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**A Critical Evaluation of the Implementation of SCR 1325
on Gender Equality of UN Peacekeeping**

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This dissertation is submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the award of the degree of MSc in Gender and International Relations

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This dissertation contains no plagiarism, has not been submitted
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ABSTRACT

In October 2000, the United Nations Security Council unanimously adopted the resolution 1325 on Women and Peace and Security (SCR 1325). This resolution is recognized as a landmark commitment of the international community in promoting gender equality, empowering women, and protecting women's rights in all peace processes. The resolution was the first time in UN history when 'high politics' has formally addressed gender issues (Olsson and Tryggestad, 2001). SCR 1325 consists of 18 articles with three main themes: promoting women's participation, gender mainstreaming, and gender-based violence. Since the adoption of the resolution, the international community seems to be acting in accordance with the resolution, especially in UN peacekeeping. Nevertheless, despite the apparent success, criticism of the efficiency of the implementation of the resolution has been raised. This leads to the research question 'to what extent the implementation of SCR 1352 can contribute to gender equality', the goal of SCR 1325.

The study focus is to evaluate the implementation of UN peacekeeping in the three main themes of the resolution because the mandate of UN peacekeeping is to establish peace and security in all conflicted situations, which directly involves with the implementation of the resolution. The study is scoped to examine UN peacekeeping at two levels: policy and operational levels. The Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO), the policy directive unit of all UN peacekeeping, is examined in order to assess the implementation of UN peacekeeping at policy level. At operational level, the United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL) is selected as an empirical case as the mission is claimed as the first UN mission that included gender perspectives explicitly

in its establishment documentation, and is further claimed as a best practice in bringing gender equality to peacekeeping.

The data is accumulated from the UN, governmental and non-governmental organizations, and civil society documentation as well as individual research related to issues of UN peacekeeping, SCR 1325, and gender issues. In terms of a theoretical framework, the research has adopted postcolonial feminism to explore the answer to the research question because postcolonial feminism provides a substantive concept of gender equality in two aspects. Firstly, the concept of gender equality of postcolonial feminism is not simply about women's issues, but is involved with equality for marginalized lives. Secondly, postcolonial feminism concerns on different and diverse contexts, and aware of the domination of western feminism idea on gender equality, which seems to be useful for a critical evaluation because many peacekeeping operations occur in developing countries and often in post-colonial countries.

The paper illustrates that the implementation of UN peacekeeping on the three themes of SCR 1325: enhancing women's participation, gender mainstreaming, and gender-based violence, can contribute only superficially to the issue of gender equality. This study, therefore, argues that the perspective of postcolonial feminism on gender equality, including 1) a recognition not only women, but also marginalized lives, who impacted from gender hierarchy, 2) sensitivity to diversity, difference in specific contexts and locations, and 3) awareness of potential of the colonial assumption of superiority over local people, should be put as a central framework in the implementation of UN peacekeeping to bring substantive gender equality as the international community commits to the resolution.

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LIST OF ABBRIVIATIONS

CDU	Conduct and Discipline Unit
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women
CSW	Commission on the Status of Women
DCAF	Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces
DDR	Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration
DPKO	Department of Peacekeeping Operations
ECOSOC	Economic and Social Council
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
FPU	Formed Police Unit
GA	General Assembly
GBV	Gender-based Violence
GOL	Government of Liberia
IPU	Inter-Parliamentary Union
IR	International Relations
IRIN	Integrated Regional Information Networks
LNP	Liberia National Police
MoGD	Ministry of Gender and Development, Liberia
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OGA	Office of Gender Advisor
SC	Security Council
SCR	Security Council Resolution
SRSO	Special Representative of the Secretary-General

UN	United Nations
UNCT	United Nations Country Team
UN-INSTRAW	United Nations International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women
UNMIL	United Nations Mission in Liberia
UN WOMEN	United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women
WCU	Women and Children Units

Introduction

Gender equality is equal rights, responsibilities and opportunities of women and men and girls and boys. Equality does not mean that women and men will become the same, but that women's and men's rights, responsibilities and opportunities will not depend on whether they are born male or female. Gender equality implies that the interests, needs and priorities of both women and men are taken into consideration.

(UN, 2003a: 17)

Gender equality is the highest goal of the feminist movements. Feminism emerged in the late 19th century and has developed to indicate causes of gender inequality and way to establish equality in many disciplines, for example, public policy, and economics (Lorber, 2001: 5-7). In terms of IR, Feminism entered the discipline in the late 1980s by highlighting that global politics are male dominated structures where women been placed at the peripheries of IR (Tickner 1988: 429; Tickner and Sjoberg, 2011: 9). Consequently, feminism attempts to create 'emancipatory knowledge', which is the knowledge to lift up women's lives and bring equality in world politics (Steans and Pettiford, 2001: 152; Tickner 2008: 264). To produce this knowledge, feminism uses gender as an analytical tool in the movement (Tickner, 2008: 265; Sapiro, 1991: 166). Though, in everyday usage 'gender' may be used interchangeably with 'sex' to denote the biological difference between male and female, feminists differentiate the word 'sex' from 'gender'. (Steans, 2006: 7-8). They define sex as biological difference while defining gender as 'a set of socially and culturally constructed characteristics that define masculinity and femininity' (Tickner, 2008: 265). However, feminism is diverse and use gender to explain inequality in different ways. The use of gender is developed under the three waves of the feminist movement (Lorber, 2001:9-13). Within the three waves of feminism, feminism is divided into five approaches; liberal feminism, standpoint feminism, critical feminism, poststructuralist feminism, and postcolonial

feminism (Steans, 2006: 12- 19). The first wave feminism, liberal feminism, uses ‘gender as an explanatory variable’ in explaining inequalities between sexes such as an unequal legal status and unbalanced representation (Tickner and Sjoberg, 2010: 199). Meanwhile, the second wave feminism, including standpoint feminism and critical feminism, explain ‘gender as a patriarchal structure’, a male dominated structure in which women are framed by subordinated status in social recognition and expectation (Hansen, 2010: 21 - 22). The third wave feminism, which is poststructuralist feminism and postcolonial feminism, sees gender as not universality. Gender is based on specific contexts, which involved with race, class, or culture (Lorber, 2001:11).

Since the contribution of feminism, global politics has apparently committed to promoting gender equality (Tickner and Sjoberg, 2011: 9). The establishment of the Commission on the Status of Women (CSW) in 1946, aimed to ensure gender equality and to promote women’s rights in political, economic, civil, social and educational fields, apparently the first action of world politics on women’s and gender issues (UN, 2000: 1-2). In 1979, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), the international legally binding agreement bringing gender equality and protecting women’s rights in public and private spheres, was adopted (UN, 2007). The international community also makes other efforts towards gender equality promotion and women’s rights protection. For example, the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Actions in 1998 has raised collective actions from the global community to empower women in twelve critical areas of concern in achieving gender equality, for example, power sharing, armed conflict, and health (UN WOMEN, 2012a).

Nevertheless, the above-mentioned commitments and movements for gender equality seemed to be limited to ‘soft politics’ as they had solely highlighted in the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) and the General Assembly (GA). Both these

UN sectors are responsible for ‘soft issues’, which focus on social and economic issues. The ECOSOC, under the authority of GA, works on building international cooperation on development and social issues, such as education, economics, and environment (UN, 2012a). Meanwhile, the GA acts as ‘parliament of nations’ by providing a forum for multilateral discussion across the full spectrum of international issues (Taylor and Curtis, 2008: 317).

In the discussion of ‘high politics’, which are involved with war and security matters (Collins, 2010:2), the issue of women and gender seems to have been first recognized in 2000. The Security Council (SC), the UN ‘high politics’ arena for maintaining international peace and security, establishing peacekeeping operations, and the authorization of military action, adopted the resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security (SCR 1325). This was the first time in the history of UN, which the ‘high politics’ has formally addressed women and gender issues (Olsson and Tryggestad, 2001). The resolution sets a new threshold of action in bringing forward gender perspectives, increasing women’s participation, and protecting women’s rights to the centre of all UN peace processes (UN, 2002: 1; UN WOMEN, 2012a). The 18 articles of the resolution call upon the UN system, member states, and all parties to take action in three areas, including 1) increasing women’s participation and decision making at all levels in peace processes (article 1-4); 2) integrating a gender perspective into peacekeeping operations and training all peacekeepers (article 5-8); and 3) protecting the rights of women and girls targeting gender-based violence during conflict and post-conflict (article 10 -11).

SCR 1325 seems to change international systems to address gender equality issue in two aspects. Firstly, the resolution has apparently brought recognition and awareness of integrating gender perspectives onto the international security agenda.

The supporting resolutions in accordance with the core principle of SCR 1325 seem to illustrate strong international commitments and assure an effective implementation of SCR 1325. For instance, the resolution 1820 in 2008, and 1888 in 2009 identify for the first time sexual violence as a tactic of warfare, call for political and security responses to prevent its use, and to end impunity (UN WOMEN, 2012 b). Resolution 1889 in 2009 reiterates its mandate for increasing women's participation and mainstreaming gender perspectives in all peace processes (UN WOMEN, 2012b). Secondly, international system, especially UN peacekeeping, has apparently reformed their work to promote gender equality and protect women's right. Since the resolution was enacted, UN peacekeeping, a core actor in implementing SCR 1325, has embraced gender mainstreaming as core components in its mandate (UN, 2012b). Alain Le Roy, Under Secretary General of DPKO (in Hudson, 2010: 54) stated that SCR 1325 'has changed the way we do business in peacekeeping'. For example, UN peacekeeping has established a gender adviser unit as a mechanism towards implementation of SCR 1325. Furthermore, guidelines and tools to elaborate on SCR 1325, such as the Policy Directive on Gender Equality and Gender Resource Package for Peacekeeping Operations have been formulated (DPKO, 2005a: 1; 2006: 1-10).

The implementation of SCR 1325 has claimed success in the establishment of gender equality. The UN Secretary-General reported that there has been a growing number of women participating in peacekeeping operations. Also, gender has become an important element in any mission through planning, reporting and assessment (UN, 2010: 30). Furthermore, gender awareness and sexual violence in conflicts have been addressed in post-conflict frameworks (UN, 2010: 30). Nevertheless, challenges in the implementation of the SCR 1325 have been indicated. For instance, a lack of the coherent and systematic implementation of the resolution has been raised (UN, 2010:

30). Furthermore, women are still underrepresented in UN peacekeeping, especially at high levels (UN, 2012c). Also, gender-based violence remains prevalent (UN, 2010: 2).

Research Question and Objectives of the Study

Both the apparent successes and challenges of the implementation of SCR 1325 formulate the research question of this paper, ‘to what extent the implementation of SCR 1325 by UN peacekeeping can contribute to gender equality’. This paper aims to assess whether the implementation of SCR 1325 in practice lives up to its theoretical commitment to gender equality in three themes 1) ensuring equal participation of women and men in the maintenance and promotion of peace and security; 2) adopting a gender perspective at all levels in peace and security processes; 3) taking account the protection of rights, focusing on gender-based violence. The study is expected to explore the contribution to gender equality of UN peacekeeping through the implementation of SCR 1325, to indicate challenges, and identify further requirements in implementing SCR 1325 for further gender equality promotion in UN peacekeeping and in world politics at large.

Scope of the Study

The scope of the study can be divided into two aspects. The first focus is the subjects of the study. The study will focus on examining the implementation of three main themes of SCR 1325, which are women’s participation, gender mainstreaming, and gender-based violence because these three areas are the central concern of the resolution (UN WOMEN, 2012c; Porter, 2007: 17). The second focus is an actor, who implements SCR 1325. The study focuses on UN peacekeeping because its mandate is constructing peace and security in conflicted situations and thus is directly involved

with the implementation of the resolution. Two levels of UN peacekeeping operations, policy and operational levels will be evaluated. At the policy level, the paper will examine the implementation of SCR 1325 by the Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) as DPKO acts as the UN peacekeeping policy unit (DPKO, 2012a). Hence, the implementation by DPKO of SCR 1325 will illustrate how UN peacekeeping at policy level contributes to gender equality. At the operational level, the study selects the United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL) as an empirical case because this mission is claimed as best practice in bringing gender aspects into the operations (UNMIL, 2010: vii).

