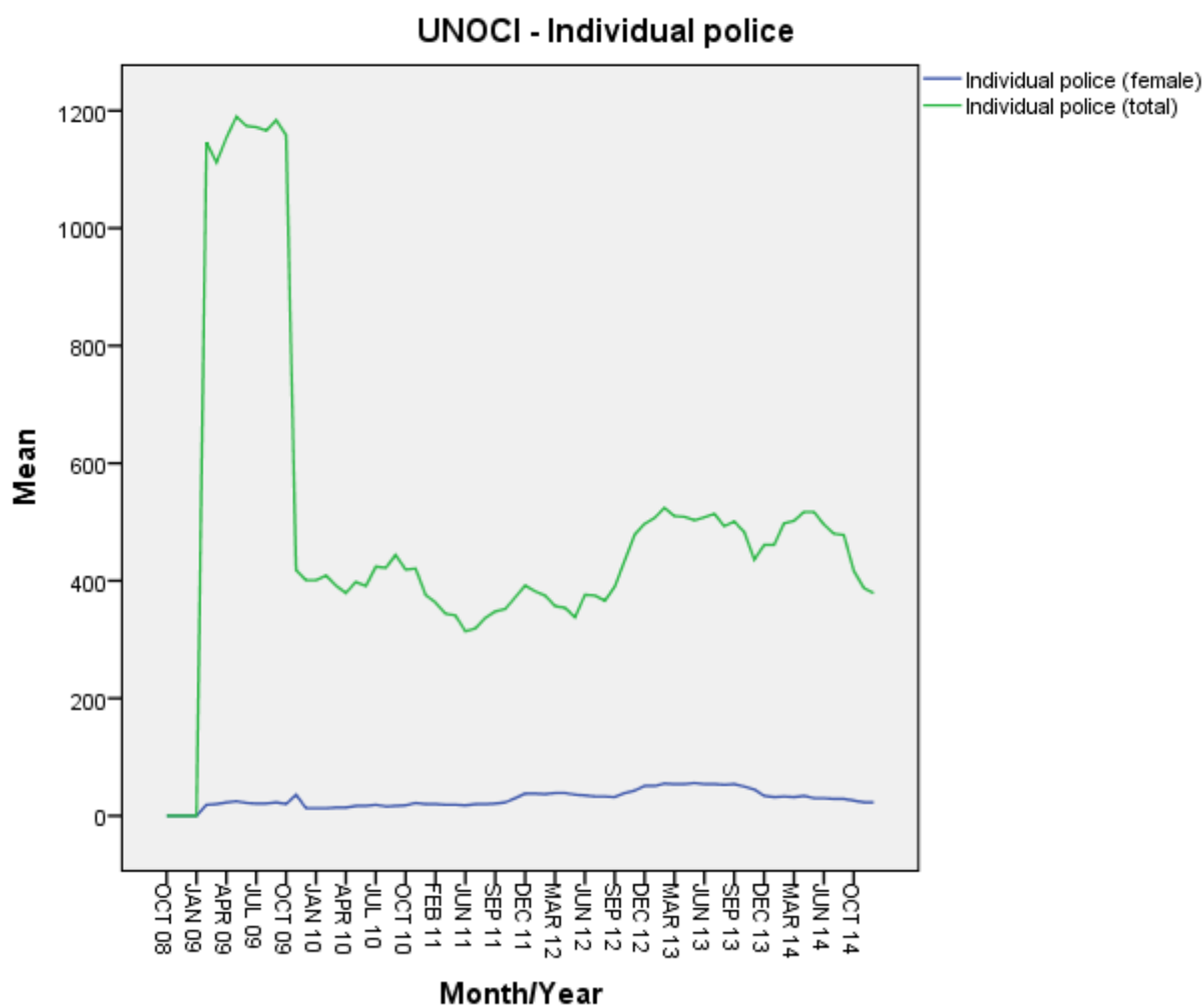


Note: Adapted from

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Graph 22 shows the trends for military troops in this mission. The number of women was consistently below 2000, with very little changes occurring over the selected period of time. The total number of military troops deployed, in contrast, was often between 6,000 and 10,000 with significant increase in numbers occurring between October 2011 and February 2012, and a gradual decrease occurring from February 2013 onwards.

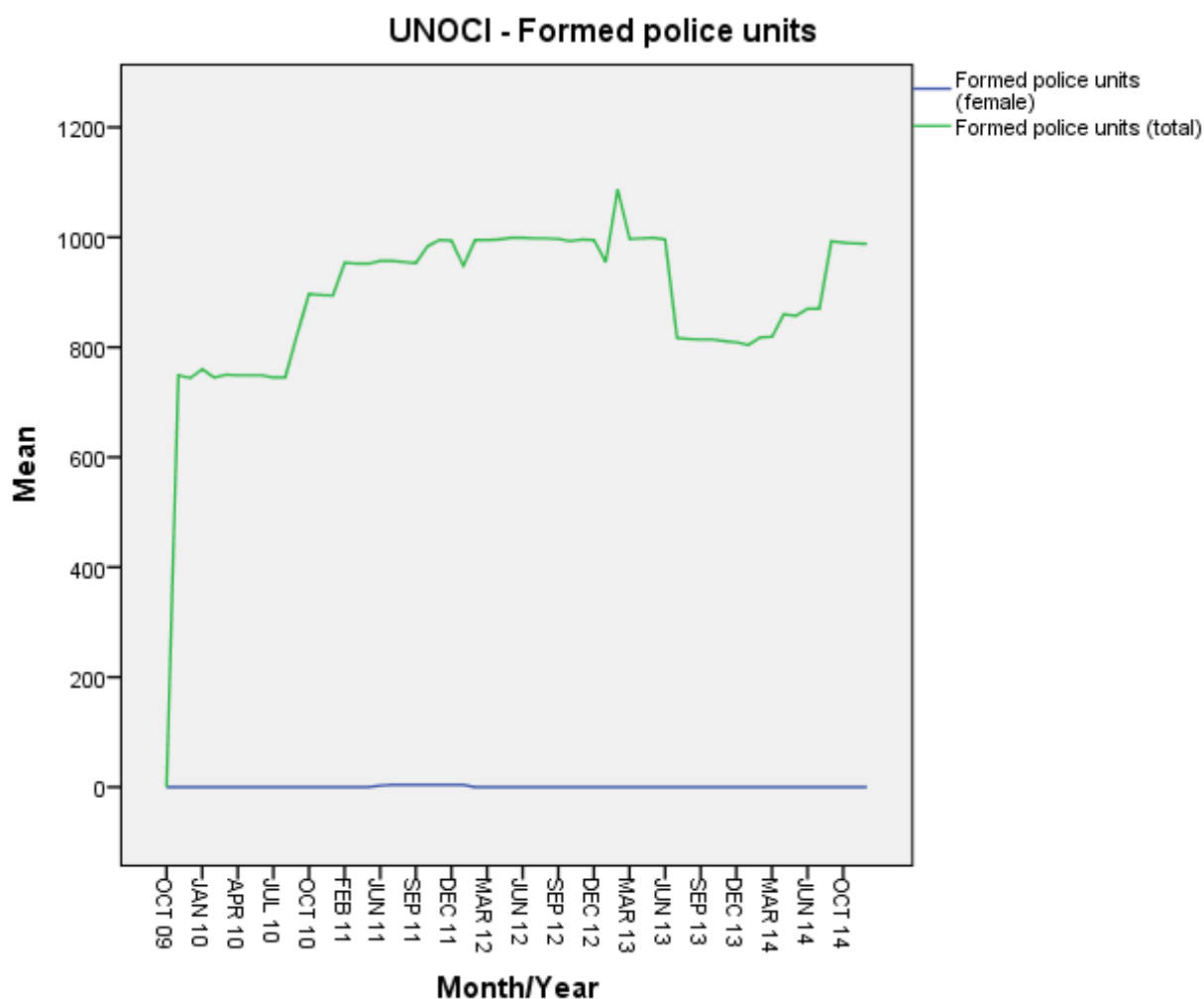
Graph 23: Individual Police in UNOCI



Note: Adapted from <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/resources/statistics/gender.shtml> Copyright 2009-2014 by United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations

Graph 23 shows the trends for individual police officers in UNOCI. Throughout the selected time period the number of women stayed below 200, with very little variation occurring in numbers. In contrast, the total number of individual police officers deployed mostly stayed between 400 and 600, peaking between 1000 and 1200 in the first few months covered by the police data. The decrease in numbers which occurs between December 2009 and August 2010 could be explained by the fact that figures were further broken down into individual police and formed units around then, whereas both had been counted as one previously.

Graph 24: Formed Police Units in UNOCI



Note: Adapted from <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/resources/statistics/gender.shtml> Copyright 2006-2014 by United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations

Graph 24 shows the trends for UNOCI's formed police units. Throughout the whole time period very few women were deployed in the mission's formed police units. When women were deployed, there were fewer than 100 of them at any time. In contrast, the total number of personnel deployed in formed police units were between 600 and 1200 in the selected time period, increasing between August 2010 and January 2011 to more than 800 personnel.

Percentage of women involved in peacekeeping missions

The UN's goal was to have 20 per cent of its peacekeeping police force to be made up by women (UNPOL, 2009). Looking at the specific cases selected, this goal does not seem unattainable for UN police. However, the figures indicate that female participation in these units, at least in the largest peacekeeping missions (MINUSTAH, MONUC/MONUSCO, UNMIL, and UNOCI), continued to be under the 20 per cent target by the end of 2014.

The following tables look at the percentage of female uniformed peacekeeping personnel for the selected peacekeeping missions. These show the highest and lowest percentage of women in these peacekeeping missions, from 2006 to 2014.

Table 1: Percentage of women in MINUSTAH

Percent Women	Military troops	Individual Police	Formed police units
Highest	3.24%	14.41%	9.09%
Lowest	1.35%	4.28%	2.05%

Note: Adapted from

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Table 2: Percentage of women in MONUC and MONUSCO

	Percent Women	Military observers	Military troops	Individual police	Formed police units
MONUC	Highest	5.33%	2.20%	6.31%	2.97%
	Lowest	1.82%	0.00%	4.04%	1.81%
MONUSCO	Highest	4.75%	2.54%	19.87%	12.13%
	Lowest	2.11%	1.68%	7.14%	0.19%

Note: Adapted from

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Table 3: Percentage of women in UNAMA

Percent women	Military observers	Individual police
Highest	8.33%	85.71%
Lowest	0.00%	0.00%

Note: Adapted from

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Table 4: Percentage of women in UNIFIL

Percent women	Military troops
Highest	4.92%
Lowest	0.47%

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Table 5: Percentage of women in UNMIK

Percent women	Military observers	Individual police
Highest	25.00%	28.57%
Lowest	0.00%	0.00%

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Table 6: Percentage of women in UNMIL

Percent women	Military observers	Military troops	Individual police	Formed police units
Highest	8.87%	3.93%	19.06%	16.85%
Lowest	0.53%	1.09%	10.27%	12.91%

Note: Adapted from

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Table 7: Percentage of women in UNOCI

Percent women	Military observers	Military troops	Individual police	Formed police units
Highest	8.33%	1.68%	11.02%	0.42%
Lowest	3.23%	0.56%	1.66%	0.00%

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These tables show that, in the majority of cases, women's representation in different uniformed components remained under 20 per cent. The main exceptions to these rules are the two smallest missions, UNMIK and UNAMA, where the highest percentage of individual police surpassed the 20 per cent mark. Nevertheless, in both these missions the percentage of women in uniformed components tended to fluctuate around the lowest percentages. Additionally, the higher percentage of female personnel in these missions can be explained partly because of their size – for instance, the maximum number of police personnel deployed in UNAMA between 2009 and 2014 was 8, and the total number of police deployed in UNMIK from June 2009 onwards was at its highest at 9.

Across all of the missions, there seems to be a large variation between the lowest and highest percentage of female personnel. In all of the selected cases, the highest percentages of women were found in police units and military observer roles. However, these high percentages were often an exception rather than the rule and, in most of these missions, the number of female military observers consistently stayed within the lowest percentage values. Since military observer positions are of a higher rank than others, this may be an indication that the consistently low representation of women in these factions is the result of existing barriers in the deployment of women in such positions.

An overview of countries deploying women in each mission

Each peacekeeping mission relies on the ability of member states to contribute in the deployment of qualified female peacekeeping personnel (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010d). The following tables show which countries contributed uniformed women to each of the seven selected missions. Disaggregated gender data for country contributions has been available from November 2009, and has since been updated on a

monthly basis. Here, however, I will only be highlighting the contributions made in November 2009 and December 2014. The intention is to give a brief overview of what has changed in terms of country contributions since this data has become available. These tables only show the countries which have contributed female personnel to each of the seven missions. No women were deployed in UNMIK's uniformed components in November 2009, thus only figures for December 2014 will be displayed for this specific mission.

Table 8: Countries sending female personnel – MINUSTAH, November 2009

Contributing country	Contingent Troops	Individual Police	Formed Police Units
Argentina	33	0	0
Benin	0	2	0
Bolivia	10	0	0
Brazil	7	0	0
Cameroon	0	1	0
Canada	0	10	0
Central African Republic	0	1	0
Chile	12	1	0
China	0	3	6
Cote d'Ivoire	0	6	0
El Salvador	0	2	0
France	0	4	0
Guatemala	8	0	0
Guinea	0	1	0
Mali	0	1	0
Nepal	12	1	1
Niger	0	1	0
Nigeria	0	0	17
Philippines	7	5	0
Republic of Korea	1	0	0
Romania	0	4	0
Russian Federation	0	1	0
Serbia	0	1	0
Spain	0	4	0
Turkey	0	1	0
United States of America	1	6	0

Uruguay	48	0	0
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Note: Adapted from

http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/resources/statistics/contributors_archive.shtml

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Table 9: Countries Sending Female Personnel – MINUSTAH, December 2014

Contributing country	Contingent Troops	Individual Police	Formed Police Units
Argentina	37	2	0
Bangladesh	0	0	84
Benin	0	1	0
Bolivia	0	20	0
Brazil	18	0	0
Burkina Faso	0	8	0
Burundi	0	1	0
Cameroon	0	1	0
Canada	1	17	0
Chile	20	4	0
Colombia	0	1	0
Cote d Ivoire	0	7	0
France	0	2	0
Guatemala	9	0	0
India	0	0	1
Madagascar	0	0	1
Mali	0	3	0
Nepal	0	1	11
Nigeria	0	3	0
Pakistan	0	0	1
Paraguay	3	0	0
Peru	21	0	0
Philippines	9	1	0
Romania	0	4	0
Rwanda	0	17	0
Senegal	0	0	11
Sri Lanka	0	0	3
Thailand	0	0	2
Tunisia	0	0	1
United States of America	0	0	7
Uruguay	26	0	0

Note: Adapted from

http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/resources/statistics/contributors_archive.shtml

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As can be seen from Tables 8 and 9, the largest contributors of female military troops in MINUSTAH are from South America, with Uruguay and Argentina being the two countries sending the highest number of military women both in November 2009 and in December 2014. Canada was the largest contributor of individual police in 2009 and the second largest in 2014, with Bolivia being the largest contributor during the latter year. These trends could be because of the fact that these countries are closest to Haiti geographically. Formed police units were quite small in November 2009, with Nigeria sending the largest number of female personnel. China and Nepal were the other two contributing countries to send women to be part of the missions' formed police units that year. In December 2014, Bangladesh was the largest contributor of female personnel for the formed units, with the largest overall deployment of female personnel in MINUSTAH that year. Bangladesh's contribution can be explained by the fact that it is the country with the highest contribution of peacekeeping troops overall (United Nations, 2015). Following Bangladesh, the two largest contributors to formed police units in December 2014 were Nepal and Rwanda.

Table 10: Countries Sending Female Personnel – MONUC, November 2009

Contributing country	Military Experts	Contingent Troops	Individual Police	Formed Police Units
Bangladesh	0	6	0	12
Belgium	0	1	0	0
Benin	0	36	4	0
Bolivia	0	7	0	0
Cameroon	2	0	2	0
China	0	14	0	0
Cote d Ivoire	0	0	3	0
Ghana	3	31	0	0
Guatemala	0	6	0	0
India	2	7	0	7
Indonesia	2	0	0	0
Kenya	1	0	0	0

Malawi	3	15	0	0
Malaysia	2	0	0	0
Mali	0	0	1	0
Nepal	0	11	0	0
Niger	0	0	4	0
Nigeria	3	0	0	0
Peru	2	0	0	0
Romania	0	0	3	0
Serbia	0	2	0	0
South Africa	2	175	0	0
Sweden	0	0	2	0
Uruguay	0	81	0	0

Note: Adapted from

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In MONUC, female military experts deployed in this mission were from Cameroon, Ghana, Indonesia, Kenya, Malawi, Malaysia, Nigeria, Peru and South Africa. The highest number of female troops came from South Africa, followed by Uruguay, Benin and Ghana. Benin and Nigeria sent the highest number of female individual police, and Bangladesh was the only country to send formed police units. The majority of countries that deployed the largest number of female uniformed personnel for this mission are from Africa – meaning that, once again, the geographical proximity to the host country (in this case, the DRC) could be a contributing factor in deployments.

Table 11: Countries Sending Female Personnel – MONUSCO, December 2014

Contributing country	Military Experts	Contingent Troops	Individual Police	Formed Police Units
Bangladesh	0	14	0	79
Benin	0	21	4	0
Cameroon	1	0	12	0
Chad	0	0	2	0
China	0	12	0	0
Cote d'Ivoire	0	0	6	0
Ghana	0	36	0	0
Guatemala	0	6	0	0

Guinea	0	0	3	0
India	2	10	0	4
Ireland	0	1	0	0
Kenya	1	2	0	0
Madagascar	0	0	4	0
Malawi	1	33	0	0
Malaysia	0	1	0	0
Mali	0	0	5	0
Nepal	0	22	0	0
Niger	0	0	5	0
Peru	2	0	0	0
Romania	0	0	1	0
Senegal	0	0	2	9
Serbia	0	3	0	0
South Africa	0	174	0	0
Sweden	0	0	3	0
Tanzania	0	45	0	0
Togo	0	0	3	0
Ukraine	1	0	1	0
United States of America	0	2	0	0
Uruguay	0	110	0	0
Zambia	4	0	0	0

Note: Adapted from

http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/resources/statistics/contributors_archive.shtml

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MONUSCO in 2014 followed similar trends. Zambia was the largest contributor of female military observers, followed by India and Peru. Like Bangladesh, India is also one of the largest contributors of peacekeepers in general, coming third in contributions in 2015 (United Nations, 2015). South Africa was once again the largest contributor of female military contingents, followed in this instance by Uruguay. Cameroon was the largest contributor of female individual police officers, followed by Cote D'Ivoire. As with MINUSTAH, Bangladesh was the largest contributor of female personnel for formed police units.

Table 12: Countries Sending Female Personnel – UNAMA, November 2009

Contributing country	Military Experts	Individual Police	Formed Police Units
Norway	1	0	0

Note: Adapted from

http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/resources/statistics/contributors_archive.shtml

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As can be seen, only Norway sent one female military observer to be part of UNAMA in November 2009. At the time, there were nineteen countries sending personnel to this peacekeeping mission, with Norway being the only one to contribute with female personnel. This may be because the number of troops contributed by each country for UNAMA was quite small – most countries only sent a single representative whereas Norway and Sweden sent two.

Table 13: Countries Sending Female Personnel – UNAMA, December 2014

Contributing country	Military Experts	Individual Police	Formed Police Units
Bosnia and Herzegovina	0	1	0
India	0	1	0

Note: Adapted from

http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/resources/statistics/contributors_archive.shtml

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No female military experts were deployed in UNAMA in December 2014, but India and Bosnia and Herzegovina both sent one female police officer each. By then the overall number of contributing countries had dropped to fourteen, but trends in small deployment numbers (i.e. 1-2 personnel per contributing country) mostly remained the same. Germany was the only exception, sending three male military experts to this mission.