Methodology

This study will accumulate data from documentation of the UN, governmental and non-governmental organizations, civil society, and from individual research related to issues of UN peacekeeping, SCR 1325, and gender issues. In terms of data evaluation, postcolonial feminism will be employed as a theoretical framework. Though, feminism has different approaches, the paper employs postcolonial feminism because postcolonial feminism seems to explain gender equality in a more substantive way than other feminist approaches. Firstly, postcolonial feminism explains gender inequality by deeply investigating the social structure. The approach suggests that the root cause of gender inequality is gender hierarchy, shaped by 'ethnicity, race, class, poverty level, and age'. (Lewis and Mills, 2003: 3-5; Mazurana et al, 2005: 13). In contrast, other feminist approaches seem to explain only the surface of inequality, but not tackle its root causes. Liberal feminism questions the invisibility of women and believes that gender equality will be achieved when bringing women's visibility and women's rights (Tickner, 2008: 266). Liberal feminism is criticized for its focus only

on women while neglecting the study of gender, the root of gender inequality (Hansen, 2010: 21). Standpoint feminism and critical feminism seem to investigate the construction of gender inequality under the male dominated structure (Steans, 2006: 13-14). Standpoint feminism focuses women's experience as a strand to explain inequality, while critical feminist focuses on social forces, capitalism, and patriarchy (Steans, 2006: 13-16). However, both approaches are criticized for an ignorance of diversity and difference of women (Hansen, 2010: 22). In contrast, postcolonial feminism seems to respond to the weaknesses of those feminist approaches. Postcolonial feminism suggests that gender equality is more than women issues, and examine the marginalized lives, and the construction of gender which causes gender inequality (Lorber, 2001:13). They investigate the gender hierarchy of IR as standpoint feminism and critical feminism do, but go further on other gender construction, including race, ethnic, class, that impacts on inequality (Mohanty, 2003:53). This illustrates that postcolonial feminism deeply examines the construction of gender and seeks to bring equality for all peoples, which is the same goal of gender equality pledged by the international community; gender equality is not only for women, but is for 'women and men and girls and boys' (UN, 2003a:17). Secondly, postcolonial feminism acknowledges diversity and different contexts. Though, poststructuralist feminists also recognize diversity and rejects the universality of women, they seem to only focus on the discursive construction of gender and attempt to reconstruct an understanding of gender which is criticized for a lack of suggestion a means to establish gender equality (Steans, 2006: 17; Hansen, 2010: 23-24). In contrast, postcolonial feminists suggest a means to establish gender equality by recognizing difference and diversity of experiences, and those marginalized voices in diverse historical setting and contexts (Freedman, 2007: 53). This concept seems to be useful

for this study as peacekeeping usually occurs in developing and often in postcolonial countries (Pearson Centre, 2012). Therefore, applying postcolonial feminist's idea will provide a framework to assess how the implementation of SCR 1325 by UN peacekeeping acknowledges diversity and differences in establishment of gender equality in different contexts.

Organization of the paper

The paper is organized into four chapters. The first chapter will discuss the theoretical framework, the concept of gender, the development of feminism and how feminism employs gender as an analysis tool to explain gender inequality and establish gender equality in IR. Also, this chapter will indicate the background and concept of postcolonial feminism, applied as the theoretical framework in evaluating the implementation of the SCR 1325. Chapter two will firstly provide the background of UN Peacekeeping, DPKO, and its role in implementing SCR 1325. Then, the implementation of SCR 1325 at DPKO as the policy level of UN peacekeeping will be discussed and evaluated. Chapter three will focus on the evaluation of peacekeeping at operational levels, exemplified by the UNMIL. This chapter will start with a brief background of UNMIL and follow with a discussion and an evaluation of its implementation of SCR 1325. The last chapter will evaluate the findings of the implementation of UN peacekeeping at policy and operational levels and will compare with implementation in other UN missions. This chapter will discuss and indicate whether or not the implementation can achieve gender equality in accordance with the idea of postcolonial feminism.

CHAPTER I

Theoretical Framework

This chapter explains the theoretical framework, feminism, for evaluating the implementation of SCR 1325. Feminism is adopted as it is an approach to study IR by highlighting the imbalance of power relations and seeks ways to establish gender equality (Lorber, 2001: 1). Feminism is diverse and has distinct strands which uses gender differently to explain gender inequality and distinctly suggests ways to achieve gender equality. However, this study focuses on postcolonial feminism because it can provide a substantive concept of gender equality in involving all people in society and is concerned with diversity and difference (Steans, 2006: 18 - 19). This chapter will be divided into three sections. Firstly, the background of gender will be discussed. Secondly, the background of feminism and how feminism applies gender into its approaches will be explained. Thirdly, the chapter will detail the background of postcolonial feminism and discuss how its concepts are applied in SCR 1325.

Gender

Gender seems to be a contested and an evolving concept. Gender was first used to explain the coding of language. Mikkola (2008) indicates that gender was first used to differentiate codes of language as masculine or feminine, for example, to describe articles in French as 'la' for feminine words and 'le' for masculine words. Later, the words sex and gender were employed by psychologists and medical researchers in the study of human behavior in the 1900s. Gender was understood as the 'natural and biological explanation' for human behavior based on the biological difference between females and males (Richardson, 2008:4). For example, women are believed to be more peaceful than men, whereas men are believed to be more aggressive than women by

biological difference (Shepherd, 2010: 8). The notion of gender in this period seems to interpret gender as inherited from biological difference.

Nevertheless, the assumption that 'gender is natural' was challenged by social scientists in the 1920s (Steans, 2006: 9). Social scientists indicate that sex is the biological difference between females and males, while gender is involved with the social meaning based on social values to femininity and masculinity (Richardson, 2008: 5). Feminist movements in the 1960s also agree with the meaning of gender termed by social scientists. Feminists clearly differentiate that sex is natural whereas gender is socially constructed. For example, Rubin (1975, in Mikkola, 2008) describes sex as the biological difference between females and males, while gender is a 'socially imposed division of the sexes'. Also, Oakley (1985:16) indicates that sex 'refers to the biological difference between male and female' while gender 'is a matter of culture...[which]...refers to the social classification into masculine and feminine'. Tickner and Sjoberg (2010:196) indicate that gender is a series of constructed characteristics defining women and men as they ought to be. Femininity, involved with weakness, emotionally, and dependent, is expected to be female's characteristics. In contrast, masculinity positions strength, rationally, and independent is associated with male's characteristics (Tickner and Sjoberg, 2010:196). The classification of gender gives males advantages over females. For instance, men, who are believed to be more rational and to have leadership qualities, are usually placed as leaders in the public sphere. Meanwhile, women, who are stereotyped as being emotional and weak, are shaped as followers and assigned private sphere roles such as caregivers and childrearing (Pilcher and Whelehan, 2004 : 59-60). Feminists indicate that the individual women and men may not only embody feminine or masculine

characteristics, but in fact, women may display masculine and vice versa (Tickner and Sjoberg, 2010: 196).

However, later development of the notion of gender widens the concept, concerning differences and diversity within society. Poststructuralists such as Foucault reject the notion of universality, which contributes an insight into the development of the gender concept (Steans, 2006: 10). The notion of gender has been expanded to make distinctions based on different social and historical contexts. For example, Butler (2006: 6) highlights that gender is not consistent in different historical contexts because gender is about an intersection of race, class, ethnic, sexuality and regional modalities of discursively constructed identities. Also, characteristics connected with femininity and masculinity 'vary across cultures, races, classes, and even age groups'. For example, Hispanics in the United States are subordinated under the construction of gender of Anglos (Peterson and Runyan: 1999: 30). This example illustrates that gender is not a universal construction, but is involved with the composition of a social structure. As discussed, gender is evolving and contested. The idea of gender has been expanded from the code of language usage and the interchangeable term of sex, the social construction of femininity and masculinity to the recognition of difference and diversity of races, classes, and socio-historical contexts.

Feminism

Feminism is a movement directed at unbalanced power relations to transform society into equality (Whitworth, 2006: 90). Feminism has contributed to IR by challenging the mainstream IR theories to reconsider the knowledge in world politics, for example, foreign policy, security, and international political economy (Tickner, 2008, 265; Hansen, 2010: 18). Feminism stresses that the knowledge of world politics

'has been created by men and is about men' (Tickner and Sjoberg, 2010: 197). For example, realism such as Morgenthau (1967: 26 Keohane, 1989: 246) defines power as 'men's control over the minds and action of other men'. This tends to marginalize women into the periphery of IR, though women are involved with world politics as activists, diplomats' wives, or sex workers in military bases (Enloe, 1990: 1-18). Also, the experience of women and other marginalized persons, impacted by global politics such as sexual violence during conflicts, poverty from sanctions, are neglected from the mainstream IR (Pankhurt, 2010: 148 – 158; Tickner and Sjoberg, 2010: 206 - 209). In contrast with the mainstream IR, which studies world politics by state-centric focus, feminism explains IR by focusing on people-center (Steans, 2006: 25 -26). To gain 'emancipatory knowledge', feminists use a bottom-up processes to highlight gender hierarchy in which locates women in subordinate positions in IR, such as studying from women's experiences, or discourse analysis focusing on the construction of femininity and masculinity (Hansen, 2010:18). For instance, Chinkin (1994: 326 - 330) studies women's experience to explore the issue of insecurity during conflict, and found that women faced insecurity, for example, sexual violence, which impacts on women's lives by enforcing pregnancy and sexually transmitted diseases.

Furthermore, feminists bring knowledge into practice by reforming the patriarchal structure to establish gender equality in IR, for example, by changing legislation, re-conceptualizing traditional attitudes towards expectations between women and men (Sjoberg and Tickner, 2011: 6). For instance, feminists indicate that sexual violence against women is not a phenomenon, but it is the result of unequal social structures (Skjelsbaek and Smith, 2001: 5; Parkhurt, 2010: 152). Then, feminists raise the issue of rape into the international arena, which has changed global community to be concerned and act against this issue. Consequently, rape and other

sexual violence is recognized as a security issue and needs a collective security response (IPU, 2008: 3).

To gain and bring knowledge into practice, Feminism uses gender as an analytical tool (Hansen, 2010:18; Steans, 2006:9). Although feminism in IR is divided into five approaches, the development of gender concepts in feminism can be divided into three waves (Lorber, 2001: 1 - 5). The first wave of feminism, which is liberal feminism, uses 'gender as an explanatory variable' in explaining an inequality between women and men (Ticker and Sjoberg, 2010: 199). The first wave calls attention to an invisibility of women and a marginalization of women' rights; therefore, they focus on liberating women by claiming to expand the rights of women to be equal to men, for example, an equal right to education and suffrage (Colebrook, 2004: 119). Colebrook (2004: 122) indicates that the first wave believes that 'as long as one accepted the rights of men, one would have to accept the rights of women'. MacKinnon (in Charlesworth, 1994: 66 - 67) also raises that law is a means to liberate women from inequality by stressing that 'the law should support freedom from systematic subordination because of sex'. This illustrates that the first wave feminism believes that discrimination against and subordination of women is caused by gender, which is socially constructed based on biological difference. To provide equal rights, the same rights should be granted for both sexes.

In contrast, the second wave feminism, which is standpoint feminism and critical feminism, argues that expanding equal rights from men to women is not sufficient for the establishment of equality (Lorber, 2001: 10). The second wave uses 'gender as a variable' to indicate that femininity and masculinity and power relations between women and men in society is socially constructed through institutions such as family, economics, and politics, leading to inequalities (Colebrook, 2004: 127 -130).

Therefore, patriarchy, an unbalanced power structure dominated by males, should be highlighted (Pilcher and Whelehan, 2004:145). For example, Chodorow (in Tong, 2009: 143-145) illustrates that socialization, a process of learning, forms ideas of femininity and masculinity and locates women and men in different positions and status. Both sexes are treated in different ways according to the expectations of society. Girls are often treated as followers while boys are expected to be leaders, leading to their distinct self identity; therefore, social construction should be reformed (Steans, 2006: 14). This illustrates that the second wave investigates gender in terms of the construction of femininity and masculinity, the root cause of inequality.

Meanwhile, the third wave feminism, which is poststructuralist feminism and postcolonial feminism, challenges the first and second wave by rejecting the notion of the universality of gender (Lorber, 2001: 11). Although, the third wave feminists agree that gender hierarchy is the root cause of inequality, they argue that gender is not universal. Gender is particular and distinct in different societies (Steans et al, 2010: 163). Third wave feminists such as Mohanty (2003: 58 -59) indicate that gender is involved with race, class, sexuality and ethnicity. Thus, the third wave feminism seeks to explain how gender oppression and other kinds of human oppression 'co-create and co-maintain each other' (Tong, 2009: 285). Therefore, they stress differences and deconstruction of gender (Mann and Huffman, 2005: 56). The third wave argues that to 'bring gender in' in IR is not enough, but gender should be used to analyze the subordination in different contexts and cultures (Hansen, 2010: 23 -24). The third wave explores the issues of gender inequality through the construction of language or specific women's experiences in specific societies or cultures. For example, Smith (1983 in Mann and Huffman, 2005: 59) highlights that ethnicity contributes to

‘multiple and simultaneous oppression’. This shows that third wave feminism focuses on difference and diversity as the core movement.

Postcolonial Feminism: The Methodology to Evaluate the Implementation of SCR 1325

Background and Concept of Postcolonial Feminism

Postcolonial feminism is a movement in the third wave of feminism (Lorber, 2001: 12). The idea of postcolonial feminism develops from both the postcolonialism and the feminism perspectives. Postcolonialism highlights power relations in global politics that are operated at ‘the intersection’ of class, racial, and gendered difference (Smith and Owens, 2008: 188). Similarly, postcolonial feminism agrees that the dimension of class, race, and gender influences the hierarchy and inequality within IR. Therefore, postcolonial feminists reject the notion of the universality of women, they believe that women are not one category and have diversity and differences (Steans, 2006:18). Postcolonial feminism also believes with postcolonialism, that power relations arising from imperialism bring the dominated and subordinated relationships (Tickner and Sjoberg, 2010: 202). However, postcolonial feminism focuses more on the way that western feminists construct and dominate the way of thinking over non-western feminists, which may lead to a new form of colonialism (Steans, 2006: 18).

The movement of postcolonial feminism involves two aspects; to racialise mainstream feminists and to raise the awareness of the colonialism and postcolonialism (Lewis and Mills, 2003:3). Firstly, postcolonial feminism highlights that gender is an intersection, involved with race, class, and economic status. The intersection explains the double hierarchy, which is constructed in IR. Postcolonial feminism challenges the universality of knowledge, which is constructed by western ‘privileged academic intellectuals (men and women)’ (Smith and Owen, 2008: 184). For instance, Mohanty

(2003:53) highlights that the subordination cannot be understood by homogenizing women into one category. Gender hierarchy is constructed within a multi-faceted of society, including class, race, ethnicity, and sexuality. Hence, specific culture and local historical context should be examined to explain inequality (Mohanty, 2003: 63). Freedman (2007: 38) is another postcolonial feminist who rejects the universality of women, which fails to listen to the voice of local women. Stereotyping all women as a homogeny undermines the understanding of the diversity of women. Therefore, postcolonial feminism seeks knowledge by recognizing the diversity of women in different contexts. The second aspect is to raise the awareness to re-conceptualize the idea of colonialism and post-colonialism (Lewis and Mills, 2003:3). Postcolonial feminism indicates that women in postcolonial societies are always perceived as ‘voiceless victims’ whereas men are portrayed as ‘perpetrators’. In contrast, western women are portrayed as ‘empower[ed] and modern and western men are progressive’ (Bendix, 2009: 21). When women in postcolonial countries are seen as ‘powerless’, this leads to ‘ethnocentric knowledge’ which western feminists are dominated and ignore the knowledge and potential of postcolonial people (Mohanty, 2003: 49 - 51).

In terms of gender equality, postcolonial feminists argue that the sameness of rights and gender balance, the perspective of liberal feminism, cannot alone bring substantive gender equality (Lorber, 2001:11). Postcolonial feminists agree that patriarchal structures are the roots of gender inequality. However, they emphasize that gender inequality has multiple causes, which are involved with race, ethnicity, and class. They also highlight that women and men in the same economic status or race may face a common subordination (Lorber, 2001:13). This illustrates that gender equality of postcolonial feminism is not simply about women’s issues. It expands gender equality from the equality between women and men to equality among other

groups who are marginalized in society. Furthermore, postcolonial feminism focuses on studying the struggle against gender oppression in specific societies. The understanding of complexities of gender inequality in a specific society is at the heart of the movement of postcolonial feminism (Steans, 2006: 19).

The Contribution of Postcolonial Feminism in SCR 1325

SCR 1325 seems to portray various strands of feminist approaches. However, the idea of postcolonial feminism can be found in SCR 1325 in two aspects. First, the resolution clearly acknowledges diversity and difference among women. This can be illustrated in article 8 (b) of the resolution in supporting ‘local women’s peace initiatives and indigenous process for conflict resolution, and [measures] involve women in all of the implementation’. Additionally, the article 15 shows an important in respecting local voices by seeking consultations with local women’s groups (SC, 2000: 3). This shows that the resolution takes account of diversity, the specific concerns of women and the inclusion of local women’s voices based on the idea of postcolonial feminism. Secondly, though, the concept of gender and how gender equality is acknowledged is not explained clearly in the resolution, it can be inferred from the Report of UN Secretary-General on the implementation of SCR 1325 in 2002. The report defines gender as ‘the socially constructed roles ascribed to women and men, as opposed to biological and physical characteristics. Gender roles vary according to socio-economic, political, and cultural contexts and are affected by other factors, including age, race, class and ethnicity’ (UN 2002:4). Meanwhile, gender equality is ‘a goal to ensure equal rights, responsibilities and opportunities for women and men, and girls and boys’ (UN 2002:4). These definitions illustrate that the resolution acknowledges that gender is involved with race, class, and ethnicity. Also, gender equality does not ensure fairness only for women, but is about all people. Nevertheless,

the problem of not having a clear statement on the concept of gender and gender equality in the resolution is that interpretation may affect the implementation at operational levels in achieving gender equality, based on postcolonial feminist analysis. For example, the concept of gender may be employed as a synonym for women (Hudson, 2010: 50). Also, men are boy has been widely disregarded in the implementation (Connell, 2005:1805).

The perspective of postcolonial feminism on gender equality in, 1) not equating gender into a women's issue, but recognizing the marginalization stemming from gender hierarchy, 2) recognizing diversity, difference, and specific contexts to establish gender equality, and 3) concern over the domination of 'western' feminism, which may impact on established gender equality in specific context, will be applied to evaluate effect of the implementation of SCR 1325 on gender equality.

Chapter II

Evaluation of the Implementation of SCR 1325 on Gender Equality UN peacekeeping at Policy Level

This chapter will evaluate UN peacekeeping at policy level, focusing on the Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO), the policy directive unit of UN peacekeeping (DPKO, 2012a). Firstly, the background of UN peacekeeping, the DPKO, and its roles in implementing SCR 1325 will be explained. Secondly, the evaluation of the implementation of SCR 1325 by DPKO will be discussed under the three themes of the resolution: women's participation, gender mainstreaming, and gender-based violence, based on postcolonial feminism's perspective on gender equality.

UN Peacekeeping, DPKO and its role in implementing SCR 1325

UN peacekeeping, started in 1948 during the Cold war era, aims to help 'countries torn by conflict [and] create conditions for lasting peace' (UN, 2012b). Nevertheless, the meaning and the scope of UN peacekeeping seem to be vague. Fetherston (1994: 128) highlights 'the real difficulty in providing a comprehensive functional definition of peacekeeping is that as peacekeeping takes on more and more functions...'. Also, 'there is no consensus on what activities constitute' peacekeeping (Bellamy et al, 2004: 95). Bellamy et al (2004: 95-98) suggest that peacekeeping covers two aspects 1) traditional peacekeeping activities, including ceasefires, stabilization of situations, and political settlements, and 2) widen peacekeeping activities, which are expanded from traditional peacekeeping, for example, separation of forces, supervision of elections, and humanitarian aid. In real practice, UN peacekeeping is 'rarely limited to one type of activity' (UN 2012b). UN peacekeeping's

activities are mixed with traditional activities in maintaining peace and security, and involved with wide post-conflict activities to restore peace, for example, supporting the organization of elections, or protecting and promoting human rights. In many cases, peacekeeping also deals with peace building, which is the attempted establishment of the foundations of peace to provide the sustainable peace and avoid a relapse into conflict (UN 2012d). This illustrates that UN peacekeeping mandates engage with multidimensional activities ranging from coping with conflicts until restoring peace and establishing sustainability, which may depend on the conflict situations.

Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) is an organization under UN authority. DPKO works as a policy unit in providing political, executive direction, guidance and support to all peacekeeping operations. The first UN peacekeeping mission was deployed in 1948 in the Middle East, but DPKO was not established formally until 1992 (UN 2012e). DPKO doesn't have its own troops; all forces come from UN member states military, police, and civilian personnel (UN 2012e). Since 1948, 67 missions have operated to bring peace and security, of which 17 missions are currently active in five continents including Africa, Americas, Asia and the Pacific, Europe, and the Middle East (DPKO, 2012b).

Since the adoption of SCR 1325, DPKO seems to be at the core of actions on this resolution which directly addressed the unit's mandate on peace processes, for example, the importance of women's participation and roles in all peace processes and the need to mainstream gender in peacekeeping operations (UN, 2000). Nevertheless, DPKO is considered as a strongly masculine unit. DPKO is involved with security, which is perceived as 'men's businesses' (Whitworth, 2004: 3). Also, the main actors in providing peacekeeping are soldiers, who are constructed as strong and aggressive to provide protection and security (Whitworth, 2004: 4-5). However, the SCR 1325 seems

to have provided DPKO with awareness of gender issues. DPKO has put gender issues as one core issues in peacekeeping mandates by integrating gender based on SCR 1325 both in the DPKO and in the host countries (DPKO, 2004: 21; 2010:11). For example, DPKO has increased the number of women's participation in peace and security processes (DPKO, 2005: 1). Also, a gender perspective has integrated into the work processes of DPKO such as the Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration process to recognize the need of ex-female combatants (DPKO, 2010:21).

Evaluation of the Implementation by DPKO of the Three Themes of SCR 1325

In general, the concept of gender equality in DPKO seems to go in line with the idea of postcolonial feminism on gender equality. This can be illustrated from the concept and the methods of DPKO to implement SCR 1325. Conceptually, DPKO (2006: 8) stresses explicitly in the Policy Directive on Gender Equality that gender equality is 'the equal rights, responsibilities and opportunities of women and men and girls and boys'. Furthermore, the Policy focuses on 'recognizing the diversity of different groups of women and men' (DPKO, 2006: 8). These can be in accordance with the concept of postcolonial feminism in which gender equality is not only women's issues, but also considers marginalized lives in societies, diversities and difference based on race, class, and historical contexts (Mohanty, 2003: 55-56; Ang, 2003: 204). In terms of method, DPKO documentations such as Gender Resource Package (2004: 3) are aware that gender mainstreaming 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'. This also shows that DPKO's policy reflects that gender mainstreaming is a means to achieve gender equality, when it addresses different needs and obstacles among different people in societies. As postcolonial feminists such as Maynard (1994: 16) suggests, building gender equality, different experiences must be taken into account as the experiences are impacted on by race, class, and sexuality due to the power relations in society.

Nevertheless, the following evaluation of the implementation of SCR 1325 by DPKO in the three themes, including women's participation, gender mainstreaming, and gender-based violence, seems to contrast with the DPKO's commitment on gender equality.

Women's Participation

SCR 1325 stresses the important of women's participation in all peace process in three areas by 1) increasing the representation of women at all levels (article 1), 2) appointing more women in decision making positions (article2), and 3) expanding roles and contribution of women especially in military, police, and humanitarian personnel (Article 4) (UN, 2000: 2). Therefore, this evaluation will examine actions based on these three issues of the resolution.

The first issue is an increase of women's representation. Although women have been more visible in peacekeeping, DPKO seems to increase only a minimal number of female peacekeepers. The number of women represented in all peacekeeping positions can be tracked since 2005 because DPKO started to collect sex-disaggregated data in 2005, five years after the adoption of SCR 1325 (DPKO, 2012b). The statistics by DPKO (2012b) revealed that in 2010 women represented only 3.33% in peacekeeping, which increased from 1.50% in 2005. When comparing among three categories of UN peacekeeping forces: UN military experts on mission, troops, and police, the statistics

showed that most women were represented in police forces, 8.70% in 2010. Meanwhile, women serving as UN military experts on Mission were approximately 4.14%, increased from 2.01% in 2005. In contrast, women represented only 2.42% in peacekeeping troops, this increased from 1.63% in 2005. The statistics illustrate the number of women had slowly increased after the tenth anniversary of SCR 1325. The UN aims to achieve 50/50 gender distribution at all levels of UN peacekeeping (DPKO, 2004: 69). However, the statistics prove that UN peacekeeping still has far to go to increase the number of women in peacekeeping.

The second issue is an increase of women in decision making, especially of special representatives. The implementation of DPKO in this respect seems not to have progressed because the number of women in decision making posts is significantly low. A Special Representative of the Secretary-General (SRSG) is the head of peacekeeping missions, who is considered as the most powerful decision maker in missions. The SRSG is responsible for managing, providing direction and guidance to missions in order to provide security for host countries and safety of personnel (DPKO, 2003: 17 - 18). The appointment system of a SRSG is a closed selection process within the UN Secretariat. Therefore, the SRSG in each mission is a person nominated by DPKO and states (DPKO, 2003: 18). Throughout the 60 years of the history of UN peacekeeping (1948 -2008), only seven women have been appointed as SRSG. Since the adoption of SCR 1325, only three women have been assigned as SRSG (Conaway and Shoemaker, 2008: 29). Presently, among all 17 DPKO active missions, there is only one female SRSG in Liberia and four women deputies in the Burundi, Chad, Liberia, and Sudan missions (UN, 2012f). This may illustrate a rigorous male-domination in peacekeeping's culture, in which women find difficulty being nominated in decision making posts. Conaway and Shoemaker (2008: 1) explain that the lack of women in

senior positions in the UN peacekeeping missions ‘reflects the reality that significant cultural and institutional impediments remain to women’s entry and advancement within the UN’. The study of Conaway and Shoemaker (2008: 27) found that ‘the male-dominated Secretariat maintains inherent biases against appointing women to “serious” missions’. Also, some men still believe that women will not be taken seriously in negotiations. This shows that the implementation of DPKO cannot break through the rigorous gender stereotyping within UN peacekeeping, which is one of continuing obstacles in achieving women’s participation.