Table 14: Countries Sending Female Personnel – UNIFIL, November 2009

Contributing country	Contingent Troops
Belgium	17
China	14
Denmark	10
France	73
Germany	24
Ghana	51
India	10
Indonesia	7
Italy	128
Malaysia	11
Nepal	10
Poland	1
Portugal	22
Republic of Korea	5
Spain	75
Tanzania	5
Turkey	1

Note: Adapted from

http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/resources/statistics/contributors_archive.shtml

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UNIFIL's largest contributors of female staff in 2009 were Italy, Spain, and France. This again could be because of geographical proximity. However, the closest country to Lebanon on this list, Turkey, is the smallest contributor of female troops to UNIFIL. This could be an indication that Turkey does not have a large number of female personnel to deploy to this mission, or that its peacekeeping troop contributions are just generally much smaller.

Table 15: Countries Sending Female Personnel – UNIFIL, December 2014

Contributing country	Contingent Troops
Austria	7
Belarus	2

Brazil	1
Cambodia	11
China	10
Finland	15
France	38
Germany	5
Ghana	63
India	10
Indonesia	21
Ireland	12
Italy	44
Malaysia	14
Nepal	21
Nigeria	1
Republic of Korea	6
Serbia	7
Spain	27
Tanzania	40

Note: Adapted from

http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/resources/statistics/contributors_archive.shtml

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By 2014, African countries were sending more women to UNIFIL, with Ghana overtaking Italy in the number of female deployments. Tanzania and France were the second and third largest contributors respectively. The drop in deployment of female personnel for both Italy and France can be explained by an overall decrease in personnel each country sent between 2009 and 2014.

Table 16: Countries Sending Female Personnel – UNMIK, December 2014

Contributing country	Military Experts	Individual Police
Czech Republic	1	0
Poland	1	0
Russian Federation	0	1

Note: Adapted from

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As previously stated, no woman was deployed to UNMIK in November 2009. For December 2014, the mission in Kosovo received military experts from Czech Republic and Poland, and one female police officer from Russia. Twelve countries contributed to this mission's personnel, but the number of staff deployed from each country was seldom more than one. That year the Czech Republic was the only country to send two personnel (one male and one female) to UNMIK.

Table 17: Countries Sending Female Personnel – UNMIL, November 2009

Contributing country	Military Experts	Contingent Troops	Individual Police	Formed Police Units
Argentina	0	0	2	0
Bangladesh	0	10	0	0
China	0	11	3	0
Denmark	1	0	0	0
El Salvador	0	0	1	0
Ethiopia	1	69	0	0
Gambia	1	0	4	0
Ghana	0	55	11	0
Iceland	0	0	1	0
India	0	0	0	102
Kenya	0	0	6	0
Kyrgyzstan	0	0	1	0
Malaysia	1	0	0	0
Mongolia	0	10	0	0
Namibia	1	1	1	0
Nepal	0	2	1	2
Nigeria	2	73	4	26
Norway	0	0	4	0
Pakistan	0	7	1	0
Philippines	0	6	1	0
Sweden	0	0	4	0
Uganda	0	0	7	0
Ukraine	0	0	1	0
United States of America	1	0	0	0
Zambia	0	0	2	0
Zimbabwe	2	0	0	4

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Female military experts in UNMIL in 2009 came from Denmark, Ethiopia, Gambia, Malaysia, Namibia, Nigeria, the United States and Zimbabwe. The largest number of female military troops came from Nigeria, Ethiopia and Ghana with the latter country also sending the largest number of female individual police personnel. Women in formed police units in this mission in November 2009 were primarily from India, followed by Nigeria. Zimbabwe and Nepal were the two other countries to send women for formed police units. Once again, the numbers of women deployed by each country could be explained by geographical proximity, as well as by a generally large contribution of peacekeeping forces overall – the latter in particular being the case for India.

Table 18: Countries Sending Female Personnel – UNMIL, December 2014

Contributing country	Military Experts	Contingent Troops	Individual Police	Formed Police Units
Argentina	0	0	3	0
Bangladesh	0	10	0	0
Bhutan	0	0	1	0
Bosnia and Herzegovina	0	0	3	0
China	0	11	1	4
Ethiopia	0	1	0	0
Ghana	0	52	13	0
India	0	0	0	102
Kenya	0	0	5	0
Kyrgyzstan	0	0	2	0
Namibia	0	1	3	0
Nepal	0	1	1	7
Nigeria	0	77	5	16
Norway	0	0	5	0
Pakistan	0	10	0	0
Republic of Korea	0	0	1	0
Sri Lanka	0	0	3	0
Sweden	0	0	8	0
Uganda	0	0	1	0

Ukraine	1	0	4	0
United States of America	3	1	0	0
Zambia	0	0	6	0
Zimbabwe	2	0	11	0

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Fewer female military observers were deployed in December 2014, with Ukraine, the United States and Zimbabwe being the countries to deploy these observers to the mission. Once again, Nigeria and Ghana were the largest contributors of female military troops; Ghana was the largest contributor of female individual police, followed by Zimbabwe; and India was the largest contributor of women for formed police units.

Table 19: Countries Sending Female Personnel – UNOCI, November 2009

Contributing country	Military Experts	Contingent Troops	Individual Police	Formed Police Units
Bangladesh	0	9	0	0
Benin	1	22	5	0
Burundi	0	0	1	0
Cameroon	0	0	6	0
Central African Republic	0	0	1	0
Chad	0	0	22	0
Ethiopia	2	0	0	0
France	1	0	0	0
Ghana	1	47	0	0
Moldova	1	0	0	0
Niger	0	3	0	0
Nigeria	2	0	0	0
Republic of Korea	1	0	0	0
Romania	2	0	0	0
Senegal	0	1	0	0
Sweden	0	0	1	0

Tanzania	1	0	0	0
Zimbabwe	1	0	0	0

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In November 2009, UNOCI's female military observers came from Romania, Nigeria, Ethiopia, Zimbabwe, Tanzania, South Korea, Ghana, France, and Benin. Ghana and Benin were also the two largest contributors of female contingent troop staff to this mission. Chad was the largest contributor of female police officers for this mission, and no woman was deployed in formed police units during this time period.

Table 20: Countries Sending Female Personnel – UNOCI, December 2014

Contributing country	Military Experts	Contingent Troops	Individual Police	Formed Police Units
Bangladesh	0	11	0	0
Benin	1	22	2	0
Burkina Faso	0	0	2	0
Burundi	0	0	1	0
Cameroon	0	0	1	0
Chad	0	0	3	0
Djibouti	0	0	2	0
Ethiopia	2	0	0	0
Gambia	2	0	0	0
Ghana	0	32	0	0
Guinea	0	0	4	0
Moldova	1	0	0	0
Namibia	1	0	0	0
Niger	0	9	1	0
Nigeria	0	0	1	0
Romania	1	0	0	0
Rwanda	0	0	2	0
Senegal	1	8	0	0
Tanzania	1	1	0	0
Togo	0	18	1	0
Turkey	0	0	1	0
Uganda	1	1	0	0
Ukraine	0	1	0	0

Vanuatu	0	0	1	0
Zimbabwe	1	0	0	0

Note: Adapted from

http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/resources/statistics/contributors_archive.shtml

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December 2014 relied largely on women deployed from different African countries, with Bangladesh once again being the most prominent exception. Moldova is the only non-African country to have sent a female military observer to UNOCI. The largest numbers of female observers came from Ethiopia and Gambia. Ghana, Togo, Benin and Bangladesh were the largest contributors of female personnel for military troops. Guinea, Chad, Djibouti, Vanuatu, Turkey, Togo, Niger, Nigeria, Cameroon, Burundi, Burkina Faso and Benin sent women for individual police. Once again, no woman was deployed in formed police units.

Summary: Overall trends for uniformed peacekeeping personnel

Changes in numbers across all missions are most likely connected to the changing contexts of conflicts. These missions all have mandates which were amended and altered as different needs emerged. Thus, increases in numbers of personnel were more likely to occur when conflicts were escalating, and decreases more likely when host countries were in seemingly less hostile situations. The main trend across all peacekeeping missions seems to be that women in uniformed components were more likely to be part of the peacekeeping military troops, and less likely to be military observers. This is of concern due to the fact that military observer positions are of a higher rank, meaning women have primarily been confined to lower ranking positions. However, an increase in military observer numbers does not necessarily mean that there is an increase in female military observers, as is evidenced by military missions with higher military observer numbers

where women are severely under-represented. UNMIK and UNAMA are considered observer missions, which, when taking into consideration that women are less likely to be present in military observer roles, helps to explain the fact that the number of women in both missions is quite small. Military troops are also the largest components in missions, which could explain the larger number of women in this particular component. Overall, where women are present they are proportionally underrepresented when compared to the number of men in uniformed positions. Across most missions, women make up less than 20 per cent of personnel in each different component they are present in. The only exception to this was UNAMA's police force, where female police officer numbers in 2013 were almost the same as male police officer numbers. Nevertheless, this could be because the overall number of police officers in this mission was quite small, making it easier for parity to occur.

The countries that are contributing female personnel could also have an impact in deployment trends. Looking at data from 2009 and 2014, one can infer that the number of women deployed in each mission comes primarily from countries that are closer to host countries geographically. Some of the larger contributions could also be in part due to the fact that some countries, like India, Bangladesh, and South Africa are large contributors of peacekeeping personnel overall (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010d). The cases of UNAMA and UNMIK also indicate that small contributions from different countries can also impact on the number of women that are sent to each mission – with small deployments decreasing the chances of women being deployed.

The size of the missions could also be a contributing factor to the number of women present in uniformed components. Larger missions such as MONUSCO and MINUSTAH have larger numbers of personnel, and therefore more women. Missions such as UNIFIL, UNMIK, and UNAMA are much smaller in comparison, and consequently have fewer deployments of women. The main exception to this is UNOCI, which is a large mission

with consistently small numbers of women in all uniformed components. Even in missions such as MONUSCO and MINUSTAH, however, female representation continues to be proportionally small, despite there being some improvements.

Another concerning issue about women's representation in uniformed components is that these tend to stay at the lowest values, or close to the lowest values. This means that, even when there was a higher percentage of women deployed at certain times, in the long-term these values did not remain constant. This may indicate that there is an issue in retaining female staff in uniformed components.

Trends from the reports: Activities in gender mainstreaming

This section will focus on the key gender mainstreaming activities in the seven selected peacekeeping missions, and the limitations of this gender mainstreaming work, as identified in the Department of Peacekeeping Operations' (2010c) *Ten-year Impact Study on the Implementation of UN Security Council 1325 (2000) on Women, Peace and Security* report and the Department of Peacekeeping Operations' (2010d) *Gender Advisory Progress Report*.

MINUSTAH (Haiti)

Women's political participation has been one of the key areas MINUSTAH has focused on. This peacekeeping operation, in collaboration with Haiti's Ministry in Charge of Women's Affairs and local women's organisations, worked on the establishing gender quotas for women's participation in Executive and Legislative levels (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010c). Since 2007, MINUSTAH has provided political participation and gender sensitive leadership training, also working with local partners on

capacity building programmes for female elected members (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010c).

Also since 2007, the mission has been involved in Community Violence Reduction (CVR) activities which incorporate gender in all aspects of their approaches and programming (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010c). The initiative led to projects focusing on women's economic empowerment and improving women's access to justice systems (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010c). The CVR programme provided short-term employment opportunities for women and other vulnerable groups, and also established income generating activities specifically aimed at women (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010c).

In the build up to the 2010 elections, MINUSTAH's gender unit worked with women candidates to discuss the security issues women faced in the electoral process (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010d). The mission also worked with representatives from women's organisations and with the peacekeeping Electoral Assistance Section in the support of female candidates (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010d). Other initiatives taken by MINUSTAH at the time included the implementation of education and gender sensitisation campaigns across all regions, providing training for women legislative candidates in relation to electoral disputes, and giving some financial support for women electoral candidates (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010d).

In order to address the needs of the most vulnerable members of Haiti's population, including women and children, MINUSTAH worked to provide support for legal reforms and the strengthening of existing judicial institutions (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010c). The mission trained local lawyers, prosecutors and judges to better respond to issues of sexual and gender-based violence (Department of Peacekeeping

Operations, 2010c). It also conducted a training programme with the national police's Women's Coordination Unit and Child Protection Brigade (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010c).

Sexual and gender-based violence issues had been prevalent in Haiti for many years, however the 2010 earthquake, and the resource scarcities that followed it, exacerbated the situation (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010d). This led to MINUSTAH devising a plan to increase women's security in refugee camps, by increasing military and police presence in these camps (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010d). MINUSTAH's security measures for refugees led to an overall improvement for women's security and a reduction in sexual and gender-based violence (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010c). These security measures included around-the-clock surveillance in the country's six major refugee camps (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010c). Police presence in this mission also increased as the result of these measures, with the creation of a mobile police Gender Unit comprised of 17 female and 1 male police officers specifically trained to deal with sexual and gender-based violence concerns (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010d). A police Gender Advisor was also placed in the Gender Unit (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010d).

The mission also established a working group focusing on key issues concerning women, such as political participation and the fight against sexual and gender-based violence (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010d). A support project was also developed, funded through a Memorandum of Understanding between MINUSTAH and the Government of Haiti (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010d). This project included making attempts at facilitating and supporting the integration of women's concerns, through initiatives such as the "provision of computers, printers and office equipment to the Ministry and ten departmental offices" in order to better deal with

displacement issues following the 2010 earthquake (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010d).

MINUSTAH has also coordinated, with various partners, advocacy and public information campaigns focusing on a variety of issues (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010d). Issues highlighted in these campaigns included women's contribution to reconstruction processes, women's electoral and political participation, combating sexual and gender-based violence, and gender sensitivity projects for local community actors (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010d). MINUSTAH worked with the Public Violence Reduction Unit, the Human Rights Unit, and the Gender Unit to launch a campaign aiming at discouraging sexual and gender-based violence practices, as well as educating both victims and community members about this issue (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010d). The campaign included video broadcasts in refugee camps, weekly radio programming with experts and opinion leaders, and the training of camp managers to deal with debates on sexual and gender-based violence (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010d).

From 2008 to 2009, MINUSTAH attempted to increase the gender balance of its peacekeeping staff (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010c). From 2008 to 2009 the proportion of women in civilian units increased from 32 per cent to 34 per cent for international staff, 26 per cent to 28 per cent for UN volunteers, and 12 per cent to 18 per cent for national staff (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010c). The mission also worked with the Gender Unit and the Mission Training Centre to organise a gender sensitisation training programme for police and gender focal points in all regions (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010d). The focus of this training was on sexual and gender-based violence, looking at operational procedures for cases and the reporting of cases, as well as the need to prioritise activities in combatting sexual and gender-based violence (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010d).

MONUC/MONUSCO (Democratic Republic of the Congo)

MONUC established its gender components in 2003 (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010c). In 2004, while attempts were made to make electoral processes in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) more gender sensitive, UN staff in this mission “highlighted a lack of synergy” between peacekeepers and local agencies, with “the overall approach... reportedly weakened by some competition for leadership and visibility” (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010c, p. 18). Nevertheless, MONUC police staff were successful in ensuring women’s safety to participate in the 2006/2007 elections, which according to the DPKO led to women being successfully mobilised as voters for the first time in 46 years (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010c).

In 2004, MONUC ensured that women and girls were taken into consideration in local disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration programmes (DDR) (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010c). Peacekeepers noticed that women and girls associated with armed forces had been excluded from DDR programmes after being separated from their husbands, and worked in partnership with women’s organisations to “sensitise communities and inform women about the DDR programme” (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010c, p. 22). Gender sensitisation programmes were organised in transit camps, and invited successful demobilised combatants to encourage others to give up their arms (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010d). While these sensitisation sessions with women reportedly led to an increase in women convincing their husbands to give up their arms, DDR programmes in the DRC have failed to adequately serve female ex-combatants due to their restrictive eligibility criteria (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010c).

In 2006, MONUC supported the implementation of legislation addressing the issue of sexual violence (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010c). The DRC government, alongside the UN, also implemented a national strategy on gender-based violence in 2009 (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010c). Since 2010, MONUSCO's Sexual Violence Unit has managed a sexual violence trust fund established in Eastern Congo, and also coordinated work with government representatives and other committees in establishing a holistic approach to dealing with sexual and gender-based violence (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010c). The mission also coordinated violence reduction programmes in the Ituri Province and the Oriental Province (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010d). Additionally, MONUSCO's Rule of Law and Gender Units provided training on gender awareness and sexual violence for military investigators and civilian police inspectors (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010c; Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010d).

During the creation of the March 2009 peace agreement, the DPKO reported that MONUSCO's peacekeepers worked collaboratively with women from different regions in the DRC, including South Kivu, North Kivu, and Ituri, in an attempt to ensure that gender-sensitive provisions were included in the agreement (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010c). Despite some challenges, this mission has been successful in increasing women's participation in peace agreements to some extent. For instance, while female participation had only increased from nine per cent in the 2001 peace negotiations to 10 per cent in the following peace talks one year later, women's efforts in collaboration with MONUC, UNIFEM and local non-governmental organisations (NGOs) eventually resulted in an inclusive agreement with provisions focusing on gender equality and the representation of women in post-conflict reconstruction (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010c). UN-led elections in 2006 were overseen by an Independent Electoral

Commission, in which women made up 30 per cent of the staff (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010c).

MONUSCO's Electoral Division also developed a gender strategy for the 2011 legislative and presidential elections (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010d). The strategy included establishing gender and action clusters in all of DRC's provinces, with peacekeeping personnel coaching local trainers about gender concerns in voter registration processes, and promoting local gender sensitisation campaigns aimed at civil society leaders, female candidates, and women voters (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010d). Another strategy developed was the identification and training of potential female candidates, in an attempt to increase women's participation in the legislative elections (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010d).

MONUSCO has used the training of its staff, senior management, civil society, and government partners as a tool for increasing gender sensitivity in the mission and its host country (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010d). Pre-deployment gender awareness training was provided to military and civilians, and to national armed forces (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010d).

The mission's Office of Gender Affairs worked on gender analysis and gender mainstreaming within the national police, monitoring gender balance in national police recruitments (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010d). MONUSCO's investigation found that the underrepresentation of women in national police forces had an impact on sexual and gender-based violence reporting by victims (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010d). In 2009 and 2010, MONUSCO undertook comprehensive gender training for national police forces, promoting the implementation of zero tolerance policies for sexual exploitation and violence (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010c). Training was given for 3000 members of the national

police across four provinces of the DRC (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010c). The mission in the DRC has also worked with domestic institutions on addressing the severe conditions in correctional institutions which can pose a risk to women, such as overcrowding and lack of segregation in prisons (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010c).

In February 2009, MONUSCO set up and deployed 60 Joint Protection Teams to conflict areas to provide better protection to civilians (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010c). This involved deploying civilian, police, and military personnel (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010c). The deployment of these units reportedly reduced the number of attacks targeting civilian women (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010c). The presence of peacekeepers is also perceived to have deterred armed groups from attacking civilians (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010c). Throughout 2010, MONUSCO's Gender Task Force reviewed the security and protection components of the Joint Protection Teams, in order to ensure the women's and girls' needs are appropriately addressed (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010d). The results of the review indicated that there was a need to further increase civilian protection, to increase the number of female personnel, and improve training initiatives on sexual exploitation issues (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010d).

MONUSCO also conducted a research project focusing on the illegal exploitation of natural resources in the DRC and its socio-economic impacts (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010d). The research found that women and girls in mining areas were at risk of sexual violence by armed groups due to the fact that they were in areas where there is a lack of physical, social and legal protection for them (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010d). The report recommended increasing security around mining areas, focusing in particular on gender sensitive approaches (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010d).

Peacekeepers, in collaboration with local organisations and women activists, worked to mobilise humanitarian aid to sexual and gender-based violence victims (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010d). In particular, the Joint Protection Team was instrumental in expanding rape victims' access to medical care in the DRC's Walikale territory (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010d). Similarly, the Gender Unit and other UN peacekeeping components worked to devise an action plan to improve the reporting of sexual and gender-based violence cases, designing and setting up a database system to collect information (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010d).