The last issue is to expand the role of women in peacekeeping. Though, DPKO has tried to include women as peacekeepers, the role of women seems to be limited to traditional roles. The number of women in military personnel has been increasing. In 1993, women made up only 1% of peacekeeping troops. Currently, women constitute 3% of military personnel and 10% of police personnel (DPKO, 2012b). Women have apparently become more welcome to participate in troops, which is a non-traditional duty of women. However, those women in the troops are mainly restricted to traditional roles. Juma and Makina (2008 in Bendix, 2009: 24) indicate that women soldiers are often restricted to traditional roles as nurses, cooks, and secretaries. Similarly, Hudson (2010: 49) highlights that women in peacekeeping tend to be promoted based on femininity such as ‘mothers, nurturers, and peacemakers’. Cohn (2004: 14) explains that women are limited in their peacekeeping roles because of the assumption that ‘women are naturally peaceful and that they have a natural contribution to make to peace building’. This perspective can be illustrated by the DPKO statements. For instance, women troops are inherently peaceful, which ‘help[s] to reduce conflict and confrontation, improve access and support for local women, and provide a greater sense of security to local populations, including women and children’(DPKO, 2012c).

Additionally, women are assigned to work in nurturing roles and traditional work for women, for instance, female peacekeepers are important for ‘empowering women in the host community, interviewing survivors of gender-based violence, and ‘performing the cordon and searching of women’ (DPKO, 2012c). This exemplifies that although women have been expanded to work in military and police personnel, their working is stereotyped into traditional ‘women’s work’ based on femininity.

The action of DPKO on the women’s representation issues seems to fail to achieve the concept of gender equality by postcolonial feminism. Firstly, DPKO appears to focus only on increasing the number of women in peacekeeping with less focus on changing the role of women from traditional roles to non-traditional roles. It may be argued that the resolution highlights a need to increase the number of women; however, promoting women in decision making and engaging women in non-traditional roles, which are also the aims of the resolution, should be paralleled with increasing women’s representation. Postcolonial feminists believe that substantive gender equality is not only focused on the representation of women, but also focuses on the social status of women. Also, they highlight the concept of gender equality based on social status of women and how an understanding of gender shapes the role of people in society (Lorber, 2001: 15). This illustrates that women’s representation in UN peacekeeping cannot accomplish gender equality as the roles for women are limited and associated with traditional femininity, for example nurturers or peacemakers.

Secondly, DPKO seems to neglect various social settings such politics and culture impact differently on women’s participation. Postcolonial feminism stresses that gender constructs are not universal, but based on contexts (Lewis and Mills, 2003: 3). Sharing responsibility and work life balance remains a problem of women’s participation in peacekeeping, which may vary based on the strength of the patriarchal

structure of a particular society. For example, in some societies, women ‘did not extend their tours due to spousal or other family considerations’ (Conaway and Shoemaker, 2008: 28). Furthermore, discrimination and gender bias hinders women’s participation in distinct ways. Conaway and Shoemaker (2008: 28) revealed that in some missions ‘women are perceived as sexual objects by their colleagues’, which may deter women from extending their contribution to missions. This portrays that various peacekeeping missions may contain different degrees of discrimination against women based on local culture. Therefore, pay regard to the social construction which impacts on achieving women’s participation should be more concerned in implementing SCR 1325.

Gender Mainstreaming

SCR 1325 urges the UN system and individual state members to adopt gender perspectives in all peace processes (Article 5 and 8) (SC, 2000: 2-3). DPKO (2005a:1) states that the resolution has provided a framework ‘for integrating gender perspectives into the implementation of peacekeeping mandates at policy and operational level’. During the first two years after the adoption of SCR 1325, DPKO seemed to mainly translate SCR 1325 into gender-sensitivity training. This illustrates from the first Report on Women, Peace and Security in 2002 that during 2001 - 2002, DPKO has located the training on gender-sensitivity in DPKO missions (UN 2002: 80). Although, a mechanism in implementing SCR 1325, for example a gender advisor was designed, it was temporary. Nevertheless, after 2003, DPKO seems to more focus on policy initiatives. Some remarkable implementation of mainstreaming gender to achieve SCR 1325 can be divided into two actions: building mechanisms and initiating policy guidance and tools.

Firstly, the Gender Adviser Unit and gender advisers were established as a mechanism to mainstream a gender perspective. UN claimed that the establishment of

gender advisers and the unit has made the most remarkable progress in the implementation of SCR 1325 (UN, 2004: 7). The Gender Adviser Unit was set up in 2003 to act as ‘a catalyst in supporting the mainstreaming of gender perspectives’ in all peacekeeping functions, and to ensure an effective gender mainstreaming strategy between missions and DPKO headquarters (DPKO, 2005b: 5). The unit provides guidance, cooperates with gender advisers in missions, and oversees the design of framework and action plans in implementing SCR 1325 (DPKO, 2005b: 5).

Meanwhile, gender advisers are designated to be responsible for supporting the implementation of SCR 1325 by initiating strategies for advancing women rights, promoting gender equality, training all staffs in peacekeeping operations and in host countries to bring gender awareness to all peace processes (DPKO, 2005b: 4). Some practical actions are 1) training staff to include a gender perspective into all work process, 2) supporting measures for preventing gender-based violence in the operations and host countries; and 3) supporting local women’s group and civil society with resources and conducting consultation with those groups to ensure their participation (DPKO, 2005b: 4). UN (2004: 7) claimed that ‘gender concerns are raised in all new peacekeeping mandates’ because the mission is comprised of gender advisers. Presently, DPKO assigns ten gender advisers to 10 missions out of 17 missions (DPKO, 2012d).

Nevertheless, gender advisers and the unit seem to be only burdened with gender mainstreaming, while it is neglected from mainline UN peacekeeping units. DPKO seems to expect that gender advisers are solely responsible for all gender tasks. Puechguirbal (2010: 167) indicates that the burden of gender mainstreaming is only on ‘the shoulder of the advisors’, which marginalizes gender issues in the peacekeeping process. Also, gender advisors tend to work separately from the mainline peacekeeping,

leading to gender issues being separated from other peacekeeping mandates. Whitworth (2004:131) highlights that a separate gender unit tends to work as a liaison between themselves and local women's NGOs, 'while other local political actors-the majority of whom will likely be men-deal with UN officials in the mainline departments and offices, the majority of whom are also men and who often enjoy more direct access to the chief of the mission'. This appears that gender advisers may achieve some aims of gender mainstreaming, which is an assessment of impacts and beneficiaries on women in policies and programmes of peacekeeping. Also, local women's voices may be included in peacekeeping systems, which touch upon some aspects of postcolonial feminism on the need to recognize the local voice. Nevertheless, it seems that gender issues are equated to women's issues and cannot mainstream gender perspectives into the system of peacekeeping. Hudson (2010: 61) stresses that the separate gender unit has tried to include women's voices into the structure of existing peacekeeping, but 'gender mainstreaming is minimized and equivalent to 'women's issues''. This contrasts with the gender equality of postcolonial feminism, which is involved with all marginalized people (Bendix, 2009:17).

Secondly, DPKO launched policy guidance and tools for gender mainstreaming. The Policy Directive on Gender Equality in Peacekeeping Operations was launched in 2006. The aims are to 1) ensure 'the equal participation of women, men, girls and boy in all peace keeping activities', 2) employ gender mainstreaming as a strategy in advancing gender equality, and 3) be a guideline in implementing SCR 1325 (DPKO, 2006: 2). The policy stresses the mandate of UN peacekeeping in ensuring gender equality through gender mainstreaming in the peace process. For example, in the restoration of stability, peacekeepers must be aware of the issue of gender-based

violence, full application of equal rights in law enforcement, and build the capacity of national administrators on gender perspectives (DPKO, 2006: 3-7).

Gender Resource Package for Peacekeeping Operations, launched in 2004, seems to be a practical tool in integrating gender issues into peacekeeping operations. The package reiterates the importance of SCR 1325 and the mandate of DPKO for integrating gender issues into achieve gender equality (DPKO, 2004: xii). The package suggests means to integrate gender in peacekeeping operations since planning through evaluation process is based on SCR 1325. For example, in the planning and monitoring process, the package provides a 'Gender Checklist' to ensure gender integration in missions (DPKO, 2004: 32). The checklist is divided into fifteen sections based on the activities of DPKO such as political and civil affairs, humanitarian affairs and human rights. Each section contains questions, which guarantee to incorporate gender into peacekeeping activities. For instance, 'Do women and men have an equal opportunity to register to vote, to cast their votes and to run for office in elections?' , 'What are the basic needs of displaced and host populations - how do they differ for women/girls and men/boys?' (DPKO, 2004: 209). Furthermore, the package advises practical measures to work on gender issues in specific areas such as gender balance and civil personnel, gender and the military. For instance, in gender balancing, the package suggests measures such as collecting sex-disaggregated data, training staff in gender and cultural awareness, and increasing the non-traditional roles of women or men (DPKO, 2004: 68-75).

DPKO seems to provide comprehensive and practical policies and tools for UN peacekeeping. UN (2004: 8) claimed that the package enables significant progress in providing guidance 'on gender issues in the various functional areas covered by multidimensional peacekeeping operations'. However, the gender policy and tools

seem to be only 'add-on' guidance for UN peacekeeping. From the website of the DPKO, both the Policy Directive on Gender Equality and the Gender Resource Package are classified as 'additional policy and guidance', apart from the main UN peacekeeping policy such as the Handbook on UN Multidimensional Peacekeeping (UN, 2012e). This illustrates that gender mainstreaming is an 'add on' issue within peacekeeping. Whitworth (2004: 137) indicates that while gender mainstreaming only supplements the work of UN peacekeeping, it cannot transform the UN task on peace process. Barnes (2006: 24) also indicates that gender mainstreaming appears only 'tokenism'. Similarly, Whitworth (2004: 139) stresses that 'gender has become a safe idea that the manner in which it has been used within a UN understanding of peace and security issues has transformed it from a critical to a problem solving tool, which does not challenge prevailing practices'. UN peacekeeping seems to 'add women and stir' by only focusing on bringing the visibility of women into existing structures and processes, but 'the operative maxim seems to have become 'add women and do NOT stir' (Burnes, 2006: 24-25). This implementation contrasts with the idea of postcolonial feminism, which requires the reformation of structures to achieve gender equality (Lorber, 2001:15).

Gender-based Violence (GBV)

SCR 1325 stresses the protection of the rights women and girls, especially GBV (article 10) (SC, 2000:3). DPKO recognizes GBV is 'acts of physical, sexual and psychological violence' such as rape, sexual abuse, sexual harassment, forced prostitution, and trafficking (UN, 2004: 219). The work of DPKO in this area can be divided into two areas.

Firstly, DPKO reforms its system to prevent GBV. Much evidence has highlighted that sexual violence against civilians is committed by peacekeepers. For

example, UN peacekeepers and humanitarian workers were reported as committing widespread sexual exploitation and abuse of refugee and displaced women and children in West Africa (UN, 2002: 1). Furthermore, ‘some UN soldiers were accused of sexually abusing minors, trading food for sex, child rape and organising a child prostitution in Bunia, north eastern DRC’ (IRIN, 2012). Therefore, GBV is located as a central issue in the implementation of SCR 1325, to protect the rights of women and girls (DPKO, 2004). The Zero-tolerance policy on GBV by the Secretary-General has been adopted as a goal of DPKO in preventing the misconduct of peacekeepers (DPKO, 2004: 51). DPKO has formulated guidelines for all peacekeepers to give direction on preventing sexual violence against women and girls (UN, 2006: 7; 2010: 10). For example, in the Gender Resource Package, sexual exploitation, sexual abuse, and sexual harassment are defined as ‘serious misconduct’ by the DPKO. Additionally, DPKO has included GBV into gender-sensitivity training for peacekeepers (UN, 2006: 7). Commanders in peacekeeping are designated to be accountable for the prevention of GBV, investigations, and follow-up the cases of misconduct by peacekeepers (UN, 2005: 48).

Secondly, DPKO cooperates with other UN entities to prevent and protect from GBV in the field. For instance, DPKO partnered with UNIFEM (presently UN WOMEN) and UN Action launched a manual on ‘Addressing conflict-related sexual violence-an analytical inventory of peacekeeping practice’, which provides best practice for military peacekeepers to prevent sexual violence against women and girls. DPKO claims that this can increase awareness of and improve capacities to prevent and tackle GBV (DPKO, 2010: 33). Additionally, DPKO through gender advisors facilitate host countries establishing legislation, especially to abolish impunity from prosecution

for GBV, to develop national strategies to combat GBV, and training of judiciary and police to provide protection for women and girls (UN, 2002: 48; DPKO, 2010 : 29 -30).

Though, DPKO has implemented various activities within UN peacekeeping, the misconduct of peacekeepers remains challenge. Carey (2007: 62) suggests the situation of women's rights has worsened. Peacekeepers committed sexual violence in many missions such as Bosnia, Haiti, Somalia, Sierra Leone, Liberia and Kosovo. Those peacekeepers 'have had immunity in their home countries and abroad because they helped to stop wars' (Carey, 2001: 62). Also, there have been no 'tit-for-tat extra-judicial executions, or abandoning of babies resulting from consensual sex'. For example, 'irate mothers' in Sierra Leone have raised their Western African peacekeepers' babies when Nigerian peacekeeping troops departed. (Carey, 2001: 62). Furthermore, effective monitoring methods on GBV are lacking (UN, 2010:1). During armed conflict, GBV remains widespread, and it seems to be used as a weapon of war. The rape in July 2010 of over 200 women and girls in Congo has proved the severity of GBV (UN, 2010: 1). This illustrates that the regulation, punishment, and monitoring system cannot influence the conduct of peacekeepers. Postcolonial feminism highlights that laws alone cannot bring about gender equality, but that reforming the construction of a gendered hierarchy, which influences the conduct of peacekeepers is a substantive way against GBV (Bendix, 2010: 17).

The actions taken by the DPKO on GBV seems fall short of the substance of gender equality based on postcolonial feminism because DPKO seems to minimize GBV as 'only' violence against women and girls. This is illustrated from some language of UN peacekeeping, acknowledged GBV as only a women issue. For example, GBV is defined as 'a form of discrimination that seriously inhibits the ability of women to enjoy their rights and freedoms on a basis of equality with men' (UN,

2002:16). Also, the training on GBV by DPKO seems to stress ‘only’ the protection of ‘women and girls’ from GBV (UN, 2005: 14). It may be argued that women and girls are mainly victims of GBV. Nevertheless, men, in fact, also face GBV. Men are victims of GBV in many situations, for instance, during war, in prisons, and in intimate relationships (Bendix, 2009: 19). Stemple (2009: 613) revealed that sexual violence against men was prevalent during war and conflicted situations, for example, in Congo and the former Yugoslavia. Ignoring GBV against men cannot attain the goal of gender equality as described by postcolonial feminists as gender equality is for all people. Additionally, when GBV is reduced to a women’s issue, the shaping of gender and its impacts on GBV, is neglected. Connell (2007) and Stemple (2009: 611) highlight that masculinity impacts on the level of GBV, for instance, ‘a gang culture’ of troops and ‘a macho gun culture’ to militarise police forces put the lives of civilians at risk and tends to increase violence, especially GBV. Mobekk (2010: 287) also indicates that evidence in Haiti shows that GBV is associated with the number of armed gangs. Hence, neglecting the construction of gender involved with GBV is in contrast with postcolonial feminism’s idea on the investment in a gender hierarchy (Bendix, 2010: 17).

This chapter concludes that though UN peacekeeping at policy level by DPKO has been implemented SCR 1325, and various progress have been made, the DPKO seems not to have achieved the goal of gender equality based on the perspective of postcolonial feminism. In women’s participation, DPKO focuses only on increasing the number of women, but with less focus on expanding women’s activities to non-traditional roles. Although women seem to be granted more opportunities in troops, female troops are limited to work to traditional roles. This illustrates that DPKO reproduces gender stereotypes. Also, the different social settings, politics, culture

which impact on women's participation are neglected. In gender mainstreaming, DPKO has established the Gender Adviser Unit and gender advisers as a mechanism for apparently implementing the resolution. However, gender mainstreaming is only the burden of gender advisers, who cannot act alone to mainstream gender into mainline peacekeeping activities. Although, DPKO seems to provide comprehensive and practical policies and tools to integrate gender, gender policy and tools are only an 'add-on' and are example of 'tokenism' in the work of UN peacekeeping. In respect of GBV, DPKO seems to minimize violence against women and girls. Nevertheless, men, who also face violence, are ignored. Also, the gender aspect which is associated with GBV is neglected. These hinder the establishment of gender equality based on the postcolonial feminist's view.

CHAPTER III

Evaluation of the Implementation of SCR 1325 on Gender Equality of UN peacekeeping at Operational Level

This chapter will examine the implementation of SCR 1325 on gender equality in UN peacekeeping at the operational level. United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL) is selected as a case study because the mission is claimed as ‘the first UN peacekeeping mission to include an explicit gender mandate’ (DPKO, 2005a: 31). Furthermore, UNMIL is claimed as best practice in establishing gender equality based on SCR 1325 (UNMIL, 2010: vii). The chapter is organized into two sections. The first section will provide some background on UNMIL. The second section will discuss and examine the implementation of SCR 1325 by UNMIL, based on postcolonial feminist perspectives, in three areas of the resolution: women’s participation, gender mainstreaming, and gender-based violence.

Background of UNMIL

UNMIL was established in September, 2003 due to SCR 1509 to maintain peace and security in Liberia (UN, 2003a: 2). Liberia, a country located to the west of South Africa, suffered from the 14 year civil war, which began in late 1989 by the fighting between the government forces and those of the National Patriotic Front of Liberia, led by the former government official, Mr. Charles Taylor (UNMIL, 2012a). The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), sub-regional organization, mediated a peace settlement. Also, UN established the United National Observer Mission in Liberia to support ECOWAS to bring stability to Liberia. Nevertheless, the situation remains tense and has led to severe human rights violation, for example, ‘arbitrary killings, disappearance, torture, widespread rape and sexual

violence' (UN, 2003b: 6). Since the war started, an estimated 250,000 people have died (UN, 2003b:6). Also, approximately 500,000 are displaced and 300,000 are refugees (UN, 2003b:7). Finally, a peace agreement was signed in August 2003, followed by the establishment of UNMIL (SC, 2003: 2).

UNMIL is a multi-dimensional operation to support the implementation of the ceasefire agreement, protect civilians and UN staff, and facilitate humanitarian and human rights assistance as well as to support security reform and implement the peace process (SC, 2003: 3-6). UNMIL is equipped with 9,187 uniformed personnel including 7,741 troops, 127 military observers and 1,319 police, 473 international civilian personnel, 994 local staff and 226 UN volunteers (as 3 August 2012) (UNMIL, 2012b).

Evaluation of the Implementation by UNMIL of the Three Themes of SCR 1325

UNMIL is considered as the first UN peacekeeping mission that stresses the implementation of SCR 1325 explicitly. SCR 1590 reaffirms in article 11 on the importance of a gender perspective in the peace process in compliant with SCR 1325, and 'recalls the need to address violence against women and girls as a tool of warfare, and encourages UNMIL as well as the Liberian parties to actively address these issues' (SC, 2003: 5). UNMIL recognizes that the goal of SCR 1325 is to achieve gender equality, which is to ensure that the contributions, needs, and priorities of people are taken into account in all processes that 'creates greater equality and access to resources' and benefits for all (UNMIL, 2010: 2). This shows that gender equality ideally involves all people in society to gain equality and equity, which seems to be in accordance with the postcolonial feminism perspective. Nevertheless, when critically examined as the

three themes of SCR 1325 including women's participation, gender mainstreaming, and GBV, the result seems to be in contrast with its recognition of gender equality.

Women's Participation

SCR 1325 calls for gender balanced representation and the participation of women in all peace processes and the post-conflict reconstruction (SC, 2000: 2). The implementation of UNMIL on women's participation can be divided into work inside mission and work with the host country.

Inside the mission, UNMIL has contributed to increasing the participation of women. UNMIL is the only UN peacekeeping mission out of 17 that is commanded by the female Head of the Mission, Ms Karin Landgrem (UN, 2012f). This can be claimed as a success in appointing women into the highest level of decision makers in accordance with article 3 of SCR 1325, which requires 'to appoint more women as special representative'(UN, 2000: 2). UNMIL (2010: 39) reports that the mission has slightly higher numbers of female peacekeepers than the average rate. From the available data (DPKO: 2012e) which can be tracked back in 2006, UNMIL had 337 female military officers from 14,304 officers, while there was no available sex-disaggregated data of police. Currently (as of July, 2012), 179 women are represented in the military, divided into 2 female military experts out of 132, and 177 female troops from a total of 7,629 personnel. Also, 176 women from 1,313 police constitute the police forces (DPKO, 2012e). UNMIL claims 'the first predominantly female police unit deployed in the history of the United Nations' (UN 2007: 4). In 2007, the first all-female Formed Police Unit (FPU), which consists of 56 female officers, was established as part of India's contribution to the UNMIL (Hudson, 2010: 55).

In working with the host country, UNMIL working with the Liberian Government and NGOs in increasing women's participation, the implementation is similar to that inside the mission, by focusing on the visibility of women. Firstly,

UNMIL facilitated the fair and transparent election in 2005. UNMIL claims that it was successful as approximately 50% of women came for the vote. Furthermore, the female President, President Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, was elected. Also, women can acquire decision making positions in the cabinet; there are five female ministers out of 21, and 21 female deputy and assistant ministers (GOL, 2008: 43). Secondly, UNMIL has contributed to strengthening the Liberia National Police (LNP) by developing a Gender Policy framework in 2005. The Policy aims to secure women's representation within the LNP, by setting a 15% quota for women and measures to improve recruitment (UNMIL, 2010: 19). Furthermore, the Educational Support Programme in 2006 has been launched to empower women to be recruited into the LPN (UNMIL, 2012c). Thirdly, the Bill of Gender Equity in Politics, aiming to increase women's political participation in governance, political parties and institutions has been introduced to parliament and is currently under consideration (Stubblefield, 2010: 3).

UNMIL can apparently bring visibility of women. Nevertheless, women are believed to join in peacekeeping and Liberia's administration with the traditional assumptions of feminine traits, which cannot achieve gender equality as defined by postcolonial feminism. This can be illustrated by the UNMIL report (2010: 39) that 'the deployment of female peacekeepers [...] is based on the presupposition that increasing the gender balance within a mission will increase the peace' Similarly, the President of Liberia perceives '[w]hat a woman brings to the task is extra sensitivity, more caring, [...] these are the characteristics that come from being a mother, taking care of a family, being concerned about children, managing the home' (Carvajal, 2010). This leads to the reproduction of the traditional roles for women. Jacob (2009: 65) highlights that the Nigerian female peacekeepers in Liberia hold largely traditional tasks such as cooks, nurses, clerks, and teachers. This contrasts with the postcolonial feminists' perspective,

which pursues more than bringing the visibility of women; as Nduka-Agwu (2009:15) indicates that the visibility of women is only symbolic gender equality. Gender equality is connected with a re-conceptualization of gender stereotypes and the elimination what constitutes gender bias (Stanley, 2009: 2). UN-INSTRAW (2004:7) stresses that women's representation in peace processes 'followed a familiar pattern' on increasing degree of participation; however, when the peace processes began 'the impetus of women and their competencies and contributions [were] completely overlooked'. This demonstrates that the representation of women in UNMIL focuses only on increasing number of women; however, perceptions of gender roles, which obstruct gender equality, are not reformed.

Gender Mainstreaming

The Office of Gender Advisor (OGA) is the main actor of UNMIL in bringing a gender perspective to all work of the mission (UNMIL, 2010: vii). OGA has contributed to mainstreaming gender within the mission and with the host country to support Liberia in gender integration.

Within the mission, OGA focuses on training peacekeepers to be sensitized and able to apply gender perspective in their work. A two-day compulsory training for all incoming staff has been organized to establish an understanding of gender issues, the impact of gender on policies and implementation, and methods to bring the gender perspective into their work (Nduka-Agwu, 2009: 190). OGA is also involved with the DDR process in raising awareness and concern for the need for female ex-combatants in accordance with article 13 of SCR 1325, which requires action to 'consider the different needs of female and male ex-combatants' (SC, 2000: 3). UNMIL has mainstreamed gender in the planning process by providing resources for the different needs of female ex-combatants, for example, 'separate facilities for men and women in

cantonment camps, specialized programmes for health and counselling' and empowerment programmes such as vocational training, both formal education and on-the-job training (UNMIL, 2010: 15).

In working with Liberia, UNMIL through OGA has supported Liberia at national and local levels. At national level, with support and guidance from OGA and other UN entities, such as UNDP and UNFPA, the Liberia National Action Plan for the Implementation of SCR 1325 was launched in 2009 (MoGD, 2009: 1). The Policy aims to promote the human rights of women and girls and guarantee their security by strengthening the coordination on gender mainstreaming, and the implementation of SCR 1325 from all levels (MoGD, 2009: 9). Furthermore, the National Gender Policy, seeking to enhance a government accountability system and mechanism for promoting gender equality, was launched in 2009 (UNMIL, 2012c). Additionally, the mechanisms to promote gender mainstreaming, such as gender focal points in the line ministries, has been set up to mainstream gender into policies and programmes (Stubblefield, 2010:3). At local levels, OGA enhances the capacity of governmental and non-governmental staff in gender mainstreaming through training programmes, providing technical advice and resources to increase the effectiveness of staff and their work (UNMIL, 2010: 26-27).