The MONUSCO Office of Gender Affairs worked on advocacy campaigns, organising activities and publications to support women's empowerment and raise awareness about gender and sexual violence (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010d). The initiative also included joint press conferences with other MONUSCO components and public information meetings to disseminate the messages being advocated (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010d). The Gender Team also used other media strategies to their advantage, such as working on creating special video footage about the rural women of the DRC, and the facilitation of a number of UN debates and radio interviews (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010d).

Another advocacy campaign coordinated by MONUSCO was the organisation of the Annual Women's Fair, which was geared towards promoting women's entrepreneurship (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010d). The fair brought civil society actors, government actors, and diplomats together to showcase and discuss the different ways of strengthening the participation of women in national reconstruction and peace promotion (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010d).

UNAMA (Afghanistan)

Like MONUC, UNAMA's gender components were established in 2003 (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010c). The key gender mainstreaming goal for UNAMA has been in ensuring women's representation in key events of local peace processes (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010c). Success in increasing women's participation, however, has varied in this mission (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010c). UNAMA's intervention led to an increase in women's representation in the June 2010 Consultative Peace Jirga, increasing from "the initial 30 women contemplated by the government to 332" (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010c, p. 16). In contrast, UNAMA's advocacy for 25 per cent of female representation in Afghanistan's High Peace Council in July 2010 was less successful, with eight women appointed out of a total of 70 appointed members (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010c).

Another initiative UNAMA has been involved in was supporting the drafting of a constitution that includes a gender quota provision for the Afghani government (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010c). The electoral law in Afghanistan is that 68 seats (two seats per province) of the Wolesi Jirga (the Lower House of Parliament) are reserved for women (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010d). In the 2010 parliamentary elections a total of 69 women attained seats in the Wolesi Jirga and one woman won a non-reserved seat (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010d).

UNAMA also supported women's civil society groups, particularly the Afghan Women's Network, in activities before the 2010 International Kabul Conference, devising a pre-conference statement with Afghan women pushing the government to enforce legislation integrating women's concerns in peace building and negotiations, as well as combating

corruption and increasing public officials' accountability (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010d).

In 2004, UNAMA's task force contributed to increasing the number of female voters by monitoring electoral registration (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010c). The task force also set up separate booths for women to vote, guarded by female police officers (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010c). Increased security led to higher voter turnout, despite constraints such as threats from the Taliban, for the 2004 presidential elections (42 per cent) and for the 2005 parliamentary elections (44 per cent) (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010c).

Cultural barriers were a challenge for UNAMA's attempts at increasing women's participation in politics (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010c). In 2005 and 2010, women electoral candidates received threats from anti-government factions, forcing some of them to avoid campaigning in public places (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010c). Additionally, despite the fact gender quotas increased female representation in legislative bodies, in many cases their presence did not lead to substantive action on key issues (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010c).

UNAMA has also made an effort to advocate for an increase in women's participation in the judiciary, however the number of women working as judges, attorneys and prosecutors continues to remain low (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010c).

The mission has also supported the development of Afghanistan's Justice Sector Strategy, which led to a review of criminal and civil laws taking into consideration the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010c). It also supported the development of a law focusing on the elimination of violence against women, which was adopted in 2009 (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010c; Department of Peacekeeping

Operations, 2010d). In 2010, the DPKO reported that the mission worked in collaboration with women's civil society groups and the Afghan Independent Human Rights Commission, analysed the impact of this law and provided leadership in publicising it (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010d). UNAMA's Gender Unit is an active member of a gender-based violence working group, collaborating with other organisations to devise training and analyse the referral systems for sexual and gender-based violence cases (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010d).

UNAMA also worked alongside other organisations to provide the Ministry of Women's Affairs technical assistance with the National Action Plan for Women in Afghanistan (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010d). It also supported the Department of Women's Affairs on gathering support for the Elimination of Violence against Women Law (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010d). The mission's Gender Unit in Kabul and regional gender focal points worked together with UNAMA's Human Rights Team, the Strategic Communication and Spokesperson's Unit, and the Afghan Ministry of Women's Affairs to conduct a study on violence against women in Afghanistan, focusing on customary practices that violate women's rights (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010d). Practices which the study focused on included forced marriage, the giving away of girls to settle disputes, forced isolation in homes, and honour killings (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010d).

UNIFIL (Lebanon)

UNIFIL is considered to be a traditional military mission (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010c). This mission, in Lebanon, has proactively attempted to increase the number of women recruited, especially at higher peacekeeping ranks (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010c). One of key measures taken was the prioritising of

qualified women during the shortlisting of peacekeeping candidates (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010c). As a result, the proportion of women in this mission has increased to about one third, from around 15 per cent in 2002 (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010c). The mission in Lebanon also established a Gender Unit in 2009 (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010c). This included two separate Gender Task Forces, one for military personnel and another for civilian staff (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010d).

One of the challenges in gender mainstreaming in UNIFIL has been identifying appropriate staff to serve as Gender Focal Points (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010d). In UNIFIL's civilian task force, most of the focal points are junior staff, whereas in the military task force focal points are senior military officers (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010d). The focal points in junior positions are often unable to meet gender mainstreaming requirements within the mission, whereas the senior focal points are better equipped to make decisions and monitor mainstreaming processes (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010d).

The DPKO noted that the UNIFIL Gender Unit has worked in partnership with the Bangladesh Military contingent to develop a "pilot project on training community peer educators" on sexual and gender-based violence issues and engaging with immigration officers on the issue of trafficking and sexual violence (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010d, p. 22). UNIFIL also sent a questionnaire to members of the Gender Task Force and to other mission components to assess what needs to be better addressed in the mission's training programmes (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010d). As a result, two immediate programmes were developed for the mission's civilian and military components (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010d).

The mission's Gender Unit worked in partnership with a Lebanese NGO, KAFA, on organising an exhibition on violence against women in Lebanon (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010d). This was done to "raise awareness of mission personnel on the prevalence of violence against women in Lebanese society" (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010d, p. 29). Another awareness initiative by the Gender Unit was the development of a bulletin to observe the Sixteen Days of Activism Against Gender-based Violence campaign (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010d). The bulletin was distributed to military and civilian staff, and to UN Country Team members (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010d).

UNIFIL also organised meetings with local women-led NGOs (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010d). These meetings focused on issues such as the relevance of SCR 1325 to women in Southern Lebanon, as well as gender issues raised by participating organisations (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010d).

UNMIK (Kosovo)

The mission in Kosovo played an instrumental role in setting up government offices focusing on the promotion of gender equality (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010c). UNMIK's gender components were established in 2000, making it one of the first missions with dedicated gender staff (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010c). The other mission to introduce gender components that year was the UN Transitional Administration Mission in East Timor (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010c).

UNMIL (Liberia)

This peacekeeping mission has worked in collaboration with peacebuilding committees at district and county levels, in which “at least a third of members are women” (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010c, p. 15). In 2008, UNMIL’s developments led to all of Liberia’s political parties to support legislation for a 30 per cent quota for female participation in political positions (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010c). While quota agreements failed to consider legal sanctions for non-compliance, and despite the fact that most political parties failed to comply with the 30 per cent quota, women gained 15 per cent of legislature seats after the 2005 election and Liberia became the first African country to elect a woman as president (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010c). UNMIL’s mission staff also took “innovative steps to improving female voter registration and turnout” by working in collaboration with local NGOs and arranging to “mind the stalls of micro-venders in the markets, for example, to allow them time to register or vote during the 2005 elections” (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010c, p. 18).

The training initiatives by UNMIL for women in Mano River countries resulted in the creation of the Association of African Women, a group of mediators, negotiators and peace builders who train women at the community level on mediation (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010d). UNMIL’s gender unit has also supported the Liberia Women’s National Political Forum to formulate a five-year plan and strategies for the Gender Equity Bill 2010 to be passed into legislature (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010d).

UNMIL also campaigned and worked alongside the United Nations Development Programme to integrate a gender perspective to DDR programmes from 2004 to 2009 (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010c). The mission’s persistent efforts to

broaden women's DDR eligibility criteria led to the increased inclusion of women in these programmes (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010c). These efforts led to 22370 women and 2240 girls being eligible for DDR, out of 101145 people (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010c). In the DDR programme set up in 2006 by UNMIL, approximately 20 per cent of beneficiaries of reintegration skills training were women (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010c).

Peacekeepers in this mission have also assisted the national police with developing a gender policy, aiming for greater inclusion of women in the police force and creating appropriate training materials for the recruitment and the retention of female police personnel (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010c). A 20 per cent target for women in national police force was set (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010c). It is also reported that in Liberia the presence of women peacekeepers led to mass enrolments in the national police force (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010d).

UNMIL's Office of Gender Affairs monitored SCR 1325's implementation in security and justice institutions and found that the country's weak justice sector has contributed to the prevalence of rape and domestic violence (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010d). As a result, the mission began to work on initiatives aiming to strengthen the justice and security sector's coordination and response to sexual and gender-based violence (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010d). The mission in Liberia assisted in the drafting of laws against sexual violence, leading to a law against rape being passed in 2006 (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010c). The mission has also supported training programmes for the country's attorneys and prosecutors, leading to the development of a handbook on sexual assault and abuse prosecution in 2008 and a similar handbook for investigators of the national police's Women and Children Protection Section in 2009 (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010c). The training given to

corrections officers focused on identifying and responding to sexual and gender-based violence (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010d).

UNMIL also worked with the mission's Civilian Military Cooperation Group (CIMIC) in implementing gender training and gender mainstreaming, especially in projects coordinated by the CIMIC (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010d).

UNOCI (Côte D'Ivoire)

The negotiations for the country's 2003 peace agreements had very limited participation of women, and a peace agreement signed in 2007 was concluded without women's participation (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010c). In order to ensure that women were better represented in peace talks, in 2008 the Gender Unit based in Côte D'Ivoire gathered 120 women from across the country for a workshop on ensuring the implementation of a gender perspective in the implementation of the country's 2007 peace agreement (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010c). Since this workshop, a network of 300 women's organisations engaged in follow-up activities (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010c).

In collaboration with other UN agencies, NGOs, and national government partners, UNOCI has worked for a 30 per cent quota "for women in the electoral law and to strengthen the capacity of women candidates" (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010c, p. 18). Also, prior to national elections, UNOCI worked with members of the National Association for Post Crisis Reconstruction, and the members of the Rassemblement pour la Démocratie et la Paix to address women's exclusion in electoral processes and to provide training on gender and elections in order to raise awareness of this issue (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010d). UNOCI has also worked on

facilitating sessions with local women about electoral participation (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010d).

UNOCI's Gender Unit has also worked alongside the Forces Nouvelles political coalition in identifying and assessing women to be included in reintegration components of DDR (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010c). UNOCI assessed 1027 demobilised women and 47 women who volunteered in the new national army, and allowed 887 women to benefit from income projects sponsored by UNDP and ONUCI (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010c). The mission also assisted a local network, the Association des Femmes de Fonctions Liberales Victimes de Guerre, in rehabilitating women affected by the civil war through the provision of income generating activities (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010d).

The mission's Gender Unit, UNPOL, and Côte D'Ivoire's Ministry of Security and Defence worked collaboratively to devise gender training workshops for the country's police (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010c). The mission has also worked domestically to address issues affecting women in prisons (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010c). Training modules on sexual and gender-based violence were developed by UNOCI to be included in the initial training of local police officers, magistrates, and penitentiary staff (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010c). In particular, UNOCI worked with the Women's Ministry on developing the first draft of the National Strategy on Sexual Violence, and of the Action Plan to Combat Sexual Violence (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010d). The UNOCI Gender Unit also worked with a women's organisation in the implementation of programmes providing women's grassroots organisations with training on female genital mutilation, and for raising awareness about this practice (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010d). The unit also collaborated with the Rule of Law section of the mission on the organisation of a workshop for civilians with an emphasis on the importance of a good

working relationship between the community and the justice system when it comes to dealing with issues of sexual and gender-based violence (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010d).

In order to improve the practices for dealing with sexual and gender-based violence in this mission, UNOCI's Gender Team worked alongside the UN Action against Sexual Violence in Conflict (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010d). The collaboration focused on UN response to sexual and gender-based violence cases and steps in deploying "the necessary strategic support through the UN Action Network" (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010d, p. 18). UNOCI has also been active in promoting collaborative partnerships at national levels to address issues of women's political participation and the issue of sexual and gender-based violence, with a focus on the provisions set by SCR 1325 and SCR 1820 (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010d).

General trends across all peacekeeping missions

Gender units deployed in different peacekeeping missions work on initiatives such as lobbying for gender sensitivity, translating SCR 1325 and disseminating it in host countries, supporting stakeholders and establishments in building the capacity of national systems and the advancement of women and gender mainstreaming initiatives (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010c).

In 2009, the overall number of peacekeepers peaked at 125000, of which two per cent of military personnel and seven per cent of police personnel were women (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010d). On the civilian side of peacekeeping, the percentage of women recruited and deployed in missions reached almost 30 per cent in 2010 (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010d). Civilian women serve in a number of

different fields, including political and civil affairs, electoral supervision, rule of law, human rights and humanitarian affairs, legal and medical services, and logistics (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010d). However, the number of women in uniformed components have had much slower progress when it comes to gender parity, with women making up 3.8 per cent of the 84000 military personnel and nine per cent of the 14000 police personnel deployed in 2010 (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010d). The missions with the lowest numbers of female deployment are those with the largest military contingents (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010d).

According to the DPKO, the presence of female personnel is seen positively by host countries, especially by women in these countries, due to the fact that increased female participation in peacekeeping missions is generally viewed to have been beneficial in bringing gender-based issues into decision-making agendas (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010c). The recruitment of women is also seen as essential in order for critical tasks to be undertaken, such as in initiatives of disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration of female ex-combatants, interviewing victims of gender-based and sexual violence, performing searches on women, and mentoring female cadets in military and police academies (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010d).

There are institutional barriers when it comes to the recruitment of women in uniformed components. Some constraints which can affect female participation include the requirement of specific language proficiency for international staff in some missions, lower levels of education among females, low numbers of women serving in troop and military contributing countries' national forces, women failing entry tests or not being selected, and a lack of awareness of the option to serve as peacekeepers (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010c). Another challenge is the fact that the UN relies on member states to nominate suitably qualified female candidates to serve in missions, and senior female candidates for higher-ranking positions (Department of Peacekeeping

Operations, 2010d). Other barriers for the recruitment of female uniformed personnel include perceptions that women would not be able to give consistent service due to domestic responsibilities, and a lack of resources devoted to optimise the effectiveness of the recruitment and deployment of women (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010d).

Cultural barriers can also be an issue across all peacekeeping missions. Peacekeeping missions have, overall, not succeeded in increasing women's participation in peace processes, in part due to the fact that "UN missions are overtly concerned with 'cultural sensitivity' in not wanting to offend male counterparts by requesting an increase in women's participation" (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010c, p. 17). Usually, when women have been involved in peace processes it was the result of pressure from civil society and women's groups on the Special Representative of the Secretary General, rather than because of peacekeeping leaders (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010c).

Another issue is the fact that gender mainstreaming is often seen within peacekeeping units as the sole responsibility of gender units (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010c). In addition, the degree that gender focal points are effective tends to vary in different missions (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010c). The reason for this is that often personnel appointed as focal points have to share their time with other responsibilities, consequently meaning they are not fully committed to the task (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010c).

In terms of collaboration, across all peacekeeping missions there seems to be a lack of clear strategy between peacekeepers and collaborating partners when it comes to gender mainstreaming (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010c). Effective collaboration between peacekeepers and other regional partners can be a challenge due to the scarcity

of resources in certain host countries (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010c). This lack of resources often leads to individual agencies competing against each other, rather than working in unison (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010c). Similarly, the availability of financial resources for peacekeeping missions can also have an impact on gender mainstreaming initiatives (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010c; Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010d).

Despite progress being made in peacekeeping missions and gender mainstreaming, barriers peacekeepers faced prior to the implementation of SCR 1325 are still prevalent (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010d). Some of these barriers include a lack of understanding of the negative implications for development if gender equality is overlooked, general misunderstandings about gender mainstreaming, and limited political will in some countries to take the issue seriously (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010d).

Another obstacle is the issue of peacekeepers being perpetrators of gender-based violence. Missions where allegations of sexual exploitation prevail include UNOCI, UNMIL, and MONUC. Between 2008 and 2009, the overall number of allegations about sexual exploitation and abuse of civilians by peacekeepers in UNMIL increased (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010c). UNOCI reported a decrease in sexual exploitation and abuse by peacekeeping personnel between the years 2008 and 2009 (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010c). Allegations against MONUC peacekeeping personnel in regards to sexual exploitation and abuse increased between the years 2008 and 2009 (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010c). There were 40 allegations made in 2008, compared to 59 allegations in 2009 (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010c).

Chapter Five: Discussion

This chapter will discuss the implications of my findings. It will look at how different trends seen in the statistical data and outlined by the UN reports relate to the provisions set by SCR 1325 and other resolutions which have followed, comparing these with the issues identified in the existing literature on gender and conflict and Reardon's theories on war, gender and militarism.

Ultimately, the aim is to answer my research question: What are some of the changes which have occurred since the implementation of SCR 1325? In order to do this, I will focus on the main themes which are prevalent across the Security Council resolutions related to women, peace and security: women's participation in peacekeeping missions, women's participation in civil society groups and local governance, sexual and gender-based violence, and gender-sensitive post-conflict reconstruction initiatives.

Comparing the findings with gender mainstreaming resolutions and provisions

Women's participation in peacekeeping missions

Resolutions 1325 (2000), 1888 (2009), and 2122 (2013) emphasise the need to include more women in missions as members of uniformed components, mediators, and special envoys of the Secretary General. My findings point to the fact that, overall, increased female participation in all missions has been beneficial to missions. One of the reports analysed relates that, across all peacekeeping missions, women's involvement was essential to improving peacekeepers' abilities to perform critical tasks such as interviewing victims of sexual violence, performing searches on women, and mentoring

female staff in local military and police academies (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010d). However, the statistical trends for women's participation in uniformed components that emerged from the analysed data indicate that the UN's gender mainstreaming goals are yet to be realised to their fullest potential. The United Nations aimed for 20 per cent female participation in the peacekeeping police force alone (UNPOL, 2014), however, gender disaggregated data indicate that, at least within different missions, this target has not been reached. For instance, the largest peacekeeping missions analysed in this research, such as UNOCI and UNMIL, often missed that target, with the percentage of female police personnel in these missions below the 20 per cent mark when at its highest. In addition, my findings show that, while there have been some increases in women's participation in uniformed components, women continue to be proportionally underrepresented in all of the selected peacekeeping missions when compared to their male counterparts. This means that, while change is occurring, it is happening very slowly.

This trend can be explained by the limitations of peacekeepers' work outlined in both my findings and existing literature on gender mainstreaming and peacekeeping. One key limitation is that the UN relies on other states to put forward appropriately qualified staff (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010c; Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010d). The literature supports this statement by pointing out that, despite the fact that the Department of Peacekeeping Operations and its mandates call for higher female deployments, it has little influence over the personnel contributing countries deploy to them (Simić, 2014). That is because the UN relies on member states' political will and capacities to recruit appropriate women police and military personnel (Simić, 2014). Ultimately, women's status in contributing countries' armed forces determine the likelihood of increased participation of women in uniformed components (Olsson, 2000). Due to the fact that military units in contributing countries tend to be male-dominated,

this tends to lead to stronger dependence on, and preponderance of, male peacekeepers (Aoláin, Haynes, and Cann, 2011). Thus, the proportionally small numbers of women in uniformed components could be explained by the fact that contributing countries are not sending many female personnel. The reports analysed in my research support this claim by indicating that host countries are not sending enough suitably qualified women candidates for deployment because of issues relating to qualifications, cultural barriers, and educational backgrounds (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010d). Similarly, the statistical data on country contributions also show that it is mostly the largest contributors of personnel, such as India and Bangladesh, who have been sending the highest number of female staff for the selected peacekeeping missions. This means that peacekeeping operations are relying on contributions from a limited number of member states, which in turn may constrain the ability to recruit adequate female peacekeeping staff.

These trends bring to question whether gender mainstreaming in uniformed peacekeeping forces is limited because of existing perceptions about women and the military – that, for instance, their presence may undermine existing systems and norms (Woodward and Winter, 2004). They could also be a reflection of the concerns raised in previous literature about women's roles in the military, that female participation can be seen as a threat to the international system's militarist tendencies, especially due to the fact that war waging is consistently conceptualised as a patriarchal prerogative that is predominantly ruled by the Western male elites (Reardon, 1985; Woodward and Winter, 2004; Patel and Tripodi, 2007; Clark, 2014; Houge, 2015).

This same patriarchal system is also seen as a contributing factor for wartime gender-based violence (Clark, 2014; Houge, 2015). If these trends are indeed occurring because of negative attitudes towards women's participation in the military and police, then it reflects the concerns raised in existing literature that perceptions of masculinity in the

defence system, of the man as the invincible warrior and restorer of justice (Elshtain, 1987; Warren and Cady, 1994), leads to continuing exclusion of women's participation in the area despite all interventions because of the prevailing beliefs that women's participation lowers military standards by emasculating the system (Woodward and Winter, 2004; Patel and Tripodi, 2007; Cohn, 2000).

The statistical data for the selected peacekeeping missions indicates that observer missions are more likely to have smaller numbers of female personnel. In the larger peacekeeping missions, such as MINUSTAH and MONUSCO, women seem to be predominantly present in contingent troops, taking on combat roles rather than taking on higher-ranking observer positions. In traditional military missions, like Lebanon's UNIFIL where only contingent troops are deployed, the number of women is proportionally small, reflecting the trends in the reports that missions with the lowest deployment of women tend to be those which are predominantly military in nature (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010d). Similarly, missions where only military observers were deployed, such as UNMIK in Kosovo and UNAMA in Afghanistan, showed consistently small numbers of women in uniformed components for the majority of the selected time period analysed – with the exception of some instances in UNAMA where women's participation overtook men's in the later time periods. These findings point to the fact that female participation is not consistent across all missions.

Based on these trends, one has to question whether gender mainstreaming policies are being uniformly applied to all missions, or whether cultural barriers are preventing these initiatives from being put in place. My findings, therefore, are consistent with previous literature's concerns about some peacekeeping missions being better equipped to take on gender mainstreaming initiatives than others (Reeves, 2012). This is also consistent with concerns raised in the literature about women's status being determined by patriarchal notions of security – hierarchical structures which are associated with violence, coercion,

oppression and control (Hamber et al., 2006; Reardon, 1985). The same hierarchical structures which are used to reinforce gender norms and political institutions could be impacting on peacekeepers' work and ability to pursue missions' gender mainstreaming roles – especially when it comes to female participation in uniformed peacekeeping components.

Women's participation in civil society groups and local governance

Resolutions 1325 (2000), 1889 (2009), 2106 (2013), and 2122 (2013) emphasise the need to increase women's participation in civil society groups, peacebuilding, leadership, and post-conflict reconstruction. This is an area which, according to my findings, peacekeeping missions have taken initiative to focus on. Based on the analysed reports, most of the work peacekeepers take part in when it comes involves campaigning and advocacy for the participation of women in civil society and local governance, in collaboration with local partners. Progress has reportedly been made in increasing women's participation in some of the selected missions as a result of these campaigns. For example, UNAMA, MINUSTAH, MONUSCO, UNMIL and UNOCI all worked with regional partners on initiatives and programmes aiming to increase women's participation in governance and electoral systems (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010c; Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010d). Similarly, UNMIL's efforts with regional partners led to the creation of training programmes for women to become mediators and peacebuilders (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010c).

However, my findings also show that, in countries where women's participation in parliament has increased, e.g. Afghanistan, their voices are seldom heard when it comes to local policy and decision-making agendas (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010c). As with women's participation in peacekeeping missions, peacekeepers rely on

the willingness of local regional partners to collaborate with them in order to achieve the mission's gender mainstreaming goals. However, the reports analysed in my findings point to the fact that cultural attitudes towards gender roles could be a barrier for gender mainstreaming (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010d). These reports further indicate that peacekeepers may be reluctant in some cases to ask for increased women's participation due to the fact they are attempting to be culturally sensitive (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010c). This reflects the issues raised in the literature about UN peacekeeping limitations, that personnel can suggest initiatives but lack the authority to enforce them in practice because of sovereignty implications (Mackay, 2010). In addition, another issue raised by the analysed reports is that there is often a disconnect between different groups, their objectives, and their understandings of gender mainstreaming and the importance of gender equality (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010c; Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010d). These findings are very consistent with themes raised in previous literature about women's participation in civil society – that norms and traditions exist because of existing power distributions (Enloe, 2014), where women are deliberately excluded from political decision-making (Tickner and Sjoberg, 2013) because their participation is seen to be destabilising existing systems (Hamber et al., 2006). Consequently, one has to question whether advocacy has truly made significant impacts on host countries, as objectives may differ, and significant changes in cultural attitudes may be required in the process of implementing gender mainstreaming.

Sexual and gender-based violence

Resolutions 1820 (2008), 1888 (2009), 1889 (2009), 1960 (2010), and 2106 (2013) primarily focus on the issues relating to women's vulnerability to sexual and gender-

based violence. This includes provisions relating to women's protection from human rights abuses, as well as a call to end impunity for atrocities. In these resolutions, the Security Council also urges states to create better mechanisms for the monitoring and reporting of sexual and gender-based violence, working in particular on the strengthening of the judicial systems in missions' host countries.

The findings from my research show that, across most of the selected missions, peacekeepers have worked alongside government and civil society actors in different host countries to address issues related to sexual and gender-based violence. Missions have implemented, for instance, various advocacy programmes aiming to raise awareness about the issue (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010c; Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010d). They have also increased security in refugee camps as a means of deterrence for perpetrators – something which has reportedly been successful (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010c). Similarly, some of the missions, including UNOCI, UNAMA, UNMIL, and MINUSTAH, have worked alongside local justice institutions in order to combat impunity and decrease violence and criminality in general (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010c; Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010d).

However, it is difficult to know from the analysed reports the extent to which advocacy attempts have actually been effective in combating sexual and gender-based violence in host countries, or whether it has not been more than just rhetoric. The two reports analysed in the previous chapter outline a number of different advocacy initiatives across the selected missions, to raise awareness about sexual and gender-based violence and to increase women's participation in political decision-making and peacemaking, but do not go into detail about the overall effectiveness of such campaigns. Conversely, a 2013 report by the Secretary General on sexual and gender-based violence in different host countries seems to indicate these efforts have not been very successful. The report found

sexual and gender-based violence, including rape and sexual slavery, especially deployed as a tactic of war, continues to prevail in many host countries, such as Afghanistan, Côte D'Ivoire, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo (United Nations, 2013a). Overall, while some progress has been made when it comes to taking initiative to address the issues of gender-based violence, these initiatives are still quite limited. For instance, my findings indicate that UNMIL has been successful in establishing training programmes and drafting laws relating to sexual and gender-based violence (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010c; Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010d). However, it is reported that there is still very limited access to judicial systems in Liberia for victims of sexual violence (United Nations, 2013a).

Since the 1990s, UN peacekeeping work has been marred by continuous allegations of sexual exploitation and abuse by peacekeepers (Burke, 2014). The two reports analysed in my research reflected to some extent the ongoing concerns raised in literature that these trends continue to prevail, with missions such as UNOCI, UNMIL and MONUC being mentioned for their increasing numbers of allegations of sexual and gender-based violence by peacekeepers between the years 2008 and 2009 (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010c). This raises concerns about whether UN armed forces are, as mandated by SCR 1820, receiving adequate training about gender-based violence prior to deployment.

While my research did not focus on impunity of peacekeepers in particular, it is worth noting the very brief mention of the issue of peacekeepers as perpetrators of gender-based violence in the analysed reports. It is troop contributing countries' responsibility to ensure that peacekeepers who are found guilty of sexual abuse and violence are punished accordingly (Burke, 2014). However, despite the issue being acknowledged, it is unclear from the two reports whether peacekeepers who were found to be perpetrators of sexual and gender-based violence have in fact been punished for their actions. The report that

gives an overview of the number of allegations of sexual and gender based violence reported in UNOCI, UNMIL, and MONUC in 2008 and 2009 (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010c) does not go into detail about whether any measures have been taken to investigate these allegations. Previous literature on gender and peacekeeping (e.g. Kent, 2005; Kelly, 2005) states that impunity of peacekeepers prevails as the result of a lack of mechanisms, such as adequate judicial institutions to sentence perpetrators, in place to monitor and punish personnel. Thus, the lack of clarity in the reports analysed in this area raises concerns about the extent to which SCR 1889's provision on impunity for perpetrators of sexual and gender-based violence, military or otherwise, has effectively been implemented in peacekeeping missions. It also raises concerns about whether the zero tolerance provision for sexual abuse and exploitation by UN peacekeeping and humanitarian personnel, as mandated by SCR 1960, could be effectively upheld in peacekeeping missions.

Gender sensitive peacekeeping and post-conflict reconstruction initiatives

Resolutions 1325 (2000), 1820 (2008), 1889 (2009), 1960 (2010), and 2122 (2013) have specific provisions relating to gender sensitivity in peacekeeping missions and post-conflict reconstruction. As with the previous provisions, my findings indicate that most gender sensitivity initiatives are related to training and advocacy. The presence of gender advisers and gender units also seem to be an important aspect of peacekeeping missions' efforts in this area. However, the main trend in peacekeeping missions, according to my findings, seems to be that gender mainstreaming initiatives often struggle to transition from advocacy into policy. For instance, missions such as UNAMA and UNMIL have put in place initiatives to train women for leadership roles, but still report shortcomings in women's participation in governance and decision-making in host countries

(Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010c). This again reflects concerns raised in literature about gender mainstreaming initiatives not being much more than rhetoric in practice (Kelly, 2005; Gizelis, 2009).

Another key issue is the establishment of initiatives that take gender sensitivity into consideration during the process of post-conflict reconstruction, including the implementation of disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration (DDR) programmes in host countries. Some of the selected peacekeeping missions, such as MONUC/MONUSCO, UNMIL, and UNOCI, created programmes specifically aimed at implementing gender-sensitivity – that is, DDR initiatives that take into account the different needs women ex-combatants may have in each of these countries (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010c). Not all of the selected peacekeeping missions seemed to have gender-sensitive DDR programmes in place. This, however, could be because of the different contexts of other missions – with different missions not needing to implement such programmes, or not being at a stage where it is a viable option.

The overall increase in women's participation in peacekeeping missions, according to my findings, has been instrumental in the implementation of DDR initiatives. For example, UNOCI's gender unit worked with local groups to include women in the country's DDR programmes, helping them with rehabilitation and giving them some financial support, and female ex-combatants were able to benefit from these (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010c; Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010d). Nevertheless, my findings indicate that limitations to gender mainstreaming in these programmes prevail. For instance, restrictive eligibility criteria for DDR programmes in the Democratic Republic of the Congo meant women's needs were not adequately served by peacekeepers' initiatives in this area. It was reported, for example, that women who had separated from their husbands were being deliberately excluded from DDR programmes, and that female ex-combatants were less likely to receive assistance than their male

counterparts (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010c). This could be a reflection of Mackay's (2010) argument that peacekeepers and warring factions tend to overlook women as victims and bystanders, ultimately leading to their needs not being adequately taken into account. Given the fact that the initiative and campaigning of women's groups for disarmament during international conferences on women and conflict, such as the Beijing Conference in 1995 and its predecessors, were largely ignored by governments and the media (Reardon, 1996), these trends also bring to question the extent to which change has occurred in terms of women's needs being taken into consideration during national disarmament campaigns.

Overall trends and implications

My initial research question asked what changes occurred in UN peacekeeping since the implementation of SCR 1325 in 2000. Overall, the analysed data in my research indicate that, while there have been some changes and some progress has been made, there are still many issues which need to be addressed. While the UN puts emphasis on the fact that increased participation of women in peacekeeping missions has been instrumental for the success of gender mainstreaming activities, female participation in uniformed components indicates progress has been minimal. In the uniformed components, there have been proportionally fewer women than men deployed in each mission. While the number of women in these peacekeeping missions has, for the most part, increased, changes have been slow to occur as a whole. The number of women deployed in the selected missions never grew at large rates, rather oscillating between small increases and decreases over several months, and with very little change occurring otherwise. Women in uniformed components have mostly been absent from military observer roles. As such, in observer missions such as UNAMA and UNMIK the number of female personnel has

been quite small throughout the years. The reports on missions' activities point to the fact that gender mainstreaming relies on the full cooperation between government, and community and civil society actors.

The findings reflect many of the issues raised about gender and peacekeeping in existing literature. One of the limitations of peacekeepers' work across all missions, according to the analysed documents, is the fact that there is often limited funding given to these initiatives. This is consistent with findings from existing literature that the likelihood of gender mainstreaming success in different missions is dependent on its access to financial resources (Reeves, 2012).

My analysis also seems to indicate that, while some progress has been made, the different provisions in the Security Council resolutions, which are the blueprint for peacekeeping operations' gender mainstreaming efforts, are not being fully upheld. Mackay (2010) states that peacekeepers receive a combination of generic gender training pre-deployment and more context-specific training on the ground. Both the disaggregated gender data and reports on gender mainstreaming initiatives seem to indicate that success in gender mainstreaming varies according to the context of the situation on the ground, and this trend could mean that the extent to which gender sensitivity training is successful will also vary across different peacekeeping operations. Given the fact that, in my findings, cultural barriers and attitudes towards gender have been highlighted in the documents analysed as significant obstacles across all missions, one has to question the extent to which gender mainstreaming can be successfully applied in missions.

Peacekeepers themselves may also come from societies with differing gender norms. Sometimes, there is some disconnect between peacekeepers' understandings of gender roles and that of the host country's population (Aoláin, Haynes and Cann, 2011). This could be a barrier to gender mainstreaming if peacekeepers are not adequately trained to

be more gender-sensitive. While pre-deployment training is meant to cover general gender sensitivity issues (Mackay, 2010), context specific training within missions tends to be poorly prepared and more of an add-on tied to cultural sensitivity training (Aoláin, Haynes and Cann, 2011). The reports on gender mainstreaming analysed in this research highlight the fact that different missions do have gender-sensitive training for its peacekeepers, however they do not go into detail about the extent to which these have been successful in missions. Given the fact that, in certain missions, peacekeepers have been reported to be perpetrators of sexual and gender-based violence on civilian women, one must question whether peacekeepers are in fact being adequately trained to put gender mainstreaming into practice.

The Security Council resolutions this research draws on, as well as the existing literature on gender and conflict (e.g. Boulding, 1984; Porter, 2003; Regan and Paskeviciute, 2003), emphasise the fact that increased women's participation in peace processes and decision-making is essential when it comes to ensuring women's needs are being taken into consideration. As previously mentioned, my findings echo existing literature's arguments that increased numbers of women in peacekeeping missions are seen to be beneficial in the performance of specific peacekeeping tasks, particularly in the reduction of crime against women and in the performing of specific tasks such as conducting body searches (Bridges and Horsfall, 2009). Nevertheless, women's participation in decision-making processes in particular seems to be one of the major areas in which progress seems to be lacking. This trend may be a reflection of the criticism raised by Puechguirbal (2013) about SCR 1325 and other UN documents that they predominantly focus on women as vulnerable groups.

In most of the selected peacekeeping missions analysed in my research, peacekeepers have taken serious measures to go beyond advocacy when it comes to addressing gender-based violence – increasing security in refugee camps as a form of deterrence being an

example of this in practice. Women's participation in political processes has also seen an increase in some of the selected countries, such as Afghanistan and Liberia. However, the findings also point to the fact that women's inclusion does not always mean that their views and voices are heard in the political arena. In sum, the findings seem to indicate that peacekeeping missions need to find a balance between addressing issues relating to sexual and gender-based violence, and the issue of increasing women's participation in decision-making and peace processes.

In the same vein as existing literature on gender and conflict, my findings are a reflection of the relationship between gender and gender roles in different contexts. Previous literature has raised concerns over the extent to which the construction of masculinity is overlooked in military systems (Stachowitsch, 2013; Patel and Tripodi, 2007) and peacekeeping (Kelly, 2005). While war may break down existing social structures, gender liberation may be short-lived as national patriarchy re-establishes itself (Handrahan, 2004). My findings emphasise the fact that UN peacekeeping takes into consideration the different social and cultural contexts of the host countries they are in, and peacekeepers work alongside local actors in order to achieve its gender mainstreaming goals (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010c; Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2010d). However, as has already been mentioned, it is these social contexts which may also impede different gender mainstreaming activities from being implemented, or, if implemented, from being successful. The implication here is that gender mainstreaming and equality will not occur unless host countries are willing to change their attitudes towards gender relationships and gender roles. This, however, may not be possible if post-conflict reconstruction results in the re-establishment of patriarchal systems.

A criticism of peacekeepers' gender mainstreaming goals since the implementation of SCR 1325 is that it is an instrument of militarisation rather than one for women's

liberation (Simić, 2014). The criticism here being that women's participation is covertly used to legitimise the role of the military in society, and therefore reinforce masculine values. Additionally, some of the limitations of the work of UN peacekeepers could be seen to be a reflection of the militarist system which Reardon (1985; 2015c) alludes to. While many contemporary peacekeeping missions are multidimensional, encompassing a combination of military, police, civilian and humanitarian personnel, uniformed components and gender distribution within them can be seen as a reflection of a militarist system. As mentioned in previous chapters, militarism prioritises masculine values, such as an emphasis on hierarchy and the use of violence to maintain control, leading to a reinforcement of gender inequality (Reardon, 1985; Reardon, 2015c). This in turn leads to increased levels of violence, including gender-based violence (Reardon, 2015c). Similar to studies looking at women's representation in the military (Cohn, 2000; Woodward and Winter, 2004), there seems to be a disconnect between the rhetoric of the military being more gender inclusive, and what is happening in reality. This is a reflection of militarist values in that it is an indication that masculinist military values prevail, with military and police, especially UN military and police, being male-dominated sectors.

Thus, one has to ask whether conflict resolution and sustainable peace can be achieved without changing existing social structures and norms. Reardon (2015b; 1985) argues that positive peace, that is, peace that goes beyond the elimination of violence into addressing economic equity and sustainability, will not occur unless existing social structures and attitudes toward gender change. The fact that the aforementioned UN peacekeeping limitations seem to occur as the result of masculinist social structures supports Reardon's theory that greater societal transformation is needed. While some changes have occurred since the implementation of SCR 1325 and other the resolutions on women, peace and security, one can infer from the findings that changes in gender inclusion and

mainstreaming as they are will continue to occur slowly, unless attitudes and norms shift significantly over time.

Overall, my findings show that some changes have occurred since the implementation of SCR 1325. In the selected peacekeeping missions, the number of women deployed in uniformed components has increased – despite the fact changes are occurring at a very slow pace. Additionally, the findings also indicate that missions have made efforts to create context-specific gender mainstreaming programmes and initiatives, especially at the advocacy and training levels. However, the extent to which these initiatives have been effective is questionable, given the different limitations – be it from financial constraints, cultural barriers, or conflicting interests between governments and local stakeholders – peacekeepers experience in host countries.

Based on my analysis, peacekeepers have been able to work alongside regional actors at government, judicial and grassroots levels, to train and advocate for more women in government and peacebuilding initiatives. However, changes in these areas are occurring quite slowly and are therefore still quite limited in scope. Where women have more presence in parliament, the findings point to the limitations of their work in practice. In comparison, there seems to have been very little progress made in increasing women's participation in peace negotiation, beyond the grassroots level, according to my findings. Sexual and gender-based violence is an issue the UN has chosen to focus on, especially with the implementation of the different resolutions which have followed on from SCR 1325. Changes in this area have included an increase in preventive security measures implemented in some missions' refugee camps, an increase in advocacy and awareness programmes about the issue, and increased efforts to create mechanisms for adequate reporting of sexual and gender-based violence. My findings seem to indicate changes are lacking in when it comes to the impunity of peacekeepers who have been found to be perpetrators of sexual abuse and violence, especially given the fact that allegations in

certain time periods, 2008 and 2009 in particular, were found to have increased in some of the missions.