Nevertheless, the implementation of UNMIL in gender mainstreaming is problematic. Firstly, OGA, responsible for all gender mainstreaming in the UNMIL, is understaffed and has insufficient resources. In 2003, OGA was staffed 'only by a volunteer', who was responsible for training about 15,000 incoming troops. In 2008, 'gender office is again understaffed: only seven of the nine designated positions are filled and the position of senior gender advisor is vacant' (Nduka-Agwu, 2009:190). Furthermore, the research of Martin (2005: 9) found that OGA is blamed for the

shortage of ‘qualified gender experts’ and sufficient senior staff. Staff are ‘too junior to have meaningful influence on the leaders of the mission’ (Martin, 2005: 9). Though the SG stressed ‘the necessary financial and human resources for gender mainstreaming be a part of mission budgets’, there was no specific funding for gender mainstreaming (UN-INSTRAW, 2009: 11). This challenge may impact on the effectiveness of gender mainstreaming as UN-INSTRAW (2009: 15) indicates that without sustainable resources, gender mainstreaming cannot be effective.

Secondly, OGA seems to overlook the diversity sited in postcolonial feminism. In mainstreaming gender in Liberia with NGOs, Nduka-Agwu’s research (2009: 191) found that initially gender mainstreaming was not effective because of the language barrier. The locals did not understand the language that used by staff. This shows the neglect of local cultural difference. Though, English is an official language of Liberia, Liberia consists of 16 different ethnic groups and uses 16 ethnic languages (OECD, 2012). Additionally, NGOs in Monrovia, the capital city of Liberia, argue that UNMIL failed a consultation process because NGOs played a role only fixed the prepared project by OGA rather than ‘input of project’ (Nduka-Agwu, 2009: 195). Meanwhile, the work of OGA seems to be limited only to the capital. Aboagye and Bah (2004: 14) indicate that ‘there were no gender officers outside of the Monrovia area’. This illustrates that UNMIL is less concerned with cultural diversities, different local perspectives, and diversities of areas, in gender mainstreaming.

Gender-based Violence

The incidence of GBV remains prevalent in Liberia, especially sexual violence (CEDAW, 2009: 5; Human Rights Watch, 2011). Rape accounted for 73.9% of GBV, and the fighting forces are reported as the main perpetrators (UN-INSTRAW, 2009: 12), UNMIL has taken actions against this issue both within and outside the mission.

Within the mission, UNMIL has attempted to prevent GBV committed by peacekeepers, and has set up mechanisms to take action against perpetrators. Firstly, UNMIL established an understanding and awareness of GBV. The training course for new recruits of the mission includes the issue of GBV, for example, trafficking, forced marriages, infection with HIV/AIDS, and the impacts consequences of GBV (O'Neill, 2007: 6). Secondly, UNMIL established the Conduct and Discipline Unit (CDU) to respond with prevention and punishment to sexual misconduct (Nduka-Agwu, 2009: 192). Furthermore, focal points have been appointed for receiving complaints about sexual exploitation (UNMIL, 2012c)

UNMIL provides an apparently systematic approach against GBV within its mission, both preventative and with mechanisms for punishment. However, actions against GBV seem to be unsuccessful. Firstly, the efficiency of the CDU and punishment system is questioned. CDU office is understaffed with only five staff out of seven appointed to the unit structure (Nduka-Agwu, 2009: 193). This may lead to inefficient implementation; as (Nduka-Agwu, 2009: 192) found that 'victims advocates complained [on the failure] to follow up victims' charges'. Also, if a peacekeeper is reported to commanders and found guilty, that person is sent back to his country for discipline. Martin (2005: iii) indicates that 'it is very difficult, if not impossible, for victims and their families to determine what, if any, actions have been taken'. Furthermore, few cases of misconduct have been punished (Luppino and Webbe, 2011: 116). Secondly, the 'culture' of UN peacekeeping is another challenge. UNMIL seems to pay little attention to reporting of GBV incidents. Martin's research (2005: 7) found that UNMIL staffs 'were reluctant to report suspicious behavior'. Also, other GBV such as sexual exploitation seems to be neglected and perceived as a 'regular' issue. For example, in case of prostitution, which emerges along with peacekeeping sites,

some staff see 'sexual exploitation and abuse policy as a UN thing-not anything that they truly buy into' or 'some prostitution is not exploitative and that the Liberian women choose to be prostitutes' (Martin, 2005: 7, 15). Towards this culture, Higate (2003a: 27) indicates that the behavior, perspective and realization of peacekeepers 'have much in common with the activities of the so-called 'sex-tourist'. Martin (2005:15) interviewed UNMIL staff and found that the issue of sexual exploitation is put 'under the carpet' and 'no one will talk about this openly'. This suggests that sexual exploitation, one aspect of GBV based on a patriarchal culture, is neglected (CEDAW, 1992). This illustrates that UNMIL does not cover all forms of GBV and does not reform the UN culture that rooted in patriarchal culture as described by postcolonial feminism.

Outside the mission, UNMIL cooperates with other UN agencies and Liberia to eliminate GBV. These can be divided into four aspects. Firstly, guiding national policy, National Gender Based Violence Plan of Action has been formulated since 2006. The plan aims to prevent the high incidence of GBV, to provide support to survivors, and multi-disciplinary co-operation to tackle GBV (MoGD, 2006: 7-8). Secondly, laws against GBV have been enacted. Rape law was amended in 2006 to outlaw gang rape and provide a new penalty, at least 10 years to life sentence for maximum, for those who violate the law (GOL, 2008: 21-22). Thirdly, mechanisms have been established. The GBV Taskforce has been founded to enhance cooperation on countering GBV among government, non-governmental sectors, and UN agencies (MoGD, 2006: 15-16). Also, Women and Children Units (WCPU) were established at the police stations in 2005 to enhance law enforcement and provide protection for women and girls. Each unit is staffed by gender-sensitised officers, who are responsible for investigating GBV cases (Luppino and Webbe, 2011: 113). UNMIL claims that the units gain trust from

survivors, which can be indicated from the ‘dramatic increase in the number of women and children accessing their services’ and an increase of number of reported rape cases through this mechanism (UNMIL, 2010: 35). Additionally, a separate court dealing with rape and sexual offences cases was initiated in 2009 (UNCT, 2010: 2). Fourthly, UNMIL has been cooperated with the government and UN agencies raise awareness on GBV in the public. Campaigns aim to establish an understanding and to disseminate the messages about the rights of women and girls, for example, the Campaign against Sexual Exploitation and Abuse (2006-2008) and the Anti-Rape Campaign (2007-2008) (UNMIL, 2010: 33).

The action of UNMIL against GBV outside the mission is apparent progress. However, diversity and difference of local contexts, based on a postcolonial feminist analysis, has been less prominent. The position of Liberian women differs based on their region, ethnicity, religious and culture group (OECD, 2012). The implementation against GBV seems little concerned with how the diversity of patriarchal cultural practices and its impacts on GBV. For example, female genital mutilation, a harmful cultural practice that violates women’s rights and portrays the subordination of women has not been addressed (CEDAW, 1992; World Vision, 2011: 3). Defence for Children International (2011: 2) reported that female genital mutilation and other harmful practices are prevalent across four Liberian counties, Montserrado, Bomi, Lofa and Grand Cape Mount. Luppino and Webbe, (2011: 119), highlight that there are no laws against female genital mutilation. Additionally, Liberia has dual legal system: statutory and customary law, ‘unwritten tribal practices for the indigenous sector’ (GOL, 2008: 22). Customary law may impact on the rights of women and girls. For example, the custom of early marriage remains widespread in rural areas, where girls are married at approximately 14 years old (GOL, 2008: 36). This customary law may facilitate and

justify forced marriage, which is one form of GBV (Vital Voices, 2012). This shows that the implementation of GBV is insufficiently concerned with the cultural diversity that postcolonial feminism states underlines GBV.

The implementation of UNMIL of the three themes of SCR 1325 illustrates that it cannot achieve the concept of gender equality of postcolonial feminism. In enhancing women's participation, though the women are more apparently welcome and the number of women within and outside the mission seems to have increased, women are stereotyped the traditional roles based on traditional assumptions; for example, women are more peaceful and disciplined. UNMIL reproduces traditional roles of women such as carers and nurturers both within and outside the mission, which contrasts with the idea of postcolonial feminism that need to reform traditional gender roles. In gender mainstreaming, the implementation is apparently in progress. In the mission, UNMIL focuses on training peacekeepers to be sensitized and can apply a gender perspective into their work. Also, UNMIL supports Liberia to mainstream gender by formulating National Policy to strengthen coordination on the implementation of SCR 1325 as well as training and supporting governmental and non-governmental agencies to integrate gender perspective. Nevertheless, gender mainstreaming is a challenge as OGA solely takes the entire burden with understaffing and limited resources. Furthermore, UNMIL is less aware of the cultural barriers such as language, local's perspectives, and diversity of locations in mainstreaming gender perspectives. Concerning GBV, the action against GBV is apparently progressing. A systematic prevention and punishment of perpetrators has been established within the mission. Outside the mission, UNMIL supports Liberia by guiding national policy, supporting on GBV legislation, improving mechanisms for tackling GBV, and enhancing public awareness. Nevertheless, diversity and difference in Liberia's society has been less emphasized, in particular the

culture that facilitates GBV such as female genital mutilation and forced marriage, seem to be neglected.

The findings from this chapter and the former chapter will be used to evaluate how the implementation of UN peacekeeping at policy and operational levels contributes to gender equality in the next chapter.

CHAPTER IV

Evaluation of the Implementation of SCR 1325 on Gender Equality in UN peacekeeping

This chapter will evaluate the implementation of SCR 1325 on gender equality of UN peacekeeping from the findings on UN's policy and operational levels, and compare with some examples in other missions on the implementation of UN peacekeeping on the three themes of SCR 1325.

The findings from both levels of UN peacekeeping illustrate that implementation of SCR 1325 on women's participation, gender mainstreaming, and gender-based violence seems to open an opportunity for women, and gender issues seem to have begun to address within UN peacekeeping. Nevertheless, UN peacekeeping is still far from an achievement on the gender equality of the postcolonial feminist perspective.

Women's participation

The implementation of UN peacekeeping at policy and operational levels seems focus only on increasing the visibility of women. This may provide women with opportunity as actors in joining peace processes. For example, the number of female peacekeepers has been increased from 1% percent in 1993 to 3% of military personnel, 10 % of police personnel, and 30% of international civilian staff (DKPO, 2012b). Also, UNMIL facilitates a post-conflict reconstruction in Liberia, contributing to an opportunity for Liberian women to participate in peace processes and administer their countries, for example, UNMIL engages Liberian women and NGOs to involve with peace process, women have apparently more opportunity in decision-making positions as ministers and deputy ministers due to the mainstreaming of gender in the host countries (UNMIL,2010:4, 26). UN peacekeeping focusing on the increase of women's

visibility has also been implemented in other missions such as in Afghanistan and Burundi (DPKO, 2005a: 22-24).

However, the participation of women is under the paradigm of gender stereotype. This can be illustrated by the fact that women soldiers are often limited to prescribed traditional roles such as administration, civil affairs, nurses, and cooks because women are naturally peaceful, more disciplined and sensitive (Cohn, 2004: 14; Jacob, 2009: 65). Women in other missions are also impacted by the restrictions on traditional roles. For instance, female police in UN the Sierra Leone mission are designed 'service roles' to deal with rape cases based on the notion that women are sensitive and more caring. (Jacob, 2009: 61). This limits women's opportunity for equal participation in all peace process based on SCR 1325 and the postcolonial feminist perspective. Postcolonial feminists highlight that mere visibility for women cannot achieve gender equality, but reformation of gender construction and elimination of gender bias, which is inherent gender patriarchy, is needed (Stanley, 2009: 2).

Gender Mainstreaming

UN peacekeeping at both policy and operational levels seems to only 'add' gender into peacekeeping, which cannot reform the practices of UN peace processes to make staff concerned with providing equal benefit to all peoples. At policy level, DPKO has initiated the establishment of mechanisms such as gender advisers and the unit to mainstream gender and implement SCR 1325 (UN, 2004: 7). Also, policy and tools to mainstream gender, for example, Policy Directive on Gender Equality and Gender Resource Package, are provided (UN, 2012e). However, gender mainstreaming in UN peacekeeping seems to be solely the burden of gender advisers and the unit. Puechguirbal (2010: 167) indicates that gender mainstreaming is only on 'the shoulder of the advisors', which marginalizes gender issues in the peacekeeping process. Also,

gender policy and tools are categorized as ‘additional policy and guidance’ in UN peacekeeping based on the classification of DPKO (UN, 2012e). Similarly, at operational level, gender mainstreaming in Liberia is only the responsibility of OGA with a limitation of staff and resources. In other UN missions, gender mainstreaming also relies on gender advisers and the units, which face the same challenge of the shortage of funds as in Liberia. For example, in East Timor, a planned gender unit was ‘initially shelved’ due to no budget allocation and gender mainstream seemed to be inactive (Whitworth, 2004: 130). These examples illustrate that UN peacekeeping prioritizes gender as an ‘add on’ issue, which is the work of ‘add on’ units in UN peacekeeping.

Furthermore, the implementation of gender mainstreaming seems not to recognize diverse and different contexts. At policy level, gender mainstreaming is apparently recognized in integrating gender with the concerns of local diversity based on postcolonial feminism’s perspective as appeared in the Policy Guidance and SCR 1509 in establishing UNMIL (DPKO, 2006; SC, 2003: 5). This seems only rhetoric because in real practices it can be proved that the implementation lacks concern about culture diversity, such as language, full participation of local NGOs, and the diversity of implementation areas (Nduka-Agwu, 2009:190 - 195; UN-INSTRAW, 2009: 11). Similarly, the implementation in other missions seems to fail on recognizing local’s voices and their capacity. For instance, in East Timor, local NGOs determined that the implementation of the gender unit in gender mainstreaming was ‘fruitless’ and undermined the efforts of local women (Charlesworth and Wood, 2002: 388). Also, Whitworth (2004: 132) indicates that the relationship between the unit and local NGOs is ‘a somewhat imperial attitude’. These further exemplify that UN peacekeeping is still

far from the concept of gender equality of postcolonial feminism on respecting local's voices and being awareness of the idea of superiority over locals.

Gender-based Violence

Though UN peacekeeping has developed regulations, laws, and monitoring system, UN peacekeeping seems to diminish GBV as 'women's issues'. At a policy level, DPKO has formulated guidelines for peacekeepers, including police and military to give direction on preventing sexual violence against women and girls (UN, 2006: 7; 2010: 10). Furthermore, GBV is regulated as 'serious misconduct' of peacekeeping and monitoring has implemented (UN, 2006: 7; 2005: 48). At operational level, a mechanism for tackling the misconduct of peacekeepers through the Conduct and Discipline Unit has been established. Furthermore, UNMIL supported Liberia to formulate the national action plan against GBV, supporting legislation against GBV, improving mechanisms, and enhancing awareness (UNMIL, 2012c). However, the significance of GBV is minimized as the practical implementation policy and services are designed only for women and girls and sometimes including boys. In other missions, the implementation against GBV seems to follow similar patterns. For example, in Afghanistan, a mechanism called the Inter-Ministerial Task Force on the Elimination of Violence against 'Women' was established. A plan for the prevention of violence against 'women' was formulated in Haiti. In Kosovo, the Centre for the Protection of Women and Children to protect 'women and children' from violence was founded (DPKO, 2005a: 28-30). This illustrates that GBV is minimized to being violence against women and girls in many missions. Consequently, men who face GBV, are neglected, which shows the implementation cannot respond to all marginalized persons. This failure of provision cannot achieve gender equality of postcolonial feminism; gender equality for all people.

Furthermore, the incidence of GBV committed by peacekeepers, other troops, and gang rape in Liberia and other missions such as Congo remains prevalent (UN, 2010: 2-3). The unsuccessful implementation results from UN peacekeeping neglect to address the construction of gender that inherits GBV, which fails the idea of postcolonial feminism in reform the construction of gender. It may be argued that UN peacekeeping has attempted to train staff to be sensitized on gender and understanding GBV. However, the training occurs only once for the new intake, which is merely a 'superficial stamp' (DCAF et al 2007b). Gender aspects, associated with GBV, remain less concern, for example, masculine traits such as 'macho gun culture' and masculinity which developed in the military culture reinforcing GBV (Connell, 2007; Higate, 2003b). The culture of UN peacekeeping still perceives other forms of GBV as not associated with GBV. For instance, the findings show that some peacekeepers in Liberia perceive that 'prostitution is not exploitative'; it occurs due to the voluntary actions of Liberian women (Martin, 2005: 15). In other missions, UN culture also facilitates GBV. For example, the Study of Refugees International indicates that an influx of peacekeepers into the post-conflict societies 'is often associated with increased incidents of prostitution and GBV' in Cote D'Ivoire and Sierra Leone (Martin, 2005: 3).

Furthermore, the local cultural diversity that is associated with GBV seems to be neglected. For example, female genital mutilation has not been illegalized in Liberia. Additionally, customary law, which may justify GBV such as forced and early marriage, seem to be less tackled. Other missions also face a common challenge in lack of concern for local culture that impacts GBV. For instance, forced marriage based on customary law, especially in rural areas in Ethiopia and Sudan, is prevalent (OECD, 2012). This illustrates that the local culture that perpetuates GBV is neglected, in

contrasts with the idea of postcolonial feminism that gender is integrated with culture, race, and class (Mohanty, 2003: 53)

CONCLUSION

From the findings, the implementation of SCR 1325 by UN peacekeeping, within the three themes of women's participation, gender mainstreaming, and gender-based violence, only appear to open a space for women and to add gender issues into peacekeeping, but it still cannot contribute to gender equality in accordance with postcolonial feminism. In women's participation, the implementation seems only to focus on increasing the visibility of women. In contrast, potential for re-forming of traditional roles seems to be ignored. Women in peacekeeping are restricted to participate in traditional roles. In gender mainstreaming, mechanism, policies, guidelines and tools have been developed. However, such implementation has simply added gender mainstreaming into the mainstream strong masculine structure of peacekeeping. Gender mainstreaming appears to be the responsibility solely for 'add on' units, which can only impact 'sidelines' of peacekeeping (Mazurana, 2005: 40). Additionally, the recognition of local voice is rhetoric; the implementation actually lacks concerns for culture diversity such as language, full participation of local people, and the diversity of implementation areas. Also, the implementation is based on the superiority of knowledge over locals. In the actions against GBV, this seems to be addressed in peacekeeping and policy and mechanisms against GBV seem have appeared. Nevertheless, GBV is minimized to solely women's issue, which neglects other marginalized persons. Furthermore, cultures that facilitate GBV both in UN itself and in local contexts are less effectively tackled.

The implementation of UN peacekeeping illustrates the far-reaching usefulness of the concepts of postcolonial feminism in reconstructing gender hierarchy, recognizing marginalized lives which are impacted by gendered hierarchies, lack of sensitizing to diversity, difference, and specific contexts, and addressing the

domination of superior attitude over local people. Therefore, the perspective of postcolonial feminism should be utilized to achieve gender equality, the goal of SCR 1325. Firstly, in the implementation of women's participation, the reformation of gender roles should be the main focus as Nduka-Agwu (2009: 15) suggests that mere visibility cannot contribute to equal women's participation. Bendix (2009:2) advises that gender stereotypes hinder the achievement of gender equality; therefore, the reconstruction of gender should be a key focus. Secondly, gender mainstreaming should include all people, not only women because gender mainstreaming is a process taking experiences of women, men, girls and boys into account in all peace processes, so that all people can be involved as actors and beneficiaries in the process (DPKO, 2004: 3). Therefore, gender mainstreaming should be a central tenet of peacekeeping as the UN has committed to in its policies, rather than putting gender mainstreaming on the margins to be a burden of a 'female unit'. Additionally, local voices should be respected in gender mainstreaming, as Steans (2006:18) indicates denying the voice of locals may produce a new form of colonization. Bendix (2009: 21) suggests that gender needs to be explored in specific contexts to find out the different requirements and problems. It is important to scrutinize 'who speaks for whom, whose voices are heard, and what consequence does this [...] [have for local people]' (Bendix, 2009: 25). Thirdly, the implementation of policy against GBV should also be reformed to not only focus on violence against women and girls, but to reshape the concept that GBV can be understood occurring with men and boys. Additionally, the forms of GBV that result from diverse cultural practices should be addressed. OECD (2012) suggests that the status of a person is based on race, class, economic status, culture; therefore, to tackle GBV the surrounding context is crucial to cover wide ranging issues of GBV.

In conclusion, the implementation by UN peacekeeping of SCR 1325 can contribute only superficially to the issue of gender equality. Therefore, the concept of gender equality defined by postcolonial feminism should be used as a central framework in the implementation of UN peacekeeping to bring substantive gender equality forward as the international community's commitment to the resolution.

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Security Council

Resolution 1325 (2000)

Adopted by the Security Council at its 4213th meeting, on 31 October 2000

The Security Council,

Recalling its resolutions 1261 (1999) of 25 August 1999, 1265 (1999) of 17 September 1999, 1296 (2000) of 19 April 2000 and 1314 (2000) of 11 August 2000, as well as relevant statements of its President, and *recalling also* the statement of its President to the press on the occasion of the United Nations Day for Women's Rights and International Peace (International Women's Day) of 8 March 2000 (SC/6816),

Recalling also the commitments of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (A/52/231) as well as those contained in the outcome document of the twenty-third Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly entitled "Women 2000: Gender Equality, Development and Peace for the Twenty-First Century" (A/S-23/10/Rev.1), in particular those concerning women and armed conflict,

Bearing in mind the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the primary responsibility of the Security Council under the Charter for the maintenance of international peace and security,

Expressing concern that civilians, particularly women and children, account for the vast majority of those adversely affected by armed conflict, including as refugees and internally displaced persons, and increasingly are targeted by combatants and armed elements, and *recognizing* the consequent impact this has on durable peace and reconciliation,

Reaffirming the important role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts and in peace-building, and *stressing* the importance of their equal participation and full involvement in all efforts for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security, and the need to increase their role in decision-making with regard to conflict prevention and resolution,

Reaffirming also the need to implement fully international humanitarian and human rights law that protects the rights of women and girls during and after conflicts,

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Emphasizing the need for all parties to ensure that mine clearance and mine awareness programmes take into account the special needs of women and girls,

Recognizing the urgent need to mainstream a gender perspective into peacekeeping operations, and in this regard *noting* the Windhoek Declaration and the Namibia Plan of Action on Mainstreaming a Gender Perspective in Multidimensional Peace Support Operations (S/2000/693),

Recognizing also the importance of the recommendation contained in the statement of its President to the press of 8 March 2000 for specialized training for all peacekeeping personnel on the protection, special needs and human rights of women and children in conflict situations,

Recognizing that an understanding of the impact of armed conflict on women and girls, effective institutional arrangements to guarantee their protection and full participation in the peace process can significantly contribute to the maintenance and promotion of international peace and security,

Noting the need to consolidate data on the impact of armed conflict on women and girls,

1. *Urges* Member States to ensure increased representation of women at all decision-making levels in national, regional and international institutions and mechanisms for the prevention, management, and resolution of conflict;

2. *Encourages* the Secretary-General to implement his strategic plan of action (A/49/587) calling for an increase in the participation of women at decision-making levels in conflict resolution and peace processes;

3. *Urges* the Secretary-General to appoint more women as special representatives and envoys to pursue good offices on his behalf, and in this regard *calls on* Member States to provide candidates to the Secretary-General, for inclusion in a regularly updated centralized roster;

4. *Further urges* the Secretary-General to seek to expand the role and contribution of women in United Nations field-based operations, and especially among military observers, civilian police, human rights and humanitarian personnel;

5. *Expresses* its willingness to incorporate a gender perspective into peacekeeping operations, and *urges* the Secretary-General to ensure that, where appropriate, field operations include a gender component;

6. *Requests* the Secretary-General to provide to Member States training guidelines and materials on the protection, rights and the particular needs of women, as well as on the importance of involving women in all peacekeeping and peace-building measures, *invites* Member States to incorporate these elements as well as HIV/AIDS awareness training into their national training programmes for military and civilian police personnel in preparation for deployment, and *further requests* the Secretary-General to ensure that civilian personnel of peacekeeping operations receive similar training;

7. *Urges* Member States to increase their voluntary financial, technical and logistical support for gender-sensitive training efforts, including those undertaken by relevant funds and programmes, inter alia, the United Nations Fund for Women and United Nations Children's Fund, and by the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and other relevant bodies;

8. *Calls on* all actors involved, when negotiating and implementing peace agreements, to adopt a gender perspective, including, inter alia:

(a) The special needs of women and girls during repatriation and resettlement and for rehabilitation, reintegration and post-conflict reconstruction;

(b) Measures that support local women's peace initiatives and indigenous processes for conflict resolution, and that involve women in all of the implementation mechanisms of the peace agreements;

(c) Measures that ensure the protection of and respect for human rights of women and girls, particularly as they relate to the constitution, the electoral system, the police and the judiciary;

9. *Calls upon* all parties to armed conflict to respect fully international law applicable to the rights and protection of women and girls, especially as civilians, in particular the obligations applicable to them under the Geneva Conventions of 1949 and the Additional Protocols thereto of 1977, the Refugee Convention of 1951 and the Protocol thereto of 1967, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women of 1979 and the Optional Protocol thereto of 1999 and the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child of 1989 and the two Optional Protocols thereto of 25 May 2000, and to bear in mind the relevant provisions of the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court;

10. *Calls on* all parties to armed conflict to take special measures to protect women and girls from gender-based violence, particularly rape and other forms of sexual abuse, and all other forms of violence in situations of armed conflict;

11. *Emphasizes* the responsibility of all States to put an end to impunity and to prosecute those responsible for genocide, crimes against humanity, and war crimes including those relating to sexual and other violence against women and girls, and in this regard *stresses* the need to exclude these crimes, where feasible from amnesty provisions;

12. *Calls upon* all parties to armed conflict to respect the civilian and humanitarian character of refugee camps and settlements, and to take into account the particular needs of women and girls, including in their design, and recalls its resolutions 1208 (1998) of 19 November 1998 and 1296 (2000) of 19 April 2000;

13. *Encourages* all those involved in the planning for disarmament, demobilization and reintegration to consider the different needs of female and male ex-combatants and to take into account the needs of their dependants;

14. *Reaffirms* its readiness, whenever measures are adopted under Article 41 of the Charter of the United Nations, to give consideration to their potential impact on the civilian population, bearing in mind the special needs of women and girls, in order to consider appropriate humanitarian exemptions;

15. *Expresses* its willingness to ensure that Security Council missions take into account gender considerations and the rights of women, including through consultation with local and international women's groups;

16. *Invites* the Secretary-General to carry out a study on the impact of armed conflict on women and girls, the role of women in peace-building and the gender dimensions of peace processes and conflict resolution, and *further invites* him to

submit a report to the Security Council on the results of this study and to make this available to all Member States of the United Nations;

17. *Requests* the Secretary-General, where appropriate, to include in his reporting to the Security Council progress on gender mainstreaming throughout peacekeeping missions and all other aspects relating to women and girls;

18. *Decides* to remain actively seized of the matter.