Chapter Six: Conclusion and limitations

This thesis attempted to add to the literature and debate on gender and conflict in the field of conflict resolution. It contributes to a growing body of literature on women, peace and security in the field of conflict resolution by using existing documents to demonstrate the link between peacekeeping, gender mainstreaming and transformative change in the pursuit of positive peace.

By looking at the different trends in uniformed peacekeeping personnel and the reported activities in gender mainstreaming, this research was able to provide a longitudinal analysis of the progresses and different obstacles experienced in ongoing peacekeeping missions when it came to achieving gender-based goals. Using secondary documents to analyse the existing trends served as way to gain insight into the different gender inclusion efforts taken within peacekeeping missions, from the deployment of uniformed staff to the implementation of gender mainstreaming initiatives in host countries. This has contributed to the existing body of research by highlighting the prevailing issues within specific peacekeeping operations, and questioning why progress has been slow to occur. Such information can be useful for identifying the best practices in overcoming the challenges faced when it comes to gender mainstreaming and achieving the mandates on women, peace and security.

My research's focus on seven ongoing peacekeeping missions also contributes to the existing body of literature by showing the extent to which missions' size, context, and their dependency on troop contributing countries' contributions may impact on the deployment of female peacekeeping staff. Knowing where the limitations lie is also essential for identifying the ways to break the barriers related to female participation in UN peacekeeping operations.

The findings for my research demonstrated that the implementation of SCR 1325 allowed for a continued increase in gender inclusion within uniformed components and an increase in gender mainstreaming efforts in ongoing missions, but challenges highlighted in previous research and literature continue to prevail. While improvements have been made, women continue to be largely under-represented in UN uniformed components, especially in the higher-ranking observer positions. This is possibly because of barriers within troop contributing countries which constrain the number of qualified female personnel to deploy – meaning peacekeeping operations continue to be male-dominated activities. This research indicated that barriers within host countries, because of attitudes towards gender roles and limited capacities for peacekeepers to address issues at more than an advocacy level, also limited the ability for effective gender mainstreaming to occur. Based on Reardon's idea that positive peace can only occur when attitudes and values change, my findings bring to question whether changes in culture within host countries, troop contributing countries and in the UN system need to take place in order for gender equality to become more imminent.

Limitations and scope for further study

The source material used in this research, and my findings based on this data, only begin to paint a picture of the workings of the UN peacekeepers in gender mainstreaming. It does not tell the stories of all peacekeeping missions, nor does it tell the full story of the missions which were selected for this study. Similarly, some of the selected cases had more information on gender mainstreaming efforts than others. UNMIK is the key example of this in my research, where there was more information available about the inclusion in uniformed components than there was about gender mainstreaming initiatives. This could be partly related to the fact that UNMIK is quite a small mission.

Thus, there is scope for further research in different peacekeeping missions, their contexts, and how these affect the likelihood of success and failure for gender mainstreaming in missions. While statistics on uniformed peacekeeping personnel are updated on a regular basis, more recent information on the success of gender mainstreaming initiatives in peacekeeping missions is needed.

This study only looked at statistics for uniformed peacekeeping personnel, with minimal mention of civilian deployments. The two reports on gender mainstreaming activities gave an overall view of civilian staff across all peacekeeping missions. However, the documents I retrieved did not include a breakdown of civilian staff figures across all missions. At the time of this research, there seemed to be no publicly available disaggregated gender data on civilian peacekeeping personnel. A look at disaggregated gender data for civilian personnel would be useful in order to obtain a better understanding of the dynamics within different peacekeeping missions.

Another area in which more research is needed is on the breakdown of roles within the contingent troop component of peacekeeping missions. That is the one uniformed component which encompasses all military tasks, except for observer roles. Thus, looking into the different ranks held by women within military contingents across selected missions could be beneficial in providing a bigger picture of women's participation in peacekeeping.

It is also not clear from the documents used in my findings whether gender focal points personnel, when included in peacekeeping missions, are male or female. A look at gender representation in gender focal points could be useful for analysis of gender representation in peacekeeping components.

Due to the fact that this research relied solely on secondary documents, it cannot explain certain phenomena occurring within missions. The research gives an idea of trends in

gender inclusion in uniformed components, and gender mainstreaming activities within missions, however it does not look at women's experiences on deployment. This makes it difficult to pinpoint the extent to which women deployed in missions are facing cultural barriers and gender stereotypes, and the extent to which this is affecting their contributions to the missions they are deployed in.

While gender mainstreaming is seen as a positive tool for peacekeeping, a better understanding of the negative impacts of peacekeepers' efforts is needed. Women can be perpetrators of violence as well as peace makers, and gender mainstreaming research has failed to look at the extent to which female peacekeeping personnel have been involved in negative aspects of peacekeeping – such as being the perpetrators of abuse and sexual violence. In order to obtain a better understanding of the impacts of gender mainstreaming on different host countries, more research in this area is needed.

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Appendix I: Uniformed peacekeeping personnel figures 2006-2014

MINUSTAH – Military troops

Month /Year	Military troops (male)	Military troops (female)	Military troops (total)	Percent women
Aug-06	6343	87	6430	1.35%
Sep-06	6550	92	6642	1.39%
Oct-06	6558	94	6652	1.41%
Nov-06	6573	95	6668	1.42%
Dec-06	6588	96	6684	1.44%
Jan-07	6678	104	6782	1.53%
Feb-07	6689	110	6799	1.62%
Mar-07	6907	116	7023	1.65%
Apr-07	6919	117	7036	1.66%
May-07	6930	120	7050	1.70%
Jun-07	6940	125	7065	1.77%
Jul-07	6947	134	7081	1.89%
Aug-07	6925	129	7054	1.83%
Sep-07	6937	125	7062	1.77%
Oct-07	6935	125	7060	1.77%
Nov-07	6928	134	7062	1.90%
Dec-07	6921	126	7047	1.79%
Jan-08	6934	132	7066	1.87%
Feb-08	6930	130	7060	1.84%
Mar-08	6940	124	7064	1.76%
Apr-08	6957	125	7082	1.77%
May-08	7049	125	7174	1.74%
Jun-08	6945	125	7070	1.77%
Jul-08	6981	124	7105	1.75%
Aug-08	6905	122	7027	1.74%
Sep-08	6898	120	7018	1.71%
Oct-08	6889	120	7009	1.71%
Nov-08	6887	126	7013	1.80%
Dec-08	6909	127	7036	1.81%
Jan-09	6913	124	7037	1.76%
Feb-09	6930	109	7039	1.55%
Mar-09	6941	103	7044	1.46%
Apr-09	6944	102	7046	1.45%
May-09	6943	105	7048	1.49%
Jun-09	6922	108	7030	1.54%

Jul-09	6988	118	7106	1.66%
Aug-09	6933	124	7057	1.76%
Sep-09	6927	124	7051	1.76%
Oct-09	6918	123	7041	1.75%
Nov-09	6892	139	7031	1.98%
Dec-09	6893	139	7032	1.98%
Jan-10	6893	139	7032	1.98%
Feb-10	6893	139	7032	1.98%
Mar-10	8136	158	8294	1.90%
Apr-10	8141	163	8304	1.96%
May-10	8302	152	8454	1.80%
Jun-10	8446	163	8609	1.89%
Jul-10	8447	156	8603	1.81%
Aug-10	8604	162	8766	1.85%
Sep-10	8498	147	8645	1.70%
Oct-10	8503	148	8651	1.71%
Nov-10	8504	146	8650	1.69%
Dec-10	8605	139	8744	1.59%
Jan-11	8797	133	8930	1.49%
Feb-11	8606	137	8743	1.57%
Mar-11	8595	145	8740	1.66%
Apr-11	8568	166	8734	1.90%
Jun-11	8544	174	8718	2.00%
Jul-11	8555	173	8728	1.98%
Aug-11	8554	164	8718	1.88%
Sep-11	8587	165	8752	1.89%
Oct-11	8762	153	8915	1.72%
Nov-11	8692	164	8856	1.85%
Dec-11	7911	154	8065	1.91%
Jan-12	7546	153	7699	1.99%
Feb-12	7420	155	7575	2.05%
Mar-12	7365	161	7526	2.14%
Apr-12	7132	163	7295	2.23%
May-12	7123	160	7283	2.20%
Jun-12	7123	174	7297	2.38%
Jul-12	7121	176	7297	2.41%
Aug-12	7099	177	7276	2.43%
Sep-12	7123	179	7302	2.45%
Oct-12	7127	181	7308	2.48%
Nov-12	7114	183	7297	2.51%
Dec-12	6636	173	6809	2.54%
Jan-13	6525	159	6684	2.38%
Feb-13	6522	163	6685	2.44%

Mar-13	6519	162	6681	2.42%
Apr-13	6280	163	6443	2.53%
May-13	6007	172	6179	2.78%
Jun-13	6033	174	6207	2.80%
Jul-13	6043	189	6232	3.03%
Aug-13	6049	184	6233	2.95%
Sep-13	6041	185	6226	2.97%
Oct-13	6057	192	6249	3.07%
Nov-13	5802	184	5986	3.07%
Dec-13	5984	184	6168	2.98%
Jan-14	6170	185	6355	2.91%
Feb-14	5624	170	5794	2.93%
Mar-14	5401	169	5570	3.03%
Apr-14	5057	162	5219	3.10%
May-14	4994	162	5156	3.14%
Jun-14	4815	161	4976	3.24%
Jul-14	4814	159	4973	3.20%
Aug-14	4987	158	5145	3.07%
Oct-14	4806	159	4965	3.20%
Nov-14	5066	152	5218	2.91%
Dec-14	4793	164	4957	3.31%

Note: Adapted from

<http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/resources/statistics/gender.shtml> Copyright 2006-2014 by United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations

MINUSTAH – Individual police

Month /Year	Individual police (male)	Individual police (female)	Individual police (total)	Percent women
Feb-09	1919	112	2031	5.51%
Mar-09	1895	116	2011	5.77%
Apr-09	1913	113	2026	5.58%
May-09	1939	110	2049	5.37%
Jun-09	1937	113	2050	5.51%
Jul-09	1961	91	2052	4.43%
Aug-09	1974	92	2066	4.45%
Sep-09	1972	94	2066	4.55%
Oct-09	1945	87	2032	4.28%
Nov-09	851	54	905	5.97%
Dec-09	843	53	896	5.92%
Jan-10	807	46	853	5.39%
Feb-10	773	56	829	6.76%

Mar-10	768	59	827	7.13%
Apr-10	836	62	898	6.90%
May-10	919	69	988	6.98%
Jun-10	1006	86	1092	7.88%
Jul-10	1060	102	1162	8.78%
Aug-10	1136	110	1246	8.83%
Sep-10	1157	118	1275	9.25%
Oct-10	1173	123	1296	9.49%
Nov-10	1197	118	1315	8.97%
Dec-10	1154	123	1277	9.63%
Jan-11	1185	121	1306	9.26%
Feb-11	1194	124	1318	9.41%
Mar-11	1184	121	1305	9.27%
Apr-11	1147	126	1273	9.90%
Jun-11	1131	117	1248	9.38%
Jul-11	1129	119	1248	9.54%
Aug-11	1129	119	1248	9.54%
Sep-11	1133	136	1269	10.72%
Oct-11	1131	139	1270	10.94%
Nov-11	1100	145	1245	11.65%
Dec-11	1126	151	1277	11.82%
Jan-12	1122	151	1273	11.86%
Feb-12	1118	151	1269	11.90%
Mar-12	1094	152	1246	12.20%
Apr-12	1045	145	1190	12.18%
May-12	995	139	1134	12.26%
Jun-12	1032	150	1182	12.69%
Jul-12	954	151	1105	13.67%
Aug-12	992	154	1146	13.44%
Sep-12	957	152	1109	13.71%
Oct-12	950	152	1102	13.79%
Nov-12	873	143	1016	14.07%
Dec-12	844	138	982	14.05%
Jan-13	802	135	937	14.41%
Feb-13	805	125	930	13.44%
Mar-13	859	126	985	12.79%
Apr-13	858	126	984	12.80%
May-13	834	119	953	12.49%
Jun-13	801	109	910	11.98%
Jul-13	779	107	886	12.08%
Aug-13	759	102	861	11.85%
Sep-13	755	102	857	11.90%

Oct-13	740	101	841	12.01%
Nov-13	740	102	842	12.11%
Dec-13	736	104	840	12.38%
Jan-14	742	105	847	12.40%
Feb-14	730	108	838	12.89%
Mar-14	720	103	823	12.52%
Apr-14	747	102	849	12.01%
May-14	769	103	872	11.81%
Jun-14	754	100	854	11.71%
Jul-14	751	95	846	11.23%
Aug-14	699	96	795	12.08%
Oct-14	643	75	718	10.45%
Nov-14	662	74	736	10.05%
Dec-14	617	70	687	10.19%

Note: Adapted from

<http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/resources/statistics/gender.shtml> Copyright 2009-2014 by United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations

MINUSTAH – Formed police units

Month /Year	Formed police units (male)	Formed police units (female)	Formed police units (total)	Percent women
Nov-09	1094	35	1129	3.10%
Dec-09	1094	35	1129	3.10%
Jan-10	1110	35	1145	3.06%
Feb-10	1192	34	1226	2.77%
Mar-10	1313	38	1351	2.81%
Apr-10	1335	28	1363	2.05%
May-10	1420	54	1474	3.66%
Jun-10	1723	154	1877	8.20%
Jul-10	1648	155	1803	8.60%
Aug-10	1684	152	1836	8.28%
Sep-10	1678	152	1830	8.31%
Oct-10	1696	154	1850	8.32%
Nov-10	1704	154	1858	8.29%
Dec-10	1811	152	1963	7.74%
Jan-11	1842	152	1994	7.62%
Feb-11	1824	170	1994	8.53%
Mar-11	2075	198	2273	8.71%
Apr-11	2074	198	2272	8.71%
Jun-11	2109	186	2295	8.10%
Jul-11	2090	186	2276	8.17%
Aug-11	2090	186	2276	8.17%

Sep-11	2095	178	2273	7.83%
Oct-11	2176	191	2367	8.07%
Nov-11	2157	180	2337	7.70%
Dec-11	2096	173	2269	7.62%
Jan-12	2096	173	2269	7.62%
Feb-12	2092	173	2265	7.64%
Mar-12	1853	148	2001	7.40%
Apr-12	1851	148	1999	7.40%
May-12	1863	129	1992	6.48%
Jun-12	1585	99	1684	5.88%
Jul-12	1564	126	1690	7.46%
Aug-12	1554	125	1679	7.44%
Sep-12	1574	120	1694	7.08%
Oct-12	1549	127	1676	7.58%
Nov-12	1548	127	1675	7.58%
Dec-12	1544	129	1673	7.71%
Jan-13	1547	130	1677	7.75%
Feb-13	1547	130	1677	7.75%
Mar-13	1561	130	1691	7.69%
Apr-13	1547	130	1677	7.75%
May-13	1547	130	1677	7.75%
Jun-13	1548	128	1676	7.64%
Jul-13	1496	140	1636	8.56%
Aug-13	1456	140	1596	8.77%
Sep-13	1456	139	1595	8.71%
Oct-13	1451	143	1594	8.97%
Nov-13	1451	143	1594	8.97%
Dec-13	1449	143	1592	8.98%
Jan-14	1433	140	1573	8.90%
Feb-14	1436	139	1575	8.83%
Mar-14	1446	141	1587	8.88%
Apr-14	1431	139	1570	8.85%
May-14	1455	139	1594	8.72%
Jun-14	1460	146	1606	9.09%
Jul-14	1466	123	1589	7.74%
Aug-14	1457	125	1582	7.90%
Oct-14	1447	125	1572	7.95%
Nov-14	1446	125	1571	7.96%
Dec-14	1444	125	1569	7.97%

Note: Adapted from

<http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/resources/statistics/gender.shtml> Copyright 2009-2014 by United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations

MONUC – Military observers

Month/ Year	Military observers (male)	Military observers (female)	Military observers (total)	Percent women
Aug-06	568	23	591	3.89%
Sep-06	745	18	763	2.36%
Oct-06	550	13	563	2.31%
Nov-06	578	13	591	2.20%
Dec-06	540	10	550	1.82%
Jan-07	540	12	552	2.17%
Feb-07	541	12	553	2.17%
Mar-07	528	12	540	2.22%
Apr-07	548	12	560	2.14%
May-07	543	16	559	2.86%
Jun-07	543	17	560	3.04%
Jul-07	543	17	560	3.04%
Aug-07	526	18	544	3.31%
Sep-07	520	23	543	4.24%
Oct-07	535	25	560	4.46%
Nov-07	536	28	564	4.96%
Dec-07	705	28	733	3.82%
Jan-08	709	28	737	3.80%
Feb-08	710	25	735	3.40%
Mar-08	686	24	710	3.38%
Apr-08	689	25	714	3.50%
May-08	674	25	699	3.58%
Jun-08	673	20	693	2.89%
Jul-08	492	18	510	3.53%
Aug-08	483	14	497	2.82%
Sep-08	484	14	498	2.81%
Oct-08	535	21	556	3.78%
Nov-08	529	20	549	3.64%
Dec-08	550	20	570	3.51%
Jan-09	537	21	558	3.76%
Feb-09	534	23	557	4.13%
Mar-09	549	22	571	3.85%
Apr-09	516	23	539	4.27%
May-09	493	25	518	4.83%
Jun-09	495	25	520	4.81%
Jul-09	515	25	540	4.63%
Aug-09	522	25	547	4.57%
Sep-09	497	28	525	5.33%
Oct-09	661	31	692	4.48%
Nov-09	672	29	701	4.14%
Dec-09	676	29	705	4.11%
Jan-10	687	25	712	3.51%
Feb-10	687	25	712	3.51%

Mar-10	673	25	698	3.58%
Apr-10	679	33	712	4.63%
May-10	679	34	713	4.77%
Jun-10	670	34	704	4.83%

Note: Adapted from

<http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/resources/statistics/gender.shtml> Copyright 2006-2010 by United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations

MONUSCO – Military observers

Month/ Year	Military observers (male)	Military observers (female)	Military observers (total)	Percent women
Jul-10	682	34	716	4.75%
Aug-10	687	29	716	4.05%
Sep-10	680	28	708	3.95%
Oct-10	686	29	715	4.06%
Nov-10	692	30	722	4.16%
Dec-10	683	31	714	4.34%
Jan-11	711	32	743	4.31%
Feb-11	710	27	737	3.66%
Mar-11	719	26	745	3.49%
Apr-11	706	25	731	3.42%
Jun-11	691	24	715	3.36%
Jul-11	719	27	746	3.62%
Aug-11	717	26	743	3.50%
Sep-11	715	26	741	3.51%
Oct-11	708	23	731	3.15%
Nov-11	690	24	714	3.36%
Dec-11	680	23	703	3.27%
Jan-12	699	24	723	3.32%
Feb-12	703	24	727	3.30%
Mar-12	711	22	733	3.00%
Apr-12	675	24	699	3.43%
May-12	703	27	730	3.70%
Jun-12	690	25	715	3.50%
Jul-12	667	24	691	3.47%
Aug-12	678	25	703	3.56%
Sep-12	696	25	721	3.47%
Oct-12	665	23	688	3.34%
Nov-12	670	23	693	3.32%
Dec-12	653	22	675	3.26%
Jan-13	663	18	681	2.64%
Feb-13	493	14	507	2.76%

Mar-13	492	13	505	2.57%
Apr-13	500	14	514	2.72%
May-13	504	12	516	2.33%
Jun-13	511	11	522	2.11%
Jul-13	500	12	512	2.34%
Aug-13	491	13	504	2.58%
Sep-13	505	16	521	3.07%
Oct-13	505	16	521	3.07%
Nov-13	507	15	522	2.87%
Dec-13	509	17	526	3.23%
Jan-14	486	16	502	3.19%
Feb-14	484	18	502	3.59%
Mar-14	499	18	517	3.48%
Apr-14	484	17	501	3.39%
May-14	469	19	488	3.89%
Jun-14	469	18	487	3.70%
Jul-14	466	18	484	3.72%
Aug-14	447	17	464	3.66%
Oct-14	465	16	481	3.33%
Nov-14	467	14	481	2.91%
Dec-14	477	13	490	2.65%

Note: Adapted from

<http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/resources/statistics/gender.shtml> Copyright 2010-2014 by United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations

MONUC – Military troops

Month /Year	Military troops (male)	Military troops (female)	Military troops (total)	Percent women
Aug-06	183	0	183	0.00%
Sep-06	16308	319	16627	1.92%
Oct-06	16511	323	16834	1.92%
Nov-06	16515	292	16807	1.74%
Dec-06	16465	206	16671	1.24%
Jan-07	16488	292	16780	1.74%
Feb-07	16500	289	16789	1.72%
Mar-07	16478	289	16767	1.72%
Apr-07	16482	289	16771	1.72%
May-07	16470	292	16762	1.74%
Jun-07	16496	292	16788	1.74%
Jul-07	16511	292	16803	1.74%

Aug-07	16396	344	16740	2.05%
Sep-07	16467	351	16818	2.09%
Oct-07	16477	351	16828	2.09%
Nov-07	16483	349	16832	2.07%
Dec-07	16309	305	16614	1.84%
Jan-08	16314	298	16612	1.79%
Feb-08	16322	298	16620	1.79%
Mar-08	16352	297	16649	1.78%
Apr-08	16394	275	16669	1.65%
May-08	16391	275	16666	1.65%
Jun-08	16391	275	16666	1.65%
Jul-08	16621	215	16836	1.28%
Aug-08	16626	215	16841	1.28%
Sep-08	16630	214	16844	1.27%
Oct-08	16620	249	16869	1.48%
Nov-08	16508	248	16756	1.48%
Dec-08	16525	248	16773	1.48%
Jan-09	16514	247	16761	1.47%
Feb-09	16514	246	16760	1.47%
Mar-09	16992	246	17238	1.43%
Apr-09	16524	246	16770	1.47%
May-09	16534	255	16789	1.52%
Jun-09	16790	303	17093	1.77%
Jul-09	16776	347	17123	2.03%
Aug-09	16656	346	17002	2.04%
Sep-09	16609	384	16993	2.26%
Oct-09	17377	391	17768	2.20%
Nov-09	18222	392	18614	2.11%
Dec-09	18273	373	18646	2.00%
Jan-10	18447	375	18822	1.99%
Feb-10	18276	369	18645	1.98%
Mar-10	18276	369	18645	1.98%
Apr-10	18476	408	18884	2.16%
May-10	18466	411	18877	2.18%
Jun-10	18242	411	18653	2.20%

Note: Adapted from

<http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/resources/statistics/gender.shtml> Copyright 2006-2010 by United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations

MONUSCO – Military troops

Month /Year	Military troops (male)	Military troops (female)	Military troops (total)	Percent women
Jul-10	17365	380	17745	2.14%
Aug-10	17226	399	17625	2.26%
Sep-10	17179	357	17536	2.04%
Oct-10	16767	345	17112	2.02%
Nov-10	16763	345	17108	2.02%
Dec-10	16817	312	17129	1.82%
Jan-11	16828	305	17133	1.78%
Feb-11	16817	312	17129	1.82%
Mar- 11	16855	314	17169	1.83%
Apr-11	16695	314	17009	1.85%
Jun-11	16640	369	17009	2.17%
Jul-11	16641	369	17010	2.17%
Aug-11	16629	369	16998	2.17%
Sep-11	16445	374	16819	2.22%
Oct-11	16449	374	16823	2.22%
Nov-11	16439	374	16813	2.22%
Dec-11	16480	374	16854	2.22%
Jan-12	16601	374	16975	2.20%
Feb-12	16615	367	16982	2.16%
Mar- 12	16762	367	17129	2.14%
Apr-12	16690	367	17057	2.15%
May- 12	16679	363	17042	2.13%
Jun-12	16688	366	17054	2.15%
Jul-12	16614	421	17035	2.47%
Aug-12	16539	467	17006	2.75%
Sep-12	16569	427	16996	2.51%
Oct-12	16541	425	16966	2.51%
Nov-12	16720	329	17049	1.93%
Dec-12	16736	354	17090	2.07%
Jan-13	16706	356	17062	2.09%
Feb-13	16910	363	17273	2.10%
Mar- 13	16899	360	17259	2.09%
Apr-13	16600	360	16960	2.12%
May- 13	16970	290	17260	1.68%
Jun-13	18138	352	18490	1.90%
Jul-13	18258	329	18587	1.77%
Aug-13	18399	367	18766	1.96%
Sep-13	18386	365	18751	1.95%
Oct-13	19180	377	19557	1.93%

Nov-13	19198	353	19551	1.81%
Dec-13	19023	350	19373	1.81%
Jan-14	19172	350	19522	1.79%
Feb-14	19203	355	19558	1.82%
Mar-14	19151	363	19514	1.86%
Apr-14	19162	361	19523	1.85%
May-14	19181	347	19528	1.78%
Jun-14	19218	343	19561	1.75%
Jul-14	19095	444	19539	2.27%
Aug-14	19075	492	19567	2.51%
Oct-14	18975	486	19461	2.50%
Nov-14	18841	492	19333	2.54%
Dec-14	18972	491	19463	2.52%

Note: Adapted from

<http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/resources/statistics/gender.shtml> Copyright 2010-2014 by United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations

MONUC – Individual police

Month /Year	Individual police (male)	Individual police (female)	Individual police (total)	Percent women
Feb-09	1027	58	1085	5.35%
Mar-09	1029	64	1093	5.86%
Apr-09	1023	63	1086	5.80%
May-09	1012	62	1074	5.77%
Jun-09	1016	62	1078	5.75%
Jul-09	1032	44	1076	4.09%
Aug-09	1043	46	1089	4.22%
Sep-09	1044	44	1088	4.04%
Oct-09	1160	50	1210	4.13%
Nov-09	282	19	301	6.31%
Dec-09	256	16	272	5.88%
Jan-10	281	16	297	5.39%
Feb-10	312	19	331	5.74%
Mar-10	315	18	333	5.41%
Apr-10	315	18	333	5.41%
May-10	300	17	317	5.36%
Jun-10	321	19	340	5.59%

Note: Adapted from

<http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/resources/statistics/gender.shtml> Copyright 2009-2010 by United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations

MONUSCO – Individual police

Month /Year	Individual police (male)	Individual police (female)	Individual police (total)	Percent women
Jul-10	312	24	336	7.14%
Aug-10	289	25	314	7.96%
Sep-10	279	26	305	8.52%
Oct-10	272	22	294	7.48%
Nov-10	288	24	312	7.69%
Dec-10	331	36	367	9.81%
Jan-11	303	39	342	11.40%
Feb-11	336	44	380	11.58%
Mar- 11	326	44	370	11.89%
Apr-11	322	44	366	12.02%
Jun-11	313	45	358	12.57%
Jul-11	293	45	338	13.31%
Aug-11	271	44	315	13.97%
Sep-11	282	44	326	13.50%
Oct-11	289	45	334	13.47%
Nov-11	289	44	333	13.21%
Dec-11	280	43	323	13.31%
Jan-12	278	46	324	14.20%
Feb-12	259	45	304	14.80%
Mar- 12	269	49	318	15.41%
Apr-12	266	51	317	16.09%
May- 12	292	57	349	16.33%
Jun-12	267	58	325	17.85%
Jul-12	272	54	326	16.56%
Aug-12	274	51	325	15.69%
Sep-12	287	55	342	16.08%
Oct-12	299	55	354	15.54%
Nov-12	310	56	366	15.30%
Dec-12	312	45	357	12.61%
Jan-13	305	42	347	12.10%
Feb-13	300	34	334	10.18%
Mar- 13	309	39	348	11.21%
Apr-13	316	49	365	13.42%
May- 13	317	54	371	14.56%
Jun-13	325	54	379	14.25%
Jul-13	319	54	373	14.48%
Aug-13	317	53	370	14.32%
Sep-13	310	58	368	15.76%
Oct-13	299	60	359	16.71%
Nov-13	294	59	353	16.71%

Dec-13	306	64	370	17.30%
Jan-14	311	66	377	17.51%
Feb-14	303	67	370	18.11%
Mar-14	277	64	341	18.77%
Apr-14	275	61	336	18.15%
May-14	272	62	334	18.56%
Jun-14	287	65	352	18.47%
Jul-14	284	65	349	18.62%
Aug-14	278	64	342	18.71%
Oct-14	258	58	316	18.35%
Nov-14	243	59	302	19.54%
Dec-14	242	60	302	19.87%

Note: Adapted from

<http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/resources/statistics/gender.shtml> Copyright 2010-2014 by United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations

MONUC – Formed police units

Month /Year	Formed police units (male)	Formed police units (female)	Formed police units (total)	Percent women
Nov-09	620	19	639	2.97%
Dec-09	870	16	886	1.81%
Jan-10	870	16	886	1.81%
Feb-10	869	16	885	1.81%
Mar-10	869	16	885	1.81%
Apr-10	874	16	890	1.80%
May-10	873	16	889	1.80%
Jun-10	873	16	889	1.80%

Note: Adapted from

<http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/resources/statistics/gender.shtml> Copyright 2009-2010 by United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations

MONUSCO – Formed police units

Month /Year	Formed police units (male)	Formed police units (female)	Formed police units (total)	Percent women
Jul-10	872	16	888	1.80%
Aug-10	876	13	889	1.46%
Sep-10	875	13	888	1.46%
Oct-10	881	6	887	0.68%
Nov-10	889	6	895	0.67%
Dec-10	889	6	895	0.67%
Jan-11	881	6	887	0.68%

Feb-11	884	6	890	0.67%
Mar-11	883	6	889	0.67%
Apr-11	885	4	889	0.45%
Jun-11	884	4	888	0.45%
Jul-11	899	4	903	0.44%
Aug-11	1026	2	1028	0.19%
Sep-11	1026	2	1028	0.19%
Oct-11	1024	4	1028	0.39%
Nov-11	940	89	1029	8.65%
Dec-11	968	80	1048	7.63%
Jan-12	968	80	1048	7.63%
Feb-12	967	80	1047	7.64%
Mar-12	969	80	1049	7.63%
Apr-12	969	80	1049	7.63%
May-12	960	90	1050	8.57%
Jun-12	960	90	1050	8.57%
Jul-12	960	90	1050	8.57%
Aug-12	960	89	1049	8.48%
Sep-12	959	91	1050	8.67%
Oct-12	957	90	1047	8.60%
Nov-12	957	89	1046	8.51%
Dec-12	957	87	1044	8.33%
Jan-13	957	87	1044	8.33%
Feb-13	959	87	1046	8.32%
Mar-13	958	87	1045	8.33%
Apr-13	958	87	1045	8.33%
May-13	958	87	1045	8.33%
Jun-13	958	89	1047	8.50%
Jul-13	958	89	1047	8.50%
Aug-13	960	88	1048	8.40%
Sep-13	962	86	1048	8.21%
Oct-13	962	86	1048	8.21%
Nov-13	960	88	1048	8.40%
Dec-13	841	88	929	9.47%
Jan-14	728	88	816	10.78%
Feb-14	727	88	815	10.80%
Mar-14	719	98	817	12.00%
Apr-14	718	98	816	12.01%
May-14	718	98	816	12.01%
Jun-14	723	96	819	11.72%
Jul-14	721	94	815	11.53%
Aug-14	719	94	813	11.56%

Oct-14	681	94	775	12.13%
Nov-14	686	92	778	11.83%
Dec-14	689	92	781	11.78%

Note: Adapted from

<http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/resources/statistics/gender.shtml> Copyright 2010-2014 by United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations

UNAMA – Military observers

Month/ Year	Military observers (male)	Military observers (female)	Military observers (total)	Percent women
Aug-06	12	0	12	0.00%
Sep-06	11	0	11	0.00%
Oct-06	11	0	11	0.00%
Nov-06	11	0	11	0.00%
Dec-06	11	0	11	0.00%
Jan-07	12	0	12	0.00%
Feb-07	13	0	13	0.00%
Mar-07	13	0	13	0.00%
Apr-07	13	0	13	0.00%
May-07	15	0	15	0.00%
Jun-07	14	0	14	0.00%
Jul-07	15	0	15	0.00%
Aug-07	16	0	16	0.00%
Sep-07	16	0	16	0.00%
Oct-07	15	0	15	0.00%
Nov-07	15	0	15	0.00%
Dec-07	15	0	15	0.00%
Jan-08	15	0	15	0.00%
Feb-08	15	0	15	0.00%
Mar-08	14	0	14	0.00%
Apr-08	16	0	16	0.00%
May-08	16	0	16	0.00%
Jun-08	16	0	16	0.00%
Jul-08	17	0	17	0.00%
Aug-08	16	0	16	0.00%
Sep-08	16	0	16	0.00%
Oct-08	17	0	17	0.00%
Nov-08	16	0	16	0.00%
Dec-08	16	0	16	0.00%
Jan-09	16	0	16	0.00%
Feb-09	16	0	16	0.00%

Mar-09	16	0	16	0.00%
Apr-09	16	0	16	0.00%
May-09	16	0	16	0.00%
Jun-09	16	0	16	0.00%
Jul-09	14	1	15	6.67%
Aug-09	14	1	15	6.67%
Sep-09	14	1	15	6.67%
Oct-09	16	1	17	5.88%
Nov-09	16	1	17	5.88%
Dec-09	16	1	17	5.88%
Jan-10	17	1	18	5.56%
Feb-10	18	0	18	0.00%
Mar-10	16	0	16	0.00%
Apr-10	16	0	16	0.00%
May-10	16	0	16	0.00%
Jun-10	16	0	16	0.00%
Jul-10	13	0	13	0.00%
Aug-10	13	1	14	7.14%
Sep-10	13	1	14	7.14%
Oct-10	13	1	14	7.14%
Nov-10	13	1	14	7.14%
Dec-10	11	1	12	8.33%
Jan-11	12	1	13	7.69%
Feb-11	11	1	12	8.33%
Mar-11	11	1	12	8.33%
Apr-11	11	0	11	0.00%
Jun-11	12	0	12	0.00%
Jul-11	12	0	12	0.00%
Aug-11	12	0	12	0.00%
Sep-11	12	0	12	0.00%
Oct-11	12	0	12	0.00%
Nov-11	13	0	13	0.00%
Dec-11	13	0	13	0.00%
Jan-12	13	0	13	0.00%
Feb-12	13	0	13	0.00%
Mar-12	15	0	15	0.00%
Apr-12	16	1	17	5.88%
May-12	16	1	17	5.88%
Jun-12	16	1	17	5.88%
Jul-12	16	1	17	5.88%
Aug-12	17	1	18	5.56%
Sep-12	13	1	14	7.14%

Oct-12	13	0	13	0.00%
Nov-12	14	0	14	0.00%
Dec-12	18	0	18	0.00%
Jan-13	20	0	20	0.00%
Feb-13	19	0	19	0.00%
Mar-13	20	1	21	4.76%
Apr-13	21	1	22	4.55%
May-13	19	1	20	5.00%
Jun-13	21	1	22	4.55%
Jul-13	21	1	22	4.55%
Aug-13	21	0	21	0.00%
Sep-13	23	0	23	0.00%
Oct-13	23	0	23	0.00%
Nov-13	21	0	21	0.00%
Dec-13	21	0	21	0.00%
Jan-14	18	0	18	0.00%
Feb-14	18	0	18	0.00%
Mar-14	17	0	17	0.00%
Apr-14	16	0	16	0.00%
May-14	15	0	15	0.00%
Jun-14	16	0	16	0.00%
Jul-14	14	0	14	0.00%
Aug-14	16	0	16	0.00%
Oct-14	14	0	14	0.00%
Nov-14	15	0	15	0.00%
Dec-14	15	0	15	0.00%

Note: Adapted from

<http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/resources/statistics/gender.shtml> Copyright 2006-2014 by United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations

UNAMA – Individual police

Month /Year	Individual police (male)	Individual police (female)	Individual police (total)	Percent women
Feb-09	7	0	7	0.00%
Mar-09	7	0	7	0.00%
Apr-09	7	0	7	0.00%
May-09	7	0	7	0.00%
Jun-09	7	0	7	0.00%
Jul-09	8	0	8	0.00%
Aug-09	7	0	7	0.00%
Sep-09	8	0	8	0.00%

Oct-09	8	0	8	0.00%
Nov-09	6	0	6	0.00%
Dec-09	3	0	3	0.00%
Jan-10	3	0	3	0.00%
Feb-10	3	0	3	0.00%
Mar-10	6	0	6	0.00%
Apr-10	5	0	5	0.00%
May-10	0	0	0	0.00%
Jun-10	4	0	4	0.00%
Jul-10	4	0	4	0.00%
Aug-10	4	0	4	0.00%
Sep-10	4	0	4	0.00%
Oct-10	4	0	4	0.00%
Nov-10	4	0	4	0.00%
Dec-10	4	0	4	0.00%
Jan-11	3	1	4	25.00%
Feb-11	3	1	4	25.00%
Mar-11	1	1	2	50.00%
Apr-11	1	1	2	50.00%
Jun-11	2	1	3	33.33%
Jul-11	2	1	3	33.33%
Aug-11	2	1	3	33.33%
Sep-11	2	1	3	33.33%
Oct-11	2	1	3	33.33%
Nov-11	3	1	4	25.00%
Dec-11	1	1	2	50.00%
Jan-12	1	1	2	50.00%
Feb-12	3	0	3	0.00%
Mar-12	3	1	4	25.00%
Apr-12	3	1	4	25.00%
May-12	3	1	4	25.00%
Jun-12	3	1	4	25.00%
Jul-12	2	1	3	33.33%
Aug-12	2	1	3	33.33%
Sep-12	2	1	3	33.33%
Oct-12	2	1	3	33.33%
Nov-12	2	3	5	60.00%
Dec-12	1	4	5	80.00%
Jan-13	1	6	7	85.71%
Feb-13	1	6	7	85.71%
Mar-13	1	6	7	85.71%
Apr-13	1	4	5	80.00%

May-13	3	5	8	62.50%
Jun-13	4	4	8	50.00%
Jul-13	1	3	4	75.00%
Aug-13	1	3	4	75.00%
Sep-13	1	3	4	75.00%
Oct-13	1	3	4	75.00%
Nov-13	1	3	4	75.00%
Dec-13	1	3	4	75.00%
Jan-14	1	1	2	50.00%
Feb-14	1	1	2	50.00%
Mar-14	1	1	2	50.00%
Apr-14	1	1	2	50.00%
May-14	1	1	2	50.00%
Jun-14	1	1	2	50.00%
Jul-14	1	1	2	50.00%
Aug-14	1	1	2	50.00%
Oct-14	2	1	3	33.33%
Nov-14	2	1	3	33.33%
Dec-14	2	2	4	50.00%

Note: Adapted from

<http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/resources/statistics/gender.shtml> Copyright 2009-2014 by United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations

UNIFIL – Military troops

Month /Year	Military troops (male)	Military troops (female)	Military troops (total)	Percent women
Aug-06	2155	64	2219	2.88%
Sep-06	5083	64	5147	1.24%
Oct-06	8690	51	8741	0.58%
Nov-06	10833	51	10884	0.47%
Dec-06	11271	292	11563	2.53%
Jan-07	11982	292	12274	2.38%
Feb-07	12616	292	12908	2.26%
Mar-07	12636	388	13024	2.98%
Apr-07	12854	397	13251	3.00%
May-07	12828	397	13225	3.00%
Jun-07	12889	397	13286	2.99%
Jul-07	13139	400	13539	2.95%
Aug-07	12949	400	13349	3.00%