Security Council

Resolution 1509 (2003)

Adopted by the Security Council at its 4830th meeting, on 19 September 2003

The Security Council,

Recalling its previous resolutions and statements by its President on Liberia, including its resolution 1497 (2003) of 1 August 2003, and the 27 August 2003 Statement by its President (S/PRST/2003/14), and other relevant resolutions and statements,

Expressing its utmost concern at the dire consequences of the prolonged conflict for the civilian population throughout Liberia, in particular the increase in the number of refugees and internally displaced persons,

Stressing the urgent need for substantial humanitarian assistance to the Liberian population, *Deploring* all violations of human rights, particularly atrocities against civilian populations, including widespread sexual violence against women and children,

Expressing also its deep concern at the limited access of humanitarian workers to populations in need, including refugees and internally displaced persons, and stressing the need for the continued operation of United Nations and other agencies' relief operations, as well as promotion and monitoring of human rights,

Emphasizing the need for all parties to safeguard the welfare and security of humanitarian workers and United Nations personnel in accordance with applicable rules and principles of international law, and recalling in this regard its resolution 1502 (2003),

Mindful of the need for accountability for violations of international humanitarian law and urging the transitional government once established to ensure that the protection of human rights and the establishment of a state based on the rule of law and of an independent judiciary are among its highest priorities,

Reiterating its support for the efforts of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), particularly organization Chairman and President of Ghana John Kufuor, Executive Secretary Mohammed Ibn Chambas, and mediator General Abdulsalami Abubakar, as well as those of Nigerian President Olusegun Obasanjo, to bring peace to Liberia, and *recognizing* the critically important role they continue to play in the Liberia peace process,

Welcoming the continued support of the African Union (AU) for the leadership role of ECOWAS in the peace process in Liberia, in particular the appointment of an AU Special Envoy for Liberia, and further encouraging the AU to continue to support the peace process through close collaboration and coordination with ECOWAS and the United Nations,

Commending the rapid and professional deployment of the ECOWAS Mission in Liberia (ECOMIL) forces to Liberia, pursuant to its resolution 1497 (2003), as well as Member States which have assisted ECOWAS in its efforts, and stressing the responsibilities of all parties to cooperate with ECOMIL forces in Liberia,

Noting that lasting stability in Liberia will depend on peace in the subregion, and emphasizing the importance of cooperation among the countries of the subregion to this end, as well as the need for coordination of United Nations efforts to contribute to the consolidation of peace and security in the subregion,

Gravely concerned by the use of child soldiers by armed rebel militias, government forces, and other militias,

Reaffirming its support, as stated in its Statement by its President on 27 August 2003 (S/PRST/2003/14), for the Comprehensive Peace Agreement reached by Liberia's Government, rebel groups, political parties, and civil society leaders in Accra, Ghana on 18 August 2003, and the Liberian ceasefire agreement, signed in Accra, 17 June 2003,

Reaffirming that the primary responsibility for implementing the Comprehensive Peace Agreement and the ceasefire agreement rests with the parties, and urging the parties to move forward with implementation of these agreements immediately in order to ensure the peaceful formation of a transitional government by 14 October 2003,

Welcoming the 11 August 2003 resignation and departure of former Liberian President Charles Taylor from Liberia, and the peaceful transfer of power from Mr. Taylor,

Stressing the importance of the Joint Monitoring Committee (JMC), as provided for by the 17 June ceasefire agreement, to ensuring peace in Liberia, and urging all parties to establish this body as quickly as possible,

Recalling the framework for establishment of a longer-term United Nations stabilization force to relieve the ECOMIL forces, as set out in resolution 1497 (2003),

Welcoming the Secretary-General's report of 11 September 2003 (S/2003/875) and its recommendations,

Taking note also of the intention of the Secretary-General to terminate the mandate of the United Nations Office in Liberia (UNOL), as indicated in his letter dated 16 September 2003 addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/2003/899),

Taking note also of the intention of the Secretary-General to transfer the major functions performed by UNOL to the United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL), together with staff of UNOL, as appropriate,

Determining that the situation in Liberia continues to constitute a threat to international peace and security in the region, to stability in the West Africa subregion, and to the peace process for Liberia,

Acting under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations,

8. *Decides* to establish the United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL), the stabilization force called for in resolution 1497 (2003), for a period of 12 months, and requests the Secretary-General to transfer authority from the ECOWAS-led ECOMIL forces to UNMIL on 1 October 2003, and further decides that UNMIL will consist of up to 15,000 United Nations military personnel, including up to 250 military observers and 160 staff officers, and up to 1,115 civilian police officers, including formed units to assist in the maintenance of law and order throughout Liberia, and the appropriate civilian component;

9. *Welcomes* the appointment by the Secretary-General of his Special Representative for Liberia to direct the operations of UNMIL and coordinate all United Nations activities in Liberia;

10. *Decides* that UNMIL shall have the following mandate:

Support for Implementation of the Ceasefire Agreement:

(d) to observe and monitor the implementation of the ceasefire agreement and investigate violations of the ceasefire;

(e) to establish and maintain continuous liaison with the field headquarters of all the parties' military forces;

(f) to assist in the development of cantonment sites and to provide security at these sites;

(g) to observe and monitor disengagement and cantonment of military forces of all the parties;

(h) to support the work of the JMC;

(i) to develop, as soon as possible, preferably within 30 days of the adoption of this resolution, in cooperation with the JMC, relevant international financial institutions, international development organizations, and donor nations, an action plan for the overall implementation of a disarmament, demobilization, reintegration, and repatriation (DDRR) programme for all armed parties; with particular attention to the special needs of child combatants and women; and addressing the inclusion of non-Liberian combatants;

(j) to carry out voluntary disarmament and to collect and destroy weapons and ammunition as part of an organized DDRR programme;

(k) to liaise with the JMC and to advise on the implementation of its functions under the Comprehensive Peace Agreement and the ceasefire agreement;

(l) to provide security at key government installations, in particular ports, airports, and other vital infrastructure;

Protection of United Nations Staff, Facilities and Civilians:

(m) to protect United Nations personnel, facilities, installations and equipment, ensure the security and freedom of movement of its personnel and,

without prejudice to the efforts of the government, to protect civilians under imminent threat of physical violence, within its capabilities;

Support for Humanitarian and Human Rights Assistance:

(k) to facilitate the provision of humanitarian assistance, including by helping to establish the necessary security conditions;

17. to contribute towards international efforts to protect and promote human rights in Liberia, with particular attention to vulnerable groups including refugees, returning refugees and internally displaced persons, women, children, and demobilized child soldiers, within UNMIL's capabilities and under acceptable security conditions, in close cooperation with other United Nations agencies, related organizations, governmental organizations, and non-governmental organizations;

18. to ensure an adequate human rights presence, capacity and expertise within UNMIL to carry out human rights promotion, protection, and monitoring activities;

Support for Security Reform:

(n) to assist the transitional government of Liberia in monitoring and restructuring the police force of Liberia, consistent with democratic policing, to develop a civilian police training programme, and to otherwise assist in the training of civilian police, in cooperation with ECOWAS, international organizations, and interested States;

(o) to assist the transitional government in the formation of a new and restructured Liberian military in cooperation with ECOWAS, international organizations and interested States;

Support for Implementation of the Peace Process:

(p) to assist the transitional Government, in conjunction with ECOWAS and other international partners, in reestablishment of national authority throughout the country, including the establishment of a functioning administrative structure at both the national and local levels;

(q) to assist the transitional government in conjunction with ECOWAS and other international partners in developing a strategy to consolidate governmental institutions, including a national legal framework and judicial and correctional institutions;

(r) to assist the transitional government in restoring proper administration of natural resources;

(s) to assist the transitional government, in conjunction with ECOWAS and other international partners, in preparing for national elections scheduled for no later than the end of 2005;

4. *Demands* that the Liberian parties cease hostilities throughout Liberia and fulfil their obligations under the Comprehensive Peace Agreement and the ceasefire agreement, including cooperation in the formation of the JMC as established under the ceasefire agreement;

5. *Calls upon* all parties to cooperate fully in the deployment and operations of UNMIL, including through ensuring the safety, security and freedom of

movement of United Nations personnel, together with associated personnel, throughout Liberia;

6. *Encourages* UNMIL, within its capabilities and areas of deployment, to support the voluntary return of refugees and internally displaced persons;
7. *Requests* the Liberian Government to conclude a status-of-force agreement with the Secretary-General within 30 days of adoption of this resolution, and notes that pending the conclusion of such an agreement the model status-of-force agreement dated 9 October 1990 (A/45/594) shall apply provisionally;
8. *Calls upon* all parties to ensure, in accordance with relevant provisions of international law, the full, safe and unhindered access of relief personnel to all those in need and delivery of humanitarian assistance, in particular to internally displaced persons and refugees;
9. *Recognizes* the importance of the protection of children in armed conflict, in accordance with its resolution 1379 (2001) and related resolutions;
10. *Demands* that all parties cease all use of child soldiers, that all parties cease all human rights violations and atrocities against the Liberia population, and stresses the need to bring to justice those responsible;
11. *Reaffirms* the importance of a gender perspective in peacekeeping operations and post-conflict peace-building in accordance with resolution 1325 (2000), recalls the need to address violence against women and girls as a tool of warfare, and encourages UNMIL as well as the Liberian parties to actively address these issues;
12. *Decides* that the measures imposed by paragraphs 5 (a) and 5 (b) of resolution 1343 (2001) shall not apply to supplies of arms and related materiel and technical training and assistance intended solely for support of or use by UNMIL;
13. *Reiterates* its demand that all States in the region cease military support for armed groups in neighbouring countries, take action to prevent armed individuals and groups from using their territory to prepare and commit attacks on neighbouring countries and refrain from any actions that might contribute to further destabilization of the situation in the region, and declares its readiness to consider, if necessary, ways of promoting compliance with this demand;
14. *Calls upon* the transitional government to restore fully Liberia's relations with its neighbours and to normalize Liberia's relations with the international community;
15. *Calls on* the international community to consider how it might help future economic development in Liberia aimed at achieving long-term stability in Liberia and improving the welfare of its people;
16. *Stresses* the need for an effective public information capacity, including the establishment as necessary of United Nations radio stations to promote understanding of the peace process and the role of UNMIL among local communities and the parties;
17. *Calls on* the Liberian parties to engage for the purpose of addressing the question of DDRR on an urgent basis and urges the parties, in particular the transitional government of Liberia, and rebel groups Liberians United for

Reconciliation and Democracy (LURD) and the Movement for Democracy in Liberia (MODEL), to work closely with UNMIL, the JMC, relevant assistance organizations, and donor nations, in the implementation of a DDRR programme;

18. *Calls on* the international donor community to provide assistance for the implementation of a DDRR programme, and sustained international assistance to the peace process, and to contribute to consolidated humanitarian appeals;

19. *Requests* the Secretary-General to provide regular updates, including a formal report every 90 days to the Council on the progress in the implementation of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement and this resolution, including the implementation of UNMIL's mandate;

20. *Decides* to remain actively seized of the matter.