Sep-07	12878	386	13264	2.91%
Oct-07	12878	386	13264	2.91%
Nov-07	12878	386	13264	2.91%
Dec-07	12878	386	13264	2.91%
Jan-08	12019	436	12455	3.50%
Feb-08	12061	471	12532	3.76%
Mar-08	11889	452	12341	3.66%
Apr-08	11889	452	12341	3.66%
May-08	11931	452	12383	3.65%
Jun-08	11873	452	12325	3.67%
Jul-08	11868	466	12334	3.78%
Aug-08	11743	552	12295	4.49%
Sep-08	11974	569	12543	4.54%
Oct-08	12160	573	12733	4.50%
Nov-08	12160	573	12733	4.50%
Dec-08	11889	546	12435	4.39%
Jan-09	12240	498	12738	3.91%
Feb-09	12077	465	12542	3.71%
Mar-09	11839	422	12261	3.44%
Apr-09	11938	432	12370	3.49%
May-09	11725	433	12158	3.56%
Jun-09	11586	444	12030	3.69%
Jul-09	11690	440	12130	3.63%
Aug-09	11697	538	12235	4.40%
Sep-09	11970	455	12425	3.66%
Oct-09	11872	469	12341	3.80%
Nov-09	11669	464	12133	3.82%
Dec-09	11393	469	11862	3.95%
Jan-10	11473	489	11962	4.09%
Feb-10	11047	457	11504	3.97%
Mar-10	11043	463	11506	4.02%
Apr-10	11424	447	11871	3.77%
May-10	11590	477	12067	3.95%
Jun-10	10981	472	11453	4.12%
Jul-10	11248	465	11713	3.97%
Aug-10	10957	492	11449	4.30%
Sep-10	11229	495	11724	4.22%
Oct-10	11422	459	11881	3.86%
Nov-10	11513	476	11989	3.97%
Dec-10	11493	468	11961	3.91%
Jan-11	11493	468	11961	3.91%
Feb-11	11285	481	11766	4.09%

Mar-11	11392	496	11888	4.17%
Apr-11	11362	511	11873	4.30%
Jun-11	11552	579	12131	4.77%
Jul-11	11746	603	12349	4.88%
Aug-11	11463	593	12056	4.92%
Sep-11	11731	573	12304	4.66%
Oct-11	11966	522	12488	4.18%
Nov-11	11496	463	11959	3.87%
Dec-11	11565	452	12017	3.76%
Jan-12	11673	465	12138	3.83%
Feb-12	11528	473	12001	3.94%
Mar-12	11527	457	11984	3.81%
Apr-12	11511	454	11965	3.79%
May-12	11408	437	11845	3.69%
Jun-12	11154	417	11571	3.60%
Jul-12	11079	451	11530	3.91%
Aug-12	10906	454	11360	4.00%
Sep-12	11091	437	11528	3.79%
Oct-12	11343	447	11790	3.79%
Nov-12	10863	393	11256	3.49%
Dec-12	10616	387	11003	3.52%
Jan-13	10645	381	11026	3.46%
Feb-13	10591	391	10982	3.56%
Mar-13	10428	379	10807	3.51%
Apr-13	10639	363	11002	3.30%
May-13	10444	376	10820	3.48%
Jun-13	10291	365	10656	3.43%
Jul-13	10231	354	10585	3.34%
Aug-13	10200	355	10555	3.36%
Sep-13	10161	341	10502	3.25%
Oct-13	10581	341	10922	3.12%
Nov-13	10517	352	10869	3.24%
Dec-13	10059	354	10413	3.40%
Jan-14	10024	365	10389	3.51%
Feb-14	9814	386	10200	3.78%
Mar-14	9845	379	10224	3.71%
Apr-14	10135	403	10538	3.82%
May-14	9880	407	10287	3.96%
Jun-14	9871	417	10288	4.05%
Jul-14	9843	415	10258	4.05%
Aug-14	9811	415	10226	4.06%
Oct-14	10020	378	10398	3.64%

Nov-14	9879	405	10284	3.94%
Dec-14	9883	355	10238	3.47%

Note: Adapted from

<http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/resources/statistics/gender.shtml> Copyright 2006-2014 by United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations

UNMIK – Military observers

Month/ Year	Military observers (male)	Military observers (female)	Military observers (total)	Percent women
Aug-06	37	0	37	0.00%
Sep-06	37	0	37	0.00%
Oct-06	37	0	37	0.00%
Nov-06	37	0	37	0.00%
Dec-06	37	0	37	0.00%
Jan-07	35	1	36	2.78%
Feb-07	36	1	37	2.70%
Mar-07	35	1	36	2.78%
Apr-07	37	1	38	2.63%
May-07	36	1	37	2.70%
Jun-07	36	1	37	2.70%
Jul-07	39	1	40	2.50%
Aug-07	39	1	40	2.50%
Sep-07	39	1	40	2.50%
Oct-07	38	2	40	5.00%
Nov-07	37	2	39	5.13%
Dec-07	37	2	39	5.13%
Jan-08	39	2	41	4.88%
Feb-08	38	2	40	5.00%
Mar-08	39	1	40	2.50%
Apr-08	37	2	39	5.13%
May-08	35	2	37	5.41%
Jun-08	38	1	39	2.56%
Jul-08	37	1	38	2.63%
Aug-08	31	1	32	3.13%
Sep-08	28	1	29	3.45%
Oct-08	26	0	26	0.00%
Nov-08	24	0	24	0.00%
Dec-08	22	0	22	0.00%
Jan-09	23	0	23	0.00%
Feb-09	22	0	22	0.00%
Mar-09	19	0	19	0.00%
Apr-09	17	0	17	0.00%
May-09	13	0	13	0.00%
Jun-09	13	0	13	0.00%
Jul-09	9	0	9	0.00%

Aug-09	9	0	9	0.00%
Sep-09	9	0	9	0.00%
Oct-09	9	0	9	0.00%
Nov-09	9	0	9	0.00%
Dec-09	9	0	9	0.00%
Jan-10	9	0	9	0.00%
Feb-10	9	0	9	0.00%
Mar-10	8	0	8	0.00%
Apr-10	8	0	8	0.00%
May-10	8	0	8	0.00%
Jun-10	8	0	8	0.00%
Jul-10	8	0	8	0.00%
Aug-10	8	0	8	0.00%
Sep-10	8	0	8	0.00%
Oct-10	8	0	8	0.00%
Nov-10	8	0	8	0.00%
Dec-10	8	0	8	0.00%
Jan-11	8	0	8	0.00%
Feb-11	7	1	8	12.50%
Mar-11	8	0	8	0.00%
Apr-11	8	0	8	0.00%
Jun-11	8	0	8	0.00%
Jul-11	8	0	8	0.00%
Aug-11	8	0	8	0.00%
Sep-11	8	0	8	0.00%
Oct-11	9	0	9	0.00%
Nov-11	9	0	9	0.00%
Dec-11	9	0	9	0.00%
Jan-12	10	0	10	0.00%
Feb-12	8	1	9	11.11%
Mar-12	8	1	9	11.11%
Apr-12	8	1	9	11.11%
May-12	8	1	9	11.11%
Jun-12	8	1	9	11.11%
Jul-12	7	0	7	0.00%
Aug-12	8	0	8	0.00%
Sep-12	8	0	8	0.00%
Oct-12	8	0	8	0.00%
Nov-12	8	0	8	0.00%
Dec-12	9	0	9	0.00%
Jan-13	9	0	9	0.00%
Feb-13	9	0	9	0.00%
Mar-13	9	0	9	0.00%
Apr-13	9	0	9	0.00%
May-13	9	0	9	0.00%
Jun-13	9	0	9	0.00%
Jul-13	9	0	9	0.00%
Aug-13	9	0	9	0.00%

Sep-13	8	0	8	0.00%
Oct-13	8	0	8	0.00%
Nov-13	8	0	8	0.00%
Dec-13	8	0	8	0.00%
Jan-14	8	1	9	11.11%
Feb-14	7	1	8	12.50%
Mar-14	8	1	9	11.11%
Apr-14	8	1	9	11.11%
May-14	8	1	9	11.11%
Jun-14	8	1	9	11.11%
Jul-14	7	2	9	22.22%
Aug-14	7	2	9	22.22%
Oct-14	7	2	9	22.22%
Nov-14	6	2	8	25.00%
Dec-14	6	2	8	25.00%

Note: Adapted from

<http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/resources/statistics/gender.shtml> Copyright 2006-2014 by United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations

UNMIK – Individual police

Month /Year	Individual police (male)	Individual police (female)	Individual police (total)	Percent women
Feb-09	52	3	55	5.45%
Mar-09	23	2	25	8.00%
Apr-09	21	1	22	4.55%
May-09	20	1	21	4.76%
Jun-09	8	0	8	0.00%
Jul-09	8	0	8	0.00%
Aug-09	8	0	8	0.00%
Sep-09	8	0	8	0.00%
Oct-09	6	0	6	0.00%
Nov-09	7	0	7	0.00%
Dec-09	8	0	8	0.00%
Jan-10	7	0	7	0.00%
Feb-10	7	0	7	0.00%
Mar-10	7	0	7	0.00%
Apr-10	7	1	8	12.50%
May-10	7	1	8	12.50%
Jun-10	5	1	6	16.67%
Jul-10	5	1	6	16.67%
Aug-10	7	1	8	12.50%
Sep-10	8	1	9	11.11%
Oct-10	7	1	8	12.50%

Nov-10	7	1	8	12.50%
Dec-10	7	1	8	12.50%
Jan-11	6	1	7	14.29%
Feb-11	7	1	8	12.50%
Mar-11	7	1	8	12.50%
Apr-11	7	1	8	12.50%
Jun-11	5	1	6	16.67%
Jul-11	7	1	8	12.50%
Aug-11	7	1	8	12.50%
Sep-11	7	1	8	12.50%
Oct-11	7	1	8	12.50%
Nov-11	6	1	7	14.29%
Dec-11	6	1	7	14.29%
Jan-12	6	1	7	14.29%
Feb-12	6	1	7	14.29%
Mar-12	6	1	7	14.29%
Apr-12	6	0	6	0.00%
May-12	6	0	6	0.00%
Jun-12	6	0	6	0.00%
Jul-12	6	0	6	0.00%
Aug-12	5	1	6	16.67%
Sep-12	5	1	6	16.67%
Oct-12	7	1	8	12.50%
Nov-12	7	1	8	12.50%
Dec-12	6	1	7	14.29%
Jan-13	6	1	7	14.29%
Feb-13	6	1	7	14.29%
Mar-13	5	1	6	16.67%
Apr-13	5	1	6	16.67%
May-13	5	2	7	28.57%
Jun-13	5	2	7	28.57%
Jul-13	6	2	8	25.00%
Aug-13	6	2	8	25.00%
Sep-13	6	2	8	25.00%
Oct-13	6	1	7	14.29%
Nov-13	6	1	7	14.29%
Dec-13	5	1	6	16.67%
Jan-14	6	1	7	14.29%
Feb-14	6	1	7	14.29%
Mar-14	7	1	8	12.50%
Apr-14	7	1	8	12.50%
May-14	5	1	6	16.67%

Jun-14	5	1	6	16.67%
Jul-14	5	1	6	16.67%
Aug-14	5	1	6	16.67%
Oct-14	7	1	8	12.50%
Nov-14	7	1	8	12.50%
Dec-14	7	1	8	12.50%

Note: Adapted from

<http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/resources/statistics/gender.shtml> Copyright 2009-2014 by United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations

UNMIL – Military observers

Month/ Year	Military observers (male)	Military observers (female)	Military observers (total)	Percent women
Aug-06	201	3	204	1.47%
Sep-06	196	4	200	2.00%
Oct-06	203	4	207	1.93%
Nov-06	200	7	207	3.38%
Dec-06	187	1	188	0.53%
Jan-07	191	8	199	4.02%
Feb-07	199	8	207	3.86%
Mar-07	206	8	214	3.74%
Apr-07	196	10	206	4.85%
May-07	196	10	206	4.85%
Jun-07	202	10	212	4.72%
Jul-07	200	10	210	4.76%
Aug-07	197	10	207	4.83%
Sep-07	194	7	201	3.48%
Oct-07	202	4	206	1.94%
Nov-07	195	4	199	2.01%
Dec-07	194	5	199	2.51%
Jan-08	187	7	194	3.61%
Feb-08	189	5	194	2.58%
Mar-08	189	7	196	3.57%
Apr-08	195	9	204	4.41%
May-08	192	9	201	4.48%
Jun-08	191	9	200	4.50%
Jul-08	182	13	195	6.67%
Aug-08	185	15	200	7.50%
Sep-08	196	12	208	5.77%
Oct-08	201	9	210	4.29%
Nov-08	191	10	201	4.98%
Dec-08	170	10	180	5.56%

Jan-09	160	8	168	4.76%
Feb-09	135	9	144	6.25%
Mar-09	130	9	139	6.47%
Apr-09	131	9	140	6.43%
May-09	127	10	137	7.30%
Jun-09	125	11	136	8.09%
Jul-09	123	12	135	8.89%
Aug-09	128	11	139	7.91%
Sep-09	120	11	131	8.40%
Oct-09	113	11	124	8.87%
Nov-09	114	11	125	8.80%
Dec-09	110	8	118	6.78%
Jan-10	119	7	126	5.56%
Feb-10	121	6	127	4.72%
Mar-10	120	7	127	5.51%
Apr-10	117	7	124	5.65%
May-10	119	8	127	6.30%
Jun-10	125	8	133	6.02%
Jul-10	120	8	128	6.25%
Aug-10	119	7	126	5.56%
Sep-10	124	6	130	4.62%
Oct-10	127	7	134	5.22%
Nov-10	123	8	131	6.11%
Dec-10	124	7	131	5.34%
Jan-11	121	7	128	5.47%
Feb-11	129	5	134	3.73%
Mar-11	131	6	137	4.38%
Apr-11	133	5	138	3.62%
Jun-11	129	3	132	2.27%
Jul-11	127	3	130	2.31%
Aug-11	130	3	133	2.26%
Sep-11	130	3	133	2.26%
Oct-11	135	3	138	2.17%
Nov-11	128	3	131	2.29%
Dec-11	128	3	131	2.29%
Jan-12	130	3	133	2.26%
Feb-12	133	2	135	1.48%
Mar-12	132	3	135	2.22%
Apr-12	116	3	119	2.52%
May-12	117	2	119	1.68%
Jun-12	125	2	127	1.57%
Jul-12	130	2	132	1.52%

Aug-12	129	2	131	1.53%
Sep-12	125	3	128	2.34%
Oct-12	119	3	122	2.46%
Nov-12	120	4	124	3.23%
Dec-12	122	4	126	3.17%
Jan-13	125	4	129	3.10%
Feb-13	124	4	128	3.13%
Mar-13	125	4	129	3.10%
Apr-13	122	3	125	2.40%
May-13	115	5	120	4.17%
Jun-13	114	6	120	5.00%
Jul-13	111	7	118	5.93%
Aug-13	119	8	127	6.30%
Sep-13	122	8	130	6.15%
Oct-13	121	9	130	6.92%
Nov-13	118	9	127	7.09%
Dec-13	122	11	133	8.27%
Jan-14	121	11	132	8.33%
Feb-14	125	11	136	8.09%
Mar-14	121	11	132	8.33%
Apr-14	119	11	130	8.46%
May-14	121	10	131	7.63%
Jun-14	119	9	128	7.03%
Jul-14	117	9	126	7.14%
Aug-14	104	6	110	5.45%
Oct-14	105	4	109	3.67%
Nov-14	107	6	113	5.31%
Dec-14	107	6	113	5.31%

Note: Adapted from

<http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/resources/statistics/gender.shtml> Copyright 2006-2014 by United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations

UNMIL – Military troops

Month /Year	Military troops (male)	Military troops (female)	Military troops (total)	Percent women
Aug-06	14261	342	14603	2.34%
Sep-06	14230	340	14570	2.33%
Oct-06	14101	333	14434	2.31%
Nov-06	14011	323	14334	2.25%
Dec-06	13464	149	13613	1.09%
Jan-07	13494	310	13804	2.25%
Feb-07	13539	310	13849	2.24%

Mar-07	13535	306	13841	2.21%
Apr-07	13570	284	13854	2.05%
May-07	13672	260	13932	1.87%
Jun-07	13676	263	13939	1.89%
Jul-07	13672	253	13925	1.82%
Aug-07	13640	280	13920	2.01%
Sep-07	13645	279	13924	2.00%
Oct-07	13120	202	13322	1.52%
Nov-07	13132	203	13335	1.52%
Dec-07	13107	203	13310	1.53%
Jan-08	13085	206	13291	1.55%
Feb-08	12535	219	12754	1.72%
Mar-08	12014	228	12242	1.86%
Apr-08	11804	227	12031	1.89%
May-08	11361	227	11588	1.96%
Jun-08	11361	227	11588	1.96%
Jul-08	11307	227	11534	1.97%
Aug-08	11195	247	11442	2.16%
Sep-08	11190	247	11437	2.16%
Oct-08	11187	249	11436	2.18%
Nov-08	10533	248	10781	2.30%
Dec-08	10361	246	10607	2.32%
Jan-09	10348	246	10594	2.32%
Feb-09	9871	243	10114	2.40%
Mar-09	9746	242	9988	2.42%
Apr-09	9732	158	9890	1.60%
May-09	9871	158	10029	1.58%
Jun-09	9831	234	10065	2.32%
Jul-09	9817	235	10052	2.34%
Aug-09	9814	232	10046	2.31%
Sep-09	9801	232	10033	2.31%
Oct-09	9788	243	10031	2.42%
Nov-09	9638	244	9882	2.47%
Dec-09	9263	242	9505	2.55%
Jan-10	8990	243	9233	2.63%
Feb-10	8738	244	8982	2.72%
Mar-10	8780	175	8955	1.95%
Apr-10	8079	147	8226	1.79%
May-10	7833	150	7983	1.88%
Jun-10	7660	150	7810	1.92%
Jul-10	7769	154	7923	1.94%

Aug-10	7774	156	7930	1.97%
Sep-10	7777	153	7930	1.93%
Oct-10	7749	182	7931	2.29%
Nov-10	7755	182	7937	2.29%
Dec-10	7731	207	7938	2.61%
Jan-11	7724	212	7936	2.67%
Feb-11	7736	213	7949	2.68%
Mar-11	7567	208	7775	2.68%
Apr-11	7564	207	7771	2.66%
Jun-11	7582	204	7786	2.62%
Jul-11	7578	204	7782	2.62%
Aug-11	7578	204	7782	2.62%
Sep-11	7571	204	7775	2.62%
Oct-11	7570	204	7774	2.62%
Nov-11	7566	203	7769	2.61%
Dec-11	7582	196	7778	2.52%
Jan-12	7636	176	7812	2.25%
Feb-12	7604	177	7781	2.27%
Mar-12	7604	177	7781	2.27%
Apr-12	7627	171	7798	2.19%
May-12	7579	171	7750	2.21%
Jun-12	7570	171	7741	2.21%
Jul-12	7326	171	7497	2.28%
Aug-12	7363	178	7541	2.36%
Sep-12	7351	194	7545	2.57%
Oct-12	7344	194	7538	2.57%
Nov-12	7358	168	7526	2.23%
Dec-12	7274	156	7430	2.10%
Jan-13	6498	179	6677	2.68%
Feb-13	6480	188	6668	2.82%
Mar-13	6488	188	6676	2.82%
Apr-13	6483	188	6671	2.82%
May-13	6473	188	6661	2.82%
Jun-13	5578	212	5790	3.66%
Jul-13	5536	221	5757	3.84%
Aug-13	5550	210	5760	3.65%
Sep-13	5566	193	5759	3.35%
Oct-13	5559	191	5750	3.32%
Nov-13	5533	190	5723	3.32%
Dec-13	5559	192	5751	3.34%
Jan-14	5552	192	5744	3.34%
Feb-14	5556	193	5749	3.36%
Mar-14	5537	192	5729	3.35%

Apr-14	5184	192	5376	3.57%
May-14	4440	169	4609	3.67%
Jun-14	4311	163	4474	3.64%
Jul-14	4297	163	4460	3.65%
Aug-14	4264	162	4426	3.66%
Oct-14	4256	174	4430	3.93%
Nov-14	4152	165	4317	3.82%
Dec-14	4144	164	4308	3.81%

Note: Adapted from

<http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/resources/statistics/gender.shtml> Copyright 2006-2014 by United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations

UNMIL – Individual police

Month/Year	Individual police (male)	Individual police (female)	Individual police (total)	Percent women
Feb-09	1019	194	1213	15.99%
Mar-09	1028	190	1218	15.60%
Apr-09	1026	186	1212	15.35%
May-09	1017	191	1208	15.81%
Jun-09	1023	182	1205	15.10%
Jul-09	1143	181	1324	13.67%
Aug-09	1151	180	1331	13.52%
Sep-09	1164	191	1355	14.10%
Oct-09	1152	191	1343	14.22%
Nov-09	438	58	496	11.69%
Dec-09	418	62	480	12.92%
Jan-10	413	63	476	13.24%
Feb-10	408	63	471	13.38%
Mar-10	385	59	444	13.29%
Apr-10	391	58	449	12.92%
May-10	411	63	474	13.29%
Jun-10	455	65	520	12.50%
Jul-10	423	58	481	12.06%
Aug-10	429	55	484	11.36%
Sep-10	404	52	456	11.40%
Oct-10	404	56	460	12.17%
Nov-10	423	54	477	11.32%
Dec-10	420	61	481	12.68%
Jan-11	425	60	485	12.37%
Feb-11	415	60	475	12.63%

Mar-11	405	58	463	12.53%
Apr-11	376	60	436	13.76%
Jun-11	383	64	447	14.32%
Jul-11	387	58	445	13.03%
Aug-11	381	59	440	13.41%
Sep-11	394	70	464	15.09%
Oct-11	402	69	471	14.65%
Nov-11	379	60	439	13.67%
Dec-11	388	65	453	14.35%
Jan-12	382	61	443	13.77%
Feb-12	369	54	423	12.77%
Mar-12	379	56	435	12.87%
Apr-12	391	56	447	12.53%
May-12	413	57	470	12.13%
Jun-12	420	56	476	11.76%
Jul-12	414	56	470	11.91%
Aug-12	418	60	478	12.55%
Sep-12	409	54	463	11.66%
Oct-12	406	51	457	11.16%
Nov-12	419	52	471	11.04%
Dec-12	410	51	461	11.06%
Jan-13	402	52	454	11.45%
Feb-13	428	49	477	10.27%
Mar-13	425	52	477	10.90%
Apr-13	421	55	476	11.55%
May-13	403	53	456	11.62%
Jun-13	419	56	475	11.79%
Jul-13	417	57	474	12.03%
Aug-13	421	54	475	11.37%
Sep-13	417	57	474	12.03%
Oct-13	401	64	465	13.76%
Nov-13	400	63	463	13.61%
Dec-13	401	59	460	12.83%
Jan-14	395	63	458	13.76%
Feb-14	375	60	435	13.79%
Mar-14	390	66	456	14.47%
Apr-14	402	67	469	14.29%
May-14	400	63	463	13.61%
Jun-14	386	66	452	14.60%
Jul-14	372	65	437	14.87%
Aug-14	359	66	425	15.53%
Oct-14	338	64	402	15.92%

Nov-14	327	77	404	19.06%
Dec-14	339	76	415	18.31%

Note: Adapted from

<http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/resources/statistics/gender.shtml> Copyright 2009-2014 by United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations

UNMIL – Formed police units

Month /Year	Formed police units (male)	Formed police units (female)	Formed police units (total)	Percent women
Nov-09	714	130	844	15.40%
Dec-09	714	130	844	15.40%
Jan-10	715	129	844	15.28%
Feb-10	713	134	847	15.82%
Mar-10	708	137	845	16.21%
Apr-10	708	137	845	16.21%
May-10	708	137	845	16.21%
Jun-10	703	141	844	16.71%
Jul-10	696	141	837	16.85%
Aug-10	703	141	844	16.71%
Sep-10	720	125	845	14.79%
Oct-10	719	125	844	14.81%
Nov-10	719	123	842	14.61%
Dec-10	719	123	842	14.61%
Jan-11	719	123	842	14.61%
Feb-11	717	127	844	15.05%
Mar-11	719	127	846	15.01%
Apr-11	717	127	844	15.05%
Jun-11	715	127	842	15.08%
Jul-11	716	127	843	15.07%
Aug-11	664	119	783	15.20%
Sep-11	716	128	844	15.17%
Oct-11	716	128	844	15.17%
Nov-11	716	128	844	15.17%
Dec-11	716	128	844	15.17%
Jan-12	717	128	845	15.15%
Feb-12	719	127	846	15.01%
Mar-12	720	124	844	14.69%
Apr-12	724	120	844	14.22%
May-12	723	120	843	14.23%
Jun-12	723	120	843	14.23%
Jul-12	723	120	843	14.23%
Aug-12	721	122	843	14.47%

Sep-12	723	122	845	14.44%
Oct-12	716	129	845	15.27%
Nov-12	716	129	845	15.27%
Dec-12	716	129	845	15.27%
Jan-13	730	129	859	15.02%
Feb-13	735	134	869	15.42%
Mar-13	853	132	985	13.40%
Apr-13	852	132	984	13.41%
May-13	857	127	984	12.91%
Jun-13	856	127	983	12.92%
Jul-13	856	127	983	12.92%
Aug-13	854	127	981	12.95%
Sep-13	842	141	983	14.34%
Oct-13	972	147	1119	13.14%
Nov-13	971	148	1119	13.23%
Dec-13	975	148	1123	13.18%
Jan-14	975	147	1122	13.10%
Feb-14	968	158	1126	14.03%
Mar-14	962	160	1122	14.26%
Apr-14	961	158	1119	14.12%
May-14	960	158	1118	14.13%
Jun-14	960	158	1118	14.13%
Jul-14	842	155	997	15.55%
Aug-14	840	155	995	15.58%
Oct-14	873	131	1004	13.05%
Nov-14	873	130	1003	12.96%
Dec-14	873	129	1002	12.87%

Note: Adapted from

<http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/resources/statistics/gender.shtml> Copyright 2009-2014 by United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations

UNOCI – Military observers

Month/ Year	Military observers (male)	Military observers (female)	Military observers (total)	Percent women
Aug-06	180	6	186	3.23%
Sep-06	183	11	194	5.67%
Oct-06	180	14	194	7.22%
Nov-06	181	14	195	7.18%
Dec-06	177	13	190	6.84%
Jan-07	177	13	190	6.84%
Feb-07	187	13	200	6.50%

Mar-07	187	13	200	6.50%
Apr-07	187	13	200	6.50%
May-07	182	13	195	6.67%
Jun-07	181	11	192	5.73%
Jul-07	185	10	195	5.13%
Aug-07	178	10	188	5.32%
Sep-07	178	10	188	5.32%
Oct-07	179	10	189	5.29%
Nov-07	184	11	195	5.64%
Dec-07	184	11	195	5.64%
Jan-08	178	9	187	4.81%
Feb-08	178	9	187	4.81%
Mar-08	179	14	193	7.25%
Apr-08	180	14	194	7.22%
May-08	175	14	189	7.41%
Jun-08	181	14	195	7.18%
Jul-08	179	13	192	6.77%
Aug-08	180	13	193	6.74%
Sep-08	181	9	190	4.74%
Oct-08	180	9	189	4.76%
Nov-08	181	10	191	5.24%
Dec-08	187	10	197	5.08%
Jan-09	187	11	198	5.56%
Feb-09	189	10	199	5.03%
Mar-09	180	9	189	4.76%
Apr-09	185	7	192	3.65%
May-09	190	7	197	3.55%
Jun-09	183	7	190	3.68%
Jul-09	190	8	198	4.04%
Aug-09	183	9	192	4.69%
Sep-09	181	11	192	5.73%
Oct-09	180	12	192	6.25%
Nov-09	182	13	195	6.67%
Dec-09	177	12	189	6.35%
Jan-10	179	12	191	6.28%
Feb-10	182	14	196	7.14%
Mar-10	179	15	194	7.73%
Apr-10	165	15	180	8.33%
May-10	180	15	195	7.69%
Jun-10	179	14	193	7.25%
Jul-10	178	13	191	6.81%

Aug-10	178	11	189	5.82%
Sep-10	172	12	184	6.52%
Oct-10	180	12	192	6.25%
Dec-10	174	12	186	6.45%
Jan-11	164	12	176	6.82%
Feb-11	167	10	177	5.65%
Mar-11	178	9	187	4.81%
Apr-11	170	7	177	3.95%
Jun-11	177	8	185	4.32%
Jul-11	183	10	193	5.18%
Aug-11	190	10	200	5.00%
Sep-11	189	8	197	4.06%
Oct-11	190	9	199	4.52%
Nov-11	186	8	194	4.12%
Dec-11	187	10	197	5.08%
Jan-12	188	9	197	4.57%
Feb-12	191	8	199	4.02%
Mar-12	194	9	203	4.43%
Apr-12	193	7	200	3.50%
May-12	188	8	196	4.08%
Jun-12	188	9	197	4.57%
Jul-12	186	9	195	4.62%
Aug-12	182	10	192	5.21%
Sep-12	178	10	188	5.32%
Oct-12	178	11	189	5.82%
Nov-12	177	10	187	5.35%
Dec-12	172	9	181	4.97%
Jan-13	183	12	195	6.15%
Feb-13	178	12	190	6.32%
Mar-13	179	12	191	6.28%
Apr-13	180	13	193	6.74%
May-13	173	12	185	6.49%
Jun-13	174	12	186	6.45%
Jul-13	171	12	183	6.56%
Aug-13	179	12	191	6.28%
Sep-13	175	12	187	6.42%
Oct-13	172	13	185	7.03%
Nov-13	173	14	187	7.49%
Dec-13	171	14	185	7.57%
Jan-14	171	14	185	7.57%
Feb-14	171	11	182	6.04%
Mar-14	169	12	181	6.63%
Apr-14	175	12	187	6.42%

May-14	187	11	198	5.56%
Jun-14	180	11	191	5.76%
Jul-14	177	11	188	5.85%
Aug-14	160	10	170	5.88%
Oct-14	172	15	187	8.02%
Nov-14	171	12	183	6.56%
Dec-14	168	12	180	6.67%

Note: Adapted from

<http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/resources/statistics/gender.shtml> Copyright 2006-2014 by United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations

UNOCI – Military troops

Month /Year	Military troops (male)	Military troops (female)	Military troops (total)	Percent women
Aug-06	7798	44	7842	0.56%
Sep-06	7799	44	7843	0.56%
Oct-06	7799	46	7845	0.59%
Nov-06	7788	59	7847	0.75%
Dec-06	7787	60	7847	0.76%
Jan-07	7790	60	7850	0.76%
Feb-07	7793	60	7853	0.76%
Mar-07	7793	61	7854	0.78%
Apr-07	7793	61	7854	0.78%
May-07	7787	61	7848	0.78%
Jun-07	7781	65	7846	0.83%
Jul-07	7770	63	7833	0.80%
Aug-07	7745	63	7808	0.81%
Sep-07	7808	63	7871	0.80%
Oct-07	7773	60	7833	0.77%
Nov-07	7774	60	7834	0.77%
Dec-07	7772	66	7838	0.84%
Jan-08	7774	66	7840	0.84%
Feb-08	7772	65	7837	0.83%
Mar-08	7766	75	7841	0.96%
Apr-08	7760	75	7835	0.96%
May-08	7758	75	7833	0.96%
Jun-08	7754	75	7829	0.96%
Jul-08	7741	89	7830	1.14%
Aug-08	7740	89	7829	1.14%
Sep-08	7737	90	7827	1.15%
Oct-08	7733	90	7823	1.15%

Nov-08	7736	93	7829	1.19%
Dec-08	7734	96	7830	1.23%
Jan-09	7737	95	7832	1.21%
Feb-09	7738	95	7833	1.21%
Mar-09	7742	95	7837	1.21%
Apr-09	7580	84	7664	1.10%
May-09	7577	84	7661	1.10%
Jun-09	7578	84	7662	1.10%
Jul-09	7136	84	7220	1.16%
Aug-09	7136	84	7220	1.16%
Sep-09	6932	84	7016	1.20%
Oct-09	7136	84	7220	1.16%
Nov-09	6943	84	7027	1.20%
Dec-09	7118	84	7202	1.17%
Jan-10	7113	85	7198	1.18%
Feb-10	7110	84	7194	1.17%
Mar-10	7110	96	7206	1.33%
Apr-10	7095	100	7195	1.39%
May-10	7089	100	7189	1.39%
Jun-10	7092	99	7191	1.38%
Jul-10	7103	91	7194	1.26%
Aug-10	7099	87	7186	1.21%
Sep-10	7093	92	7185	1.28%
Oct-10	7483	89	7572	1.18%
Dec-10	7480	89	7569	1.18%
Jan-11	7488	90	7578	1.19%
Feb-11	7475	93	7568	1.23%
Mar-11	7498	96	7594	1.26%
Apr-11	7888	86	7974	1.08%
Jun-11	8512	84	8596	0.98%
Jul-11	8871	103	8974	1.15%
Aug-11	9041	115	9156	1.26%
Sep-11	9047	103	9150	1.13%
Oct-11	9253	103	9356	1.10%
Nov-11	9303	114	9417	1.21%
Dec-11	9302	114	9416	1.21%
Jan-12	9305	113	9418	1.20%
Feb-12	9306	113	9419	1.20%
Mar-12	9289	113	9402	1.20%
Apr-12	9291	113	9404	1.20%
May-12	9287	113	9400	1.20%
Jun-12	9283	113	9396	1.20%

Jul-12	9286	113	9399	1.20%
Aug-12	9285	113	9398	1.20%
Sep-12	9279	113	9392	1.20%
Oct-12	9286	112	9398	1.19%
Nov-12	9258	112	9370	1.20%
Dec-12	9248	112	9360	1.20%
Jan-13	9249	112	9361	1.20%
Feb-13	9249	112	9361	1.20%
Mar-13	9246	113	9359	1.21%
Apr-13	9245	113	9358	1.21%
May-13	8434	105	8539	1.23%
Jun-13	8406	105	8511	1.23%
Jul-13	8402	95	8497	1.12%
Aug-13	8400	95	8495	1.12%
Sep-13	8431	61	8492	0.72%
Oct-13	8398	81	8479	0.96%
Nov-13	8387	94	8481	1.11%
Dec-13	8399	90	8489	1.06%
Jan-14	8183	50	8233	0.61%
Feb-14	7877	80	7957	1.01%
Mar-14	7850	81	7931	1.02%
Apr-14	7369	81	7450	1.09%
May-14	7267	80	7347	1.09%
Jun-14	6828	76	6904	1.10%
Jul-14	6830	76	6906	1.10%
Aug-14	6832	76	6908	1.10%
Oct-14	6802	96	6898	1.39%
Nov-14	5994	102	6096	1.67%
Dec-14	5984	102	6086	1.68%

Note: Adapted from

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UNOCI – Individual police

Month /Year	Individual police (male)	Individual police (female)	Individual police (total)	Percent women
Feb-09	1127	19	1146	1.66%
Mar-09	1092	20	1112	1.80%
Apr-09	1131	23	1154	1.99%
May-09	1165	25	1190	2.10%
Jun-09	1152	22	1174	1.87%

Jul-09	1151	21	1172	1.79%
Aug-09	1145	21	1166	1.80%
Sep-09	1161	23	1184	1.94%
Oct-09	1138	20	1158	1.73%
Nov-09	382	36	418	8.61%
Dec-09	388	13	401	3.24%
Jan-10	388	13	401	3.24%
Feb-10	396	13	409	3.18%
Mar-10	378	14	392	3.57%
Apr-10	365	14	379	3.69%
May-10	381	17	398	4.27%
Jun-10	374	17	391	4.35%
Jul-10	405	19	424	4.48%
Aug-10	406	16	422	3.79%
Sep-10	427	17	444	3.83%
Oct-10	401	18	419	4.30%
Dec-10	399	22	421	5.23%
Jan-11	356	20	376	5.32%
Feb-11	343	20	363	5.51%
Mar-11	325	19	344	5.52%
Apr-11	322	19	341	5.57%
Jun-11	296	18	314	5.73%
Jul-11	299	20	319	6.27%
Aug-11	317	20	337	5.93%
Sep-11	327	21	348	6.03%
Oct-11	329	23	352	6.53%
Nov-11	342	30	372	8.06%
Dec-11	354	38	392	9.69%
Jan-12	344	38	382	9.95%
Feb-12	338	37	375	9.87%
Mar-12	318	39	357	10.92%
Apr-12	315	39	354	11.02%
May-12	302	36	338	10.65%
Jun-12	341	35	376	9.31%
Jul-12	342	33	375	8.80%
Aug-12	333	33	366	9.02%
Sep-12	358	32	390	8.21%
Oct-12	396	39	435	8.97%
Nov-12	436	43	479	8.98%
Dec-12	446	51	497	10.26%
Jan-13	456	51	507	10.06%
Feb-13	469	55	524	10.50%
Mar-13	456	54	510	10.59%

Apr-13	455	54	509	10.61%
May-13	447	56	503	11.13%
Jun-13	454	54	508	10.63%
Jul-13	460	54	514	10.51%
Aug-13	440	53	493	10.75%
Sep-13	447	54	501	10.78%
Oct-13	433	50	483	10.35%
Nov-13	391	45	436	10.32%
Dec-13	427	34	461	7.38%
Jan-14	429	32	461	6.94%
Feb-14	465	33	498	6.63%
Mar-14	470	32	502	6.37%
Apr-14	483	34	517	6.58%
May-14	487	30	517	5.80%
Jun-14	466	30	496	6.05%
Jul-14	451	29	480	6.04%
Aug-14	449	29	478	6.07%
Oct-14	391	26	417	6.24%
Nov-14	365	23	388	5.93%
Dec-14	356	23	379	6.07%

Note: Adapted from

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UNOCI – Formed police units

Month /Year	Formed police units (male)	Formed police units (female)	Formed police units (total)	Percent women
Nov-09	749	0	749	0.00%
Dec-09	744	0	744	0.00%
Jan-10	760	0	760	0.00%
Feb-10	745	0	745	0.00%
Mar-10	750	0	750	0.00%
Apr-10	749	0	749	0.00%
May-10	749	0	749	0.00%
Jun-10	749	0	749	0.00%
Jul-10	745	0	745	0.00%
Aug-10	745	0	745	0.00%
Sep-10	823	0	823	0.00%
Oct-10	897	0	897	0.00%
Dec-10	895	0	895	0.00%

Jan-11	894	0	894	0.00%
Feb-11	954	0	954	0.00%
Mar-11	952	0	952	0.00%
Apr-11	952	0	952	0.00%
Jun-11	954	3	957	0.31%
Jul-11	953	4	957	0.42%
Aug-11	951	4	955	0.42%
Sep-11	949	4	953	0.42%
Oct-11	980	4	984	0.41%
Nov-11	991	4	995	0.40%
Dec-11	990	4	994	0.40%
Jan-12	944	4	948	0.42%
Feb-12	995	0	995	0.00%
Mar-12	995	0	995	0.00%
Apr-12	996	0	996	0.00%
May-12	999	0	999	0.00%
Jun-12	999	0	999	0.00%
Jul-12	998	0	998	0.00%
Aug-12	998	0	998	0.00%
Sep-12	997	0	997	0.00%
Oct-12	993	0	993	0.00%
Nov-12	996	0	996	0.00%
Dec-12	995	0	995	0.00%
Jan-13	955	0	955	0.00%
Feb-13	1087	0	1087	0.00%
Mar-13	997	0	997	0.00%
Apr-13	998	0	998	0.00%
May-13	999	0	999	0.00%
Jun-13	996	0	996	0.00%
Jul-13	817	0	817	0.00%
Aug-13	815	0	815	0.00%
Sep-13	814	0	814	0.00%
Oct-13	814	0	814	0.00%
Nov-13	811	0	811	0.00%
Dec-13	809	0	809	0.00%
Jan-14	804	0	804	0.00%
Feb-14	818	0	818	0.00%
Mar-14	819	0	819	0.00%
Apr-14	860	0	860	0.00%
May-14	857	0	857	0.00%
Jun-14	870	0	870	0.00%
Jul-14	870	0	870	0.00%

Aug-14	993	0	993	0.00%
Oct-14	990	0	990	0.00%
Nov-14	989	0	989	0.00%
Dec-14	988	0	988	0.00%

Note: Adapted from

<http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/resources/statistics/gender.shtml> Copyright 2009-2014 by United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations